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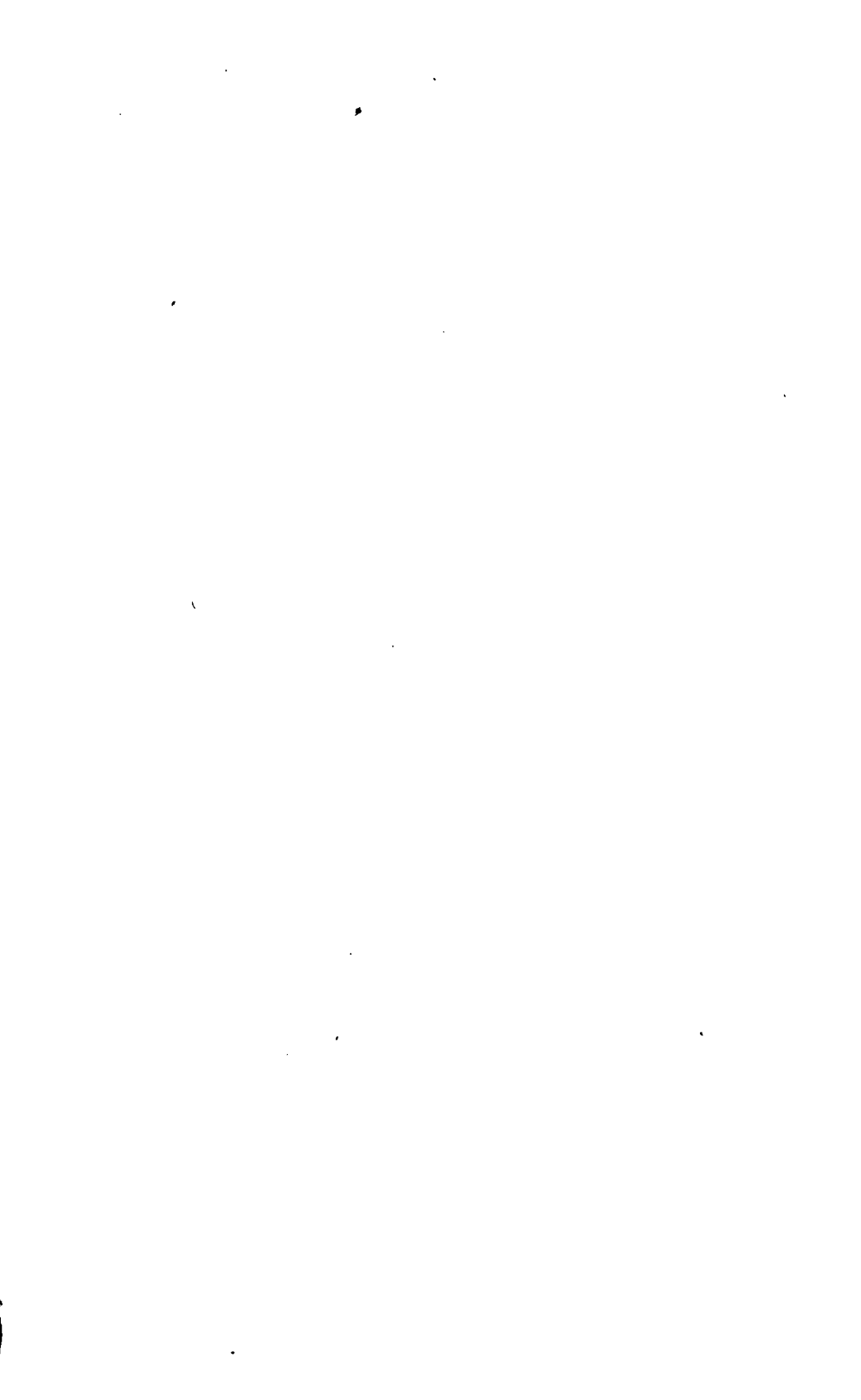
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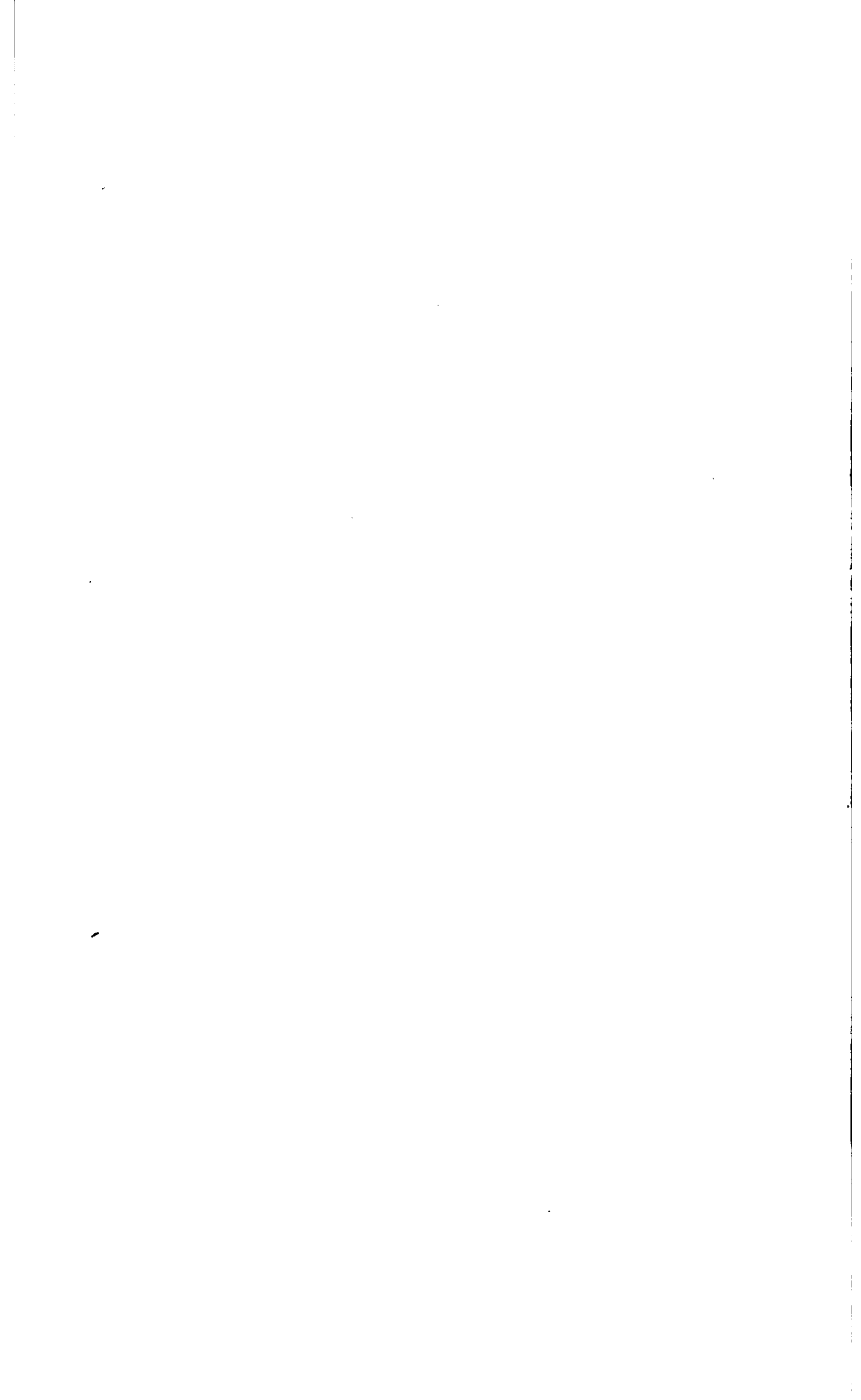
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ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY**

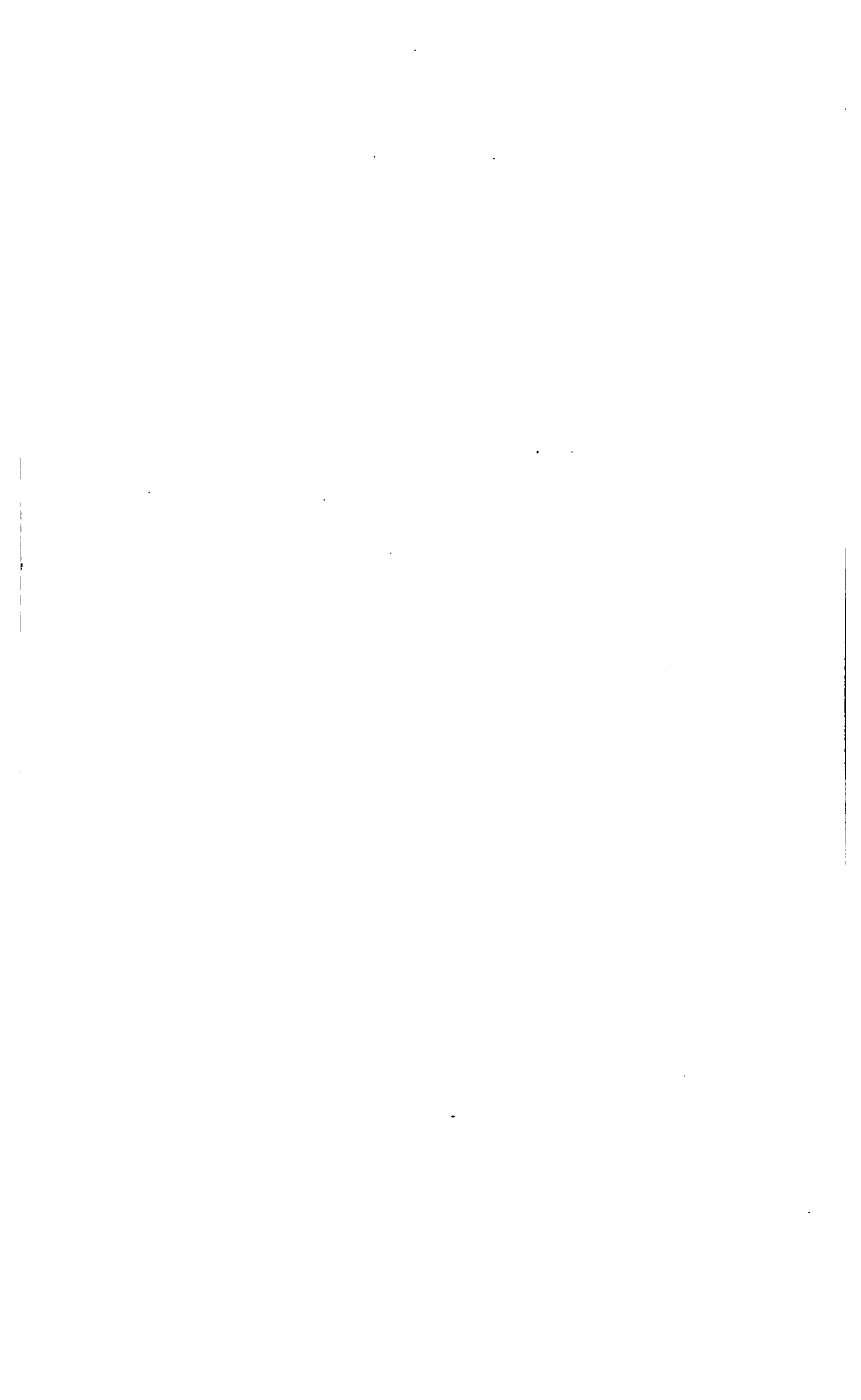
IN EXCHANGE WITH

The Society

Received 1899.







ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

VOL. XXI.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES,

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOLUME XXI.



LONDON AND NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE :
ANDREW REID & Co., LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS, AKENSIDE HILL.

LONDON OFFICE : 13, EASTCHEAP, E.C.

M.DCCC.XCIX.

142
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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
ANDREW REID AND COMPANY, LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS,
AKENSIDE HILL

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF PLATES, ETC.

Thanks are given to the following :—

- Adamson, Dr. L. W., for photographs and blocks facing pp. 40, 42.
 Allgood, Miss, for plate facing p. 67.
 Burman, Dr., for block of the Alnwick Skinners' cup facing p. 43.
 Carr-Ellison, Mr. J. R., for the photographs and blocks facing pp. 1, 46, 58.
 Dale, Mr. Brodrick, for photograph and block facing p. 74.
 Dale, Mr. T. T., for photograph and block facing page 41.
 Davison, Mr. R., for photograph of the Alnwick Skinners' cup facing p. 43.
 Gow, Mr. T., for photograph and block of his cup facing p. 36.
 Knowles, Mr. W. H., for drawings of Doddington bastle, pp. 294, 295.
 Laing, Mr. F. M., for photograph and block of his tankard facing p. 36.
 Middleton, Mr. R. L., for photograph and block of Ponteland communion plate facing p. 28.
 Spence, Mr. C. J., for photograph of illustration facing p. 39, and drawing on p. 11.
 Taylor, Miss, for photographs for plates facing pp. 34, 35, 57, 60, 67, 69.
 Taylor, Mr. T., for blocks of illustrations facing pp. 34, 35, 60, and 69.
 Welford, Mr. R., loan of woodcut on p. vi.

Frontispiece and plates I., VI., VIII., IX., and XVI., are from photographs by Mr. R. Ruddock; VII. from a photograph by Jas. Downey & Sons; and XV. from a photograph by Mr. J. P. Gibson.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 12, line 26, for 'Bafire,' read 'Bafire.'
- „ 21, nos. 45 and 51 are descriptions of the same piece.
- „ 27, no. 77, for 'rector,' read 'vicar.'
- „ 43, no. 156, for *three stags' heads*, read *three stags*.
- „ 48, no. 182, the tea pot here described is by Isaac Cookson, not by Thomas Makepeace.
- „ 50, no. 201, the maker's mark should be , as in No. 195, not .
- „ 54, no. 219, for 'same as last,' read 'same as 216 and 217.'
- „ 82, line 20, for 'Gainsford' read 'Gainford.'
- „ 93, line 9, delete 'the.'
- „ 95, line 32; page 102, line 7; page 104, lines 4, 26, and 37; and page 105, heading, for 'Lesley,' read 'Leslie.'
- „ 109, line 27, and page 112, line 9, for 'Sir John Lumsden,' read 'Sir James Lumsden.'
- „ 114, note 127, for '1639,' read '1640.'
- „ 125, note 216, for 'p. 45,' read 'p. 127.'
- „ 138, note 302, for 'Calendar,' read 'Callendar.'

R E P O R T

OF

The Society of Antiquaries

OF

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

 ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCIX.

The year's report of the council of the society is in one respect a melancholy one. No fewer than three of the vice-presidents, Messrs. Longstaffe, Philipson, and Adamson, have been removed by death during its course; and now, just at its close, the name of the distinguished nobleman who has for so many years been the patron of our society has also to be removed from our roll, the sixth Duke of Northumberland having been gathered to his fathers. Before this sad event occurred the council had decided to request Earl Percy to accept the office of president vacated by the resignation of the earl of Ravensworth and he had kindly allowed himself to be put in nomination accordingly. Now we have to recommend that the present duke of Northumberland be elected patron and president thus combining the two offices in one. The society desires to express its sincere thanks to the retiring president, Lord Ravensworth, for the interest which he has often manifested in its proceedings, and regrets that the pressure of public duties of another kind has of late made it difficult and almost impossible for him to attend our meetings.

This anniversary meeting—the 86th—is noteworthy owing to the circumstance that it is the fiftieth since the society first met within the walls of this ancient building. The occasion was celebrated by a public dinner presided over by the then duke of Northumberland, and now that we have reached the jubilee of our occupancy, the advisability of having either a dinner or some public ceremony in commemoration is well worth consideration.

The series of silk banners for the great hall of the Castle has just been completed by the promise of the only remaining one—that of

Robert de Clifford. During the past year the banners of Radcliffe and of Bertram of Bothal have been presented. Sir E. W. Blckett of Matfen, the successor in title of the Raymes family, the early owners of Aydon castle, has promised the banner of Robert de Raymes, but owing to the difficulty in deciding what were the arms of this family, delay has been occasioned.

A short illustrated guide to the Keep and to the Black Gate and museum has been prepared by two of our members, Messrs. Holmes and Heslop. It is already in type and will, it is hoped, be ready for sale to the public, at a very small price, in the course of a few days. It will doubtless prove a boon to visitors to these buildings.

By permission of the owner of the site, Mr. J. B. Clayton, and by the assistance of the subscribers to the Northumberland Excavation Fund, we have made during the past year a series of excavations in the Roman camp at Housesteads. The excavations, which have been conducted under the able superintendence of Mr. B. C. Bosanquet, have produced very valuable results, and it is believed that the report, which will probably be issued in an early part of our *Archaeologia*, will be one of the most important contributions yet made to the history of Roman castrametation in Britain. Mr. J. P. Gibson, our colleague, is preparing a report on the excavations in the Roman station of *Aesica*, and he has kindly consented to allow his fine photographs, both of *Aesica* and of *Borcovicus*, to be reproduced to illustrate the reports.

At Housesteads a most successful meeting of members of this society, of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society and of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, was held in August, when addresses were given by Mr. Bosanquet, Dr. Hodgkin, and others.

Within the past few days the lighthouse at Tynemouth has been taken down. During the demolition a large number of moulded stones from the neighbouring priory have been discovered in the walls. With the exception of a double-cushion capital they are all of early thirteenth-century date, and nearly all bear the dog-tooth ornament. They are much weather-worn. Thanks to Mr. S. S. Carr's vigilance, the attention of our vice-president, Mr. H. A. Adamson, was drawn to them. He without delay placed himself in communication with the Trinity House of London, the owners of the lighthouse, who at

once presented the stones to the Corporation of Tynemouth. They will again be placed within the ruins of the priory church from which doubtless they were obtained in the beginning of this century when the lighthouse was built.

The Dinsdale registers, with an index, title page, etc., have been completed and issued to members, and the last part of those of Warkworth is nearly ready. Owing to the great expenditure during the past year, we recommend the society to suspend the printing of parish registers, at any rate for the present, after the indexes to those already in hand—Warkworth and Elsdon (to the end of the fourth volume)—have been printed.

Two books by young authors which have been published in the course of the past year give satisfactory proof that antiquarian lore is not likely to lack enthusiastic students in the coming generation. Miss Daphne Rendel's little work on *Newcastle [up]on Tyne, its Municipal Origin and Growth*, gives a clear and well arranged account of the corporate life of our ancient city under the Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts; while *An Amateur Antiquary*, by Mr. R. H. Forster, a member of our society, reveals a genuine enthusiasm for the great remains of Roman antiquity in our county, and lights up the hard facts of antiquarian science by the vivid glow of poetic imagination.

During the past year members have visited several places of interest, amongst them the castle of Raby and the church of Staindrop, where they had the benefit of the guidance of the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, the vicar of Witton, the principal authority on these buildings. He also pointed out the interesting features of Finchale priory, which was visited on another day. Very successful meetings were likewise held at Sherburn hospital, Pittington, and Houghton-le-Spring, and at Bamburgh castle. The master of Sherburn hospital (the Rev. H. A. Mitton) read a paper on the hospital, which is printed in our *Proceedings*. At Pittington and at Houghton the Rev. H. E. Savage, a member of the council, acted as guide. Mr. Mitton and the Rev. S. B. Guest-Williams (vicar of Pittington) most kindly entertained the members, as did our colleague, Dr. Hodgkin, on the occasion of our visit to Bamburgh. Our thanks are due to them and to others who kindly pointed out objects of interest at the different places visited.

TREASURER'S REPORT, DECEMBER 31ST, 1898.

The number of members is now 353. During the year death has robbed us of nine (of whom two were life members), seven have resigned, and two have been struck off for non-payment. The number of new members from October, 1897, to October, 1898, has been thirty. The number of life members is now three.

The total revenue for the year has been £529 7s. 7d., and the expenditure £618 12s. 6d., showing an expenditure over receipts of £89 4s. 11d. a result, not altogether happy, which may be accounted for chiefly by four items, viz. : the expenditure upon the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, the contribution of £25 to the Excavation Fund, the purchase of the model of the Castle for £10, and the printing of part iii. of the general index costing £25 0s. 6d. The total cost of compiling and printing this index has amounted to £118 17s. 6d.

There has been paid for the printing of the *Archaeologia Aeliana* this year £176 12s. 6d., but a portion of this was due upon last year's volume. If the expenditure for the two years be taken together, viz. : for 1897, £81 17s. 6d., and this year £176 12s. 6d., it gives an average for each year of £129 5s. 0d.

The sale of publications at the Castle has been £23 2s. 0d., an increase of £7 4s. 3d. upon the previous year.

The printing of the *Proceedings* and parish registers has cost £59 9s. 0d. The council has decided to suspend the publication of the parish registers for the present for financial reasons.

The illustrations have cost £54 1s. 3d., and the item of sundries amounts to £76 13s. 11d.

The Black Gate shows the heavy deficit of £24 8s. 1d., the receipts having been £23 2s. 1d. against an expenditure of £53 2s. 2d. The result is chiefly due to the expense of cleaning and painting. Fortunately the Castle has more than covered the loss, and the balance of the two buildings shows a surplus of £8 5s. 8d.

Sheriton Holmes, Honorary Treasurer.

*Sheriton Holmes, treasurer, in account with the Society of Antiquaries
of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 31ST, 1898.

	Receipts.	Expenditure.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance on January 1st, 1898	100 9 8	
Additional from the Account of 1897	0 1 6	
Members' Subscriptions	371 14 0	
Books	23 2 0	27 11 5
Castle	110 3 6	73 3 9
Black Gate	24 8 1	53 2 2
Printing: <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>		176 12 6
<i>Proceedings</i> and parish registers		59 9 0
General Index (part iii.)		25 0 6
Illustrations		54 1 3
Museum ... ..		...
Sundries		74 11 11
Contribution to Excavation Fund		25 0 0
Mr. Ventress for Model of the Castle		10 0 0
Secretary (clerical assistance)		40 0 0
Balance in Bank		10 15 6
Do. in Treasurer's hands		0 10 9
	<u>£629 18 9</u>	<u>£629 18 9</u>

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct,
18th January, 1899. JOHN M. WINTER, Honorary Auditor.

	Capital Statement.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Invested in 2½ per cent. Consols		42 18 5	
Dividends and interest to December 31st, 1898		9 10 10	
		<u>52 9 3</u>	
		<u>£52 9 3</u>	
CASTLE—	Details of Expenditure.	£ s. d.	
Salaries		65 0 0	
Insurance		0 7 6	
Rent		0 2 6	
Water Rate		0 6 0	
Gas		0 3 1	
Poor Rate		0 15 4	
Property Tax		1 10 6	
Wash-stand		0 15 0	
Repairs		1 3 6	
Sundries		3 0 4	
		<u>£73 3 9</u>	

BLACK GATE—								£	s.	d.
Salaries ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	16	0
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	15	0
Rent ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Water Rate ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	15	11
Poor Rate ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	4
Property Tax ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
Repairs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	0
Shackle for Hoist ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	0
Painting and Whitewashing...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	7	11

£53 2 2

BOOKS BOUGHT—								£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions to Societies—													
Surtees Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0			
Harleian Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0			
Do. Registers of Durham Cathedral Church								0	10	6			
Parish Register Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0			
Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6			
											4	4	0
Calendar of State Papers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	15	0			
Calendar of Patent Rolls (2 vols.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0			
<i>Inquis. Post Mortem</i> (1 vol.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0			
Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (2 vols.)...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0			
Border Papers, vol. ii. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0			
											8	5	0
Oxford English Dictionary (5 pts.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				1	15	8
Somerset Archaeological Society Transactions (2 vols.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	9	5			
Imperial German Archaeological Institute Transactions...								6	1	9			
Catalogue of Roman Inscriptions in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				0	15	0
Year-book of Societies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				0	7	6
MSS. Deeds, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				0	8	0
The German Roman Wall ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				0	12	7
<i>The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0			
<i>The Antiquary</i> (for 4 years) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6			
											2	2	6
Bookbinding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				2	10	0
											<u>£27 11 5</u>		

SUNDRIES—								£	s.	d.			
Cheque Books ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Registrar of Friendly Societies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Plate Exhibition, 1897 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	10
Property Tax ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
Autotype Portrait of the Rev. W. Greenwell, and frame ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Carried forward...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	6

SUNDRIES (<i>Continued</i>)—		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward...	...	4	4 6
Reid & Co.,	general printing and sundries	...	7	8 4
G. Nicholson,	do.	...	29	6 6
Secretary's	petty disbursements	...	15	11 1
Treasurer's	do.	...	1	4 9
Postage and Carriage of	<i>Archæologia Aeliana</i> , etc.	...	15	9 0
Sundries	...	...	1	7 9
			<hr/>	
			£74 11 11	
			<hr/>	

CURATORS' REPORT.

Six donations have been made to the museum during the past year ; two of these are of Roman, one of medieval, and three of comparatively modern date.

The interest in the objects of Roman date lies in the peculiar localities in which they were severally discovered ; the small Constantine-type coin was found during excavations at St. Peter's church, Monkwearmouth, and the Roman lamp in the old workings of a Spanish ironstone mine. It will be remembered that the Roman water-wheel, already in our collection, was discovered in the interior workings of a similar Spanish mine.

The chief feature of our acquisition has been in the addition to the number of the remarkable missiles of stone, now placed in the basement of the Keep. These have been either dredged from the river near the Tyne Bridge, or dug out in course of excavations on the Sandhill immediately below the Castle enclosure. They are chiefly of two dimensions, indicated by numerals on the surface, and are in almost every example carefully and accurately finished. The assumption is that they had been discharged at various times from the walls of the Old Castle, by means of a ballista, or by gravitation, and had buried themselves in the sand below in which they were discovered. Our collection now numbers more than thirty examples of these spherical stones, and the special interest attached to this large collection is best appreciated by examining them where they are now brought together. The basement-chamber of the Keep is now largely devoted to their storage and their appearance there re-furnishes the Castle with a stock of the actual munitions of war used by that important functionary the ballistier of ancient times.

DONATIONS.

- 1898.
- Jan. 26. From G. ALDER BLUMER, M.D., Utica, U.S.A. :—A small Roman coin of the Constantine period, minted at Trier, found about 25 years ago during restorations at the church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth, and handed to Dr. Blumer's father, one of the churchwardens at that period (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 110).
- April 27. From MRS. BAGNALL-OAKELEY, Newland, Coleford, Gloucestershire:—A Roman lamp of earthenware, found in an ironstone mine near Orviedo, Spain (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 133).
- ” ” From the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, *per* the Directors of the Newcastle Commercial Exchange :—Thirteen large balls of sandstone, found in excavating below the outer north wall of the Exchange on the Sandhill, near the Watergate. These, with other three which are retained in the Exchange, were found lying embedded together in groups, apparently in pockets in the sand into which they had gravitated after being discharged from the battery of the Castle immediately above the place of their discovery (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 133).
- May 25. From SHERITON HOLMES, treasurer :—Frame of wheel with cogs of wood, from a threshing machine at an old farm steading, just demolished, near the head of Highbury Avenue, West Jesmond (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. with sketch, p. 142).
- June 29. From WALTER REID, Wentworth Place, Newcastle :—Chemical balance in glass case, of early eighteenth-century date, formerly the property of the Goldsmiths' Company of Newcastle, and used by the Assay Master in the Newcastle Assay Office (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 152).
- Oct. 26. From J. CRAWFORD HODGSON, F.S.A. :—An old horn lantern, in which plates of horn take the place of glass (*Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 240).

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR M.DCCC.XCIX.

Patron and President.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Vice-Presidents.

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THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., &c.
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WILLIAM HENRY KNOWLES.
MABERLY PHILLIPS, F.S.A.
WILLIAM WEAVER TOMLINSON.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ON THE
1ST MARCH, 1899.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1855 Jan. 3	J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Mayfield, Orchard Road, Blackheath, Kent.
1883 June 27	Professor Emil Hübner, LL.D., Ahornstrasse 4, Berlin.
1883 June 27	Professor Mommsen, Marchstrasse 8, Charlottenburg bei Berlin.
1883 June 27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June 27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1886 June 30	Ellen King Ware (Mrs.), The Abbey, Carlisle.
1886 June 30	Gerrit Assis Hulsebos, Lit. Hum. Doct., &c., Utrecht, Holland.
1886 June 30	Professor Edwin Charles Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., Cambridge.
1886 June 30	David Mackinlay, 6 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
1888 Jan. 25	General Pitt-Rivers, F.S.A., Rushmore, Salisbury.
1892 Jan. 27	Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c., &c., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
1892 May 25	Professor Karl Zangemeister, Heidelberg.
1896 Oct. 28	Professor Ad. de Ceuleneer, Rue de la Confrérie 5, Ghent, Belgium.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

The sign * indicates that the member has compounded for his subscription.
 † that the member is one of the Council.

Date of Election.	
1885 Mar. 25	Adams, William Edwin, 32 Holly Avenue, Newcastle.
1883 Aug. 29	†Adamson, Rev. Cuthbert Edward, Westoe, South Shields.
1873 July	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, 29 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence William, LL.D., 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 46 Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1895 July 31	Allan, Thomas, Blakett Street, Newcastle.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Anne Jane (Miss), Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Titlington Hall, Alnwick.
1898 Mar. 30	Allison, Thomas M., M.D., Picton Place, Newcastle.
1893 Sept. 27	Archer, Mark, Farnacres, Gateshead.
1885 Dec. 30	Armstrong, Lord, Cragside, Rothbury.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1897 Nov. 24	Arnison, William Drewitt, M.D., 2 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	†Baily, Rev. Johnson, Hon. Canon of Durham and Rector of Ryton.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Langley Castle, Langley-on-Tyne.
1894 Mar. 25	Bates, Stuart Frederick, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, J. E., Wellwood, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1894 July 25	Bell, W. Heward, Seend, Melksham, Wiltshire.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon Hall, near Sunderland.
1874 Jan. 7	†Blair, Robert, F.S.A., South Shields.
1892 Mar. 30	Blenkinsopp, Thomas, 3 High Swinburne Place, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Blindell, William A., Wester Hall, Humshaugh.
1896 Dec. 23	Blumer, G. Alder, M.D., Utica State Hospital, New York State, U.S.A.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1888 April 25	Bolam, Robert G., Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1897 July 28	Boot, Rev. Alfred, St. George's Vicarage, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rock, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1898 July 27	Bosanquet, Robert Carr, 14 Upper Porchester Street, London, W.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Vicarage, Monkwearmouth.
1883 June 27	Bowden, Thomas, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 May 25	Bowes, John Bosworth, 18 Hawthorn Street, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Boyd, George Fenwick, Moor House, Leamside, Durham.
1894 Feb. 28	Boyd, William, North House, Long Benton.
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, 19 Lansdowne Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.

XX THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Date of Election.	
1898 Mar. 30	Bramble, William, New Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Branford, William E., 90 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1896 Nov. 25	Brass, John George, The Grove, Barnard Castle.
1892 Aug. 31	Brewis, Parker, 32 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	Brock-Hollinshead, Mrs., Woodfoot House, Shap, Westmorland.
1897 Nov. 24	Brooks, Miss Ellen, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 51 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1893 June 28	Browne, Thomas Procter, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, The Hon. Mr. Justice, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1897 Nov. 24	Bryers, Thomas Edward, The Cottage, Whitburn, Sunderland.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick.
1889 April 24	Burnett, The Rev. W. R., Kelloe Vicarage, Coxhoe, Durham.
1888 Nov. 28	Burton, William Spelman, 19 Claremont Park, Gateshead.
1884 Dec. 30	Burton, S. B., Jesmond House, Highworth, Wilts.
1897 Jan. 27	Butler, George Grey, Ewart Park, Wooler.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympton, near Exeter.
1892 July 27	†Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Long Rede, Barming, Maidstone, Kent.
1896 Oct. 28	Carr-Ellison, H. G., Woodbine Cottage, Corbridge.
1884 Feb. 27	Carr-Ellison, J. R., Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1885 Nov. 25	Charleton, William L., Jacolines, Bridport, Dorset.
1896 Aug. 26	Charlton, Henry, 1 Millfield Terrace, Gateshead.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., B.A., LL.B., 36 ^a Victoria Road, Kensington Palace, London, W.
1895 Sept. 25	Chester, Mrs., Stamfordham, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester (Walter T. Browne, Librarian).
1895 Nov. 27	Clapham, William, Park Villa, Darlington.
1896 Jan. 29	Clayton, John Bertram, Chesters, Humshaugh, Northumberland.
1898 Aug. 27	Clayton, Mrs. N. G., Lincoln Hill, Humshaugh.
1883 Dec. 27	†Clephan, Robert Coltman, Southdene Tower, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1893 July 26	Cooper, Robert Watson, 2 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Corder, Herbert, 10 Kensington Terrace, Sunderland.
1886 Sept. 29	Corder, Percy, 41 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Corder, Walter Shewell, 4 Rosella Place, North Shields.
1887 Jan. 26	Cowen, Joseph, Stella Hall, Blaydon.

Date of Election.	
1898 Feb. 23	Crawhall, Rev. T. E., Newton Hall Rectory, Stocksfield.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, Junior United Service Club, London, S.W.
1898 Nov. 30	Cresswell, Lionel, Woodhall, Calverley, Yorks.
1888 Feb. 29	†Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.
1896 Feb. 26	Cruddas, W. D., M.P., Haughton Castle, Humshaugh.
1897 Dec. 15	Culley, Francis John, 5 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1889 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Tow Law, co. Durham.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Public Library, Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1844 about	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	†Dendy, Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Denison, Joseph, Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Dickinson, John, Park House, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 9	Dickinson, William Bowstead, Healey Hall, Riding Mill.
1883 June 27	Dixon, John Archbold, 5 Wellington Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1898 Aug. 27	Dodds, Edwin, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1897 May 26	Drummond, Dr., Wyvestow House, South Shields.
1892 Nov. 30	Drury, John C., Dene House, Tynemouth.
1884 Mar. 26	Dunn, William Henry, 5 St. Nicholas's Buildings, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 31	Durham Cathedral Library.
1888 June 27	East, John Goethe, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1886 May 26	†Embleton, Dennis, M.D., 19 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	Emley, Fred., Ravenshill, Durham Road, Gateshead.
1886 Aug. 28	Featherstonhaugh, Rev. Walker, Edmundbyers, Blackhill.
1865 Aug. 2	Fenwick, George A., Bank, Newcastle.
1875	Fenwick, John George, Moorlands, Newcastle.
1894 Nov. 28	Ferguson, John, Dene Croft, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Richard Saul, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1894 May 30	Forster, Fred. E., 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1896 Aug. 26	Forster, George Baker, M.A., Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Robert Henry, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Thomas Emmerson, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1895 Jan. 30	Forster, William Charlton, 33 Westmorland Road, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Gayner, Francis, King's College, Cambridge.
1859 Dec. 7	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	†Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.
1879	Gibson, Thomas George, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.

Date of Election.	
1878	Glendinning, William, 4 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.
1886 Oct. 27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1895 Sept. 25	Gough, Rev. Edward John, Vicar and Hon. Canon of Newcastle.
1894 Aug. 29	Gradon, J. G., Lynton House, Durham.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1896 Dec. 23	Graham, Matthew Horner, 61 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Greene, Charles R., North Seaton Hall, Newbiggin-by-the-Sea.
1845 June 3	†Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Greenwell, His Honour Judge, Greenwell Ford, Lanchester, co. Durham.
1877 Dec. 5	†Gregory, John Vessey, 10 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Haggie, Robert Hood, Blythswood, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893 Mar. 8	Hall, Edmund James, Dilston Castle, Corbridge.
1883 Aug. 29	Hall, James, Tynemouth.
1883 Aug. 29	Hall, John, Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1887 Mar. 30	Halliday, Thomas, Myrtle Cottage, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1892 Aug. 31	Harrison, John Adolphus, Saltwellville, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 Mar. 26	Harrison, Miss Winifred A., 9 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1893 Aug. 30	Hastings, Lord, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
1898 July 29	Haswell, F. R. N., Monkseaton, Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1889 Feb. 27	*Haverfield, F. J., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
1894 May 30	Hedley, Edward Armorer, Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1893 Aug. 30	Hedley, Ralph, 19 Bellegrove Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 April 28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Cheviot, Corbridge.
1884 Feb. 27	Henzell, Charles Wright, Tynemouth.
1891 Oct. 28	Heslop, George Christopher, 8 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1883 Feb. 28	†Heslop, Richard Oliver, 12 Princes Buildings, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Hicks, William Searle, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 April 25	Hindmarsh, William Thomas, Alnbank, Alnwick.
1882	Hodges, Charles Clement, Hexham.
1865 Aug. 2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Barmoor, Northumberland.
1895 Jan. 30	Hodgkin, Thomas Edward, Bank, Newcastle.
1890 Jan. 29	†Hodgson, John Crawford, Warkworth.
1884 April 30	Hodgson, John George, Exchange Buildings, Quayside, Newcastle.
1898 Aug. 27	Hodgson, T. Hesketh, Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1887 Jan. 26	Hodgson, William, Rockwood, Shinfield Road, near Reading.
1895 July 31	Hogg, John Robert, North Shields.
1891 Oct. 28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, 8 Sanderson Road, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1877 July 4	†Holmes, Sheriton, Moor View House, Newcastle.
1892 June 29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1895 Dec. 18	Holdsworth, David Arundell, 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1876	Hoyle, William Aubone, Normount, Newcastle.
1896 April 29	Hudson, Robert, Hotspur Street, Tynemouth.
1896 July 29	Hulbert, Rev. E. C., Grange Clergy House, Jarrow.
1888 July 25	Hunter, Edward, North Eastern Bank, Elswick Road, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Hunter, Thomas, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1897 Dec. 15	Hutchinson, Edward, The Elms, Darlington.
1894 Feb. 28	Ingledeu, Alfred Edward, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1886 May 26	†Irving, George, West Fell, Corbridge.
1882	Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883 Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Budby Vicarage, Yarm.
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, Sir James, Bart., M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Henry, 38 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1899 Feb. 22	Lamb, Miss Elizabeth, Newton Cottage, Chathill,
1896 Dec. 23	Lambert, Thomas, Town Hall, Gateshead.
1897 July 28	Laws, Dr. Cuthbert Umfreville, 1 St. George's Terrace, Newcastle.
1896 Sept. 20	Lee, Rev. Percy, Birtley Vicarage, Wark, North Tynedale.
1894 Sept. 26	Leeds Library, The, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1897 Jan. 27	Lightfoot, Miss, 5 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1894 July 25	Long, Rev. H. F., Hon. Canon of Newcastle, The Glebe, Bamburgh. Belford.
1896 Nov. 25	Longstaff, Dr. Geo. Blundell, Highlands, Putney Heath, London, S.W.
1850 Nov. 6	Lynn, J. R. D., Blyth, Northumberland.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, George Eugene, 9 Dean Street, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., East Cottingwood, Morpeth.
1884 Mar. 26	†Mackey, Matthew, Jun., 8 Milton Street, Shieldfield, Newcastle.
1884 Aug. 27	Maling, Christopher Thompson, 14 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 May 27	Manchester Reference Library (C. W. Sutton, Librarian).
1895 Sept. 25	Marley, Thomas William, Netherlaw, Darlington.
1884 Mar. 26	Marshall, Frank, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1882	Martin, N. H., F.L.S., Ravenswood, Low Fell. Gateshead.
1898 Oct. 25	Mather, Philip E., Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swatling, Riding Mill, Northumberland.
1894 July 25	Mearns, William, M.D., Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (c/o Melville, Mullen, and Slade, 12 Ludgate Square, London, E.C.)
1897 Mar. 31	Milburn, Joseph, Highfield, Marlborough, Wilts.
1898 Mar. 30	Milburn, J. D., Guyzance, Acklington.

xxiv THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Date of Election.	
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1896 Jan. 29	Mitchell, Charles William, Jesmond Towers, Newcastle.
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., The Cave, Fulford, York.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 9 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1886 Oct. 28	Neilson, Edward, Brandling Place, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1896 April 29	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library.
1895 Feb. 27	Newton, Robert, Brookfield, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1898 May 25	New York Library (c/o Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.).
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1896 May 27	Nisbet, Robert S., 8 Grove Street, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent.
1892 Nov. 30	†Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1889 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 7 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1897 Oct. 27	Ogle, Bart., R.N., Capt. Sir Henry A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London.
1898 June 28	Ogle, Newton, 21 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London.
1898 June 28	Ogle, Bertram Savile, Mill House, Steeple Aston, Oxon.
1891 Feb. 18	Ord, John Robert, Haughton Hall, Darlington.
1894 Dec. 19	Oswald, Joseph, 33 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1896 Oct. 28	Parker, Miss Ethel, The Elms, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1898 Nov. 30	Patterson, Thomas, 155 Stratford Road, Newcastle.
1898 Jan. 26	Peacock, Reginald, 47 West Sunnyside, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 29	Pearson, Rev. Samuel, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Bank, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1884 Sept. 24	†Phillips, Maberly, F.S.A., Pevensey, Bycullah Park, Enfield, London.
1880	Philipson, George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., Prior's Terrace, Tynemouth.
1898 Feb. 23	Porteus, Thomas, 3 Poplar Crescent, Gateshead.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1896 Mar. 25	Pybus, Rev. George, Grange Rectory, Jarrow.
1882	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
	Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, jun., Alnwick.

Date of Election	
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, 4 Bentinck Road, Newcastle.
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Killingworth, Newcastle.
1894 Feb. 28	Reed, Thomas, King Street, South Shields.
1897 April 28	Reid, C. Leopold, Wardle Terrace, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
1894 May 30	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., Rector of Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, R.S.O
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Richardson, Miss Alice M., Esplanade, Sunderland.
1891 July 29	Richardson, Frank, South Ashfield, Newcastle.
1895 July 31	Richardson, Mrs. Stansfield, Thornholme, Sunderland.
1898 Jan. 26	Richardson, William, Rosehill, Willington Quay.
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Bank House, Rothbury.
1877	Ridley, Bart., M.P., The Right Hon. Sir M. W., Blagdon, Northumberland.
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 136 Brighton Grove, Newcastle.
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, Delaval House, 20 Croft Avenue, Sunderland.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 25	Robson, John Stephenson, Sunnilaw, Claremont Gardens, Newcastle.
1897 Sept. 29	Robson, Lancelot, York House, West Hartlepool.
1877	Rogers, Rev. Percy, M.A., Simonburn Rectory, Humshaugh.
1893 April 26	Runciman, Walter, jun., Ashleigh, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Rutherford, Henry Taylor, Ayre's Terrace, South Preston, North Shields.
1891 Dec. 23	Rutherford, John V. W., Briarwood, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Ryott, William Stace, 7 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1898 April 27	Sanderson, William John, Heathdale, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1893 Nov. 29	†Savage, Rev. H. E., Hon. Canon of Durham and Vicar of St. Hild's, South Shields.
1891 Sept. 30	Scott, John David, 4 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Scott, Owen Stanley, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.
1886 Feb. 24	Scott, Walter, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Scott, Walter, Holly House, Sunderland.
1883 Feb. 28	Sheppee, Lieutenant-Colonel, Birtley House, Birtley, co. Durham.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Marlow William, Blyth.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Bradley Hall, Wylam.
1895 May 29	Simpson, Robert Anthony, East Street, South Shields.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, 13 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Alnwick.
1898 Mar. 30	Smith, George, Brinkburn, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Barrasford.

Date of Election.		
1893	Mar. 29	Smith, William Arthur, 71 King Street, South Shields.
1883	June 27	South Shields Public Library.
1866	Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
1883	Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Newbiggin Houses, Kenton. Newcastle.
1882		Steavenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891	Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, D.D., Vicarage, Heworth.
1883	Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882		Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
1873		†Stevenson, Alexander Shannan, F.S.A. Scot., Oatlands Mere, Weybridge, Surrey.
1887	Mar. 30	Straker, Joseph Henry, Howdon Dene, Corbridge.
1880		Strangeways, William Nicholas, Breffni Villa, Eglinton Road, Donnybrook, Dublin.
1898	Nov. 30	Strangeways, Rev. B. P., 14 Regent Terrace, Newcastle.
1897	Jan. 27	Sunderland Public Library.
1879		Swan, Henry F., North Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866	Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1895	Feb. 27	Taylor, ¹ Rev. E. J., F.S.A., St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
1860	Jan. 6	Taylor, Hugh, 57 Gracechurch Street, London.
1892	April 27	Taylor, Thomas, Chipchase Castle, Wark, North Tynedale.
1884	Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Catholic Church, Whittingham, Alnwick.
1896	Nov. 25	Temperley, Henry, LL.M., Lambton Road, Brandling Park, Newcastle.
1896	Dec. 23	Temperley, Robert, M.A., 18 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1883	Jan. 31	Tennant, James, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1898	April 27	Terry, C. S., King's College, Aberdeen.
1888	Aug. 29	Thompson, Geo. H., Baileygate, Alnwick.
1898	Dec. 21	Thompson, John, Cradock House, Cradock Street, Bishop Auckland.
1892	June 29	Thomson, James, jun., 22 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1891	Jan. 28	Thorne, Thomas, Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1888	Feb. 29	Thorpe, R. Swarley, Devonshire Terrace, Newcastle.
1888	Oct. 31	Todd, J. Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1888	Nov. 28	†Tomlinson, William Weaver, 6 Bristol Terrace, Newcastle.
1894	Mar. 28	Toovey, Alfred F., Ovington Cottage, Prudhoe.
1897	April 28	Toronto Public Library, c/o C. B. Cazenove & Sons, Agents, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
1897	Mar. 31	Townsend, Brian, Snowsgreen House, Shotley Bridge.
1897	Aug. 25	Trotter, Dr. James, Bedlington.
1889	Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1896	July 29	*Ventress, ² John, Wharncliffe Street, Newcastle.
1894	May 30	Vincent, William, 18 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1884	Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.

¹ Elected originally Jan. 31, 1876, resigned 1887.

² Elected originally Aug. 6, 1856.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED. xxvii

Date of Election.	
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Hon. Canon of Newcastle, Whalton Vicarage, Morpeth.
1896 Nov. 25	Walker, John Duguid, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1890 Aug. 27	Wallace, Henry, Trench Hall, near Gateshead.
1896 Oct. 28	Wallis, Arthur Bertram Ridley, B.C.L., 3 Gray's Inn Square, London.
1889 Mar. 27	Watson-Armstrong, W. A., Craggside, Rothbury.
1896 Aug. 26	Watson, Henry, West End, Haltwhistle.
1887 Mar. 30	Watson, Joseph Henry, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1892 Oct. 26	Watson, Mrs. M. E., Burnopfield.
1887 Jan. 26	Watson, Thomas Carrick, 21 Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1895 May 29	Weddell, George, 20 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1879 Mar. 26	†Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1898 Oct. 26	White, R. S., 121 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Wilkinson, Auburn, M.D., 14 Front Street, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Wilkinson, The Rev. Ed., M.A., Whitworth Vicarage, Spennymoor.
1893 Aug. 30	Wilkinson, William C., Dacre Street, Morpeth.
1896 May 27	Williams, Charles, Moot Hall, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, jun., Lovaine House, North Shields.
1897 Sept. 29	Willyams, H. J., Barndale Cottage, Alnwick.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1898 May 25	Windle, Rev. H. C., St. Chad's, Bensham, Gateshead.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1896 Feb. 26	Wood, Herbert Maxwell, Baltic Chambers, John Street, Sunderland.
1898 Nov. 30	Wood, C. W., Wellington Terrace, South Shields.
1898 April 27	Wooler, Edward, Danesmoor, Darlington.
1897 Oct. 27	Worsdell, Wilson, Gateshead.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Young, Hugh W., F.S.A. Scot., Tortolla, Nairn, N.B.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

- Antiquaries of London, The Society of (*Assistant Secretary*, W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.), Burlington House, London.
- Antiquaries of Scotland, The Society of (c/o Dr. J. Anderson), Museum, Edinburgh.
- Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.
- Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, The (c/o Robert Cochrane), 7 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
- Royal Society of Ireland, Dublin.
- Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, The
- Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden.
- Royal Society of Norway, The, Christiania, Norway.
- Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, c/o F. C. Eeles, Munross, Stonehaven, N.B.
- Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, The (c/o Geo. Bolam), Museum, Berwick.

xxviii THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

- Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, The (*Secretary*, The Rev. W. Bazeley, Matson Rectory, Gloucester).
- British Archaeological Association, The (*Secretaries*, W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., British Museum, and G. Patrick, 16 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.)
- Cambrian Antiquarian Society, The (c/o J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., 28 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.)
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society, The (*Secretary*, T. D. Atkinson, St. Mary's Passage, Cambridge).
- Canadian Institute of Toronto, The
- Clifton Antiquarian Club, The (c/o Alfred E. Hudd), 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
- Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, The, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- Derbyshire Archaeological Society, The (Arthur Cox, *Hon. Sec.*, Mill Hill, Derby).
- Heidelberg Historical and Philosophical Society, Heidelberg, Germany.
- Huguenot Society, The (c/o Reg. S. Faber, *Secretary*, 90 Regent's Park Road, London, N.W.)
- Kent Archaeological Society, Maidstone, Kent.
- Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, The (R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Old Swan, Liverpool).
- Literary and Scientific Society, Christiania, Norway.
- London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, The, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
- Nassau Association for the Study of Archaeology and History, The (Verein für nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichte forschung), Wiesbaden, Germany.
- Numismatic Society of London, The (*Secretaries*, H. A. Grueber and B. V. Head), 22 Albemarle Street, London, W.
- Peabody Museum, The Trustees of the, Harvard University, U.S.A.
- Powys-land Club, The (*Secretary*, T. Simpson Jones, M.A., Gungrog, Welshpool).
- Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The (*Secretary*, Francis Goyne), Shrewsbury.
- Smithsonian Institution, The, Washington, U.S.A.
- Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, La, rue Ravenstein 11, Bruxelles.
- Société d'Archéologie de Namur, La, Belgium.
- Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, France.
- Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The (c/o *Curator*, W. Bidgood), Castle, Taunton, Somersetshire.
- Surrey Archaeological Society, The (c/o *Hon. Sec.*, Mill Stephenson) Castle Arch, Guildford.
- Sussex Archaeological Society, The (*Hon. Librarian and Curator*), The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- Thuringian Historical and Archaeological Society, Jena, Germany.
- Trier Archaeological Society, The, Trier, Germany.
- Trier Stadtbibliothek (c/o Dr. Keuffer), Trier, Germany.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, The, 10 Park Street, Leeds.

The *Proceedings* of the Society are also sent to the following :—

- Dr. Berlanga, Malaga, Spain.
- The Copyright Office, British Museum, London, W.C.
- The Rev. Dr. Cox, Holdenby Rectory, Northampton.
- W. J. Cripps, C.B., Sandgate, Kent, and Cirencester.
- Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle.
- Robert Mowat, Rue des Feuillantines 10, Paris.
- The Bishop of Durham, Bishop Auckland.
- The Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Witton-le-Wear, R.S.O., co. Durham.
- T. M. Fallow, Coatham, Redcar.
- Rev. Geo. Gunn (Sec. Berw. Nat. Club), Stichill Manse, Kelso, N.B.

STATUTES OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, AS AMENDED AT
THE ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY
ON THE 28TH JANUARY, 1891, AND ON THE
31ST JANUARY, 1894.

I.—This Society, under the style and title of ‘THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,’ shall consist of ordinary members and honorary members. The Society was established on the 6th day of February, 1813, when the purport of the institution was declared to be ‘inquiry into antiquities in general, but especially into those of the North of England and of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham in particular.’

Constitution
of the Society.

II.—Candidates for election as ordinary members shall be proposed in writing by three ordinary members at a general meeting, and be elected or rejected by the majority of votes of ordinary members at that meeting, unless a ballot shall be demanded by any member, which in that case shall take place at the next meeting, and at such ballot three-fourths of the votes shall be necessary in order to the candidate’s election. The election of honorary members shall be conducted in like manner.

Election of
Members

III.—The ordinary members shall continue to be members so long as they shall conform to these statutes, and all future statutes, rules, and ordinances, and shall pay an annual subscription of one guinea. The subscription shall be due on election, and afterwards annually in the month of January in every year. Any member who shall pay to the Society twelve guineas in addition to his current year’s subscription shall be

Obligations
of Members.

discharged from all future payments. A member elected at or after the meeting in October shall be exempt from a further payment for the then next year, but shall not be entitled to the publications for the current year. If the subscription of any ordinary member shall have remained unpaid a whole year the Council may remove the name of such person from the list of members, and he shall thereupon cease to be a member, but shall remain liable to pay the subscription in arrear, and he shall not be eligible for re-election until the same shall have been paid.

**Officers of
the Society.**

IV.—The officers of the Society shall consist of a patron, a president, vice-presidents (not to exceed twelve in number), two secretaries, treasurer, twelve other members (who with the president, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurer, and librarian shall constitute the Council), an editor, a librarian, two curators, and two auditors. These several officers shall be elected annually, except the patron, who shall be elected for life.

**Election of
Officers.**

V.—The election of officers shall be out of the class of ordinary members. Any ordinary member may nominate any ordinary member or members (subject to statute VI) (not exceeding the required number) to fill the respective offices. Every nomination must be signed by the person nominating, and sent to the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, addressed to the secretaries, who shall cause it to be immediately inserted on a sheet-list of nominations, which shall be exhibited in the library of the Castle, and notice shall forthwith be given to the person so nominated. Any person nominated may, by notice in writing, signify to the secretaries his refusal to serve, or if nominated to more than one office, may in like manner, signify for which office or offices he declines to stand, and every nomination so disclaimed shall be void. The list of nominations shall be finally adjusted and closed ten days before the Annual Meeting, or before a Special Meeting to be held within one month thereafter. If the number of persons nominated for any office be the same as the number to be elected the person or persons nominated shall be deemed elected, and shall be so

declared by the chairman at such Annual or Special Meeting. If the number of persons nominated for any office exceed the number to be elected then the officer or officers to be elected shall be elected from the persons nominated and from them only; and for that purpose a printed copy of the list of nominations and one voting paper only shall be furnished to each ordinary member with the notice convening the Annual or Special Meeting. If the number of persons nominated for any office be less than the number to be elected, or if there be no nomination, then the election to that office shall be from the ordinary members generally. Whether the election be from a list of nominations, or from the ordinary members generally, each voter must deliver his voting paper in person, signed by him, at the Annual or Special Meeting. The chairman shall appoint scrutineers, and the scrutiny shall commence on the conclusion of the other business of the Annual or Special Meeting, or at such earlier time as the chairman may direct, if the other business shall not have terminated within one hour after the commencement of the Annual or Special Meeting. No voting paper shall be received after the commencement of the scrutiny.

VI.—Those of the ‘twelve other members’ (see statute IV) of the Council who have not attended one-third of the meetings of the Council during the preceding year, shall not be eligible for election for the then next year.

Members not eligible for Council.

VII.—A general meeting of the members of the Society shall be held on the last Wednesday of every month, in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The meeting in January shall be the Annual Meeting, and shall be held at one o'clock in the afternoon, and the meeting in every other month shall be held at seven o'clock in the evening. But the Society or the Council may from time to time appoint any other place or day or hour for any of the meetings of the Society. The presence of seven ordinary members shall be necessary in order to constitute the Annual Meeting, and the presence of five ordinary members shall be necessary in order to constitute any other meeting. A

Meetings of the Society.

Special General Meeting may be convened by the Council if, and when, they may deem it expedient.

Property of
the Society.

VIII.—The ordinary members only shall be interested in the property of the Society. The interest of each member therein shall continue so long only as he shall remain a member, and the property shall never be sold or otherwise disposed of (except in the case of duplicates hereinafter mentioned) so long as there remain seven members ; but should the number of members be reduced below seven and so remain for twelve calendar months then next following, the Society shall be *ipso facto* dissolved, and after satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities the property of the Society shall be delivered unto and become the property of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, if that Society be then in existence and willing to receive the same ; and should that Society not be in existence or not willing to receive the same, then the same shall be delivered to and become the property of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. No dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money shall be made unto or between any of the members.

Reading of
Papers.

IX.—All papers shall be read in the order in which they are received by the Society. A paper may be read by the author, or by any other member of the Society whom he may desire to read it, or by either of the secretaries ; but any paper which is to be read by the secretaries shall be sent to them a week previous to its being laid before the Society.

Publications
of Society.

X.—The Council shall be entrusted with the duty and charge of selecting and illustrating papers for the publications of the Society (other than the *Proceedings*) ; and that no paper be printed at the Society's expense before it be read in whole or in part at a meeting ; and that no paper which has been printed elsewhere be read at any meeting unless it be first submitted to the Council at a meeting of the Council, or printed in the Society's transactions except at the request of the Council. Two illustrated parts of the *Archaeologia* shall

be issued to members in the months of January and June in each year, such parts to be in addition to the monthly issue of the *Proceedings*, and the annual report, list of members, etc.

XI.—That the Society, at any ordinary meeting, shall have power to remove any member from the list of members. The voting to be by ballot, and to be determined by at least four-fifths of the members present and voting, provided, nevertheless, that no such removal shall take place unless notice thereof shall have been given at the next preceding ordinary meeting.

Removal of
Members.

XII.—All donations to the Society shall be made through the Council, and a book shall be kept in which shall be regularly recorded their nature, the place and time of their discovery, and the donors' names. All duplicates of coins, books, and other objects, shall be at the disposal of the Council for the benefit of the Society.

Donations to
the Society.

Duplicates.

XIII.—Every ordinary member, not being in arrear of his annual subscriptions, shall be entitled to such publications of the Society as may be printed for the year of his first subscription and thereafter if in print; and he may purchase any of the previous publications of which copies remain, at such prices as shall be from time to time fixed by the Council.

Members
entitled to
publications.

XIV.—Each member shall be entitled to the use of the Society's library, subject to the condition (which applies to all privileges of membership) that his subscription for the current year be paid. Not more than three volumes at a time shall be taken out by any member. Books may be retained for a month, and if this time be exceeded, a fine of one shilling per week shall be payable for each volume retained beyond the time. All books must, for the purpose of examination, be returned to the library on the Wednesday preceding the Annual Meeting under a fine of 2s. 6d.; and they shall remain in the library until after that meeting. Manuscripts, and works of special value, shall not circulate without the leave of the Council. The Council may mitigate or remit fines in particular cases.

The use of
the library.

Repeal or
alteration of
Statutes.

XV.—These statutes, and any statutes which hereafter may be made or passed, may be repealed or altered, and new, or altered statutes, may be made or passed at any Annual Meeting, provided notice of such repeal or alteration, and of the proposed new or altered statutes, be given in writing at the next preceding monthly meeting.

RAVENSWORTH, *President.*

RICH. WELFORD,	}	<i>Three Members of the Council.</i>
J. P. GIBSON,		
WM. W. TOMLINSON,		

THOS. HODGKIN,	}	<i>Secretaries.</i>
ROBT. BLAIR,		

Newcastle, 27th April, 1898.

Register No. 705, Nfld., Sc. and Lit.

It is hereby certified that this Society is entitled to the benefit of the Act 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 36, intituled: "An Act to exempt from County, Borough, Parochial, and other Local Rates, Lands and Buildings occupied by Scientific or Literary Societies."

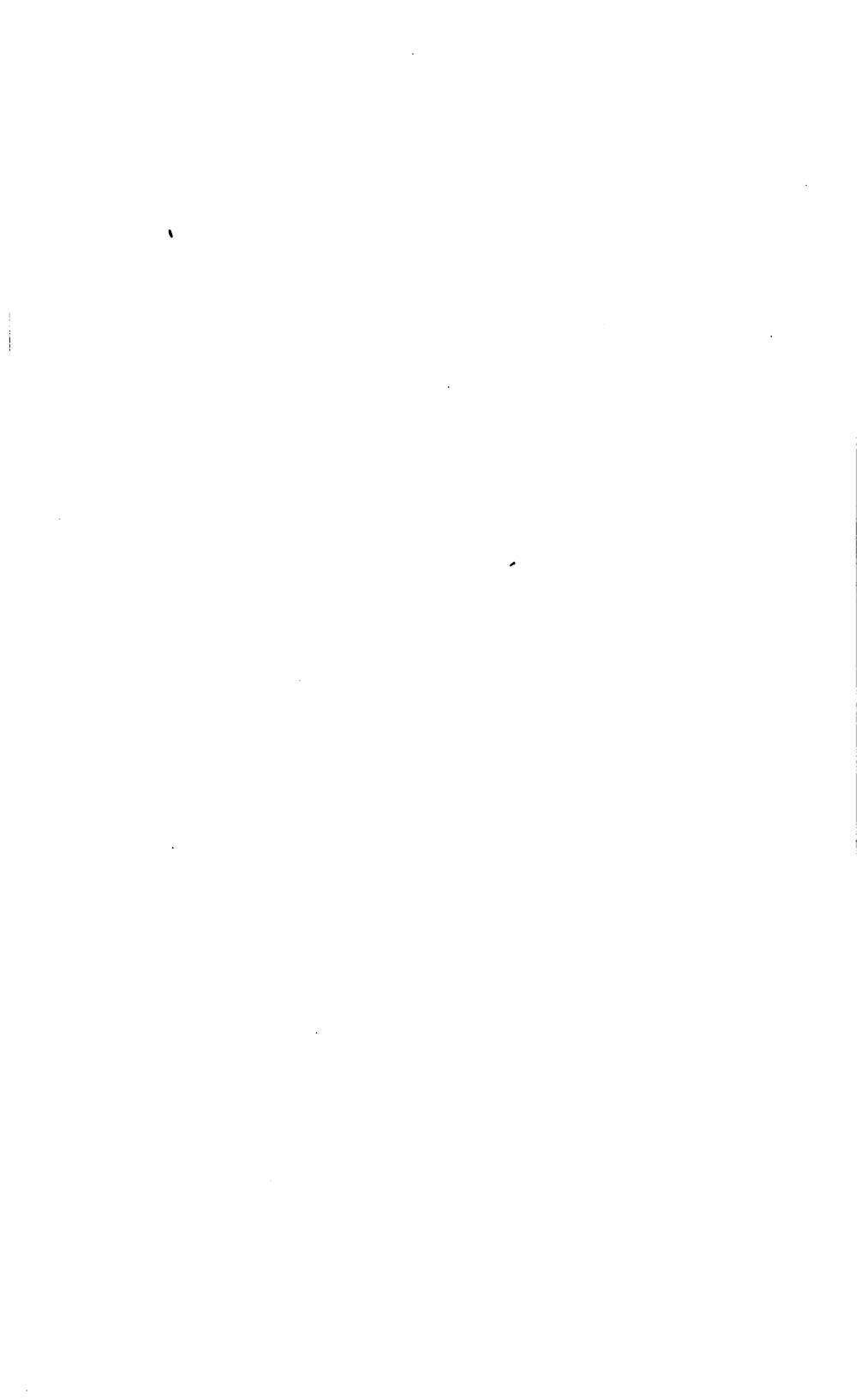
This 6th day of May, 1898.

E. W. B.



Copy sent to the Clerk of the Peace,

E. W. B.



No. 366.
No. 171.

No. 209.

No. 208.
No. 173.

No. 242.



RUDDOCK,

PHOTO.

No. 158.
No. 245.

No. 249.
No. 241.

No. 159.
No. 211.

No. 200.
No. 214.

No. 150.
No. 213.

No. 223.
No. 240.

No. 180.
No. 242.

Published by the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—EXHIBITION OF SILVER PLATE OF NEWCASTLE MANUFACTURE, IN THE BLACKGATE MUSEUM, NEWCASTLE, ON THE 19TH, 20TH, 21ST DAYS OF MAY, 1897.

INTRODUCTION.

The present exhibition is the first attempt to gather together the work of one local assay office. It originated in a conversation among three or four members of the society, when it was suggested that such an exhibition would be of the greatest possible value, as illustrating the work of the silversmiths of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the neighbourhood from the earliest known date down to the end of the eighteenth century, which period was fixed as a limit beyond which it was not thought advisable to go. The suggestion was at once cordially approved by the society, a committee was appointed, and the present exhibition is the result of its labours.

Before turning to the exhibition itself, it may be desirable to give a very brief sketch of the history of the Goldsmiths' Company of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

As early as 1423, in an act of Henry VI., Newcastle is named as one of those towns in which 'there shall be divers touches according to the ordinance of Mayors, Bailiffs, or Governors of the said Towns.'

In 1536 the goldsmiths were incorporated with the plumbers, glaziers, pewterers, and painters. It seems probable, however, that little or no plate was assayed in these early days, as no piece of church plate bearing the Newcastle hall mark has been found which bears an inscribed date earlier than 1664. From that date to the end of the century a good deal of church plate was made, but as no date letter was in use at the assay office, the dates of the various pieces can only be ascertained from inscriptions, or approximately from the makers' marks. Secular plate of this period is rare, but a few pieces are still to be found. The act of William III. in 1696, which raised the standard of silver plate, by not mentioning any of the provincial offices, deprived them of their right of assay. This was found to be a great hardship, and in 1700 an act was passed restoring to York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich, the right to exercise their

ancient privileges : for some reason Newcastle was not included, but in the following year an act was passed conferring upon it the same power which had been given to the other towns.

It follows therefore that from 1697 to 1701, inclusive, no plate could legally be assayed in Newcastle, but it is certain that some of the silversmiths worked regardless of the law as pieces of plate that must have been made during that period are still in existence. From 1702 a date letter was used and most of the plate of the eighteenth century can therefore be accurately dated. The earliest alphabet from 1702 to 1720 was somewhat irregular, and it is probable that some of the letters were used for more than one year, but from 1721 the letters ran regularly, with the exception of the period 1761-1768 inclusive, when for some unknown reason either the *B* of 1760 was retained, or no letter was used, the latter theory being the more probable. The Newcastle office was in full work during the whole of the eighteenth century and assayed at one time about 12,500 ounces per annum. Its work grew gradually less during the present century, and it was finally closed in the year 1884.

Turning to the exhibition, and dealing first with church plate of the seventeenth century, it will be found that upwards of thirty pieces are exhibited. Many more are known to be in existence in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland ; these will all be found noted either in the *Proceedings* of the society, or in *Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*.

The earliest piece, bearing the inscribed date of 1664, is a communion cup from Ryton, co. Durham, made by John Wilkinson. From Trimdon, in the same county, there is a wine glass shaped cup, which appears to be quite as old as that at Ryton, or possibly a little older, but as it was also made by John Wilkinson, who was admitted to his freedom in 1658, it cannot be of earlier date than that year. The best known worker of that period was William Ramsey, who was admitted to his freedom in 1656 and died in 1698. The earliest piece of his make having an inscribed date is a flagon from Sawley near Ripon, which bears date 1670. Good examples of his work come from Rose castle and other places. Other makers represented are John Dowthwayte, who made the flagons at St. Mary's, Gateshead, about 1672, and Eli Bilton whose mark is found on the Chollerton

cup dated 1687. Two very fine flagons from All Saints, Newcastle, bear the mark of Thomas Hewitson; one of these at least must have been made during the period in which no plate could legally be assayed, as they are dated 1697 and 1698.

Of 'Britannia standard,' good specimens come from Durham St. Mary-the-less, Stanhope, Castle Eden, Sherburn hospital, and other places. From 1721, when the old standard of plate was restored, down to the end of the century, a large quantity of church plate was assayed at Newcastle, and numerous specimens are exhibited, the principal makers being Isaac Cookson and John Langlands.

Turning to secular plate, it must first be mentioned that few examples of the work of the seventeenth century remain, a most diligent search having resulted in the unearthing of some twenty pieces only. The oldest of these is probably the wine cup exhibited by Mr. T. Taylor, made by John Wilkinson about the same time as the Ryton cup which has been previously noted. Mr. W. Orde shows a tankard by the same maker of about the same date, or possibly a little later. The drapers' company of Durham sends an interesting cup made by John Dowthwayte about 1671, and also a tankard by Eli Bilton, *c.* 1696.

The cordwainers' company of Newcastle exhibits a fine tankard by William Ramsey, *c.* 1686, and another of somewhat later date is sent by Mr. N. Cookson. Interesting specimens are contributed by the tailors', tanners', and skimmers' guilds of Carlisle. Towards the end of the century many small porringers seem to have been made, and good specimens with the ordinary fluted ornamentation of that period are sent by Mr. Thomas Gow, Miss Reed, and Major Widdrington.

Of Britannia standard there are fifteen examples, the most noteworthy of which is the magnificent Monteith bowl belonging to the corporation of Morpeth, made by Richard Hobbs in 1712. The cordwainers of Newcastle show a pair of tankards of the same year by Jonathan French, and the tailors' guild of Carlisle a very good small tumbler by John Younghusband, 1707; a sugar castor of 1719 by James Kirkup is lent by Mr. J. Carr-Ellison. Mention must also be made of a very fine bowl sent by Mr. T. T. Dale which was made in 1719 by Robert Makepeace, a cover having been added in 1802 by

John Langlands, junr. From 1721 a large number of pieces will be found contributed by the exhibitors already mentioned, and many others.

Mr. L. W. Adamson shows a very good two-handled cup and cover by Thomas Partis, date 1721. This is the earliest example of a well-known form of cup which was largely made in Newcastle ; other good specimens are lent by Mr. Askew-Robertson and Mr. Turner Farley, these were made by John Langlands in 1757.

A very interesting exhibit is the punch ladle, date 1728, lent by Mr. C. J. Spence ; it was formerly the property of the corporation of Newcastle and was purchased at the mansion house sale in 1837. Three sauce boats from the same sale are shown by Mrs. Potter and Mrs. De Mey. It is deeply to be deplored that the art treasures of the corporation were thus scattered, as the few pieces reserved and still in their possession are very fine, but not a single specimen of Newcastle plate is to be found among them.


A pair of candlesticks lent by Miss Allgood, which are two of a set of four in her possession, are the only ones that have been discovered after an exhaustive search : they bear no date letter but are stamped with the mark of John Langlands. It is probable that they were manufactured in Sheffield, and assayed in Newcastle on behalf of the member of the guild, whose mark they bear. A peculiar feature is the absence of cream jugs of the ordinary shape, and it is probable that the small sauce boats, of which there are several examples, were also used for cream. A very large number of tea and coffee pots appear to have been made in Newcastle, the designs are generally graceful and the work in many cases excellent. Taking it altogether, the work of the Newcastle silversmiths is of a very good description, and although few really fine pieces of plate are found the general standard is high.



With respect to date letters, it is quite clear that they were not used in the Newcastle office prior to its re-establishment in 1702, as a large quantity of church plate belonging to the latter half of the seventeenth century has been brought to light, and in no single instance has a date letter been found ; on secular plate of the same period also no date letter appears.


The act of 1702 which re-established the Newcastle office provided that, amongst other marks, a date letter should be used, and there is



no doubt that this regulation was carried out at once, but the first mention of a letter in the minute book of the company of goldsmiths is in 1712, when there is an entry that the letter for the year is M in old English character. It may here be mentioned that little information as to the character of the different alphabets can be obtained from the books of the company as the letters are not always given as they are found on plate.

After 1712 the book is silent till 1717 when P is given as the letter for the year, followed by Q in 1718, D in 1719, and E in 1720; there are examples of the Q and D stamped on plate, and they are both of old English character, as are all the letters of the first cycle.



It may be safely assumed that the first alphabet commenced with A in 1702. At St. Mary the less, Durham, a cup and paten with inscribed date 1702 bear this letter, which is somewhat of old English character, with a peculiar curl at the top and a star at one side, in a square shield . A tankard of Britannia standard in the possession of Mr. Taylor also bears this letter, and there are other examples known.

At Stanhope church, Durham county, there are two cups with inscribed date 1704, which bear as date letter  which may be assigned to 1703. At Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, Cumberland, there is a paten, made by Eli Bilton, who died in 1712, with inscribed date 1707, and date letter , which it may be assumed was that for 1705.

There are several instances of pieces of plate bearing  which must be assigned to some year between 1705 and 1712, probably to 1707, but it is possible that it was in use for more than one year, as no other letter has yet been found which can be attributed to any other year until 1712.

A good many pieces bearing the letter for 1712  are in existence, and it is probable that this letter also was used for more than one year. Two or three specimens of Britannia standard have been found bearing  which may be ascribed to 1714 or 1716. The letters for 1717, 1718, 1719, and 1720 have been mentioned before. There

appears to have been a good deal of irregularity in this cycle, and not much more information about it can be looked for.

In 1721 a fresh alphabet was commenced, which ran regularly from A to T, omitting J, and terminated in 1739. The letters are all given in the minute book, and are old English capitals with the exception of T, which is a plain Roman capital. All the letters are in circular shields, except those for 1738 and 1739, which are in plain angular shields. It is quite possible that some of these letters were used during two or more years in spite of the entry of a fresh letter each year in the minute book. As an example, a large quantity of plate is found bearing  for 1732, and not a single piece with  for 1733, and there are also other instances.

The third cycle began in 1740 and terminated in 1758 ; the letters run regularly as before, omitting J, and are Roman capitals enclosed in plain angular shields. They are all given in the minute book, except those for 1748 and 1758. Two pieces of plate bearing the letter I (in plain angular shield) for 1748 are known, one by Isaac Cookson and the other by James Kirkup, so the omission of that letter from the book is clearly accidental.

With regard to 1758, however, the case is different, as there is a large quantity of plate bearing S for 1757, and not one piece has yet been found with the T for 1758. It is probable, therefore, that this S was used during both these years. This letter is *slightly* of old English character ; it is the only one in this cycle with that peculiarity.

The fourth alphabet began in 1759, and the first two letters are given in the minute book for 1759 and 1760, but after this there is no mention of a date letter till 1769 when C is given. No explanation of this break can be found in the books of the company, but it is probable that no letter was used during these eight years, as if the B had been in use for so long a period more pieces of plate bearing that letter would be found than have come to light. There is also a large quantity of plate of about that period bearing no date letter.

From 1769 the letters run regularly on, and as U, W, X, Y, and Z are used in this alphabet it does not terminate till 1790. The letters for 1781, 1782, 1783, and 1784 are not mentioned in the

minute book, but there are examples of these letters on plate, so the omission is accidental. Script letters were used until \mathcal{S} for 1772, and Roman capitals afterwards. A plain angular shield is found till 1772, then one slightly shaped at the bottom till 1780, and from that date a square shield for the rest of the cycle.

The fifth alphabet ran from 1791 to 1814. The letters are Roman capitals in square shields with the corners cut off. They run from A to Z, omitting J and V, and are all given in the minute book.

The thanks of the committee are due to all those who so kindly lent their plate to the exhibition, and especially to the clergy and churchwardens who readily placed the plate, under their care, at the disposal of the society.

The thanks of the committee are specially due also to Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., the author of *Old English Plate*, for the loan of the Newcastle town and makers' marks from that valuable work.

Without the hearty co-operation of all, it would have been impossible to have got together so large and interesting a collection of local work.

A list of the makers represented is appended, with the periods during which they worked.

MAKERS REPRESENTED IN THE EXHIBITION.

1. William Ramsey ... 1656 to 1698	22. William Partis ... 1735 to 1759
2. John Wilkinson ... 1658 „, c. 1670	23. William Beilby ... 1739 „, 1761
3. John Dowthwayte 1666 „, 1673	24. Samuel Thompson 1750 „, 1785
4. Eli Bilton ... 1683 „, 1712	25. John Kirkup ... 1753 „, 1774
5. Abraham Hamer ... c. 1690 „, 1697	26. Langlands & Goodrick 1754 „, 1756
6. Robert Shrive ... 1694 „, c. 1702	27. John Langlands ... 1757 „, 1778
7. Thomas Hewitson 1697 „, 1717	28. James Crawford ... 1763 „, 1795
8. John Ramsey ... 1698 „, c. 1706	29. John Jobson ... 1771 „, 1776
9. Richard Hobbs ... 1702 „, 1718	30. James Hetherington 1772 „, 1782
10. Jonathan French... 1703 „, 1732	31. Hetherington and
11. John Younghusband 1706 „, 1718	Edwards ... 1774 „, 1777
12. Francis Batty, junr. 1708 „, 1728	32. Stalker & Mitchison 1774 „, 1784
13. James Kirkup ... 1713 „, 1753	33. Langlands and
14. John Carnaby ... 1718 „, 1733	Robertson .. 1778 „, 1795
15. Robert Makepeace 1718 „, 1755	34. Pinkney and Scott 1779 „, 1790
16. John Ramsey junr. c. 1720 „, c. 1728	35. John Mitchison ... 1784 „, 1792
17. Thomas Partis ... 1720 „, c. 1734	36. Anthony Hedley ... 1789 „, 1800*
18. William Dalton ... 1724 „, 1767	37. Christian Reid ... 1791 „, e. 1800*
19. George Bulman ... 1725 „, 1743	38. Thomas Watson ... 1793 „, 1845
20. Isaac Cookson ... 1728 „, 1754	39. John Langlands, junr. 1795 „, 1804
21. Thomas Makepeace 1729 „, 1738	40. John Robertson ... 1796 „, 1801

* And onwards.

The following are the town marks of Newcastle at the periods stated below them respectively :—



c. 1658 to c. 1670.



c. 1670 to c. 1684.



c. 1684 to c. 1696.



These two marks are found, c. 1696–1702.



1702 to 1728.



1728 to c. 1757.





c. 1757 to 1800.

CLASS I.—CHURCH PLATE.

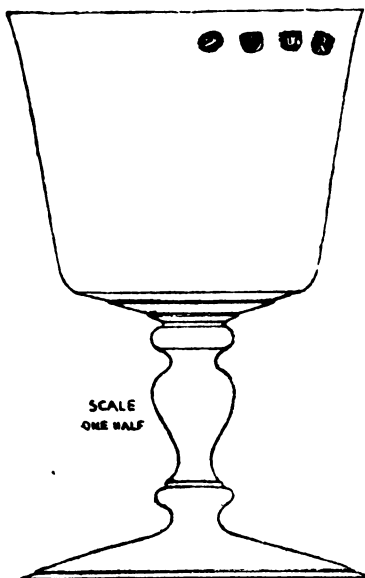
1. CUP c. 1658.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Trimdon, co. Durham.

Bowl with sloping sides, baluster stem and plain foot (see illustration).

Marks :   for John Wilkinson, and a single castle. There are four marks, but the fourth is illegible.

Dimensions : $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches at foot, bowl 3 inches deep.



2 AND 3. CUP, AND COVER used as a paten, c. 1664.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Ryton.

The CUP has straight-sided bowl with slight lip and thick stem round which is a moulded band. The foot spreads from the band (see illustration on next page).

Marks: Lion passant to right twice, a single castle, and John Wilkinson's mark as before.

Dimensions: $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at foot, bowl $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

The COVER has the same hall marks as the cup. It is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter on a stem with foot $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. It stands $\frac{1}{8}$ inch high.

Inscription: 1664 (under foot).

From the Churchwardens' Minute Book.

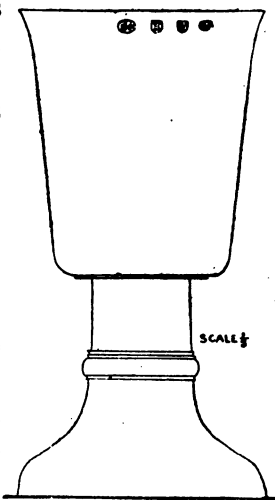
June 28th, 1756. An Account of the Communion Plate. Being all Silver, belonging to the Parish Church.

Imprimis: One Cup and Cover bought as appears by its being so Figured on the Cover 1664. So said also in Laverickes Churchwardens Accounts for that year which now weighs 13 ozs. 8 dwts.

Item: Two Large Chalice or Flaggons with Covers given by Dr. Finney the year he died, & ornamented with Dr. Finney's Coat of Arms & Crest, and underneath them this Inscription, viz.: Ex dono J. F. D. D. Rect^r de Riton. And underneath that 1727. 62 ozs. 10 dwts.

Item: One Salver or Paten with a Foot to it bought new Anno 17—. Before this there was a thin silver Plate on which the Bread was carried, which was cracked in Sundry Places & rendred unfit for use, which John Simpson Esq^r. at his own costs gott exchanged for This which is marked eccl. de Ryton in com: Dunelm.



The entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1664 referred to above is: p^d for a siluer bowle as appears by a note £3 9s. 8d.



4 AND 5. CUP AND PATEN c. 1670.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Aspatria, Cumberland.

The CUP has cable mouldings round edge of bottom of bowl, it has a flat open foot, and very short stem with a knop in centre. The bowl is a truncated cone with a slight lip.

Marks: Maker's initials  for William Ramsey;  twice; and three castles in a plain shield.

Weight: 6 oz. 9 dwts.

Dimensions: 5 inches high, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter at mouth and foot, bowl $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches deep.

The PATEN is without a foot, is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with rim $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and weighs 3 oz. 12 dwts. The marks are the same as on the cup.


The bowl has two bottoms, the outer one being a portion of a still more ancient vessel; it has two cable mouldings round, one forms the edging to the base of the bowl and the other encircles the stem, the latter can only be seen when the cup is upturned.

The terrier of 1749 signed by John Brisco, vicar, has 'one silver chalice, one paten, weighing together near 12 ozs.'

6. CUP c. 1670.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

A large cup with usual band in centre of stem, plain foot.

Marks : Three castles twice, and maker's mark , for William Ramsey.

Dimensions : $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, bowl 5 inches deep, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at mouth, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches at foot.


Inscription : F^M S; and on a garter surrounding town arms
SIGILLVM ∴ MAIORIS ∴ VILLE ∴ — BARVICI ∴

Arms : A bear to left; in front a tree, surrounded by inscribed garter as above. At each side of the arms are branches of conventional foliage rather like ostrich plumes.

7 FLAGON 1670.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Sawley, Yorkshire.

A fine flagon, straight-sided, with wide spreading, moulded base, and lid with thumb piece (see illustration opposite).

Marks :  for William Ramsey; a five petalled rose in a square stamp twice (as in nos. 4 and 5); and three castles.

Weight : 68 oz. 4 dwts.

Dimensions : Height, $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter at top, 6 inches; at foot, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscriptions : On one side, 'THO. DAVISON, ESQ^R. MAIOR | 1670' above Newcastle arms, and on other side (in italic capitals), 'The gift of | Edward Norton Esq | M^r Philip Launder | M^r William Kay | & y^e Rev Thos Kay | to y^e chapel of Sawley | 1756.'


Arms: On one side, arms of Newcastle in mantling, with two sea-horses as supporters; and crest, a demi lion rampant (?), holding a St. George's banner over shoulder; motto on riband below, **FORTITER DEFENDIT TRIUMPHANS.**



The rector suggests that the flagon was probably given to one of the Newcastle churches or guilds, and that in troublous times, perhaps during the rising of 1745, it disappeared. How it came into the hands of the gentlemen who gave it to Sawley is a mystery. One of the donors, Mr. Norton, was owner of Sawley hall. It is described in a terrier of 1777 as 'a large Silver Flaggin.'

8 AND 9. TWO FLAGONS c. 1672.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Gateshead.

Marks : A lion passant to right twice ; , for John Douthwaite, and single castle. The marks are repeated on the lids.

Inscription : On the side of one (in script), 'The Guift of William Collinson | late of Gateshead deceased | To the Church of S^t Maries in | Gateshead | 1672. and on the other 'The Gift of Elizabeth Collinson in Me- | morie of her daughter Jane Wrangham | deceased, To the Church of S^t Maries | in Gateside : 1672.'

Arms : Of the donors, on a fesse, between a squirrel in chief and three axes in base, a crescent between two mullets ; crest a squirrel.

10 AND 11. CUP AND PATEN c. 1672.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Boldon.

The CUP is straight-sided with slight lip, scroll band of leaves and tulip-like flowers $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches below lip.

Marks : Lion passant to right twice ; ID, with mullet below (as in nos. 8 and 9) for John Douthwaite ; and single castle.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and of foot, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'William Hodge & William Todd, Church Wardens Anno: 1672.'

PATEN :—



Marks : WR, for William Ramsey, twice ; and three castles twice.

Dimensions : Diameter, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; height, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; diameter of foot, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; rim, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide.

Inscription : On back of rim (in script), 'M^r Charles Bafire Rector of Bouldon W^m Hodg & George Brigs Church wardens, 1681.'

12. PATEN c. 1675.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. John's, Newcastle.

Marks :  twice, for William Ramsey ; and  also twice.

Weight : 11 oz. 2 dwts.

Dimensions : $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Inscription : 'St. John's Church Plate.'

13 AND 14. CUP AND PATEN c. 1681.*The Vicar and Churchwardens of Corbridge.*

A plain bell-shaped CUP on thick stem, gradually curving in from bottom of bowl to a plain band, and then curving out to foot. It has no hall marks.


Dimensions : $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter at mouth, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches at base, bowl $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

The PATEN is $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. It has four hall marks, WR, for William Ramsey, twice, and three castles, also twice.

15, 16, 17. CUP, FLAGON, AND PATEN c. 1684.*The Bishop of Carlisle.*

The Rose Castle plate.

The CUP :—

Marks : Four ;  twice, for William Ramsey, a five-petalled rose in a square stamp as in nos. 4 and 5, and three castles in a plain shield. 'The castles are small, resembling rectangular oblongs set on end.'—*Carlisle. Plate*, p. 51.

Weight : $12\frac{5}{8}$ oz.

Dimensions : 9 inches high, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter of bowl and foot.

Inscription (under foot) : 1684.

Arms : Of the see of Carlisle—a mitre charged with a cross, impaling those of bishop Smith—on a chevron, between three trefoils slipped, a crescent.

The PATEN is raised upon a foot ; it is also dated 1684.

Marks : Same as on cup, but maker's mark occurs only once.

Weight : $6\frac{3}{8}$ oz.

Dimensions : $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter.

The FLAGON is without spout. It bears the same four hall marks as the cup, and has the same shield of arms engraved on the front. Underneath is the date 1684. The weight is $37\frac{3}{8}$ ozs.

Smith became bishop in 1684. By his will he bequeathed 'to my successors, Bishops of Carlisle, the Communion Plate (viz. the Flaggon, Chalice, and Patten), which I bought for the use of the Chappell here at Rose Castle.' The history of the plate is worth relating. When bishop Waldegrave became bishop in 1857, he found no communion vessels ; subsequently, however, enquiry was made, when the foregoing vessels were found and restored, they having, on the death of bishop Percy, been packed up in mistake by the bishop's son, who recognised them from the arms.—*Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 52.

18. CUP *c.* 1685.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Brampton, Cumberland.

Marks: Three castles, in a shield of irregular outline, twice; and WR tied for Wm. Ramsey.

Weight: 10 oz. 9 dwts. 15 grs.

Dimensions: 8½ inches high.

The churchwardens in 1703 reported 'we have a good chalice.'

19. CUP *c.* 1685.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland.

Marks: On the knop, an unusual position, three castles twice; maker's mark for William Ramsey as in no. 12. There are four marks, but the fourth is obliterated.

Dimensions: 8½ inches high; the stem being 4 inches long; bowl and foot 4 inches in diameter.

The terrier of 1749 specifies: '. . . Two silver ChaliceS weighing together twenty two ounces and one quarter without covers.' *Carlisle Old Church Plate*, p. 124.

20-23. TWO CUPS, AND TWO COVERS used as patens, *c.* 1685.

Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Nicholas's Cathedral Church, Newcastle.

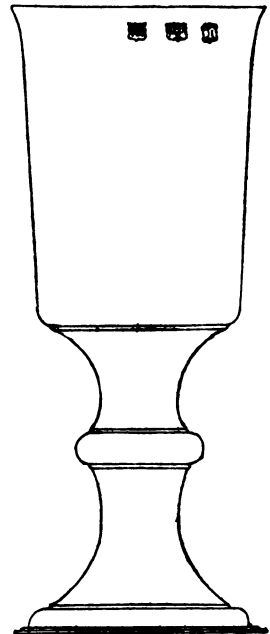
The CUPS are of the same shape, and have plain stems, with a knop in the centre. (See illustration.)

Marks: Three on one cup:—Maker's initials, WR, for William Ramsey; three castles, and animal's head couped [? a goat's head]; four on the other:—WR with bird below twice, as in no. 12; and three castles twice.

Dimensions: Height, 9¾ inches; diameter at mouth, 4½ inches; at foot, 4 inches; bowls, 5 inches deep.


Weights: '14·9' and '13·16' respectively, scratched under foot.

The COVERS are 5½ inches diameter and 1 inch high. Each is on a foot 2 inches diameter, and has a rim ½ inch wide. One is reeded under rim, the other is not.



24 AND 25. TWO PATENS c. 1686.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle.

Marks: Three on each paten: maker's mark  for William Ramsey, twice; three castles. The maker's mark is repeated on the foot.

Dimensions: 9 inches diameter; $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; open stands, 4 inches diameter.

Inscription: 'For S^t Nicholas Church in Newcastle.'

26. FLAGON c. 1686.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle.

Straight-sided, with wide spreading, moulded base, and rounded lid with thumb piece.

Marks: Four; maker's mark WR as in no. 24, twice, for Wm. Ramsey, and three castles once.

Dimensions: Height, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, to top of lid, $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $6\frac{2}{3}$ inches, at base, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.


Inscription: (in script)
'Nicholas Cole, Esq^r Major |
Thomas Paise, Esq^r Sheriff |
1686.'

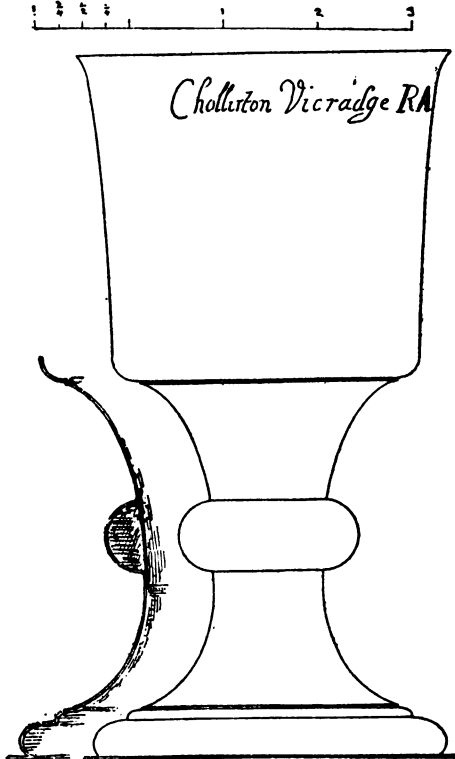
Arms: Three castles for Newcastle.

27. CUP c. 1687.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Chollerton.

Straight-sided, wide bowled with slight lip, a large knob in centre of stem. (See illustration.)

Marks: Four;  for Eli Bilton twice; and three castles in plain shield also twice.



Dimensions : $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; bowl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep ; diameter of mouth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.


Inscription : (partly in script and partly in Roman letters) 'Chollirton Vicradge R A Vic^r R D : T N : H A : R R : Church Wardens, 1687.'

Weight : 8 oz. 8 dwts.

28 AND 29. CUP AND PATEN c. 1688.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Howick.

The CUP is the usual type of William Ramsey's cups, and has the usual moulded band in centre of stem.

Marks : Three castles twice, and  for William Ramsey twice.

Dimensions : $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches high ; $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches at foot ; bowl $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Inscription : On side (in script), 'Deo & huic Ecclesiæ de Howick Sacrum | Claræ Piæq : Virgines Dominae Domina | Elizabetha & Domina Magdalena Grey | filiae Philipi Grey Armigeri, quondam | hujus Manerij de Howick Domini, | Donarunt 1688.'

Arms : In lozenge, *gu.* lion rampant within a bordure *ar.* for Grey.

The PATEN is on a stem with open foot. It is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and foot 2 inches diameter. It has a moulded edge. The hall marks are the same as on the cup.

Inscription : on back (in script), 'Deo & Ecclesiæ de Howick Sacrum.'

30. CUP c. 1690. *The Rector and Churchwardens of Gainford.*

Moulded edge, a small moulded band round centre of stem, and a plain swelling foot.



Marks : WR, for William Ramsey thrice ; no town mark.

Dimensions : 8 inches high, bowl 4 deep, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at mouth and foot.

31 AND 32. TWO FLAGONS 1697 and 1698.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of All Saints, Newcastle.

Of good design. Straight-sided, with wide spreading bases, having fine chased work at bottom of handle, and the figure of an angel for thumb piece.

Marks :  for Thomas Hewitson, twice, and three castles, twice. The smaller flagon has the same hall marks, but a pellet instead of a mullet between maker's initials .

Weight: 68 oz. 5 dwts. and 60 oz. 7 dwts. respectively.

Dimensions: 13 inches high (to top of lid, 15 inches); $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter at mouth; $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches at base; and $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches high (to top of lid, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches); $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at mouth, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches at base, respectively.

Inscriptions: (in script) on front of large flagon, 'In usum Ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum | Apud Novocastrenses, Lagenam Hanc Dono Dedit | Michael Mitford Mercator; | In Testimonium Pietatis Erga Deum, | Et Patriam | An. Sal. MDCXCVIII;' and below, near bottom, 'Calix Benedictionis Cui Benedicimus; | Nonne Communicatio Sanguinis Christi est?' On the smaller flagon, '+ Deo O : M : et omnium Sanctorum + | Sacello, Dicat Consecratq. | H Atherton M : D. Dec. 25th | 1697.'

The donor of the 'lesser flagon,' as it is called in the inventory, was Dr. Henry Atherton, a Cornishman, a native of Truro, who settled in Newcastle as a physician and surgeon, and was appointed town's surgeon on the 17th August, 1682. He seems to have had £40 a year. The register of burials of St. Nicholas, under date 22nd January, 1699-700, has 'Mr. Henry Atherton, Dr. of Phisick and Phisition of Newcastle-on-Tyne.'—Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 128-130.


The donor of the larger flagon, Michael Mitford, was a merchant.

33 AND 34. CUP AND PATEN 1702.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St.

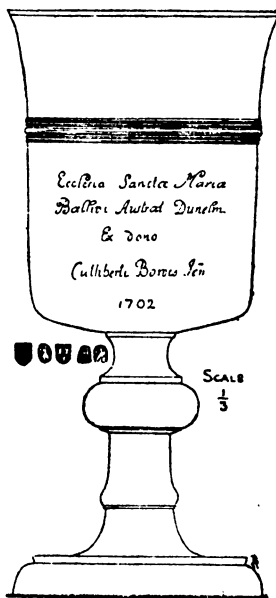
Mary the Less, Durham.

The bowl of the CUP is straight-sided, spreading out to form a lip; about one-third down the bowl there is a raised and moulded band. A large knop in middle of stem (see illustration).

Marks: Five; maker's mark, , for Eli Bilton; a lion's head erased; three castles; the year letter *A, with curl at top and star at left side, for 1702, and Britannia.

Dimensions: Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at foot 4 inches; depth of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription: (in script) 'Ecclesia | Sanctæ Mariæ Ballivi Austral. Dunelm: | Ex dono | Cuthberti Bowes Ien. [sic] | 1702.'



The PATEN has the same hall marks as the cup, except 'Fr.' as on no. 37, for Jonathan French, and the same inscription on the back, except Cüberti. It is 2 inches high, and is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

35 AND 36. TWO CUPS 1703.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Stanhope.

Bell-shaped, with moulded band round the bowl 2 inches below lip, similar to last cup.

Marks : Five ; maker's mark for Eli Bilton as in no. 33, three castles, year letter B, for 1703, Britannia, and lion's head erased.

Dimensions : Height, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep.

Inscription : (in script) round bowl, above raised band : 'Hunc Calicem Ecc^o de Stanhope Rev^o in Xto Vir Gulielmus Hartwel S * T * P * in Memoriam *' ; and below the band, 'Sanguinis Xti proprio Sumptu Reformavit et Valore Adauxit. Anno Dni 1704 *.'

37. FLAGON 1707.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Mary the Less, Durham.

Is straight-sided, with rounded lid and thumb-piece.

Marks : Five ; including date letter **J**, for 1707, Britannia, lion's head erased, and **(Fr)** for Jonathan French.

Dimensions : Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of lid, 11 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription : Same as on cup, but 'Ecclesiæ' 'Balivi' and 'Jan.'

38. CUP 1707.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Esh.

Wide mouthed with knop in centre of the stem.

Marks : Five ; lion's head erased ; year letter **J**, for 1707 ; three castles ; Britannia ; and maker's mark, Fr. in oval punch, as in 37, for Jonathan French.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, at foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Inscription : (in script) 'Donum | Curia^e Consistorialis Dunelm' | Ad Capella' de Esh | A.D. 1712,' on the bowl.

39. CUP 1707.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Castle Eden.

Slight lip and large knop in centre of stem.

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth and foot, 4 inches ; depth of bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.


Inscription : sacred monogram irradiated and at each side of it (in script) 'Ex dono W. B., Arm^r. 1707 | In majorem Dei Gloriam ac Usvm | Ecclæ parochialis de Castle Eden | in Com : Dunelm.'

The initials are doubtless those of William Bromley, to whom at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Castle Eden estate belonged. The register informs us that the Right Honble. William Bromley, Speaker of the House of Commons, Privy Councillor and Secretary of State, was in 1723 'sole prop^r of the whole Lordship and Parish of Castle Eden.'


40. PATEN 1712.

The Master of Sherburn Hospital.

Moulded rim ; on foot open at the base.

Marks : Five ; year letter **M**, for 1712 ; Britannia ; maker's mark, , for John Younghusband ; three castles ; and lion's head erased.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of open foot, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription : I  M surrounded by 'Ex dono Anno 1712' (in script).

41. FLAGON 1712.

The Master of Sherburn Hospital.

Straight-sided, with rounded lid having thumb-piece ; without spout. It has a wide spreading base.

Marks : Same as on paten, the lion's head erased and Britannia being repeated on lid.

Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; to top of rounded lid, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

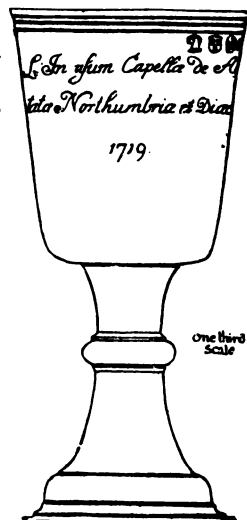
Inscription : Same on front as on paten.

42 AND 43. CUP AND PATEN 1719.

Mr. W. B. Beaumont.

The CUP has a moulded edge. The stem has a moulded knob in the centre (see illustration).

Marks : Five ; maker's mark, **Ba** for Francis Batty, the younger ; lion's head erased ; three castles ; Britannia ; year letter **D**, for 1719.



Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Inscription on bowl : (in script) 'D.D.G.L. In usum Capellæ de Allenheads, | in Comitataë [sic] Northumbriæ et | Diocese Eboraci 1719.'

The PATEN has a moulded edge, and is on an open foot.

Marks. Same as on cup.

Inscription : Same as on cup.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of open foot, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The chapel at Allenheads is a private one belonging to Mr. Beaumont.

44. CUP 1719. *The Rector and Churchwardens of Sunderland.*

Marks : Five ; maker's mark same as no. 37, for Jonathan French ; Britannia ; lion's head erased ; year letter **D**, for 1719, and three castles.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches deep.

Inscription : I H S, in glory, on side.

45 AND 46. CUP AND PATEN 1721.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. John's, Newcastle.

The CUP has five hall marks, including maker's initial, **F B**, for Francis Batty the younger, lion passant to right, and year letter **A**, for 1721.

Weight : 20 oz. 15 dwts.

Dimensions : Height, 10 inches,

Inscription : (in script) 'Ex dono Roberti Rymer Generosi, qu obijt 24 die | Martij Anno Dom : 1722 Ætatis Suxæ 32.'

The PATEN has the same marks, and inscription engraved round edge, but 'Domini.'

Weight : 19 oz. 12 dwts.

Dimensions : 10 inches diameter.

47 FLAGON 1721.


The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. John's, Newcastle.

Marks : Same as on the cup.

Dimensions : Height to top of lid, 13 inches.

Weight : 60 oz. 10 dwts.

48. PATEN 1721. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Wooler.*
Moulded edge.

Marks: Five; including maker's initials , for Francis Batty, the younger, lion to right in oblong shield, and year letter **A**, for 1721.

Weight: Scratched on back, 17 oz. 8 dwts.

Dimensions: $10\frac{3}{16}$ inches diameter.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Gift of John Chesholm : Vicar of Wooler : 1722,' round centre.

49. PATEN 1721. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Hexham.*
On foot.

Marks: Five; including maker's initial, **F B**, for Francis Batty the younger; lion passant to right; and year letter **A**, for 1721.

Dimensions: Diameter, 8 inches; height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and diameter of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription: 'Given to S. Andrew's Church in Hexham, by Mabel Hoorde, 1634.'

This paten, though given to the church in 1634, appears to have been remade by Francis Batty, whose mark it bears, in 1721.


50. FLAGON 1721. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Hexham.*

Marks: Four; same as on paten.

Dimensions: $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; diameter, at mouth $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base 8 inches.

Inscription: 'Ex dono Johannis Aynsley Gent | Anno Dom. 1722.'

51. PATEN 1721. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Wooler.*
Has moulded edge.

Marks: Five; maker's initials , for Francis Batty, the younger; lion passant to right; leopard's head crowned; three castles; and year letter **A** for 1721.


Dimensions: $10\frac{3}{16}$ inches diameter.

Weight: '17 ozs. : 8' scratched on back.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Gift of John Chesholm : Vicar of Wooler : 1722.'

52. CUP 1722.

Rector and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Gateshead.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials , for John Carnaby, and year letter **B** for 1722.

Inscription : (in script) 'Soli Deo Gloria.'

53. BEAKER CUP 1723.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Andrew's Auckland.

Moulded top and bottom.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials **J J**, for Jonathan French, lion to right, and year letter **C**, for 1723.

Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 3 inches, at base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'The Gift of Mrs. Mary Cowdell to the New Chapel in Bishop Auckland | 1781.'

54. PATEN 1724.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Nicholas's Cathedral Church, Newcastle.

On foot.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark **J C** as in no. 52, for John Carnaby, lion to right, and year letter **D**, for 1724.

Dimensions : $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, open foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.

Weight : 11-19 scratched on foot.

55. CUP 1724. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Monk Hesleden.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, TP for Thomas Partis, lion to right, and year letter **D**, for 1724.

Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Inscription : engraved on front I H S, surrounded by rays, and 'In Majorem Dei gloriam Poculum benedictionis cui benedicimus communis Sanguinis Christi Est ? | D Haselden Monachorum | 1727.'

56. CUP 1724.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Bowness on Solway.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials **J B**, for Francis Batty the younger, lion to right, and year letter **D**, for 1724.

Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; diameter of bowl, 4 inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The terriers of 1749 and 1777 are alike. 'Imprimis. . . . Item, one Silver Chalice without a cover weighing about eleven ounces. . . .'—*Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 56.

57 AND 58. A PAIR OF FLAGONS 1727.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Ryton.

They are alike in every particular, hall marks, inscriptions, arms, and dimensions, and are similar in shape to the flagons at Ponteland (see plate I.).

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials, T P for Thomas Partis, lion to right, and date letter **G**, for 1727.

Dimensions : Height to top of lid, 12 inches ; diameter at mouth, 3 inches, at base, 4 inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'Ex dono I F * D D | Rect^r de Riton | 1727.'

Arms : *Vert*, a chevron between three eaglets *or*, crest a staff raguly *or*, for FYNNEY of Fynney, co. Stafford.

This is the last year in which the lion is turned to right.

59. CUP 1729. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Warden.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials **IC**, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter **3**, for 1729.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'Warden, 1732.'

This is the earliest piece of church plate bearing the mark of Isaac Cookson.

60. PATEN 1732.

Rector and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Gateshead.

Marks : Four ; including date letter **D**, for 1732. There is no maker's mark.

Inscription : '1732' in centre, and round it ' * Soli Deo Honor et Gloria.'

61 AND 62. TWO FLAGONS 1734.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Bishopwearmouth.

These flagons are bulb shaped like those at Ponteland (see plate I). Both are exactly the same.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials **R M** in plain oblong, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter **Q**, for 1734.

Dimensions : Height, 11½ inches, to top of knop on lid, 15½ inches ; diameter at mouth, 5 inches, at base, 4½ inches.

Inscriptions : (in script) 'The Gift of | M^{rs} Jane Gibson | to the Parish Church | of Bishop-Wearmouth | Anno 1726.' On side sacred monogram above a cross, and beneath, head with two nails through it saltire-ways, all within a glory.

These flagons must have been bought some years after the bequest.

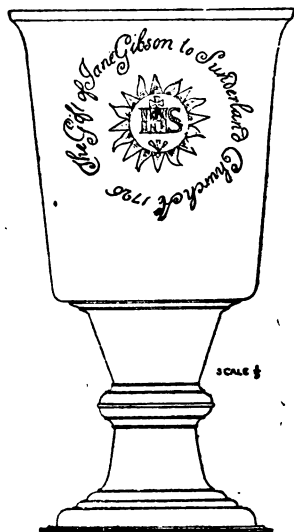
63. CUP 1734. (See illustration).

*Rector and Churchwardens
of Sunderland.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark T P for Thomas Partis, and year letter **Q**, for 1734.

Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; bowl, 4½ inches deep ; diameter at mouth, 4½ inches, at foot 3½ inches.

Inscription : I H S (in glory), 'The Gift of Jane Gibson to Sunderland Church, A^o 1726.'



64. ALMS DISH 1734.

*The Rector and Churchwardens
of Sunderland.*

17½ inches in diameter. Has the same hall marks as on the cups, and the same inscription round centre as on the cup.

65. ALMS DISH 1734.

The Rector and Churchwardens of Sunderland.

Square with shaped corners, on four feet.


Dimensions : Diameter, 15 inches ; height, 1½ inches.

Marks : Five ; same as on cups.

Inscription : Same as on cup.

66. CUP 1739.*The Vicar and Churchwardens of Halton.*

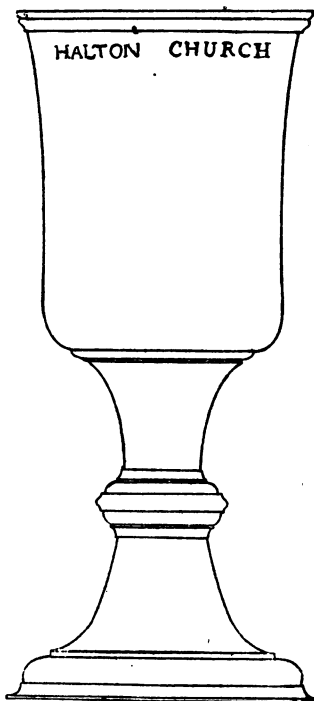
Moulded at lip and base. Moulded knop in centre of stem (see illustration).

Marks: Five, including maker's mark,  for Isaac Cookson, and year letter T for 1739.


Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; depth of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: HALTON CHURCH.

In this year the mark of Isaac Cookson is changed from Roman capitals to script letters, in terms of the Act of Parliament passed in 1739.

**67. FLAGON 1740.***The Rector and Churchwardens of Boldon.*

Bulb-shaped, similar to those at Ponteland (see plate I), with moulded band 3 inches from top, knop on lid, handle double curved, spout.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark,  for Wm. Partis, and year letter A, for 1740.

Dimensions: Height, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, to top of knop on lid $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at base.

Inscription: (in script) 'Sum Dei | Et Ecclesiae de Boldon Dunelm | 1740.'

68-70. PATEN 1742, AND TWO FLAGONS 1743.*The Vicar and Churchwardens of Hartburn.*

The PATEN has a shaped and moulded edge, and stands on three claw feet.

Marks: Five; including Isaac Cookson's mark as in no. 66, and year letter C for 1742.

Dimensions: 9 inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

The FLAGONS are bulb-shaped, moulded round lip, and have spout and double curved handles, no lid. Both are the same in every respect.

Marks : Five ; same as on paten, but year letter D for 1743.

Inscription : (in script) under base of each, 'Hartburn -- 1743.'

71. CUP 1743.

*The Vicar and Churchwardens
of Birtley, Northumberland.*

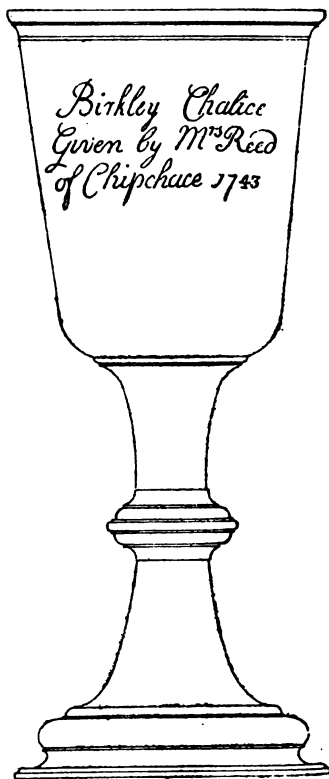
Moulded edge and base, and moulded knob round centre of stem. Made by Isaac Cookson.

Marks : Five, same as on Hartburn flagons (nos. 69 and 70).

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of bowl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; depth of bowl, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 9 oz. 4 dwts.

Inscription : (in script) 'Birkley Chalice | Given by Mrs. Reed | of Chipchase, 1743.'



72. ALMS DISH 1745.

Rector and Churchwardens of Boldon.

Oval-shaped, made by William Partis.

Marks : Five ; including letter F, for 1745, and maker's mark as on no. 67.

Inscription : 'SACRVM CHRISTO ET ECCLE^SIÆ DE BOLDON DUNELM, 1745,' round the edge. In the centre, the sacred monogram surmounted by a cross, and surrounded by a rayed nimbus.

73. CUP 1749.

Rector and Churchwardens of Whalton.

Moulded lip and foot ; similar in shape to that at Birtley (no. 71) also made by Isaac Cookson.

Marks : Five, same as on Birtley cup, but year letter K for 1749.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth and foot, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; depth of bowl, 4 inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'Whalton Chalice 1749' on side.

74. PATEN 1749. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Castle Eden.*
Moulded edge and open foot.

Marks : Four, including year letter K for 1749, but no maker's mark.

Dimensions : Diameter, $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches ; height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; the open foot $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter.

Inscription : (in script) 'The Gift of ROWLAND BURDON to the Parochial Chappell of CASTLE EDEN, 1760.'

75. PATEN 1750. *The Rector and Churchwardens of Ryton.*

Marks : Five ; same as on Birtley cup, but year letter L for 1750.

Dimensions : Diameter, 8 inches ; height, 3 inches ; on foot, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches diameter.

Inscription : (in script) 'Eccl. : de Ryton in Com. : Dunelm. 1750.'

Made by Isaac Cookson.

76. ALMS DISH 1750. *Vicar and Churchwardens of Eglington.*
Plain edge.

Marks : Same as on Ryton paten (no. 75).

Dimensions : Diameter, 9 inches.

Inscription : 'Given to the Church of Eglington by Lance^t Allgood Esq^r and M^{rs} Sarah Ogle of Eglington 1751.'

77. PATEN 1750. *The Rector and Churchwardens of Eglington.*

On foot. Bears the same hall marks as alms dish, and is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Inscription : 'Given to the Church of Eglington by the Rev^d M^r Charles Stoddart, Vicar, 1751.'

Both alms dish and paten were made by Isaac Cookson.

78. PATEN 1752. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Berwick.*

Marks : Five, including maker's mark as on Birtley cup (no. 71), and year letter N, for 1752.

Dimensions : Diameter, 7 inches, with rim $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide.

Arms of Berwick in centre, with flowing mantling.

Inscription above arms $\overset{M}{F^*S}$.

Made by Isaac Cookson.

79. CUP AND COVER 1754.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Ponteland.

Repoussé design round foot and cover. The cover has a knop formed of three leaves (see plate Ia).

Marks : Five ; including the mark of William Partis (in script), as before, and year letter P for 1754.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter, at mouth 4 inches, of foot $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; depth of bowl, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription : 'PONTELAND 1755,' scratched under foot.

The COVER has one hall mark, a small lion passant.

80 AND 81. A PAIR OF FLAGONS 1754.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Ponteland.

They are exactly alike, being bulb-shaped, and have same repoussé ornamentation as on cup (see plate Ib).

Marks : Same as on cup (no. 79).

Dimensions : Height, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of lid 13 inches ; diameter at mouth $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base 5 inches.

Inscription : On one, 'PONTELAN 1755,' and on the other, 'PONTELAND, 1755,' scratched on bottom.

82. PATEN 1754. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Ponteland.*

Shaped and pierced border on feet (see plate Ic).

Bears the same hall marks as the cup, and is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter.

83. PATEN 1757. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Long Benton.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials, **IK**, for John Kirkup, and year letter (of slightly old English character) S, for 1757.

Dimensions : 3 inches high ; 9 inches in diameter, on open foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Weight : '22 oz. 13 pwt.' scratched on foot.

84. FLAGON 1757. *The Vicar and Churchwardens of Long Benton.*

Marks : Five ; same as on paten (no. 83).

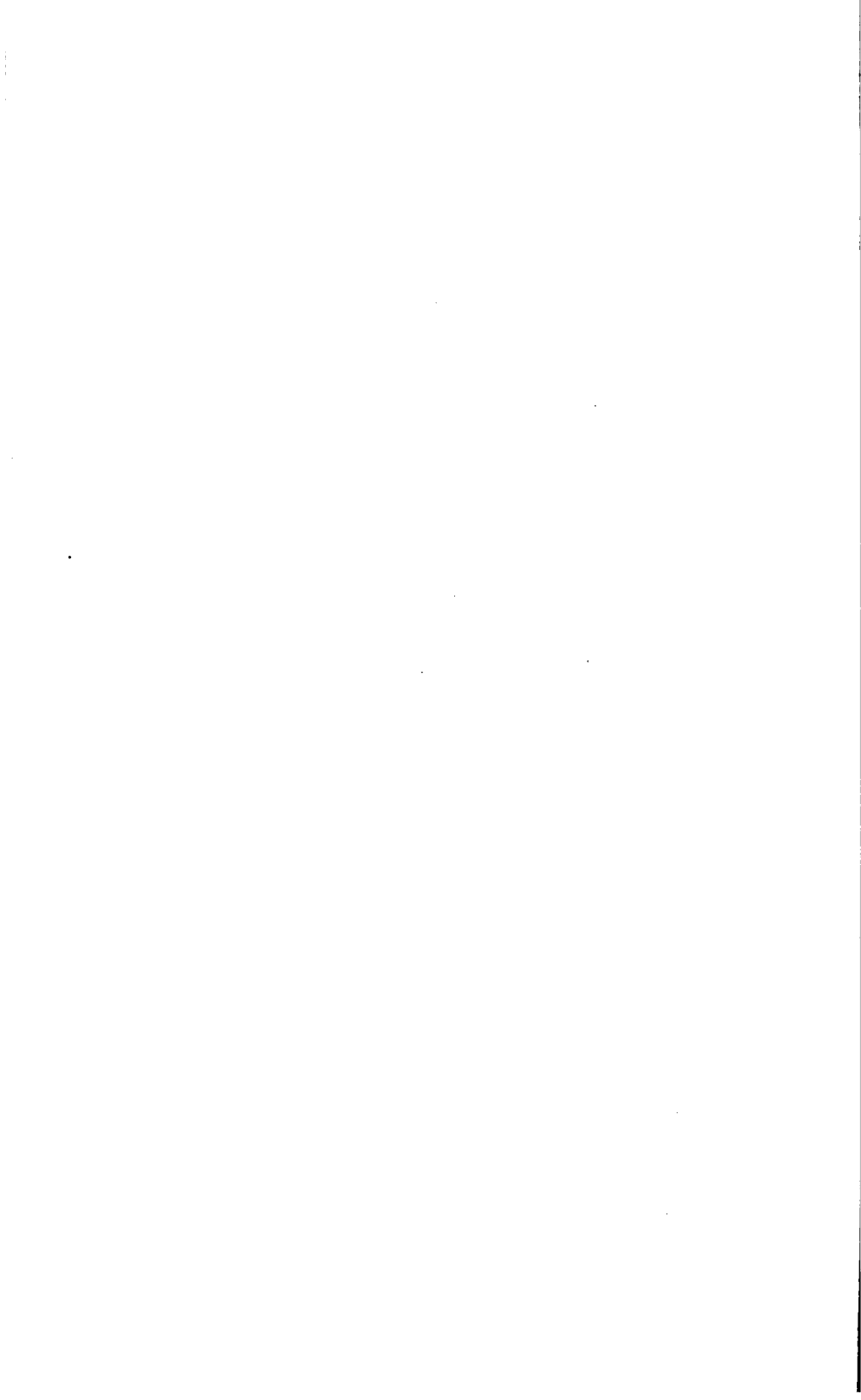


d.

c. Nos. 79 — 82.

b.

This plate given by Mr. H. N. Middleton.



Dimensions: Height, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches to top of lid; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.


Weight: '55 oz. 17 pwt.' scratched on base.

Inscription: 'The Gift of Geo. Colpitts Esq^r | to Long Benton Church | 1763.'

85 AND 86. CUP AND PATEN 1757.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Blyth, Northumberland.

The CUP has a deep bell-shaped bowl with slight lip, plain stem with small moulded knob, and plain moulded foot.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark,  for John Langlands, and year letter S, for 1757.

Dimensions: Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches; bowl, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Inscription (above arms): 'Blyth Chapel, 1762.'

Arms: On bowl in a cartouche-shaped shield, *gu.*, on a chevron between three falcons *arg.*, as many pellets, for RIDLEY, impaling, *arg.*, three cocks' heads erased *sa.*, combed and wattled *gu.*, for WHITE; motto below, CONSTANS FIDEI.

The PATEN is a small plate with moulded rim. It bears the same hall marks as the cup, and the same inscription and motto in centre. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

87-90. TWO CUPS AND TWO PLATES 1759.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Hexham.

The CUPS:

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as on no. 85, for John Langlands, and year letter *S* for 1759.

Dimensions: 9 inches high; $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter; bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Inscription: 'Bequeath'd by Robert Andrews, Esq. | late of Hexham, to the Parish Church | of Hexham | A.D. 1764.'

The PLATES are 8 inches in diameter, and bear the same hall marks as the cups, and the same inscription.

91. ALMS DISH 1759.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Castle Eden.

Saucer-shaped on low foot, with gadrooned edge.


Marks: Five; including maker's mark, same as on no. 85, for John Langlands.

Dimensions : 8 inches in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Inscription : Round centre (in script), 'To do good and to distribute forget not, for with such Sacrifices God is pleased ;' and round back, 'The gift of R. Burdon, Junr., to the Parochial Chappell of St. James, at Castle Eden, Anno 1765.'

92 AND 93. TWO PATENS *c.* 1760-9.

Rector and Churchwardens of Sunderland.

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark,  for John Langlands ; no year letter.


Dimensions : $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; raised on foot $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter.

Inscription : 'I H S,' irradiated in centre.

94. CUP *c.* 1760-69.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Widdrington.

Bell-shaped, having band in centre of stem ; moulded edge.

Marks : Four ; including maker's initials,  for John Kirkup.

No year letter.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; of foot, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Inscription : (in script) 'J.A. | W.C.' on side.

95. CUP *c.* 1760-69. *Vicar and Churchwardens of Tweedmouth.*

Bell-shaped, with moulded edge ; a small raised band round centre of stem.

Marks : Four ; including maker's initials, *J* *K* for John Kirkup. No year letter.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, 3 inches ; depth of bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

96-99. TWO CUPS AND TWO PLATES 1769.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Ann's, Newcastle.

The CUPS have moulded edges ; each has a long stem with a small knop in the centre like the cup at Birtley (no. 71).

Marks : Five ; including maker's initial,  for John Kirkup, and year letter *C* for 1769.

Dimensions: Height, $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches diameter at mouth, of foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: Of one, 16 oz. 6 dwt.; of the other, 16 oz. 2 dwts.

Inscription: 'St. Ann's Chapel | The gift of RICHARD | LORD BISHOP of DURHAM. | Sep^r 2^d 1768. | Edw^d Mosley, Esq^r | Mayor. | Rich^d Lacy, Esq^r | Sheriff.'

Arms: Of the bishopric, a cross flory between four lions rampant, impaling per bend sinister, *ermine* and *erminees*, a lion rampant or [for TREVOR], all surmounted by the coroneted mitre; on side, *gu.* three castles *arg.*, with motto below for Newcastle.

The two PLATES (alms dishes) are ten-sided, with gadrooned edges.

Dimensions: Each is $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter.

Marks: Same as on cups, but no year letters.

Weight: 20 oz. and 19 oz. 8 dwts. respectively.

In centre, same inscription and arms as on cups.

100. FLAGON 1769.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Ann's, Newcastle.

Straight-sided, with moulded edge, and domed lid with thumb-piece. The handle is double curved. Spreading base.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as on no. 85, for John Langlands, and year letter *C* for 1769.

Dimensions: Height, $12\frac{1}{8}$ inches, to top of lid, 15 inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches, at base, $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Inscription and arms: Same as on cups.

101. FLAGON 1769.

Rector and Churchwardens of Jarrow.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as on no. 85, for John Langlands; and year letter *C* for 1769.

Dimensions: Height, 12 inches; diameter at top, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, 7 inches.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Gift of | Richard Walker to the Parish of JARROW | Anno Domini | 1769, Joseph Dale, church warden.'

By his will of 9th February, 1768, Richard Walker of Harton, yeoman, ordered 'his silver tankard and gill to be made into a flaggon and delivered to Jarrow Church, for the use of the communion table.'—*Surtees, Durham*, ii. 73.

102 AND 103. TWO CUPS c. 1778.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of Berwick.

Egg-shaped bowls, and long stems with cable moulding round centre.

Marks : Three ; including maker's mark, as on no. 85, for John Langlands ; no year letter.


Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; bowl, 4 inches deep.

Inscription on side : 'Mathew Forster (1778), Esq., Mayor ; J. Dods, A. Jameson, T. Hindmarch, F. Marshal, Church wardens.'

Arms of Berwick.

104. FLAGON 1784.

Rector and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Gateshead.

Marks : Five ; including makers' mark,  for Pinkney & Scott, year letter S for 1784, and king's head incuse.

Inscription : (in script) 'The Gift of | M^{rs} ANN SHAFTOE | to the Church of St. Mary's | GATESHEAD | July 9th, 1785.'


This is the first year of the king's head mark, which is in *intaglio* for the years 1784, 1785, and 1786.

'Mrs. Ann Shaftoe was the wife of Robert Shaftoe, Esq., of Whitworth, M.P., for the County of Durham, 1766-1768. She was the daughter of Thomas Duncombe, Esq., of Duncombe Park.'—Surtees, *Durham*, iii. 295.

105-8. FOUR PLATES 1784.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of All Saints, Newcastle.

All have shaped and beaded edges, and are $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Marks : Six ; including year letter S for 1784, king's head as in last, and makers' initials,  for Langlands & Robertson.

Weights : 29 oz. 10 dwts., 30 oz., 31 oz., and 31 oz. 15 dwts. respectively.

Inscription : 'The Gift of | Mrs. Ann Shaftoe | To the | Chapelry of All Saints | Newcastle upon Tyne | 1785.'

See note to last piece.

109. WINE STRAINER 1785.

The Vicar and Churchwardens of All Saints, Newcastle.

Marks : Three—in two places—maker's initials, lion passant, and king's head as on plates.

Dimensions : $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter.


Inscription : Same as on plates.

110. ALMS DISH 1785.*Vicar and Churchwardens of St. John's, Newcastle.*


Has beaded edge.

Marks : Six ; including makers' initials as on no. 111, for Pinkney & Scott ; year letter T for 1785.*Dimensions* : 12 inches in diameter.*Weight* : 30 oz. 3 dwts.*Inscription* : 'The Gift of | Joseph Reay, Esq^r | and | Margaret his Wife | To the Chapel of St. John, | Newcastle upon Tyne, 3^d Nov^r, 1785.'**111. ALMS DISH 1788.***The Vicar and Churchwardens of All Saints, Newcastle.*

Has beaded edge.

Marks : Six ; including makers' initials,  for Pinkney & Scott, king's head, and year letter X for 1788.*Dimensions* : 14 inches diameter, 2½ inches high.*Weight* : 52 oz. 15 dwts.In the churchwardens' accounts there occurs the entry:—'17 Dec^r, 1746. To grave digger, for concealing the church plate, 5s.' This was owing, probably, to the alarm caused by the rising of 1745.**112 AND 113. CUP AND PATEN 1792.***Vicar and Churchwardens of Doddington.*

The bowl of the CUP is egg-shaped ; three reeded lines round edge, stem with small reeded knob, six reeded lines round foot.

Marks : Five ; including makers' initials,  for Langlands & Robertson, king's head in oval punch mark, and year letter B for 1792.*Dimensions* : Height, 7½ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4½ inches, of foot, 4⅓ inches ; bowl, 4½ inches deep.*Inscription* : (in script) 'The Gift of | The Rev. Nath^l Ellison | to the Parish of | Doddington | 1793.'

The PATEN has a reeded edge, is 8 inches in diameter, and has a rim 1 inch wide.

Marks : On back same as on cup, with leopard's head crowned in addition.*Inscription* : In centre the same as on the cup.

114 AND 115. TWO ALMS DISHES 1800.*Vicar and Churchwardens of St. John's Newcastle.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, I · R for John Robertson, and year letter K for 1800.

Dimensions : $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.


Weight : 25 oz. 10 dwts.

Inscription : 'Saint John's | Church | NEWCASTLE | 4th Oct., 1800 | Thomas Fenton | Henry Sunderland | John Darnell | Matthew Brown | Church Wardens.'

CLASS II.—SECULAR.

116. CUP c. 1664.*Mr. T. Taylor of Chipchase Castle.*

On baluster stem and round foot (see plate II).

Marks : Four ; maker's mark, , for John Wilkinson, a single castle twice, and lion passant to right.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 8 oz. 5 dwts.

Inscription : (upright script) 'Edmond Bacon | Consanguinius Regis.'

Crest : a boar statant, engraved on side above inscription (see plate II).

117. TANKARD c. 1664.*Mr. William Orde of Nunnykirk.*


Plain, with straight sides, flat lid with thumb-piece.

Marks : The mark of John Wilkinson and others as on last piece.

Dimensions : Height, 6 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at base, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

118. TANKARD c. 1670.*Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain, straight-sided, with flat cover slightly domed, having thumb-piece a mermaid with two tails, on three ball feet ornamented with foliage (see plate III).

Marks : Maker's mark, , for William Ramsey, and three castles, each once, and rose in square shield twice. Marks repeated on cover.

Dimensions : Height, 6 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; girth, 15 inches.

Weight : 23 oz. 5 dwts.



No. 116.

(From a photograph by Miss Taylor.)

This plate given by Mr. Taylor.





No. 118.


(From a photograph by Miss Taylor.)

This plate given by Mr. Taylor.

Arms: . . . on a chevron between three mullets . . . , as many scallop shells . . . for Blackett.

119. WINE CUP c. 1671. *The Drapers' Company of Durham.*

The bowl is a reversed truncated cone with slight lip, knop in centre of stem, and plain foot.

Marks: Maker's mark, , for John Douthwayte; others almost illegible.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of foot, 2 inches; depth of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

120. TANKARD c. 1684. *The Cordwainers' Company of Newcastle.*

Plain, slightly bulging near base, flat-topped lid with thumb-piece.

Marks: Four; maker's mark, as in 118, for William Ramsey, twice, and a rose and three castles each once.

Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Inscription: 'These two Canns belong to the Company of Cord Wainers, 31st May, 1684.'

121. SPOON c. 1686. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Has flat stem with cleft end.

Marks: Three; maker's mark, W R with crown above, for William Ramsey, twice, and three castles.

Dimensions: Length, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Weight: 1 oz. 14 dwts.

Crest: A goat's head erased.

122. PORRINGER c. 1690. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Engraved with birds and foliage in Chinese fashion.

Marks: Four; maker's mark, A H, for Abraham Hamer, and three castles, each twice.

Dimensions: Height, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight: 3 oz. 10 dwts.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Gift of Thomas and Susannah Forster to I. F.'

123. TANKARD c. 1694. *The Drapers' Company of Durham.*

Plain, straight-sided, with moulded base, flat-topped lid with thumb-piece.

Marks: Include maker's mark, E B, for Eli Bilton.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth and base, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

124. TANKARD *c.* 1696. *Mr. Norman C. Cookson of Oakwood.*

Plain, straight-sided, reeded top and base; flat lid, with thumb-piece.

Marks: Four; maker's mark, W R, in heart-shaped shield twice, and three castles in shield of same shape twice.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

125. RAT-TAIL SPOON *c.* 1696.

Mr. L. W. Adamson of Eglington.

Marks: Single castle, letter B, and W R tied, with crown above, for William Ramsey.

Dimensions: Extreme length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

126. TANKARD *c.* 1696.

Mr. F. M. Laing of Corbridge.

Straight-sided. Flat-topped lid projecting over sides; thumb-piece; handle (plate IV).

Marks: Three; the mark of W. Ramsey, as on last piece, twice, and three castles once.

Dimensions: Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, 3 inches, at base, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



127. TANKARD *c.* 1696.

Mrs. Mulcaster of Benwell Park.

Marks: Include that of W. Ramsey; others illegible.

Arms: On side, [Argent] a fess vair, and in chief a unicorn passant between two mullets azure.

128. PORRINGER *c.* 1696.

Mr. Thomas Gow of Cambo.

Bell-shaped, raised band ornamented with scroll work $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from top, spiral flutings next base (see plate IV). Two double-curved beaded handles.



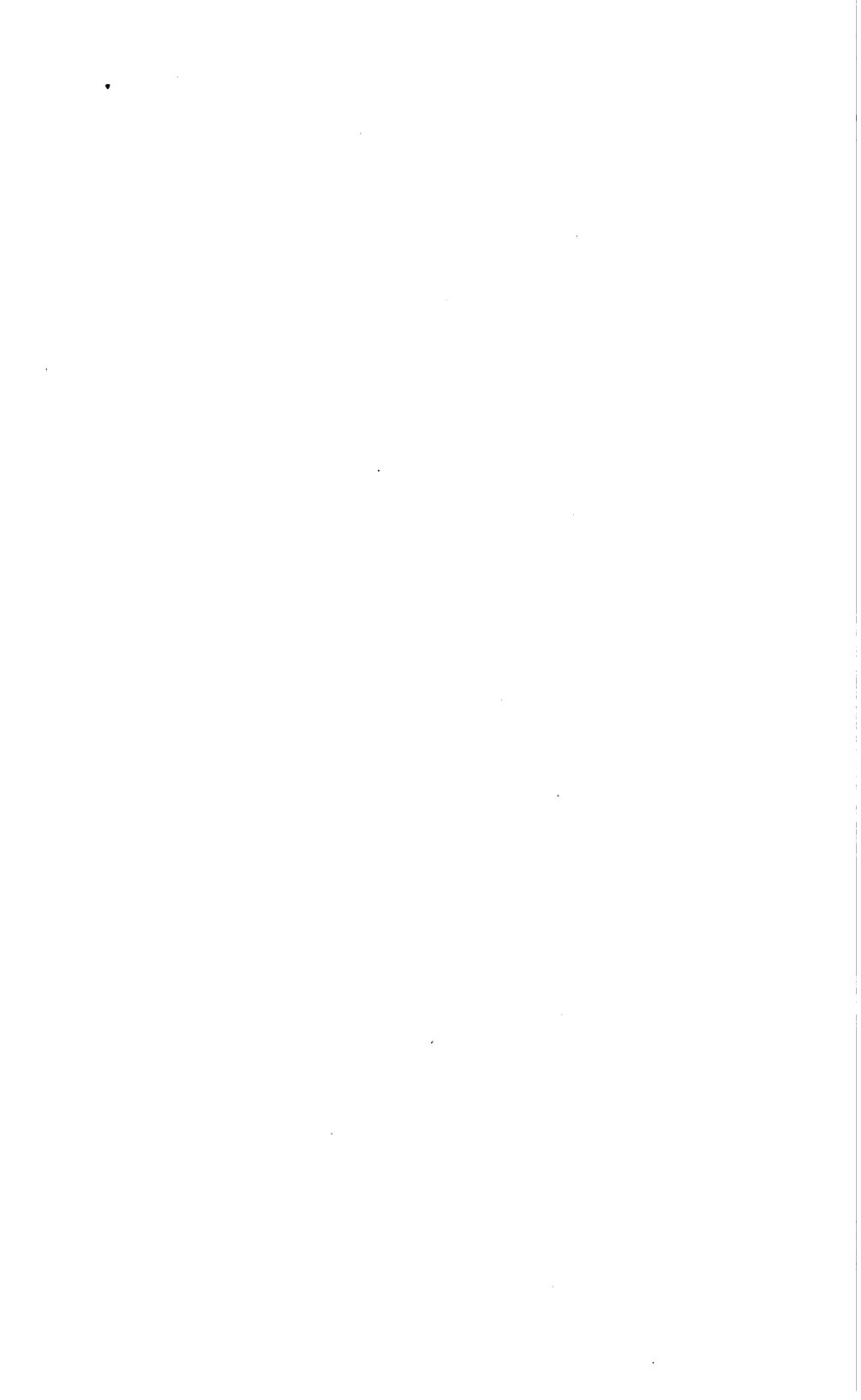
No. 126.

This illustration given by Mr. F. M. Laing.



No. 128.

This illustration given by Mr. T. Gow



Marks: Maker's mark, W R, for W. Ramsey, in heart-shaped shield, as no. 124, and three castles.

Dimensions: Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: On side, 'K G I G 1700.'

129. MUG c. 1696. *The Joiners' Guild of Alnwick.*

A raised band 1 inch from top. Spiral flutings moulded, surmounted by row of *fleurs de lis* round lower part; moulded rim, base, and handle, similar to Mr. Gow's (see plate V).

Marks: Four; maker's mark, W R twice as in last, for W. Ramsey, and three castles twice.


Dimensions: Height, 3 inches; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: 'This belongs to y^e Company of Joyners. Bought by Matthew Forster, Alderman, Anno 1698.'

'The sum paid for the cup was about £2 14s. 0d.'

130. PORRINGER c. 1696. *Major Widdrington of Newton.*

Two beaded scroll handles and corded band, the lower part spirally fluted, similar to Mr. Gow's cup (plate V).

Marks: Include maker's mark, , for Robert Shrive, and three castles in irregular shield.

Dimensions: Height, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, 4 inches.

131. PORRINGER c. 1696. *The Tailors' Guild of Carlisle.*

Spiral flutings round lower part next base, a raised cable band 1 inch from top, and beaded scroll handles.

Marks: Four; maker's mark, , twice, for Eli Bilton, and three castles twice.

Dimensions: Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: 'In gratitude to y^e fraternity of merch^t Taylors in Carlisle, by Mrs. Katherine Eglisfield, 4 July, 1701.'

132. PORRINGER c. 1696. *Miss Reed of Oldtown.*

Similar to last described.

Marks: Same as last.

Dimensions: Height, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

133. PORRINGER c. 1696. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Similar to Mr. Gow's porringer (see plate V).

Marks: Four; maker's mark, E B, for Eli Bilton, and three castles, each twice, as in no. 131.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches ; diameter, 4 inches.

Weight : 5 oz.

Inscription : On side, 'A. R.'

Date 1700, rudely scratched on bottom.

134. SPOON 1696-1701.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Rat-tailed, with flat stem, probably made during the period in which no plate could legally be assayed in Newcastle.

Marks : Two ; maker's mark almost illegible, but probably of W. Ramsey, junr., and three castles in heart-shaped shield.

Dimensions : Length, $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 1 oz. 15 dwts.

135. TANKARD c. 1700.

The Tanners' Guild of Carlisle.

Straight-sided, moulded top and base, with flat lid projecting all round, and thumb-piece ; from foot of handle is a long rat tail.

Marks : Maker's mark, thrice on lid, I R in Roman capitals, with star between, and bow over them in dotted oval, for John Ramsey.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, 6 inches.


Inscription : 'The Gift of the Right Reverend Thomas | Lord Bishop of Carlisle to the Guilds or | Fraternity of Tanners in the said City, 1701.'

Arms : On front, partly obliterated.

The donor of the tankard was Thomas Smith.

136. MUG c. 1700. *The Skinners' and Glovers' Guild of Carlisle.*

Straight-sided, with scroll handle, moulded top and base. A raised cable band $\frac{3}{4}$ inches from top, spiral flutings round lower part.

Marks : Four ; Britannia, lion's head erased, single castle in plain shield, and maker's mark, , for Eli Bilton.

Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 3 inches, at base, $3\frac{2}{3}$ inches.

Inscription : On side, 'Gulielmus Gilpin, Armiger, 1701.'

Probably made during the period in which plate could not be legally assayed in Newcastle.

137. TANKARD 1702.

Mr. T. Taylor.


Plain, straight-sided, with domed cover, thumb-piece broken off ; reeded round base and on cover ; front of cover indented.






No. 141.

(From a photograph by Mr C. J. Spence.)

Marks: Five; three castles, year letter A, for 1702, Britannia, lion's head erased, and maker's mark, , for John Ramsey. **Marks on lid obliterated.**


Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; girth, $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight: 14 oz. 7 dwts.

Initials: On handle,  W
R * I.

138. TUMBLER 1707. *The Tailors' Guild of Carlisle.*

Dimensions: Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at top, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; at base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Marks: Five; three castles, lion's head erased, Britannia, year letter **J**, maker's mark, , for John Younghusband.

Inscription: 'E. T.'

139. TANKARD 1712. *The Cordwainers' Company of Newcastle.*

Has slightly bulging sides, moulded top and base, a raised band about 4 inches from bottom, domed lid with thumb-piece, handle.

Marks: Five; Britannia, lion's head erased, three castles, year letter **D**, for 1712, and maker's mark *Jr* for Jonathan French.

Dimensions: Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; to top of lid, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; at base, 4 inches.

Weight: 14 oz. 10 dwts.

Inscription: (in script) 'This Belongs to the Company of Cordwainers.'

Arms of the Cordwainers' Company.

140. TANKARD 1712. *The Cordwainers' Company of Newcastle.*


Same shape as last tankard, and same hall marks, arms, and inscription.

Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; to top of lid, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; at base, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight: 23 oz. 4 dwt.

141. MONTEITH 1712. *The Corporation of Morpeth.*

This is a fine punch bowl. The body is fluted, and the base gad-rooned. On each side is an oval shield. There are two swing handles hanging from lions' mouths. The rim is scalloped and was formerly moveable, and was intended to hold the glasses or cups; they were thus carried into the room (see plate V).

Marks : Five ; maker's mark, , for Richard Hobbs, Britannia, three castles, lion's head erased, and year letter **17**, for 1712.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and 12 inches in diameter at mouth.

See *Arch. Ael.* xiii. p. 207, for a full description of this fine piece of plate.

142. TANKARD 1712.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Plain, straight-sided, originally had cover, but is now without one.

Marks : Three castles, Britannia, lion's head erased, year letter **17** in round shield, for 1712, maker's mark same as no. 138, for John Younghusband. Maker's mark repeated on handle.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; girth, 14 inches.

Weight : 12 oz. 10 dwts.

Initials : On handle, A * L.

Arms : On front, *Ermine, 2 bars argent, a mullet for difference.*

143. TANKARD 1712.

Mr. L. W. Adamson.

Same shape as last (see plate VIa).


Marks : Four ; to right of handle, including *Jr* for Jonathan French as in no. 139.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 21 oz. 11 dwts.

144. RAT-TAILED SPOON 1712.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Marks : Five ; Britannia, lion's head erased, year letter **17**, for 1712, three castles, maker's mark, , for Francis Batty, junr.

Dimensions : Length, 8 inches.

Weight : 1 oz. 18 dwts.

Initials : $\begin{matrix} B \\ T M. \end{matrix}$

145. RAT-TAILED SPOON 1716.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Marks : Same as last, except year letter **16**, for 1716.

Dimensions : Length, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 2 oz. 2 dwts.

146. RAT-TAILED SPOON c. 1716.

Rev. James Allgood of Newark.

Shield end.

Marks : Same as last, but no year letter.



No. 143.

No. 175.

This plate given by Mr. L. W. Adamson.





J. DOWNEY & SONS, PHOTOGRS.

No. 151.

This plate given by Mr. T. T. Dale.


147 AND 148. TWO RAT-TAILED SPOONS 1716.

Miss Allgood of Hermitage, Hexham.

Shield ends.

Marks : Five ; maker's mark illegible ; year letter , for 1716.*Dimensions* : Length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.*Weight* : 1 oz. 9 dwts.



149. TUMBLER 1718.

*Mr. T. Taylor.**Marks* : Five ; Britannia, lion's head erased, three castles in shield with indented top, year letter , for 1718, and maker's mark, illegible.*Dimensions* : Height, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches ; diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.*Weight* : 1 oz. 8 dwts.*Initials* : $\begin{matrix} K \\ I M. \end{matrix}$

150. MUFFINEER 1719.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison of Hedgeley.



Octagonal, top with star-shaped and fleur-de-lis perforations, arranged vertically (see frontispiece).

Marks : Include maker's mark, , for James Kirkup, and year letter  for 1719.*Dimensions* : $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.*Initials* : On side, *A B.*

151. PUNCH BOWL 1719 (AND COVER 1802).

Mr. T. Tinley Dale of Westoe.

Plain bowl with moulded rim and foot, two ring handles issuing from lions' heads, formerly loose but now fixed, the vessel with its later cover being now used as a soup tureen (see plate VII).

Marks : Five ; makers' mark,  probably for Robert Makepeace and F. Batty, junr., Britannia, three castles, year letter , and lion's head erased.*Dimensions* : Height of bowl, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, to top of lid, 11 inches ; diameter of bowl, 11 inches, of foot, 7 inches.*Inscriptions* : 'The Gift of the Owners of the Rotterdam Merchant to | Capt. John Clerk, 1719.' Below it, a ship in full sail to right, followed by a long inscription giving the history of the bowl and its descent to the late Mr. J. Brodrick Dale.

Arms: (1) *Gules, three frets in chief, a swan in base; crest: a heron; for Dale.* (2) *Arg., two bars gules, in chief three escallops; crest: a unicorn's head erased; for Mitcalfe.*

THE COVER, which was added in 1802, has an acorn knop.

Marks: Six; maker's mark, I L, for John Langlands, junr., lion passant, leopard's head, three castles, king's head, and year letter M, for 1802.

152. RAT-TAILED SPOON 1719.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Marks: Same as last, including year letter D, for 1719.

Dimensions: Length, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.


Weight: 2 oz. 4 dwts.

Initials: On handle, E * * * O.

153. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1721.

The Joiners' Company of Durham.

Raised moulded band round bowl about 3 inches from top, two double curved handles. Similar in shape to no. 154, plate VIII.

Marks: Five; lion passant to right, leopard's head crowned, three castles, year letter a, for 1721, and maker's mark, , for Jonathan French.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of mouth, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Inscriptions: 'Poculum Charitatis, | Peace and Good Neighbourhood,' above joiners' arms and crest; below, 'Geo. Wheler, Knight, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, 1721.'

154. TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER 1721.

Mr. L. W. Adamson.

Marks: Five; including T P, for Thomas Partis, and lion turned to right.

Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of lid, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter, 5 inches.

Weight: 21 oz. 11 dwts. (see plate VIII).

155. TANKARD 1721.

The Tanners' Company of Newcastle.

Straight-sided, with moulded lip and base, raised and moulded band about two-thirds down, domed lid with thumb-piece a lion, double curved handle.

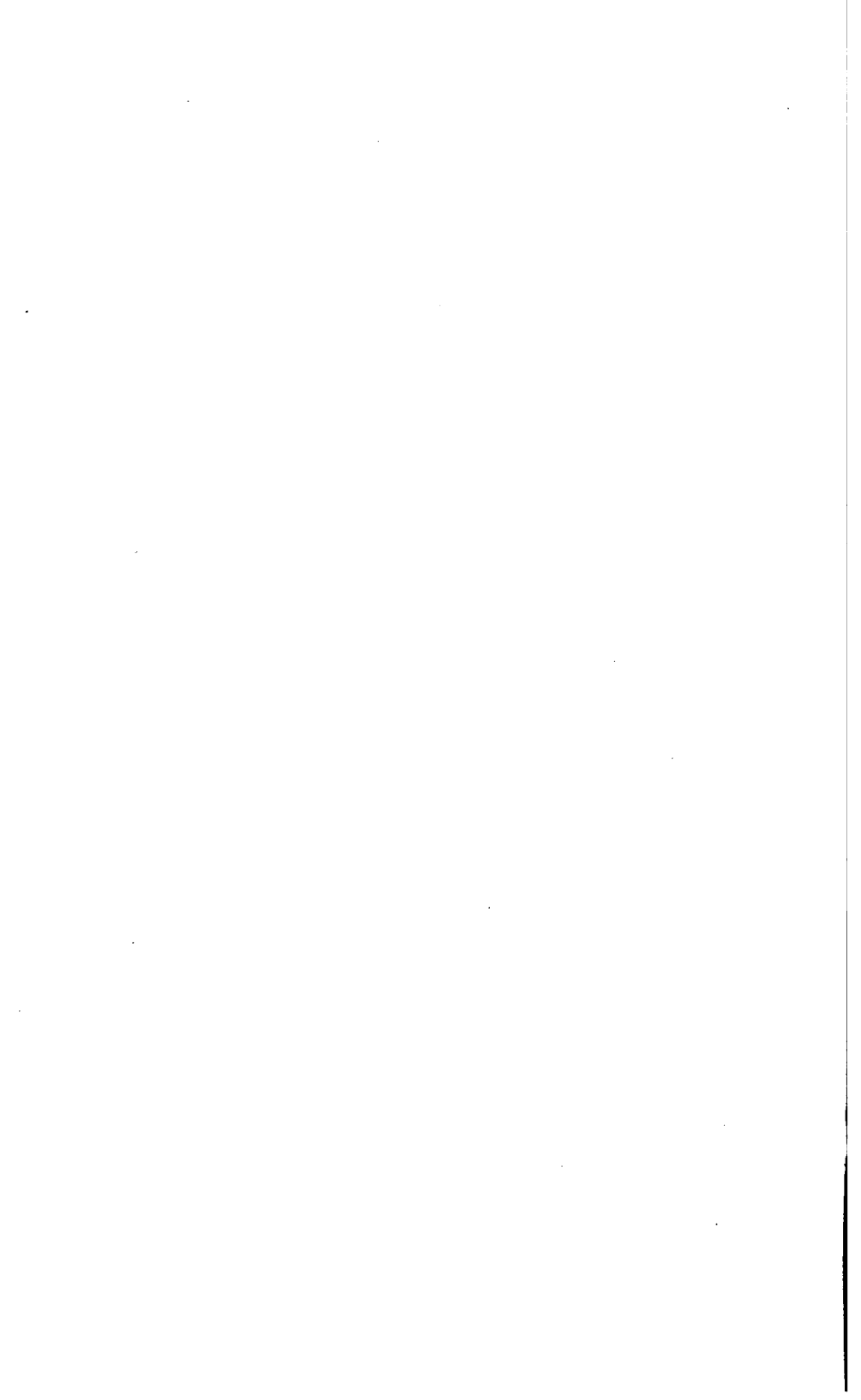


RUDDOCK, PHOTO.

No. 154.

No. 369.

This plate given by Mr. L. W. Adamson.





No. 156.

(From a photograph by Mr. R. Davison of Alnwick.)

This plate presented by Dr. Burman of Alnwick.


Marks : Include mark **3 R**, for John Ramsey the younger.

Dimensions : Height, 7 inches ; to top of lid, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

156. WINE CUP c. 1721.

The Skinners' and Glovers' Guild of Alnwick.

On baluster stem, bowl slightly bell-shaped with moulded lip.

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark, , for Jonathan French. No year letter.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter of mouth, 4 inches, of base, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Inscription : Along top, 'God save y^e King. For the use of the Aldermen of the Skinners & Glovers in Alnwick. 20 Sep^r 1725.'

Arms : Of the Skinners' Company, impaling *three stags' heads regardant*. Motto, 'To God only be all glory.'

157. FLAGON 1721.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Straight sided, with wide spreading moulded base, band around, domed cover with thumb-piece, and spout with shutter ; handle double curved.

Marks : Five—on flagon, lion passant to right, leopard's head crowned, three castles in shield with indented top, and **a**, for 1721 ; —on handle, **3 J**, for Jonathan French. Marks repeated on cover, but partly obliterated.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{4}$, at base, $5\frac{1}{2}$; girth, 13 inches.

Weight : 26 oz. 15 dwts.

Crest : *A pelican vulning herself.*

158. COFFEE POT 1722.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Straight-sided ; plain, with a little chasing round junction of handle ; domed cover with knob ; ebony handle (see frontispiece).

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, **R M**, for Robert Makepeace.

Dimensions : $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches high ; diameter at mouth, 3 inches, at moulded base, 5 inches.

Weight : Scratched on bottom, 3^{oz} : 3.

Inscription : *S. B.* on side.

159. PORRINGER 1724. *Mr. Chas. J. Spence of North Shields.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, **3 J**, for Jonathan French, and year letter, **D**, for 1724.

160. RAT-TAILED SPOON 1724. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 1 oz. 12 dwts.

Initials : On handle, S * H.

161. SALVER 1721-7. *Mr. R. Weddell of Berwick.*

Circular, on three shell-shaped feet, having gadrooned edge with shell ornament at intervals. In centre, a crest surrounded by an engraved pattern of scrolls and leaves.

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark, T P for Thomas Partis, and lion to *right*.

Crest : A horse's head bridled erased.

162. TANKARD 1728. *The Corporation of Carlisle.*

Straight-sided, with raised band about one inch from bottom, domed cover with thumb-piece, handle.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, I K, for James Kirkup, year letter **D**, for 1728.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of lid, 7 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, at base, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription : 'The Corporation Plate, Carlisle, 1730.'

'This tankard was recently found in a silversmith's shop in London and purchased by the Corporation. How it got there is not known.'—Jewitt and St. John Hope, *The Corporation Plate*, etc., vol. i. p. 108.

163 AND 164. TWO MUFFINEERS 1728. *Miss Allgood.*

Plain, cylindrical shape ; one large, the other small.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark I K, for James Kirkup and year letter **D**, for 1728.

Dimensions : Height of one $5\frac{1}{2}$, of other $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 5 oz. 13 dwts. and 2 oz. 3 dwts. respectively.

- 165. FOUR RAT-TAILED SPOONS** c. 1728. *Mrs. Mulcaster.*
Marks : Five; including maker's mark, **R** **M**, for Robert Makepeace; year letter effaced.

A castle is engraved on the end of all the spoons. They formerly belonged to the Mansion House, Newcastle, and were sold at the dispersal of the Mansion House plate.

- 166. PUNCH LADLE** 1728. *Mr. C. J. Spence.*
Marks : Four; including year letter **D**, for 1728. No maker's mark.

This fine ladle was also sold at the Newcastle Mansion House sale.

- 167. PUNCH BOWL** 1728. *Mr. John Watson.*
 Plain, with moulded rim and foot.
Marks : Five; including maker's mark, **J** **J**, for Jonathan French, and year letter **D**, for 1728.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, 12 inches, at foot, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription on side : THE INN-KEEPER'S PLATE, 1730.

- 168. PORRINGER** 1728. *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Spiral fluting round lower portion, and cable moulding round upper portion.

Marks : Five; three castles; year letter **D**, for 1728, lion passant, leopard's head crowned, and maker's mark, **J** **J**, for Jonathan French.

Dimensions : Height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 10 oz. 10 dwts.

Initials : On bottom, G T.

- 169. SALVER** 1728. *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Square-shaped, with foliage and flowers in flat chasing.
Marks : Five; same as last, but maker's mark, I K, for James Kirkup.


Dimensions : Diameter, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 19 oz. 1 dwt.

Initials : $\begin{matrix} \text{K} \\ \text{W} \cdot \text{M} \end{matrix}$.

170. TABLE SPOON 1728.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Marks : Five ; same as last, but maker's mark, , for Isaac Cookson ; this is the first year in which he made plate.

Dimensions : Length, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 1 oz. 14 dwts.

Initials : $\overset{R}{I} : \cdot E$.

171. SALVER 1729.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Round, shaped and turned up sides with scalloped edge ; on four fiddle-head shaped feet (see frontispiece).

Marks : Five ; including maker's, G B, for George Bulman, and year letter \mathfrak{J} , for 1729.

Dimensions : $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.

Initials on back, *A B*.

Arms : [or,] on two bars [gu.] six martlets, three and three, for Byne ; impaling. [] on a bend [] fimbriated or, three mullets, for

172. SALVER 1732.

Cordwainers' Company of Newcastle.

Has shaped and moulded edge.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials, $\mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{M}$, for Thomas Makepeace, and year letter \mathfrak{M} , for 1732.

Dimensions : Diameter, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'The old salver Exchang'd for This in y^e Year 1736. Geo. Alder, Geo. Johnstone, Wardens.'

173. TEA KETTLE AND STAND 1732. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*

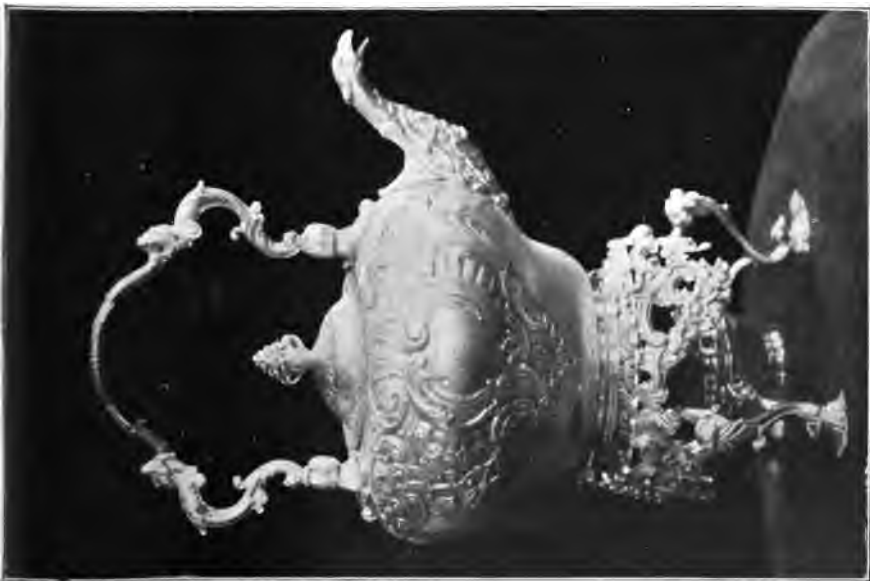
Globular, beautifully engraved round top with interlaced bands, having shells at intervals ; ebony handle and knob (see illustration plate IX. and frontispiece).

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark same as no. 170, and year letter \mathfrak{M} , for 1732.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of knob, $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arms and crest of Byne, as in no. 171, on sides in renaissance ornamentation and letters A B below.

The STAND has three double curved shell feet. The marks are a lion and three castles. It is 4 inches high, and has A B on bottom.

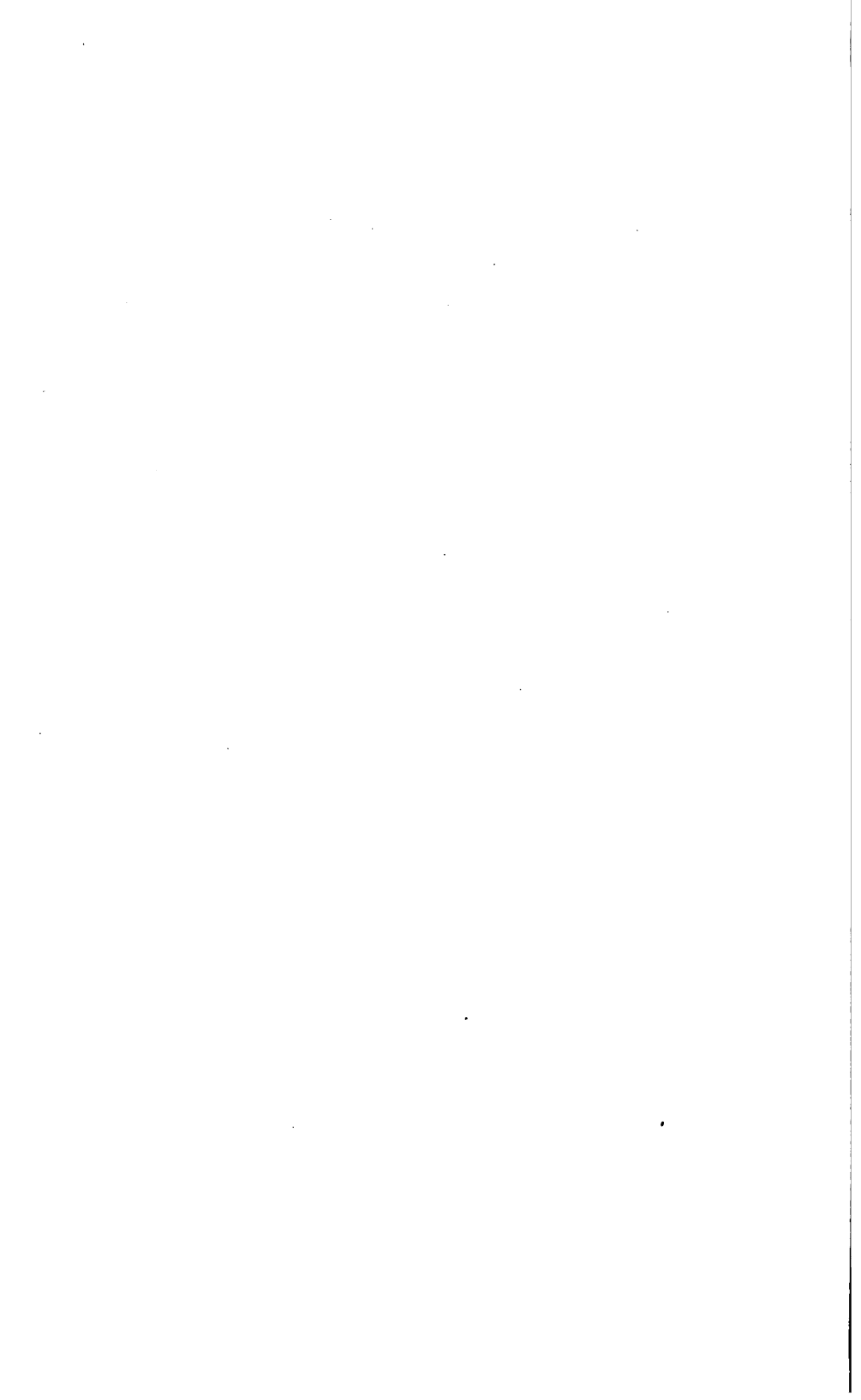


No. 242.

This plate given by Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.



No. 173.



174. SALVER 1732. *Mr. W. Orde.*

Marks : Five ; same as last.

175. TANKARD 1732. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Gadrooned round bottom and lid (see plate VI).

Marks : Five ; including G B in oblong, for George Bulman, and year letter as before for 1732.

Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at base, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

176. MUG 1732. *Mr. W. Orde.*

Slightly curved sides, moulded edge ; on moulded foot.

Marks : Five, same as last, except R M, for Robert Makepeace.

Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, at base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Arms : In mantling, *ar. on a bend purp. three mullets*, in lozenge-shaped shield.

177. SAUCE BOAT 1732. *Rev. James Allgood.*

Oval, plain, with scalloped edge.

Marks : Five ; including unknown maker's mark, I B in plain oblong, and year letter as last.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 9 oz. 17 dwts.

178. PUNCH LADLE 1732. *Major Widdrington.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark I C, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter, M, for 1732.

179. COFFEE POT 1732. *Mr. Frank Snowball.*

Marks : Five ; the same as last.

180. COFFEE POT 1732. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*

Straight-sided, with moulded base ; ebony handle (see frontispiece).

Marks : Five ; as in no. 173.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, to top of knop on lid, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, 4 inches.

Arms : In finely engraved mantling on one side : [] *a cross flory or*, for , impaling *ar. a chevron vert between three bugle horns sable*, for Forster ; and *crest, a talbot's head erased (?) above a shield*.

181. HOT WATER JUG 1732. *Mr. H. L. Pattinson.*

Marks: Five; including maker's mark G B, for George Bulman, and year letter as before for 1732.

182. TEAPOT 1732. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain, circular, with a little flat chasing of parallel bands with scroll work between, broken at equal distances by four shells round top next lid.

Marks: Five; the same as no. 172.

Dimensions: Height, without knob, 4 inches.

Weight: 14 oz.

Initials: I * T.

183. TABLE SPOON 1732. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Marks: Five; the same as no. 172.

Dimensions: Length, $8\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Weight: 1 oz. 14 dwts.

Initials: On stem, 'I. M.'

184. TODDY LADLE 1732. *Rev. E. J. Taylor.*

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, and year letter as in no. 172.

Dimensions: Size of bowl, $2\frac{2}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: 'A. W.,' the initials of a member of the Weatherley family.

185. TANKARD 1736. *Mr. J. Alkinson.*

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson as before, and year letter Q, for 1736.

186. COFFEE POT c. 1736. *Mr. John Hall.*

Bulb-shaped, beautifully chased, handle and bottom of spout chased, high lid with knop.

Marks: Four; including maker's initials G B, for George Bulman. No year letter.


Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, to top of knop on lid $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Initials: In oval shield, on side, $\frac{A}{I B}$.

187. SALVER 1736.

Miss Allgood.

Plain, with shaped border on three feet.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, , for Wm. Partis, and year letter **Q**, for 1736:

Dimensions : Diameter, $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 32 oz., 6 dwts.

188. MUG 1736.

Mr. T. A. Reid.

Plain.

Marks : Five ; including maker's initials, **R M**, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter **Q**, for 1736.

Dimensions : Height $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 16 oz. 5 dwts.

Initials : On handle, I . . . H.

189. TANKARD 1737.

Mrs. Hodgson Huntley of Carham Hall.

Straight-sided, moulded at top, spreading base, handle, and domed lid with thumb-piece.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson, as in no. 170, and year letter **R**, for 1737 ; maker's mark repeated on handle, and lion on lid. •

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; to top of lid, 7 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches ; at base, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Inscription : 'Miseris succurrere disco.'

Crest : A bird on a rock bearing a branch, for Hodgson.

190. TANKARD 1737.

Mr. Joseph A. Philipson.

Bulging sides, with a moulded band, ebony double curved handle ; domed lid with thumb-piece. A spout has been added.

Marks : Five ; same as last.




Dimensions : Height, 6 inches, to top of lid, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Inscription : (in script) 'L W to G. E. P.'

191. COFFEE POT 1738.

Mr. James Dand.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, as in no. 170, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter **S**, for 1738.

192. COFFEE POT 1738. *Major Widdrington.*
Marks : Same marks as last, except that it bears an unknown makers' mark  probably for Beilby & Co. of Durham.
193. GRAVY SPOON 1738. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Five ; as in last.
Dimensions : Length, 12½ inches ; bowl, 4 inches by 2½ inches.
194. MUG 1739. *The Weavers' Guild of Alnwick.*
 Slightly bulb-shaped, on moulded base, double curved handle.
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, , for Robert Makepeace, and year letter T, for 1739.
Dimensions : Height, 3½ inches ; diameter at mouth, 2½ inches ; at base, 2¼ inches.
Inscription : '1751 | Free Weavers in Alnwick,' and weavers' arms, three leopards' heads each with shuttle in its mouth, and motto : 'Weave truth with trust.'
195. SALVER 1739. *Mr. W. Orde.*
Marks : Five ; marks as before, except maker's mark, , for Isaac Cookson, being the first year of his mark in script.
196. TANKARD 1739. *Mr. J. W. Walker.*
Marks : Five ; same as before, but maker's mark *G B*, for George Bulman.
197. SALVER 1739. *Miss Ilderton.*
Marks : Same as no. 188.
198. SAUCE BOAT 1739. *Miss Thompson.*
Marks : Same marks as no. 188.
199. MUG c. 1739. *Mr. T. Tinley Dale.*
 Double curved handle, moulded top and bottom ; and otherwise in shape, etc., like the Alnwick weavers' mug (no. 194).
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson thrice, as in no. 195, lion passant and leopard's head crowned. Neither town nor year mark.
Dimensions : Height, 4 inches ; diameter at mouth, 2½ inches, at base, 2¼ inches.

200. MUFFINEER c. 1740. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*


Round base and sides, top with designed bands having scroll work perforations, each band between two round lines; acorn knob (see frontispiece).

Marks: apparently two only, three castles and lion; neither maker's mark nor date letter.

Dimensions: $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.

Crest: on side, a lion's head erased.

201. SALVER 1740. *Mrs. Mitchell.*

Marks: Include maker's mark, , for Isaac Cookson; other marks same as last.

202. SALVER 1740. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

On feet.

Marks: Same as last.

Dimensions: $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter.

203. MUFFINEER c. 1740. *Miss Reed of Oldtown.*

Marks: Four; including maker's mark *W P*, for William Partis. No year letter.

204. COFFEE POT 1740. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain, with swelling sides; curved ebony handle, acanthus leaf up spout, flat chasing round joinings of handle and spout, high lid with knob, on moulded foot.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark R M, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter A, for 1740.

Dimensions: Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: 30 oz. 12 dwts.

Arms: On side in mantling, in which are eagles and lions and human mask . . . a fesse between three fleurs de lis.

Crest: A lion rampant.

205. SUGAR BASIN c. 1740. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Of plain circular shape, tapering to moulded foot, threaded and moulded edge.

Marks: Three; lion passant; three castles in heart-shaped shield; maker's mark, I K, for James Kirkup. No year letter.

Dimensions : Height, 3 inches ; diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of foot, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 4 oz. 16 dwts.

206. TABLE SPOON 1740.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, *G B*, for George Bulman, and year letter A, for 1740.

Dimensions : 8 inches long.

Weight : 1 oz. 18 dwts.

Initials : On stem, $\begin{matrix} H \\ I M \end{matrix}$

207. TANKARD 1741.

Mr. W. Orde.

Bulb shaped, with moulded band round centre ; domed lid ; double curved handle ; moulded foot.

Marks : Five ; same as last, but year letter B for 1741.

Dimensions : $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arms, on front, in mantling, *az. (?)*, *three fish haurient or*, with motto on riband, *MITIS ET FORTIS*.

208. CREAM JUG 1741.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Ewer-shaped, with scalloped edge, on three feet ; curved handle.

Marks : Five ; including year letter B for 1741. Maker's mark illegible.

Dimensions : 3 inches high (see frontispiece).

209. SUGAR BASKET 1741.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Oval shaped ; sides of open scale pattern, pierced ; top edge engraved ; on four feet ; handle over on which flowers repoussé.

Marks : Five ; including maker's, *W P*, for William Partis, and year letter B for 1741.

Dimensions : $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high (see frontispiece).

210. COFFEE POT 1741.

Mr. John Watson.

Marks : Four ; including year letter B, for 1741. No maker's mark.

211 and 212. TWO TEA CADDIES 1741. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Pear shape with grooved sides, on moulded circular foot; on cover of one the letter B, and on that of the other G—doubtless for black and green tea—loose knopped cover.

Marks: Four; including maker's mark as in no. 201, and year letter B, for 1741.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight: Of both, 16 oz. 10 dwts.

Crest: *A sword impaling a winged heart.*

213. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1742.

The Blacksmiths' Company of Carlisle.

Similar in shape to the Durham joiners' cup, having moulded band.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson as in no. 201, and year letter C, for 1742.

Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, 5 inches, at base, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription: 'The Gift of John Robinson | to the Company of Smiths | 1742.'

214. SALVER 1742.

Mr. G. Riddell.

Plain, with shaped border.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for George Bulman as in no. 206, and year letter C, for 1742.

215. MUG 1742.

Mr. Joseph A. Philipson.

Similar in shape to other mugs made by Isaac Cookson, and described before.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as in no. 201, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter C, for 1742.

Dimensions: Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

216. SAUCE BOAT 1742.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Shaped edge, flat chasing on sides, on three scalloped feet, snake handle; perhaps used as a cream jug.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, W. P. in monogram, for William Partis, and year letter C, for 1742.

Dimensions : Extreme length, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; height, 2 inches.

Weight : 5 oz. 6 dwts.

217. SAUCE BOAT 1743.

Miss Allgood.

Similar in shape and decoration to last.

Marks : Same as last, but year letter D, for 1743 ; maker's mark, uncertain, probably by William Partis.

218. SALVER 1743.

Mr. William Orde.

Escalloped and moulded edge, with scroll work at intervals ; on three feet ; chased strap-work and flowers.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, as no. 201, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter D, for 1743.

Arms in mantling in centre ; *az.*, three fish haurient ar. ; and crest, a stag's head erased ppr., for Orde ; motto, TAM MITIS QVAM FORTIS.

219. SAUCE BOAT 1743.

Mr. W. H. Rayott.

Similar in shape and description to nos. 216 and 217.

Marks : Same marks as last.

220. MUG 1743.

Dr. Hardcastle.

Ordinary shape, with embossed sides.

Marks : Five same as last.

221. TANKARD 1744.

The Butchers' Company of Carlisle.

Slightly bulb-shaped, with moulded top and base, double curved handle.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, as before, for Isaac Cookson, lion passant, leopard's head, and year letter E, for 1744.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Inscription : 'The Company of Butchers at Carlisle, 1745.'

222. MUFFINEER 1744.

Mr. W. H. Knowles.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, *W P*, for William Partis, and year letter E, for 1744.

223. SMALL SALVER *c.* 1745. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*

Round, having shaped edge with shell ornament at equal distances; on three claw feet. In centre, a crest in wreath, almost erased, around it flowers repoussé (see frontispiece).

Marks: Four; including *W P*, for William Partis, but apparently no year letter.

Dimensions: $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, 9 inches diameter.

224. FOUR THREE-PRONGED DESSERT FORKS 1746.*Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Marks: Five; including maker's mark as in no. 222, for William Partis, and year letter G, for 1746.

Dimensions: Length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: Of each, $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

These are from the Newcastle Mansion house sale.

225. TANKARD 1745.*Mr. T. Taylor.*

Straight-sided, with moulded band about two-thirds down, moulded base, plain domed cover with thumb-piece.

Marks: Five; on body of tankard, lion passant, three castles in heart-shaped shield, leopard's head crowned, and year letter F, for 1745; and on handle, maker's mark, I K, for James Kirkup.

Dimensions: Height, 7 inches; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, 5 inches; girth, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: 21 oz. 18 dwts.

Initials: On handle, T $\frac{H}{*}$ E.

226. TANKARD 1746.*Miss Reed.*

Somewhat bulb-shaped, slight moulded lip, moulded base, handle double curved.

Marks: Six; including maker's mark, I K for James Kirkup, and year letters F and G, for 1745 and 1746.

Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

This tankard has two year letters, evidently the earlier one F, for 1745, has been used in error.

- 227. COFFEE POT 1746.** *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Of very small size, chased with leaves and flowers in *repoussé* work, on moulded foot; straight chased spout, ebony handle; acanthus leaf ornament on knopped lid.
Marks : Five; including *IC* for Isaac Cookson, and year letter G for 1746.
Dimensions : Height, 4 inches, to top of knop, 5 inches; diameter of mouth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- 228. SAUCE BOAT 1746.** *Mr. W. Orde.*
 Finely chased, scalloped edge with *repoussé* scrolls and leaves; on three feet formed of lions masks and claws; handle, a scaled dolphin-like fish, with head curved over; mask under spout.
Marks : Five; same as last.
Dimensions : Extreme length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height at spout, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at side, 3 inches; diameter, 4 inches.
- 229. SALT CELLAR 1747.** *Mr. W. Orde.*
 Round shaped, on three feet, formed of lion's masks and claws, like no. 228; edges wavy and gadrooned.
Marks : Five; same as last, but year letter H, for 1747.
Dimensions : Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- 230. SOUP LADLE 1747.** *Mrs. Bowness.*
Marks : Five; same as last.
- 231. SPOON 1747.** *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Double drop at back of spoon, and sharp ridge down front of stem.
Marks : Five; including *WD*, for William Dalton, and year letter H, for 1747.
Dimensions : Length, 8 inches.
Weight : 2 oz. 1 dwt.
Initials : R ^A I.
- 232. TANKARD 1748.** *Mr. C. Perkins.*
Marks : Five; as no. 227, but year letter I, for 1748.
- 233. RAT-TAILED SPOON 1748.** *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : include I K, for James Kirkup.



No. 234.

(From a Photograph by Miss Taylor of Chipchase Castle.)

234. CUP 1749.*Dr. Embleton.*

Bell-shaped on foot, bowl decorated with *repoussé* work of flowers (pinks, roses, tulips, etc.), above the inscription is a seated figure (see plate X).

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, R M, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter K, for 1749.

Dimensions: Height, 6 inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.


Weight: $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Inscription: On a panel on the side, 'L. SVNDERLAND, Esq^r, W. AYSLEY, Esq., Stewards. Mr. R. AKENHEAD, jun^r, Secretary, 1750.'

This cup has evidently belonged to some guild or trading company.

235. TANKARD 1750.*Rev. J. Allgood.*

Small, plain, with domed cover.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, , for William Beilby of Durham, and year letter L, for 1750.

Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: 16 oz. 15 dwts.

236. MUG 1750.*The Weavers' Guild, Alnwick.*

Slightly curved sides, moulded lip and base, handle with double curves.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, R M, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter L, for 1750.

Dimensions: Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth and base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Weavers' [1751 below arms] in Alnwick.'

Arms: Are in a curiously irregular shaped shield, *three human heads with large open mouths gardant*, having two rams' horns above.

237. SAUCE BOAT 1750.*Mr. T. T. Dale.*

Plain, with wavy edge, on three feet joined to body by shell-shaped ornament, scroll handle.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as before, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter L, for 1750.

Dimensions: $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches long.

238 and 239. TWO SAUCE BOATS 1750. *Miss Allgood.*

Plain, with wavy edge.

Marks : Five; including maker's mark, as before, for William Partis, and year letter L, for 1750.

Dimensions : Length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, 3 inches; diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 10 oz. 10 dwts.

240 and 241. TWO BLEEDING BOWLS 1750.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Perforated strap-work handle, moulded edge and base (see frontispiece and plate XI).

Marks : Include maker's mark as in no. 195, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter L for 1750.

Dimensions : Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches; length, including handles, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

242. KETTLE AND STAND 1751.

Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

Pear-shaped body, covered with repoussé design of flowers and leaves intermixed with strap work; ornamental shields on sides; spout an eagle's head; handle formed of two mermaids; lid with pineapple knop; a fine example of florid Georgian chasing in high relief (see frontispiece and plate IX).

Marks : Five; including maker's mark, as in no. 195, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter M, for 1751.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of knop, 8 inches; diameter of base, 3 inches.

STAND, on three shell feet, acanthus leaves round top, overhanging perforated rim.

Marks : Same as on kettle.

243. MUG 1751.

Miss Reed of Oldtown.

Straight-sided, moulded top and base, handle with double curve.

Marks : Five; same as last.

Dimensions : Height, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; at base, 4 inches.

244. SAUCE BOAT 1751.

Mrs. De Mey.

Marks : Five; including maker's mark, as before, for William Partis, and year letter M, for 1751.

Formerly belonged to the Corporation of Newcastle.



RUDDOCK,

PHOTO.

Nos. 240 and 241.

This plate given by Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.

245. MUG 1752. *General Allgood.*

Plain, usual shape.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as in no. 231, for William Dalton, and year letter N, for 1752.

246. COFFEE POT 1752. *Miss Allgood.*

Bulb shaped, chased with flowers in *repoussé*, and also with a church; fir cone ornament on cover.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, R M, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter N, for 1752.

Dimensions: Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight: 33 oz.

247. COFFEE POT 1753. *Mr. J. Caldcleugh of Durham.*

Body plain, three-fourths of spout has a rose and leaf design, ebony handle, lid of plain scallop pattern with acorn finial.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as before, for William Partis, and year letter O, for 1753.

Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with cover, $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter of foot, 4 inches.

Weight: 27 oz.

248. PORRINGER 1753. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain, bell-shaped, flat handles, with ridge down middle.

Marks: Five; three castles in heart-shaped shield, lion passant, leopard's head crowned, and maker's mark, R M, for Robert Makepeace, and year letter O, for 1753.

Dimensions: Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; at base, 2 inches.

Weight: 4 oz. 6 dwts.

249. SALVER 1753. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*

Shaped with scroll edges; on three feet (see frontispiece).

Marks: Five, including maker's mark, as before, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter O, for 1753.

Dimensions: Diameter, 7 inches; height, 1 inch.

Initials: In centre, *A B.*

250. SAUCE BOAT 1753. *Mr. J. Caldcleugh.*
 Scalloped round edges, with three ornamental scallop shell feet.
Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as before, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter O, for 1753.
Dimensions: $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.
Weight: $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Inscription: $\begin{matrix} T \\ I * E. \end{matrix}$
251. SAUCE BOAT 1753. *Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson of Newby Grange.*
Marks: Five; same as last.
252. TANKARD 1753. *Mr. J. Kirsopp.*
Marks: Five; including maker's mark, as before, for William Partis, and year letter O, for 1753.
253. MUG 1753. *Mr. Wm. Orde.*
 Ordinary shape, with moulded foot and edge; handle double curved.
Marks: Five; including maker's mark, *J H*, for John Kirkup, and year letter O for 1753.
Dimensions: Height, 5 inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; at base, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.
- 254-7. FOUR SALT CELLARS 1754. *Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*
 Bowl-shaped, on three shell feet (see frontispiece).
Marks: Four; including maker's mark as in no. 195, for Isaac Cookson, and year letter P for 1754.
Dimensions: Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Initials: On side, *A B*.
258. ROSE WATER EWER 1754. *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Chased with flowers and foliage in relief, mask with spiral horns under spout, moulded band round centre, on moulded foot chased in similar manner; terminal bust of bold design on double curved handle (see plate XII).



No. 258.

(From a photograph by Miss Taylor.)

This plate given by Mr. Taylor.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson as before, and year letter P, for 1754.

Dimensions: Height, 6 inches; diameter from lip to handle, 7 inches, of base, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight: 12 oz. 6 dwts.

259. KETTLE AND STAND 1754. *Mr. W. Orde.*

KETTLE: Globular, chased with flowers and scrolls; lid flat with acorn knob; handle double curved.

Marks: Include maker's mark, *J H*, for John Kirkup, and year letter P for 1754.

Dimensions: Diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at widest part, 7 inches, at base, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches

Arms: On one side, *az. a cross flory or*, for : crest, a fox's head erased.

STAND has strap work perforations round; overhanging edge of repoussé scrolls and wreaths of flowers; on three curved shell feet. It is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. The *marks* are same as on kettle.

260. PORRINGER 1754. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain, bell-shaped, with flat reeded handles.

Marks: Five; including makers' marks *J L* | *J G* for Langlands and Goodrick, and year letter P for 1754.

Dimensions: Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches; at base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: 4 oz. 8 dwts.

Inscription: (in script) 'The Gift of T * B | I * C | A * B to R * B, 1755.'

261. TWO SAUCE BOATS 1754. *Mrs. A. Potter.*

Plain, on three feet.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark R.M., for Robert Makepeace, and year letter P, for 1754.

Formerly the property of the Corporation of Newcastle.

262. SAUCE BOAT 1754. *Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson.*

Plain, on three shell-shaped feet.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for Isaac Cookson as before, and year letter P for 1754.

Dimensions : Length, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; width, 4 inches ; height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 3 oz. 18 dwts.

263. COFFEE POT 1755. *Mr. J. Kirsopp.*

Marks : Five ; including makers' mark, for Langlands and Goodrick as in no. 260, and year letter Q, for 1755.

264. TEAPOT 1755. *Mr. T. A. Reid.*

Marks : Five ; same as last.

265. POBRINGER 1755. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Bell-shaped, cable moulding round upper part, incised leaves at each side ; spiral flutings round lower part surrounded by similar leaves ; flat reeded handles.

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 6 oz. 13 dwts.

266. SALVER 1755. *Mr. W. Orde.*

Round, with moulded and scalloped edge ; on three scroll feet.

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; height, 1 inch.

Arms : In centre, an oval shield, *gu. (?) three fish haurient ar.*

267. SALVER 1756. *Mr. J. Kirsopp.*

Marks : Five ; as before, but year letter R, for 1756.

268. SAUCE BOAT 1756. *Mr. W. Orde.*

On three plain curved feet, handle double curved.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for John Kirkup as in no. 259, but year letter R for 1756.

Dimensions : Extreme length, 7 inches ; height at spout, 3 inches.

269. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1756. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Usual shape, with narrow moulded band round centre.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, *J L* with gem ring above, for John Langlands ; makers' marks on each handle for Langlands and Goodrick as in no. 260, and year letter R, for 1756.

Dimensions : Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, at base, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight : 13 oz.

Initials : On handle, M B.

This mark was used by John Langlands from the death of his partner, Goodrick, till May, 1757. The handles are marked with the partnership stamp.

270. MARROW SPOON 1756.

Mr. L. W. Adamson.

Marks : Same as in no. 260, but year letter R, for 1756.


Dimensions : Length, 9 inches.

Weight : $2\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

271. BOTTLE STAND(?) 1757.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Saucer-shaped, with raised bottom, probably used for holding an ordinary hollow bottomed quart wine bottle.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, , for John Langlands, and year letter S, for 1757.

Dimensions : Height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of top, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of hollow base, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 3 oz. 12 dwts.

Initials : W M.

This year letter is of a slightly ornamental character and often occurs on plate, and was probably used during the year 1758 also, as no piece of plate is known bearing the letter T for that year.

272. TANKARD 1757.

Mr. Sheriton Holmes.

Straight-sided, moulded rim and base, band round, handle rounded outside, flat inside.

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, as last, for John Langlands, and year letter S, for 1757.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

273. TANKARD 1757.

Mr. H. E. Taylor.

Bellied, with moulded band, handle double curved, domed lid with thumb-piece.

Marks : Five, as before ; maker's mark on handle, for John Langlands ; leopard's head repeated on lid.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to top of lid, $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches ; diameter of base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

274. TANKARD 1757. *Mr. J. W. Pease of Pendower, Benwell.*
Marks: Same as last.
275. TANKARD 1757. *Major Widdrington, of Newton-on-the-Moor.*
Marks: Same as no. 273.
276. MUG 1757. *Joiners' Company of Durham.*
 Bellied sides, similar to others previously described, handle double curved.
Marks: Four; including year letter ornamented S, for 1757. No maker's mark.
Dimensions: Height, 4 inches; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.
Inscription: On side, 'This belongs to the Company of Joiners | in DURHAM.'
277. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1757. *Mr. T. Turner Farley.*
 Plain, with moulded band.
Marks: Five; including maker's mark for John Langlands, and year letter S, for 1757, as in no. 271.
Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Weight: 36 oz.
278. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1757. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
 Similar to last but smaller, and marks the same.
Dimensions: Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
279. TANKARD 1757. *Joiners' Company of Durham.*
 Straight-sided, domed lid with thumb-piece, handle.
Marks: Five; same as last. Maker's mark repeated on handle; lion repeated on lid.
Dimensions: Height, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches, to top of lid, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter, at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
Arms: On front, on an egg-shaped shield, with left side hollowed out and mantling, the joiners' arms.
Inscription: (in script) 'This Tankard belongs to the Company of Joiners in Durham.'

280. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1757. *Mr. Norman Cookson.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's and other marks, as last.
281. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1757. *Mr. Watson Askew-Robertson of Ladykirk.*
 Plain, with moulded band.
Marks : As on last cup.
Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of foot, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Weight : 43 oz. 15 dwts.
282. COFFEE POT 1757. *Miss Reed.*
 Ewer shaped, embossed with flowers and leaves, flat handle, large embossed shell at junction of spout ; acorn knop on lid.
Marks : Same as last.
Dimensions : Height, 8 inches ; to top of knop on lid, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
283. COFFEE POT 1757. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Same as no. 279.
Dimensions : Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at base, 4 inches.
284. COFFEE POT 1757. *Major Widdrington.*
Marks : As on last.
285. TEA POT 1757. *Mr. John Hall.*
 Pear shaped, *repoussé* with leaves and flowers, flutings next moulded base.
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for John Langlands and year letter as before.
286. SALVER 1757. *Miss Allgood.*
 Plain with shaped border, on three feet.
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for William Partis and year letter S, for 1757 as before.
Dimensions : Diameter, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Weight : 8 oz. 2 dwts.

287-9. THREE SUGAR CASTERS 1757. *Mrs. Hodgson Huntley.*

All alike, body divided by a gadrooned band, lower part pear shaped, rim and base gadrooned, cover with spiral lines at intervals, between which are perforations ; on top an acorn-shaped knob.

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Of two, height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, diameter of base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; of the third, height, 9 inches, diameter of base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Crest on front : A beacon inflamed proper, for Compton.

290. BOX 1757.*Mr. T. Taylor.*

Of cylindrical form, domed lid with knob, two raised bands, fruit and flowers *repoussé* on body and lid ; spreading and moulded base.

Marks : Five ; including date letter S as before for 1757, and maker's mark, *J H*, for John Kirkup.

Dimensions : Height at top of lid, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at top, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at base, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 4 oz. 11 dwts.

291. TANKARD 1759.*Mr. F. M. Laing.*

Straight-sided, with raised and moulded band, moulded edge and base, domed lid with thumb-piece ; spout has been added.

Marks : Five ; including *S*, for 1759, and maker's mark for John Langlands as before ; lion repeated on lid.

292. BEAKER 1759.*Mr. Norman Cookson.*

Marks : Same as last.

293. MUG 1759.*Mr. A. Leather Culley.*

Marks : Same as last.

294. MUG 1759.*Mrs. Hodgson Huntley.*

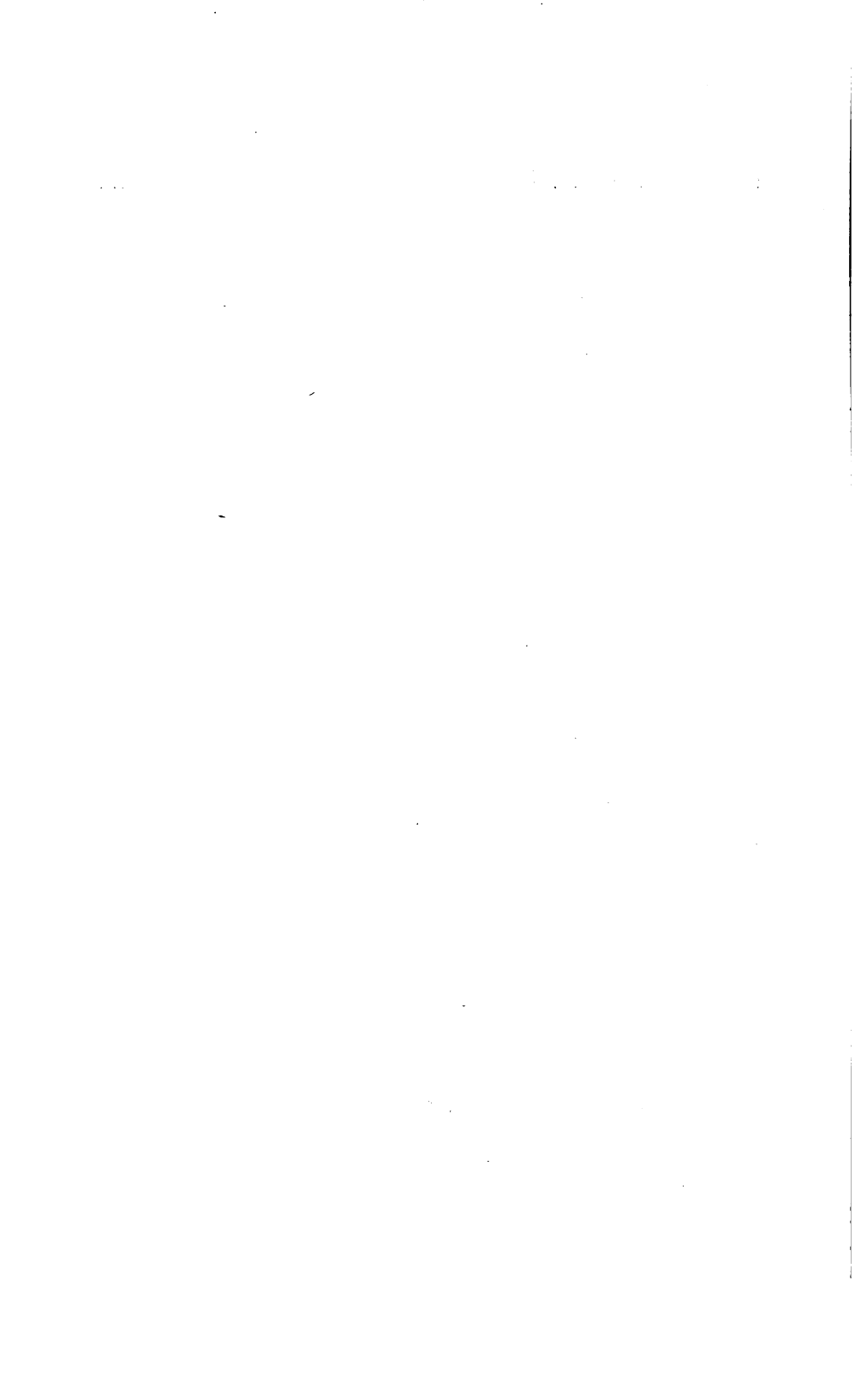
Marks : Same as last.

Dimensions : Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, at base, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Crest on front : A beacon inflamed proper, for Compton.

295. MUG 1759.*Mr. W. F. Hall.*

Marks : Same as last.





Nos. 300 and 301.

This plate given by Miss Allgood.

296. MUG 1760.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Straight-sided, *repoussé* with flowers and foliage, moulded top and bottom ; double curved round handle.

Marks : Five ; including year letter *B*, for 1760, and maker's mark for John Langlands as before.

Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, 3 inches.

Weight : 5 oz. 17 dwts.

297. SUGAR CASTER 1760.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Octagonal-sided, narrow moulded band half way down. Moulded edge and base ; pierced top, surmounted by a button-shaped knob.

Marks : Five ; same as last.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of mouth, 2 inches, at base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 8 oz. 12 dwts.

298. SPOON 1760.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Single drop, with chased shell on back of bowl. Stem with turned up end and sharp ridge down front.

Marks : Five ; same as last but I K, for John Kirkup.

Dimensions : Length, 8 inches.

Weight : 1 oz 16 dwts.

299. TANKARD c. 1760.

The Blacksmiths' Guild of Carlisle.

Straight-sided, domed lid with thumb piece, handle.

Marks : Two on lid ; lion passant and maker's mark, I L, for John Langlands. Probably other marks are on bottom, but it is plugged with wood.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; to top of lid, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Inscription : 'The Gift of Humphrey Senhouse of Netherhall, Esq., one of the Aldermen of the City of Carlisle to the Fraternity of Smiths of the same City, 1760.'

300 AND 301. TWO CANDLESTICKS c. 1760. *Miss Allgood.*

Plain, with slender baluster stem, on square foot with circular depression in it (see plate XIII).

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before. No year letter.


Dimensions : Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight of each : 19 oz. 10 dwts.

302. TABLE SPOON c. 1760.

Miss Allgood.

Shell ornamentation on back of bowl.

Marks : Four ; including , for Samuel Thompson. No year letter.

Dimensions : Length, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 1 oz. 10 dwts.

303. ROSEWATER EWER 1760-9.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Divided into two parts by a raised moulded band ; upper part *repoussé* with flowers and foliage, and mask under spout, a band of acanthus leaves round lower part, short plain stem and circular foot chased with sea monsters, cupids, etc. ; scalloped and moulded edge, with shell ornament at intervals ; handle formed of a female figure.

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before. No year letter.

Dimensions : Height in front, 9 inches ; extreme width from lip to handle, 8 inches ; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : 33 oz. 10 dwts.

In the period 1760-9 no year letter is given in the goldsmiths' books, and probably none was used.

304. BEAKER c. 1760-9.

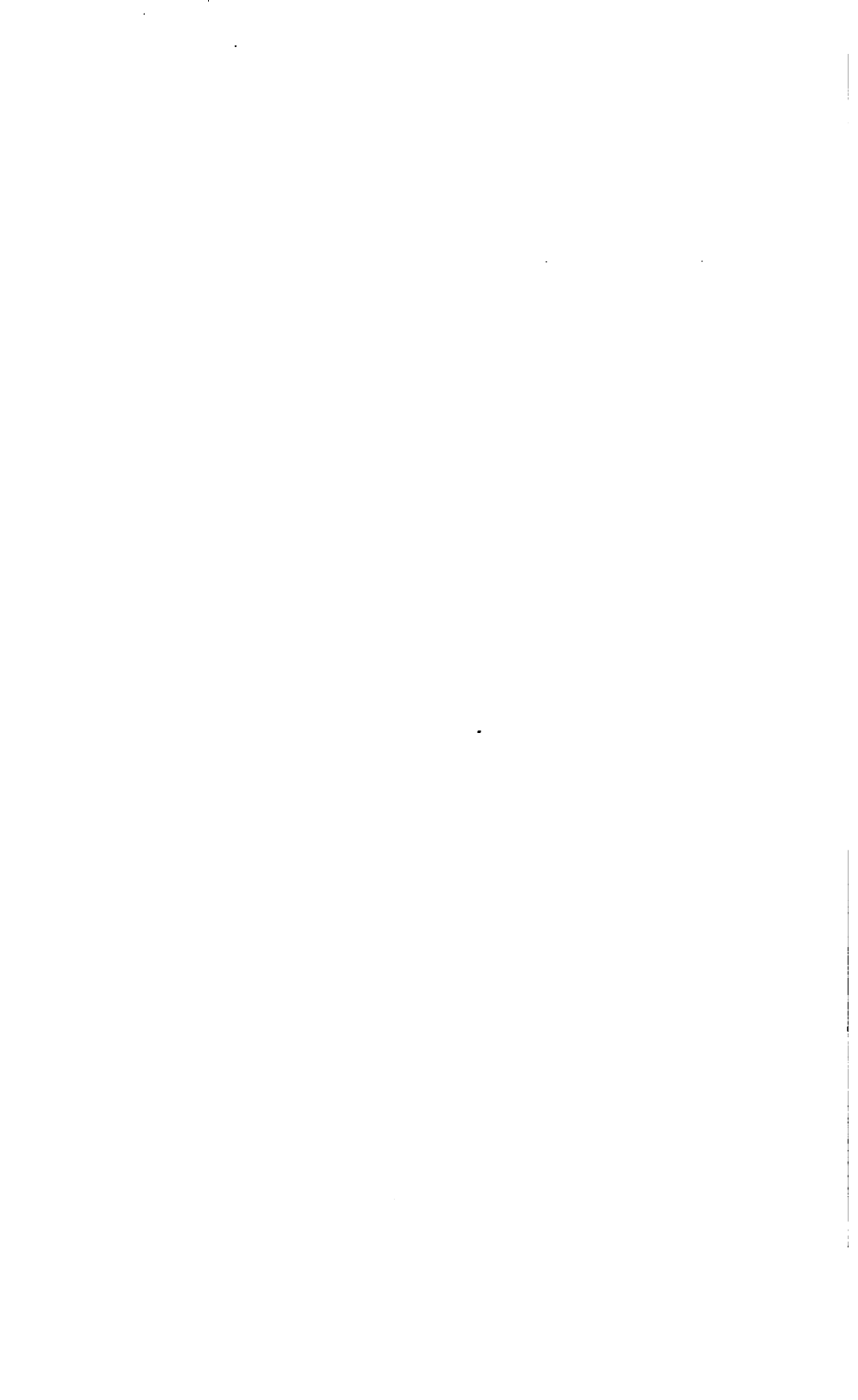
Mr. T. Taylor.

Straight-sided slightly tapering to base, moulded top, decorated in style of queen Ann porringers with cable band $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from top, and rows of three-lobed leaves incised above and below ; spiral flutings from half way down to within one inch of hollow bottom.

Marks : Four ; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before. No year letter.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Weight : 12 oz.





No. 306.

(From a Photograph by Miss Taylor.)

This plate given by Mr. T. Taylor.

305. TANKARD 1769.*Mr. F. M. Laing.*

Straight-sided, with raised moulded band and moulded base; lid with thumb-piece; spout has been added which has modern hall marks, including queen's head.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before; lion repeated on lid, I L on handle, and year letter C, for 1769.

Dimensions: Height, 6 inches, to top of lid, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, at base, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Inscription: Under base, C W, 1769; crest and motto engraved on side.

306. TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER 1769. *Mr. T. Taylor.*

Same shape as Durham joiners' cup. Moulded top and base; raised band round centre; ornamented below band with plain and open ribs alternately, the latter filled in with diagonal strap work; cover similarly ornamented; round handles, double curved; knop on lid (see plate XIV).

Marks: Five; same as last; maker's mark repeated on rim of cover.

Dimensions: Height to top of knop on lid, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, 4 inches.

Weight: 39 oz. 5 dwts.

307. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1770.*Mr. J. Watson.*


Marks: Five; including maker's mark, I·K, for John Kirkup, and year letter D, for 1770.

308. TANKARD 1772.*Mrs. Mitchell.*

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before, and year letter S, for 1772.

309. SAUCE BOAT 1772.*Mr. T. Taylor.*

Plain with wavy edge, on three plain feet, usual handle turning over bowl.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, , for James Crawford, and year letter S, for 1772.

Dimensions: Height at spout, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; from spout to handle, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: 3 oz. 6 dwts.

Initials: On bottom I $\overset{K}{\therefore}$ A, on one side I K, on other side crest, a dove.

310. JUG 1773.

Mr. Joseph A. Philipson.

Ewer shaped, with high knopped lid, spout and handle.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for John Langlands, as before, and year letter G for 1773.

Dimensions: Height, without lid, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

311. TANKARD 1774.

Mr. John Hall.

Bulb-shaped, with moulded rim and base, no lid.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark, I I, for John Jobson, and year letter H, for 1774.

Dimensions: Height, 7 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Initials: *S M C* on front.

312. TANKARD 1774.

Mr. T. Taylor.

Plain, straight-sided, with convex bottom and moulded edge, on four pomegranate feet, from each of which a four-leaved ornament rises ; cover slightly domed, with thumb-piece formed of two pomegranates ; on upper part of handle floral interlaced ornament in relief.

Marks: Five ; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before, and year letter H, for 1774.

Dimensions: Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches at base, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Weight: 30 oz.

On front a modern monogram.

313. TANKARD 1774.

Dr. Hardcastle.

Marks: Five ; same as last.

314. TANKARD 1774.

Miss Thompson.

Marks: Five ; including makers' mark, I.H | H.E, for Hetherington and Edwards, and year letter H, for 1774.

315. MUG 1774.

Marks: Five; including makers' mark, W S | I.M., for Stalker and Mitchison, and year letter H, for 1774.

316. COFFEE POT AND STAND 1774.

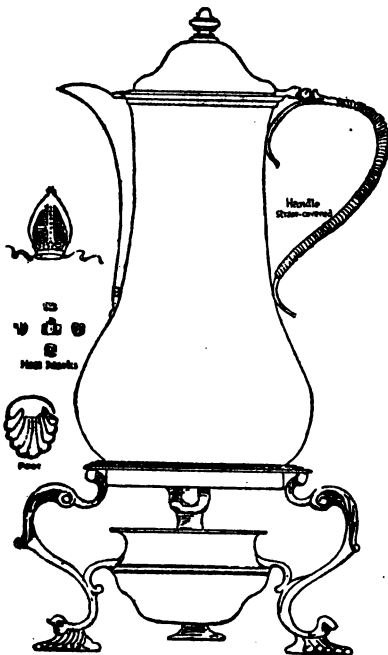
The Bishop of Durham.

Both very graceful in shape, knopped lid, spout, straw-covered handle.

Marks: Five; including maker's mark for John Langlands, as before, and year letter H, for 1774.

Dimensions: Height, 5½ inches; to top of knop on lid, 7 inches.

This is the so-called 'Bishop Butler coffee pot,' but as it was not made until 1774, it could not have been the bishop's property.

**317. SUGAR CASTER 1774.**

Mr. T. Taylor.

Of usual form, with spiral fluting on lower half, and also smaller fluting round moulded top and foot; top with hollow spiral lines at intervals, between them three sets of seven holes, and pierced scroll ornament alternately; surmounted by acorn-like knop.

Marks: Five; same as last.




Dimensions: Height, 10 inches; diameter of base, 3 inches; girth round widest part, 12 inches.

Weight: 11 oz. 7 dwts.

Arms: Quarterly 1st and 4th barry of eight ar. and gules, a cross fretty sa. for Gower; 2nd and 3rd az. 3 laurel leaves or, for Leveson. Supporters, 2 wolves az. collared and lined or.

Crest: A wolf passant ar. collared and lined or.

Motto: On a riband, 'Frangas non flectes.'

318. TABLE SPOON 1774. *Miss Thompson.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark , for J. Hetherington, and year letter H, for 1774.
319. SOUP LADLE 1774. *Dr. Burman of Alnwick.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark *ℳ ℳ*, for James Jobson, and year letter H, for 1774.
Initials : $\overset{L}{W} * I$.
320. TEA POT 1776. *Mr. J. Wilson.*
 Plain, oval-shaped, beaded top and bottom, straight spout, flat lid with knop, and handle.
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark for John Langlands as before, and year letter K, for 1776.
Initials : 'A D W' on side, 'I A' on bottom.
321. GRAVY SPOON 1779. *Mr. Sheriton Holmes.*
 Has cable-moulded handle.
Marks : Five ; including makers' marks W S | I M, for Stalker and Mitchison, and year letter N, for 1779.
Dimensions : Length, 11½ inches.
Initials in monogram on end of handle, 'R J S' in circle with 4 roses at equal distances.
322. TABLE SPOON 1778. *Mr. G. B. Blagdon of Durham.*
Marks : Including maker's mark, , for James Crawford, and year letter M, for 1778.
323. TABLE SPOON 1779. *Mr. G. B. Blagdon.*
Marks : Same as last, but N for 1779.
324. TANKARD 1780. *Mrs. Wilson.*
Marks : Including makers' marks , for Langlands and Robert-son, and year letter O, for 1780.

- 325. MUG 1780.** *The Rev. E. J. Taylor.*
 Of plain design.
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as last, and year letter O, for 1780.
Dimensions : Height, 5 inches ; diameter of mouth, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; of base, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
Crest : A ram's head erased proper, and motto, 'Sit sine labe.'
Inscription : I W, for Ilderton Weatherley, *vide* Welford's *Men of Mark*.
- 326. SUGAR CASTER 1780.** *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Similar to no. 317.
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as in no. 324, and year letter O for 1780.
Arms : Same as on no. 317.
Dimensions : About the same.
Weight : 10 oz. 13 dwts.
- 327. GRAVY SPOON 1780.** *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark,

RP
RS

 for Pinkney and Scott.
Dimensions : Extreme length, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; bowl, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- 328. TEA POT 1781.** *Rev. J. Allgood.*
 Plain, oval-shaped, with beading round top and base, and also round lid ; straight spout.
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter P, for 1781.
Dimensions : Height, 4 inches.
Weight : 14 oz. 15 dwts.
- 329. TEA POT 1781.** *The Rev. E. H. Adamson.*
 Oval, straight-sided, chased in low relief, flat lid, straight spout.
Marks : Same as on last.
Dimensions : Length, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; breadth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; height, 4 inches ; circumference, 14 inches ; height to lid, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 330. SAUCE BOAT 1781.** *Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, I.H for J. Hetherington, and year letter P, for 1781.
Dimensions : Height at spout, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; length from spout to handle, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; length of base, 3 inches.
Weight : 3 oz. 1 dwt. 10 grs.
- 331. TANKARD 1782.** *Mrs. L. W. Philipson.*
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter Q, for 1782.
- 332. TANKARD 1782.** *Mr. Ellis of Hexham.*
 Usual shape, with spiral gadrooning round base and cover.
Marks : Same as last.
- 333. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1782.** *Mrs. E. Carr.*
 Plain, with moulded band.
Marks : Same as last.
- 334. COFFEE POT 1782.** *Mr. F. M. Laing.*
 Bulb shaped, gadrooned round mouth and base, spout fluted next body ; high knopped lid, gadrooned next knop and round edge.
Marks : Five ; same as no. 324.
Dimensions : Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; to top of knop, 12 inches ; diameter at mouth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at base, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Weight : 25·0 scratched under base.
Inscription : Under bottom, 'A gift from the Owners of the ATALANTA to Mrs. Cram 1783 April 3.' A ship engraved on side.
- 335. COFFEE POT 1782.** *Miss Thompson.*
Marks : Same as no. 321.
- 336. MUG 1782.** *Mr. H. L. Pattinson.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark W.S | I.M, for G. Stalker and John Mitchison, and year letter Q, for 1782.
- 337. COFFEE POT 1783.** *Mr. Brodrick Dale.*
 Ewer-shaped, with high urn-shaped knopped lid ; spout fluted next body ; base gadrooned ; handle double curved (see plate XV).



J. P. GIBSON, PHOTO.

No. 337.

This plate given by Mr. Brodrick Dale.

Marks: Five; including makers' marks for Langlands and Robertson as in no. 324, and year letter R, for 1783.

Dimensions: Height, without lid, 8 inches; diameter at mouth, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; at base, 4 inches.

Initials: On side, P.T.L.

338. TEA POT 1783.

Mr. W. Orde.

Oval, with sides fluted vertically; straight spout; ebony knob and handle; sides engraved with festoons of flowers.

Marks: Five; same as last.

On one side: *arms* on shield in centre, *three fish haurient*, as before, and on other, letters *S M O* in monogram.

339. TWO TABLE SPOONS 1783.

Mr. L. W. Adamson.

Marks: Five; including that of Stalker & Mitchison as in no. 321.

Dimensions: Length, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight: About 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

340-1. TWO SAUCE BOATS 1784.

Colonel Adamson.

Marks: Five; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter S, for 1784.

342. TANKARD c. 1784.

Mrs. Hodgson Huntley.

Marks: Four; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before; no year letter.

343. MUG c. 1784.

Mr. A. Leather Culley.

Marks: Four; same as last.

344. GRAVY SPOON c. 1784.

Mrs. Hodgson Huntley.

Marks: Four; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before; no leopard's head; year letter illegible.

Initials: On handle, J. H.

345. TWO TABLE SPOONS c. 1784.

Mr. L. W. Adamson.

Marks: Five; including king's head *incuse*, and makers' mark as before for Langlands and Robertson; no year letter.

Dimensions: Length, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Weight: About 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

- 346. TWO DESSERT SPOONS** c. 1784. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Same as last.
- 347. MUSTARD POT** 1784. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark as before for Langlands and Robertson.
Dimensions : Height, 2 inches ; diameter, 2 inches.
- 348. TANKARD** 1785. *Miss Allgood.*
 Plain, straight-sided, with swelling base ; domed cover, and open-work thumb piece ; oblique gadrooning round cover and base.
Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, year letter T for 1785, and king's head incuse.
Dimensions : Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at foot, 6 inches.
Weight : 39 oz. 5 dwts.
- 349. TANKARD** 1785. *Rev. T. E. Crawhall.*
 Usual shape.
Marks : Six ; same as last.
- 350. MUG** 1785. *Mr. Joseph A. Philipson.*
 Straight-sided, moulded top and bottom, covered with repoussé work of later date.
Marks : Six ; same as no. 324.
Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.
- 351-2. TWO SAUCE BOATS** 1785. *Miss Allgood.*
 Boat-shaped, with handles at each end ; on oval foot ; beaded ornament round rim, handle and foot.
Marks : Six ; same as no. 324.
Dimensions : Length, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; height at centre, 4 inches.
Weight of each : 12 oz. 13 dwts.
- 353-4. TWO SAUCE BOATS** 1785. *Captain Bates.*
 Plain, with wavy edges.
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark for John Mitchison as before, and year letter T, for 1785.

- 355. TANKARD 1786.** *Cordwainers' Company of Durham.*
 Straight sided, with moulded band half way down, moulded lip and base ; no lid.
Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, year letter U, for 1786, and king's head incuse.
Dimensions : Height, 7 inches ; diameter at mouth, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at base, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Inscription : 'This Tankard was Bought By the Company of Cordwainers | Stephen Lumley and John Sharp | Wardens | John Sanderson and William Judson | Stewards. | Johanne Patrick, Aldermano.
- 356. TEA CADDY 1788.** *Miss Reed.*
 Oblong, with corners cut off ; knop ; letter B on side.
Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, year letter X, for 1788, and king's head in relief.
- 357. SKEWER 1788.** *Mrs. Hodgson Huntley.*
Marks : Six ; same as last.
- 358. SKEWER 1789.** *Mr. T. T. Dale.*
Marks : include makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as on no. 324, and year letter Y, for 1789. *Dimensions :* Length, 13 inches.
- 359. SPOON c. 1787-90.** *Mr. T. Taylor.*
 Plain stem with end turned down.
Marks : Five ; including makers' mark $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} R \\ P \\ R \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ for Pinkney and Scott ; no year letter. *Dimensions :* Length, 9 inches. *Weight :* 2 oz. 2 dwts.
Initial : B on stem.
- 360-1. TWO SAUCE BOATS 1790.** *Mr. G. Riddell of Felton Park.*
 Oval-shaped, with handles at each end.
Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter Z, for 1790.
- 362. SAUCE BOAT c. 1790.** *Rev. T. E. Crawhall.*
Marks : Five ; including maker's mark as in no. 322 for James Crawford ; no year letter.
- 363. TWO TABLE SPOONS 1790.** *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark as in no. 322 for James Crawford. *Dimensions :* Length, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. *Weight* about $3\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

364. TWO THREE-PRONGED FORKS c. 1790.*Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark as before for John Mitchison.

Dimensions : Length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Arms of Newcastle in shield.

From Mansion house sale.

365. TANKARD 1791.*Mr. T. Taylor.*

Straight-sided, tapering slightly from base upwards ; flat cover with open thumb-piece ; spiral gadrooning round moulded base and cover.

Marks : Six ; including maker's mark for John Mitchison, as before, and year letter A for 1791. Maker's mark repeated on handle ; all marks repeated on inside of rim of cover.

Dimensions : Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of mouth, 4 inches, of base, 5 inches.

Weight : 29 oz. 6 dwts.

366. CAKE BASKET 1791.*Mr. J. R. Carr-Ellison.*

Bowl shaped, with invected edge, small engraved pattern ; handle reeded ; reeded round base (see frontispiece).

Marks : Six ; including makers' marks as before for Langlands and Robertson, and year letter A for 1791.

Dimensions : 15 inches long, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high at ends.

Crest : A bull's head.

367. TANKARD 1791.*Mr. J. W. Pease.*

Usual shape.

Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter A, for 1791.

368. FIVE THREE-PRONGED FORKS c. 1793.*Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark, T W in small oblong, for Thomas Watson ; no year letter.

Dimensions : Length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Arms of Newcastle in shield on end.

From the Mansion house sale.

369. TEA POT AND STAND 1794. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Marks : Six ; including maker's mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter D, for 1794.

Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches with stand ; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches (see plate VIII).

370. MILK EWER 1794. *Mr. J. Watson.*

Marks : Six ; including makers' mark for Langlands and Robertson as before, and year letter D, for 1794.

371. TWO TEASPOONS c. 1795. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*

Marks : Five ; including maker's mark as in no. 368 for Thomas Watson ; no year letter.

372. TWO-HANDLED CUP 1795. *Mr. E. B. Blagdon.*

Egg-shaped, of classical design, with tall and slender handles.

Marks : Six ; including maker's mark A·H with gem ring above, for Anthony Hedley, and year letter E, for 1795.

373. SUGAR CASTER c. 1796. *Miss Reed.*

Urn-shaped, square base, beaded round top and at widest part.

Marks : Five ; including makers' mark T W, for Thomas Watson.

Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of base, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

374. TWO TABLE SPOONS 1797. *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*


Marks : Six ; including G L, I W in quatrefoil, unknown makers' marks, and year letter G, for 1797.

Dimensions : Length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Weight : $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

375. COFFEE POT 1798. *Rev. T. E. Crawhall.*

Marks : Six ; including maker's mark I L in oval, for John Langlands the younger, and year letter H, for 1798.

- 376. TEA POT AND STAND 1798.** *Rev. T. E. Crawhall.*
Marks : Six ; same as last.
- 377. CAKE BASKET 1798.** *Mr. G. Riddell.*
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark I R in oblong, for John Robertson, and year letter H, for 1798.
- 378. TABLE SPOON 1798.** *Mr. L. W. Adamson.*
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark , for Christian Reed, and year letter H, for 1798.
- 379. TANKARD 1799.** *Mr. M. Powell.*
 Usual shape with moulded band, moulded top and base, domed lid with thumb-piece.
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark as before for John Langlands the younger, and year letter I, for 1799.
Dimensions : Height, $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches, to top of lid, $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, 4 inches, at base, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.
Inscription : 'To the memory of | George Maxwell, mason | who died September 14th, 1732 | William Charlton, Christopher Wilkie | Stewards, 1800.'
- 380. TEA POT 1799.** *Mr. T. G. Gibson of Lesbury.*
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark as before for John Robertson, and year letter I, for 1799.
- 381. CREAM EWER 1799.** *The Rev. E. J. Taylor.*
 Partly fluted, with shield.
Marks : Six ; including maker's marks T. W., for Thomas Watson as before, and year letter I, for 1799.
Dimensions : Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; diameter at mouth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at base, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Crest : Out of a ducal coronet *or*, a dexter arm in armour, embowed, holding a sword.
Inscription : I. T. [for Commander John Taylor, R.N.] ; on the other shield, G [Gow].
- 382. CREAM JUG c. 1799.** *Mr. George Nicholson of South Shields.*
Marks : Six ; same as last.

- 383. MUSTARD POT c. 1799.** *Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson.*
 Oval shaped, conical lid with knob.
Marks : Four ; including maker's mark as before for John Robertson ; no year letter.
Dimensions : $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.
Weight : 3 oz. 6 dwts.
- 384. WINE STRAINER 1799.** *Mr. Joseph A. Philipson.*
Marks : Six ; including year mark I, for 1799 ; maker's mark illegible.
- 385. PUNCH LADLE 1799.** *Mr. L. W Adamson.*
Marks : Six ; including maker's mark as in no. 368 for Thomas Watson.
Dimensions : Length of handle, 12 inches, of bowl, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches inside.
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II.—THE VISITS OF CHARLES I. TO NEWCASTLE IN 1633, 1639, 1641, 1646-47, WITH SOME NOTES ON CONTEMPORARY LOCAL HISTORY.¹

By C. S. TERRY, M.A.

[Read on the 27th April and the 25th May, 1898.]

In 1633, Charles visited Newcastle on his way to Scotland for his coronation. The last royal progress towards the north had been in the year 1617;² elaborate preparations were therefore necessary for Charles's reception. The justices of the several counties through which his journey would carry him were required to examine and report on the condition of the bridges and highways. As early as March 13th, the justices of Northumberland had reported to the council that a careful survey had been made, and that the roads and bridges would be in a sufficient state of repair by the time Charles arrived.³ On

¹ The materials upon which this attempt to piece together the story of an obscure period of local history has been constructed have been provided, to some extent, by the collections of seventeenth-century pamphlets in the possession of this society and of the public library of this town, but chiefly from the invaluable 'King's Pamphlets' in the British Museum. The corporation records have yielded some items which had escaped the notice of Hornby, while certain minutes published by him have gained an additional meaning by corroboratory details from other sources. The accounts of St. Mary's, Gateshead, and of the Trinity house, have furnished a few details, as also the State Papers and the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. I am further indebted to Mr. Richard Welford, M.A., and to Mr. C. J. Spence, for permission to consult their valuable collections of local literature.

² Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*; on this visit to Scotland the Scotch ship the 'Vanguard' of 'Kincollie' had been chartered to transport the royal buckhounds from Harwich to Scotland. *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1631-33, p. 590.

³ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1631-33;

Right honorable and other very good Lords :

Uppon the receipt of yo : Lorships Pres dated at Whitehall the 16th day of January, 1632, wee appointed a meeting that we mighte consulte together how to devise ourselves within our hon'ble devisions, accordinge to yo' hon' comande ; for the speedy and present repaire of the bridges and highways. Att which meetinge we gave order for an exact survey and view of the bridges and wayes deficient, and have nowe accordinge to our best iudgmente, taken speedy course for their present repaire. And wee doubt not but before his Ma^{tie} shall come down, they wilbe sufficiently repayed, according to yo Lo^{ps} comande, which with all due obedience wee shall ever be readie to execute.

And soe we humbly take our leues, and shall always reste.

Your Lordships, ready to be commanded.

John Fenwick.

John Deland.

William Carnaby.

Cuthbert Heron.

Jo: Barring.

William Widdrington.

Morpeth in Northumberland
the 13th of March, 1632.

March 19th, the justices of Durham made a similar report.⁴ The accounts of Gateshead parish church bear testimony to the manner in which the order of council was carried out in that town.

1633. It. paid to William Bankes for laying 48 yeardes of new stone for repaires in the bottle banke, 8l. 8s. 6d.

It. pd. to workmen for makinge the streats even at the king's coming, 18s. 4d.

It. pd. to — for paneing the streat, 5s. 7d.

It. pd. for pulling doune the middle stalles, 1s. 8d.

It. pd. to the piper for playing to the menders of the highwaies several Daies, 3s. 4d.

About ten o'clock in the morning, on Monday, June 3rd, Charles left Durham and arrived at Newcastle in the evening, accompanied by the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, the marquis of Hamilton, Dr. Laud, and others.⁵ Sir William Selby's house was provided for his accommodation.^{5a} Neither in Gateshead nor in Newcastle is there any record of Charles's reception beyond the usual minutes for the expenses of ringing the church bells.⁶ His coronation day had been celebrated on March 27th, in Newcastle, on which

⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1631-33;

Right Honorable:—

Upon the receipte of yo: Lordships letters of the sixteenth of January last, wee his Ma^{tyes} Justices of the Peace of this Countye of Durham have mett together and taken care for all the high wayes and bridges lying in the high roade, and speciallye in the great high roade lying betwene the southern and northern partes, which (God willing) shall be in sufficyent repayre as soone as the season of the yeare shall permitt, and before the tyme of His Ma^{tyes} coming into this Countye, and thus we humbly reeste.

Your Lorships to be commanded.

Thomas Tempest.
George Long.
John Barnley.
Francis James.
Thomas Lydkett.
Chr: Fulthorpe.
Ferd: Morecrost.
Hughe Wrighte.
Jo: Richardson.
Edward Wrighte.
Thos Riddell.
Jo: Robson.
Jo: Cosin.

Durham. March 19th 1632.

⁵ Bourne, *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 229, on authority of Echard. ^{5a} *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1633-34; No. 36 i.

⁶ St. Mary's, Gateshead, Accounts: 'Pd. to Ringing these severall Daies, 9s. 4d.' All Saints', Newcastle, Accounts: 'paid for ringing att the kings Mat^{he} his coming to toun, 6s.'

occasion the loyal citizens had burnt tar-barrels to the value of eight shillings and two pence, while an extra payment of six shillings and two pence had been made to the mayor and aldermen 'for a banquet.'⁷ It can only be inferred that the celebrations at the king's arrival on June 3rd were not less adequate. On June 4th, Charles dined with the mayor, Ralph Cole, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.⁸ On June 5th, he made an expedition down the Tyne to Tynemouth,⁹ accompanied by the master and brethren of the Trinity house.¹⁰ The records of that corporation contain a minute relating to this event:—'Spent goinge to rowe the barge twice 4s. Spent at Robart Younges for vitalls and drinke when the king went doune to Sheeles 10s. for wherie hier that daye the king went downe, 2s. 6d.'

The steersman of the royal barge on that day was Edward Bulmer, a member of the Trinity house, who used the opportunity to present to the king a petition or certificate, drawn up by the master and brethren. Before April 17th, 1634, Bulmer found it necessary to address a petition to Charles on his own behalf, setting forth that his action on June 5th, 1633, had brought him into serious trouble. Not only had he been fined in a suit against him to the amount of 500 marks, but he had also been unjustly accused of participation in a riot which had preceded the king's arrival in the town.¹¹ On May 22nd, 1633, the Trinity house at Deptford had

⁷ 'Paid for tarr barrells burnt on the Sandhill, the 27th of March, being the day of his Ma^{ties} entrance to the crown, 8s. 2d. Paid more for a banquet to M^r. Maior and the aldermen on the Long Pentice on the same day, 6s. 2d.' Corporation Records, under date April, 1633 (printed by Hornby). The Gateshead accounts have, 'Item pd. to Ringing on Coronation day 1s. 6d.'

⁸ Brand, *op. cit.* ⁹ *Ibid.* The Tynemouth Parish Register, under June 5, 1633, has 'King Charles was at Tinmouth Castell.' It was not the last royal visit as stated in *Arch. Ael.* xix. p. 208.

¹⁰ Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. p. 311.

¹¹ *Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)*, 1633-34;

To the Kings Most Excellent Majestic.

The humble petition of Edward Bulmer, Maryner. Sheweth, That he beinge one of the Societie of the Trinitie house of Newcastle upon Tyne, and being Steersman of yo^r Ma^{ties} Barge, to carie yo^r Ma^{tie} and divers of the Nobilitie, downe the River of Tyne, he did then shewe unto yo^r Ma^{tie} and the Lords a Certificate from the whole Trinitie House, of the great abuse, concerning the said River, the Coppie wherof is herunto annexed, for which relation and not other cause that yo^r petitioner can imagine, the Maior and Aldermen havinge proprietie in the Staithe and Kayes, whence the abuse ariseth, have taken for great and inveterate malice against yo^r petitioner, as that in his absence, in a suite at Yorke, followed by the Towne of Newcastle there, they procured him to be fined in 500 marks as being one of those who animated the boys to the late pulling down of a house and lime kiln there,

written to secretary Coke to inform him of the action their corporation at Newcastle proposed to take when Charles visited the town in June.¹² At the same time, the master and brethren of the Trinity house at Newcastle forwarded a certificate stating that the staiths or quays on the river were then in the possession of sir Robert Heath, sir Peter Riddell, Thomas Liddell, Ralph Cole, Arthur Alvey, the assigns of sir Robert Mansell, at the Glass house, and the mayor and corporation; and that the rubbish shot from the quays was choking the river to the detriment of the river-channel.¹³ On May 23rd, 1633,

the evidence against yo: petitioner being only some lewd persons that the petitioner had before punished for some foule offences at Sea. And the petitioner in his answer expressed upon his othe he was inocent thereof, yet not soe satisfied, they doe use other uniuist persecucons againste him seekinge his undoinge for discoverie of the truth to yo^r Ma^{tie} and the Lords.

The p^r misses considered, yo^r petitioner most humbly besetcheth yo^r Ma^{tie} to remitt the said fyne of 500 Marks to yo: Ma^{tie}, or to refer the same and the cause to the right honorable, the Lords Comissioners for the Admiraltie to doe therein as they upon examinacon shall thinke fitt.

And yo^r petitioner as in duty bound will daylie praye for your Ma^{ties} long and happie Raigne.

Enclosure.

Whitehall. Aprill 17th 1634.

Wee desire M^r. Vice President and Secretary of the Council at Yorke (who we understand are now in London) to consider of this Petition, and to certify us (Commissioners for the Admiralty) the truthe thereof, and yf the proceedings in this cause against the petitioner and the ground and prooffe upon which the sentence against him is laid.

Frances Cottington
Frances Windebank
J. Coke

¹² *Cal. State Papers*, under date May 22, 1633.

¹³ *Ibid.* (Dom.), 1633-34;

To the honourable Lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable privy Counsell.

The humble advertisement and certificate of the Master and Societie of the Trinity house resideing in the towne of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Wherein they humbly shew unto your honors that there are diverse Kayes and Staithes whereon the Ballast which the Shipps that come to Newcastle for coles are cast and laid and they are built below Newcastle Bridge towards the Sea Eastwards upon the land close adioyning to the River of Tyne, for thatt at a full sea the water is almost equal height of the Kayes and Staithes. One of which Kayes and Staithes is in the possession of Sir Robert Hethe, knight, Chief Justice of the Comon Pleas att Westminster, an other in the possession of Sir Peter Riddell of Newcastel, knight, another in the possession of Thomas Liddell and Raiph Cole, Aldermen of the said Towne of Newcastel, an other in the possession of Arthur Alvey, gent: and one other in the possession of the servants or Assignes of Sir Robert Mansell, knight, who attend and are employed about the Glassehouse and the makinge of the glasse there, and one other in the possession of the Mayor and Aldermen. And wee doe further advertise your honors, that there hath, and daily doth fall such a quantity of the said ballist and rubbish from the said Kayes and Staithes into the said river of Tyne, that yf by your honors wisdom and authority there be not some speedy order taken that the said Staithes and Kays may be so sufficiently built and kept in good reparations that noe quantitye of rubbish or ballist doe fall from anie of the

Heath wrote to Coke to tell him that he had recently, at the suggestion of a kinsman at Durham, commenced building a new 'ballast-shore' at South Shields. To this, however, though at first it had given its consent, the town of Newcastle was showing some opposition. Sir Robert added, that though he had entered upon the

said Kayes and Staithes, and the said Kayes and Staithes themselves from sinking and falling into the said river of Tyne, that in our judgments the said river of Tyne will in short time be so choked that noe shipp of anie more then ordinary burthen will be able to come upp to the Towne of Newcastell, as usually heretofore they have done, whereby his Ma^{tie} will receive great damage in his Customes and yearely Revenues now received for sea coles.

George Errington.
George Cooke.
Thomas Lambe.
Humphrey Clinett.
Anthony Wilkinson.
Thomas Stobes.

May, 1633.

The two following certificates also bear upon the matter :—
Newcastle upon Tyne.

To the right honourable our verie good Lords the lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable privie counsell.

A certificate of the proceedings of the Maior and Aldermen of the towne and Countie of Newcastle upon Tyne, his Ma^{ties} Commissioners especially appointed for the Conservacie of the River of Tyne, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel 1632, until the Feast of Easter then next followinge, Which we the said Maior and Aldermen doe in all humilitie retorne and certefie :

Imprimis, We doe humbly certifie yo^r hon^r that since the laste certeficat made in this behalf to yo^r Lordships, sundry persons have bene presented unto us for severall offences don by them, to the hurt of the River, as well by M^{rs} of Shippes repaireing to this harbour for suffering their ballast to be cast forth of their shippes, without a sufficient stadge, and also by others in casting their ballast and other rubbish without any warrant accordinge as in such cases is granted for the safety of the said River. And likewyse against others for suffring their steithes and wharfes adioyning nere unto the said river to decay and ruinate. Against which persons wee have proceeded by imposing severall fynes on them, which they did undergoe, as the quality of their severall offences did require, for examples sake to others not to offend in the like or in any other kinde againste the said River. Wee have also caused the said offences to be amended.

Item. Wee doe further certifie yo^r hon^r that one Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash hath been sundry times presented unto us for working a Quarry contrary to your hono^rs former orders, and suffering the rubbish thereof to fall into the River, which Quarry likewise was complained of by us before, and was ordered by yo^r hono^r to be demolished. But the said Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash (after they were thrice summoned) did appeare and then being comanded by us to lay downe their fynes for their said offences, they (not having their Fynes then about them) desired they might have liberty to appeare the next Courte day and bring in their fynes. Which condiscended unto, the said Maxwell and Leash, though it be many Court days since, and though often summoned to appeare before us and bring in their Fynes have neglected so to doe.

Item. Wee doe further certefie your honors that John Wright, Keeper and overseer of a shoare at South sheeles belonging to Sir Robert Heath, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and one Christopher Blackett keeper of a shoare lately belonginge to Mr. Henry Chapman deceased, have upon their severall shoars taken unlawfull ballast, the Walles of the said Shoares not being sufficiently built, to the great dammage of the River ; and contrary to expresse commande given them by ourselves.

speculation with a view to making some provision for his second son, yet he admitted the interests of the river as paramount, and while he hoped that Charles would not interfere if the shore were found to be well built, he would be better pleased if Coke could persuade the king

Item. Wee doe certifie yo^r honors that we have sounded the Barr of this Porte, and we find that a sande lying on the South side of the River called the Hirde, is growne more to the north than formerly, it was so that the Barr is growne more narrow and of lesse water by a foote then it hath bene within these three or foure yeares, which we conceive to be greatly occasioned by want of land floods and Ice which are the ordinary meanes to scoure the River. And thus we certifie unto yo^r hono^r our proceedings in this service since the last certificat and humbly rest and take our leaves with our utmost services, at yo^r honors Command.

Your honors humbly to be commanded,

Lionell Maddisoune, Maior.
Peter Riddell.
Henry Maddison.
Thos. Lyddock.
Alexander Davyson.
Robert Bewick.
John Claveringe.
Robert Anderson.
Ralph Cole.

At Newcastle upon Tyne, the 11th day of May, 1633.

To the right honourable, our very good Lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable Privie Counsell.

A certificate of the Maior and Aldermen of the Toune and Countye of Newcastle upon Tyne, his Ma^{ties} Commissioners especially appoynded for the Conservacie of the river of Tyne, from the Feast of Easter 1633 untill the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, then next after which we the said Maior and Aldermen doe in all humillitie retourne and certifie.

Imprimis we doe humblye certifie yo^r honors that since the last certificat made in this behalfe to your Lordships, sundry persons have bene presented unto us for severall offences done by them to the hurt of the river as well by M^{rs} of shippes repairing to this harbour, for suffering their ballast to be cast forth of their ships without a sufficient stage, and also by others offending by casting their ballast without any warrant at all according as usually in such cases is granted for the safety of the said river, and likewise against others for suffering their steithes and wharves adioyning neir unto the same river, to decay and ruinate, against which persons, we have provided by imposing severall fynes on them which they did undergo as the qualitie of there severall offences did require, for preventing abuses to be done against the said river, and for examples sake to others not to offend in the like, or any other manner. And also have taken bonds of some others who have since our last certificat builded keayes within the river, that the same keayes shall not at any tyme hereafter be prejudiciall to the river.

Wee do further certifie your honors that we did enforme this honorable bord of Clement Maxwell, Thomas Leash, John Wright and Christopher Blackett for sundry offences by them committed against your honors orders, since which tyme the said Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash have bene againe presented unto us, for working a quarry which was by your honors ordered to be demolished, and the said John Wright as keeper of Sir Robert Heaths, Lord Chief Justice of the Com'on Pleas, his shoare, and Christopher Blackett as keeper of a shoare now in the possession of one Arthur Alvey, have bene againe presented unto us, for taking unfitting ballast, contrary to your honors orders, to the hurt of the river.

to determine the matter in council rather than at Newcastle.¹⁴ Charles's visit to Shields on June 5th, was clearly connected with this dispute. It lingered on, however, and was not adjusted until May 27th, 1640.¹⁵

Yet another local dispute claimed the king's attention. On June 4th, a petition was presented by four burgesses, claiming to represent the views of about seven hundred of their fellow-townsmen on a

And thus we certifie unto your honors our proceedings in this service since the last certificate, and doe humbly rest and take our leave with our utmost services at your honours commandes.

Your honours humbly to be commanded,

Lionel Maddison, Maior.
Peter Riddell.
William Warmouth.
Alexander Davyson.
Robert Bewicke.
Ralph Cole.

From Newcastle upon Tyne, the nynth day of October, 1633.

¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1633-34;

Sir Robert Heath, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to Sec : Coke.

Right Honorable.

At the motion and by the incoragement of a kinsman of my name at Durham, I have undertaken the building of a ballast shore at the South Shields, near the mouth of the River of Tyne. The Towne of Newcastell gave their consent, but have often quarreled with it, and by their poure in that place, and their pollicy, have given many impediments to the work, yo^r hono^r, amongst the rest of that hon^{ble} Board, have been often troubled with them on both sides. Now I hear that the Towne have a purpose to possesse the King at his being at Newcastle with the inconvenyency therof. Wher I nor any for me can be herd. I hope, notwithstandinge the many interruptions, the shore will be found well built, and if it be not good for the publike, and for the safety of Shippinge and for Navigation, I will not desire it to be continued. If it be, I am assured of His Ma^{tie}'s goodness and Justice, that the Towne for any private endes of ther owne, or any of tner members shall not destroye it. My own interests, which I have intended for my second son is not a thing considerable. But the safety of your great shippes trading to that port is of moment, and that I rather refer to those who better understand it, and who are bold by their humble lettres to yo : Honor to declare their opinions.

My humble suite to yo' honor is, that if ther be any occasion you will be pleased soe farre only to interpose with his Ma^{tie}, or any other, that the Cause may be hearde at the Board, accordinge to former address, and what soon shall be then determine:l upon hearing of all parties and the reasons I shall humble and readily submit unto, and if his Ma^{tie} would himself hear it, he is the best judge. The Towne shall propose nothing that is reasonable for them for the government or trade which may not be provided for, and shall not readily be obeyed. I humbly begg yo : hono : pardon for this my boldness, I know not to whom to addresse myselfe in this case soe fitly as to yo : hono : whose care and trust for marine affaires, I have soe much experienced of, soe I humbly remaine,

Your honours ever readye to be commanded,

R. Heath.

23 May, 1633.

¹⁵ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1640, pp. 191, 240. See also Welford, *op. cit.* vol. iii.

matter which had already been referred to the council at York.¹⁶ On June 11th, while at Berwick, Charles replied, confirming its relegation to the council.¹⁷ The petitioners stated the following grievances :—(1) The refusal of the mayor and aldermen to hear the complaints of burgesses at the guild meetings and general assemblies ; (2) the sale of corporation offices to the benefit of the mayor for the time being ; (3) the discontinuance of the dinner heretofore given to the auditors of the chamberlain's accounts ; (4) the practice on the part of the mayor and aldermen of putting their own kinsmen on the common council ; (5) the licence to ' un-freemen ' to trade within the liberties of the corporation ; and (6) the desirability of making some alteration in the number required to form a quorum on the town council.¹⁸ On August 28th, the Council at York reported^{18a} on the petition as follows :—

¹⁶ *Cul. State Papers* (Dom.), 1633-34 ;
June 4, 1633.

Whereas it appeares to his Matie that a letter of Attorneye dated the seaventh daie of Aprill laste is granted to fower Burgisses attisted under the handes of seaven hundred and more burgesses of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, with power thereby to prosecute the petition and greavances delivered to His Ma^{tie}, which atturnies mentioned in the said l're of Attorney have and doe in-deavor to performe, and accordingly did on the three and twentieth daie of the foresaid moneth take jorney to London with purpose then to have delivered the petition and grievances now delivered, but findinge the tyme not fittinge in regard of his Ma^{ties} jorney to Scotland did forbear to proceed then therein, and since the deliverie of the petition and grievances at Newcastle, have repayed to Barwicke for the obtaininge of his Ma^{ties} Highnes gracious reference to the said petition, which his Highnes hath ben graciously pleased to referre to the Vice President and Counsell at Yorke, to whom they are presently to repaire, At the hearing whereof, of necessatie they must carry with them, from Newcastle to Yorke, being sixtie miles distant from Newcastle, a great number of Burgesses to proove the said grievances, and many of the said Burgesses are such as have not attested the said letter of Attorney, and yet necessarie witnesses. In consideration wherof being the charges past are great and the future like to be more, and that the Revenue of this said Towne is paid unto the Maior and Burgesses, and this being the complainte of the greatest number of the Burgesses, which they hope to proove just and true.

They humblye praie that his Ma^{tie} will be graciouslye pleased by his Highnes letter directed to the Maior, Aldermen and Common Councill of the same towne, thereby commandeing them to paie unto the said Attrneys soe appointed, suche reasonable charges as they have and shall disburse in the execution of this busines. All which the said Burgesses hopeth maye appeare to his Ma^{tie} juste and reasonable beinge that the Maior and Aldermen have their charges expended in this busines out of the townes treasure.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* under date.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1633-34, under date June 11, 1633. See also Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. ^{18a} *Ibid.*

To Sir John Coke, Knight.

Right Honourable.

It pleased His Majestie in June last to refer unto the Vice President and the rest in the Commission for this Government, the examination of certaine grievances then exhibited by the Burgesses and Com'ons of Newcastle, in which busynes having now certified our opinions unto the Lords of His Ma^{ties} privy Counsell (as by the reference we were required) because his Ma^{ties} pleasure in that behalfe was signified unto us by you, wee have made bolde to addressse our Certificate unto you, desyring that ytt maye receive a passage unto their Lordships by your hand. And as well, for that we know you to be a principall member of that great Bodye, as also in our due respecte towards you, we have sent you herewithall a Coppye of ytt, assuring ourselves that your wisdome will soe use it, that we shall receive noe prejudice by timelye acquaintinge you with what we have done.

In the Cause depending here by Information, concerning the great Ryott com'itted in that Towne, we can hitherto give you onelye this accompt, Thatt we are (as it becometh us) very heedfull of itt. And that itt is prosecuted with as much care and expedition as may bee, but by reason there are of late many delinquents discovered, who cannot as yet be brought in to answeare, the proceedings in it are a little delayed and forborne, to the end the Court may goe on to hearing with them all together.

Thus acknowledging ourselves much obliged unto you for your many noble favours towards us, wee will cease from troubling you any further att this tyme, and rest

Yours in all due observance to serve you,

Edward Osborne.

Jo. Melton.

W. Ellis.

Att Yorke, this 16th of September, 1633.

Right Honourable.

Whereas in June last, his Majestie was gratuslie pleased to referr to the Vice President and this Councell, the examination of certaine grievances annexed to a Petition then exhibited to his Highness by the Burgesses and Com'ons or Comonaltye of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, The copy of which Reference, as also of the said Peticon and grievances annexed we do here withall present unto your Lordships. And forasmuch as wee are required by the said Reference, to certifie unto his Ma^{ties} or his privy Councell, the truthe of the complayntes conteyned in the said grievances, and also our opinions howe the same may be redressed and the government settled for the continuance of due obedience and peace and for the prosperity of that Corporation, of which his Ma^{ties} is pleased to have a most gratus and tender esteme. These are in all humblenes to certifie your Lord^{sh} that wee have att severall tymes had before us as well divers Aldermen and other principall persons deputed in the behalfe of the Maior Aldermen and the rest of the Com'on Councell of the said Towne, as also a great number of Burgesses in the behalfe of themselves and the reste of the Burgesses and Com'ons there, and having spent sundry dayes in the examinacon of witnesses produced by the Burgesses and Commons for the prooffe

of their complaints and in the perusal of some bookes, devices and Charters and in hearing the answeres and defences of the said Maior and Aldermen. Upon examination of the complaints exhibited, and full and deliberate hearing of all parties, It appeareth unto us as followeth :—

Firste. Whereas in the firste article, complainte is made of the neglect of the Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill in providing of Coles for the Com'on use of the Burgesses and Com'ons in certaine landes called the Towne Moore, and Gatesyde neare unto the said Towne of Newcastle, wherunto it is confessed the said Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill were obliged, in case Coles could be conveniently gotten within eyther of the said places. And it is further objected that ther were some who would have undertaken to have gotten Coles within the foresaid Landes, for the use of the Burgesses and Com'ons, and offered to give good securitye to the Maior and Com'on Councill for the performance therof, but as the Com'ons alledge it would not be accepted, And whereas also in the same Article complainte is made that the Burgesses and Com'ons are not sufficiently furnished with water for their houses by reason that of late time, divers of the Aldermen and principall persons of the Towne have laid new pipes unto the conduits, or pantes which are to serve for the com'on use of the towne, by which they drawe awaye a great quantitie of water unto their owne dwellings so that there is not sufficyent left to serve the said Burgesses and Com'ons in such sort as they heretofore have had it. To the first it is answered that in the times complained of there were not Coles enough to be gotten to supplye the said Burgesses and Com'ons within the said groundes, but that for the most parte of the said time there were some Coles from time to time, wrought for their use, And the Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill doe deny that such as offered to undertake to gett Coles, did offer likewise to give good securitye ffor the performance of that they would undertake, but they further say that at this tyme there are Coles ready to be wrought in the Towne Moore which are confessed on all parts will sufficiently furnishe and supplye the said Burgesses and Com'ons for the time to come. And as touchinge the withdrawinge of the water from the com'on conduits or pantes by some Aldermen and others, it is answered that before the exhibiting of the said petition there was an order made in Guild for the cutting of the said Pipes, and laying of them to the toppes of the conduits or pantes, soe that the Burgesses and Com'ons might be firste served and they onely to take the overplus of water, And it is lykewise said in the behalfe of the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill that the Plummer did accordinglye cutt all the said pipes, saving one pipe leading to the house of Sir William Selby, knyghte, which was forborne to be cutt, in respecte his Ma^{tie} in his iourney into Scotland was to lodge in that house, and some other pipes lykewise which could not be cutt and taken away because they were taken from the com'on pipes, passing throughe their owne inheritance, but for all the other pipes complained of, as also that of Sir Will^m Selbye, the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill doe undertake that they shalbe taken awaye And the said Act of Guild observed, soe as the said Burgesses and Com'ons from thenceforth shall have noe cause to complayne in that behalfe.

The denyall made by the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill, that such as offered to undertake to get Coles for the use of the Com'ons, did

likewise offer to give securitye for the performance of there undertaking, And that the order in Guild for the cutting of the pipes complayned of was put in execution before the exhibiting of the said petition to his Ma^{tye}, is opposed and contradicted by divers witnesses produced on the behalfe of the said Burgesses and Com'ons, whose examination we are not by lawe inabled to take upon othe or otherwyse than upon affirmation onlye, and therefor cannot herein ground any iudiciall opinion. And although it be manifest that in divers yeares before the exhibiting of this petition to his Ma^{tye}, the Burgesses and Com'ons had not sufficient Coles provided for their fyreing, but howe for the the Maior, Aldermen and reste of the Com'on Councell shall be thought faultye herein, will rest upon the aforesaid proofs, and therefore we can proceed noe further in it.

Secondly. Whereas in the last Article, the Maior, Aldermen and reste of the Com'on Councell are charged with the suffering of unfreemen to trade and merchandize within the said corporation and libertyes therof, to the great preiudice of the poore freemen there, the said unfreemen being countenanced therein by some of the Magistrates, And it is further alledged by the said Burgesses and Com'ons, that wher sutes were com'enced against divers of the said unfreemen, the plaintiffs were discountenanced in their actions by the Recorder, and sometimes their actions brought in the Towne Clerkes name were disclaimed by the Towne Clerke, to the great discouragement of the poore freemen of the Towne. It is answered that the Recorder did never discountenance, nor the Towne Clerke disclaime anye action brought against the unfreemen, yf by lawe they might be legally proceeded in. And it is further alledged and confessed in the behalfe of the sayd Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell, that the growth of trading by unfreemen within that Corporation doth tend very muche to the preiudice and discontent of the poore freemen of the same, and that if there could be any course conceived whereby the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell might be inabled to give redresse therein, they would most readily and chearfully doe it, for they cannot be advised howe by lawe they cann punish them for trading, or put them oute of the towne, without one of which this complaynte can never be remedied.

As touching the undueness and inequality of Elections, misordering and ill disposall of the revenues of the Toune and all other particular complaintes comprised in the said grievances, which are in our opinions anye way considerable, the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell doe iustifye themselves, and affirme that they doe, and from time to time have done, all and every of them by vertue of Acts of Com'on Councell, (many of them subscribed by some of the nowe complaynants) and in vertue and by pursuance of their Charter and not otherwise. And whereas conceiving it to be very well conduced to the busynes wee had in hand, wee caused the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell to bring hither their books of Accomptes of the said Toune, intending to have entred into a particular examinacon of the yearely revenues of the said toune, and the accompt made thereof for the seaven yeares now last past. And uppon sight of them fyndeing the yearely receiptes and revenue of the said towne to be great, and the disbursements leaving a very small remainder, yet it being not made appeare unto us, howe those remaynders were accomptd for in some of the books of the ensueing yeares accompts as they ought to have beene. It was answered by some in the behalfe of the Maior,

Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell, that yf they were not specified in the ensuing accompt, they were disposed of by acts of Com'on Councell and that disposall warranted by their Charter. And this being thus answered we held it needless to trouble ourselves with looking further into the particulars of their accompts. And fyndeing the most part of the other particulars complained of wherein the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell doe iustifie their proceedings by Actes of Com'on Councell and by their Charter, to be warranted as is by them before alledged, we hold that, for soe much as is soe warranted the Burgesses and Com'ons ought to reste satisfied and wee concluded from any further inquisicon. Howbeit taking into consideration how much the peaceable and quiet government of that corporation dothe importe his Ma^{ties} service in respect of the great benefitt his Ma^{ties} receiveth from thence by his customes and otherwise, and considering lykewise that the said Toun is now growne to be very populous and the farr greater parte of the Com'ons consisting partly of Mariners and partly of Watermen, Colliers, Keelmen and other people of mean condition, who are apt to turne every pretence and color of grievance into uproare and seditious mutinye, we have endeavoured to fynde out the true cause and grounde of their complaintes and haveing in debating of this busynes had occasion to look into divers peticons and complayntes in preceding yeares exhibited to the Maior and Com'on Councell by the Burgesses and Com'ons, we doe fynde that the pretences of all their complaintes and grievances seeme to be grounded upon the inequalitye and undueness (as they alledge) of their Elections as they are now settled by Charter, and the exceptions they seeme to take are these :

1.—That the Election to be made by the first twenty four which are presented by the Twelve Companyes, is not free but directorye, they beinge positivelye to chuse the then Maior and three Aldermen, if soe many Aldermen be present as att all times they are.

2.—That the Election made by those Fower is not free but directorye likewise, for they are positivelye to chuse to be conioyned with themselves seaven Aldermen and one who hath bene Sheriffe, if they be present, and for want of such number to chuse such as have bene Sheriffes of the said Toun, and for want of such to chuse the free burgesses, but there being present alwayes soe many Aldermen and Sheriffs as will make up that number none of the Commons are ever chosen to be of the twelve upon the first standing election, and upon those, all the other Elections doe depend.

Againe they alledge that the last twenty four which are yearely to be chosen out of the Com'on Burgesses and are to be added unto the Maior, Aldermen and Sheriffs to make up the Com'on Council, which Com'on Councell have the disposall of the reveneu and ordering of all busynes of the towne are unduely elected because some of these latter twenty fower, are chosen out of some of the Burgesses of the standing Election which (as they alledge) ought not to be, but that they should be chosen out of other free Burgesses. And indeed it was confessed by those who attended us in the behalfe of the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell, that some of the Burgesses of the Twenty Four, of the standing Election are sometimes chosen to be of the latter Twenty Fower to make upp the Com'on Councell for the yeare followinge. Now, if it please your Lordships, the pretences of all their complaintes and grievances seeming (as we

have said) to bee grounded upon the exceptions which they seem to take againste the Elections, as they are now settled by their Charter, And it appearing unto us that the selfsame forme of Election nowe settled by their Charter hath been confirmed by severall decrees and Charters, and continued ever since the Raigne of King Henry the eighth, it would be too high and unbecoming an undertaking for us to propounde any course for the alteration of it, yet nevertheless wee have thought fitt in a paper annexed to this our Certificate to sett down (as plainly as we cann,) the maner of the Elections contayned in the Charter nowe in being, to the ende that if your Lordships please you may consider both of it and of the exceptions made against it.

All which our doings and proceedings herein wee submitt unto your Lordships grave wisdomes, and humbly taking our leaves doe rest.

Ever ready to observe yo Lordships command.

Forke, this 28th of August, 1633.

As to Charles's general entertainment by the town there is no record beyond the general statement in Rushworth,¹⁹ that the citizens 'abundantly shewed their Duty and Affection in a generous entertainment to his Majesty.' On June 7th, Coke writes to Windebank to say that the king's train had set forward to Berwick that morning, and that Charles intended to stay in Newcastle until the following Saturday.²⁰ On the 9th, Coke writes from Berwick,²¹ and Charles was there on the 11th.²² On July 7th,²³ he had returned to London, but there is no record of his passage through Newcastle other than an entry in the All Saints' Accounts, 'paid for ringing att his ma^{ties} return 4s. 2d.'²⁴

Charles's next visit to Newcastle in 1639 took place under very different circumstances. Late in the autumn of 1638 a general Assembly of the Scottish church had met at Glasgow, had deposed the bishops, swept away Laud's innovations and restored the Presbyterian form of church ritual and government. In February, 1639, the Scottish army had been placed under the command of Alexander Lesley and was massing on the border near Berwick. These movements called Charles to the north. At the end of April he reached Durham,²⁵ and on Sunday, May 5th, heard a sermon from bishop Morton on the familiar text, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher

¹⁹ *Collections*, vol. ii. p. 178. Franckland, *Annals of James I. and Charles I.* p. 410. ²⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1633-34, under date.

²¹ *Ibid.* ²² *Ibid.* ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Balfour, *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 194, gives a full list of Charles's train upon this expedition.

²⁵ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 1.

powers.'²⁶ The short but interesting diary of the earl of Rutland,²⁷ who was present throughout the expedition, states that at Durham, on May 1st, 'after prayers, was shewed the Kinge by the Lord Generall and Sir Jacob Astley a plott of Newcastell how the army should be quartered, and where the Kinge and his nobles were to lodge.' Of Charles's reception at Gateshead, on May 8th,²⁸ there is no record save the usual item for the expenses of the bell-ringers.²⁹ In Newcastle the All Saints' accounts have a similar entry.³⁰ There is, however, an interesting proclamation by the mayor and sheriff on April 22nd relating to Charles's arrival: 'Whereas his Majesty intends shortly, God willing, to be at this town, and it is very fitting and necessary that the streets should be clean and sweet, it is therefore ordered that every inhabitant shall make the front of his house and shop clean presently and so from time to time keep the same,' under penalty of a fine of six shillings and eightpence.³¹

Sir Jacob Astley's despatches from Newcastle shew that considerable preparations had already been made in the town to meet the danger which threatened from Scotland. On February 7th, he writes to Windebank:—'As concerning this place, which will be the centre of the war, here must be a train of artillery. I have sent for the brass pieces in the cellar at Tynemouth to be brought here, according to the Lords' order, being six shooting a bullet of six in the pound, and three of three in the pound, and have already bespoken timber and workmen to mount them on carriages. Here are already six iron pieces, shooting a bullet of nine in the pound. They are not so fit for the field, but can be used upon several occasions. . . . I have sent to Capt. Legge, to send all these things specified in the inclosed note with all possible speed to Newcastle in a ship: 2,500 arms, as half pikes and half muskets, are to arm the men of the town for defence of the walls; the rest are to furnish the adjacent counties.

²⁶ *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings most Excellent Majestie.* Robert Barker, Newcastle, 1639.

²⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 12th report, appendix, pt. iv. pp. 504-516.

²⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, Coke to Windebank, May 9. Brand, *op. cit.* inaccurately gives May 5-17th as the extent of Charles's stay in Newcastle.

²⁹ 'Ringing the bells when his Majesty came to the towne, 2s.' Gateshead, St. Mary's accounts, under date 1639.

³⁰ Under date 1639, 'for ringing the bells w^{ch} the king^s maiestie came to the towne in his Northern expedition, 3s. 4d.'

³¹ Quoted in Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. p. 367.

Here is left a great proportion of arms in the store, as also some $11\frac{1}{2}$ last of powder. . . . Sir John Fenwick writes to me, that about the next week, all the trained bands will be stated in Northumberland, and ready to be armed. The Bishop of Durham has ordered that all his tenants in Northumberland shall be armed, and put under the lieutenancy of Northumberland, and I hope they will number about 100. They have all muskets and pikes, so as our bordering men must be so likewise, and think no more of bows, spears, jacks, and skull-caps.'³² On February 13th, he writes :—'The nine brass pieces came yesterday from Tynemouth, and I am agreeing with smiths and carpenters to have them mounted upon carriages fit for the field with all possible speed. We are still inquisitive after the faction of the Puritans, to dissolve their meetings.'³³ On the 19th, he informs Windebank, 'twenty-one pieces will be ready to be mounted upon the walls within these three weeks, as also the nine pieces of brass ordnance for the field will be ready within a month. All the arms in store, about 1,500, will be sold in a short time to the adjacent counties. I have received 1,300 muskets, rests, and bandoliers, and complete arms for carbiniers with saddles, bits, and bridles from Capt. Legge, but there are no armours and pikes, therefore I pray the Lords to send hither 1,800 armours and pikes complete, 1,200 of which may be the worst arms that came out of Holland, because I shall leave them in store with the town, to arm their citizens upon occasion, but the rest should be very good arms. . . . Last Saturday night, many books were thrown here into houses and in the streets, and under cover of letters sent to citizens of this town. Many of them were also thrown upon the highways in Northumberland. . . . Of the carriage of the mayor and aldermen of this town the Lords will receive an account from them. We assembled the preachers, and required them to preach obedience to the people, and find one Dr. Jenison something cool, but have not a staff sufficient to question him. . . . To conclude, I pray you to present to the Lords how fit it were in these times, especially for the northern parts, that all owners of ships were commanded to provide muskets and ammunition for so many men as they set forth in their ships, as likewise for every man besides his musket

³² *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1638-39, under date. ³³ *Ibid.*

a half pike, so that the ships trading to the Tyne and other places may be able to defend themselves and their ships, which, at low water lie upon the ground; sometimes two or 300 ships come into the river.' He recommends, further, that a force be stationed at Newburn. 'There is,' he adds 'a common ford by this town, and it would be a great help if a bridge were formed by the many boats or keels used for transport of coals. Also, for a train of artillery, the place affords many horses, which they use in their coal mines, that upon a sudden occasion could be employed for his Majesty's service.'³⁴ On February 26th, the Council approves of the suggestion of a force at Newburn.³⁵ On the 28th, Astley writes that the large daily supply of rye and malt to the town puts the thought of any want in the garrison beyond question.³⁶ On March 7th, there is an order for '100 snaphaunces formerly ordered' to be sent to Newcastle from Hull, and on the 8th, colonel Francis Trafford received orders from Charles to proceed to Newcastle to organise six regiments from the 600 dragoons furnished by 'the tenants of our consort the Queen, of the Earl Marshal, the Lord Admiral, and other lords of lordships in that county.'³⁷ De Bois, the engineer, was in the course of April ordered to Newcastle to supervise the fortifications,³⁸ and in the same month a command was issued to the Lords Lieutenant to see that horses and carters were provided there by June 15.³⁹

Of Charles's entertainment in Newcastle, there are but fragmentary references in Rushworth⁴⁰ and Nalson,⁴¹ to the effect that the hospitality offered to the king was magnificent, and that the spirit of the town was high against the Scots. The earl of Rutland's diary and the State Papers add a few details of the visit. On May 4th, the lord general reached Newcastle from Durham,^{41a} and on the 5th, the Sunday before Charles's arrival, the royal proclamation to the Covenanters was read in St. Nicholas's in the presence of the lord general, the earls of Essex, Holland, and other commanders. Orders were

³⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1638-39, under date. ³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1638-39. ³⁷ *Ibid.* ³⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639. ³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 921.

⁴¹ Nalson, *Impartial Collection* (1682), vol. i. p. 218.

^{41a} *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date.

issued for all to be in readiness to attend the king 'and to take up their lodgings as he doth (*i.e.*, *will*), in the fair fields *sub dio*.'⁴² On May 8th, 'Sir William Saville past through the towne of Newcastle with his regiment al clad in redd coates, and the men were very much commended, but their armes indifferent.'⁴³ The lord general, writes Edward Norgate, rode before them 'gallantly mounted and vested *à la Soldado*, with his scarf and *panache*, with many brave attendants, who brought the foot to their first quarter a few miles hence.'⁴⁴ On the same day there arrived 'a beggarly Scot, who kissed the king's hand; at his back was a fiddle, wherein were letters pretended to be brought by this fellow with great secrecy, and danger of interception by the Covenanters, from a son of the marquis of Huntly . . . but the day after came this young lord himself hither, and it was reported that the two came in one boat together; that the fellow was sent before to get a reward. . . . The fiddler is here to our great comfort, and it is hoped he may get a doublet; for he has already got an old pair of velvet sleeves, and breeches will accrue hereafter, but he treads tenderly, for his poor feet are defective. . . . Hence we must on Wednesday next, the king to his tents and those that have any, the rest be indued with patience instead of a rug-gown.'⁴⁵ On May 9th, proclamation was made in the town forbidding the export of butter, lest the army should be left without adequate supply.⁴⁶ On May 10th, the king reviewed three regiments of foot and a regiment of horse. Their colours were 'orringe tawny and white,' 'skye cullor and whyte,' and 'greene and white.' Charles 'sawe them all passe by his Court Gates at Newcastle' on their march towards Berwick.⁴⁷ On the same date, the earl of Roxburgh was committed to the custody of the mayor, his son having joined the Covenanters.⁴⁸ On May 11th John Marley writes to Hamilton:— 'The Ipswich Puritans have so wrought with the ship men, that for six weeks I did not load one chaldron of coals, so that my staiths are so full that they are like to fire. I had one fire last year. . . . My wife remembers her service to you, and has sent you these small

⁴² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 5.

⁴³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, twelfth report, appendix, pt. iv. pp. 510-512.

⁴⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 11, 1639.

toys, which she entreats you to accept. If her store had been better, she would have sent more, viz., one keg of sturgeon, 10 capons, two turkeys, six dried neats' tongues, and one haunekin of bacon.⁴⁹ On May 12th, Edward Norgate writes:—'We have a printer here, and this day I made ready for the king's hand a proclamation for the importation (*sic*) of butter; it is now printing, so are 400 of the former proclamations of pardon to the Scots.' He adds:—'To Morpeth is our first remove, thence to Alnwick and Belford, all poor, contemptible villages. . . . And here is no safe stay, where a pestilential fever reigns, and small-pox everywhere. . . . This afternoon the king rode out to see the foot companies that came from cos. Oxford, Cambridge, Hertford, Warwick, and Huntingdon, about 4,500 men; I think Europe cannot show braver fellows in person or arms.'⁵⁰ On the 12th also, the Scottish lion king-at-arms arrived in Newcastle, and was handed over to the sheriff for having failed to publish Charles's proclamation to the Covenanters at Edinburgh.⁵¹ On May 14th, the earl of Rutland writes:—'It pleased the Kinge to discourse of the Covenanters. . . . The Kinge was pleased to say that ther was never a livinge in Scotland which was not worth above £30 nay £40 per annum.'⁵² On the same date proclamation was made that if the Scots approached within ten miles of the border their action would be construed as an act of war.⁵³ For the 15th, the following minute occurs in the Trinity House Records:—'Pd. which was spent by the M^r. and Brethren when we went to Sheelds about the Kings business, 15 May, 1639.' A further minute, in May, 1639, 'Pd. M^r. Baker the Lawyer for drawinge a petition about the Trinity House business, 6s.,' suggests that, as in 1633, that corporation took the opportunity of the king's visit to approach him in its own and the river's interests.

On May 16th, Charles summoned the lords present in Newcastle, and thanked them 'for comminge so freely to serve him.'⁵⁴ A letter from Bevill Grenville,⁵⁵ dated from Newcastle on May 15th, adds a

⁴⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 11, 1639. On May 11, a warrant to Sir William Uvedale was issued from the 'Court at Newcastle.' A list of the officers, troops, and their pay is in *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1625 49, p. 606. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, for 1639. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.* ⁵³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639.

⁵⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Thurloe, *State Papers* (1742), vol. i. p. 2.

few particulars :—‘The town,’ he writes, ‘is full with as many as it can hold, the rest billeted in the country about. . . . Our army is not yet very stronge, nor such as will become the majestie of soe great a monarch to march with into a countrey where he is sure to meete blowes. But the king’s household . . . are of a body apart . . . we consist of divers troopes of horse, but the most glorious in the world. . . . There is a regiment of foote also appointed for the guard of the king’s person We are not certain of our abode here in this place, but as soon as things can be ready, we shall march to Barwick, where we are threatened with bad entertainment in a very barren country.’ Towards the army Northumberland contributed 250 pikemen, 250 musketeers, 100 dragoons, and a subsidiary quota of 282 musketeers and 125 pikemen. Newcastle was called upon for 250 pikemen, 250 musketeers, and 350 dragoons,⁵⁶ and the earl of Newcastle furnished a troop of horse at his own expense.⁵⁷ The Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland contingents were, however, not to ‘march into the Field but upon special Direction.’⁵⁸ On Thursday, May 23rd, Charles left the town for the ‘abbey of Alnwick,’ orders having been issued on the 15th regulating the northern march of the army. On the 18th or 19th the artillery had set forward. The foot had followed on the 20th. On the 21st, the horse guards left the town; and on the 22nd, the king’s tents and household.⁵⁹

In the midst of these warlike preparations, Charles appears to have had leisure to examine into the condition of the Newcastle churches, and to see how far they conformed to the standard of ‘decency and order’ which Laud required. Both in St. Nicholas’s and in All Saints’ churches orders were given for the removal of the galleries which obstructed the view of the chancel and altar.⁶⁰ The All Saints’ accounts record the expense of carrying out this injunction: ‘To the Joiners for takeing doune the gallery over the Quire, by the Chancelor’s

⁵⁶ Franckland, *Annals of James I. and Charles I.* p. 772.

⁵⁷ Franckland, *op. cit.* p. 777.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 772.

⁶⁰ *Cal. State Papers, 1639.* In the new *History of Northumberland* (ed. Bateson), vol. i. p. 400, is a reproduction of a rare engraving by Hollar. It presents ‘The Severall Formes How King Charles his Armey enquartered in the feilds being past New Castle on the march toward Scotland Anno Domini 1639.’ From this plate it appears that Charles encamped at ‘Bocking feild moore’ on the 21st; at ‘Rock moore’ on the 22nd; at Detchant on the 23rd; at ‘Gossick moore’ on the 24th, proceeding on May 27th to ‘the Grand Leaguer.’

spec. directions, 5s.'⁶¹ During his stay also, Charles conferred the honour of knighthood upon the mayor and Thomas Riddell.⁶² He also addressed three letters to Hamilton in Scotland, one on May 8th, wishing him 'good luck' in his enterprise; a second on May 17th, announcing his hope of being at the border in eight days' time; a third on May 22nd, warning him of the rumoured strength of the Scots army under Lesley.⁶³

The visit of 1639 has another element of interest. It would appear that up to this time Newcastle had possessed no printing press. On April 20th, 1639, while the army was on its northward march, the earl of Arundel had written to the secretary of state: 'His Majesty would have you with all expedition send down a printer with a press to set out his Majesty's daily commands for his court or army, and that to be done by more than ordinary diligence, the want being daily found so great. I conceive a waggon by land the surer way, to change horses as often as they will, by express warrant to take up teams daily.' In obedience to this urgent order, Robert Barker, one of the firm of king's printers, distinguished as the publishers of the 'breeches' and 'wicked' bibles, was sent up to the north, preceded Charles's arrival in Newcastle, set up his press and issued as his first publication, at the king's command, bishop Morton's sermon preached at Durham on May 5th.⁶⁴ His next considerable publication⁶⁵ was a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages, containing the proclamation which was made to the army on May 16th. The cover of this pamphlet bears the title, *Laws and Ordinances of Warre, For the Better Government of His Maesties Army Royall, in the Present Expedition for the Northern parts and safety of the Kingdom.* It forms an exceedingly minute and severe code, interesting as inculcating 'a severity of

⁶⁰ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 327.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* quoted.

⁶² Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 921.

⁶³ Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 925. 930. Further correspondence between Charles and Hamilton is in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th report, app. pt. iv. pp. 102-104, and in Burnet *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, pp. 127-137. The *Verney Papers* (Camden Society) contain letters from sir Edmund Verney, dated from Newcastle between May 9-22 inclusive. They contain little beyond rumours of the approach of the Scots, and details of Sir Edmund's project for the regulation of hackney carriages.

⁶⁴ For the foregoing facts I am indebted to Mr. Richard Welford's pamphlet on *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 1895.

⁶⁵ See Welford's pamphlet for other publications on which Barker was engaged.

discipline, and an attention to moral and religious duties, which we have not been in the habit of connecting with the army of Charles I.'⁶⁶ In addition to clauses regulating the religious and moral observances of the army, it contained such details as that 'Every soldier shall diligently observe and learn the distinct and different sounds of Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets,' and 'whosoever shall have taken or received from the enemie or Rebell, any lawful Spoiles or Prizes above the value of ten shillings shall . . . make the same known to the Lord Generall.' A record of such spoils was to be kept and they were to be sold by common auction in camp or garrison 'and not elsewhere.' The military oath was subjoined to the pamphlet, in which each soldier was required to express his assent to the code 'without any equivocation or mental reservation whatever.'⁶⁷

Into the further progress of this elaborately planned expedition it is not permissible to enter here. As Lilly puts it bluntly in his *Observations*, 'I never heard so much as one louse killed by either army.'⁶⁸ On June 24th, a vague and indefinite pacification was concluded at Berwick. Charles returned to Newcastle in September, on his way south towards London. It may be some indication of the town's disappointment at the fruitless result of the expedition, that the bell-ringers of St. Mary's, Gateshead, received exactly one-half of the amount paid them upon the king's arrival in May.^{68a}

When Charles next visited Newcastle, in 1641, the town was in possession of the Scots. Much had happened in the interval. The dissolution of the Short Parliament in May, 1640, had been followed by the Scottish invasion of Northumberland. The battle of Newburn had been won on August 28th, 1640; on the 30th the Scots had been received into Newcastle, and were soon in almost complete possession of Northumberland and the bishopric pending a definite pacification. That, however, was delayed until August, 1641, Parliament judiciously using the presence of their allies on English soil as the lever by which to force concessions from the king. Pre-

⁶⁶ Hodgson-Hinde, in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. vi. p. 226.

⁶⁷ *Laws and Ordinances of Warre*, pp. 15, 20, 26.

⁶⁸ Printed in Maseres, *Select Tracts* (1815), vol. i. p. 158.

^{68a} 'Ringing the bells when the Kinge came from Barwick, 1s.'

parations for the evacuation of Newcastle and the north of England had been for some time in progress before Charles's visit in August.⁶⁹

Charles reached Newcastle on August 13th.⁷⁰ Of his reception at the hands of Lesley and the Scots a contemporary pamphlet⁷¹ gives a quaint and interesting account: 'Generall Lasley being aduertised of the time of his Maiestes comming to New-castle, that he might as well appeare in his own art and luster as in his dutie and loialty to his Soueraigne (hauing first made his choyce of fitt ground) hee drew out his whole forces both horse and foot with the Artillerie and the better to expresse the souldiers salute and welcome of their King, hee rallied his men into two diuisions of equall number ranging them in great length with an equall distance betweene them of about eight score (yards) which rendred them the more conspicuous and with the brauer aspect to the beholders, through these the King was to passe, whither being come the Generall alighting from his horse (which was presently taken by two of his footmen) Hee prostrated

⁶⁹ 'Setterday, 15th May [1641] ane proclamation maid at the cross of Abirdein, forbidding transportatioun of any more victuall to our army at Newcastle, quihlk wes good newis to the countrie people bot the army wes weill seruit, and send bak to Leith sum of these victuallis' (*Memorialls of the Trubles*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 44). On May 21, 1641, Parliament voted £300,000 to the Scots out of which they were to satisfy their debt to the counties from which they had drawn supplies since their occupation (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1640-41). On June 19, Parliament voted in regard to the £300,000, that £100,000 should be paid at Michaelmas 1642, and the balance at Midsummer 1644 (*Ibid.*). By July 3, therefore, Lesley was withdrawing his troops from the Bishopric towards Newcastle (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43). By July 8th, the Scottish Commissioners were on their way to Newcastle to superintend the evacuation of the town (*Ibid.*). On Aug. 9, the Scots admitting £33,888 as the amount levied from Newcastle, Northumberland, and Durham, the House of Commons ordered that the balance for their 'brotherly as'sistance' should be paid to them (*Ibid.*). On Aug. 22, Vane writes from Edinburgh, 'The moneys are now come to Newcastle for disbanding the Scotch Army' (*Ibid.*).

⁷⁰ Brand gives August 10th as the date. Charles, however, left London on that day, and was in Edinburgh on the 14th. The 13th was therefore probably the date of his arrival in Newcastle. He apparently proceeded on his journey the same day, after dining with Lesley. 'His Majestie . . . saw generall Leislies army lying at Newcastle. He receaved ane welcum of fyre wark. Lesly welcumt also his Majestie as becam him; he intreatit him to dynner, with whome the King went. Thairefter he had sum schort conferrens with Leslie, syne went to horsse, where his Majestie had ane uther fyre wark voly, and therefra cam be post touardis Scotland' (*Memorialls of the Trubles*, vol. ii. p. 61.).

⁷¹ *His Maiesties Passing Through the Scots Armie*. Printed in the yeare 1641. Vane writes from Edinburgh on Aug. 22, 'At Newcastle he [Charles] took a gracious view of the Scotch army, being drawn forth into a body to present themselves unto him, which they did in a posture full of obedience and zeal to his person' (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, p. 101). Thomas Wiseman writes on Aug. 26, to remark 'what gallant entertainment Leslie gave the King, as he passed by the Scottish army, at dinner, at Newcastle' (*Ibid.* p. 105).

himself and service before the King upon his knees, his Majestie awhile talking to him and at his rising gave him his hand to kisse, and commanded his horse to be giuen him, whereon remounted, he ridd with the King through the Armie.' A description of the formation and equipment of the army follows: 'In the first place stood Highlanders, commonly called Redshankes, with their plaides cast ouer their shoulders, hauing euery one his bowe and arrowes with a broad slycing sword by his side, these are so good markesmen that they will kill a deere in his speed, it being the chiefest part of their liuing, selling their skins by great quantities and feeding on the flesh; next were Musketeers interlac't with Pikes and here and there intermix't with those dangerous short gunnes inuented by that their famous engineer Sandy Hamilton, and were for the sudden execution of horse in case they should assaile them, then againe bowes muskets and pikes for a good distance on both sides, in the mid-way the Artillery was placed by Tiers, consisting of about 60 pieces of Ordnance, the cannouiers standing in readines with fired linstockes in their handes, the horsemen were here placed on both sides, which served as wings or flankes of the whole Army and so forward in the same order, but disposed with so goodly a presence and posture, with such sutable equipage and militarie accomodations that they appeared ready to give or take battaile And as the King passed along they gave forth such true fyre as it is beleued since the inuention of gunnes neuer better was seene or heard, they discharged wondrous swift but with as good a method and order as your skilfullest Ringers observe with Bels, not suffering the noyse of the one to drowne the other, the King receiued such contentment that whereas his dinner was appointed and prouided at the Maior's of New-Castle, hee yet went and honoured Generall Lasley with his presence at dinner.' There can be little doubt that this reception was accorded Charles upon his entering into Gateshead. After the battle of Newburn, the Scots had their camp at 'Reidheuche above Newcastle,'⁷² and had immediately commenced the fortification of the south side of the town, which Conway had neglected.⁷³ These outworks were demolished immediately after

⁷² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date Sept. 8, 1641.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Newport to Windebank, Sept. 11, 1641.

Charles had left the town;⁷⁴ the ammunition and military stores in the town were, however, left behind at Charles's solicitation.⁷⁵

Of the king's further reception in Newcastle there is no record beyond the usual entries for bell-ringers' fees.⁷⁶

On August 21st he was followed by the Scots' army.⁷⁷ 'The Scots when they marched out of Newcastle, their Artillerie being mounted vpon their carriages, aduanced forth with the Cannoniers and other officers thereto belonging and some troopes of horse, then most of the regiments of foot, after them prouision baggage and carriage, then followed the rest of the foot, and all the rest taking their leaves in a most brotherly and freindly manner, being gone some foure miles from the Toune their generall hauing directed them to march forwards he returned to Newcastle with some few of his officers, causing the Toll Bell to be rung up and downe the Toune proclaiming that if any of the Toune were not yet satisfied for anything due to them from Officers or souldiers, let them bring their Tickets and hee would pay them, which he did accordingly, to the great content of the Townes-men, and much applause of the Generall and his Armie, and after a solemne taking of his leave he followed the Armie, going all the way along with them in the Reare as they marched and not anything taken from any man in all that Iourney to their singular Commendation and gaying the good esteeme of all that passed by.'⁷⁸ By August 25th the Scots were out of England.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* under date Aug. 26, 1641.

⁷⁵ Bourne, vol. ii. p. 231. *Commons Journals*, Aug. 24, 1641. They took however their surplus food supplies. *Memorialls of the Trubles*, vol. ii, p. 65.

⁷⁶ All Saints' Accounts, 1641: 'ffor ringing at the king's ma^{ties} going into Scotland (Aug.), 4s. 6d.'

⁷⁷ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 347.

⁷⁸ *His Maiesties Passing*, etc. *Britanes Distemper* (Camd. Soc.) p. 35, says of this visit of 1641, 'The king came that way, they being all drawin up in battell, and as he passed by, with a most humble submission they lay downe there armes, and followes him peaceablie to Scoteland, where they ware licensed to dissolue.' On Aug. 27th, Leslie dismissed his army on 'the lynkis of Leith,' to which place there came from Newcastle 'diuers barkis with victuall, send for the armyes provision, and wes sauld bak againe' (*Memorialls of the Trubles*, vol. ii. p. 65). On Aug. 28, Leslie had an interview with Charles at Edinburgh (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date), and on Nov. 6, Charles 'sittand in plain parliament put the croune of ane Earle upon his [Leslie] head' (*Acts of Pt. of Scotland*, vol. v). Writing on Aug. 22, from Edinburgh, Vane says that 300 or 400 of the Scottish cavalry 'are to keep together about the town until the fully settling of the affairs of the state' (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43).

⁷⁹ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, *ibid.*

The effect of the departure of the Scots from Newcastle in August, 1641, is

On his way from Scotland in November Charles stopped at Newcastle on the 19th and 20th.⁸⁰ Sidney Beere gives, in a letter on November 25th, the only detail of the king's visit:—'At Newcastle, Secretary Vane was commanded to deliver up his staff of Treasurer [of the Household], which was conferred at York upon Lord Saville.'⁸¹

A few words only of introduction are necessary to preface the story of Charles's detention in Newcastle in 1646. In the same month which saw his return from Newcastle in 1641, Parliament had, under Pym's guidance, proceeded to formulate the Grand Remonstrance. In August, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and in September, 1643, Parliament had entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots. Newcastle had fallen to them, on October 19, 1644, after a stubborn siege, and their army was before Newark when Charles, at the lowest point of his fortunes, threw himself into their hands. With their prize the Scots hurried north.

On the day of their arrival at Durham, a certain captain Adam Shipperson fell in with David Buchanan, and enquired of him 'why

described in *Exceeding True Newes From Newcastle*, May 17, London, Printed for G. Horton, 1642.

'And first touching their Distractions, Merchants are distracted for want of Traffique, they are in such a pittifull rage, that they have sworne not to carry Coales for any man, they swear, that since the Peace was concluded, Coales are fallen at least sixe pence a Bushell, which makes them curse Peace and fall together by the eares amongst themselves, likewise your Gunsmiths begin to bounce and breake with a powder, for since the Army marcht away they have had nothing to doe but to make Key-Gunnes for which they curse Peace likewise, and make the blacke Pots flue (*sic*) one against the other, they are all to pieces on that side too. The Citizens wives that had decrepid Husbands, they are distracted for the losse of their loves honest Gentlemen Troopers Your Alewives and Tapsters likewise, are distracted to see their Ale soure for want of good fellowes, their Beere converted to Vineger, they likewise curse Peace till they are a dry; drinke til they are mad, then let the rest about the Cellar, then run Tap run Tapster, all's gone, nothing left but the empty Hogshead for the Brewer to make him a Helmet on to cover his Logger-head.

The Baker that in the time of Warre made his bread of halfe wheate and halfe sand, now cries out that his bread is dowe bak't, he swears he had rather have stood in the Pillory then to have had Peace concluded, for now he makes his bread but two ounces to light in a two penny loafe, and then hee made it foure ounces two light, yet now his bread lies on his hands, which makes him pray for warre or a deere yeare, and then the mealey mouth Rogue swears he will make them pay for it.'

There are two more paragraphs which are too coarse for publication.

⁸⁰ All Saints' Accounts, 1641: 'ffor ringing the 19th and 20th Nov'. at his Ma^{tie}s return from Scotland 5s. The Gateshead Parish Accounts record the following payments for 1641: 'Pd. the Bellman for ringing on the Coronation day 4s.;' 'Pd. for ringing when his Ma^{tie}s came from Scotland 1s. 6d.'

⁸¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date Nov. 25, 1641.

they brought the king in such haste with their whole army northward?' Buchanan replied that 'the Parliament had abused the King in denying him liberty to come safe to London,' and that 'the Scottish Army would protect the King against the Parliament and stand upon a defensive war against them.'⁸² Buchanan's opinion was neither official, nor was it entirely accurate, but it did very correctly represent the view which England was inclined to adopt in regard to the conduct of the Scots. Leven thought it necessary, therefore, to publish a vindication of his action. On May 13th, proclamation was made at Durham,⁸³ doubtless at the king's departure for Newcastle, commanding 'all officers and souldiers under my command to forbear to have any dealing, or entertaine any correspondence, or have any company upon the march, or in any the quarters with any person whatsoever, formerly in service against the Parliament of England.' The proclamation of this order at Durham 'did no little vex the Malignants,' but 'blessed be God' adds the pamphlet from which these details are taken, 'the Cockatrices were crushed in their shels!' Leven, also, 'made many faire and full expressions (before hee left Durham) of the integrity of the kingdome of Scotland towards the Parliament of England,' and by order of the Scottish Estates 'discharged all persons whatsoever, to seek or receive any Gift, Pension, or mark of honour from his Majestie, and appoynted, that no other desire be propounded to him, but to satisfie the joynt desire of both Kingdomes, insetling of Religion and peace.'⁸⁴ Charles, on his part, was already closely attended by the Scottish divines and had apparently held out hopes of sanctioning the Covenant on his arrival at Newcastle.⁸⁵

Since the siege of Newcastle in 1644, Northumberland and Newcastle had been in the hands of the Scots. Henry Ogle, writing to sir John Fenwick on May 20th, 1646,⁸⁶ describes the county as in a pitiable state from their depredations. 'We have,' he writes, 'a

⁸² *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 360. See also pt. iv. p. 400, for a letter from Henry Marten on this matter.

⁸³ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army, Proclaimed by Order from Generall Leven at Durham, May 13, 1646.* London: Printed for Matthew Walbanck, May 21, 1646.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ⁸⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, for week ending May 22, 1646.

⁸⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 363

regiment lately come in from Scotland. . . . They are very oppressing to our country, going up and down, burning towns, as the soldiers phrase it, receiving £3, £4, £5 and more, according to the bigness and littleness of the towns, and where they quarter at night, they demand, as I am told by a preacher, their own countryman, who is sorrowful for their demeanour, for a captain 12s., for a lieutenant 6s., ensign 4s., and for common soldiers 2d. a man, which they levy before their departure from their quarters. Their usual march is 5 or 6 miles a day, and not directly forwards neither. . . . The committee is about to write to the General to certify him . . . and hopes from him to get relief, else our county will be undone.' The following minutes from the Gateshead parish accounts tell the same story:—
 March 1645-46, 'Pd to captaine Grey a fine which the Commitee did lay upon the Toune and for his and his mens charges when they came about the fine £11 15s. 0d.' March 1645-6, 'Pd to the Skotts to redeame the great new gate which they had taken away and carried to their leager; which gate did hang at the entring into the Toune fields 1s. 2d.' June 1646, 'Pd to men for assisting us to drive the Fell and watching the beastes when they were pinded (but James Towers of Newcastle procureing assistance of the Skotts came violently and tooke them away by force) his beastes being in nomber 79, also ther was at that tyme 90 of another man's 9s. 3d.'

Charles entered Newcastle about five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, May 13th. Brand, quoting Bourne,⁸⁷ states that 'he was caressed with bonfires and ringing of bells, drums, and trumpets.' The statement is quite inaccurate. From Gateshead to his residence the road was lined, by order of sir John Lumsden, the governor, with musketeers and pikemen.⁸⁸ Charles's immediate escort consisted of '300 horse, or scarce so many.'⁸⁹ An eye witness⁹⁰ gives the following interesting and minute account of the scene:—'Some that attended upon his Majestie rid before all bare. Then his Majestie marched with the Generall, and some other Scottish officers, divers of whom also that were neer the King, rid bare. There went none out of the

⁸⁷ Chap. 14. ⁸⁸ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. ii. pt. iii. Lumsden's appointment as governor had been ratified on March 6th, 1645 (*Acts of Pt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.). See *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date April 11, 1645.

⁸⁹ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army.* ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Toune of New-Castle to meet his Majestie, neither the Scottish Lords that were in the toune, nor the Deputy-Mayor thereof; nor any other, either inhabitant or other. His Majestie was not received in triumph (as some would have had it to be done), nor did they in any solemne manner take notice of his Majestie. The King rid in a sad coloured plaine suite, and alighted at the General's quarters (now the Court). There were no guns discharged, neither by land, nor by water, by way of triumph. There was no acclamation by shooting with muskets, sounding of trumpets, or beating of drums, and yet there were both Kettle-drums, and trumpets good store in New-Castle; yet were they so far from any publike way of triumph, that they did not sound or beat so much, as when one troop of Scottish Horse march into Newcastle.' Yet another eye-witness⁹¹ of Charles's entry describes it as being 'In a very silent way, without bells ringing, or bagpipes playing, or Maior and Aldermen, not as at Doncaster.' A single shout only was raised as Charles entered the gates of the court, a demonstration which at once drew from Leven a proclamation forbidding Charles's adherents to have access to him.⁹² Among those who entered the town with Charles, who were denied his presence by this order, were major Gilbert Errington of Denton and lieut.-colonel Carr.⁹³ At the same time, his arrival, or that of the Scots, caused considerable alarm among the adherents of the English Parliament, and the commissioners of the excise at Newcastle and Shields had hurriedly fled.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150, for May 19-25, 1646.

⁹² *The Weekly Account*, No. 21, for May 13-20, 1646.

These accounts of Charles's reception in Newcastle on May 13, are confirmed by the following:—'From Newcastle by Letters that came this day we are informed that the King is brought thither, neither Drum, nor Trumpet, nor guns, nor Bells, nor shoots of people once heard, but brought in far more like a prisoner than a King.' (*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 149.) *The Scottish Dove*, No. 134, states 'all the while there was not so much as a gun shot off nor bell rung.' *The Weekly Account*, No. 21, quotes a letter from Newcastle, 'there was not any extraordinary concourse of people, neither was there any noise, or sounding of Trumpet; only when his Majesty arrived at the place that was prepared for Him, those that were held to affect the Parliament the best made a shout.' Montreuil in a dispatch to Mazarin of May 15-25, 1646, writes: 'the Mayors of Durham and Newcastle were prevented from coming to receive his Majesty officially, as is the custom; so that the Scots not only failed in paying the honours required of them, but they prevented other subjects from rendering those they owed to him.' (*Scottish History Society Publ.*, vol. xxix. p. 195.)

⁹³ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 63, for May 14-21, 1646.

⁹⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for week ending May 22, 1646.

Very particular precaution was taken both by Leven and the town's authorities to secure the king. His escort having withdrawn after his arrival at the court, he was left in charge of the mayor.⁹⁵ A guard of musketeers was mounted,⁹⁶ and 'inhabitants of trust' were appointed to act as sentries round the king's residence.⁹⁷ Leven also ordered 'that some of the ancient men of the Inhabitants of the Toune should constantly sit at every passage to examine and take notice what persons came in or out,'⁹⁸ and 'Proclamation was made by beat of Drum and sound of Trumpet, That although His Majesty was come thither, All persons should yield obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament.'⁹⁹ No Scotchman could enter the town without a pass from the Estates, nor any Englishman without the sanction of the Parliament, the English commissioners, or the deputy-mayor.¹⁰⁰ Charles was in fact a prisoner. His letters to the queen on May 20th, 28th, and June 3rd, express his indignation at this unlooked for treatment.¹⁰¹ He seemed 'melancholy, and is very gray with cares,'¹⁰² and a careful observer of his appearance noted that 'The Haire of His Majesties Face is not shaven (as some have writ), but cut round both on the Chin, and upper Lipp also, His Lock is cut off, and his head rounded.'¹⁰³

Tradition has always regarded Anderson Place, the 'Newe House' of Speed's Map of 1610, as the residence of Charles in 1646-47. Brand mentions a room in it which, about 1789, bore the name of 'the king's bed-chamber.'¹⁰⁴ Sykes, writing in 1833, speaks of a bed, which had been used by Charles, having been sold as lumber by 'an incurious domestic' during Major Anderson's residence abroad.¹⁰⁵ Gray, in the *Chorographia* of 1649, while he describes it as a 'princely house,'¹⁰⁶ gives no hint of its association with Charles. Barnes^{106a} is equally uncommunicative. It would appear to have been the same

⁹⁵ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646.

⁹⁶ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

⁹⁷ A Declaration Published in the Scots Army.

⁹⁸ The *Weekly Account*, No. 21, for May 13-20, 1646. ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ A Declaration Published in the Scots Army.

¹⁰¹ *Charles I. in 1646* (Camden Society). See also Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii. p. 149, and *Scot. Hist. Pub.*, vol. xxix. p. 195.

¹⁰² *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 155, for May 14-21, 1646.

¹⁰³ *Perfect Occurrences*, for May 15-22, 1646. ¹⁰⁴ Vol. ii.

¹⁰⁵ *Local Records*, vol. i. p. 100. ¹⁰⁶ *Chorographia* (ed. 1813), p. 24.

^{106a} *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes* (Surtees Society).

house as that which Charles occupied in 1639, from the gates of which he reviewed the troops on their march towards Berwick.¹⁰⁷ That it was not one of the houses in St. John's parish is proved by the fact that the commissioners who were lodged there in January, 1647, are described as being 'a good distance from the Court.'¹⁰⁸ In the newsletters and pamphlets of 1646-47, it is specifically described as the house or residence of sir Francis Liddell,¹⁰⁹ and was assigned to Charles by order of Leven and the commissioners.¹¹⁰ It had, until recently, been the residence of the governor, sir John Lumsden, and his wife had to provide her self 'otherway,' when on May 6th, orders arrived to prepare it for Charles's reception.¹¹¹ Since it is also spoken of as being Leven's quarters,¹¹² it is clear that it was utilized as the official hostelry, as it were, for the high guests whom those stirring times called to Newcastle. One may venture the suggestion, that the putting of Anderson's mansion to that use dated from sir Francis Liddell's shrievalty in 1639; that he, as sheriff, was called upon to provide a house for that purpose, and that it still retained his name when in 1646 Charles occupied it.

Of Charles's life at the court, and of the arrangements made for his comfort, very little information is forthcoming. His letters to his wife¹¹³ are almost destitute of personal details; nor do sir Robert Murray's¹¹⁴ letters yield much information on the matter. He was

¹⁰⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* twelfth report, pt. iv. pp. 504-516. Lesley was occupying it, no doubt, in 1641 when Charles dined with him. In 1633 Charles had resided in Sir William Selby's house.

¹⁰⁸ *A Letter from Newcastle.* London: J. Coe, 1647.

¹⁰⁹ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 136, for June 17-25, 1646, Charles 'keeps his Court at the House of Francis Liddell, Esquier.' *The King's Answer to the Commissioners.* London: J. Coe, 1647, 'His Majesty quarters at Mr. Liddells house in Pilgrim Street.' It is also described, in the *Weekly Account*, No. 20, for May 6-13, 1646, as 'one of the bravest houses in the Town.' The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 62, for May 7-14, 1616, calls it 'Baronet Lidels house.'

¹¹⁰ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 133, for May 6-13, 1646.

¹¹¹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 62, for May 7-14, 1646, where the house is spoken of as 'formerly the residence of the governour, at present of his Lady.' The *Weekly Account*, Nos. 20 and 21, state that Charles had been expected in Newcastle since May 8th, and that 'great preparations' were being made for his entertainment.

¹¹² *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army*, etc., 'the Court (viz. the generalls quarters where his Majestie still is).'

¹¹³ *Charles I. in 1646.*

¹¹⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50 (Camden Society). Montreuil's despatches (see note 136) are equally wanting in local atmosphere. Various letters to Charles I. in 1646 are in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th Report, app. pt. iv. pp. 110-113, and in Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 273-313.

allowed the attendance of 'Noble and fidele gentlemen,'¹¹⁵ lord Lanark acted as his secretary,¹¹⁶ and the earl of Dunfermline slept constantly in his bed-chamber;¹¹⁷ Will Murray was in attendance upon him throughout the greater part of his residence.¹¹⁸ A groom of the privy chamber, Tobias Peaker, is mentioned, as also a page of the back stairs, Levitt by name.¹¹⁹ His diet is described as 'princely,' and consisted of '15 dishes of English diet every meale.'¹²⁰ Dr. Francis Crosse, in his examination on June 8th, 1646,¹²¹ however, put the king's expenditure at the moderate amount of £100 per month. The records of the corporation show that the town was at part of the expense of providing the king, and also Leven and Lumsden, with coals—a fact which possibly supports the suggestion that official connexion existed between the corporation and the house occupied by Charles.

Under date November 30th, 1646, the following minute occurs in the corporation records:—'Mr. George Dawson Alderman made report to the Com'on Counsell that he had been with Sir Thomas Ridd, Knt. about the Coles for his Matie And that the Answer of Sir Thomas was he could not afford them under 3d. the Bowle water measure 21 bowles to the Chalder, the Maior and Burgesses are to paie three halpence the Chalder (? Bowle) his Matie his Excellencie and the Governour the other three (? halfe) pence. His Matie, etc., are to have tenn Chl. everie weeke till further order.' The emendations suggested in this minute make it tally with the statement in the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*,¹²² that the corporation were at half the expense of providing Charles, the governor, and the general with coals.

A further minute in the corporation records is under date January 16th, 1646-47:—'Pd. for coals for his Matie the general and the governor from Sir Thomas Riddells Pit, 33s. 1½d.' Hornby¹²³ adds

¹¹⁵ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* No. 136, for June 17-25, 1646.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

¹¹⁸ *Charles I. in 1646*, under date Sept. 7, 1646.

¹¹⁹ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 368-370.

¹²⁰ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 135, for May 20-28, 1646; *ibid.* No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646. *Mercurius Cæcicus*, No. 155, for May 14-21, 1646.

¹²¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 369.

¹²² *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 50, p. 53 n.

¹²³ *Extracts from the Municipal Records* (Richardson Reprints).

a further minute under date March 30th, 1646-47 :—‘Pd. Sir Thomas Riddell for 32 fother Coals for his Matie, the General, and Governor at 10½d. a fother, 28s. 5d.’ The only minute which appears to suggest that the corporation was at the expense of providing the king with other than coals occurs under the date August, 1647 :—‘Pd. — Sherwood for one brase Pote for his Majie use, weighing 25½d. at 10d. p.d.’ A later hand has added the words, ‘which was lost.’

As to Charles’s amusements, such leisure as was allowed him from his heavy correspondence, his constant interviews with various deputations, the frequent, long-winded and often violent sermons, appears to have been spent in golf, an occasional visit to Tynemouth, and sometimes a game of chess. Ambrose Barnes,¹²⁴ who is responsible for the statement that Charles received greater consideration in Newcastle than elsewhere, has also, so far, been the chief authority for the tradition which, at this early period, connects the game of golf with the town of Newcastle. There are, however, constant references¹²⁵ to Charles’s predilection for golf during his detention in Newcastle, and one¹²⁶ which shows that golf, or at least a species of garden-golf, was played in the grounds of the court itself. Incidentally these authentic references raise an interesting point. The records of golf in Scotland go back to very much earlier times ; but in England, though a golf club was probably in existence at Blackheath soon after James I.’s accession,¹²⁷ these authentic references to the game being played in Newcastle enable the town to claim one of the oldest golf records in England.

The immediate result of Charles’s arrival in the town was a large flocking of his adherents to Newcastle.¹²⁸ Soon after his coming he ‘sent private messages to all his old officers that were at Newarke’ to attend him.¹²⁹ On May 16th Leven found it necessary to issue a

¹²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 54.

¹²⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. *A Continuation of Papers from the Scots Quarters*, London, 1646. *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. London, 1646. *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 29 to Jan. 6, 1646-47. *A Letter from Newcastle*. London : J. Coe, 1646-47.

¹²⁶ *A Continuation of Papers*, etc. Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 82.

¹²⁷ Article on ‘Golf’ in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. If not played earlier in Newcastle, golf was probably introduced by the Scots in 1639 or 1644.

¹²⁸ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

¹²⁹ *The Kingdome Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150, for May 19-25, 1646.

proclamation against 'Papists and other evill affected persons repairing to this garrison.'¹⁸⁰ The proclamation proved effectual, and a week later it was reported that there was 'Not an English Malignant to be seen in Court, nor in the Town of Newcastle.'¹⁸¹

On the date of Leven's proclamation, and also on the Monday following, May 18th, an enquiry was conducted at Newcastle before Henry Dawson, deputy mayor (who had been confirmed in that office by a resolution of the House of Commons on March 31st, 1646),¹⁸² Leonard Carr, Thomas Ledgerd, and Thomas Bonner, regarding the escape of the king's faithful henchman, Jack Ashburnham.¹⁸³ Ashburnham had incurred the wrath of the English Parliament for his share in planning Charles's escape from Oxford. Together with Dr. Michael Hudson, he had come to Newcastle with the king. It was feared, however, that the Scots would yield to the solicitations of the English Parliament and give him up. On the 16th, therefore, he effected his escape. Having accepted an invitation to dine with sir Henry Gibb¹⁸⁴ at Jarrow, Ashburnham and his host came out of the court gates about six or seven o'clock on the morning of that day.¹⁸⁵ They proceeded to John Dobson's shop, where Ashburnham endeavoured to purchase a 'Mounteere' cap. John Dobson could, however, not supply him, and instead he bought a 'Monmouth' cap. From thence Ashburnham and Sir Henry went to the French envoy Montreuil's lodgings, and about an hour later 'returned down the street,' where they met Hudson, and shortly after left the town.¹⁸⁶ Later in the morning, by Hudson's direction, Brown, a St. Ives inn-keeper, and John Pearson, a barber, both of them in Ashburnham's employ, took some horses across the bridge to the 'Crown' inn at

¹⁸⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 157, for May 28-June 4, 1646.

¹⁸² *Commons Journals*, under date, 'Resolved, etc., That this House doth approve Mr. Henry Dawson, Alderman of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to be Deputy-Mayor of the said Town, during the absence of Mr. Blakiston, a Member of this House, and now Mayor there.'

¹⁸³ The depositions of witnesses are in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. lib. ix. See also Hudson and Crosse's depositions, made in June, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. See also Ashburnham's *Narrative*.

¹⁸⁴ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150. *The Scottish Dove*, No. 135, for May 20-28, 1646. ¹⁸⁵ Peck, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 350.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* The valuable correspondence of Montreuil or Montereul 1645-47 is in the Scottish History Society's Publications, vol. xxix. An excise had been laid on 'Monmouth' and other caps, on July 4, 1644 (*A Collection of Acts*, 1658.)

Gateshead, (possibly the house of William Watson, who is mentioned as a Gateshead vintner in 1639,¹³⁷) with orders to stay there until his arrival. Hudson, however, while on the bridge making the best of his way to the 'Crown' with a message to Ashburnham from Charles, was apprehended by Henry Dawson and taken to the latter's house a prisoner.¹³⁸ After dinner, Dawson and the aldermen waited upon Charles, who requested that Hudson might be sent to him at the court. The deputy mayor and his companions at first undertook to do so but, presumably after an examination of the various witnesses whose depositions are dated May 16th, it was agreed to send Hudson out of the town forthwith. On the following morning, Sunday, May 17th, he was brought out by the captain of the guard, and sent on his way to London, where he arrived on June 1st.¹³⁹ Ashburnham, some four days after leaving Newcastle, succeeded in obtaining a passage in a ship bound for Holland.¹⁴⁰

On the Sunday morning which saw Hudson's departure, Charles listened to the first of a long series of sermons of the same burden and advice. Mr. Douglas preached before him in his dining room at the court, 'and spake home to him, and advised him to dispose his spirit to peace and unity.'¹⁴¹ On the following Thursday, May 21st, 'His Majesty attended by Lord Lothian, Lord Dunferling, Balmerino, and others, with 24 captains to wait upon him, went in a Barge to Shields, and dined with the Governour of Tinmouth-Castle, and came back by land.'¹⁴² He was treated with the barest ceremony, 'the most solemnity of his entertainment, were three pieces of Ordnance fired at the Castle, and some fired by the Collier ships that rode in the Harbour both as his Majesty went and returned.'¹⁴³

On Friday, May 29th, Charles addressed the first of that remarkable series of letters¹⁴⁴ to Alexander Henderson who, with sir Robert

¹³⁷ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1638-39, p. 486.

¹³⁸ Peck, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 350-352. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 377.

¹³⁹ Peck, *op. cit.* p. 361.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* *Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 377. Ashburnham's *Narrative*. On May 25, 1646, the House of Commons sanctioned the payment of £50 to the deputies of the sergeant at arms for the apprehension of Ashburnham and Hudson.

¹⁴¹ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64. ¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 153, for June 16-23, 1646.

¹⁴⁴ *The Papers that Passed at Newcastle (1649)*. The letters are also printed in the appendix of Aiton's *Life and Times of Alexander Henderson (1836)*.

Murray, had arrived in Newcastle on May 16th.¹⁴⁵ Into this well-known controversy it is not permissible to enter here. The correspondence proceeded leisurely from May 29th to the middle of July.¹⁴⁶ As early as June signs of a breakdown in Henderson's health appeared.¹⁴⁷ On August 3rd it is stated that he was too ill to continue his attendance upon Charles, and that Mr. Blair had taken his place as chaplain.¹⁴⁸ On or before August 10th Henderson left Newcastle by sea for Scotland.¹⁴⁹ Charles visited him on his departure, and the dying man 'wept to his Majesty, and desired him to hearken to counsel.'¹⁵⁰ On August 19th, he died at Edinburgh.¹⁵¹

Throughout June, while the Scots were pressing the covenant on Charles, they were also strengthening their hold on Newcastle and the north of England. Early in the month fresh regiments were on their way into England,¹⁵² and Northumberland was 'sadly suffering by horse and foot.'¹⁵³ At about the same time a ship from Stockholm had arrived in the Tyne with ammunition for the Scots.¹⁵⁴ John Dobson, the Newcastle haberdasher, in his evidence given on June 1st regarding Ashburnham's escape,¹⁵⁵ deposed that 'Since the king came to Newcastle he heard that a ship laden with ammunition and arms was brought to Newcastle from

¹⁴⁵ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64. Sir Robert Murray's valuable series of letters from Newcastle dated August 8, 1646, to January 24, 1647, are in the *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50 (Camden Society). Aiton, p. 588, gives the date of Henderson's arrival as May 15.

¹⁴⁶ Charles's letters are dated May 29, June 6, 22, July 3, 16; Henderson's on June 3, 17, July 2. ¹⁴⁷ Aiton, p. 594.

¹⁴⁸ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, for July 30-August 6, 1646.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* No. 75. ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* No. 77. ¹⁵¹ Aiton, p. 598.

¹⁵² The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 65, for May 28-June 4, 1646.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* No. 67. ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Nos. 65 and 66.

¹⁵⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 366, *op. cit.*

The Trinity House Pilotage Receipts (catalogue No. 201) give the following ships as entering the Tyne in 1646:—

April 25, 1646	...	...	The Whitlyon of Lubeck.
June 3, "	...	...	The Margrett of Anser (?)
" 12, "	...	...	The Seaman of Lubeck.
" 23, "	...	...	The (?) of Lubeck.
" 23, "	...	...	The John of Dantzic.
July 7, "	...	...	The Jacob of Christiania.
" 8, "	...	...	The John of Bargamie.
" 10, "	...	...	The Peter of Bargamie.
" 14, "	...	...	The (?) of Kirbadine (?)
Aug. 20, "	...	...	The Pylliran of Hamburg.
Sep. 3, "	...	...	The John of Lubecke.
Nov. 6, "	...	...	The Justice of Breene (?)

beyond seas ; and he saw some round shot, part of that ship's lading, carried into one of the public magazines upon the Bridge at Newcastle.' The fortifications of the town were also being repaired, and on July 9th it was reported that its 'defensive posture is as good as compleated, new wheeles for the sand-hill guns are perfected.'¹⁵⁶ Charles was not without adherents, however, in Newcastle, for the deputy-mayor was contemplating, in the first week of the month, sending 'one Price, with others of the same stamp' to London.¹⁵⁷ Lumsden, meanwhile, was winning golden opinions, carrying himself 'very fairly and lovingly to the Tounsmen of Newcastle, and merits much honour.'¹⁵⁸

On or about the 15th of the month certain of the Scottish lords had an interview with Charles.¹⁵⁹ With tears they besought him to accept the covenant. He retired to his bedchamber weeping, whither the deputation followed him with renewed supplications. On the 26th, Leven and about one hundred Scottish officers presented him with a petition to the same effect,¹⁶⁰ and on the following day there arrived a deputation of ministers from the Scottish assembly.¹⁶¹ It consisted of Mr. Cant, Mr. Douglas, who had already preached before Charles on May 17th, Mr. Blair, already referred to as chaplain at the court, Mr. Andrew Fairfold, and others.¹⁶² On Sunday, July 5th, Mr. Andrew Cant preached before the king. His text was Psalm ix., verse 7, in close proximity to the previous verse, of which the preacher made use also, 'O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end ; and thou hast destroyed cities, their memorial is perished with them.' A specimen of Mr. Cant's oratory is fortunately recorded. Addressing the king personally he more than once declaimed, 'Thou peece of Clay, where thou sittest, think of thy Death, Resurrection, Judgement, Eternity.' Allusion was also made to the many lives which the war had sacrificed in Scotland. The sermon closed, however, 'in a most compassionate way, with

¹⁵⁶ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71, for July 9-16, 1646.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* No. 66, for June 4-11, 1646. ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* No. 67.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ; Dugdale, *Diary and Correspondence* (1827), under date June 21, 1646. *Scottish History Soc. Publ.*, vol. xxix., p. 212.

¹⁶⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. *The declaration of the Lord Generall, the Generall Officers and the rest of the Officers and Souldiers of the Scots Armie, New-Castle, 27 June, 1646.* Edinburgh, 1646.

¹⁶¹ *A Letter*, etc. ¹⁶² *Ibid.*

offer of mercy upon repentance.' Mr. Cant's auditors were moved to tears, and the king was observed to change countenance more than once as he listened to the preacher's vigorous onslaught.¹⁶³ After the sermon Charles invited Mr. Cant, Mr. Blair, and the other Scottish divines to attend him to discuss 'a case of conscience which he would put to them.'¹⁶⁴

The surrender of Oxford, on June 24th, brought a considerable number of Charles's adherents to Newcastle. On or about June 26th, sir Edward Walker and a colonel from Oxford arrived to give the king an account of the city's surrender.¹⁶⁵ During the first and second weeks of July, they were followed by many others ;¹⁶⁶ indeed, from this period to the end of the king's stay, Newcastle and the surrounding district contained an increasingly large number of royalists. On July 6th, letters were received in London from the deputy-mayor, stating that he had prevented several of them from having access to the king, and the House of Commons approved his action.¹⁶⁷ On the same date, Vincent Babington, the king's barber, was only granted a pass from London to Newcastle on the stipulation that he carried 'nothing prejudicial to the state.'¹⁶⁸ On July 20th, the resort of 'Malignants' to Newcastle was again brought to the notice of Parliament, and on July 22nd, the House of Lords passed a resolution for restraining them from having access to Charles.¹⁶⁹

The chief event of the month was the arrival of the commissioners bearing the propositions from the English Parliament to Charles 'for a safe and well grounded Peace.'¹⁷⁰ They reached New-

¹⁶³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71, for July 9-16, 1646. The *Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 157, for July 14-21, 1646. For Cant, see *Scottish Antiquary* for September, 1892, Jaffray's *Diary*, and Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁴ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71.

¹⁶⁵ *A Letter from Newcastle*, London, 1646. Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 163.

¹⁶⁶ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71. Montreuil returned to Newcastle on July 9, having been away since May 28. (*Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ.*, vol. xxix., p. 217.)

¹⁶⁷ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 47.

¹⁶⁸ *Lords' Journals*, under date July 6, 1646.

¹⁶⁹ Whitelock, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 52, 53.

¹⁷⁰ They are printed by Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 309, in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. and in *Commons Journals*; also in pamphlet form as *The Propositions*

castle on the afternoon of Thursday, July 23rd,¹⁷¹ 'a little before the Post came away.'¹⁷² They were received with no more ceremony than had been accorded to Charles in May,¹⁷³ and were accommodated in the house which had been used by the Scottish commissioners in May and June,¹⁷⁴ doubtless in the same house in St. John's parish in which the English commissioners were lodged in January, 1647.¹⁷⁵ The corporation records contain the following minutes relating to the town's entertainment of them, under date August, 1646 :—'Pd. Thomas Errington which he disbursed when he was sent to meet the Commissioners, 3s.' 'Pd. Mr. George Dawson for a piep of Canarrie Sack, £22 ; half a ton of French, £11 ; pd. for carriage 8s., for four gallons Rennish wine, 32s., which was sent as a present to the Right Honbl. the earell of Pembroke and the other Commissioners who were sent by the Plement with the Propositions to the King's Matie, £35.'¹⁷⁶

Leven called on the commissioners soon after their arrival,¹⁷⁷ and in the course of the evening they received notice from Charles that he would grant them an audience on the following afternoon.¹⁷⁸ He was already aware of the nature of the propositions. On July 17th, Hamilton had reached Newcastle, in the course of a violent thunder-storm, in advance of the English commissioners.¹⁷⁹ In the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*,¹⁸⁰ a detail is preserved of the interview between Hamilton and the king : 'When he had just kissed the king's hand, his Majesty and he blushed at once, and as the Duke was retiring

of the Lords and Commons for a safe and well grounded Peace. Sent to His Majestie at Newcastle. London: Printed for John Wright at the King's Head in the Old Bailey, 17 July, 1646. ¹⁷¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319.

¹⁷² The *Scottish Dove*, No. 144, for July 22-31, 1646.

¹⁷³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 73, for July 23-30, 1646.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ 'A fayre house in St. John's parrish,' *A Letter from Newcastle.* London: J. Cole, 1647.

¹⁷⁶ Hornby has printed this minute. I have supplied the word 'piep.' which is almost obliterated in the original. The total also appears to be £35, and not £34. See *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319.

¹⁷⁹ Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 182.

¹⁸⁰ P. 53. *Britanes Distemper*, p. 197, describes this episode: 'In the werie moment when he tooke leaue of the kinge, a flash of lightening seimed to fill the wholl rounge, efter which followed a terrible cract of thunder, the lyk wherof was newer heard of in the island; for as it beganne there at that werie instant, so it spreid from thence to the south and north, owerall the ill, continuing without intermissione not onlie the rest of that day, but the wholle night, and the nixt day till tuelf ackloak.'

back, with a little confusion, into the crowd that was in the room, the King asked if he was afraid to come near him, upon which they entered into a conversation together.' Argyle also, who arrived in Newcastle shortly after Hamilton, experienced a similar thunder-storm.¹⁸¹ About the same time, as appears from a letter¹⁸² written from Newcastle on July 24th, by 'D.N.,' the full text of the propositions reached Newcastle in pamphlet form, no doubt the publication issued on July 17th, from the 'King's head in the old Bailey.'¹⁸³ Charles was engaged in their consideration even before the visit of the commissioners and had almost entirely given up his golf.¹⁸⁴

On Friday, July 24th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the commissioners, with their chaplain, Mr. Marshall, accompanied by Argyle and Loudoun, proceeded in their coaches to the court. They were received in 'a large Chamber of Presence,' and after their public reception followed the king into another room. Mr. Goodwin read the propositions, and Charles undertook to give his answer within the ten days allowed the commissioners by Parliament for their mission.¹⁸⁵ On the same day the commissioners heard a sermon¹⁸⁶ from Samuel Kem, a navy chaplain, whose ship was stationed at Tynemouth.¹⁸⁷ Charles heard a sermon from Marshall, the commissioners' chaplain, on the following Sunday, July 26th, and remembering, probably, his experience at the hands of Mr. Cant, sent for the preacher twice and thanked him for a discourse which was 'peaceable and not personal.'¹⁸⁸ After a series of interviews with the king on July 27th and 31st, and August 1st and 2nd,¹⁸⁹ the commissioners left the town at the early

¹⁸¹ Guthry, *ibid.*

¹⁸² In *The Kings Majesties Receiving the Propositions for Peace at Newcastle*. London: Jane Coe, 1646. ¹⁸³ See note 170 above.

¹⁸⁴ *Papers of some Passages between the King and the Commissioners*. London, 1646. Montreuil and Bellièvre, who reached Newcastle on July 25, were closely engaged with Charles (*Scottish Dove*, No. 145).

¹⁸⁵ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319. *Copy of a Letter from Newcastle from the Commissioners about the Propositions for Peace*. London, 1646.

¹⁸⁶ *A Sermon Preached before the Commissioners of both Kingdoms the same day they Delivered the Propositions to the Kings Majesty for a Safe and Well-grounded Peace*, by Samuel Kem, Batchelour in Divinity. London, 1646.

¹⁸⁷ See note 328.

¹⁸⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75, for Aug. 6-13, 1646. His text was Isaiah 32, verse 17.

¹⁸⁹ *Commons Journals*, under date Aug. 12, 1646. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75. *The Kings Answer to the Propositions for Peace*. London, 1646. *Copy of a Letter from Newcastle, etc.*

hour of five on Monday morning, August 3rd.¹⁹⁰ Leven, Lumsden, Argyle, Dunfermline, and the officers of the Newcastle garrison accompanied them as far as Durham, where Leven and Lumsden dined with them, and after dinner 'parted in love.'¹⁹¹ Their departure was followed, about August 17th, by that of the Scottish nobility in the town.¹⁹² Henderson, too, had gone, and Charles enjoyed some leisure which was not disturbed until the arrival of the Scottish commissioners in September.

Until that event, the record of Charles's experiences and of events in the town becomes somewhat obscure. On August 8th, sir Robert Murray¹⁹³ speaks of the king as being in good spirits over a game of chess. Towards the end of the month, it was reported in London with some trepidation, that he was making overtures to certain of the nobility in the town and seeking to ingratiate himself with the soldiery,¹⁹⁴ who by now, even the king's guard, were in a 'ragged and naked condition.'¹⁹⁵ The presence of so many of the 'malignants' in and about the town still gave cause for anxiety, and Leven had on August 3rd issued a further proclamation 'with sound of drum' against them.¹⁹⁶ A curious episode occurred about the middle of the month. There had lately arrived from London, a pamphlet entitled *Truth's Discovery, or a Black Cloud in the North*. It was apparently a *canard* of the Independent party, and was at once condemned to be fixed to the gallows on the Sandhill for forty-eight hours, and finally to be placed within the covers of 'an old service book' and burnt by the hangman's man. Over the condemned publication the following verse was written:—

Read and behold this Pamphlet, see
Themselves sold right Devils to be.
A lying spirit fit to divide,
To sheith his sword in his mother's side.

¹⁹⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75. *Copy of a Letter*, etc. ¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁹² Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 63. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, writes, 'His Majesty speaks of leaving Newcastle,' and in No. 75, 'its talked his Majesty hath no mind to stay much longer at Newcastle.'

¹⁹³ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50, p. 107.

¹⁹⁴ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 77, for Aug. 20-27, 1646.

¹⁹⁵ *The Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 162, for Aug. 18-25, 1646.

¹⁹⁶ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 57. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, for July 30-Aug. 6, 1646, 'the town being exceedingly full of such, and great store about the town.'

This legend, too, was attached : 'Independents untruths, Knavely hatchet in Hell, produced in London, whose end is the gallows.' Further, a proclamation, stated to be 'By order of the independents parliamentary convention at Newcastle,' was signed either humourously or in contempt by

Thomas tinker and preacher there,
Ralph Dog, preacher and prophet there,
Jenkin Fidler, second speaker.
Peggy Parker, chief musitian.
Humfry Candlestick, clericus.

The proclamation is stated to have been 'fixed by three common souldiers, and taken down by an officer of the excise.'¹⁹⁷

On Wednesday, September 2nd, Charles paid a second visit to Tynemouth, accompanied by Bellièvre and others. He dined at the castle and was 'entertained there very gallantly' in 'the Great Roome, richly hung.'¹⁹⁸ After dinner several of the officers of the garrison were presented to Charles,¹⁹⁹ and he returned to Newcastle the same evening.²⁰⁰ On the following day he 'tooke a little recreation at goffe,'²⁰¹ but on Friday, September 4th, his brief holiday came to an end with the arrival of the commissioners from Scotland.²⁰² They 'were received into the Toune with much gladnesse, by many who pray that they may prevaile with His Majestie,' says a Newcastle correspondent.²⁰³ The corporation records, under date September, 1646 (second week), contain the following minute, indicative of the town's hospitality : 'Pd. William Archer for 3 great ketteles to carry wine to the Commissioners.'

On Sunday, September 6th, while two of their ministers preached before the commissioners, 'His Majesty heard wholsom doctrine preached unto him, addresses of godly Ministers, to perswade him to harken to the requests of his kingdomes.'²⁰⁴ On the 7th, probably, on

¹⁹⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 76, for Aug. 13-20, 1646, which prints the above *verbatim* 'for the excellency of the stile of the prose and verse.'

¹⁹⁸ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Sept. 4-11, 1646. Bellièvre, whose first despatch from Newcastle is dated July 30, was received there with some ceremony by the governor and officers at the town gate (*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 238*). Also, 'a fine residence' was provided for him in the town (*Ibid. p. 231*). He reached Newcastle on July 25 (*Scottish Dove*, No. 145, for July 29-Aug. 5, 1646).

¹⁹⁹ *Perfect Occurrences*, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid. Mercurius Civicus*, No. 171, for Sept. 3-10, 1646.

²⁰³ *A Letter from Newcastle*. ²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

which date Charles complained to the queen of having been 'freshly and fiercely assaulted from Scotland,'²⁰⁵ on the 8th,²⁰⁶ and on the 9th,²⁰⁷ the commissioners had audiences of the king. On the 10th, Blair, Douglas, Cant, and other ministers brought their influence to bear. Their arguments failed to move Charles, and at length the uncompromising Cant broke out, 'Sir, I wish I may not say to your Majesty, as the Prophet said to Amasiah, "Refuse not counsel lest God harden thy heart to destruction."' 'You are no prophet,' replied Charles. 'But yet,' said Cant, 'I may tell you what the Prophet said to the man in such a condition.'²⁰⁸ After a further interview with the commissioners on the 11th,²⁰⁹ Charles gave his answer about the 15th.²¹⁰ It proved to be but of vague and indefinite character, and urged the desirability of his return to London.²¹¹ By the 21st, the Scottish deputation had left Newcastle,²¹² and by the end of the month most of the nobility there had proceeded to Edinburgh for the meeting of the Estates.²¹³ Newcastle was called upon to receive no further deputations until January, 1647.

Meanwhile, during September, certain events had taken place in the town which had aroused some considerable feeling. On September 11th, 'Some reasons were offered to the Commons why there hath not been an Election at Newcastle, according to a writ formerly granted.'²¹⁴ But upon debate thereof it was Ordered to be referred to a Committee who were appointed to sit in the Star Chamber on Tuesday following.²¹⁵ It is evident that there was some division in the town in regard to the matter, and it

²⁰⁵ *Charles I. in 1646*, under date.

²⁰⁶ *A Letter from Newcastle*. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 67. *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 165, for Sept. 8-15, 1646.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* *A Letter from Newcastle*.

²⁰⁸ *The Copy of a Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. *A Letter from Newcastle*. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 81, for Sept. 17-24, 1646.

²⁰⁹ *A Letter from Newcastle*.

²¹⁰ *Perfect Occurrences*, under date Sept. 16, 1646.

²¹¹ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 69. ²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *The Scottish Dove*, No. 152, for Sept. 13-23, 1646.

²¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date Sept. 9, 1645, from which it appears that the writs were shortly to be sent down by John Blakiston. The request of Newcastle for a second member in the room of Sir Henry Anderson had been discussed in the Commons on Dec. 5, 1644, and ordered to stand over (*Commons Journals*, under date).

²¹⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, under date Sept. 11, 1646.

culminated in October in a deputation to London to indict the mayor for his opposition to this and other measures.²¹⁶ About the middle of the month 'divers of the unreformed clergy' are reported as having returned to Newcastle,²¹⁷ while a letter from 'E. A.,' dated Newcastle, September 24th, says, 'There are many malignants that lye between the Kings Lodgings at (*sic*) Gateside, and use much to that side of the Town about Pandon Gate; some quarter in Redhugh, and Fellin; but they use not about the Towns of Walker, Wamson, and Willington.'²¹⁸ It was reported, too, with some misgivings, that Charles, either to gain adherents or to replenish his exchequer, was conferring honours at Newcastle. Among the recipients was a Matthew Whitfield of Whitfield, who obtained the honour of knight-hood at the hands of the king, but 'had no sooner receiv'd his honour but he away to his Inne, clapt his cloak-bag behinde him and away'²¹⁹ without paying his fees. On October 1st, also, there is an order to the attorney or solicitor-general to make out the grant of a baronetcy to the Newcastle alderman, Mark Milbank, 'for his constant fidelity and affection.'²²⁰ The dignity was however not conferred until after the Restoration.²²¹ On Tuesday, September 22nd, a general thanksgiving was held in Newcastle to celebrate the conclusion of the Civil War. The day was observed 'by our Brethren and all the whole town,' says the *Scottish Dove*,²²² 'by ringing of Bells and Bonafires.' Charles, who was still conferring with Mr. Blair,²²³ attended a sermon, apparently the public sermon, on the morning of that day.²²⁴ The corporation records contain a minute,²²⁵ under date October, 1646, recording the public rejoicing that was made: 'Paid for tarbarles and setting them up, 28s.; for wine, tobacco, and bisketts, 11s. 5d.; given to Mr. Mallards compinie, 10s.: at generall thankesgiving the 22nd September, 1646, £3 11s. 5d.'

²¹⁶ The *London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646, quoting a letter from 'I. P.' of Oct. 24. See below, p. 45.

²¹⁷ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 166, for Sept. 15-22, 1646.

²¹⁸ *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. London, 1646.

²¹⁹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 81, for Sept. 17-24, 1646.

²²⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1625-49, p. 699.

²²¹ See genealogy in *Surtees*. Also, Welford, *Men of Mark*. ²²² No. 154, for Sept. 30-Oct. 8, 1646.

²²³ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50, p. 114.

²²⁴ The *Weekly Account*, for Sept. 30-Oct. 7, 1646. ²²⁵ Printed in Hornby.

Nevertheless, the counties of Northumberland and Durham still groaned under the Scottish occupation. On September 13th, the inhabitants of Cleveland drew up a letter setting forth their misery, and their example was followed on October 12th by the inhabitants of Stainton.²²⁶ The Scots, meanwhile, were making preparations for the coming winter, provisions and forage were being laid in, and it was even rumoured that the starved condition of Northumberland and the bishopric might compel them to move their quarters further south,²²⁷ pending the conclusion of the financial arrangements which were then in progress between the two Parliaments.

Throughout October there are but scattered references to Charles and Newcastle in the news-letters and pamphlets. About the beginning of the month Montreuil returned to the town,²²⁸ and, somewhat later, Charles had a visit from Davenant the poet.²²⁹ On the 8th an incident is recorded in connexion with the king's favourite pastime. A Newcastle correspondent²³⁰ writes on that date, 'Here was a woman [distracted], seeing the King at Goffe (probably set on by some body), said that it was better for the King to be with his Parliament than to be there, and being bid to hould her peace, she said that shee would not, and if they loved the King as they should they would have tould him so before now.' Whether as the result of this experience or no, the same writer, on October 28th, reports, 'The King seldome goes out to goffe,' though on 'The fast day (viz., Wednesday last), when we were at Church at humiliation, the worke of the day, there was playing at goffe at Court: which much sadded the harts of divers honest men.'²³¹ During the month there was a recurrence of the plague in the town. It broke out in the first week,

²²⁶ Both petitions are printed in *A Declaration Concerning the miserable Sufferings of the Countrie*. London, 1646.

²²⁷ *A Letter from His Majesties Quarters*. London, 1646, which speaks of this rumour as 'a great and heavy burden to the minds of many.'

²²⁸ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 169, for Oct. 6-13, 1646. He writes from London on Sept. 26, and from Newcastle on Oct. 5. He had been absent from Newcastle since August 3. (Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ., vol. xxix.)

²²⁹ *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 84, for Oct. 8-15, 1646. See, also, *Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ.*, vol. xxix., pp. 292, 314, also Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. lxx. ²³⁰ 'R. Y. Cleric' in *Papers from the Scots Quarters*.

²³¹ *A Continuation of Papers from the Scotts Quarters*. London, 1646. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 82.

brought thither by a ship which reached the Tyne from London.²³² By the 8th four houses in the town were infected,²³³ and a week later the sickness was increasing.²³⁴ While disease was rife in the town, dissensions arose among the civic authorities. Early in the month the council had proceeded to the election of the mayor for the year ensuing. A writer, who signs himself 'R. Y. Cleric,' remarks in a letter, dated October 8th,²³⁵ 'Our Major for this toune is chosen, which hath beene a troublesome work ; But Master Henry Dawson is Elected Major for the yeare ensuing, and confirmed in it . . . hee is a very honest man. . . . Master Henry Rawley (Rawling) is chosen Sheriffe.' In a letter dated October 28th,²³⁶ the same writer adds, 'This Toune of Newcastle have chosen Mr. George Dawson, a very honest man, (Brother to the Major) to be an Alderman.'

Yet another cause of dissension arose towards the end of the month. A news-sheet remarks : 'The Magistrates in this Town are endeavouring to bring the Castle (which hath beene formerly a priveledged place) under the freedome of the Town (which may be usefull to the safety of the Kingdom). I am sorry to see divisions in the Toune.'^{236a} Before the 24th of the month, as appears from a letter²³⁷ signed 'I. P.' from Newcastle on that date, Christopher Nicholson—the tradition in regard to whom, as having been entrusted with the charge of Charles, is mentioned by Mr. Welford in his *Monuments and Tombstones of St. Nicholas*²³⁸—Edward Man, and Robert Ellison set out for London, summoned thither to give evidence in regard to complaints against the mayor. These complaints are stated as having their origin in his 'indeavouring the suppressing of our Petition for another Burgesse, and obstructing other Ordinances of Parliament here.'²³⁹ On the 26th,

²³² *Papers from the Scots Quarters.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 170, for Oct. 13-20, 1646.

²³⁵ *Papers from the Scots Quarters.*

²³⁶ *A Continuation of Papers from the Scotts Quarters.*

^{236a} *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. See Brand, vol. i., p. 163.

²³⁷ The *London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21.

²³⁸ P. 147. Nothing has appeared to confirm this tradition. The idea that Charles was, to some extent, in the care of the town's authorities, is however suggested in the *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646, in the statement that on May 13 the escort withdrew from the Court 'leaving the charge to the Major.'

²³⁹ The *London Post*, No. 1.

John Blakiston, whose stipend of £200 as the borough burgess had been voted on October 5th,²⁴⁰ also left Newcastle for London. From the terms in which he is complimented by 'R. Y. Cleric' in his letter of October 28th, it is clear that the offending mayor was Henry Dawson; that his election had been carried only with difficulty, in face of his attitude upon the additional burgess question and other matters; and that Blakiston had used his influence to calm the troubled spirits of the corporation fathers. 'Blakiston, our honest ould Major,' says the letter, 'hath done many good services in setling this place, which was carried on by him and others with much wisdom.'²⁴¹

In November, an event of large interest, both in the history of the town and of Charles's connexion with it, was the arrival of Stephen Bulkley, the printer; the commencement of a long association with Newcastle and Gateshead which lasted until after the Restoration.²⁴² On November 11th a London news-sheet²⁴³ gives the following information:—'But the greatest news is, a Printer is come from York to Newcastle with his Presse and Letters, and is beginning to work upon the large Declarations: the Mayor sent to know wherefore he came thither? he would give no answer the first time, having not consulted his pillow; the next day, being sent for, he answered, The Governour would give him answer, if he pleased to send to him. Whether it be the same Presse which was sent from London to York²⁴⁴ at the beginning of these troubles is not known. . . . By another Letter from Newcastle its certified that his Majesty sent for the Printer from York, and that his name is Buckley.' On the 16th there is further information regarding Bulkley²⁴⁵:—'His Majesty hath taken the Printer into his own Lodgings, that so he

²⁴⁰ *Corporation Records*, Oct. 1646, 'Pd. the right worshipful John Blakiston maior. which was ordered by the Common Councill the 5th October, 1646, he being a burgess of parliament for this corporation 200l.'

²⁴¹ *A Continuation of Papers*, etc.

²⁴² Welford, *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1895).

²⁴³ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 88, for Nov. 5-12, 1646.

²⁴⁴ Robert Barker set up his press at Newcastle in 1639, and at York in 1642. He had returned to London before 1646. It is feasible to suggest that Bulkley had been his workman or apprentice, and had continued his business in York when Barker returned to London. The last of Bulkley's Newcastle and Gateshead publications is dated 1662. Shortly after that date he returned to York and there died. See Welford, *Early Printing*, etc.

²⁴⁵ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 89, for Nov. 12-19, 1646.

may act without controll; likewise to avoid any difference between the Town and the souldiery, that might arise about him or his actions.' Charles, at the same time, was busily engaged in preparing matter for Bulkley's press. 'The King,' says a news-letter,²⁴⁶ 'is well, is studious, writs much, many sheets already written, conceived will be shortly printed; the subject I know not.' A few days later Bulkley transferred himself into 'the next house to his Majesties lodgings, and hath a door into his Majesties chambers: He is printing, but hath not perfected anything as yet. His Majestie gave him ten pieces to quicken his pains and care.'²⁴⁷ His removal from Charles's immediate protection encouraged an attempt to eject him from the town. 'The Stationers and shop-keepers' regarded his establishment in the town as likely to be 'a damage to them.'²⁴⁸ Accordingly, 'the Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle moved the Governour to have the Printer apprehended, he told them in that none should hinder them.'²⁴⁹ A sergeant was, thereupon, sent for that purpose, 'but he (Bulkley) escaped and got into the Presence.'²⁵⁰ After that futile attempt, Bulkley appears to have been unmolested. On the 28th, he was busily printing off his first Newcastle publication: 'his Majesties Printer is printing the Answer or Letter sent to the Assembly by Mons. Diodate . . . other things are to be printed.'²⁵¹ An account of this pamphlet was published by Mr. Welford in 1895;²⁵² an interesting problem, however, arises in connexion with it. It drew forth vigorous denials of the attributed authorship, and a vehement answer in *A Reply to a Letter Printed at Newcastle*.²⁵³ The vexed question of authorship was perhaps settled in a later pamphlet from Bulkley's press, entitled *The Kings Possessions written by His Majesties own Hand*, which contains a certificate from one of the secretaries of the Assembly attesting that the work attributed to Dr. Diodate was an 'abominable forgery.' But what was Charles's share in it? The 'forgery' or hoax was Bulkley's first production. Charles had been busily preparing matter for Bulkley's

²⁴⁶ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 161, for Nov. 18-25, 1646.

²⁴⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90, for Nov. 19-26, 1646.

²⁴⁸ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Nov. 20-27, 1646.

²⁴⁹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90. ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* No. 92, for Dec. 3-10, 1646.

²⁵² *Early Printing*, etc.

²⁵³ Printed by J. C., London, 1646.

press shortly before its publication, and admittedly annotated it when Bulkley again issued it in *The Kings Possessions*. It is, in fact, interesting to conjecture, but difficult to determine Charles's share in its publication.

In the following month Bulkley issued two pamphlets, which so far do not appear to have been identified as his. Under the date December 21st, the *Moderate Intelligencer*²⁵⁴ publishes the following information:—'The Petition of some Londoners hath had the honour to be printed at Newcastle by his Majesties direction, and his own Printer there. My Lord Lowdens speeches are also printed, with an Epistle by G. A., but in the Title-Page at Edinburgh.' This is confirmed by Whitelock,²⁵⁵ 'Great use was made of a press to print the Lord Chancellor of Scotland's speeches, the London petition, and other things at Newcastle.' Whitelock states²⁵⁶ that the printing of the speeches in London had already caused some feeling in Parliament. The London petition, an abstract of which appears, after the statement of its publication at Newcastle, in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 94, is among the King's Pamphlets (in broadside form, and without a regular title-page), in the British Museum.²⁵⁷ The lord chancellor's

²⁵⁴ No. 94, for Dec. 17-24, 1646.

²⁵⁵ *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 97, under date Dec. 23. ²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 76, 80, 83.

²⁵⁷ Its press mark is 190, g. 12 (83), and the text as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Right Worshipfull, the Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Councill Assembled.

The Humble Petition of many well-affected Free-men,
and Covenant ingaged Citizens of the City of London.

Humbly sheweth,

That the deep sence of our growing miseries and approaching dangers, hath even forced us to think upon, and apply our selves to such waies and means, as whereby we might probably and comfortably hope to obtain relief; our Solemn Covenant ingageth us to persist constantly all the dayes of our lives against all opposition in the zealous pursuit of the blessed ends thereof, which chiefly are Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Union, It is to manifest how many desperate assaults are daily made upon these great concerns: We know no other means of remedy against these running mischiefs, then a diligent Application of our selves to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, in whom much of our precious interests are concerned, and since all our regular motions to Them are directed through You, the Worthy Senators of this famous City (the experience of whose free and faithfull addresses to the Parliament, especially in that of our late most memorable Remonstrance, together with Your favourable acceptation of our humble Petitions, we cannot but with all Joy and Thankfulness acknowledge.) We are greatly incouraged in confidence of Your continued faithfulness, to return again unto You.

And most earnestly to beseech that the premises being duly weighed, You would be pleased to afford not only Your acceptance of, but Concurrence with,

speeches in one pamphlet bear the title, *Severall speeches Spoken by the Rt. Hon. The Earle of Loudoun*.²⁵⁸ No date is assigned to the speech, but from internal evidence it was delivered during the visit of the English commissioners in July.²⁵⁹ Charles's purpose in causing the speech to be printed in December is not quite clear, especially as Loudoun in it very plainly indicated the necessity for the king to yield to his Parliament. The speech had already been printed in London, in July, 1646,²⁶⁰ but the Edinburgh version does not exactly correspond with the London edition.²⁶¹

To complete, however, the record for November. On the 4th, there is an order for the public lighting of the streets :—'Lanthorns to be hung out in every ward in Newcastle. A common lanthorn to be provided for each ward. The lanthorns to be lighted at 6 o'clock,

these our Humble Desires annexed, so far as shall seem good unto Your Wisdoms, and in Your own, and our names to present them to the Honourable Houses, expressing all that zeal therein as is meet in matters of so high importance, wherein the honour of God, the Peace and Happinesse of these Kingdoms (in this and future Ages) are so eminently concerned.

And Your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

The Heads of our Humble Desires.

1. That the Solemn League and Covenant may be imposed without exception upon all with a Penalty.
2. That Religion may be settled, Heresie and Schisme extirpated acco[r]ding to the Covenant; That such may be suppress from publick Preaching a[s] have not duely been ordained: And that a competent maintenance for the Ministry may be provided.
3. That the Subjects Liberty be preserved in their right of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.
4. That Committees (in regard of their exorbitant miscarriages) may be dissolved.
5. That the Armies may be disbanded, and Taxes released.
6. That dying Ireland may be speedily relieved.
7. That the Union of the two Kingdoms may be maintained.
8. That the Interest of both Kingdoms in the Person of the King may be preserved.
9. That notorious Deli[n]quents may be brought to speedie Justice, and Publick Debts out of their Estates satisfied.
10. That Protections may be taken off.

²⁵⁵ Edinburgh, 1646.

²⁵⁶ The speech begins 'Your Majesty was pleased on Monday last, to call the Lords of your Privy Council of Scotland, and the Committee to acquaint them with the Propositions, and told that before the delivery of your answer, you would make the same known to them.' Loudoun accompanied the Commissioners on their first visit to Charles on July 24. The Monday spoken of might be either July 20 or 27. See also Maseres, *Select Tracts*, vol. i. p. 94.

²⁶⁰ *The Lord Chancellor of Scotland, His Speech to the King in Newcastle, July, 1646*. London, 1646.

²⁶¹ The opening sentence, for instance, reads: 'Your Majesty was pleased on Monday last to call the Lords of your Councell and Committee.' Compare Note 259.

and to burn until the captain goes.²⁶² On the following day, the historic 5th, a minute in the Gateshead parish accounts occurs :— ‘Pd. for ringing the bells on Gunpowder-treason day, 2s. 6d.’ Throughout October and the first two weeks of November, the weather had been so boisterous that the usual trade with the Tyne ports had been seriously hampered, and the price of provisions had risen accordingly.²⁶³ By the 12th the storm had moderated. On that date ‘E. N.’ writes²⁶⁴:—‘To-morrow . . . there will be neare 300 saile of ships come out of this River, most of them for London, with Coals, which hath been kept in by the Windes this 6 weekes at least.’

The storm had probably delayed an arrival for which some, at least, in Newcastle were anxiously looking. On the 21st, sir Robert Murray writes from Newcastle²⁶⁵ :—‘The Prince of Orange hath sent hither a ship of 34 gunnes to do what the king commands. . . . She stays here under pretence of being careened, but will be ready, as I take it, at all times for the King’s pleasure.’ The Dutch captain, upon his arrival, ‘delivered some packets from the Prince of Orange to his Majesty, and hath treated with the French Embassadour, and the Earle of Dumfarlinge, Sir James Hamilton, Vantrumpe, and Mr. Murrey, and other Agents at Newcastle.’²⁶⁶ The delivery of these despatches took place probably on the 17th, for on the following day, ‘the 18 of Novemb. Sir James Hambleton, Mr. Murray of the Bedchamber, with divers Scottish Gentlewomen, went to Tinmouth Castle in a Barge, who were saluted with three piece of ordnance from the Dutchman of war; after there went the Captain to the Castle, whom the Governour requited with three other pieces: after all of them came aboard the Captain, Sir Charles Floyd and some others meeting them; and having drank severall healths, at end of each there went off severall guns: after the Captain came to Newcastle with Mr. Murrey, the 19 the Captain was feasted by the

²⁶² *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 53 n.

²⁶³ *A Continuation of a Journal of Passages*. London, 1646.

²⁶⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Nov. 13-20, 1646.

²⁶⁵ *Hamilton Papers*, under date. Charles had written on September 10th to request that a ship might be sent to Newcastle, (Gardiner, *History of the Civil War*, vol. vi., p. 339.)

²⁶⁶ *Diutinus Britannicus*, for Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1646.

Lord Dumferling and Mr. Murrey.²⁶⁷ Another news-sheet²⁶⁸ adds a detail regarding the 18th :—‘They feasted the Captaine at Tinmouth Castle, where they dranke healths to the King, and all his friends.’

The arrival of the Dutch man-of-war was accompanied by that of a large number of the king’s adherents to Newcastle and the surrounding district. They were estimated at about five thousand.²⁶⁹ Clearly the authorities suspected, and as it proved with reason, some plot on the king’s behalf. On December 3rd, Leven and Lumsden issued a proclamation²⁷⁰ against all who had borne arms against either Parliament, among whom were certain ‘who reside in the King’s Court.’²⁷¹ The captain of the Dutch ship was also examined ; caution was given to the governor of Tynemouth castle to be on his guard, and colonel Welden was ordered to arrest ‘Master Ralph Pudsey a knowne and dangerous Papist.’²⁷²

On the Sunday following Leven’s proclamation, December 6th, there preached before Charles, apparently in St. Nicholas’s church, ‘a Scotchman newly come from Scotland ; he was very violent in his sermon, and much displeas’d his Majesty.’²⁷³ Charles’s resource in inducing the congregation to sing the 56th Psalm instead of the 52nd, given out by the preacher, is a familiar story,²⁷⁴ but a news-sheet²⁷⁵ adds that the congregation were so ‘overweighted by the Novelty of this great Clerke’ that ‘it’s said some did now sing who had not sung in many yeares.’ The *London Post*,²⁷⁶ however, contradicts the story, adding that ‘though the King did not sing in the Church, yet it made him laugh in his Chamber.’ On the same day Charles’s coachman, Hugh Brown, was buried in St. Andrew’s church. The fact is recorded in the church registers :²⁷⁷ ‘Dec. 6, 1646, Hugh Brown, buried the 6 day, in the Church, the kings kouchman.’

²⁶⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90, for Nov. 19-26, 1646.

²⁶⁸ *Diutinus Britannicus*, for Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1646.

²⁶⁹ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178, for Dec. 8-15, 1646.

²⁷⁰ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 92, The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93, for Dec. 10-17, 1646. ²⁷¹ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178. ²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 94.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 179, for Dec. 15-22, 1646. *Joyful Neues from the North*, Dec. 28, 1646. London, which calls the preacher a ‘New Minister.’

²⁷⁵ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 179.

²⁷⁶ No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646, ‘There was of late no such sermon preached nor was there any such Psalmes.’

²⁷⁷ Quoted in Sykes, *Local Records*, vol. i. p. 100.

On the following Wednesday, December 9th, a Dunkirk man-of-war entered the river and others were expected.²⁷⁸ The captain of the Dutch ship, as also of the Dunkirk ship,²⁷⁹ would not allow any one to come on board without his express permission.²⁸⁰ The royalists, in spite of Leven's proclamation, still continued in large numbers 'very high and bold.' The mayor had, on or before the 10th, arrested some of them,²⁸¹ though Pudsey had escaped.²⁸² On the 14th, a Newcastle letter gives the following details :—'The Cavaliers increase and resort more and more thither ; as if the late proclamation had rather been an invitation, then prohibition. There are many of especial quality, both Captaines, Lieutenants, and Ensignes, lately taken into Tynmouth, and all in capacity of common souldiers, such is the peoples feares, that they think this to purport some new designe : They give out harsh speeches, as that those Northern parts, in particular, Tynmouth and Newcastle must once more be in their hands ; and, saith the Letter, is like to be if not timely prevented.'²⁸³ Another news-sheet²⁸⁴ gives a more detailed account of the distribution of these 'malignants' ; 'there are divers Malignants that quarter about Gateside, Redhugh, Fellen, Netherworth and Overworth, on the Southside ; some being gone over the Bridge to Lambton, and so to quarters further. On the Northside some are towards Walker and Willington, and so towards Tynmouth, that way lie the great ones that came from Oxford. The Major of Newcastle . . . had notice of some of the King's ould officers in St. Johns and about the King's Lodging, some about Stone Gate and other parts, that were in the Town, and uncivill, some of them were sent for and apprehended, they made meanes to send to the King for reliefe, but sent to Prison.' On the 14th, too, it was reported²⁸⁵ that the Dutch ship had 'victualled himself, and is new trim'd or drest already ; he gives out he must stay five moneths longer, unlesse

²⁷⁸ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646. *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 11-18, 1646. ²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* ²⁸⁰ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646.

²⁸¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 11-18, 1646.

²⁸² *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. ²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646.

²⁸⁵ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. An entry in the Trinity house pilotage receipts, on December 10th, would appear to be connected with the resort of these foreign men-of-war and of the king's adherents :—'The hoope for guard of Rinkhornes Land (ing?) is. 6d.'

called off by expresse order from his Admiral. There are five other ships expected there, men of war also, who are rig'd and appointed at the cost of Prince Rupert, with them certain Holland men of war are to joyn.'

A letter from 'E. N.,' dated Newcastle, December 17th, suggests that the energetic action of the mayor towards the 'malignants' was not unanimously approved by the council: 'There is much division in this Towne. The Mayor carries himself like an honest man: Since the Malignants Committed, some envy him. And now Alderman Coens, Mr. Michaelson, Mr. Elison (the 2 last Sheriffes), and Mr. Mar, the Toune-Clarke, are coming to London, I could wish they would have had more wit, and looked to their owne businesses at home. I am sorry to see honest men fall out.'²⁸⁶

While everything points towards a project of some kind for Charles's escape, measures were being taken elsewhere for the evacuation of Newcastle and the surrender of the king by the Scots. On December 5th, an order had been made²⁸⁷ to send down £100,000 from London to York, in part payment of the £400,000 for which the Scots had agreed to compound their original claim upon the English Parliament.²⁸⁸ On the 20th, Charles had written to suggest his return to London,²⁸⁹ and on the 22nd, the House of Commons had voted his return to Holdenby.²⁹⁰ That in Newcastle the Scots were looking eagerly for the completion of their financial bargaining with the English Parliament is clear from the fact that, about December 15th, Leven and Lumsden had asked the corporation to advance the sum of £2,000 to pay the soldiery.²⁹¹ They offered the security of the customs, and repayment of the loan so soon as the money from the English Parliament arrived.²⁹² The council met to consider the request, and deferred it until December 21st, when the loan appears to have been granted to the increased amount of £3,000, of which

²⁸⁶ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 18-25, 1646.

²⁸⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 90.

²⁸⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. pp. 323-6. See also Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ., vol. xxix. p. 259.

²⁸⁹ Rushworth, *Ibid.* p. 393. The letter was printed by Bulkley, under the title, *A Message from his Majestie, to the Speaker of the House of Peers*, etc. It is reprinted in *Collectanea Curiosa* (1726). ²⁹⁰ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 393.

²⁹¹ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93.

²⁹² *The London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646.

amount alderman Cosins advanced £1,200.²⁹³ The council, at that meeting, took the opportunity to discuss the financial burden which the king's visit had laid upon the town. On that date the following order occurs :—' A particular of the Charges and disbursements which this Toune hath bin att in regard of the Garrison and also in regard of the Court since His Maties cominge hither and to be drawne upp by Mr. Wood of the Toune Chamber that it may be presented to Mr. Blakiston.' A further indication of the approaching evacuation of the town by the Scots is found in a report to Lenthall on December 23rd, that Leven had a quantity of military stores at Newcastle which he was willing to dispose of to the English Parliament.²⁹⁴

Meanwhile, Charles's adherents were of opinion that the time was ripe for the termination of his residence in Newcastle, by methods very different from those which the two Parliaments were contemplating. On December 24th, the Scottish Estates drew up a series of instructions for their commissioners at Newcastle, in which they were bidden to inform the king that it was in vain for him to look for any help from Scotland against his English Parliament.²⁹⁵ On that same day, the first step towards Charles's escape was taken. There was in Murray's employ at the court, a groom of the privy chamber, Tobias Peaker, or 'Master Toby' as he is called in one of the weekly news-sheets.²⁹⁶ On the 24th, Peaker, at Murray's direction, brought the captain of the Dutch ship from the 'Peacock' inn on the quay to the court. Details were there arranged, and later in the day Peaker was told that he would be required to carry down £100 to the captain at the inn. A back-stairs page, named Levitt, received the money from Murray, but not succeeding in finding Peaker for whom he held it, he took it back to Murray's bedroom and hid it under the head of the bed. From its hiding place Peaker ultimately fetched it, and took it to the 'Peacock' where the captain received it, and returned to his ship then lying at Tynemouth. On that evening, Peaker was sent down to Tynemouth to enquire if the wind was fair for an attempt to leave the river, presumably on the following night, and in face of any opposition

²⁹³ The *London Post*, No 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93.

²⁹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report 13, appendix, pt. i.

²⁹⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁹⁶ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 183, for Jan. 12-19, 1647.

which might come from the guns of Tynemouth castle. The Dutch captain, though he expressed his preference for the day-tide on which to leave the river, said he was willing and ready to do what was required of him. With that information, Peaker returned to Newcastle the following morning,²⁹⁷ December 25th.

As to what took place at court on the evening of that eventful Christmas day, Peaker either was or affected to be ignorant. He could say no more than that Levitt had told him that Charles was up very late at night, but that the project, whatever it was, was abandoned owing to the wind not proving favourable.²⁹⁸ The evidence available from other sources, if more detailed than Peaker's, is proportionately confusing. Skippon, who had ample evidence on which to base his conclusions, reported that Murray, who was at the bottom of the plot, had arranged for Charles to leave the court in disguise, make his way from the town by one of the sally ports, and once on board the Dutch ship, set sail for France or Hanover.²⁹⁹ In one news-sheet it is stated :³⁰⁰ 'Pandon gate was endeavoured to be opened, and the Sally Port adjoining, a key was set fast and broken : Mr. William Murrey was very late at Court, that night, comming downe the staires at so unusuall a time, though he gave the officer the word, yet he stayed him in the guard 3 hours untill the Governour sent for him.' In another news-sheet³⁰¹ it is stated : 'Sandgate was opened, and one in grey cloathes going thither from the Kings Lodgings was looked on with suspition (it is not directly said it was the King) but he turned about, and went back to the Kings Lodgings, and up into his Majesties Chamber.' From these accounts it appears that on the 25th an attempt was made, either by some of the royalists in the town, or by some of the guards with whom Charles seems to have been ingratiating himself, to open Pandon Gate or Sandgate. Murray left the court at a late hour, in a grey suit, which in wintry

²⁹⁷ Peaker's Deposition in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. pp. 368-70.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *The Kings Declaration at Newcastle*. London, 1647. Montreuil specifically states that Charles confided only in Will Murray in regard to his projected escape. (Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 402.) See note 311.

³⁰⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 96, for Dec. 31, 1646, to Jan. 7, 1647.

³⁰¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Jan. 1-8, 1647. Brand, *op. cit.* vol. ii. mentions it as a tradition in Newcastle that Charles attempted escape by the Lort burn, and had got as far as the grate 'that is at present in the middle of the Side' when he was apprehended. The story is most improbable. The burn was little better than a sewer.

weather would render him less noticeable, in order to reconnoitre, and on his return was apprehended and detained in the guard house ; while Charles, after waiting some time for Murray's return, concluded that some accident had occurred and, in view of a possible surprise visit from Leven or the governor, prudently went to bed. Peaker's story of the wind not being favourable was either the official version which Levitt and the underlings of the court were asked to accept, or was the invention of Peaker himself as the easiest method of avoiding details which would have involved his master Murray and others.

The *fiasco* of the 25th, however, by no means exhausted Murray's resources. On Monday, the 28th, so far as can be learnt, he and sir Robert Murray met at the 'Angel' inn. Peaker was sent for to join them there, and was informed that suspicion having fallen on the Dutch vessel, it was no longer safe to attempt an escape by its agency. He was, therefore, ordered to ride over to Hartlepool with a letter to the governor, lieut.-colonel Douglas, and to enquire what ships there were in that port, and the names of their masters.³⁰² On Thursday the 31st, Peaker started off on his new mission. He had proceeded no further than half a mile beyond Gateshead, when in his own words, he began to ponder 'the consequents of that business,' and 'not being willing to be accessory to an action which might prove so prejudicial to the kingdome,'³⁰³ he turned and rode back to Gateshead, left his horse at a smith's shop there, crossed the bridge, went direct to Henry Dawson, the mayor, and told him the whole business. Dawson at once sent for alderman Bonner, and to them Peaker delivered the letter with which Murray had entrusted him. It ran as follows :—'Noble Governour, the bearer can acquaint you with a journey I am commanded to undertake ; here is neither ship nor wind fitting. I desire therefore to begin my voyage at Hartlepoole, if there be any accomodation where you are.' After consultation, it was agreed that Peaker should fulfil his mission to Hartlepool, and return with a report to the mayor. He, however, got no farther than Durham, where he heard that colonel Douglas had come in to some horse races near Newcastle—doubtless at Killingworth, the race-

³⁰² Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, *ibid.* Lieut.-col. Douglas, then major, had been appointed by Calendar on the fall of Hartlepool on July 24, 1644 (Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 41 ; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181).

³⁰³ Peck, *ibid.*

course at which appears upon Hollar's map, 1654. Turning back, he once more presented himself before the mayor. In his absence, however, the latter had sent his brother, George Dawson, with alderman Bonner, to acquaint Leven with the facts communicated to them by Peaker, and on January 1st, Leven confronted Murray with the evidence in his possession. Murray, on the following day, accused Peaker, who had quietly resumed his duties at court, and was at the time in attendance in the presence chamber, of treachery, commanded him to return the letter entrusted to him, and to present himself again in an hour's time to hear the king's wishes. Peaker did so, and was told to go once more to the captain of the Dutch man-of-war to bid him obtain permission of the authorities to re-victual his ship, probably in order to have a pretext for bringing her from Tynemouth up the river. Peaker's courage, however, had evaporated. Leaving Murray, he once more called on the mayor, obtained his pass and rode to York, whither also George Dawson and alderman Bonner were about to proceed. There, on January 7th, he gave evidence regarding the plot before major-general Skippon.³⁰⁴

Charles's treatment, in consequence of this plot on his behalf, became increasingly severe.³⁰⁵ On December 26th, order was given for a stricter guard about the court.³⁰⁶ The Scottish life-guards were detailed for this duty,³⁰⁷ and, on December 31st, four officers from each of the Scottish regiments were summoned to perform a similar office.³⁰⁸ Charles was still allowed to go on the Shieldfield for golf, but not without Lumsden or Leven in attendance upon him.³⁰⁹ In the court itself, guards were placed even in Charles's apartments, and

³⁰⁴ Peck, *Ibid.* Montreuil informs Mazarin, on Jan. 10th, that 'a barber whom Will Murray was employing in order to manage the king's escape' had divulged the plot. Probably John Pearson, the barber who had aided Ashburnham's escape on May 16th, is referred to. Vincent Babington, Charles's barber, had licence to proceed to Newcastle on July 8th. Bellièvre, on Jan. 24th, clearly refers to Peaker: 'All generally have been much dissatisfied with the intention it is reported the King of England has had to leave England, of which they say they are at present assured on the deposition of a valet of Sir Robert Moray, which, however, contains nothing precise, according to . . . those who have seen it.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc.* vol. xxix. pp. 407, 412.

³⁰⁵ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 100.

³⁰⁶ Sir Robert Murray, under date Dec. 27th, in *Hamilton Papers*.

³⁰⁷ *Mercurius Diutinus*, Dec. 29, 1646, to Jan. 6, 1647.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* ³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Guthry³¹⁰ states that he suffered considerable annoyance from 'their continual smoaking by him.' At Tynemouth, three government ships, the 'Leopard' (Captain Batten), the 'Constant Warwick' (Captain Bilson), and the 'Greyhound' (Captain Copping), were stationed to watch the Dutch ship, and to prevent any further attempt to escape.³¹¹

In the midst of these exciting events, a curious circumstance is recorded by the *Weekly Account*,³¹² 'His Majesty was told that [*sic*] a young woman at Morpeth, which gave out, that she was the Princesse which married with the Prince of Orange, she was sent for to Newcastle, examined, and found a counterfeit; yet she had some retinue. This trade she tooke up (as she said) to get money, she was whipt and sent going.'

Throughout January, 1647, the interest of both kingdoms was centred on Newcastle, and the arrival there of the money which was to take both Charles and the town out of the hands of the Scots. On December 16th, thirty-six carts containing £200,000 had set out under convoy from London.³¹³ On January 3rd, the money reached York, 'the waies being very bad, the monies overturned, the boxes dirty.'³¹⁴ In spite of bad roads, 'H. M.' writes from York on January 4th,³¹⁵ 'we got well to York with all the good gold and silver yesterday, after many a lang dayes march; yet our foot are too blithe and merry, and leap in the Churchyard after all their marching so far in the durt.' Skippon, who had joined the convoy at Northamp-

³¹⁰ *Memoirs*, p. 185. Bellièvre writing from Newcastle to Brienne on Jan. 2nd, 1647, says, 'The Scots during the past three days have kept so strict watch in order to prevent the king from making his escape, and have so increased the guard they had formerly given him, that it may be said he is now a prisoner.' P. Bellièvre writing to the same on Jan. 17th, adds, that Charles's 'guard has been doubled, both within his residence and without, and they go the rounds continually; cavalry has also been brought to Newcastle to keep guard in the neighbourhood of the town.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. pp. 385, 390.*

³¹¹ The *London Post*, No. 2, for Jan. 14-21, 1647. Montreuil writes to Mazarin on Jan. 10th, 'the English Parliament keeps several warships at the mouth of this river, and one has even been brought up the river to watch the ship that has come from Holland to take the King away.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 402.* The Dutch Ship had evidently moved up the river from Tynemouth. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 111, under Feb. 1st, says the Dutch ship had left Newcastle. She was not there on Jan. 28th; 'the Dutch ship rides still in Tinmouth water . . . two frigats of ours anchor very near her, Capt. Batten is in one of them.'—*The Kings Answer.*

³¹² No. 54, for Dec. 23-30, 1646.

³¹³ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 389.

³¹⁴ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 97, for Jan. 17-24, 1647.

³¹⁵ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 6-13, 1647.

ton,³¹⁶ had, on December 11th, been appointed governor of Newcastle, Gateshead, and Tynemouth.³¹⁷ The corporation of Newcastle took the earliest opportunity of greeting him, as appears from their minute dated Aug. 1647: 'Pd. Mr. Tho. Bonner and Mr. Geo. Dawson their charges which they were [at] in Riding to Yorke to acquaint Maio'. Generall Skippon with the affaires of this Towne at the Scots marching away, 10s.' A Mr. Murrilton [? Murton] and captain Errington are also mentioned as having been sent to York by the town on a similar mission.³¹⁸ Provisions for the garrison at Newcastle were being despatched from London by sea. On January 2nd, a resolution of the House of Commons orders, 'Whereas Captain Mallet, Master of the Ship called the Eagle, of Newcastle, hath contracted (with the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Army) for the transporting of 50,000 of Bisket (in bagges), 25,000 of Cheese, and 250 Ferkins of Butter from the Port of London to Newcastle, for the use of that Garrison; It is therefore ordered, That the Lord Mayor of the City of London, doe issue out his Warrant for the transporting of the same to Newcastle accordingly.'³¹⁹

At York the task of counting the money had commenced the morning after its arrival.³²⁰ By the 8th, barely £50,000 of it had been 'told,' and a week further was required to complete the business.³²¹ Arrangements in regard to the payment of the money to the Scots had already been made.³²² Five days after the money had been told at York, £100,000 was to be paid over at Topcliffe, near Northallerton, when the Scots on their part were to give hostages for their withdrawal from their positions south of the Tyne within ten

³¹⁶ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 389.

³¹⁷ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 18-25, 1646. The *Kingdome Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178, for Dec. 8-15, 1646. Skippon retained the governorship of Bristol, and was granted £500 for the 'extraordinary charges' of his mission to Newcastle.

³¹⁸ The *London Post*, No. 3, for Jan. 21-28, 1647. This captain Errington is presumably the Thomas Errington who met the English commissioners on July 23rd, 1646, on the corporation's behalf. Major Gilbert Errington of Denton rode bareheaded before Charles on his entry into Newcastle on May 13th, 1646. See the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 63, and p. 120 of this volume.

³¹⁹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Jan. 1-8, 1647.

³²⁰ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 6-13, 1647. On Jan. 1st, 1647, the Scottish Estates gave order 'To send such persones to York for telling of the 200,000^{11b} sterling q^{1k} is coming doune from the Parliament of England.'—*Acts of the Pt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. ³²¹ *Mercurius Diutinus*, *ibid*.

³²² See Rushworth, vol. vi. pp. 323-6.

days. The receipt for this £100,000 is dated January 21st.³²³ The remaining £100,000 was to be paid within six days after the English force entered Newcastle, and within one mile of the town; the Scots meanwhile having evacuated it and Tynemouth, and the English, on their arrival, having given nine hostages³²⁴ for the payment of the second instalment. The receipt for this second £100,000 is dated February 3rd.³²⁵ Within ten days of that date the Scots were to evacuate England, and Carlisle and Berwick were to be put into the condition in which they had been before the Scottish occupation. The remaining £200,000 was to be discharged by '12 and 12 moneths.'³²⁶

At Newcastle, commissioners from Scotland, entrusted with the duty of conducting their army's withdrawal and the surrender of the king, had arrived on January 7th.³²⁷ On the 17th, Samuel Kem, chaplain on board the 'Leopard' at Newcastle, preached at court.³²⁸ The sermon³²⁹ gave Charles considerable satisfaction. He conversed with Kem regarding it, and expressed a desire to hear him the following Sunday.³³⁰ On Saturday, the 23rd, the earl of Pembroke with the other English commissioners, who had left London on January 13th,³³¹ and their chaplains, Carroll and Marshall, arrived in

³²³ The receipt is in Peck, vol. ii. p. 370.

³²⁴ Among them was 'Master Dellavell of Seaton Dellavel, he that married Gen. Levin's daughter.'—*Mod. Intelligencer*, No. 94.

³²⁵ The receipt is in Peck, vol. ii. p. 371.

³²⁶ The above details are in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 94, for Dec. 17-24, 1646. See also P. Bellièvre to Brienne, in *Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub.* vol. xxix. p. 353.

³²⁷ *The Kings Declaration at Newcastle*. London, 1647. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 97, for Jan. 17-24, 1647, puts their arrival at seven o'clock p.m. on the 6th.

³²⁸ *The Kings Answer to the Commissioners*. London: J. Coe, 1647, which shows the 17th to have been the date of Kem's sermon, in that it was the Sunday before the Scots gave their farewell sermons. The *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27-Feb. 3, 1647, states that Captain Batten's ship, the 'Leopard,' was at Newcastle on Jan. 23rd, and saluted the English Commissioners. See note 311. In the *Kings Answer*, etc., Kem is called 'Capt. Keme chaplaine to the Vice-Admirall.' He is called 'Major Keme' in *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, p. 518.

³²⁹ *An Olive Branch Found after a Storme in the Northern Seas and Presented in a Sermon at the Court in New Castle By Samuel Kem, a little before His Majesties going to Holmbuy*. London, 1647. The text is Gen. 8, vv. 10, 11. and Hagg. 2. v. 9.

³³⁰ *The Kings Answer*, etc. *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, p. 518.

³³¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 394.

the town.³³² 'Our journey,' writes one of the party,³³³ 'was very long and the wayes exceedingly bad; our Coaches soon tyred, our horses scarce able to hold out, and ourselves very weary . . . we were welcomed with the Cannon from many shippes, and from some Forts of this Garrison about the workes.' They were accommodated in 'a fayre house in St. Johns parrish, provided in the Commissioners quarters, where they are a good distance from the Court,'³³⁴ and the mayor and townsmen showed themselves 'exceeding ready and willing to accomodate them with Anything.'³³⁵ A corporation minute, dated August, 1647,³³⁶ bears this out: 'Pd. Mr. George Dawson for a butt of new sheries sack which was sent as a present by the towne to the Earll of Pembroke and commissioners of Parliament, with carridge and excise, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a tun of French wine also sent them, with carridge and excise, cost 21l. 8s. 0d. ordered by common councell 19. February, 1646, to be paid in all 33l. 0s. 3d.' The mayor, certain of the Scottish commissioners, and Lumsden received them on their arrival.³³⁷ Leven was in attendance upon Charles at golf, and called upon them later at their lodgings.³³⁸ On the following day, Sunday, the 24th, sermons were preached by Carroll and Marshall before the commissioners, and at court by a Scotchman and an Englishman, 'but his Majesty had as much dislike of the one, as approbation of the other.'³³⁹ In the evening an informal conference was held between the commissioners of both countries, 'but (in regard of the day) nothing was done in a publick way, save onely the workes of the day.'³⁴⁰ The conference was continued on the 25th, and on Tuesday, the 26th, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, Pembroke and his fellow commissioners presented themselves at

³³² *A Letter from Newcastle.* London, 1647. *The Kings Answer*, etc.

³³³ *The Kings Answer*, etc.

³³⁴ *A Letter from Newcastle*, dated Jan. 26th, and signed 'W. Sitrauk.'

³³⁵ *Ibid.* ³³⁶ Printed in Hornby.

³³⁷ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.* *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27-Feb. 3, 1647.

³³⁹ *A Letter from Newcastle.* *The Kings Answer*, etc. Of Marshall, who had preached before Charles on July 26th (See p. 121), Heath's *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 157, states, 'the King would not be troubled with his discourses, having such cause of offence at his prayers.' Carrol, too, like Marshall, was 'so unacceptable to the King that he would by no means admit either of them to preach before him.'—*Ibid.*, p. 127. The *Mod. Intell.*, No. 100, says of them, 'with great difficulty he [Charles] agreed they say grace for him.'

³⁴⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

court to acquaint Charles with their mission.³⁴¹ On the 28th, after a further endeavour on that date to sound the Scottish commissioners, Charles, late in the evening, expressed his willingness to set out for Holdenby with the English commissioners on the Wednesday following.³⁴² Meanwhile, the evacuation of Newcastle by the Scots was in progress. The first £100,000, paid at Topcliffe on the 21st, reached Newcastle on the 24th, 'and now,' writes a correspondent on the 28th, 'is dividing amongst them, each one reaching out for his share.'³⁴³ The Scots had appointed their head-quarters at Morpeth, the roads had been prepared for their progress as far as Berwick, and a small force of five hundred only remained in Newcastle,³⁴⁴ when on Saturday, the 30th, Skippon arrived.³⁴⁵ The Scots thereupon withdrew quietly, about three o'clock that afternoon—'a friendly and brotherly parting,' as Leven had enjoined.³⁴⁶ Upon his arrival, the keys of the town

³⁴¹ *A Letter from Newcastle. Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan 27-Feb. 3, 1647. Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 87.

³⁴² Thurloe, *ibid.* Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398. *The Kings Answer*, etc, prints a letter from Newcastle, dated Jan. 28th; 'Sir, I was making up my Letter, it being almost night, to send it to the Post. But yet I am invited to adde a line or two of newes, which is this, That just now the Kings Majesty hath resolved that hee will go with the Commissioners to Homby, and hath appointed Wednesday next to . . . set out from hence . . . Wednesday night his Majesty intends (God willing) to be at Durham, which hath much revived us; for this morning I feared you should not have had so good News.'

³⁴³ *Ibid.* ³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398. 'On Saturday last the Scots . . . paraded all their cavalry through the centre of this town, and before the king's residence, and left it to the English garrison that arrived about two o'clock.'—Montreuil to Mazarin, *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxix. p. 444.

³⁴⁶ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1645-47, p. 517. Montreuil gives however a different version: 'the English officers had considerable trouble with blows and threats, to prevent the women of the town from following the Scottish troops and throwing stones at them while they were leaving it.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub.* vol. xxix. p. 445. Skippon took the Scots' sick in Newcastle under his care. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 113. The Scots left behind them twenty guns which had formerly belonged to the earl of Newcastle.—*A True Relation from the King*. London, 1647. On Dec. 27th, 1646, the Scottish Estates had given instruction to their commissioners at Newcastle, 'Yow must provyde shippis to transport the provisions of victuall to Scotland. For whiche purpose yow ar warranted to give ordo^r for pressing Scottis shippis. And if the wind serve not before the removeall of the garrisons from Newcastle or Tinmouth assurance most be given for their passage and safe convoy.'—*Acts of the Parlt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. Of the Scots' departure *A Letter from Newcastle* states, 'most of them goe very willingly; especially those who are considerable, though indeed some are discontented, Gen. Leven carries himself most excellently in the managing thereof.' *The Kings Answer*, etc., gives a different account, 'The Scotch officers behave themselves very inoffensively . . . As for the common Souldiers, they have such warm quarter, that I believe they goe away very unwillingly, considering the season and the cold climate through which they march.' *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 100, gives the time of their departure as 3 p.m.

were handed to Skippon by the mayor.³⁴⁷ Provision was made for his entertainment and that of his forces. The allowance for coals at four shillings the chaldron was continued to the incoming garrison.³⁴⁸ The corporation records give further details in the following minutes, dated August, 1647:—'Pd. Mr Mayor what he disbursed by order of Common Councill the 15. Feb., 1646, bedding and lening pewter and other necessaries for Major Gennerall Skippon, Governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, his use, as per bill, 10*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*.'; 'Pd. the Right Worth Mr Mayor, wich he disbursed by order of Common Counsell, the 15. Feb., 1646, for the use of the English Armie after the Scots Armie went from thence at the request of Major Gennerall Skippon, 25*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*.'; 'Pd. George Dawson for 3 hodgheads of French Wine, which was sent as a present from the Toune to Major Gennerall Skippon, togt with exsise and carriage ordered by Common Counsell the 15th Feb., 1646, 10*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*'³⁴⁹

On February 3rd, Charles left Newcastle.³⁵⁰ Carriages and teams of horses had been requisitioned for his use,³⁵¹ and Parliament had voted £3,000 for the expenses of his journey to Holdenby.³⁵² Upon his departure, proclamation was made that none who had served in arms against Parliament should approach him.³⁵³ Accompanied by the commissioners, the nine gentlemen appointed by Parliament to attend him, and guarded by an escort of nine hundred horse,³⁵⁴ he reached Durham at about two o'clock.³⁵⁵ On February 16th³⁵⁶ a new chapter in his stormy history opens at Holdenby.

³⁴⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 112. Tynemouth Castle was surrendered to Skippon's deputy at about six p.m. on Jan. 30th.—*Arch. Ael.* vol. xv. p. 220. On Feb. 26th, 1647, the House of Commons ordered Hartlepool garrison to be 'slighted.'—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 103. ³⁴⁸ Whitelock, *Ibid.* p. 113.

³⁴⁹ These minutes are printed in Hornby, but with different totals.

³⁵⁰ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 113. On Feb. 3rd, also, the second £100,000 was paid to the Scots.—Peck, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 371. Ambrose Barnes, then a Newcastle apprentice, acted as one of the tellers of the money upon its arrival in the town. He received a pair of gloves from Skippon for his services.—*Life of Ambrose Barnes*, ed. Sir Cuthbert Sharp, p. 12.

³⁵¹ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27–Feb. 3, 1647, states 'there comes with the King to Holdenby, the 9 Commissioners, the 9 Gentlemen appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty, and the Convoy of Souldery, and the Country are summoned to send in Carriages, and Teames to goe along with them, for carriage of such things as his Majesty appoints to be brought along with him.' They proceeded by short marches 'to avoid such inconveniences as might possibly befall us in travelling late in the evening.'—The commissioners to the Earl of Newcastle, in Surtees, vol. iv. p. 10.

³⁵² Whitelock, *ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.* under date Feb. 8th.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁶ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398.

III.—THE SCOTTISH CAMPAIGN IN NORTHUMBERLAND
AND DURHAM BETWEEN JANUARY AND JUNE,
1644.¹

By C. S. TERRY, M A.

[Read on the 22nd February, 1899.]

In September, 1643, the English Parliament had entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland. The alliance once more threatened Newcastle and the north of England, which, since the withdrawal of Leslie and his army in August, 1641, had been maintained in the interests of Charles by the efforts of the earl of Newcastle. Towards Newcastle the attention of Parliament had early been turned. On January 14th, 1642, a declaration² had passed both Houses, 'That no Shippe, Shippes, or Barques, shall from henceforward, make any Voyage for the fetching of Coales, or Salt, from *Newcastle, Sunderland, or Blyth*, or carrying of Corne, or other Provision of Victuall, Vntill that Towne of *Newcastle* shall be freed of, and from the Forces there now raised, or mainteined against the Parliament.' In the middle of July, under the title *Newcastles Lamentation and Hulls Preservation*, a pamphlet was printed in London³ giving an account of an attempt which had been made on the 16th of the

¹ This paper deals with the early portion of the campaign of 1644, the second invasion of England by the Scots in the course of the Civil War. The story of the latter portion of the campaign, the interest of which is largely centred in the siege of Newcastle, is followed in another paper in this volume. The author's object in this paper has been to follow the progress of the campaign, so far as is possible, in the news-letters and pamphlets which the Civil War called forth in such large numbers. The materials for the paper have been furnished largely from the sources acknowledged on page 83 of this volume. Some of them have been published by Richardson in his *Reprints*. None of them, so far as the author is aware, has been utilised to present a consecutive story of the stirring period with which they deal.

² *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 1642* (Richardson *Reprints*).

³ Printed by Order by G. Tomlinson, London, 1642. An earlier pamphlet, dated May 24th, 1642, entitled *Horrible Newes from York, Hull, and Newcastle*, states, 'There is a contention and Mutiny at Newcastle, it was supposed that his Maiesty would have taken that for his Fort, and some were resolved to assist his Maiesty, others the Parliament, which was the greatest part. And report hereof being made to the House of Commons, a Committee was appointed last Monday of this present moneth to sit, touching the differences between the Major, and Townsmen of Newcastle, further Examination being taken therein.'

month, by the earl of Newcastle, while Charles was still engaged at Hull, to place a force of five hundred men into the town. 'The Towne and colliers of New-Castle,' however, 'manfully resisted them, and made them Retreat out of their Bulwarks and out of the Town; and upon their resistance killed eleven of their men.' The earl, therefore, had retired to York in order to collect 'more strength to go against the Inhabitants of New-Castle.'

By the following month, however, Newcastle and its authorities had definitely ranged themselves on the king's side. Upon the 19th of August, 1642, Nicholas Cole, the mayor, and the common council passed the following resolution:—⁴ 'Upon due consideration had of his Majestys great and urgent occasions at this time for money, and for the duty and respect which they rightly owe to his Matie, It is thought fit by Mr. Mayor, the Aldermen, Mr. Sheriff and the rest of the Common Council, being the representative body of this Corporation that there shall be lent out of the revenues of this Towne the sum of 700*l* of lawful English money, and it is so ordered hereby accordingly in demonstration of their due obedience.' With the closing days of the year, the queen's agents in Holland were busily furnishing from that quarter men and money for the support of the royal cause. In a letter from Rotterdam, dated 'December 16, 1642, *stilo novo*,'⁵ a correspondent speaks to the fact that the queen's agents 'labour here exceedingly in sending away Men, Money, Horse and Ammunition unto Newcastle. Upon thursday last [Dec. 12th] I was at the Hague and there saw Her Majestys Standard which was just then going away, to be sent to Newcastle.' Four hundred officers and old soldiers, four hundred horses, with a further contingent of one thousand, he adds, were to follow. And further, 'It is very credibly reported here, that there is now sending away with all speed to Newcastle 160,000 pound sterling . . . by way of loane raised by Papists in these parts . . . for the Queene.'

The preparations which were being made in the north were viewed with considerable alarm by the Parliament. In May of the next year, 1643, the 'Antilope' was despatched on a cruise of observation along

⁴ *Corporation Records*.

⁵ *A Great Discovery of the Queens Preparations in Holland, 1642* (Richardson Reprints).

the north-eastern coast. The narrative of its voyage⁶ is of considerable interest :—

From Aboard His Maiesties Ship called the 'Antilope.' In Holy Island Road, upon the coast of Northumberland, this 11. of June, 1643.

May the 24. we came right before Tynemouth Barre, and with our Ship stood right in before the Castle, and within shot of it, to see if they would shoot at us, but they did not, neither did we at them, the wind then being faire, and West-North-West, we discovered two Ships comming over the Barre, before they were aware of us, and when we were within ken of them, they could not go backe (being much amazed to see our Ships on such a suddaine) but checked into the Shoare, thinking to stand to their heeles, but we firing six pieces of Ordnance at them, made them submit, whereupon they bore up to us, and so wee made them lawfull Prize, upon examination wee found them to be of Lyn, and had carried Corne to Newcastle, for the reliefe of the Romish Rout, and Anti-Christian crew there, whereupon the Castle was presently in an uproare, wee observing the souldiers running too and againe, expecting still when they would shoot at us, but they did not; being belike jealous of the lower-Townes men, whom they feared would have taken our Part, and doubtless they would have done so, had we proceeded on: we came then to an Anchor before the Bar, about sun-set, and that night we had a well-wisher who stole off in a boat, and gave us intelligence of a great Papist that lived about a mile north from the Castle, within half a mile off the shoare, the House I knew well, and the owner thereof, one Mr. Cramlington of Newsham, who had made ready halfe a dozen Horses and Men to goe to the Earle of Newcastles Army, whereupon I animated the Captaine to prevent his going, and likewise I undertook to be their guide, so about 12. a clocke at night, we armed foure score men, well provided, whome we landed on the shoare, and thence marcht up in order unto the House, and placing our Centinels, round about it, we repaired first to the Stable, thinking to make all sure there, but we found not onely all the Horses gon, but the Gentleman himselfe, the day before: after some small opposition, we entred the House, but found no Ammunition at all therein, whereupon our Souldiers plundered it, and so returned on Ship-board. The next morning we set saile for Barwick.

After describing their doings at Berwick and Holy Island, the writer concludes, 'The next Newes you heare from me, will be about some service we expect to performe against Newcastle it selfe and then I will write to you more at large.'

Meanwhile, the strict embargo laid by Parliament upon trade with Newcastle was beginning to cause considerable discontent and privation. On June 5th, 1643, it was represented that 'the City of London and all the greatest part of this kingdom are like to suffer

⁶ *A True Relation of Very Good Service Done by the Antilope.* London, July 4. Printed by Elizabeth Purslow, 1643.

very deeply in the want of that Commodity [coals] . . . and which is like to have very dangerous consequence in the influence which it may have upon the necessities of the meaner sort.'⁷ The veto of Parliament remained in force, however, until Newcastle had fallen in October of the following year.

Beyond this regulation, so damaging to the commercial prosperity of the town, no steps had so far been taken for its reduction. Sir John Marley, its mayor and governor, had, however, it would appear, to guard against measures more insidious than overt attack. In December, 1643, the earl of Lanark 'went to Newcastle, quhair he had sum dealing with Schir Johne Morall, governour of Newcastle, to betray the town to oure Generall Leslie.' The Scottish writer adds inaccurately, possibly in order to explain Lanark's failure, 'This tresson is discoverit, he [Marley] is removit and wardit, and ane new governour put in his place.'⁸ Lanark's attempt to suborn Marley had followed hard upon the ratification of the alliance between Scotland and the English Parliament in the previous September. From that moment London and the Parliament awaited with eager confidence the fall of the royalist stronghold in the north. The news-sheets of January, 1644, are filled with optimistic and circumstantial statements that the Scots had already arrived before Newcastle, and that the town had surrendered. Dissensions between Marley and sir Thomas Glenham were reported with equal assurance.⁹

⁷ *An Ordinance with Severall Propositions, 1643* (Richardson Reprints). See also in that collection a quaint pamphlet, *Sea-cole, Char-coale, and Small-Coale, or a Discourse concerning the Prohibition of trade with Newcastle, 1643.*

⁸ *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club), vol. ii. p. 299.

⁹ *A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, No. 2, for January, 3-10, 1644, 'From Newcastle the certaine intelligence is; That a great difference hath lately arisen between Sir Thomas Glenham (appointed by the Earle of Newcastle to be Governor there) and Sir John Marlow now Major and Governour of that Towne; which controversie as is credibly reported, the Scots have sent letters, intimating thereby, they intend to be there shortly, and deside the difference betwene them, by which it is manifest, we shall not much longer waite in hopes for their comming to assist us, but enjoy our expectations.' *The Parliament Scout*, No. 29, for January 5-12, 1644, reports, 'The newes came flying this Wednesday [the 10th] at night, that the Scots were come as far as Newcastle almost, which though questioned by many, yet because its so much desired, and every mans expectations are upon their coming, we will now believe it, and be confident by this day sennight they will be at Newcastle, and so we may here fall to rigging up old and new ships to fetch coals, which by that time they get thither no doubt there will be coals ready to take in; therefore let those that have wood, sell good pennyworths, lest they repent it.' *The Scottish Dove*, No. 13, for January 5-12, 1644, prematurely prints 'a full Rela-

Accompanying these premature rumours of the arrival of the Scots and of the fate of the town, information reached London which would strengthen the hopes which the royalists had placed upon Newcastle's ability to sustain a siege. The *Parliament Scout*¹⁰ reported: 'We had newes also, that two ships were come to Newcastle from Denmarke, the one with twenty brasse pieces, store of Ammunition and powder, and that that ship compelled a ship laden with corne to go in with them.' The ships probably conveyed also Donald, lord Reay,¹¹ who remained to take part in the siege in October, 1644. The deposition of John Chamberlayne,¹² a mariner of King's Lynn, who was at Newcastle on January 25th, 1644, gives an interesting account of the preparedness of Newcastle to resist the attack to which common rumour asserted that the town had already succumbed. He states that sir Thomas Glemham was awaiting the arrival of the Scots in Northumberland, while Marley had in garrison at Newcastle no more than five hundred men, all of whom were townsmen. The 'High Castle' was the only place in the town fortified. Within the last ten weeks, however, the garrison had received one hundred and fifty

tion of the taking of Newcastle by the Scots in the following terms: 'This Evening it is with much confidence affirmed that the Scots have taken Newcastle: We had two dayes since newes that they were on Saturday [the 6th] morning before it. For my part, I believe it is true that it is taken, they say they presently yeelded, and that Sir Tho. Glemham quit the Towne, and is gon to Yorke.' *The British Mercury or the Welsh Diurnal*, No. 7, for January 6-13, 1644, in a style reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Fluellen*, reports, 'Her heare of a certaine truth, that the prave Sea-cole Towne of Newcastle is taken by our brudders of Scotland, and that Sir Thomas Glemham hath quit the Towne, and is gone to Yorke; but how, when, and in what manner it is taken, her shall at this time forbear to relate, till her has better information. But pelieve her, 'tis very true, for her heard a Pird [the *Scottish Dove*] sing so in a printed paper on Friday last.' *A Continuation of Certain Speciall Passages*, No. 3, for January 10-17, 1644, even quotes as evidence information brought to London by a sea-captain, who declared that he was at Newcastle on January 10th when the Scots came before the town, 'whereupon after very little respite the Towne was surrendered.' *Occurrences of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, No. 3, for January 12-19, 1644, offers a letter of the governor of Newcastle in proof that the 'townesmen of Newcastle seemed so much to desire the Approach of the Scots, that hee could not expect, but that when they came before the towne, they would yeeld it up to them, whether he would or no.' *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 35, for January 18-25, 1644, states boldly, 'wee have now certaine advertisement by one which came to Towne on Tuesday, Jan. 23. from the Towne of Newcastle, that the Scots came in thither on wednesday was fortnight, there are in all ten compleat Regiments come into England, wherof seven of them are quartered in Newcastle.'

¹⁰ No. 29, for January 5-12, 1644.

¹¹ Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 154 n.

¹² *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm. pt. I. app.) p. 167.

barrels of gunpowder, as well as some small guns which had come over some eight days before in a Danish ship from Amsterdam. Five hundred muskets had also arrived in two cobsles from Scarborough. A certain 'Browne Bushell' was in Newcastle, and had been there for six or seven weeks past. The 'Ipswich Sarah' was there also, lading with coal for Hamburg, whence she was to return with arms. There were also five men-of-war at Newcastle, and a ten-gun ship had lately run ashore at Coquet Island, but her guns had been secured and taken to Glemham at Alnwick. Two ships from Holland with arms and ammunition were daily expected. As to Glemham's forces, they were estimated at five thousand, but half of them were unarmed. In Newcastle, many were well-affected towards the Scots, and a great deal of coal was lying awaiting shipment on the staithe. The garrison, Chamberlayne reported, had recently destroyed a fort between the 'Uplight' at Shields and Newcastle, but there still remained the 'Spanish work' and the 'Lower Light Fort.'¹³

Meanwhile the Scots, whom their sanguine well-wishers in London regarded as already in possession of Newcastle, were but slowly making their advance across the Border. On January 20th, 1644, colonel Francis Anderson, stationed at Wooler, informed Glemham as follows :—¹⁴

Sir,—The Last night I had notice that Weltons Regiment¹⁵ was quartered in Warke Barony, at Preston, Leermouth, Wark, and Mindrum, it was twelve of the Clock at night before the intelligence came to me, whereupon I immediately caused the guards to be strengthened and doubled, my Scoutes attending untill the morning for more perfect information, that I might advertise you of it ; it is now confirmed by one that was this morning amongst them, that there is six Colours of Horse, which were drawing out, and the Drums beating for the calling-out of some Companies of Foot, which also are come over, but the certain number of foot, I cannot as yet learne, but suppose them to be a part of the Lord Maitlands Regiment,¹⁶ which lay at Calstreame [Coldstream-on-Tweed]. I shall endeavour to keep my Quarters hereabouts, untill I receive farther orders from you. I am now drawing my whole Regiment into Wooler, having heard for certain as I was now writing, that a great body of the Enemies Foot, and very

¹³ The Spanish fort at Tynemouth and the Low Light fort at North Shields were retained for the guarding of the river.

¹⁴ *Copies of Letters from Sir Francis Anderson and Others* (Richardson Reprints).

¹⁵ Colonel Michael Welden's regiment contained seven troops. Alexander Home was lieutenant-colonel.—Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 604.

¹⁶ The Midlothian regiment of ten companies ; col. lord Maitland ; lt.-col. Piscottie ; major John Hay.—*Ibid.*

many Troopes of Horse advanced over Barwick Bridge yesterday, and were as farre as Haggeston [Haggerston]; it is conceived they will forthwith march towards Belforde, for they are quartered on the English side; you will please to take these things into a present consideration, and afford a present answer.

The army which, under Leslie, was thus threatening Northumberland, is given at 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 500 or 600 dragoons.¹⁷ It was 'weill armit with feild pieces, swadden fedderis, and all ingynis of warr necessar.'¹⁸ It consisted of the following regiments:¹⁹ the Loudoun-Glasgow, under lord Loudoun, ten companies; the Tweeddale, under the earl of Buccleuch, ten companies; the Clydesdale, under sir Alexander Hamilton, general of the artillery, ten companies; the Galloway, under colonel William Stewart, ten companies; the Perthshire, under lord Gask, ten companies; the Angus, under lord Dudhope, ten companies; the East-Lothian, under sir Patrick Hepburn, laird of Wauchton, ten companies; the Strathearn, under lord Cowper, ten companies; the Fife, under lord Dunfermline, ten companies; the Kyle and Carrick, under the earl of Cassillis, ten companies; the Nithsdale and Annandale, under Douglas of Kilhead; the Mearns and Aberdeen, under the earl marshal, three companies; the Linlithgow and Tweeddale, under the master of Yester, ten companies; the 'Levyed' regiment, under lord Sinclair; the Stirlingshire, under lord Livingstone, ten companies; the Merse, under sir David Home, ten companies; the Midlothian, under lord Maitland, ten companies; the Edinburgh, colonel James Rae, ten companies; the Teviotdale, under the earl of Lothian, ten companies; the 'Ministers' regiment, under colonel Arthur Erskine, five companies. Fifty-two troops of horse, also, were commanded by Leven, David Leslie, the earl of Eglinton, lord Kircudbright, lord Dalhousie, lord Balcarres, Michael Welden, lord Gordon, and the marquis of Argyle. Colonel Fraser, lieutenant-colonel Crawford, and serjeant-major Monroe acted as 'Dragooners.'

Rushworth gives the following scale of pay to the various ranks in the army:—

A Schedule of Allowance to be made to Officers and Souldiers, Horse and Foot, in the *Scottish* Army, for their Entertainment in their March, or as they shall be Quartered in *England*, not exceeding these Proportions and Rates hereunder mentioned:—

¹⁷ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 603.

¹⁸ *Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 298.

¹⁹ Rushworth, *ibid.* p. 604.

	L.	s.	d.
To a Master of Horse, daily	00.	06.	00.
To a Root-Master, or Captain of Horse, daily ...	00.	06.	00.
To a Lieutenant of Horse, daily	00.	04.	00.
To a Cornet	00.	02.	06.
To each Corporal, Quarter-master, and Trumpeter ...	00.	01.	06.
To every Trooper for his own Dyet, daily	00.	01.	00.
To every Horse-Officer, or Trooper, for his Horse, of straw 5 sheeves, or a Stone of Hay	00.	00.	04.
And of Oats, the measure of three Gallons, English, at If the Country People have no Oats, they may have them at Magazine at <i>Barwick</i> , and shall have allowance for them.	00.	00.	06.
To a Lieutenant-Collonel of Foot, daily	00.	05.	00.
To a Major of Foot, daily	00.	04.	00.
The Captain	00.	03.	00.
The Lieutenant	00.	02.	00.
The Ensign	00.	01.	06.
The Quarter-master and Sarjeant, each	00.	01.	00.
The Corporal and Drummers, each	00.	00.	08.
The Common Souldiers, daily a-piece	00.	00.	06.
To the Carriage-men the like Entertainment as to the Common Foot-Souldier; and for the Carriage-Horse 3 pennyworth of Straw or Hay, and 2 penny-worth of Oats.			
The Dragoon is to have for himself 8d. a day, and for his Horse three pennyworth of Straw or Hay, and a groats-worth of Oats.			

The Officers of Dragoons are to have Entertainment at Discretion, not exceeding the Rates following:—

The Lieutenant-Collonel, daily	00.	06.	00.
The Major, daily	00.	05.	00.
The Captain, daily	00.	04.	00.
The Lieutenant, daily	00.	03.	00.
The Ensign, daily	00.	02.	06.
The Serjeant, daily	00.	01.	04.
The Corporal and Drummers, each	00.	00.	10.

In regard to the Scottish ordnance, sir Alexander Hamilton appears to have invented a new type of gun 'made purposely for this designe, above three quarters of a yard long, or some a yard, that will carry a twelve pound bullet, to doe great execution at a distance, and yet so framed that a horse may carry them.'²⁰ Leven's heavy

²⁰ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle.* London: Andrew Coe, 1644.

ordnance was, however, sent by sea to Blyth to meet the army at Newcastle.²¹

The movements which sir Francis Anderson reported to Glemham at Alnwick on January 20th, presaged the commencement of the campaign. On the same day, Glemham received from Argyle and sir William Armyne, commissioners with the Scottish army, a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant and a long declaration upon it.²² Glemham replied to Argyle as follows :—²³

My Lord,

I have received by your Trumpeter a Letter from your Lordship and Sir William Armyne : It is long and of great concernment. And the other directed to Colonel Gray, who for the reason before mentioned, and for the reason that here are none but Officers, he cannot return you an Answer so suddenly by your Trumpeter. But I will send presently to the Gentlemen of the County to come hither, and then you shall receive my Answer, with the officers and theirs by themselves, by a Trumpeter of my own.

Your Servant,

THO. GLEMHAM.

Alnwick, Jan. 20. 1644.

In fulfilment of his promise, Glemham, on January 22nd, conferred with the gentlemen of the county.²⁴ In face of their numerical inferiority compared with the invading Scots, Glemham invited them to consider what should be done with the positions which they might be compelled to evacuate as Leven advanced, or whether it was advisable to offer any resistance at all, but to withdraw in the hope of being adequately reinforced. Upon the first point the opinion of the meeting was divided. Some of those present were in favour of laying the country waste in front of the Scots, others were disinclined to sanction so drastic a measure. Upon the hopelessness of any attempt to resist the Scots in their present numbers all were agreed.²⁵ Glemham, therefore, contented himself with securing the signatures of those present to a spirited answer criticising the statement

²¹ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army* (Richardson Reprints).

²² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, p. 31. The letter is dated 'Barwick, the 20th day of January, 1644, by the warrant and in the name of the Committees of Both Kingdoms.'—*Copies of Letters from Sir Francis Anderson and Others* in Richardson Reprints. *The Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 306, says the letter was sent to Glemham, 'now governour of Newcastle, in the place of that deposit traittour, Schir John Morrall.'

²³ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 607.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *The Scots Army advanced into England* (Richardson Reprints).

furnished him by Argyle and Armyne of the motives which animated the Scots in their present invasion of English territory.²⁶ Unable to offer serious resistance to Leven, Glemham at once called in his forces, evacuated Alnwick and retired on Newcastle,²⁷ having first destroyed the bridge across the Aln at Alnwick.²⁸

With the way thus cleared, Baillie and his command moved from Kelso to Wooler on January 23rd, and on the following day Leven was at Adderston awaiting the arrival of the artillery.²⁹ From there, on the day of Leven's arrival [January 24th], one who accompanied him sketched in a letter³⁰ the future progress of the expedition. 'We are confident,' he writes, 'our quarters shall be about the Town of Newcastle upon Saturday the 27. of this Instant; which if they will not yeeld up, we have no purpose to stay there, unless it be to seize on the Block-Houses upon the River, that the Parliament ships may come in in safety (for there is no fear from the Castle).' The winter was exceedingly severe, and that part of the Scottish army which crossed at Kelso passed over the Tweed on ice.³¹ Upon the arrival of the army at Alnwick, Argyle marched towards Coquet Island, and possessed himself of it after firing a single shot. He took prisoners seventy officers with their men, and captured seven pieces of ordnance, with their ammunition, together with provisions sufficient for one year which he found stored there.³² Placing a garrison in the island, Argyle, presumably, joined the main body of the army at Alnwick.

By January 28th, the Scots had reached Morpeth. Writing from York to prince Rupert on that date, the marquis of Newcastle

²⁶ *The Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 307, gives the letter. It is signed by 'Jacob Munday, Robert Clavering, Thomas Glenhame, Robert Boswell, Ritchard Tempest, Edward Grey, Edward Polen, Charlis Bradlig, George Muschans, Frances Ker, Frances Carnegie, Thomas Tindaill, Raip Millot, Frances Andersone, Alexr. Wndermill.'

²⁷ *Scottish Dove*, No. 17, for February 2-9, 1644, quoting a letter from Glemham, dated January 28th.

²⁸ *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 2, for January 31-February 6, 1644.

²⁹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 612.

³⁰ *The Scots Army advanced into England, certified in a letter dated from Addarston, the 24. of January. From his Excellencies the Lord Generall Leslies Quarters.* London, 1644.

³¹ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army* (Richardson Reprints).

³² *Ibid.* *A True Relation of the Scots taking of Cocket Island* (Richardson Reprints).

expressed his inability to cope with Leven. 'I know they tell you, sir,' he writes,³³ 'that I have great force ; truly I cannot march five thousand foot, and the horse not well armed. The Scots advanced as far as Morpeth, and they are fourteen thousand as the report goes. Since I must have no help, I shall do the best I can with these.' Leven rested at Morpeth until February 1st, awaiting the arrival of the rearguard.³⁴ Glemham had designed to hinder their advance by destroying the bridge at Felton as he already had demolished that at Alnwick, 'but the Masons and workmen which hee brought thither for that purpose, were so affrighted by reason of the exclamations and execrations of the Countrey women upon their knees, that while Sir Thomas went into a house to refresse himselfe they stole away, and before hee could get them to return, hee received an alarum from our Horse which made himselfe to flee away with all speed to Morpeth, where he stayed not long but marched to Newcastle.'³⁵

Leaving Morpeth on February 1st, Leven had intended to encamp within two miles of Newcastle on the following day. He halted, however, at Stannington on the 2nd, having been confronted by 'some unexpected lets by reason of water and other impediments,' while the English and Scottish parliamentary commissioners remained at Morpeth to supervise the commissariat.³⁶ This unexpected delay proved most fortunate for the marquis of Newcastle. He was thereby enabled to throw himself and his forces into Newcastle on February 2nd,³⁷ a few hours, as it proved, before the arrival of the Scots. On the 13th, the marquis and general King despatched a letter to Charles informing him of their movements :—³⁸

Receiving intelligence of the Scots continuing their march, he [King] hasted to Newcastle in his own person some days before his forces could possibly get thither ; where truly he found the town in a very good posture, and that the Mayor, who had charge of it, had performed his part in your Majesty's service very faithfully ; and all the aldermen and best of the town well disposed for your service. And though our charge was very tedious, by reason of floods occasioned by the sudden thaw of the snow, yet I came thither the night before the Scots assaulted the town, which was done with such a fury as if the gates had been promised to be set open to them ; but they found it otherwise ; for the

³³ Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii. p. 368.

³⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* ³⁸ *Life of William Duke of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), p. 347.

truth is, the town soldiers gave them such an entertainment (few of our forces being then come into the town, and these extremely wearied in their march), as persuaded them to retire a mile from the town, where they have remained ever since quartered in strong bodies, and raising the whole country of Northumberland, which is totally lost.

The marquis's timely arrival and the resistance he inspired caused considerable disappointment among the Scots. Sir William Armyne, in a letter to Lenthall from Morpeth,³⁹ announced Leven's arrival at Newcastle on February 3rd: 'The Marquess of Newcastle, whom they call the Kings General, came late into the town the night before, which was unknown to us, and upon the approach of some of our soldiers to a work of theirs without the town⁴⁰—where some few were slain—they within set on fire and burnt down all the streets and houses lying without the walls on the north side of the town, by which and the other circumstances we gather that they are resolved obstinately to hold it out to the last.'

Upon the approach of the Scots, the marquis sent out a party of horse to reconnoitre. They returned and reported Leven to be at hand with '22,000 horse and foot, well armed and commanded.'⁴¹ Before the preliminary skirmish at the outwork, from which the Scots were repulsed,⁴² Argyle and Armyne, ignorant of or neglecting the marquis's presence,⁴³ sent a trumpeter to the town with the following letter:—⁴⁴

To the Right worshipful the Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councill,
and other the inhabitants of the Towne of Newcastle.

Right Worshipfull and loving Friends,

Our appearance here in this posture, through mis-informations, and misunderstandings, may occasion strange thoughts in you. If we had opportunity of speaking together (which hereby we offer and desire) it is not impossible, that as we hold forth the same Ends, *The preservation of Religion, The Kings true Honour and Happinesse, The publicke Peace and Liberty of his Dominions*; so we might agree upon the same way to promote them: If you yeeld to this Motion, you shall finde us ready to do our parts therein; but if worse counsell take place with you, and all Parley be rejected, although thereby you will be unjust to your selves, yet we have reason to expect ye should be so just to us, as

³⁹ *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm., pt. i. app.) p. 169.

⁴⁰ 'A work that was not finished.'—*Life of Duke of Newcastle*, p. 65.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* ⁴² 'They were beaten back with much loss.'—*Ibid.*

⁴³ 'Seemed to take no notice of my Lord's being in it, for which afterwards he [Leven] excused himself.'—*Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

to acquit us of the guilt of those manifold Inconveniences and calamities that may be the fruits of those forceable wayes you will thereby constrain us to. We desire your present Answer.

Subscribed the 3. of Febr. 1644. by the Warrant, and in the name of the Committees and Commissioners of both kingdoms, by us,

Your friends,
ARGYLL.
W. ARMYNE.

To this letter Marley and his colleagues returned a speedy answer.⁴⁵

My Lord,

We have received a Letter of such a nature, from you, that we cannot give you any Answer to it more then this, That His Majesties Generall being at this instant in the Towne, we conceive all the power of Government to be in him. And were he not here, you cannot sure conceive us so ill read in these Proceedings of yours, as to treat with you for your satisfaction in these Particulars you write of, nor by any Treaty to betray a trust reposed in us, or forfeit our Alegiance to His Majesty, for whose honour and preservation together with the Religion and Lawes of this Kingdome, we intend to hazard our Lives and Fortunes, and so we rest,

Your Servants

JOHN MORLEY. <i>Major.</i>	
NICHOLAS COLE.	THOMAS LYDELL.
LIONEL MADDISON.	ALEXANDER DAVISON.
MARK MILBANKE.	FRANCIS BOWES.
FRANCIS ANDERSON.	HENRY MADDISON.
RALPH COCKE.	LEONARD CARR.
ROBERT SHAPTOE.	CUTHB. CARR, <i>Vic.</i>
RALPH GREY.	JOHN EMERSON.
HENRY REWCASTLE.	CHARLES CLARKE. ⁴⁶

Subscribed by us, the 3. of Febr. 1644,
in the names of the Common-Counsell
and the rest of the inhabitants of the
Towne of Newcastle.

Of the delivery of Argyle's letter and of the town's reply to it, one who was present in Leven's camp gives the following account:—⁴⁷

The Army marched towards Newcastle, and about twelve a'clock came before the town, and drew up very near it, horse and foot, and then before the engaging of any of our forces, we sent in a Letter . . . by the Marquesse of Argyles Trumpeter.

Upon the town's answer the writer makes the following observations:—

⁴⁵ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

⁴⁶ For notes on these signatories see pp. 156-7 in this volume. ;

⁴⁷ *A True Relation*, etc.

The firste, that this Towne of Newcastle have resigned themselves to my Lord of Newcastle, and extinguished their right to the Government, which will be a good president for us, if God see fit to deliver it into our hands. Secondly, the Malignity of the next expression (although hee was absent) which if their malice had not bene beyond their wit, they would have spared and rested in their former answer. And thirdly, they teach us a lesson, which we shall learne in time, to avoid Treaty. And lastly, it is not improbable, That the Town of Newcastle hath a deep score to pay for their contempt of the Gospel, persecution of their Ministry, the pride, idlenesse, and fulnesse of bread, which reigned among them. But I remit them to their owne Master whose Judgements are unsearchable.

Early in the afternoon, in the interval between the despatch of Argyle's trumpeter and the receipt of the town's answer,⁴⁸ the Scots delivered that attack upon the outlying fort in the Shieldfield already referred to in the marquis's despatch. The writer, whose caustic observations on the conduct of Marley and his colleagues have been quoted, gives an account⁴⁹ of this incident:—

Some of our men were drawn up to a stone-Bridge⁵⁰ a quarter of a mile from the town, at the entrance into the Shield-field, to beat out some men of theirs out of a little Sconce that lay near it,⁵¹ and did it presently without losse; but they retired to a sharper work near the Windmill,⁵² where the controversie was more hot, and our arguments not strong enough; the great peeces⁵³ being not come in regard of the uncertainty of the Sea by which they were to come. . . . In six houres assault or thereabouts, wee lost only fourteen men. The enemy having lost about seven or eight, fled to the Town, and we possessed the Fort, which is within halfe-musket shot of the walls: After that they sent forth eight Troopes of Horse which the Generall-Major of the Horse charged with five, though they could not charge above three in breast together in respect of the Coale-Pits; notwithstanding which the charge was so hard upon the enemy, that they presently retired into the Town, there was none killed on either side, only we took two prisoners, wherof one was Lievtenant, who cursed and railed for halfe an houre together. . . . They discharged many great Pieces from the Town towards night, but to little purpose. But in the evening they sacrificed

Betwixt the Letter and the Answer.—*Ibid.* ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Over Pandon burn.

⁵¹ The duchess of Newcastle does not mention this incident. See note 40, however, from which it may appear that this protecting outwork was unfinished, hence the retirement upon the larger Shieldfield fort. For the Shieldfield fort, see p. 212 in this volume.

⁵² The windmill, a well-known landmark a few generations ago, stood near the Shieldfield fort, on the east bank of Pandon burn.

⁵³ 'Hee [Leven] had not then his murthring pieces ready.'—*A True Relation of the Scots taking of Cocket Island.*

all the Houses without the Walls which were very many (as they think) to his Majesties service, we heard the cry of the poor people, and it is like to be heard higher.

The attack upon the Shieldfield fort, which had commenced before the receipt of Marley's answer to Argyle's letter, continued until late in the evening. A letter written from Leven's quarters on February 21st⁵⁴ gives a few supplementary details. The letter states :—

We came before the Town of Newcastle without any opposition, till we came before the Town, where the enemy had made up a Fort against us; for gaining whereof, my Lord Generall sent forth a party of Muskettiers to storm the East side of it, and another party to storm the West: they went on with as much courage and resolution as ever any did to so great an attempt, discharging their Muskets very courageously in the midst of the greatest disadvantage that could be, being in the open fields, almost fully in the view of their enemy; the enemy being sheltred with Fortifications, and answering our Musket-shots with shots of Canon and Muskets. In which posture they continued till twelve of the clock at night, with the losse onely of Patric English, Captain-Lieutenant to the Lord Lindsay, and 9 common Souldiers.

The result of the engagement on the afternoon of Saturday, February 3rd, was, therefore, to leave the Scots in possession of Shieldfield fort. Its abandonment was one of Marley's first measures when, in the following autumn, Leven again threatened the town. Its loss at this period, however, determined Marley to demolish the outlying houses on the east of the town at Sandgate,⁵⁵ as he had already destroyed the suburbs on the north. The conflagration thus caused continued 'burning all that night, and Sunday and Monday all day.'⁵⁶ While Marley destroyed the suburbs, the Scottish troops near Sandgate, 'about half a flight shot from the water, with the concurrence and advice of the Generall of the Artillery, seized upon two Ships and ten lighters.'⁵⁷

It is probable that Leven had not looked for much resistance. In 1640, his victory at Newburn had been followed by the flight of Conway and by the immediate surrender of the town.

⁵⁴ *A Faithfull Relation of the late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army before Newcastle* (Richardson Reprints).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* *The Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 369, states :— 'The town of Newcastle brynt up the suburbis thairof, lest the enemy sould tak advantage thairof; and, as wes reportit, oure army had gottin the worst anse or twyss, and so many hurt that chirurgianis wes send out of Edinbrugh to cure them.'

⁵⁷ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

Now, however, Marley and his fellow townsmen had declared their intention of devoting their lives and fortunes to the cause they had embraced. Nor did the marquis of Newcastle show any disposition to follow Conway's example. An assault of the town was impossible, however, without the heavy siege guns which the Scots had sent by sea to meet the army. Not until Tuesday, February 6th, did they reach Blyth Nook, from whence, on the next day, they were conveyed to the Scottish camp at Newcastle.⁵⁸ Upon their arrival, the Scots, on Thursday, February 8th, extended their operations with the view of further surrounding the town, and of securing the coal-pits on the Gateshead side of the river. On that date, 'we sent forth a Party,' writes one⁵⁹ serving under Leven, 'which seized on some Boats and Liters, wherewith we intend to make a Bridge to morrow over the River, where all the Newcastle Ships continue still, being hindered to escape by seven of the Parliament ships,⁶⁰ whereby a great part of the Horse and Foot, with some Ordnance, are to passe to the Bishopricke of Durham, and environ the Toun on all hands, and secure the Cole pits on the South.'

Meanwhile, the efforts of the English were directed towards laying waste the country from whence the Scots drew their supplies. About February 11th, sir Thomas Riddell, in command at Tynemouth, sent out a party for that purpose, which fell in with a Scottish foraging party:—'A Squadron of our Horse, about 15 men, with whom other 10 accidentally joyned, fell upon 100 Musketiers of the enemy sent from Tinmouth for that service, killed 14 or 15 of them, and took prisoners 50; whereof the General kept onely 2, and sent 48 into Newcastle; and the Marquesse sent back 7 or 8 of ours who were catched stragglings. The Gentleman who gave this Defeat, is the Earl of Eglentons Major, his name is Montgomery.'⁶¹ The marquis upon returning his prisoners thanked Leven for his courtesy, and expressed the hope that shortly he might be in a position to repay it.⁶²

⁵⁸ *A True Relation*, etc. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* See, also, p. 178 of this volume.

⁶⁰ The messenger, who brought the news to London of Glemham's meeting with the Northumberland and Yorkshire gentry at Alnwick, reported that he saw at Newcastle seven ships loaded with goods for Holland, and that he had warned certain of the Parliament's commanders, who designed to intercept them with eleven ships.—*The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle.*

⁶¹ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

⁶² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

While the Scots continued round Newcastle, the marquis wrote to Charles⁶³ to enlighten him on the critical position of affairs :—

These enclosed will let your Majesty see that absolutely the seat of war will be in the north, a great army about Newark behind us, and the great Scotch army before us, and Sir Thomas Fairfax very strong for the West Riding of Yorkshire, as they say, and his father master of the East Riding: so we are belet, not able to encounter the Scots, and shall not be able to make our retreat for the army behind us. This is the greatest truth of the state of your Majesty's affairs, whatsoever any courtier says to the contrary. If your Majesty beat the Scots your game is absolutely won; which can be no other way but by sending more forces, especially foot.

The nature of the marquis's plans finds some explanation in his 'Life,'⁶⁴ written by his wife: 'The enemy being thus stopped,' she writes, 'before the town, thought fit to quarter near it, in that part of the country; and so soon as my Lord's army was come up, he designed one night to have fallen into their quarter; but by reason of some neglect of his orders in not giving timely notice to the party designed for it, it took not an effect answerable to his expectation. In a word, there were three designs taken against the enemy, whereof if one had but hit, they would doubtless have been lost; but there was so much treachery, juggling and falsehood in my Lord's own army, that it was impossible for him to be successful in his designs and undertakings. However, though it failed in the enemy's foot-quarters, which lay nearest the town,⁶⁵ yet it took good effect in their horse-quarters, which were more remote.'

The Scottish cavalry were stationed along the valley of the Tyne as far west as Prudhoe and Corbridge. On February 19th they were attacked in both quarters, in accordance with that 'design' of the marquis, probably, of which his wife speaks. The incident at Corbridge is thus described :—⁶⁶

2 Regiments of horse of the Scottish army, in which were 15 Troupes, under the command of the Lord Balgonie the Generalls son, and the Lord Kirkcudbright⁶⁷ lying at Corbridge two miles from Hexham, had an Alarme given

⁶³ Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii. p. 381.

⁶⁴ ed. Firth, p. 65.

⁶⁵ Probably at Elswick, where Leven had his quarters from August to October, 1644, and opposite the Redheugh, where he had camped in 1640.

⁶⁶ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

⁶⁷ The two regiments of horse stationed at Corbridge were Leven's (of which James Ballantyne was lieutenant-colonel, and sir Robert Adair, major; eight companies), and Kirkcudbright's (lieutenant-colonel James Mercer, major Alexander Cruke; seven companies).

them by 25 Troups of the Enemy, who [were] under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonel Fenwick, who had also waiting on them, three or 400 Musquetiers, which the other Troups wanted: Both parties drew up betwixt Corbridge and Hexham; and Ballentyne Lievtenant Colonell to the Generalls Regiment, charged the enemy and made them give way with losse, and so the second time, and had taken above 100 prisoners, but not satisfied with that, gave a third charge, which drave them to their Musquetiers which were placed behind them, and being thus engaged with horse and foote, our Troups were disordered and had a very strait retreat through a gap, where some men were lost, but the enemy pursued not far, for they were, as I suppose, loath to engage beyond their foot notwithstanding their advantage. Our men wheeling in that disorder, were met by Colonell Robert Brandling, with ten Troups more, who crossed the water below Corbridge, and was to have fallen upon the Reere of our men, but it fell out to be the Front in their returne. Brandling forwardly rode out before his Troupes to exchange a Pistol, and one Lievtenant Elliot rode up to him, and when they had discharged each at other, and were wheeling about to draw their swords, Brandlings horse stumbled, and the Lievtenant was so neere him as to pull him off his horse, which when his men perceived they retreated, which gave courage to our men to fall on, which they did, and drove them over the River againe, killed some, and forced others through the water so hastily, that there were some of them drowned, and thus was the day divided . . . there were about 60 men killed upon the place. We have lost Major Agnew,⁶⁶ Capt. Forbes, a Cornet . . . We have taken Colonell Brandling, one Lievtenant, none else of note. We are upon moving.

The marquis, in a despatch to Charles⁶⁹ on March 9th, gave a somewhat different version of this fight at Corbridge, in which the victory was made to rest with Langdale. On the side of the Scots two hundred are mentioned as having been killed, captain Haddon⁷⁰ among them, and one hundred and fifty as having been wounded or taken prisoners, among them Leven's son, wounded in the shoulder, major Agnew, Archibald Mackie, and cornet Ker. Langdale had also captured two 'horse colours' and a 'dragoon colour.' Clearly the engagement was of an indecisive nature. On the same day colonel Douglas crossed the river at Prudhoe, and attacked a 'quarter' of the Scots with such success that the enemy abandoned four other 'quarters' in the neighbourhood.⁷¹

But, with the scanty forces at his disposal, the marquis found it impossible to adequately defend the many river-fords between Hexham

⁶⁶ A major Agnew was attached to the Galloway regiment.

⁶⁸ *Cal. of State Papers* (Dom.) 1644, under date.

⁷⁰ Possibly major Haddon of the Loudoun-Glasgow regiment.

⁷¹ Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

and Newburn. So soon as the Scots showed a disposition to advance into Durham, perforce he must leave them, as he expressed it, 'to their own wills.'⁷²

On the nineteenth day [February 22nd] after his first appearance before Newcastle, Leven, deeming it inadvisable to lock up his army in difficult and lengthy siege operations, ordered the forward movement which the marquis had expressed himself as powerless to prevent. In his camp on the north side of the river Leven placed six regiments; the Mearns and Aberdeen, the Strathearn, the 'Levyed' regiment, the Perthshire, the Merse, and the Nithsdale and Annandale, with some troops of horse under sir James Lumsden,⁷³ afterwards governor of Newcastle during Charles's last and longest visit to the town in 1646. With the rest of his forces Leven set forward on February 22nd. His march is described in some detail in a lengthy letter despatched from the Scottish quarters at Sunderland on March 12th, 1644.⁷⁴

Sir, It being resolved, as most conduceable to our affairs, that the Army should passe the river of Tyne, leaving behinde on the north side 6 Regiments, viz., the Earl of Marshals, Lord Coupers, Sinclars, Gasks, Wedderburne and Kelheads, and som Troops of Horse under the command of Gen. Major Sir James Lumsdail.

Upon Thursday the 22. of February, we marched from our Quarters near Newcastle to Hadden on the wall,⁷⁵ some foure miles up the river; and all that night lay in the fields, almost in the very same place where we quartered the night before our crossing Tyne at Newburne in the last Expedition:⁷⁶ which passage the enemy had now fortified, not onely upon the river side, but above near the top of the hill.

Upon the 23. day, we marched forward, and were quartered along the river side, from Ovinghame to Corbridge, about two miles distant from Hexam: Upon the other side appeared some of the enemies Horse marching toward us; but about midnight, their Regiments of Horse that were at Hexam marched thence,⁷⁷ leaving behinde them Major Agnew (who had formerly been taken in the skirmish at Corbridge) for a safe-guard to the house of Colonel Fenwicke, who had used him courteously. The Lords providence was very

⁷² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁷³ *The late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Heddon-on-the-Wall.

⁷⁶ August 28th, 1640.

⁷⁷ Newcastle purposed to give the Scots battle, but finding them 'quartered on high hills close by the river Tyne,' in a difficult position, and aided by the bad weather, the marquis was 'necessitated to withdraw his forces, and retire into his own quarters.'—*Life* (ed. Firth), p. 67.

observable, in vouchsafing two fair dayes upon us in our march; the day preceeding our march being very Snowie, and a terrible storm of Drift and Snow ensuing the day after.

Upon Wednesday the 28. we passed Tyne, without any opposition, at three severall Foords, Ovinghame, Bydwell [Bywell], and Altringhame [Eltringham] betwixt these two (the Foot wading very deep) and that night quartered in villages neer the river. The Lords providence was as observable in that nick of time we passed the river, which for eight dayes after had been impossible for us to have done, in respect of the swelling of the river by the melting of the Snow. When we had passed Tyne, we marched to the water of Darwen [Derwent river], where we found an impetuous flood, and still waxing so, that there was no possibility for our Foot to march over, but at a narrow Tree-bridge neer Ebchester; where the half of our Foot marched over the Bridge by files, the other half stayed on the other side till the next day; so that the whole army was necessitated to quarter all night in the fields.⁷⁸ Upon Friday [March 1st] the rest of the Army came over, and we directed our march towards Sunderland, being the fittest place for receiving of Intelligence, and supplying our Army. The day was very cold, and in the afternoon came on a thick rainy mist, notwithstanding whereof, we came within a mile of Chester on the street.

Upon Saturday, March 2. we passed Ware [the Wear] at the new Bridge neer Lumley;⁷⁹ the enemy shewing themselves in a body upon a hill toward Newcastle, about two miles distant from us. We quartered that night at Harrington, and the villages adjacent, where we did rest all the Lords Day [March 3rd], and entered Sunderland upon Monday the 4. of March: All that day, and the day following, was spent in taking care to supply the Army with Provisions;⁸⁰ which we obtained with no small difficulty, being the enemies Countrey; for so we may call it, the greatest part of the whole Countrey being either willingly or forcedly in Arms against the Parliament, and afford us no manner of supply, but what they part with against their wills.

So far the advance of the Scots had been unmolested. The marquis of Newcastle, however, strengthened by forces from Durham, and by twelve troops of horse from Yorkshire under sir Charles Lucas, followed in pursuit of Leven.⁸¹ On Wednesday, March 6th, at one o'clock, the marquis crossed the Wear at the 'new bridge' by which the Scots had passed four days before. Soon after, he came in sight of the enemy and drew up in battle order. The Scots, how-

⁷⁸ 'On the high moors.'—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date March 9th. See Baillie, *Letters*, etc. vol. ii. p. 152. ⁷⁹ At 'the Newbridge.' *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ In *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date March 1st, is a minute of the Committee of Both Kingdoms that 'supply of victuals to the Scottish army is most pressing'; on March 8th, is a recommendation by the same that ships trading to Newcastle shall be approached as to conveying victuals to the Scots, to return with coals; on the same date, the commissioners with the Scottish army are informed by the same, 'We have sent you a quantity of butter and cheese in the 'Hopeful Reformation' of London, Henry Blunt, master.'

⁸¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 615.

ever, though they did not risk an engagement, continued in sight for the rest of the day.⁸² On the 7th, in 'exceeding snowy' weather, the Scots took up a strong position on Boldon hills. Here the marquis dared not attack them, but after further skirmishing on the 8th, moved his army southwards to Durham,⁸³ leaving the Scots in undisturbed possession of Sunderland.

These movements are described more graphically in the letter⁸⁴ already quoted.

Upon Wednesday, the enemies Forces of Durham and Newcastle being joyned, and likewise strengthened by the accession of 12 Troops of Horse from York-shire, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, being supposed to be about 14000 Horse and Foot, did shew themselves upon the top of a hill about three miles distant from Sunderland. Such of our Army as could be presentlie advertised, were drawn up within half a mile of them, and continued all that night (though it were very cold and snowing) in the fields.

Upon Thursday the 7. the enemy drew up their Forces upon a height about two short miles from us ; but the snow fell in such abundance, that nothing could be done till the middle of the day, that it was fair ; at which time we advanced towards them, and they marched Northwards, as is conceived to gain the winde. Both Armies were drawn up in Battell, the enemy having the advantage of the ground ; but we could not without very great disadvantage engage our Armie, in regard of the unpassable ditches and hedges betwixt us. Both Armies faced other till the setting of the Sun, at which time the enemy retreated, and we kept the ground till the next morning in a very cold night.

Upon Friday the 8. in the morning, there was some little skirmishing betwixt some small parties of Horse, wherein the advantage that was, fell upon our side ; we took divers prisoners, by whom we understood that many of theirs were wounded. Our commanded Muskettiers and Horse advanced, and gained the ground where the enemy stood the day preceeding ; The enemy still retired, and, as appeared, with a purpose to retire altogether ; for they fired the nearest villages, and retired under the smoke thereof : Our commanded men advanced neerer the height, the enemy giving ground all the time : We had resolved to fall back upon their rere ; but there came suddenly a great storm of Snow, which continued for an hour, so that we could not see the enemy : and before we could discover them again, it began to snow again, and continued snowing till night : Which opportunity the enemy made use of, and marched away in great haste to Durham. We understand since from very good hands, that through the extremitie of the Weather these two nights (the enemy lay in the fields, and there hastned march to Durham) they have suffered great losse, many of their men and horse dying, but more run away : We hear they have lost of their Horse 800 besides the losse of their foot ; we sustained some losse, but blessed be God, no wayes considerable.

⁸² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th.—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁸³ *Ibid* ; Rushworth, *ibid* ; *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), p. 68.

⁸⁴ *The Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*.

This day [March 12th] the Army is marching towards Durham, ready to do as occasion shall offer, leaving two Regiments at Sunderland for the securitie of that place.

Our Army hath been in very great straits for want of victuall and provisions. The enemy hath wasted and spoyled all the Countrey, and driven all away before them. And five Barques sent from Scotland to us, with provisions are lost, three of them perished, and two of them were driven to Tyne by extremity of Weather, and seised on by the enemy ; so that sometimes the whole Army hath been ready to starve, having neither Meat nor Drink : We never have above twenty and four hours provisions for them. But these impediments and difficulties, or what may hereafter fall out, we are fully confident by Gods assistance, shall never abate in the least sort : Our constant resolutions and endeavours for promoting so good a Cause, as the Vindication of these Kingdoms, from Popery and Tyranny, and the establishment of a through Reformation of Religion, which will be the surest and firmest Foundation of a just and safe Peace ; a recompence for all our sufferings, and the best means of a more happy and neer conjunction of both Kingdoms.

From our Quarters at Sunderland, 12. March. 1644.

Setting out towards Durham on March 12th, the Scots reached that city on the following day, seeing no signs of the enemy on the march. Afraid, however, of leaving Sunderland, their sea-base, for the present unprotected, and experiencing difficulty in securing forage for their cavalry,⁸⁵ they withdrew to Sunderland once more, and on the 15th attacked the fort at South Shields. The story of the events from March 13th to the 25th, is, however, told best in the words of the writer whose letter narrating the march of the Scots to Sunderland has been quoted. In a further letter, dated from Leven's quarters near Sunderland, he writes :—⁸⁶

Sir, Since my last of the 12. to my best observation and remembrance, the motions and successes of this Army have been these :

On the 13. for the enlargement of our Quarters, and to straighten the Enemy, wee drew towards Durham, but after wee had tarried there so long as our horse provisions lasted, not being willing to remove further, till Sunderland, a place of so great consequence to us, were better fortified, we returned thither and quartered the Army on the North side the River of Ware [Wear] towards Newcastle at the Sheilds ; in this march wee saw no Enemy.

⁸⁵ Rushworth, whose story appears to be drawn from the tract containing the letter of March 12th printed in the text, and from that of the same writer in the tract referred to in note 86, explains Leven's withdrawal from Durham thus :— ' being not able to get Horse-provisions, and unwilling to remove further till Sunderland were better Fortified, returned and quartered their Army on the North-side the River Wear towards New-Castle at the Shields.'

⁸⁶ *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army from the 12. of March instant to the 25.* London. Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, 1644. See Baillie, *Letters*, ii. 154.

On the 15. at night, a party was commanded out to assault the Fort upon the South side Tine⁷⁷ over against Tinemouth Castle, which they did, but with no successe, though with little losse: after we had considered of this repulse two or three dayes, and fasted on the nineteenth, the Fort was againe assaulted by another party; for the encouragement of which the Generall went with them in person, and on the 20. being Wednesday in the morning we tooke it with the losse of nine men, the hurt of more: In it we found five Peeces of Iron Ordnance, seven Barrels of Powder, seventy Muskets; the men escaped in the dark to the water-side, where boats received them, only the Lieutenant, and foure or five more were taken Prisoners; This Fort was commanded by one Capitaine Chapman an inhabitant of the South-Shields. I went that day to see the Fort, my own judgment in such cases is nothing worth, but others thought it a difficult peece, and I confesse I wondered much to see it taken on that manner.

The capture of the fort at South Shields is described with more detail in a pamphlet entitled *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields*.⁸⁸ The writer, after stating that the attack on the fort on the 15th failed, owing to the men engaged upon it 'fearing too much the danger and difficulty,' proceeds to describe the successful attack on March 20th.

A party not so strong as the former, was sent to storme the Fort, there being no other way of taking it; Col. Stewart, Col. Lyell, Lieutenant Col. Bruce, and Lieutenant Col. Ionston,⁸⁹ with some inferiour Officers, led on the party, the Fort was very strong, the Graffe without being esteemed 12 foot broad, and 11 deepe, the work above ground three yards high, and within it five iron peece of Ordnance, some nine pound ball, some more, an hundred souldiers, seventy musquetiers, and thirty Pike-men: It was situated with great advantage, being defended on the one side by the Ordnance of Tinemouth Castle, and on the other by a Dunkirk Frigot with ten peece of Ordnance; notwithstanding 140 of our souldiers, without any other Armes but their swords, carried bundles of straw

⁷⁷ This fort is not that which the marquis of Newcastle had constructed in 1642. In a letter from 'a gentleman resident in Yorke, to his friend living in Lumbard street,' printed in *Lamentable and Sad Newes from the North*, printed at London, 1642, the statement occurs, that at Shields, the marquis being then at Newcastle, 'there are 300 men in worke making a Sconce to command all ships that come in, and go out.'—See *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 218. Brand, *History of Newcastle*, quotes letters from Newcastle on June 22nd and 23rd, 1642, which state, 'they are casting up trenches as fast as may be: there is a fort making at the haven mouth that no ships can go in or out without their leave. The Earl of Newcastle is making forts at Sheels, one of each side.' Clifford's fort at North Shields was not built until 1672, when it was erected at the government's expense. Before that, at a little distance from it, there was 'a fort of baskets filled with sand and mortar, with a gun placed between each basket.'—Brand, *ibid.* p. 331.

⁸⁸ Richardson *Reprints*. It is a letter dated from Wetherby, April 20th, 1644.

⁸⁹ From these names it appears that the Galloway [Stewart], Linlithgow and Tweeddalc [Johnston], and Stirlingshire [Bruce] regiments took part in the assault.

and sticks, wherewith they filled the ditch, set up the scaling ladders (wherof some did not reach the top of the Fort, the ditch not being well filled) and with their swords gave the first assault, then a party of Musquetiers, and after them a party of Pikes, all marching up till they entred the ditch, where they disputed the matter above an houre, in which time the Enemy discharged upon them 28 shot of Canon, some with Musquet ball, others with cut lead and iron, beside many Musquet shot: Our soldiers did resolutely scale the ladders, and some entred at the gunports: the Defendants behaved themselves gallantly till it came to stroke of sword, and then they fled away by water in boates: sixteen of them were killed, a Lieutenant and five souldiers who stood cut to the last, were taken, and so we gained the Fort, with the peeces, and some barrels of powder, and their colours.⁹⁰

William Tunstall, writing to his father-in-law, sir Edward Radclyffe of Dilston, gives an account⁹¹ of this event from the standpoint of the losers:—

Sir, Upon Wednesday gon a sennet,⁹² the Scotcs set upon a litel fort at the Sheldes and was forsed backe, but the horse would not let the foute rune. Upon the place where they first asalted it there laye maney deade bodeyes. Upon the next asalt, being the same daye, they brought of there men, but with greate losse to them, Tinmouth Castle and the fort playing hotley upon them, and it was thought they lost towe hundred men that daye; but they gave it not over. Soe for the last Weddensdaye they set upon it againe, and gained the fort and five eyron peece of ordnance in it, our men fleying doune to a penisse in which it was reported that Sir John Pennington was in, but the penisse discharginge sume ordnance at the Scotcs they retreated; and it is said they lost 3 houndred men at the takeing of it, and we losing but five men.

Your son in lawe to command,

WILLIAM TONSTALL.

Wicliffe, the 22th of March.

On March 20th, the date on which the fort at South Shields had fallen, a slight engagement had also taken place at Chester-le-Street, in which the victory had rested with the Scots. Lieutenant-colonel James Ballantyne, of the regiment of horse which had taken part in the engagement at Corbridge on February the 19th, 'understanding there was a troop of the Marquess's Horse Quartered at Chester-on-the-Street, came with a Party into the Town a private way, and

⁹⁰ The writer gives the losses of the Scots as seven killed, and a few hurt by stones and 'cut iron,' or shrapnel.

⁹¹ Quoted in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. i. p. 213.

⁹² Tunstall refers to the first attack by the Scots on Friday the 15th. He describes their repulse on that day as of a much more serious nature than appears in the Scottish accounts.

wholly surprized them, and took the Guards last, and brought away 40 Horse with their Arms.⁹³

Their position at the mouth of the Tyne enabled the Scots both to cut off Newcastle from the sea, and also to replenish their own commissariat by the capture of in-coming ships. On March 22nd, 'understanding there were some Ships laden with Coales and Salt in the River Tine about the Sheilds, we sent a party who with the help of some Keel-men and Sea-men drew the ships to this [the Durham] side, so that for the present they are under the power of this Army.'⁹⁴

Already, therefore, the Scots were virtually masters of Northumberland and of the north of Durham. Their possession of Sunderland kept open their sea-communication with Scotland and London, and they had secured a more or less effective hold upon the Tyne. On the side of the royalists but little effort had been made, so far, to contest the possession of these important positions with the invaders. Upon the 14th of March, however, there appears to have been a slight engagement between the garrison in Newcastle and the regiments which Leven had left at Elswick in February.⁹⁵

But though the royalists had so far been unable to withstand Leven in the field, they had so successfully laid waste the districts upon which the Scots depended for food and fodder that the requirements of their commissariat were beginning to demand a change of quarters. Leven, it would appear,⁹⁶ was contemplating a march into the south of Durham and Yorkshire where forage might be more easily obtained, and where he would be more closely in touch with the Parliament's commanders. It was imperative that such a junction of forces should be prevented; so the marquis of Newcastle, whom Montrose had joined at Durham on March 15th,⁹⁷ determined to risk

⁹³ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 615. The same details are in *A True Relation*, etc. *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields* adds that Ballantyne killed ten, took two captains of foot, and twenty horsemen, and that none of the Scots was killed or hurt.

⁹⁴ *A True Relation*, etc.; *The Taking of the Fort*, etc.

⁹⁵ 'Their cam word to Abirdene of ane bloodie fight betwixt the Kingis men at Newcastell, and oure army lying thair, vpon the 14th of Marche, quhair our men had the worst.'—*Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 327. It is possible, however, that this may refer to the first attack at South Shields on Friday, March 15th. Baillie, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 155, states that 5,000 Scots were confronting Newcastle about May 17th, 1644. ⁹⁶ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 613.

⁹⁷ Wishart, *Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 42.

an engagement. On the 23rd, the marquis drew his forces out of Durham to Chester-le-Street, and on the next day, Sunday the 24th, took up a position at Hilton, on the north side of the Wear; the Scots placing themselves between him and the sea, at Whitburn Lizards (on Cleadon Hill), to the east of Hilton.⁹⁸ The battle, in which Montrose found the marquis somewhat 'slow,'⁹⁹ can best be described in the language of those who were present at it. Writing from Sunderland on the 25th, while the issue was still doubtful, the author of the letter in *A True Relation* states:—

On the 23. of this instant the Enemy drew up their Army from Durham and thereabout toward Chester, and on the 24. being the Lords day, drew up in the north side of Ware, at a place called Hilton, two miles and a halfe from Sunderland, the same distance as when they faced us before,¹⁰⁰ only this is on the north side Ware, the other on the south; we accordingly drew up on a hill east from them toward the sea. Our Cannon were at Sunderland our head quarter, but by the help of the Sea-men lying in the haven, wee conveyed one great peece over the water, who themselves drew itt up to the field where it was to be planted, the tide failed for carrying the rest at that time, som small field peeces wee had. After the Armies had faced each other most part of that day, toward five a'clock the Cannon began to play, which they bestowed freely though to little purpose, and withall the commanded Foot fell to it to drive one another from their hedges, and continued shooting till eleven at night, in which time we gained some ground, some barrels of gun-powder, and ball and match; wee lost few men, had more hurt and wounded, of whom no Officer of note hurt with danger but the Lievtenant Colonell of the Lord Lothians Regiment; ¹⁰¹ what their losse was is yet uncertain to us, but we know they had more slaine, as wee finde being masters of their ground.

This morning being the 25. they are facing each other, but the ground they possesse inaccessible by us without great disadvantages in regard of the many hedges and ditches betwixt; what the event of this meeting will be I do not know, nor will not guesse, hitherto hath the Lord helped us: our men are chearfull, our hopes good.

Sir James Lumsdaine came over to us¹⁰² very opportunely with a brigade of three thousand of the forces wee had left in Northumberland the 23. of this instant,¹⁰³ which hee now commands in the field.

The words given out on both parts were these, On ours *The Lord of Hosts is with us.* On theirs, *Now or Never.*

Captain Lawson and Captain Newton have taken a prize in the Tees laden with Cloth and Lead.

⁹⁸ Bourne, *Hist. of Newcastle*, p. 233. ⁹⁹ Wishart, *ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ On Thursday, March the 7th.

¹⁰¹ Lieutenant-colonel Patrick Leslie of the Teviotdale.

¹⁰² Lumsden had been left in command of the cavalry at Newcastle since Leven left the neighbourhood of the town on February 22nd.

¹⁰³ February 22nd was the date.

Another partisan of the Scots gives the following account¹⁰⁴ of the battle, the critical nature of which appears from the motto 'Now or Never' which the marquis adopted. On Sunday, March 24th, he writes, the enemy

marched toward our quarters intending to have set upon us in Sermon time, and being a foggie day to have surprised us ; their approach being discovered, a great part of the Army was presently drawn together. The Enemy sent down from Bowden [Boldon] Hill where they were drawne up, some commanded Musquetiers to line the hedges betwixt them and us, and wee did the like, for the Armies could not joyn, the Field between us being so full of hedges and ditches ; our Dragoons beganne the play, and then the Musquetiers in the hedges upon both sides, our bodies of Foot advancing at all Quarters to the hedges, the Enemies Cannon discharging upon them an houre and a halfe with very small hurt. This service continued very hot, till after twelve of the clock at night. Many Officers, who have been old Souldiers did affirm they had never seen so long and hot service in the night time ; there was divers killed on both sides, but the number of their slane did very farre exceed ours, as wee understood by the dead bodies we found the next day upon their ground, beside the seven Waggon drawght of dead and hurt men not able to walk, that the Constable of Bouden affirmed he saw carried away. The Enemy quit their ground, where they left much of their powder, match, and armes behinde them ; and retired to the Hill where the Body of the Army lay.

On the royalist side, the following account¹⁰⁵ pictures the battle naturally in somewhat brighter colours :—

On Sunday last he [the marquis of Newcastle] got the Scots out to West Bedwick near Hilton Castle in the Bishopric of Durham where they sat fast upon Bedwick Hill: my Lord Marquis had often invited them to fight, with overtures of many advantageous opportunities, but could not possibly draw them out:¹⁰⁶ on this hill four regiments of his Excellencys foot fell to work with six regiments of the rebels. The fight began about three in the afternoon and continued from that time till night, and continued more or less till next morning, the rebels all this time being upon their own *Mickle Midding*, and there they lay all night: next morning (being Monday) the Lord Marquis followed them till afternoon, and then they vanished instantly into their trenches and retirement in Sunderland.¹⁰⁷ Then his Excellency (seeing no hope of getting them out) drew off towards his quarters, and they being

¹⁰⁴ *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields.*

¹⁰⁵ *Mercurius Aulicus*, for March 30th, 1644.

¹⁰⁶ This statement is contrary to fact. Newcastle had been numerically the weaker. The Scots had passed to Sunderland almost without resistance. The marquis's sole effort to engage them had been on March 7th.

¹⁰⁷ If accurate, this was no more than a slight episode. The broad fact is clear that either Newcastle retired or was powerless to prevent the Scots from advancing south after the battle.

sensible of so many provocations, came on his rear (which was 500 horse) with all the horse they had (for as yet they never looked the Lord Marquis in the face), but the rear (with the loss of some thirty men killed and taken) presently faced about, being seconded by that valiant knight, Sir Charles Lucas, with his brigade of horse, who fell on so gallantly that forced all their horse (which is about 3,000) to hasten up the hill to their cannon, all the way doing sharp execution upon them so as their Lancers did lay plentifully upon the ground (many others being taken and brought away prisoners) their cannon all that while playing upon the Lord Marquis his horse with so little success as is not easily imagined. In both these fights [on the 24th and 25th] they that speak least reckon a full 1,000 Scots killed and taken which cost the Lord Marquis 240 of his common souldiers, scarce an officer being either killed or taken, though many of their leaders are certainly cut off. Their foot ran twice, and would not stand longer than their officers forced them on with the sword; the Lord Marquis hath taken many of their arms, especially of their Scottish pistols. Next morning [Tuesday the 26th] his Excellency drew towards them again, faced them a long while, but they had too much of the two days before, and would by no means be entreated to show themselves.¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to reconcile this with the Scottish account of the battle. Its very discrepancies reveal the fact, however, that the engagement was a drawn one when, on Tuesday, March 26th, the marquis withdrew his forces to Durham. Five days later, on March 31st, the Scots broke up their camp at Sunderland, followed him more leisurely, and on April 12th, forced him to evacuate the city and to beat a further retreat southwards. John Somerville, writing¹⁰⁹ to James Scot of 'Bonyntoun,' a letter dated from Middlethorp, near York, on May 1st, 1644, gives the story of their march until Leven sat down to the siege of York.

Upon the penult. of March the airmie marchit from the quarteris besyd Sunderland and went to the Bruntfield Murhoussis [Moorhouses], and vpon the morn being the first of Apryll, the airmie marcheit from thair to Eisington [Easington] hill, and stayit thair till the eight of the said month; and from that we marcheit from that [*sic.*] to the Quarintoun [Quarrington] Hills, vpon the south syd of Durhame, within a myle or two of the toun; and vpon the 10. day at 12. o'clock at night, Major Ballintyne with sum commandit men went out and

¹⁰⁸ Hilton fight was at best a drawn battle, though Newcastle failed in his endeavour to hold the Scots back from further advance. Lithgow, in his *Exact and Experimental Relation*, however, calls it 'that laudable Victory.' Colonel John Moore, writing from Lathom to the earl of Warwick, on April 4th, 1644, says, 'There came intelligence to us ye other day that there had been a great battel fought betwixt the Scots and ye E. of Newcastles forces w^{ch} continewed two dayes, but the Lord was pleased to give the victory to the Scots.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th report, app. pt. iv. p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th report, app. pt. i. p. 53.

took 20. men and threttie hors, with pistollis and saiddillis, and on of the men was a capitane. And upon the 11. day thair came sum keillis vp the water of Wear from Sunderland to fetch Coillis, and the ennemie send out sum dragouneris and commandit musquitteires and tuik the men that was gairding the keillis, and slew of them and cutted the keillis; and vpoun the 12. day, in the nicht, the Marquis of Newcastle with his airmie fled from Durhame; and we get no intelligence till the 13. day att 3. clook in the efternoon and then the airmie maircheit efter them with all the haist they micht; bot they had ever geat a fair start, and we came to the Ferrie Hill [Ferryhill] that nicht; and vpoun the 14. day, being Sunday, we marcheit verrie airie befor the soon rais, and the hors men followit in haist and cam to Derntoun [Darlington] befor 7. clook in the morning and sent out a pairtie of horse to persew thair reir. Our major commandit the pairtie; he with his pairtie tuik fourtie men and many horses and slew many of their stragillars and gat tuo thousand merkis worth of silver plait, and mikill cheis, pork and bread, and we stayit thair till nicht and the haill airmie crosit Teis water that nicht and day, we marchit fra that to Northallertoun: and the morn being the 16. day, we marchit fra that to Thormanbie [? Thornaby] and we get provision from the touns about and fra that we marchit to Borrowbriggis [Boroughbridge] and the morn being the 18. day we marchit fra that to Wedderbie [Wetherby] and we mett with Sir Thomas Fairfax his trouppers and dragouneres: and vpoun the 22. day we marcheit within two myllis of York and my Lord Fairfax his foot came vp to the uther syd of the water foir against our ligar; and in the nicht the haill trouppes that the Marquis of Newcastle had in York went out and fled and our trouppes with my Lord Fairfax his trouppes followed and tuik 60 prisonars and many horses; and they war so hard chaisit that they war forcit to tak the cullouris from the standaris and ryd away with [them] and live the staff behind them, and they ar to the King to Oxfuird: and we and Fairfax his forces are lying about the City of York and their haill foot is within, with 4. trouppes of hors. Sir Marmaduke Longlie [Langdale] is fled and gon to the King with the haill hors that was in the Kingis northern airmie, and is myndit to bring Prince Ruppert and the haill forces that they can mak to rais the seidge at York. The souldieres that we tak off thairis sayes they gatt a mutchkin of beans an unce of buttar and a penny loaf evirrie ane of them per diem and thair is ane ordinance that evirrie ane within the citie of York sall haue bot ane mail per diem: for the Marquis of Newcastle and general King has causat search all the citie for provisions and takin all into the stoir hous and gives out to the people that is within the citie efter the manner foirsaid.

The march of the Scots from Sunderland to York, from March 31st to April 22nd, is described in other contemporary news-letters published for the information of the well-wishers of the Scots in London. The correspondent, whose letters have been already quoted in connexion with the march of the Scots from Newcastle to their repulse of the marquis at the battle of Hilton, continues his story in a further letter dated April 14th, after the army's arrival at York,

addressed to 'Master Bowles.'¹¹⁰ Resuming his narrative from the events of March 25th, he proceeds :—

The enemy upon his retreat from Hilton marched toward Durham ; where-upon the Scottish Army drew to Easington being the mid-way betwixt Hartlepoole and Durham, where we found reasonable good quarter for our horse, and resolved to abide thereabout till wee made the Enemy either fight or flie.¹¹¹ Those quarters we kept till April 8. when (after a Fast kept the day before by us through the Army :) we marched to a place called Quarrendon Hill, two miles from Durham.

The Enemy seeing us draw so neare and his Souldiers decreasing upon the approach of danger, drew as many forces as could be spared out of Newcastle and Lumley Castle to uphold his strength of Foot ; but finding all would not doe, hee thought fit, (it is supposed upon intimation from Sely of the Victory there obtained by the Lord Fairfax which was the 11. of April :) On the 13. of April being Saturday, to remove his whole Force, and that in a great deale of haste, leaving his troublesome Provisions behind him. They directed their march Westward towards Bishops Awkland in and about which they lay that night. And on the next morning they marched towards Bernards Castle and Piercebrig, where it was supposed they would Quarter on the fourteenth.

Generall Leven hath omitted no time in the pursuit, for upon the first notice without any respect to the ransacking their forsaken quarters, rayسد his Leaguer from Quarrendon hill and marched on the Saturday [the 13th] to Ferry hill, and so forward on the Lords day to Darnton [Darlington], which is as farre South as the Enemy could reach by that time, only a little Eastward off him. And the resolution of the Army is, to be guided by the Enemy in their march, whom they intend to follow or rather march along with, either till they shall have advantage to fight with him, or shall meet with the Lord Fairfax to enclose him. If there be any truth in reports, Newcastle hath lost halfe his Army without fighting.

The Enemy quitted Lumley Castle¹¹² upon the Friday night, April the 12. so that we have now free liberty to make use of all the Coales upon the River of Ware, and are in good hopes of those upon the River Tine very shortly when our Army is at leisure to demand Newcastle,¹¹³ whose garrison is almost exhausted.¹¹⁴ Wee have a report that the enemy hath quitted Hartlepoole,¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Intelligence from the Scottish Army, Being the Extract of Letters.* London: Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, 1644. See Baillie, *op. cit.*, ii. 168.

¹¹¹ *The Taking of the Fort, etc.*, explains that the Scots advanced to Easington to 'intercept the Enemies provisions from Hartlepool,' which was still in the hands of the royalists.

¹¹² In obedience, no doubt, to the marquis's summons to the garrison here and at Newcastle to join him.

¹¹³ This leisure did not arrive until after the fall of York on July 16th. Leven and his army once more appeared before Newcastle on August 12th, and took the town by assault on October 19th, 1644.

¹¹⁴ The six regiments left by Leven clearly invested the town straitly, though Lumsden and the cavalry were summoned to join Leven in the Bishopric.

¹¹⁵ The town ultimately fell to Callendar on July 24th. See p. 182 of this volume.

but that is uncertaine. General Major Lumsdaine [Lumsden] is marching after the Army with two thousand men, and twenty load of Ammunition for supplies if need be.

The passing of Leven into Yorkshire offered the opportunity of regaining the positions in Northumberland and the Bishopric which had been captured by the Scots. Sunderland, the fort at South Shields, and Morpeth, which had received a Scottish garrison in the early days of the campaign, were the most important. Their recapture would not only undo the work accomplished by Leven since his arrival in England, but would also create a very timely diversion while the fate of York hung in the balance. The execution of this design fell to Montrose, in whose movements the interest of the war in Northumberland and the Bishopric throughout April and May chiefly centres.

After the battle of Hilton, while Newcastle, on March 26th, had commenced his retreat upon York, Montrose, who had been present at that engagement, had made his way towards Scotland, entered it in the second week of April, and proceeded to Dumfries. His design had been to rally the royalists in Scotland, but finding it impossible to make headway he returned to Northumberland, where Leven's withdrawal offered him an opportunity of doing useful service for Charles.¹¹⁶

About the beginning of May, Montrose arrived at Newcastle and, about the 10th, he and lord Crawford, who was afterwards taken prisoner upon the fall of Newcastle in October, led an expedition against Morpeth. The castle was defended by captain James Somerville and captain John McCulloch, who succeeded in repulsing the first attack. Montrose sent for six guns from Newcastle, and sat down to the siege of the place. After nearly three weeks, during which the Scottish cavalry under colonel Michael Welden had endeavoured to relieve the castle, Morpeth fell on May 29th. In the course of the siege the garrison had lost one major, three captains, three lieutenants, four ensigns, one hundred and eighty soldiers, and had expended two hundred cannon shot.¹¹⁷ Shortly

¹¹⁶ Wishart, *Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 46.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 25. The fight is referred to in Spalding, ii. 379, 'Thair was ane fight about Morpot, quhair divers of our Scottis foot soldiouris were overcum by the Banderis, strippit out of thair

after his success at Morpeth, Montrose, acting with Marley in Newcastle and with the governor of South Shields,¹¹⁸ got into his hands the fort which the Scots had captured on March 20th. It was commanded by captain Thomas Rutherford of 'Ranfertlie,' who treacherously surrendered the fort to the enemy,¹¹⁹ in whose hands it apparently remained for but a short time. Some attempt was made about the same time to win over Sunderland. The plot was in all probability of the nature of that which had already secured the fort at South Shields. It was discovered by the seamen of the town, who placed themselves under arms, planted cannon in position, and with the help of colonel Charles Fairfax drove back Montrose, Musgrave, and others engaged in this attempt to Newcastle.¹²⁰

Five months had passed since the arrival of the Scots had been heralded in London with such confident assertion that Newcastle had fallen or would shortly fall to them. But the capture of that town was seemingly no nearer now than then. Leven was before York. With Montrose at large in Northumberland, every day seemed to add to the difficulties which the assault of such a town as Newcastle would naturally entail. Writing from York on May 24th, 1644, to the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, lord Lindsay clearly pointed to that fact. 'Wee intreat your lordships,' he wrote, 'to

clothis and armes, and send hame naikit.' In the 'Decreit of Foirfalter' against him, Montrose is indicted 'For invading and intakeing of þe castle of morpeth . . . For Joyneing himselfe w^t collonell clavering and his forces about the tyme of the invading of þe said castle of morpeth.'—*Acts of Parliament of Scot.* vol. vi. pt. i. p. 316.

¹¹⁸ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262.

¹¹⁹ On June 17th, 1644, the Scottish Estates instruct Leven and the governor of Sunderland to suspend the execution of the sentence lately passed at Sunderland against captain Rutherford of Ranfertlie for surrendering the fort at South Shields.—Balfour, *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 185. On June 21st, 1644, Leven wrote from York to Lauderdale, 'In obedience to a letter from your lordships of the 14th instant, I have given order, that after a counsell of warr hath tryed Captaine Thomas Rutherford, who gave over the fort at South-Sheels, and hath cleered the proces, the same, with the said captaine, shall be sent to bee disposed off, as your lordships shall think good.'—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 37. In the 'Decreit of Foirfalter' Montrose was further indicted for 'assaulting of þe forte vpon the water of Tyne called the Soutsheills keiped and haldin for the tyme be the said capitan Thomas rutherford for the use and be the comand of þe comittie of þe estates of this kingdome and forcing the said capitan Thomas rutherford to yeild the said forte to the said colo^{ll} clavering.'—*Acts, etc., ibid.* p. 317.

¹²⁰ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262. Parliament, on June 3rd, 1644, voted the Sunderland seamen £200 for their 'Affection and Fidelity.'—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

delay no tyme in sending of these forces into England ; for yf it had beene done in tyme, a few horsemen, with our foote forces there, and Collonel Weldens regiment, might have beene more than sufficient for the securing both these countyes opposing the commission of array, and bringing the town of Newcastle to great straits, which we feare shall now become a work of greater difficulty to a stronger power.' ¹²¹ Baillie noticed the same fact: 'The delay of Callendars incoming so long' he writes, ¹²² 'has given time to the Marquis of Montrose to make havoc of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the harder.' To the provision of men and money for that arduous undertaking both England and Scotland, early in June, began to turn. Before the end of the month, Callendar had entered England with the supplementary forces which Lindsay had so earnestly requested. A month later, his forces were partially investing Newcastle, and he himself was anxiously awaiting the coming of the main army under Leven, whom the capture of York, on July 16th, at length freed for that service. ¹²³

¹²¹ Thurloe, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 85.

¹²² *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 196.

¹²³ In regard to the events with which this paper deals, some further, but slight, information may be obtained from Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. In vol. ii. p. 179, in a letter dated May 9th, 1644, he expresses no doubt a very general feeling of disappointment at the want of definite success which so far had attended Leven's efforts:—'We trust God will arise, and doe somewhat by our Scotts armie. We are afflicted that after so long a tyme we have gotten no hitt of our enemye ; we hope God will put away that shame. Waller, Manchester, Fairfax, and all getts victories ; but Lesley, from whom all was expected, as yett has had his hands bound. God, we hope, will loose them, and send us matter of praise also.' Robert Douglas's *Diary* (see p. 185 of this volume) details the march of Leven in brief detail. Sir James Turner's *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times*, 1639-1649 (Edinburgh, 1839), adds some light to the narrative of the events which took place early in February, 1644, before Newcastle. He had come from Ireland to represent the position of the Scottish forces there, and finding that Leven had crossed the Border, followed and came up with him at Newcastle. 'While I was here' [Newcastle], he writes (p. 30), 'I looked upon the posture this armie of Scots (of which the Parliament so much boasted) were in. I found the bodies of the men lustie, well clothd and well moneyd, bot raw, untrai'd and undisciplind ; their officers for most part young and unexperienced. They had divided themselves in severall bodies, and in severall quarters, everie one or any of which might with a resolute sally been easilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the rest would have runne. There was sixe thousand men of Newcastles armie within the toune, and Lieut. General King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admired then, nor could I wonder enough since, that he never endeavourd to give his countrey-men a visite. He was a person of great honor ; bot what he had savd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he had made shipwracke of much of it, he losd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to possesse themselves of a passe on that river for their retreat, so much did they trust to their owne valour and successe. While I was there, they indeavourd one night [apparently on February 8th] to bring boats from the

glasse houses [on the river, a short distance to the east of the town], or above them, to the river, and so make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces sould fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee sent over Colonel Steuart [of the Galloway regiment] with 1200 foot, to stand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a little narrow bridge [over the Pandon burn, near the Shieldfield fort, which already was in Levens's possession; or possibly over the Ouseburn further to the east near the glass-houses at Ouseburn] to passe in their goeing and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen stoutlie out of the toune on them, they had killd and tane them evirie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opinion, which was seconded by others, askd Deare Sandie [sir Alexander Hamilton], Sir James Lumsdaine [with whom Turner had served in 1632 in the service of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden] and myselfe, what was best to be done. We were unanimous that false alarmes sould be given about the wholl toune, to divert the enemie from sallieing too strong upon Steuart, for the tounes utter guards of horse had certified them within of his approach. I was sent with this message to the Generall, whom I found goeing to supper. When I returnd, I was ashamd to relate the answeere of that old Captaine; which was, that he feard the brightnes of the night (for it was mooneshine) would discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him, the mooneshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it wold hinder the matches to be sene; for the more lunts were scene, the better for a false alarme. However, the alarums were made in severall places, which were taken so hotlie where I was beside the workmen, that thogh I calld often to them, it was our owne people, yet some great persons, whom I will not name [Turner's prejudice regarding Leven is obvious throughout his *Memoirs*] calld eagerlie for their horses, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, because it was neep tide, and Steuart returnd safelie, to the great disgrace of these within. . . . I have often made myselfe merrie with that nights worke, first to consider how the Committee of Estates, especiallie their president Argile, who was a good seaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats: secondlie, how they adventurd to face a toune wherein there was sixe thousand horse and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to retreat: thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent ansuer to my message: fourthlie, to see men affrayd at their oune shadow, men runne away for ane allarme themselves had causd make; and for a farce to the play, to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters, vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreat he had made without loss of a man, when there was not so much as a foot boy pursuing him.'

IV.—THE SIEGE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE BY THE
SCOTS IN 1644.

By C. S. TERRY, M.A.

[Read on the 28th September, 1898.]

Upon their arrival in England in January, 1644, the Scots had made but an ineffectual demonstration against Newcastle. Not until June were preparations for the capture of the town seriously taken in hand. On June 3rd, sir Harry Vane was commissioned to proceed to the commissioners with the Scottish army to discuss with them the means by which Newcastle and the four northern counties might be 'rescued from the power of the enemy now master of the field there.'¹ On June 10th, the House of Commons ordered that Thomas Day and William Cullen should have the public faith for the repayment of £355 18s. 11d., paid to colonel Allen upon the ordinance for reducing Newcastle.² On June 20th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms recommended that since Newcastle was not yet reduced, London might be much distressed for coal, and therefore that fresh Scottish forces should be brought into England.³ A week later [June 27th] the Committee wrote to the Scottish Parliament desiring their assistance.⁴

The Scots on their part had already commenced their preparations. A supplementary army was being raised under the command of lord Callendar. His commission, dated June 9th, was supplemented on June 10th, with definite instructions:—'You shall . . . be all meanes endevo^r to reduce and secure þe Toune of newcastell castell of Tynemouth and all other places possessed by the enemy for þe use of þe king and parliament of England. And make such use of þe forces in the Bishopricke as may conduce most for these ends Bot with a speciall regaird for þe saifty of þe Toune of Sunderland.'⁵ Again, on June 18th, the Scottish Parliament issued instructions to its commissioners who were proceeding to England:—'You shall procure

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644. ² *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

there approbatione of oʳ sending the Erle of Callendar with his forces in towardes Newcastle and move them to resolve one the solide wayes for interteining these forces.’⁶

It is clear, therefore, that Callendar’s force was relied on, at least to commence the siege of Newcastle, while Leven and the main Scottish army were occupied in Yorkshire. His arrival was anxiously looked for. On June 20th, sir Harry Vane reported from York that Callendar was expected at ‘Blyth Neuke’ on the 23rd.⁷ It was not, however, until the 25th that Callendar commenced his march.⁸ The strength of his force is variously estimated, but probably fell considerably short of ten thousand men.⁹

Before applying himself to the reduction of Newcastle, Callendar found it necessary to strengthen or regain certain positions round Newcastle, which Montrose’s activity in May had either wholly or partially detached from the Parliament. On his march through Northumberland, he re-captured Morpeth¹⁰ which had fallen to Montrose on May 29th.¹¹ Crossing the Tyne at Newburn,¹² Callendar passed on to secure Sunderland. A plot for the betrayal of the town had recently been frustrated by the energy of the Sunderland seamen, who, with the aid of colonel Charles Fairfax, had beaten back Montrose, Musgrave, and others, into Newcastle.¹³ For their ‘Affection and Fidelity’¹⁴ the seamen of Sunderland had, on June 3rd, been voted £200. About the same time, sir John Marley in Newcastle had intrigued with captain Rutherford, ‘of Ranfertlie,’ for the surrender of the fort at South Shields, which the Scots had held since March 20th.¹⁵ Montrose had successfully assaulted it,¹⁶ but when

⁶ *Ibid.* The above instructions clearly controvert Guthry’s statement, that Callendar was sent into England chiefly against Montrose, who had recently re-victualled Newcastle, and that instead of facing Montrose he sat down to the siege of Newcastle, ‘a task wherewith he was well acquainted, having been bred mostly in the Holland war.’—*Memoirs*, p. 133.

⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.—Committee of Both Kingdoms to Essex, July 9th.

⁹ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 646, estimates them at 10,000. Lithgow, *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, gives them at 6,000 foot and 800 horse.

¹⁰ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262. ¹¹ Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 255.

¹² Lithgow. ¹³ Whitelock, vol. i. pp. 262, 270. ¹⁴ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

¹⁵ Balfour, *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 185; Whitelock, vol. i. p. 262. ‘Delivered up by the Captain of that Fort, without a Stroke striking.’—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii. See page 177 in this volume.

¹⁶ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 317.

Montrose retired before colonel Fairfax into Newcastle, it would appear to have been regained by the Scots, and Rutherford, its commander, had early in June been sentenced by a council of war for its betrayal.¹⁷

Towards Sunderland, therefore, without halting before Newcastle, Callendar directed his march. On July 8th, he despatched a letter from 'Birlington Leger' to the Scottish Estates, and three days later [July 11th] he wrote to inform them that he was marching upon Sunderland.¹⁸ On July 24th,¹⁹ he summoned Hartlepool, and after negotiation, sir Edmund Carey and the garrison marched out about three o'clock on the following afternoon.²⁰ Stockton surrendered on the same date.²¹ Major Douglas and six companies of foot were placed as a garrison in Hartlepool. Stockton was left in charge of a captain and one hundred and twenty men.²²

The way was now clear upon Newcastle. Single-handed, however, his forces already weakened by the garrisons which had been left in Hartlepool, Stockton, and, probably, Sunderland and Morpeth, the siege of Newcastle was far beyond the capacity of Callendar's command. Opportunely, the capitulation of York, on July 16th,²³ made it possible for Leven to proceed north to his support. On July 22nd, Manchester at Ferrybridge reported that he and the Scots had already separated, and that the latter were at Leeds and Wakefield.²⁴ On August 9th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms was able to report to Essex that the Scots were intending 'the taking in of Newcastle.'²⁵ Indeed, on August 7th, they had broken up their camp about Leeds, and had marched north to Callendar's support.²⁶

¹⁷ Balfour, vol. iii. p. 185, gives an Order of the Scottish Estates, dated June 17th, to suspend the execution of the sentence lately passed on Rutherford at Sunderland. See p. 177 in this volume.

¹⁸ Balfour, vol. iii. pp. 208, 219.

¹⁹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 41.—Despatch from Callendar to Lauderdale from 'Oseworthe Leager' [Usworth] dated July 31st.

²⁰ *Ibid.* See, also, Sir James Turner's *Memoirs*, p. 38. ²¹ Thurloe, *ibid.*

²² *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181.—Armyne to Lenthall, from Sunderland, August 1st. Callendar was already in possession of Lumley castle.—Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson, 1893), p. xxi.

²³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1644.—Leven, Manchester, and Fairfax from York, July 18th.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*—Fairfax at York to Committee of Both Kingdoms, August 12th.

On July 25th, sir Adam Hepburn and Thomas Hatcher wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms urging the necessity of more money 'whereby that [Callendar's] army may be enabled to prosecute that service while the summer lasts, they at present having neither money, clothes, nor means to subsist.'²⁷ But without awaiting the arrival of Leven's forces, Callendar had already, on Saturday, July 27th, possessed himself of Gateshead. Writing from his camp at Usworth on July 31st, he gives the following account of that engagement in a despatch to Lauderdale:—²⁸

The report of the enemies intention to fall in upon Scotland, and the hopes I had of the generalls speedie march northward, made me command the generall major Ramsay, the lord Montgomerie with his regiment, and colonell Cambell with eight hundredth comanded men, to march in the night [from Usworth on the 26th] and seize upon Gaitsyde; bot they were prevented by the appearing of the day, and the enemies drawing out both horse and foot to the windmylne [Windmill hill]. Upon the knowledge hereof, I marched with the armie within two myles of Newcastle, and gave orders for beating of the enemies in, which was done, so that before the sounne sett they were verie neir the port at the bridge end, and at night made the port unusefull for the enemies falling out by barricadoeing of it, so that there is nothing without the port in Gaitsyde unpossessed by ws. Notwithstanding whereof if the generall resolve not to march hither, or that I be pressed by a powerfull enemy, which I verie much doubt, I shall be necessitat to quitt it, and reiteir to Sounderland.²⁹ The ingageing before the towne will hazard their forces, and divert the enemies from yow; which I rayther choyse to doe, nor that they should fall in upon our countrie, or that any deanger com to it. The tyme of our skirmishing with the enemies upon Saturday thair was only on killed, who was of the Colledge of Justices troupe, named David Lindsay, who it seemes was goeing to the enemies, as appeares be an letter found upon him written to the earle of Crawford.³⁰

Lithgow,³¹ in his customary vigorous style, adds a detail or two regarding the events on the 27th:—'My Lord Callendar, sending some horse and foote to clear the way for the Gatesyde, they were

²⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181.

²⁸ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 41. The letter is dated from 'Oseworthe Leaguer.'

²⁹ On July 30th, Lindsay and Fairfax at Ferrybridge reported to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that Callendar at Newcastle was menaced by the forces of Montrose, Goring and Clavering, and that instead of taking Newcastle he might have to retire on Sunderland or Hartlepool. 'Howbeit' they add 'the reducing of Newcastle were a matter of small importance to the kingdom.'—*Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

³⁰ The earl of Crawford had recently arrived in Newcastle from Carlisle.—Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 258. He was among the prisoners taken in the town on October 19th.

³¹ *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, etc.

rancountered with the enemye, at the tope of the wynd mill hill, where being prevented by night, and the enemy stronger than they, they were constrained to turne back. Whereupon the next day the Lieutenant Generall himselfe, came up with the residue of his armye, and fiercelie facing the enemy, beat them from the hill, chased them downe the Gatesyde, and hushing them along the bridge, closed [them] within the towne.'

On the following day, Sunday, July 28th, a further struggle took place for the possession of the bridge connecting Newcastle and Gateshead. Lithgow thus describes it:—'The next day he [Callendar] begunne to dispute for the enjoying of the bridge, with the fiery service of Cannon and Musket, which indeed was manfully invaded, and as courageously defended.' At length 'he gained the better halfe of the Bridge, and with much adoe fortified the same with earthen Rampiers, and Artilerie, which still so defensively continued, untill the Toune was taken in by Storme. This being regardfully done, he caused to erect five Batteries, along the Bankhead, and just opposite to the Town, from whence the Cannon did continually extreame good service, not onely against the walls and batteries, but also against particular places, and particular persons: Besides the frequent shooting of Pot-pieces, and other fireworkes of great importance, which daily annoyed the Inhabitants within Toune.'³²

With the capture of Gateshead and the blocking up of Newcastle on the south, Callendar had done all that was possible until the main army under Leven arrived. There had already reached the mouth of the Tyne ten ships of the Parliament's fleet,³³ to block up the town from that side. On August 1st, Leven had sent forward major-general Leslie with three regiments of horse and one of dragoons to

³² Sir W. Armyne in a despatch to Lenthall, dated Sunderland, August 1st, writes: 'Lord Calendar himself with all his forces marched towards Newcastle, and with a strong party of commanded men possessed themselves of Gateshead, and have made some works to stop up the passage of the bridge, and my Lord himself lies with the rest of his men on the top of the hill, not far from them.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 290, merely states that Callendar 'blocked up Newcastle on that [Gateshead] side.' The five batteries which Lithgow speaks of were no doubt on Windmill hill, and also to the east of the bridge, commanding the south wall of Newcastle from Closegate to Sandgate. Their position was shifted somewhat on October 18th, the eve of the final assault. Lithgow gives the names of the chief cannoneers of the five Gateshead batteries as William Hunter, James Scot, Robert Spense, William Wallace.

³³ *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club, 1840), vol. ii. p. 384.

Callendar's assistance,³⁴ and Callendar had despatched Armyne and Robert Barwis to meet and concert measures with him at Leeds.³⁵ Callendar, in fact, was by no means satisfied with the measures that were being taken for his support. Writing to Loudoun on August 4th, from Usworth,³⁶ to inform him that David Leslie was expected with the horse at Durham the next day, he adds, 'I wishe your lordships comands had been as possitive for the speedie advancing of the foote heere, as it was for the horse; for this worke being of great difficultie, a river divyding the armie without a bridge, the enemies being masters of all the boats and keills, the wncertain approache of an enemy,³⁷ and certaintie of the winter requyres thair present marching forward If this seige shall continewe, greater store of powder, ball, and matche, bothe for cannone and musquett, must be hade.'³⁸ On the 10th, however, Leven arrived at Bishop Auckland, and on the 11th Callendar rode out to meet him.³⁹ On the 12th, the army moved forward to Gateshead and there remained while Leven, on the 13th, paid visits of inspection to Sunderland and Hartlepool.⁴⁰ On Wednesday the 14th, the Scots crossed the Tyne at Newburn, and there halted, moving on to Elswick the following day.⁴¹

Immediately upon their arrival, the Scots commenced siege operations against the town. Writing from Elswick on August 16th to the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh,⁴² lord Crawford and Lindsay says:—'Wee past the Tyne upon Wednesday last at Newburne, and have now besieged this city on all quarters. Wee shall carefully have an ey upon any forces from Cumberland or

³⁴ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 645.

³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181. ³⁶ Thurloe, vol. i.

³⁷ Sir Thomas Glemham, with about 3,000 horse, was in Cumberland.—*Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)* 1644, Fairfax to Comm. of Both Kingdoms, August 12th.

³⁸ Armyne and the Scottish commissioners convened a meeting at Durham on August 5th, when the well-affected of the county received commissions from Fairfax.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 182.

³⁹ *The Diary of Mr. Robert Douglas when with the Scottish Army in England, 1644.* The Diary is published with the *Memoirs of James Burns, Baillie of Glasgow* (J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1833), and also in *Historical Fragments relating to Scottish Affairs* (1833). Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 129, states that Douglas had been sent to the army in March, 1644, there being 'a presumption that the Army was in danger to turn Malignant.' ⁴⁰ Douglas, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Douglas speaks of Elswick as 'the best quarters.' Leven and his staff were stationed there. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 645, however, states that Leven 'set down on the north-side of the Town.'

⁴² Thurloe, vol. i.

Westmerland, that may have any designe upon us, or for releif of this town. . . . Wee have given ordor, that the postmasters betwixt this and Berwic make ready horses to ansswer any that shall be sent to your lordships, and have appointed a new stage from Morpeth and Kenton, from whence they are to come to the lord generalls quarters. Wee intreat your lordships to cause your acts against runawayes be effectually put to execution.' On the same date, from his quarters on the other side of the river, Callendar despatched a letter to the Estates of a less hopeful tenour.⁴³ He and the chief officers of his command complained that his 'part of the army since the cuming up of the lord generalls army, they being on the other syd of the river, hes not mutch bene takin notice of be thame,' and, further, that while a sum of £4,000 was being distributed among Leven's army, Callendar and his forces were in great straits. An equally urgent appeal reached the Estates in a despatch from Crawford and Lindsay, dated Elswick, August 19th,⁴⁴ in which he requested that 'ten thousand weight of poulder, with the like weight of leid, and double weight of matche, may be provided there and sent to Sunderland,' also 'considerable quantities of meall . . . for without it wee have bot small hopes of any maintenance from these who are obliged to it.'

The preliminary steps taken by the Scots towards the investing of the town are described in a despatch from Callendar⁴⁵ on August 21st, in which he states that Leven 'quarters himselfe at Elswick wpon the west end of the toune of Newcastle at the watersyde; and that the east end thairof is assigned to me for my quarters, by and attour gatesyd, and the most part of the bridge, whairof I am in possession alreddie.' He proceeds:—

Wpon Thursdays the 15. of this instant I croced the water likewayes a little beneath the toune at the glasse workes, takeing with me the lord Sinclaire and the earle of Marachells regiments,⁴⁶ with some commanded men, whom I ludged that night (notwithstanding of many cannone shott from the towne and Sheil-

⁴³ Thurloe, vol. i. It is also signed by Wauchope of Niddrie, Forrester, 'Louchtour,' and John Ker. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Callendar writes from 'Gatesend.'

⁴⁶ The earl marshal commanded the Mearns and Aberdeen regiment which, on October 19th, took part in the assault on Pilgrim Street gate. Sinclair on that date was still with Callendar. Both regiments had been left before Newcastle on February 22nd. See p. 164 of this volume.

field fort,⁴⁷ and musquett shott upon both syds) in the Sandgaitt, whair I am now bussied about the making of approaches towards the toune, and I have recovered many keeles and boats, as hes made a bridge over the water a little beneath the glasse houses.⁴⁸

The seiging of this toune is much hindered for want of materials, as spaid, shooles, mattockes, etc. And as the beleaguering of it will be great charges, so the souldiors are putt to extraordinare dewtie. And wee cannot gaitt so mutche money, as will be halfe monethes meanes to every officer, foure merks to every trouper, and a shilling to ilk souldier, for the comissaree heere hes it not. Whairfor seeing thair panes and labour is great, your lordships would be pleased to send up money heere for thair farder encouragement, and give ane speciall comand and ordor to the thesaurer of the armie or his deputs, that thir forces may gaitt some satisfaction, and not to be distinguished in that only from the armie [Leven's];⁴⁹ for it seemes they ar by paye and proviant, though nothing short and inferiour in dewtie.

The last meall, whiche was sent heere, was directed to Hartlepoole, which is now returned back to Sunderland for the use of this armie, in respect of our necessitie and of the evilnesse of the victuall, whiche was heere; yit seeing that is a place very fitt to be a magazine, your lordships wold take it to your consideration, and send victualls thair.

This day [Aug. 21st] some peeces of batterie are sent over to the wther syde of the river;⁵⁰ and I have intercepted a letter yisterday, sent from Sir Thomas Gleinham out of Cairleel to the major of Newcastle; the coppie whairof your lordships shall resave heere inclosed.

It appears, therefore, that within a week of Leven's arrival, Callendar had made the extended position assigned to him, namely, Sandgate and the east side of the town in addition to Gateshead,

⁴⁷ Shieldfield fort stood on the east bank of Pandon burn. Its southern entrenchment is marked by the present Ridley villas in New Bridge street. Thus it stood a trifle to the north of the line of the town wall at Carloli tower from which it was distant about 550 yards - a half-musket shot according to Lithgow. See Brand, frontispiece and the picture at vol. i. p. 17. See also p. 212 of this volume.

⁴⁸ This bridge of boats would be considerably to the east of the Ouseburn, and out of sight of the besieged by reason of the bend of the river, and also of the rising ground between Pandon and Ouseburn.

⁴⁹ It is not difficult to detect here and in Callendar's previous despatch some feeling between his command and that of Leven. That such a feeling existed is further suggested by Lithgow's evident desire to give Callendar due credit for his share in the siege, and by the conflicting statements as to which section of the army entered the town first on October 19th. From the *Leslies of Leslie*, vol. i., it appears that some disagreement existed between them as to the relative seniority of the earldoms conferred on them by Charles in 1641.

⁵⁰ At Sandgate. The position of the Scottish batteries is considered in detail hereafter in connexion with the final assault on October 19th. Lithgow states that Callendar placed two batteries here, one to intercept the besieged from his mines. He adds that they succeeded in beating down 'the top, face, and upmost parts of the Carpenters tower,' probably immediately upon their being placed in position.

effective. A bridge of boats below Ouseburn connected the two portions of his command, and a battery was in position, probably on the high ground on which St. Ann's church stands, between Ouseburn and Pandon. Mining operations had also been commenced at or near the Sandgate. That the fire from his Gateshead batteries proved very galling to the besieged appears from Whitelock's statement⁵¹ that 'most of the inhabitants of the lower town fled to the high town for shelter.'

Lithgow's account,⁵² which is unfortunately rather a rhapsody than a narrative, gives a few details of the preliminaries of the siege. From it we gather that Leven also constructed a bridge of boats. He does not definitely assign its position, but we may infer that it was near Leven's headquarters at Elswick, hidden from the sight of the besieged and out of cannon shot, in the bend of the river above the Redheugh. Nor is he more explicit as to the actual measures taken by Leven to make the siege of the town on his side effective. He states, however, that Leven enclosed 'the West and Northwest parts of the Town, they inclosed all that circuit, till they joyned with Lord Sinclairs Regiment; Sheefield Fort (belonging to the Town) only dividing them.' The Scottish soldiers were accommodated in 'Houts composed of Turff, Clay, Straw, and Watles'; the officers in 'circulating Pavillions, more ready to receive the blustering winde than the sinking raine.' In regard to Callendar's bridge of boats, he adds that it was 'a pretty way below the Glasse house,' and was guarded by lord Kenmuir's⁵³ regiment at both ends, and also by 'three watrie guards of Keill boats, tyed with cable ropes,' and that it was used by the country people to bring in provisions for the army.

It is unfortunate that but little can be learnt of the proceedings inside the town throughout the siege. Lithgow gives, however, a brief account of the measures taken by the besieged for their defence. 'The streets,' he writes, 'that were answerable to thair barrocaded Ports, [*i.e.* to which the gates gave entrance] and in frequent passages, were also casten up with defensive breastworks, and

⁵¹ *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 294. ⁵² *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, etc.

⁵³ Lord Kenmuir, or Kenmure, was appointed on the Committee of War for the stewardry of Kircudbright on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, under date. His regiment is not assigned a position in the assault on October 19th. It was probably held in reserve, or confined exclusively to the guard of the bridge of boats.

planted with Demi-culverines of irone:⁵⁴ And above all other workes, the Towne Castle itself was seriously enlarged, with diverse curious fortifications, besides breast works, Redoubts, and terreniat Demilunes; and withall three distinctive Horne-workes, two of which exteriorly are strongly pallosaded, and of great bounds.' The 'Capstone of the battlements round about the Town' was 'underpropd with little stones' ready to fall on the besiegers should they attempt to scale the wall. The gaps in the battlements were filled with 'lime and stone,' narrow slits only being allowed to remain. All the gates were closed and barricaded, egress being allowed only by the small postern gates. The trench outside the walls had been deepened, and the outward surface of the walls themselves had been 'steeply lyned with clay-mixt earth' to prevent the besiegers from climbing up. Certain structural alterations appear also to have been made in the walls, since in August, 1644, the Company of Barber Surgeons ordered an inspection to be made of Ralph Cock's house with a view to their occupation of it, their hall over Pandon gate having been taken down before the siege commenced.⁵⁵

Immediately after his arrival, Leven summoned the town to surrender.⁵⁶

His letter was as follows:—⁵⁷

As it hath ever been our chieftest care to make our intentions (for the purity of Religion, his Majesties happinesse, and the settled peace of his Kingdomes) publike and manifest to the world, so we do now in a speciall manner desire to give satisfaction to this City in every thing, which may advance the weall thereof: That all scruples and misunderstandings may therefore the better be removed, and your City may reape the sweet fruits of peace, which other Cities under obedience of King and Parliament do quietly enjoy: We have thought good hereby to represent how fitting we conceive a meeting to be of some judicious persons from either side, that you may thereby know our high respects to his Majesties honour and great desire to shun all further effusion of blood, and preserve your City from the extremities of War.

Elswick, Aug. 16. 1644.

LEVEN.

⁵⁴ In Nye's *Art of Gunnery* (1648), chap. 34, he gives the following details of a demiculverin; $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter of bore, length 10 to 13 feet, weight 3,000 lb., weight of powder for discharge 12 lb. 11 oz., weight of shot $10\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The point-blank range of such a gun was probably not over 400 yards, or extreme at 5° elevation 1,700 yards. See Greener, *Science of Gunnery* (1846), p. 57, and Lloyd and Hadcock, *Artillery, its Progress and Present Position*, p. 21.

⁵⁵ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 233.

⁵⁶ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. under date August 21st, 1644.

⁵⁷ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644.

On August 17th, the town returned an answer, refusing to treat, in the following letter :—⁵⁸

My Lord,—Wee have perused and well weighed your Letter, and must return this Answer, That whereas you desire to make manifest your intentions for the purity of Religion, his Majesties happinesse and peace of his Kingdomes, we wish it were so (and not rather pretences), and whereas you write in a speciall manner to give satisfaction of your desires of our weall and peace, Is it possible we should believe you in this, when We see you are the one and only disturbers of our welfare and peace? But to remove all scruples and misunderstandings : We doe declare to you, and the whole world, that our love and obedience is so much to King and Parliament, that if you can shew us Commission from his Majesty and the Parliament, to undertake what you desire, wee shall most willingly condescend thereunto : but otherwise we neither dare, nor will meete, or treat in matters of so great importance, And besides, must needs thinke all your intentions and designes are but to delude ignorant people : And to conclude, if your high respects to his Majesties honour, the shunning of further effusion of blood, the preservation of Newcastle from ruine and extremity of War, be real, return home with your Army, live in peace, and let your neighbours enjoy the same : If not we know and trust, that God who is with us, is above all against us, and in this cofidence we shall ever remaine

Your affectionate friends, if you please,

JO. MARLAY.	NICHOLAS COLE.	THO. LYDDELL.
ALEX. DAVISON.	FRAN. BOWES.	RALPH COLE.
RALPH COCK.	LEONARD CARRE.	ROB. SHAFTOE.

Newcastle, Aug. 17. 1644.'

On the 21st, the Committee of Both Kingdoms resolved 'That the answer of the Mayor and others of Newcastle to the summons be reported to the Commons.'⁵⁹ Mr. Pierpoint brought up the resolution to the Commons on the same day. Following this refusal to treat, the siege was pushed actively forward. Leven and Callendar were already in possession of such houses or suburbs as lay without Sandgate, Closegate, Pilgrim street gate and Newgate, and an attempt on the part of the besieged to shake the Scots from their position on the bridge had been recently frustrated.⁶⁰ The apparent imminence of a close investment was not without its effect upon those inside Newcastle who were half-hearted in the cause or fearful of the result

⁵⁸ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69. This letter is given in *The True Informer*, No. 44, for August 17-24, 1644, and in other news-sheets, but in somewhat different language, and at shorter length.

⁵⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1644, under date August 21st.

⁶⁰ *The True Informer*, No. 44, for August 17-24, 1644.

of a siege. A news-sheet⁶¹ states: 'Sir Lionel Maddison, Master Clavering, and Master Henry Maddison, three of the Aldermen of the Town, have deserted the Town, and are got to Sunderland, being formerly compelled to subscribe an answer to the first summons when the Scots came in.' Leven had also enlisted the services of three thousand colliers, keelmen, and others, to help in the mining operations.⁶² On Saturday the 20th, these mining operations were sufficiently advanced in the neighbourhood of Closegate to tempt the besieged to make a sortie. Douglas⁶³ describes it: 'The enemy fall on about 3 afternoon, near Clossgate, where Lyndsay⁶⁴ and Metland⁶⁵ had the guard in the works, the souldiers fled; there was taken Lieutenant Colonell—Sir James Maxuel, Major to E. Clidsdales regiment,⁶⁶ ane ensigne, and some 9 or 10 common souldiers, some 2 or 3 killed; the officers were not there that day; the bridge of keils⁶⁷ under the [sic] bridge was a making, and on the 21, 22.'

On August 22nd, Leven sent a despatch to the Committee of Estates,⁶⁸ which indicates that lack of money and provision were not the greatest of the difficulties which confronted the Scots. He reminded them of the necessity of 'sending to the army all such as have run awaie from there cullers, and are come home; as also all such as have beine wanting of the numbers that were appointed to come away at first out of the severall shires of the kingdome.' On

⁶¹ *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644. The two Maddisons signed the answer to Leven's summons dated February 3rd, 1644 (Printed in *A True Relation of the Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*). Sir Lionel had come over to Parliament by July 10th, 1644.—*Commons Journals*. Henry Maddison became mayor of Newcastle for 1665-66.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii. p. 129. Robert Clavering's signature is attached to the answer sent by Glemham to Argyle and Armyne from Alnwick on January 20th, 1644.—*Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 306. He, too, had come over to Parliament by July 10th, 1644.—*Commons Journals*.

⁶² Whitelock, vol. i. p. 294. Bourne, *History of Newcastle*, p. 233, says that they were Elswick and Benwell colliers employed under 'a false rebellious Scot' named John Osborne. ⁶³ *Diary*.

⁶⁴ Lord Crawford and Lindsay, whom Douglas's *Diary* shows to have returned from a short visit to Durham on the 19th.

⁶⁵ Lord Maitland, colonel of the Midlothian regiment.—Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604. This regiment is not mentioned in the final assault on October 19th. It probably formed part of the reserve on that occasion.

⁶⁶ It is not clear whether sir James Maxwell is referred to as major of the Clydesdale regiment. He is not mentioned in Rushworth's list of Leven's regiments, where the major of the Clydesdale regiment is given as major Lindsay.

⁶⁷ At Elswick. Callendar's bridge at the glass houses was in course of construction on August 15th. ⁶⁸ Thurloe, vol. i.

the same day, the Scottish chancellor, lord Loudoun, arrived from Scotland to review the progress which the siege had made. Leven, accompanied by Douglas, rode out to meet him 'beyond the 3 mile bridge coming from Morpeth.'⁶⁹ Siege operations were in active progress at the time of his arrival. 'The enemy,' says a contemporary news-letter,⁷⁰ 'from the Castle doth mightily annoy us with their great Artillery; but the Scots are casting up with incessant labour what works they can both by day and night to defend themselves. In the mean while, our Pioners are as busie at worke under ground, as our Canons are playing above it. The endeavours on both sides are indefatigable, and in the thick clouds of smoke the thunder of the Canon perpetually disputing.' On the following Saturday, the 24th, Loudoun had an opportunity of witnessing a sortie of the besieged at Newgate on the north-west of the town. That fortification, together with the line of the western wall as far as Herber tower or Westgate, appears to have been under the particular charge of lieutenant-general Baillie. His battery was probably placed on the Leazes, and in the course of the siege it did considerable damage to the wall and to St. Andrew's church immediately fronting it.⁷¹ In the final assault on October 19th, Newgate was breached by the artillery and not by mines, but at this period of the siege the Scots appear to have been mining the wall here as at Closegate and Sandgate. Their mines at Newgate were 'within a stonecast of the wall,'⁷² and Baillie, after entertaining Douglas at dinner, went with him on the afternoon of the 24th, to view the works. 'A little after I came from the works,' writes Douglas, 'the enemy fell on, horse and foot, upon the works kept by Cossil and Kilheads regiment;⁷³ the souldiers ran away. The reason was no officers were attending; they were beaten in again, some two killed, as many wounded, as many taken, both the days of outfall.' The want of officers, to which Douglas had also impliedly attributed the reverse at Closegate on the 20th, presented a serious difficulty. Sinclair writes to the

⁶⁹ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁰ *The London Post*, No. 3, for August 27th, 1644.

⁷¹ See p. 213 for a detailed account of the positions of the Scottish mines and batteries.

⁷² Douglas's *Diary*.

⁷³ Douglas, somewhat confusedly, speaks of this sortie as taking place 'at the works at Pilgrim street called Newgate.' Newgate is clearly intended, though in the final assault on October 19th, the Kyle and Carrick regiment [col. lord Cassillis] and the Nithsdale and Annandale regiment [col. Douglas of Kilhead] were stationed at Pilgrim street gate.

Committee of Estates from Elswick on September 18th,⁷⁴ 'Wee find so great want of officers, that wee have resolved to fill the places of all such as have violat and transgrest thair forlosses.'

On Sunday, the 25th, Loudoun heard a sermon from Douglas in Leven's quarters at Elswick;⁷⁵ his text [verses 5 and 6 from Psalm lxiv.]: 'They encourage themselves in an evil matter: they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them? They search out iniquities; they accomplish a diligent search: both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep.' The assuring verse which follows was not included in the text, nor was Crawford more hopeful of speedy success in a despatch to the Committee of Estates,⁷⁶ dated 'haste, haste, post haste, Elswick, 27. August, 3 a clock in the morning.' 'For our present condition,' he writes 'wee are using our best diligence for advanceing of our designe against this toune, and' he adds, suggesting difficulties of commissariat, 'shall dispose of our cavalerie as they may be most usefull for the good of the cause and that kingdome, and have meanes of subsistence for themselves.' On the same day, Loudoun concluded his short visit to the camp and proceeded to Sunderland, where he took ship for London.⁷⁷

On September 3rd, an entry in the Whickham register of burials,⁷⁸ speaks to the vigilance of the Scottish sentries: 'A man that was shot bii the Scotish centres in the meadowes, as he was comeing up the water in a boate.' On the same date [September 3rd] the besieging force was weakened by the departure to Scotland of Callendar and Lindsay, with three regiments of foot and one of horse. Montrose's progress called them away, though Callendar shortly after returned to the lines before Newcastle.⁷⁹ But on September 7th, Leven was able to announce that 'we have now approached to the Grafts of this Town, ready to passe our Galleries, and in a fair way (by Gods blessing) to make a short end of the work.'⁸⁰ He therefore deemed the moment opportune to deliver a further summons. On that date [September 7th] the following letter was sent into the town:—⁸¹

⁷⁴ Thurloe, vol. i. ⁷⁵ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁶ Thurloe, vol. i.

⁷⁷ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁸ Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 242. ⁷⁹ Douglas's *Diary*.

⁸⁰ *The Weekly Account*, for September 11-18, 1644.

⁸¹ *A Particular Relation of the Taking of Newcastle*. This tract prints most of the correspondence between Leven and the besieged, from September 7th to October 19th, as it was communicated to the commissioners of Scotland.

The answers you have returned to the severall letters you formerly received from those now in the service of the King and Parliament, sufficiently manifest and declare to all the world, your evil dispositions and affections to their affaires, and your hands may one day rise against you in judgment, if you prevent it not. But that no honest ways, or lawfull means may be left unassayed for the good of the Town (if the Lord please to open the eyes of the inhabitants to see what is for his glory, and their own weale), We the Committees of both Kingdomes have thought fit once more to incite you for your own benefit to treat about that love and obedience which you seem to say in your last⁸² to the Lord Generall his Excellencie, you delare to all the world, you beare to King and Parliament; to which trial and test we doe now the more earnestly incite you, to the end of the further effusion of Christian blood may be prevented, and a right understanding among those that seem to make profession at least as you doe of one and the same ends obtained. And because we have seen by experience, you have heretofore trusted to rotten reeds and broken staves (and peradventure some amongst you may perswade with you to do so still)⁸³ not trusting onely to your owne strength within, but also relying upon others without your walls who may fail you if you lean upon them, and in your greatest confidence utterly deceive you; and by that means bring you suddenly to ruine. Consider sadly of your present condition, and though it should please God to give you his grace to doe as true hearted Englishmen, loyall and faithfull to the Crown of England, and the true Religion therein professed, ought to doe; yet endeavour to acquit your selves like rationall men, which is the last advice in this kind you are like to receive from us your friends, if you hearken to our advice.

Signed in the name, and by the warrant of the Committee of both Kingdomes.

Sic Subscribitur SINCLAER.

W. ARMYNE.

Dated Elswick, 7th September, 1644. Directed to the Major, Aldermen, Common-councill, and Burgesses of the Toun of Newcastle.

Along with this letter there went an unofficial one of the same tenour from 'a well-wisher to the Toun of Newcastle.' Copies of it were thrown over the walls 'that they might come into the hands of the inhabitants.'⁸⁴ It read as follows:—

I have been still silent, waiting when you should have taken some course for your owne happinesse, But now seeing your destruction even ripe, if not timously prevented, I could not but give you faire warning, and desire you

⁸² On August 17th.

⁸³ The Scots no doubt were well aware that sir John Marley by no means carried the whole town with him in his rigorous policy of resistance. *The Parliament Scout*, No. 60, for August 8-15, 1644, describes the position within Newcastle: 'the Souldiers are discontented within, the Governour goes not out without a guard.'

⁸⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. It is possible that this letter was officially inspired, and designed to communicate to those from whom Marley might withhold it, the desire of the Scots to negotiate an accommodation. More probably it was the work of one of the Newcastle puritans, such as Maddison or Man, who were with the Scottish army.

both Citizens, and Souldiers, for the preservation of your Towne, the safety of your Persons, Estates, and Families, to think upon some way of a speedy Accommodation, and no question you shall meet with a very favourable hearing. It is no more wisdom, nor Honour, but extreame madnesse, any longer to hold out, when the danger is present and certaine; and when all your hopes of reliefe have now failed you.'

To the first of these letters the following answer was returned :—⁸⁵

We have received your Letter, and seriously considered thereon, and if you can shew us any thing under His Majesties hand, that we should yeild up the Town unto you, we will obey it. But whereas you tell us we trust to broken Reeds, and rotten staves, we confidently say again and again, that the God on whom we relye, is our strength and the Rock of our Faith, wherein the strength of our walles doth consist is so firm, that we fear not your threats, your Canon, nor what can be invented against us; And desire you to consider this, and avoid effusion of blood, from

Your friends, if you take our advice

MARLEY.

CARRE, etc.

Signed by Warrant of His Majesties Charter.

That the failure of Glemham and others of the king's commanders in the north to attempt the relief of the town had caused disappointment and even dismay is very probable, since that appears to have been the basis on which the Scots thought it opportune to propose an accommodation at this juncture. That there was within the town itself a considerable party which would have seized upon any reasonable offer of accommodation with the Scots, had it been submitted to their judgment, is clear from the treatment which Marley received upon the surrender of the town on October 19th. The party of resistance was, however, in the majority and this second offer of accommodation, like the first, was stoutly rejected.

It was probably with some such idea as that which had prompted the letter to Marley that, on September 10th, both Leven and Sinclair wrote to the Committee of Estates,⁸⁶ the former to assure them that there was but little danger to Scotland or Newcastle from Carlisle, and that his cavalry had scattered the enemy in Westmorland; the latter to assure the Estates that 'we shall lett no tyme slip, bot rather double our diligence in our designes against this town.' On the 18th, again, Sinclair informs the Estates that David Leslie with 'his whole cavalrie' has been sent into Cumberland.⁸⁷ Any hope of relief for Newcastle from that side might with reason be regarded as closed.

⁸⁵ *The Weekly Account*, for September 18-24, 1644.

⁸⁶ Thurloe, vol. i. ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

The rejection by Marley of the accommodation suggested by the Scots was followed by a renewal of the attack upon the town. Upon the receipt of the town's answer,⁸⁸ Baillie opened fire, from his batteries on the Leazes, upon St. Andrew's church and the wall in front of it. His battery succeeded, after three hours' assault, in 'brashing' down part of the wall near the church to 'within half a yard of the roote,'⁸⁹ making an opening through which ten men could enter abreast.⁹⁰ The breach was not however entered, for the besieged succeeded in repairing it with rubbish and timber under a canvas screen.⁹¹ The tower of St. Andrew's also suffered in this or some other assault. Brockett⁹² mentions a tradition that a cannon-ball fired from its tower killed a Scottish minister as he was preaching to a ring of soldiery on the Leazes. Meanwhile the Scots' store of powder and ball appears to have been running short. On September 9th,⁹³ the Committee of Both Kingdoms recommended that two hundred barrels of powder with matches and bullets be sent to Newcastle through Sunderland, and on the 14th,⁹⁴ the Committee requested the Commons that '200 of the 400 [barrels] that are come this day from Kingston' might be utilised for the purpose of replenishing the Scottish magazines. On the same day⁹⁵ a warrant for two hundred rounds of 24 lb., 12 lb., and 9 lb. ball to be despatched to Newcastle, was made out, and on September 16th,⁹⁶ the Commons ordered the despatch of two hundred barrels of powder thither by way of Sunderland.

On Saturday, September 21st, and again on the following Monday, the besieged appear to have made successful sorties. The information is derived from a royalist source,⁹⁷ and obviously overstates the success it chronicles: 'As for that famous garrison at Newcastle, the hungry Scots have been so beaten by it, that the number before the Toune lookes so small as if none were there but *honest Scots*. Their horse are all gone of into Scotland to secure

⁸⁸ Lithgow, however, appears to place this about September 29th. Mackenzie. *Hist. of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 28, places it after Leven's letter on September 7th. ⁸⁹ Lithgow. ⁹⁰ Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 28.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* The appearance of the wall immediately in front of the north porch of St. Andrew's church suggests that as the portion of the wall 'brashed' by the Scots on this occasion.

⁹² Quoted in *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes* (50 Surtees Society publ.), p. 339.

⁹³ *Cal. of State Papers* (Dom.) 1644. ⁹⁴ *Ibid.* ⁹⁵ *Ibid.* ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Mercurius Aulicus*, for 40th week, ending October 5th, 1644.

their ample Patrimonies at home. . . . The Scots before Newcastle are neither numerous nor courageous, being bravely tamed by that excellent blow which the Garrison bestowed upon them on Monday was seavenight and the Saturday before (Saint James day)⁹⁸ at which two times the brave men of Newcastle slew and tooke above 500 Scots,⁹⁹ killed a principal Commander (we remember not his Scottish name) and tooke 3 peices of Ordnance; since when the Scots are withdrawn from Tinmouth Castle, which till then they blockt up.'

On Monday the 23rd, a further event is recorded in a sermon preached by George Wishart¹⁰⁰ on the following Sunday—St. Michael and All Angels—in St. Nicholas's church. He had been recounting instances in the progress of the siege which suggested the ministry of angels in the behalf of the besieged: 'So,' he continued, 'yet more recent amongst many notable experiences of that kind since the beginning of the siege, on Monday last, the day of the election of our Magistrate, when that thundering shot¹⁰¹ came between the sword-bearer and our chiefest Magistrates, who pulled them back, and made them halt the while? Who interposed his shield to receive it, or his dagger to divert, and put it by? Who did it? Sure I am it was only God, and likelier no means than this same ministry of the angels, at His charge and command.' 'So,' he continues, in reference probably to an event of the same day, 'who took the aim, who gave the fire, to that our piece at West gate, whose breach was covered with their pieces, which caw'd [knocked] a crew of our enemies to the ground at once? Surely he who directed the stone of David's sling against the brain pan of Goliath.'¹⁰²

⁹⁸ St. James's day is calendared, however, on July 25th.

⁹⁹ Obviously a gross exaggeration.

¹⁰⁰ Lecturer in St. Nicholas's church. This sermon is printed in Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose* (Ed. Murdoch and Simpson, 1893), p. xxi.

¹⁰¹ Probably from one of the Gateshead batteries, from which a good view of the civic procession to and from the Sandhill could be obtained. Wishart's sermon ended with a reference to sir John Marley 'our thrice repeated Mayor and Governour.' In answer to Marley's re-election the *Lords Journals* for October 9th, 1644, show that Henry Warmouth was appointed mayor of Newcastle by the Parliamentary party. The *Commons Journals* for October 9th, 1644, approve Henry Warmouth as deputy-lieutenant for Newcastle.

¹⁰² Wishart clearly confirms *Mercurius Aulicus* in some success having been gained by the garrison on September 23rd.

On the following Saturday [September 28th],¹⁰³ the besieged had another fortunate deliverance. The garrison on that day discovered 'the lowest Myne next to the river syde,'¹⁰⁴ near Sandgate, and to prevent its being drowned Callendar gave orders that it should be fired. That very extensive mining operations were being conducted against that part of the wall is clear from Lithgow's supplementary statement, 'The other three adjacent Mynes were not as yet ready.' The deliverance from the mine that was prematurely fired was not the only one for which the besieged had reason to be thankful: 'Who amongst us,' said Wishart,¹⁰⁵ in his sermon on the following day, 'was so wise and vigilant as to foresee and so prevent that blow intended against us by blowing up of our own powder, whereby many of us had been miserably massacred, and the rest made an easy prey and spoil to our cruel enemies? When a great part of the match was burnt, when the fire was come within a finger length of the powder, and we all sleeping secure, who was there so ready with water to quench that fire, to prevent that blow, and not only to preserve us, but that same powder, to work much vengeance upon our enemies? Sure I am, God Himself was the Author of that deliverance, and if by the ministry of any second cause, surely none so likely as this of our text, that of some holy angel at His charge and command—And blessed be His name for it, for evermore.'¹⁰⁶

So far, therefore, the besieged were giving a very excellent account of themselves. The despatches which left head-quarters at Elswick, though they make no reference to the many repulses which had befallen their army, speak equally to other difficulties against which the Scots had to contend. On September 18th, Sinclair¹⁰⁷ writes to the Committee of Estates, 'The thesaurer of this army is returned hither, but nather provisions nor money with him as yet; and when wee shall begin to distribute the shoes among our sojourns, such a number thereof shall be sent unto yow, as may be spared from this.' Callendar,¹⁰⁸ also, on the 24th, writes to the same authority to beg them to send more meal, and clearly chafing at the slowness of their progress, adds that in his opinion they will best serve the interests of the kingdom by hurrying on the business against Newcastle.

¹⁰³ Lithgow assigns this event to about September 29th. ¹⁰⁴ Lithgow.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* ¹⁰⁶ This may point to treachery within the town.

¹⁰⁷ Thurloe, vol. i. ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Save for their stout walls, the besieged were in but little better plight. Wishart's sermon on Sunday, September 29th, valuable as one of the few glimpses afforded us inside the town during the siege, is equally valuable as suggesting the patience, courage, and devotion which inspired the garrison in their heroic defence.

Come I now, then [said Wishart] to my exhortation, and I shall deliver it in the very words of Joab to Abishai his brother, and to the Host of Israel, when they fought against the children of Ammon. 'Let us be of good courage and play the men, and behave ourselves valiantly, and God will do what seemeth him best;' and let no man say 'oh, our help is far from us,' for if our eyes were but opened we might perhaps see all the mountains about us full of those fiery chariots and horses, so that they were more that were for us, than all that are against us. I attest the consciences of you all when you look back again to the weeks and months of this siege which are already passed, and call to mind your own opinions and judgments; what thought you that this handful of ours could not only have resisted that equally mighty and malicious enemy; but also so often beaten, killed, and taken them in their very forts and works, in so far that our friends are stricken with admiration and joy, our enemies with amazement and fear, and ourselves more encouraged and strengthened than at first hours? . . . I know that many of you would take it in a great huff and indignation if I should say that you were very cowards who would not hazard your own persons and limbs in so good a cause; and what a miser art thou, who will give thy life, and will not give thy loaf of bread; who will give thy person, and will not give thy purse in that same cause. If we had but hearts of men in us, the poorest of the town needed neither want meat nor clothes yet for a long time, even until the Lord should give us help from his holy place. Neither let any man say that I preach and press this doctrine much upon others, but am as backward from the practice of it as any else, saying I am like the Pharisee who laid heavy burdens upon other mens' shoulders, etc. Nay, I hope I am not so base. Most of you know very well that I am a man who cannot brag, yet will I not complain much of my poverty, but as I am, I am ready to lay down at the feet of our rulers, as much spare clothes as will help to apparel, as much good plate as will help to maintain half-a-dozen of soldiers until we get what help the Lord shall send us; neither shall I keep up a spoon or a blanket unbestowed, before any poor soldier or neighbour wants, but bestowed in the hands of our rulers, to be dispensed in an orderly way, and I take God to witness that if I had either spare corn or coin, it should all go that same way.¹⁰⁹

During the week which followed Wishart's sermon, the garrison obtained further encouragement. In the early morning of October 3rd, they discovered and drowned two of the enemy's mines, and a third on October 4th, 'whereat,' writes Lithgow,¹¹⁰ 'the enemy growing insolent, gave order for ringing of bells all night.'

¹⁰⁹ The passages quoted above follow here.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

On the other hand, the news which reached London gave a uniformly optimistic account of the progress of the siege. 'The letters this week,' writes one news-letter,¹¹¹ 'from the Leaguer before Newcastle doe certifie, that the besiegers have plaid upon the Town with their Ordnance for divers dayes together, which have done such gallant execution, that they have battered many houses in the Town, and thorow want, and feare there do daily come from the Enemy (though with difficulty) many of the Inhabitants.' Another reports¹¹² that the besieged garrison was put on half rations of food, and that many were dying of the 'flux.' It further states that a fight had taken place over 'a fort on the North [? South] Shells,' which had been lost and won thrice in one day, the Scots eventually retaining it. Another news-letter¹¹³ reports the capture by the Scots of 'one of the wharves belonging to the Towne, by which meanes they can straighten it more than before.' Yet another,¹¹⁴ remarks, under date October 15th, that the cannon of the besieged had been dismounted by the besiegers' fire. An even more hopeless condition of the garrison was suggested in the report that it was ready to submit but for Marley's influence,¹¹⁵ and had even made offer of £30,000 to Leven to be allowed to march out, an offer which had been refused only because Leven would not include the Scottish lords in the town in the proposed accommodation.¹¹⁶

The besieged were clearly, therefore, hard pressed. For two months the Scots had been preparing their mines and battering the walls. Their magazines had now been replenished by the stores despatched from London in September.¹¹⁷ Leven determined therefore to put all to the hazard of a general assault.

On Monday, October 14th, he summoned the town for the third and last time. His letter was as follows:—¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ *Weekly Account* for October 2-9, 1644.

¹¹² *The Country Messenger*, No. 2, for October 4-11, 1644.

¹¹³ *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 73, for October 10-17, 1644.

¹¹⁴ *The Parliament Scout*, No. 69, for October 10-17, 1644.

¹¹⁵ *The True Informer*, No. 50, for October 12-19, 1644.

¹¹⁶ *The London Post*, No. 10, for October 23rd, 1644.

¹¹⁷ *The True Informer*, No. 50, for October 12-19, 1644.

¹¹⁸ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

To the Maior, Aldermen, and Common-Counsell of the Towne of New-castle.

We, Alexander, Earl of Leven, Lord General of the Scottish Armies, That it may be more manifest, and appeare to all men, how exceedingly we desire you to prevent those evils, which cannot be longer avoided ; Notwithstanding you have been formerly invited by our severall Letters in all faire manner, to think on those wayes, which might conduce most to your well-fare. Doe by these presents require, and Summon you, to give up and surrender the Towne of New-Castle to us, to be kept for the use of King and Parliament ; That Citizens and Souldiers may be safe, and the Towne being preserved from ruine, may enjoy the fruits of settled Peace, whereof other Townes reduced to the same obedience, doe now liberally taste. You are likewise earnestly desired by no means to conceale¹¹⁹ this our last offer and warning from the Citizens, and Souldiers ; As you will be answerable to God and these whom it may concerne. If in these things you faile, you may then expect the extremities of warre, And wee professe our selves, and the Army under our conduct to be altogether free, and innocent of whatsoever bloodshed, and other Calamities may ensue through your obstinacy. Hereto we expect a present answer,

Given under my hand at Elsweeke before New-Castle, 14. October, 1644.

LEVEN.

On the following day, October 15th, Marley and twenty-nine of the Common Council delivered their answer. In it, as throughout the correspondence, we can but admire the resourceful manner in which the garrison sought to gain time, either in the hope of help from outside or, as Lithgow suggests, of being able to render ineffective the two principal mines which the Scots were preparing for the final assault.

Their letter of the 15th was as follows :—

My Lord,—Wee have received your Letter wherein you require and Summon us to give up and surrender the Towne, as you say, for the use of the King and Parliament : alleading diverse reasons mixt with threats to move us thereunto, all which we have well weighed and considered, and as formerly, so now return this Answer, that wee declare to you and all the world, that we keep this Town for the use of his Majesty, and that wee have full Power and Authority from his Majesty so to doe ; and if either you, or any other can shew us better or later warrant from his Majesty, we will submit. And although wee neither dare, nor will acknowledge that disloyalty to our lawfull King (which you call reducing to just obedience) is the way to preserve us from Ruine, and to enjoy the fruits of a settled Peace ; yet, that you and all the world may see we desire to shunne the effusion of Christian blood ; We desire you send us in writing upon what termes and conditions you would have us deliver up the Towne, and then we shall return you a further Answer (which we hope will be satisfactory)

¹¹⁹ This confirms the suggestion made above, note 84, that Marley was suspected by the Scots of misrepresenting their communications to him.

and if this will not give you content, proceed and prosper as your cause requires, and let the blood that is, or shall be spilt, lye upon their soules and consciences that deserve it, and if we be the fault, Let this subscribed under our hands testify against us.

Newcastle, Octob. 15. 1644.

IO. MARLEY.	LEONARD CABR.
NICHOLAS COLE.	ROBERT SHAFTO.
THOMAS LIDDLE.	JAMES COLE.
THOMAS RIDDELL.	MAR. MILBANKE.
RICHARD TEMPEST.	CUTH. CARRE.
ALEXANDER DAVISON.	EDWARD STOTE.
FRANCIS BONES [BOWES].	THOMAS BLENKINSOPE.
RALPH COLE.	SAMUEL COCKE.
[MATTHEW] MATFIN.	GABRIEL ROBSON.
THOMAS MADDISON.	JAMES HARROP.
ANTHONY RICHARDSON.	IO. BLACKBURNE.
HENRY ROWCASTLE.	JOHN ROBSON.
THOMAS CLARKE.	JAMES ARMSTRANGE.
CHARLES CLARKE.	ANTHONY YOUNGER.
WILLIAM COOKE.	WILLIAM ARCHBALD.

To this letter, carefully phrased to convey the possibility of the town's surrender to reasonable terms, Leven returned an immediate answer :—¹²⁰

Right Worshipfull,—Wee have received your Answer to our last, wherein as in all our former Letters, we conceive we have used no threats, but faire, and peaceable expressions, such as can be in differences of this nature ; But that our constant desire to shun the effusion of Christian blood, may more and more appeare to you and all the world. We doe againe¹²¹ desire, without further delay, that Hostages may be sent from either side, and judicious men appointed to treat, on such termes and conditions, as may put an happy end to the businesse, and to meet in such a place betwixt the Towne and the Camp, or within the Towne as shall bee thought fitting by you, hereto we expect your Answer, and remain your loving Friend.

LEVEN.

Elswick, Octob. 15.

Marley and his colleagues gave that evening to a consideration of Leven's letter, and on the following morning despatched a reply¹²² in which they raised an objection designed to delay the actual nomination of hostages for another twenty-four hours :—

¹²⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc. It is noticeable that while Leven's replies are prompt, those from the town are for the most part dated the day following the receipt of the letter to which they reply.

¹²¹ The previous occasion was on August 16th.

¹²² *A Particular Relation*, etc.

My Lord,—We received your second letter, directed as the former, and upon good consideration we could have wisht (that according to our desires in our former letter) you would have sent in writ the conditions and termes you desire the Town upon, that we might altogether have considered and condescended to what had bin most fitting and convenient for us to grant, but since you like not that course, but desire hostages may be sent, and some appointed to meet and treat at a place convenient : We must acknowledge and confesse that we doe not hold that power in us to grant, as Major, Aldermen, and Common counsell, but solely to be in Master Major as he is Governour of the military affaires, who we find very willing to condescend to any thing that may tend to the honour of His Majestie, the welfare of Newcastle, and the shunning effusion of blood ; if you please to write unto him for that purpose, and so wishing a happy and honest peace in all his Majesties Dominions, we rest.

Your loving friends.¹²³

Newcastle, 16. Octob. 1644.

Leven promptly replied, accepting the proposed method of negotiation, but conveying a mild protest against the delaying tactics which Marley and his colleagues were somewhat obviously employing. His answer was as follows :—¹²⁴

Right Worshipfull,—I conceived for your further exoneration it had been most fitting to write to your selves as Master Major, and the Aldermen and Common-counsell of the Town ; but now since I understand from themselves, that the power is solely in you, as Governour of the Military affaires, I will apply my selfe to your owne way, and shall here repeat my former desires, that Hostages may be sent, and a place appointed without further delay, to meet and treat on such things as may most tend to the honour of His Majesty, and the welfare of Newcastle, being always most willing to shun the occasions of effusion of blood. Hereto we expect your answer to morrow before ten a clocke ; and that you will likewise make known to us the names and qualities of your Hostages, and such as you think fit to nominate to treat, and the place appointed for meeting, according as our Commissioners shall be in readinesse against the same time. Thus I remaine your loving friend,

LEVEN.

Elsweek before Newcastle, Oct. 16.

Marley received this letter late at night. The drummer who brought it was therefore kept within the town, while Marley sought out a further pretext for delay. In the morning the following answer was sent :—¹²⁵

My Lord,—I received your letter so late, that I was forced to keepe your Drummer all night, and I am very glad to see that you and I aime both at one end, which is His Majesties honour, Newcastles welfare, and the avoyding

¹²³ The signatures are the same as to the letter of October 15th, with the omission of Matthew Matfen, Mark Milbank, Samuel Cock, James Harrop, John Robson, James Armstrong, and with the addition of Samuel Coof [? Cock], William Robson, William Armstrong [? James Armstrange], John Harrigate, Will. Lerop. ¹²⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

effusion of blood, and I wish those that treat may be of the same mind; but whereas you desire me to name Hostages and men to treat; I desire you to name yours, and I shall sute them as well as I can; for you know there is no Noblemen with me, but two of your owne Countrymen,¹²⁸ yet we have Knights and other men of good esteem; I shall also desire that there may be but three appointed to treat, and each to bring but one man, and know that what guard you will send with your hostages, that I may send the like, the place of exchange, and that the treaty may be at Newcastle, and when I know your mind in these things, we shall appoint the time of meeting, and if we hold close and sincerely to those ends by you proposed, I doubt not but God will blesse our endeavours and see us at peace, and I hope in his good time, these distracted Kingdomes; which that it may be, shall be the daily prayer of

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17. Oct. 1644.

JOHN MARLEY.

Leven replied on the same day,¹²⁷ accepting Marley's suggestion:—

Right Worshipfull,—I have received your letter, and that the businesse may the sooner be brought to a period, I have appointed Sir Adam Hepburne of Humby, the Treasurer of our Army, Sir David Hoom Colonell,¹²⁸ and John Rutherford,¹²⁹ with a Secretary, and each of them a servant to attend them, to treat with such persons as you shall be pleased to nominate within the Toun of Newcastle, and do not conceive any necessity of guards to be sent with the Hostages, except onely an officer, to receive them at the Green field, on the north side of the great sconse, betwixt it and our line;¹³⁰ and I shall herewith also desire that twelve of the clocke may be appointed the time of meeting; and that by this Drummer you may send hither a note of the names of such persons as you intend to appoint for hostages, to be exchanged at the time and place above mentioned; an happy conclusion of the treaty is the desire of

Your loving friend,

Elsweek before Newcastle, Oct. 17.¹³¹

LEVEN.

In the course of that afternoon Marley replied:—¹³²

My Lord,—I Have received your letter, and doe approve of those men you name to treat, being all strangers to me; and likewise that there is no necessity of a guard, onely one Officer to meet them at the place appointed; but you desire that the meeting may be at twelve of the clock, and that I will send the names of those I intend to appoint as hostages, to be exchanged at the time and place

¹²⁸ The earl of Crawford, who on July 19th had been 'forefaulted' at Edinburgh Cross (Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 140), and lord Reay who had reached Newcastle from Denmark in January, 1644, and remained to take part in the siege.

¹²⁷ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹²⁸ Sir David Home, laird of Wedderburn, was colonel of the Merse regiment.—Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604.

¹²⁹ Douglas in his *Diary* calls him 'Provost of Jeddert.'

¹³⁰ Probably a Scottish earthwork to protect the mining operations at Sandgate. The Newcastle hostages left the town by that gate.

¹³¹ The tract inaccurately prints 'Oct. 18.'

¹³² *A Particular Relation*, etc.

above mentioned, which is impossible ; for I received your letter half an hour after twelve, and certainly you meane not twelve at night ;¹³³ but I will keepe promise, and to that purpose, this night I will send you the names of the hostages I intend to send to the place appointed and the time to be to morrow at nine of the clocke in the forenoone ; as for those that are to treat, I intend to supply the place of one my selfe, and shall send you the names of the rest : and so wishing a happy end to these and all the troubles of His Majesties Dominions, I rest

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17. Octob. 1644.

JOHN MARLAY.

Presuming that Marley's answer was penned immediately upon the receipt of Leven's letter, further consideration would be required as to the individuals who should act with Marley as commissioners for the treaty, and also as to their attitude towards the terms that might be propounded on the part of the Scots. Later in the afternoon, therefore, Marley supplemented his first letter with the following :—¹³⁴

My Lord,—According to promise I send you the names of the hostages, and of those appointed to treat, and shall keep the time and place mentioned in my former letter, and have set downe their names hereunder. I will say no more, but desire that during the time of the treaty, these courses may be holden which are accustomed in warre ; and so I rest,

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17.

JOHN MARLAY.

Gentlemen appointed for the Treaty. Sir John Marlay, Knight, and Governour. Sir Nicholas Cole,¹³⁵ Knight Baronet. Sir George Baker,¹³⁶ Knight : and a Secretary. Hostages. Collonell Charles Brandling.¹³⁷ Lieutenant Coll. Thomas Davieson.¹³⁸ Capt. Cuthbert Carr,¹³⁹ late Sheriffe of Newca.

On the following morning, Friday, October 18th, at nine o'clock, the three hostages from Newcastle 'came out to the Sandgate,'¹⁴⁰ and the Scottish commissioners entered the Town.¹⁴¹ It is quite obvious

¹³³ The 'Maioir,' writes Douglas (*Diary*) 'did shift all he could to put off tyme.'

¹³⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹³⁵ Ex-mayor of Newcastle. He succeeded in escaping after the fall of Newcastle. A letter of his dated April 22nd, 1645, *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), shows that he was then in hiding in London. He was restored to his property and position at the Restoration.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i.

¹³⁶ Recorder of Newcastle. On the fall of the town he was imprisoned in the Compter, Suffolk (*Commons Journal*). He was restored to the freedom of Newcastle, on August 8th, 1660 (Brand, *History of Newcastle*, vol. ii. p. 490), and died at Hull in 1667.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i. p. 175.

¹³⁷ Charles Brandling of Gateshead, who sold the Nun's moor to the Corporation in 1650 (Brand, vol. i. p. 441). 'Charles Lumbay' is the name given in Douglas's *Diary* as that of the first hostage.

¹³⁸ Thomas Davison was mayor of Newcastle in 1669.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 492.

¹³⁹ In command at Newgate.

¹⁴⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁴¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 647.

that Marley and his fellow commissioners had no intention of seriously considering or debating any propositions which might be put to them, but used the opportunity to advance counter-propositions in order to still further prolong the truce. Writing on the following day, after Newcastle had fallen, Sir Adam Hepburn gave his account to the Scottish commissioners in London¹⁴² of the meeting of the treaty commissioners on the morning of the 18th :—

I should have gone into Newcastle on Thursday, but was put off till Friday by those obstinate Miscreants, especially the Mayor of that Town. Sir David Hume, John Rutherford, and I my self, went in on Friday at Nine in the Morning ; we had Commission from General Lesley and Committees [representing both kingdoms with Leven's army], if we found real Dealings, to yield to honourable Conditions. The Mayor, Sir Nicholas Cole, and Sir George Baker, were treating with us ; they gave us big Words ; do what we could, they would not so much as come to speak of Conditions of rendring up the Town ; and after three or four Hours Debate, all that we could draw from them, was, that they would think upon our Propositions, and return them within three or four Days ; and that, when all Conditions were agreed upon, they would give Hostages to surrender in case Relief came not in twenty Days ; nor would they so much as write to the General their own Propositions. [Hepburn proceeds¹⁴³]:—And because we who were commissioned from the Army, were limited to Friday at night, to conclude or give over Treaty, we desired them to write to the Generall, to know his minde concerning those delays, and we should either stay till his Excellencies Answer did come, or would carry it, and return if we had further Commission. They would not grant the favour to us, but told us, They would let us go, and they would write to the Generall to morrow [the 19th]. I went thus far with them, which was more then in Policie I should have done : yet so fain would I have effusion of blood shuned, that I told them in plain terms, That if they did write anything, it should be that night. They sent out a Letter that night, about eight of the clock, wherein they averred many untruths, and told, They would send out their Propositions on Munday next [the 21st]. It was late before many of us could be got together, to give Answer : Those who met, thought it fittest to return an Answer and to send such conditions as we would grant ; and to certifie them, That if they did not accept them, and send out Hostages for performance, the Generall would no more treat.

Douglas,¹⁴⁴ in a short paragraph, summarises these proceedings :—

Upon the 18. they entered to treat within the town, but nothing was done, he [Marley] shyfted all. After the dissolving of the treaty, the Generall set all to work against the town. Marley sent out to seek a delay till Monday, but that was not granted. Conditions were sent in, which are now in printe ; if they embraced, they to send out hostages the morn [of the 19th] before eight, or else we would goe on ; and in the meantime no cessation.

¹⁴² Printed in Bourne, p. 233.

¹⁴³ *A Letter from Newcastle* in King's Pamphlets, British Museum. ¹⁴⁴ *Diary*.

It was about mid-day, or somewhat later, that the Scottish commissioners left the town. The report of their mission either forced Leven to the conviction that Marley would not yield except to a successful assault, or at least that a demonstration against the town was likely to bring its authorities to their senses. In the course of the afternoon, as Douglas remarks, Leven 'set all to work against the town,' and among the preparations for assault, Callendar's Gateshead batteries were 'carried about,'¹⁴⁵ in other words, concentrated on the south-east and south-west corners of the town, at Sandgate and Closegate. Scottish regiments supporting the batteries were also moved into position on the rising ground near the burn at Barras bridge, since Marley found it necessary to withdraw his men from Shieldfield fort.¹⁴⁶ They, on their retiring, 'despightfully burned their two Courts du guard to the ground,'¹⁴⁷ with the design of rendering the fort useless to the besiegers.

The evident intention of the Scots to hold themselves in position to deliver an assault on the following morning had the effect which Leven had perhaps contemplated. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th he received the following letter from Marley and his fellow commissioners :—¹⁴⁸

My Lord,—We have had some discourse this day with your Commissioners ; but you have bound them to have our answers to your demands in so short a time, as we could not give them that satisfaction as we would gladly ; considering they demanded that which was not according to your Propositions ; namely, his Majesties honour, and the welfare of Newcastle. But we are so unwilling to see Christian blood shed, as that if you please to rest satisfied until Munday, we shall then, God willing, send you Propositions as we hope will give content. If this will not serve, we trust God will deliver us out of your hands, and so we rest,

Your loving friends,

JOHN MARLAY.

NICOLAS COLE.

G. BAKER.

Newcastle, 18. Oct. 1644.

This letter, the tract continues, was considered with 'mature deliberation.' There was some difficulty in summoning the chief officers from their several positions,¹⁴⁹ but the same night Leven despatched the following answer,¹⁵⁰ with the articles of surrender attached :—

¹⁴⁵ Lithgow.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁴⁹ See Hepburn's letter above.

¹⁵⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

Right Worshipfull,—I Received your Letter this night, at eight a clocke, wherein you show that you had some discourse with the Commissioners sent from this place, and alleages, they demanded that which was not according to my Propositions, namely, his Majesties honour, and the welfare of Newcastle, and promise to send Propositions on munday next; as your assertion of the Commissioners demands is more then you can make good, that they were against either His Majesties honour or the welfare of the Towne of Newcastle: Sir, I admire how you are not ashamed still to continue in your delatory way, and draw on the guilt of innocent blood upon your head. You demanded a treaty, and Commissioners to be sent into Newcastle, which was accordingly granted, who expected that you should have proposed conditions and propositions to them, whereby a happy and peaceable conclusion might have been made: and albeit you would neither propose to them nor suffer anything to be put in writing, yet they were content so farre to open themselves to you, even in particulars that could have been demanded either for the Officers or Souldiers, Townesmen or Strangers, that no better conditions had been given to any Towne reduced to obedience of King and Parliament within England: This your dealing makes it too apparent, that what ever your pretences be, your intentions have not been reall; yet such is my earnest desire and reall intention to shun the effusion of Christian blood, that I have caused to draw up such honorable conditions as you cannot in reason refuse, which I have herewith sent you; whereunto if you agree, I desire that you send to my Lord Sinclair his quarters at Sandgate tomorrow, being the 19. of October at or before six¹⁵¹ a clocke in the morning four or five sufficient hostages for delivery of the Town upon these conditions by night, betwixt and munday 21. at two a clock in the afternoone; and if you faill in sending out these hostages at the houre appointed, I shall take it as a refusall, and give up all treaty; and in the meane time no cessation [of hostilities] untill the hostages come out upon the conditions foresaid, whom we expect before, or at eight a clocke, or not at all, so I rest

Your friend,
LEVEN.

Elsweek before Newcastle, Oct. 18.

With this letter went the conditions on which Leven was prepared to accept the surrender of the town, castle, and forts of Newcastle.¹⁵² They were as follows:—

1.—Officers and soldiers of the Garrison desiring to leave the town to have liberty to do so, with their arms, horses, and baggage, and to proceed to any place within forty¹⁵³ miles of Newcastle not already beleagured, and to be accommodated with 'draughts in their march.'

2.—The same conditions offered to 'all strangers, sojourners,' and residents who may desire to leave the town.

3.—The sick and wounded in the town to have liberty to remain there until their recovery, when they will be allowed to leave the town on the above conditions.

¹⁵¹ A misprint; eight a.m. was the hour.

¹⁵² These articles are printed in *A Particular Relation*, and also in *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644, under date October 18th.

¹⁵³ In the *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644, under October 18th, sixty miles is stated.

4.—The citizens of the town to be protected from violence in their 'persons, families, houses, and goods,' and to have the same liberty of trade and commerce enjoyed by other towns already reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament.

5.—The liberties and jurisdiction of the town to be 'preserved inviolate conformably to their ancient charters.'

6.—Citizens who desire to go to their country houses to have protection and safeguard on their journey.

7.—No free billet to be granted upon any inhabitant without his consent.

8.—The army not to enter the town to occupy it, but only a competent garrison to be placed in it.

The terms offered by Leven, permitting the garrison, as they did, to march out with the honours of war, were both fair and reasonable. He had, however, stipulated that hostilities should be continued until eight o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 19th, when he looked for an acceptance of his proposals. At six o'clock in the morning of that day, his batteries, which had been placed in position the previous afternoon, opened fire on the town at four points; Sandgate, Pilgrim street gate, Westgate, and 'benorth Whyte Frier Tower.'¹⁵⁴ The cannonade lasted until eight o'clock, when the answer of the besieged was expected. Shortly after, it reached Leven, and was as follows :—¹⁵⁵

My Lord,—Wee received your Letter, wherein you say, we cannot make good that your Commissioners demands are against either his Majesties honor, or the welfare of Newcastle; we will give you but one reason amongst many; Whether it be for his Majesties honour that the Toun of Newcastle should be rendred to any of another Nation; nay more, if it be for the honour of the English Parliament: and that it is not for our weltare is so clear, needs no answer. And whereas you say, you wonder we are not ashamed to be so delatory, having demanded a Treaty; We say, we wonder you can be so forgetfull, knowing we have your Letter to show that the Treaty was your own Motion :¹⁵⁶ but for Answer to the rest, and to your Articles; We say, the delivery of Newcastle is not of so small moment, but if you intend as you say, time may well be given till munday for giving answer, for in case we should give consent to let you have this Towne, there is divers more Articles then you have set downe, both fit for us to demand and you to grant. Therefore if you would

¹⁵⁴ Douglas's *Diary*. The position of these batteries is discussed on p. 213.

¹⁵⁵ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁵⁶ So far as the present correspondence is concerned Marley and his colleagues were clearly the first to ask for terms in their letter of October 15th. A statement signed by Sinclair and Armyne, following Marley and Carr's letter of September 7th, which appears in *The Weekly Account* for September 18-24, 1644, in which the Scots are said to 'desire a Treaty,' bears out Marley and his colleagues' contention, however, that the suggestion of a treaty came first from the besiegers.

shun effusion of bloodshed, as you professe, forbear your acts of Hostility, untill we give you Answer upon Munday, wherein we will not faile; otherwise we doubt not but God will require an account at your hands, and besides, will keepe and preserve us from your fury. So expecting your Answer. We rest

Your friends,

JO. MARLAY.

NICH. COLE.

G. BAKER.

Newcastle, 19. Octo. 1644.

No answer was, however, sent to this. 'In stead of sending out Hostages,' writes Hepburn, continuing his narrative of the siege and its preliminaries,¹⁵⁷ 'or desiring a new Treaty, this morning [the 19th] they sent a bitter Invective-Letter, standing to their former Resolutions.' He goes on to explain in part the reasons which made for an immediate assault:—'We had been so long expecting that these men within the Town should have pitied themselves, all our Batteries were ready; so many of our Mynes as they had not found out or drowned, were in danger of their hourly finding out;¹⁵⁸ the Winter was drawing on, and our Souldiers were earnest to have some end of the businesse; which made the Generall (after so many slightings) to begin this morning to make Breaches.'

Receiving no answer, Marley despatched a letter to Sinclair,¹⁵⁹ as Leven had directed, the tone of which is in marked contrast to the rest of the correspondence. It was as follows:—

My Lord,—I have received divers Letters and Warrants subscribed by the name of Leven, but of late can hear of none that have seen such a man; besides, there is strong report that he is dead: therefore to remove al scruples, I desire our Drummer may deliver one Letter to himself; thus wishing you could think on some other coute [*sic*] to compose the differences of these sad distracted Kingdomes, then by battering Newcastle, and annoying us who never wronged any of you; for if you seriously consider, you will find that these courses will aggravate, and not moderate distempers: but I will referre all to your owne consciences, and rest

Your friend,

Newcastle, 19. October.¹⁶⁰

JOHN MARLAY.

This was delivered to Leven.

¹⁵⁷ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

¹⁵⁸ That this hope was partly the cause of Marley's desire to prolong the treaty negotiations is suggested by Lithgow, who states that Marley hoped to delay matters till the besieged 'had discovered our two chiefe Mines, which indeed were very near the point.' He describes later 'the two most available Mynes' as being at White Friar tower and Sandgate. ¹⁵⁹ *A Particular Relation, etc.*

¹⁶⁰ The tract says this letter was sent 'while the Army was in action.' Rushworth, vol. v. p. 650, however, says that the Scots interpreted it as a 'Jeer and Affront,' and opened fire from their batteries in consequence.

Referring to this episode, one of the besiegers, 'R. F.,'¹⁶¹ writes from Benwell after the assault, on the evening of the 19th, 'this morning the Major sent forth a Drummer with a letter, enjoying him to deliver it with his own hand to General Leven, if there were such a man in the world; for he did believe he was dead. The General returned him answer by the Messenger, hee hoped to doe him some service yet before he died.'

It will render the narrative of the assault on October 19th more intelligible, if some description is first attempted of the general scheme of the Scottish attack, the disposition of their regiments, batteries and mines, together with some estimate of the relative strength of besiegers and besieged.

Lithgow's description of Newcastle¹⁶² is sufficiently familiar to be passed by with no more than a reference. 'It standeth mainly,' he writes, 'upon the dwelling face of a continuing hill falling down steep to the bordering river, where one narrow street runneth along from Sandgate to Clossigate.' For the town's artificial defences, Lithgow expressed much admiration. 'The walls about the Town are both high and strong, built both without and within with *saxo quadrato*; and maynely fenced with dungeon Towres, interlarded also with Turrets, and alongst with them a large and defensive battlement, having eight sundry ports.' In a later passage he adds, 'The walles here of Newcastle, are a great deale stronger than those of Yorke, and not unlyke to the walles of Avineon [Avignon], but especially of Jerusalem.' But strong as the artificial defences of Newcastle were, its natural position was by no means of equal strength. Except to the north, it offered on all sides excellent positions for an enemy well supplied with artillery. On the east, the valley through which Pandon burn ran into the Tyne rose to a considerable elevation on the ground dividing Pandon burn from Ouseburn, at a distance of about half a mile from Sandgate and Carpenter tower. From the Corner tower the wall climbed along the western side of Pandon dene, till it reached its north-eastern corner at Carliol tower. This portion of the wall was certainly inaccessible to direct assault, and it appears to have suffered but little from the Scottish attack. Its position was still

¹⁶¹ *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle* (King's Pamphlets).

¹⁶² *In An Exact and Experimental Relation.*

further strengthened by the Shieldfield fort, which the besieged evacuated on the 18th. The fort stood about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of Carloliol tower.¹⁶³ Lithgow gives a description of it:¹⁶⁴ 'Vpon the Townes Northeast side, and a little without, there was a fortresse erected, called Sheffield Fort, standing on a moderate height, and Champion-like commanding the fields ; the modell thus : It standeth squarely quadrangled, with a foure cornered Bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrat, they are composed of earth and wates ; having the Northeast side of one bulwarke pallosaded, the rest not, save along the top of the worke about, they had laid Masts of Ships to beat down the assailants with their tumbling force. At the entrie whereof there is a wooden drawbridge, and within it two Courts *du guard*,¹⁶⁵ the graffe without is dry and of small importance, save onely that repugnancie of the Defendants within, which commonly consisted of three hundred men.' To the west of the fort, but still upon the east bank of the Pandon dene, stood a windmill.¹⁶⁶ Along the northern extent of the town's wall there was no convenient eminence as upon the east on which artillery might be placed. Immediately fronting Pilgrim street gate, however, at a distance of about one-third of a mile, the ground rose to its highest elevation towards Pandon burn and Barras bridge, where Sydenham terrace and Victoria terrace now stand. Yet another slight elevation ran up from Newgate and St. Andrew's church to the Leazes. Unlike the eastern stretch of the wall, the western was exposed and open to direct attack along its upper length, while the high ground at Elswick and Benwell exposed it equally in its lower reaches. But from the Nevil tower, at the point where the wall ran down the steep bank to Closegate, direct assault was difficult, though mining operations were comparatively easier here than elsewhere, the bank aiding the besiegers.

Newcastle in 1644 may be then described as holding a position which offered but little encouragement to an army not effectively supplied with artillery and mining materials. On the east side it was

¹⁶³ See Brand, vol. i. frontis. ; also the picture of the eastern wall of the town from Shieldfield. See also Oliver's map of 1844.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* Brand, vol. i. p. 442 n., quoting the Warburton MSS., gives the dimensions of Shieldfield fort as 67 yards in length, 67 yards in breadth, and the bastion 20 yards each way.

¹⁶⁵ Burnt by the besieged when they evacuated the fort on October 18th. See above, p. 207. ¹⁶⁶ See references in note 163.

virtually impregnable against direct assault. It was equally so on the west, from Nevil tower or Westgate to Closegate. While Leven relied largely on his artillery and mining train, it was along those two lines of the wall that he relied on them almost exclusively. The mines that were fired were all in those two quarters.

The Scottish batteries were four in number.¹⁶⁷ They succeeded, however, in making no more than three breaches in the wall; at Closegate, Newgate, which Lithgow calls 'Black Bessies Tower,' and near Carliol tower.¹⁶⁸ Hence we may assign the following positions to the attacking batteries.

The south-western battery would probably be placed on the rising ground above the present infirmary and cattle market. From such a position it would cover the walls from Westgate to Closegate, and the mining operations at Westgate and White Friar tower.

The Newgate or north-west batteries had been in position throughout the siege. Lieut.-general Baillie had 'brashed' the wall near St. Andrew's on September 7th, and on August 24th he had taken Douglas to see the works then in progress at Newgate. His battery would then appear to have been placed on the high ground on the Leazes, beyond Leazes terrace and St. James's terrace.

The Pilgrim street or north-east battery would naturally be placed beyond the burn at Barras bridge. There it would command Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower at the distance of about one-third of a mile, and cover Shieldfield fort to the south-east of it at a distance of about half a mile. The placing of this battery in position would seem to have caused the evacuation of Shieldfield fort on the 18th.

The Sandgate or south-east batteries were two in number,¹⁶⁹ the second to protect the mining operations which appear to have been carried on more extensively here than at any point of the town's defences. On being placed in position, immediately after Leven's arrival, they had done considerable damage to the Sallyport or

¹⁶⁷ Lithgow.

¹⁶⁸ This statement is confirmed by Lithgow, Douglas in his *Diary*, Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle*, and *Perfect Passages*, No. 2 for October 23-29, 1644. *The Taking of Newcastle* states that the Scots entered by four breaches, but does not distinguish between those made by the artillery and mines. *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle by the Scots by Storm* (King's Pamphlets) says 'we made 3 Breaches in the walls with Cannon.' ¹⁶⁹ Lithgow.

Carpenter tower, and had received the fire of the Shieldfield fort.¹⁷⁰ A position which appears to satisfy these conditions is found on the high ground separating Pandon dene and the Ouseburn. The name 'Battle Field' still found near Pottery bank,¹⁷¹ on the City road, may mark the position of Callendar's battery at this quarter. Sandgate would lie about half a mile to the west, and the Sallyport and Shieldfield fort at a somewhat less distance.¹⁷² Finally, Callendar's batteries at Gateshead commanded the castle and the southern frontage of town.

Leven's strength in artillery is not definitely stated. Upon entering England in January, 1644, his forces are described as being 'weill armit with feild pieces, swaden fedderis, and all ingynis of warr necessar.'^{172a} His great guns numbered one hundred and twenty,¹⁷³ and the heavier of them reached Blyth by sea on February 6th.¹⁷⁴ As to their calibre, they appear to have carried a new kind of twelve pounder, invented by sir Alexander Hamilton, 'never before discovered, which were made purposely for this designe, above three quarters of a yard long, or some a yard, that will carry a twelve pound bullet, to doe great execution at a distance, and yet so framed that a horse may carry one of them.'¹⁷⁵ The warrant issued on September 14th,¹⁷⁶ for two hundred rounds of 24 lb., 12 lb., and 9 lb. shot, implies that twenty-four pounders were the largest cannon which the Scots had before Newcastle. The extreme effective range of the heaviest

¹⁷⁰ Lithgow. Callendar's despatch of August 21st, in Thurloe, vol. i.

¹⁷¹ In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle, vol. i. p. 140, is an account of certain earthworks at Pottery bank, which are there ascribed to the Roman period. It is possible that these may be rather connected with the Scottish siege works at that quarter.

¹⁷² It may be noted that the disposition of the Scottish batteries enabled them to cover practically the whole extent of the wall's. The south-west battery would cover the wall from Closegate to Westgate, an extent of 780 yards 10 feet, according to Brand's measurements (vol. i.). The Newgate battery would cover from Herber tower to Newgate, 414 yards 1 foot. The Pilgrim street battery would command the northern line of the wall, 552 yards 3 feet. Callendar's battery would cover from the Sallyport to Sandgate, 232 yards 1 foot. The stretch of the wall from Carlol tower to Corner tower, 495 yards, would probably escape much battering.

^{172a} *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 298.

¹⁷³ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle*.

¹⁷⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*.

¹⁷⁵ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle*.

¹⁷⁶ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

Scottish artillery can hardly therefore have exceeded one thousand yards; while the point-blank range of their heaviest guns—the 24 pounders—would not exceed four hundred yards.¹⁷⁷ The positions assigned above to the Scottish batteries would fall, therefore—at about seven or eight hundred yards average—conveniently within the effective range of the cannon they employed.

The position of the mines laid by the Scots about the walls can also be determined with some certainty. Four mines had been prepared and were fired on the 19th,¹⁷⁸ two of them at about three o'clock in the afternoon, they being in danger from the countermines of the garrison,¹⁷⁹ the other two some two hours later when the army was in readiness to storm the town.¹⁸⁰ In the course of the siege, the besieged had succeeded in destroying seven or eight others.¹⁸¹ The four mines which breached the wall in preparation for the assault were at White Friar tower,¹⁸² Westgate,¹⁸³ and two at Sandgate.¹⁸⁴ Of these, Lithgow states that two mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate, being 'the most available,' were sprung at three o'clock. Of the two which were fired about five o'clock, therefore, one was placed at Westgate, and the other, which Lithgow states to have miscarried, was the second of the two mines which Hepburn places at Sandgate.¹⁸⁵

It is not possible with any certainty to fix the precise point on the walls at which the mines did their work. The breach made at the White Friar tower was, however, observable in the wall just below it before

¹⁷⁷ See Greener, *Science of Gunnery*, p. 57; Nye, *Art of Gunnery* (1648), chap. 34; Lloyd and Hadcock, *Artillery, Its Progress and Present Position*; Article *Artillery*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A 24 pound shot was found in the wall between Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower in 1802.—Richardson's Reprint of *A Letter from Newcastle*. The discovery bears out the statement in *Perfect Passages*, that the battery opposed to Pilgrim street gate had 'the great peeces of Cannon and Petars.' This statement, with the discovery of the 24 pound shot, supports the suggestion above, that 24 pounders were the heaviest guns the Scots possessed before Newcastle. The *Scottish Dove*, No. 45, for August 16-23, 1644, however, says Callendar's Gateshead batteries threw 'thirty pound Bullet.'

¹⁷⁸ This number is confirmed by Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle, A Particular Relation*, etc., *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, Lithgow, and *A True Relation*, etc. ¹⁷⁹ *A Particular Relation*, etc. ¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *A Letter*, etc.; *Perfect Passages*, No. 2; Lithgow. ¹⁸³ *Ibid.* ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Lithgow definitely locates only the mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate, but mentions two others. *Perfect Passages* states that mines were successfully sprung at White Friar tower and Westgate. One mine Lithgow admits to have been successfully sprung at Sandgate. The fourth, or ineffectual mine, must therefore have been at Sandgate. Hepburn in *A Letter* states that the Scots 'entred at two Mynes' at that quarter.

the wall was removed in 1840-42,¹⁸⁶ and Richardson supposes¹⁸⁷ that the Westgate mine exploded between the Durham and Herber towers.¹⁸⁸

The breaching accomplished by the artillery batteries was hardly so effective.¹⁸⁹ They opened the wall slightly to the north of Closegate,¹⁹⁰ between Andrew tower and Newgate, between Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower, and possibly at Sandgate.¹⁹¹ Since the mines also effected breaches to the south of White Friar tower, between the Herber and Durham towers, and at Sandgate, the wall was pierced at six different points, opening the way for the troops to deliver the final assault late in the afternoon.

The four brigades of infantry had been under arms since the early morning, 'drawne up, standing to their Armes, while the breaches were in readinesse, and the Mines sprung.'¹⁹² Their officers, according to Lithgow, had already settled their positions in the assault with dice, the most coveted positions going to those who threw the fewest 'blacks.'¹⁹³

The first brigade¹⁹⁴ was drawn up in three divisions to the rear of the Scottish batteries, extending from Westgate to the river at Closegate. Its first division included the Loudoun-Glasgow and Tweeddale regiments, under their colonels, lords Loudoun and Buccleuch. It entered the town at Closegate through the breach made by the artillery. Its second division was formed from the Clydesdale¹⁹⁵ and

¹⁸⁶ Richardson's reprint of *A Letter from Newcastle*. ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ A mine was also discovered, some years since, between the Sallyport and Sandgate, during the construction of the City road.

¹⁸⁹ Lithgow, and *The Taking of Newcastle*, both support this statement.

¹⁹⁰ Lithgow says 'low by Closesgate.'

¹⁹¹ *A True Relation* states that the artillery only effected three breaches. The Sandgate battery probably did no more than support the mining operations at that point. ¹⁹² *A Particular Relation*, etc. ¹⁹³ *Op. cit.*

¹⁹⁴ The contemporary accounts of the assault are, for the most part, hurried despatches sent off from the field within a few hours of the fall of the town. They give in some cases, however, the names of the commanders, and the names of those who fell at the different positions. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, gives a full list of the several regiments under Leven's command in January, 1644. From these data the account in the text has been constructed. The authorities for it are *The Taking of Newcastle*, *A Letter from Newcastle*, Lithgow, Callendar's despatches in Thurloe, vol. i., *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, for October 23-29, 1644, Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, and the *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

¹⁹⁵ Lithgow, however, gives the Clydesdale a position at Westgate. They were stationed about Closegate on August 20th, as we learn from Douglas's *Diary*.

Edinburgh regiments, under their colonels, sir Alexander Hamilton, general of the artillery, and James Rae. It was placed in position to force the breach made by the mine below the White Friar tower. The third division of this brigade consisted of the Galloway and Perthshire¹⁹⁶ regiments, under their colonels, William Stewart and lord Gask, and had the fortifications at Westgate opposed to it. The second brigade was concentrated behind the works which the Scots had thrown up against the more formidable Newgate. It consisted of the Angus regiment, under lieutenant-general Baillie,¹⁹⁷ who apparently commanded the brigade, the Strathearn regiment, under lord Cowper, the Fife regiment, under lord Dunfermline, the East-Lothian regiment, under sir Patrick Hepburn, laird of Wauchton, and a fifth regiment which cannot be identified.¹⁹⁸ This brigade was the most powerful of the four,¹⁹⁹ a fact which speaks to the strength of the fortification to which it was opposed.

The third brigade was also concentrated, awaiting the result of the artillery practice of the battery engaging Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower. It was formed of the Kyle and Carrick regiment, under lord Cassillis, the Nithsdale and Annandale regiment, under Douglas of Kilhead, the Mearns and Aberdeen regiment, under the earl marshal, the Linlithgow and Tweeddale regiment, under the master of Yester,²⁰⁰ and the Merse regiment, under sir David Home, laird of Wedderburn, one of the commissioners for the treaty on the 18th.

¹⁹⁶ *Perfect Passages* places the Galloway regiment only at Westgate, and does not mention Gask and the Perthshire.

¹⁹⁷ Lord Dudhope, who is given as colonel of this regiment in Rushworth, had died shortly after Marston Moor.—Douglas's *Diary*. That Baillie had taken the command is stated in *A Letter from Newcastle*.

¹⁹⁸ *A Letter from Newcastle* places five regiments here, but gives the names of four only of the commanders. *Perfect Passages* also speaks of five regiments, but gives no clue to the fifth. It was probably one of those mentioned below as forming the reserve which entered at Westgate.

¹⁹⁹ See p. 218 for the strength of the several brigades.

²⁰⁰ *Perfect Passages* does not mention Yester or his regiment. Lithgow states that a major Moffat and a lieutenant-colonel Henderson were killed at Weaver [Carliol] tower. The latter does not appear in Rushworth's list. The former is there (vol. v. p. 604) given as attached not to the Linlithgow and Tweeddale, but to the Tweeddale regiment, which was engaged at Closegate. *The Taking of Newcastle: or News from the Armie*, calls Henderson a 'Reformer.' He was, no doubt, the lieutenant-colonel William Henderson mentioned on June 22nd, 1644, as pardoned for having joined Montrose in May.—*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

The fourth brigade, under Callendar's command at Sandgate, consisted of lord Sinclair's 'Levyd' regiment and the Stirlingshire regiment, under lord Livingstone, both of which had been transferred to Callendar from Leven's original command.²⁰¹ Attached to the Stirlingshire, also, were sir John Aytoun,²⁰² sir John Wauchope of Niddrie,²⁰³ and the master of Cranston,²⁰⁴ who do not appear to have furnished independent regiments.

Some information is available from which it is possible to form an approximately accurate estimate of the strength of this besieging force. The company strength of the four brigades is given in one news-letter,²⁰⁵ as 40 to brigade I., 50 to brigade II., 30 'and odd' to brigade III. and 15 to brigade IV.²⁰⁶ Adding five companies to brigade III., we obtain 140 as the total number of companies, exclusive of the reserve, which took part in the assault. The total strength of Leven's foot in January, 1644, when he entered England, was 18,000,²⁰⁷ comprising 200 companies.²⁰⁸ The average strength of a company was therefore ninety men. Taking that as the strength of a company in October, Leven's attacking force would be 12,600 men, exclusive of the reserve, distributed as follows:—1,800 men at Closegate, 900 at White Friar tower, 900 at Westgate, 4,500 at Newgate, 3,150 at Pilgrim street gate, and 1,350 at Sandgate.

²⁰¹ They are given by Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, as part of Leven's command in January, 1644. See note 46 above.

²⁰² Appointed a member of the committee of war for Berwick sheriffdom on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁰³ Appointed July 19th, 1644, to accompany Callendar.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁰⁴ Appointed on the committee of war for Edinburgh sheriffdom on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, clearly indicates that Aytoun and Niddrie were attached to the Stirlingshire. The wording is ambiguous in regard to Cranston.

²⁰⁵ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2.

²⁰⁶ The three divisions of brigade I. are given as, 20 companies at Closegate, 10 companies at White Friar tower, and 10 companies at Westgate. The 15 companies assigned to brigade IV. represent the Stirlingshire (10 companies), and Sinclair's regiment (5 companies) only. Save possibly Cranston's, any regiments furnished to that position from Callendar's independent command appear to have been held in reserve.

²⁰⁷ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 603, gives him 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 500 or 600 dragoons. *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle* gives the same numbers for horse and foot, but only 400 or 500 dragoons.

²⁰⁸ Rushworth, *ibid.*, does not mention the company strength of Sinclair's regiment, but *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, states it at five, bringing up Rushworth's 195 to a total of 200 companies under Leven's command in January.

Whitelock,²⁰⁹ however, puts Leven's effective forces in February, 1644, at no more than 15,000, five-sixths of Rushworth's total, and it would be reasonable, allowing for inevitable shrinkage from death, desertion, and other causes, to put them at that number before Newcastle in October. On that calculation the strength of the several brigades would be 1,500 at Closegate, 750 at White Friar tower, 750 at Westgate, 3,750 at Newgate, 2,625 at Pilgrim street gate, 1,125 at Sandgate; a total, exclusive of the reserve, of 10,500.²¹⁰ Accepting Whitelock's calculation, Leven held 4,500 men in reserve. The regiments of which the reserve was formed are nowhere stated, but included probably the Midlothian regiment, colonel lord Maitland; the Teviotdale regiment, colonel the earl of Lothian; and the Ministers' regiment.²¹¹ They were drawn up on the west of the town, and upon the carrying of the town by assault they entered at Westgate.²¹²

To these regiments under Leven's command must be added Callendar's contingent. It had numbered probably no more than 6,000 foot when it entered England in July.²¹³ Since then it had suffered considerable shrinkage from the garrisons which had been placed at Hartlepool, Stockton, and possibly elsewhere. Three regiments, probably from those under his command, had been withdrawn to Scotland on September 3rd. We may, therefore, estimate Callendar's command at about 3,000 men. There is no record of any of his regiments being concerned in the direct assault upon Sandgate, and presumably they were reserved for the support of the Gateshead batteries, for the guard of the bridge of boats under lord Kenmuir, or for a general reserve force on the east at Sandgate.

The united forces of Callendar and Leven, before which Newcastle fell, may be therefore estimated at about 18,000 men, exclusive of the batteries. To those numbers the besieged could oppose a mere

²⁰⁹ Vol. ii. p. 76.

²¹⁰ Echard, *History of England* (1718), vol. ii. p. 481, gives the Scots 10,000 in the assault on October 19th.

²¹¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604. The Midlothian was certainly engaged, since lieutenant-colonel Hay of that regiment is mentioned among those killed in the assault.—Douglas's *Diary*. ²¹² *Perfect Passages*, No. 2.

²¹³ Lithgow gives Callendar 6,000 foot and 800 horse. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 646, gives him 10,000. On that matter Lithgow is probably the more reliable.

handful. Lithgow,²¹⁴ who would hardly underestimate their strength, states that 'they were but eight hundred of the Traind Band, and some nine hundred besides, of Voluntiers, prest-men, Coliers, Keill-men, and poore trades-men; with some few experimented Officers to overtop them.' There is but little record of the disposition of these troops in the defence of the walls. Bourne²¹⁵ states, however, on the authority of the Milbank MSS., that Cuthbert Carr was in command at Newgate, and that captain George Errington, lieutenant William Robson, ensign Thomas Swan, and 180 men held Pilgrim street gate, where they lost not a single man, killed or wounded, though they made frequent sallies from it, and held it after the other gates had fallen to the Scots, refusing to surrender it or to believe that the town was taken, and shooting at their friends who called to them to surrender. Carr, at Newgate, also fought until surrounded by overwhelming numbers.²¹⁶

The chief fortification was naturally the castle, and to it Marley and his chief supporters retired when all was lost. Lithgow describes it as having been 'seriously enlarged, with diverse curious fortifications.' Bourne,²¹⁷ on the authority of the Milbank MSS., states that Marley made use of 'the round Tower under the Moot-Hall, towards the Sand-Hill, called the Half-Moon, which was the old Castle of Monkchester,' and that he placed heavy guns on it facing the batteries which the Scots had in position at Gateshead. The castle itself was similarly equipped, and had been repaired by Marley. In August, 1643, he had negotiated with the shipwrights for planking wherewith to strengthen it.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ *Op. cit.* In January, 1644, the 'High castle' is stated as being the only place fortified in Newcastle, and that Marley had a garrison of only 500, 'all of them townsmen.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 167.

²¹⁵ *Hist. of Newcastle*, p. 233; see also *History of the Family of Carr*, vol. ii.

²¹⁶ Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 31. Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle* indicates the amount of resistance offered at the several quarters. At Closegate and at the White Friar tower he states merely that the Scots 'entred'; at Westgate 'after hot dispute'; at Newgate 'great dispute was made'; at Pilgrim street gate 'not without dispute'; at Sandgate he speaks of no special resistance.

²¹⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 233. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Nenc.* vol. viii. p. 134, regarding stone balls fired from the castle.

²¹⁸ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. iv. p. 82. The minute of August 21st, 1643, is in Brand, vol. i. p. 159. An inquisition taken in 1620 showed that £809 15s. was necessary for the repair of the castle. One-third of the keep was in ruins, and a huge dunghill rested against it, which Marley removed in the course of his renovations.—Brand, vol. i. p. 159.

Such, so far as may be learnt, was the position of the besiegers and besieged upon the morning of October 19th. Of the assault there are several short contemporary accounts, chiefly from the side of the Scots. Such as can be collected are given here. Hepburn's account,²¹⁹ dated October 19th, and signed, 'A. Humbie,' is as follows:—

Winter was drawing on, and our Souldiers were earnest to have some end of the businesse; which made the Generall (after so many slightings) to begin this morning to make Breaches: (whereof we had three, and four Mynes) the Breaches were made reasonable low before three of the clock at night: All our Mynes played very well: They within the Town continued still obstinate: My Lord Chancellors Regiment,²²⁰ and Backleughs,²²¹ entred at a Breach at Close-Gate: The Generall of the Artillery his Regiment,²²² and that of Edinburgh,²²³ entered at a Myne at the White [Friar] Tower: Colonel Stewart²²⁴ and Gasks Regiment²²⁵ entered at a Myne, after hot dispute beside West-Gate: this was one Quarter: Lieutenant-Generall Bayllie had another Quarter at New-Gate, with five Regiments, viz., his own (which was formerly Dudhops)²²⁶ Waughtons,²²⁷ Cowpers,²²⁸ Dumferlings,²²⁹ and who entred by a Breach: Great dispute was made here, and some of our officers killed, whereof one Major Robert Hepburn²³⁰ cannot be enough lamented. Cassilis,²³¹ Kelhead,²³² Wedderburne,²³³ Marshall,²³⁴ and the Master of Yesters,²³⁵ had a third Quarter,²³⁶ who entered by a Breach not without dispute. Lord Sinclair,²³⁷ Aytoun, Niddery, the Master of Cranstoun,²³⁸ and the Lord Levingston,²³⁹ had the fourth Quarter,²⁴⁰ who entered at two Mynes. They would have had more hot work, but the Resolution of the officers and Souldiers made a quick dispatch. They within the Town made all the opposition they could, on the Walls, and in the Streets. Some houses are burnt: The Maior and some others are fled to the Castle, and did presently beat a Parley, which the Generall would not hear, at that time, in respect they had been the instruments of so much bloodshed.

²¹⁹ In *A Letter from Newcastle* ²²⁰ The Loudon-Glasgow, under lord Loudoun.

²²¹ The Tweeddale, under lord Buccleuch.

²²² The Clydesdale, under sir Alex. Hamilton. ²²³ Under colonel James Rae.

²²⁴ Commanding the Galloway regiment.

²²⁵ Lord Gask, commanding the Perthshire. ²²⁶ The Angus regiment.

²²⁷ The East-Lothian, under sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton.

²²⁸ The Strathearn, under lord Cowper.

²²⁹ The Fife, under lord Dunfermline. ²³⁰ Of the East-Lothian regiment.

²³¹ The Kyle and Carrick, under lord Cassillis.

²³² The Nithsdale and Annandale, under Douglas of Kilhead.

²³³ The Merse, under sir David Home.

²³⁴ The Mearns and Aberdeen, under the earl marshal.

²³⁵ The Linlithgow and Tweeddale. ²³⁶ At Pilgrim street gate.

²³⁷ Lord Sinclair's is described as a 'Levyed' regiment, by Rushworth.

²³⁸ Sir John Aytoun, sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, and the master of Cranston, all of whom, save possibly the last, appear to have been attached to the Stirlingshire. See above, p. 218.

²³⁹ The Stirlingshire, under lord Livingstone.

²⁴⁰ At Sandgate.

A somewhat more detailed account was drawn up and delivered to the Scottish commissioners in London on October 29th.²⁴¹

19. October, early in the morning, the Cannon began to play upon the wals from their severall Batteries, while eight a clocke, at which time the Hostages should have come out, or otherwise they were to expect the extremities of warre; but since none came, the service continued from all the Batteries, and the Regiments were drawne up, standing to their armes, while the breaches were in readinesse, and the Mines sprung. About three a clocke in the afternoon, the enemy by their countermines had very neere approached some chambers where the powder was lodged for blowing up the walls, which being signified to his Excellency, he forthwith ordered, that fire should be given to these two mines endangered,²⁴² and thereafter to maintaine the breaches carefully, while the generall assault should be made from all quarters: a little after, the day failing, and the breaches being made, though not so large and passable as was needful for so desperate service; the word was given and the signe made, to give fire to the rest of the mines,²⁴³ and for the Regiments to advance all at once towards the breaches, and those places of the wall which were opened by the mine; but they met with no small opposition, and nothing was left undone by the enemy to repell the fury of the assault: They played very notly and desperately from the Castle upon the breaches, and from the flanking-towers of the walls with scattered shot; yet the Regiments advanced without any shrinking, though the Cannon played from many places upon their full open bodies, so that the difficile-accesse to the breaches, and the mighty advantages of their walls and workes within the Towne, made a considerable losse of Souldiers and Officers of good quality; yet notwithstanding all difficulties and resistances, they acquit themselves as became a people that considered the importance of so high a cause, and minded nothing but the happinesse of both Kingdomes; and after two houres very hot dispute upon the breaches, they found their first entry²⁴⁴ at the mine sprung on the west side of the Towne, neere to Close-gate; and after their entry, were furiously charged three severall times by the horse which were in Town, but the charge was gallantly sustained and the place maintained, while the reserve of that place came to assist:²⁴⁵ thereafter they marched for the relief of the rest of the breaches, and so the Souldiers gave over and forsook the wals, and the whole body almost of the Army entring, they became masters of the Town, which tasted off no lesse mercy and favour after the Victory, then they found valour in obtaining the same; for after their entry, the Souldiers did quite vanish, sheltring themselves in houses, the Inhabitants kept close their doors, the Regiments marched thorow the streets without any insolency or disorder, never offering once to rife a house, or cut off

²⁴¹ In *A Particular Relation*, etc.

²⁴² At Sandgate and White Friar tower. See note above p. 215.

²⁴³ At Westgate and Sandgate, about five o'clock in the afternoon.

²⁴⁴ Callendar, according to Lithgow, entered first at Sandgate. Sir James Turner (*Memoirs*, p. 38) also gives the first entry at Sandgate by a party of two hundred of Sinclair's regiment, led by himself. See p. 229 of this volume. *A True Relation* states that the Scots entered the several breaches 'all at once.'

²⁴⁵ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, states that the reserve entered at Westgate.

either Citizen or Souldier; they were presently after their entry in peaceable possession of all the corners and streets, and on a sodaine, all tumult, feare and noyse did cease. Upon the first entry, the Governour, Lodovicke Lyndesay, sometime Earle of Crawford,²⁴⁶ the Lord Maxwell, Doctor Wishart,²⁴⁷ a man of dangerous temper, who had seasoned the people both before, and the time of the siege with bitter Malignancy, Master Gray, and Alway,²⁴⁸ and others of the perverse crew, authors of all the evils which might justly have fallen upon the Town, so exceedingly obstinate, according to the rule of warre, did all betake themselves to the Castle, whence they cast over a white flag, and beat a parle, but before notice could be taken thereof, all the service was neere done. The principall houses of the Towne were preserved from plundering by the Officers, the common Souldiers that night after they had long kept their armes without doing any wrong or violence, entred some houses of the meaner sort, not safe guarded, and did a little pillage, and take away the goods out of them, but lesse than ever people or Army did in the like case, which was the testimony of the most Malignants and Papists themselves, expressing in these very words, that no History can paralell where lesse cruelty and insolency, and more mercy were shewne in any Towne gained by storme, which ought to be no small matter of gloriation, when the enemies are strained to acknowledge, that the wayes and practice of those who have often declared the purity of their intentions, are now found out to be nothing different from their profession; and indeed it were to be wished that the wel-affected in the Kingdom had as great feeling of the advantage given to the cause, and the good they received since the comming in of that Army to England, as the enemies to the peace and happinesse of both nations are sensible of the hurt done to them and their designes.

An anonymous writer gives the following short account, dated on the day following the assault:—²⁴⁹

After the using of all faire meanes, for reducing the Town of New-Castle unto the obedience of King and Parliament, and their obstinate refusall, of such conditions, as better could not have been expected by people in their case: Yesterday, being Satterday, the nineteenth of October, our Batteries began to play by the breake of day: and toward three a clocke in the afternoon, foure Breaches were made in the Wall, our Mines, one at Closegate, and three²⁵⁰ at Sand-gate were sprung, and served exceeding well. Then did wee make an universall assault: The Breaches by the Mines gave the easiest entrie; The

²⁴⁶ He had, on July 19th, 1644, been 'forefaulted' at Edinburgh Cross.—Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 140; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, pt. vi. vol. i.

²⁴⁷ Lecturer at St. Nicholas's and All Saints', Newcastle. Imprisoned at Edinburgh after the siege, and obtained his release in 1645. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii. p. 660.

²⁴⁸ Vicar of St. Nicholas's, died March 19th, 1649. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i. p. 46.

²⁴⁹ This account is in a broadside, entitled *The Taking of Newcastle: or Newes from the Armie*, printed at Edinburgh, by James Lindesay, 1644. A copy of it is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, bound up with *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army*.

²⁵⁰ This does not tally with other accounts, from which it appears that two mines only were fired at Sandgate.

Breaches by the Canon abode longer dispute, being of harder access : Before five a clocke all the Breaches were entred. The Major, Ministers, and our Country-men retired to the Castle, where they hope to make their quarter, but it is not likely they can hold out long.

In all the hote service (so farre as we know) we have not lost an hundredth men,²⁵¹ some whereof are officers, *viz.*, Lieutenant Collonell Hume ;²⁵² and his Major Hepburne,²⁵³ and Lieutenant Collonell Henderson a Reformeir.²⁵⁴

Our people were so mercifull, though they had received some losse, that they killed very few, after they were entred : As for the other medlings of the Souldiers, what it was, wee know not, but sure they have laid their hands about them. Lodevicke Lindesay, some-time designed Earle of Crawford, and others, are entred into the Castle also, and the Lord Rayes²⁵⁵ taken by Collonell Ray.²⁵⁶ The Castle sounded a Parlie, but it was not accepted by our Generall.

from Newcastle the twentie of October, 1644.

A tract in the British Museum²⁵⁷ contains the following letters :—

Sir,—You may with confidence impart the good newes of the taking of Newcastle, by assault, to all our friends, but little losse to us. It was stormed this day about two of the clock, in severall parts of the Town, and we were masters of it about four.

To morrow the Generall makes his entry, to give God thanks for so great a blessing : Sir Jo. Marley, and divers others have betaken themselves to the Castle, and desired to surrender upon quarter, but his Excellencie would grant them none, unlesse they did wholly submit unto his mercy.

The Plague is so hot in Tinmouth Castle, that divers of the Commanders there have left it, and we hope suddenly to be Masters of that place also, and then the ships may come freely for Coales. L. M.²⁵⁸

Gates head, 19. Octob., 1644.

The second letter is as follows :—

Sir,—In my last of the seventeenth, I gave you notice of the Towns inclination to a Parley, which being well accepted of by his Excellency Generall Lesley, the particulars of the Propositions being propounded, were

²⁵¹ See note below, p. 234, upon the Scottish death-roll.

²⁵² Of the East-Lothian regiment, stationed at Newgate.

²⁵³ Of the East-Lothian regiment. Lithgow says that Home and Hepburn were killed at 'Black Bessies' tower, a nickname for Newgate, no doubt.

²⁵⁴ See note above, p. 217.

²⁵⁵ Donald lord Reay had in the spring of 1644 come from Denmark to Newcastle with arms for the king's service.—Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 154 n. *Britanes Distemper* (Spalding Club), p. 50, says 'only Newcastle stood for the King, which the lord Crawford and the lord Rea, both Scottes men, defended valiantlie, whill generall Lesley besieged it.' Crawford appears to have come to Newcastle from Carlisle in July, 1644.—Napier's *Montrose*, p. 258.

²⁵⁶ Colonel James Rae of the Edinburgh regiment, stationed at White Friar tower. ²⁵⁷ *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle*. London : Printed October 25th, 1644.

²⁵⁸ Probably sir Lionel Maddison, who had fled to Sunderland at the commencement of the siege.

rejected by them in the Town; whereupon it occasioned on this present Saturday a violent Assault in severall places of the Towne at once, and in two houres: viz., from two to foure;²⁵⁹ we became Masters of the Town; the storme was violent for a time, but they within suffered much.

The Scottish Souldiers entered the Breeches with much valour, whilest others of them got over the walls with scaling Ladders, upon the sight whereof, they within threw down their Armes, and the principall of them fled into the Castle, and offer to surrender upon Quarter, which his Excellency refuses to give, unlesse they submit to his mercy: I hope now your London Wood-mongers will fall in the price of Coales. Tinnmouth Castle is so visited with the Plague, that their chiefe Commanders are fled already: Now the Scottish Armie will be able to assist you in the South.

Your very loving Friend,

T. W.

Sunderland, 19. Octob., 1644.

The tract also contains a third letter signed by 'Ro. Co.,' from Benwell, October 19th. It contains no details of importance, but remarks, in regard to the effect of Newcastle's fall upon the supply of coal to the capital, 'I hope you at London will not mourne for it, especially now that winter comes on.' From Benwell there were also despatched two more letters.²⁶⁰ The first gives a touch of colour to the scene:—

This morning after our Batteries began to play, they jeared our men from the town, bidding them, *Come on you cowardly rogues, if you dare*, who before night were glad to sing another song, and crave quarter for their lives. We made 3 breaches in the walls with Cannon, and immediately after sprung four mines; all which took well:²⁶¹ and thereupon entred them all at once.

Our footmen are in the town, our horse keep guard without this night.

It is late, and we but newly come from the service, so I must hasten to make an end.

Your assured loving friend to serve you,

R. F.

Benwell, Ocob. 19. 1644.

The second letter is of greater interest coming as it does from Edward Man, one of the Puritan party in Newcastle.²⁶² We can gauge the cleavage which the war and the principles underlying it had caused throughout England, in the spirit which allowed Man to

²⁵⁹ It is noticeable that both these letters speak of the town being gained by four o'clock. Both writers would, no doubt, be in touch with Callendar's command, and their statement may support Lithgow's contention that Callendar was the first to enter the town.

²⁶⁰ In *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle By the Scots by Storm, on the 19. of October, 1644.*

²⁶¹ See above, p. 215, for the accuracy of this statement.

²⁶² See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii.

contemplate, and indeed take part in, the destruction of his own town. His letter is as follows:—

This day about two of the clock in the afternoone, the Lord General commanded his men to fall on, where they had made breaches, and sprung mines, which they did very resolutely and gallantly, God was with them, for they were never put to any retreat in any place, I saw them all the time, being with my L. generall, for the most part of the storm. . . .²⁶³

The Storme lasted two houres or thereabouts, it was very hott and managed bravely on both parts till the Towne was over mastered.

I am happie God made me a spectator of the fall of those wicked men who were borne to rinate so famous a towne, the Majors house or some other adjoining are burning, yet my Lord General hath given order for the staying off the fire if possible. The Post stayeth, I may not enlarge, so with my love to your good Wife, and Henry Dawson his Wife and mistresse Fenwick.

E. M.

From Benwell within a mile of New Castle, October 19. 1644.

A contemporary news-sheet²⁶⁴ gives the following interesting and comparatively detailed account of the strength and disposition of the Scottish forces at the several quarters.

Generall Leven drew out 20 Companies of Foot, commanded by Col. Barklew,²⁶⁵ and Lievt. Col. Robert Home,²⁶⁶ and Ser. Major John Haddon;⁶⁷ who were placed against the Breach that was made at the Close-gate, and Col. James Rae, Lievt. Col. Melve, and Major David Logan,²⁶⁸ were commanded by Sir Alexander Hambleton⁶⁹ with ten Companies of Foot, were to storm upon the springing of a Mine under the white Tower. Also Col. William Stewart, Lievt. Col. Gorden, and Major Agnew,²⁷⁰ were to storm upon the springing of a Mine at the West gate, where they were placed with 10 Companies of Foot. M. John Bailey, Lievt. General of the Foot, with his one Lievt. Colonel Bonar,²⁷¹ the Lord Cooper,²⁷² the Earle of Dumferlin,²⁷³ and others²⁷⁴, with 50 Companies of Foot, quartered at Newgate; the Earle of Cassilis,²⁷⁵ Lord Douglas of Kelhead,²⁷⁶ Wedderbury,²⁷⁷ and the Earle Marshall,²⁷⁸ with 30 and odd

²⁶³ Man states that Marley had sent to Leven 'to render the parsons, from the new gate to the close gate.'

²⁶⁴ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, for October 23-29, 1644.

²⁶⁵ Lord Buccleuch of the Tweeddale.

²⁶⁶ Of the Loudoun-Glasgow. ²⁶⁷ Of the Loudoun-Glasgow.

²⁶⁸ All of the Edinburgh.

²⁶⁹ General of artillery, commanding the Clydesdale regiment.

²⁷⁰ All attached to the Galloway. The tract does not mention the Perthshire under lord Gask at this quarter.

²⁷¹ Of the Angus regiment. ²⁷² Of the Strathearn. ²⁷³ Of the Fife.

²⁷⁴ The East-Lothian regiment under sir Patrick Hepburn [Wauchton] and a fifth regiment were also at this quarter.

²⁷⁵ Of the Kyle and Carrick. ²⁷⁶ Of the Nithsdale and Annandale.

²⁷⁷ Sir David Home [Wedderburn] of the Merse.

²⁷⁸ Of the Mcarns and Aberdeen.

Companies, were to endeavour with their great peeces of Canon and Petars to make breaches, and storme, and the Lord Sinclar with his leaved Regiment of 5 Companies, the 10 Companies of Sterlingshire, under the Lord Levingston Aytoun²⁷⁹ and Nidder,²⁸⁰ and the Master of Cranstoune,²⁸¹ were to fall on upon the springing of some Mines ;²⁸² and accordingly at a fit time as was appointed ; they all plaid their parts gallantly ; the Glascowmen entred at a breach ;²⁸³ and slew many marching into the town with great valour. A strong party within opposed Colonel Rae, who entred upon the springing of a Mine²⁸⁴ with some losse, and many hurt, but the Westgate being opened, uppon entrance, the Scots Reare came up and drave the enemy from their Works ; the Galloway men also having sprung their Mine,²⁸⁵ made entrance through with some losse, and drave one part before them in the Town one way, as the other did the other part ;²⁸⁶ and the 5 Regiments at New gate made a great breach ; and entred valiantly ; where Major Robert Hethburne was slaine, and 3 Captains : and divers others, Lievt. Col. William Home fought bravely as also Sir Patrick Hethburne as also Angus men, and the rest, whose valour was so great as never could be more exprest by men.

Douglas's account²⁸⁷ is very terse :—

Upon the 19 day, at 6 in the morning, our cannon began to shoot, to make breaches in four parts of the town, one at Sandgate, a 2d at the east, benorth Whyte Frier Tour, a 3d at the West gate, a 4th at Pilgrim Street. They shot until 8 hours ; no word came but a shifting answer.

Then they shot on till three afternoon ; all the souldiers were in readiness to enter about that time. We wrought a mine at Whyte Frier Tour, another on the east side at the Key,²⁸⁸ a 3d at the East Port,²⁸⁹ all the rest, 7 or 8, were drowned or found by the industrie of those that were within. The mines were easy to enter, but the breaches were weel guarded, and hard to enter ; they entered by the help of the mines, for they that entered the mines helped them that were at the breeches to come in : after two hours hard disput the town is taken. The Maior and Crawford, with Maxwel, and some ministers, as Wishart, Harvie, Scots men, Alvie, ane Englishman, fled to the castle. The Lord Ker was taken in the toun.²⁹⁰

Lithgow's account need not here be quoted in full. It is interesting as giving some account of Callendar, whose share in the assault is barely mentioned by other eye-witnesses. He states that about three o'clock in the afternoon, 'the two most available Mynes' were sprung, at White Friar tower and Sandgate. Two other mines were sprung, one of which miscarried. The artillery meanwhile

²⁷⁹ Sir John Aytoun.

²⁸⁰ Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie.

²⁸¹ See note above, p. 218.

²⁸² At Sandgate.

²⁸³ At Closegate.

²⁸⁴ At White Friar tower.

²⁸⁵ At Westgate.

²⁸⁶ Callendar entering at Sandgate, says Lithgow, swept the town on that side. See note 296 below.

²⁸⁷ *Diary*.

²⁸⁸ At Sandgate.

²⁸⁹ Also at Sandgate.

²⁹⁰ Douglas probably means lord Reay.

succeeded in making four breaches serviceable for entrance, one near Weaver [Carliol] tower, where lieutenant-colonel Henderson, major Moffat,²⁹¹ and others were killed; the second near 'Black Bessies' tower [Newgate], where major Hepburn, captain Corbet, captain John Home,²⁹² and lieutenant-colonel Home²⁹³ were killed; a third at Westgate, where captain John Hamilton, captain Thomas Hamilton, and others of the Clydesdale²⁹⁴ regiment were killed; the fourth 'low by Clossigate.' At Sandgate, captain Sinclair and others were killed. He remarks that clambering up the breaches was the most deadly work, as the besieged repelled the Scots with 'hand garnads;' while entrance was most easy at the points where the mines had been sprung. Callendar—of whom Lithgow states that 'as he was the first lay downe before the Towne, so he was duely the first that entred it'—entered at Sandgate and marched along the quay and Sandhill 'with flying collours and roaring Drummes.' Upon his entrance he despatched the Stirlingshire and Nithsdale and Annandale regiments, under lord Livingstone and Douglas of Kilhead, to clear the walls on the eastern side, while the 'western and northern Brigads' were engaged in driving the enemy 'to the choaking Market place,' where 'betweene Scylla and Charibdis' they begged for quarter. Others 'sate downe by their fathers fire syde, as though they had caryed no armes.' At Closegate a house was set on fire,²⁹⁵ and Callendar's orders alone prevented a like treatment to the whole town. An attempt was also made to destroy the shipping in the river, for captain Andrew Abernethy floated 'a Ballenger Boat . . . full of flaming fire to have burned the keye-lockt ships.' Marley on reaching the castle 'pulled

²⁹¹ Thomas Moffat of the Tweeddale, is referred to in an Act in favour of his father, lieutenant-colonel Moffat, as 'vmq¹⁶ Thomas Moffat Major to the erle of Buccleughes Regiment Beirand that it hathe pleased God to call for the said vmq¹⁶ Major Thomas Moffat as he wes in actual service at the intakeinge of Newcastle where he behaved himselfe so weill as he hes obteneit þe approbatione of all his superior officeres Hes Died with regrat of all officeres þt wes witnes to his cariage and to the great Lose and greife of his parentes especiallie of his mother who vpown þe report of his Death conceaved such heavie greife and Melancholie that shortlie þr eftir shoe departed this Life.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 351.

²⁹² Probably of the East-Lothian. ²⁹³ William Home, of the East-Lothian.

²⁹⁴ Lithgow is not supported by other accounts in placing the Clydesdale at Westgate. It was stationed at White Friar tower.

²⁹⁵ The Scots on their entrance probably fired Marley's house, or one which they took for his. Man's letter from Benwell speaks of Marley's house or one near it being on fire. See above, p. 226.

down the red flag on the Castle tope, and set up the whyte flag of peace,' while Callendar 'returned that same night to the Gatesyde.' Upon his departure the town was given up to plunder for twenty-four hours, even the officers 'investing themselves in the richest Malignants and papisted houses.' Lithgow, indeed comments severely on the behaviour of his countrymen: 'as they abused their Victorie in storming the Toune, with too much undeserved mercy, so they as unwisely and unprudently overreached themselves in plundering the townne.'²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ The above contemporary accounts may be supplemented by the following: Rushworth, vol. v. pp. 650-52, says that the garrison had about 3 p.m. nearly come upon some of the Scottish mines. Leven ordered the firing of the mines endangered. The breaches that were made were 'not so large and passable as was needed,' and two hours later, when the light was failing, the Scots entered the first breach 'on the West-side of the Town, near to Close-gate.' Upon their entrance they were met by three determined charges from the mounted troops in the town, and were in danger of being driven back, until the reserve at that post came to their assistance. Having gained Closegate, the body that entered there proceeded to the relief of the other positions on the wall. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 318, states very shortly, 'Newcastle town, not agreeing to propositions of a Treaty, the Scots stormed and entered part of the town, and became masters of it; Sir John Merlay and others for the King, fled to the Castle, and offered to render it upon quarter; which was denied, but they should render at mercy In that little compass of the castle were five hundred men, besides women and children The town though taken by onslaught, was not much ransacked, most of them redeeming their goods from plunder upon reasonable satisfaction in moneys.' Echard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 482, writes, 'all the Scotch Army [which he gives on p. 481, as 10,000] furiously set upon the Town, and having made three Breaches by their Batteries and Mines, after a tedious and bloody Storm, they at last mastered it the surrendering proved of great importance to the City of London, where the poorer sort of People, for the two last years, had almost starved for want of Fewel; Coals having risen to the Price of four Pounds a Chaldron.' Sir James Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 38, gives the following account of the assault on October 19th: 'A little before harvest in this year 1644, Leven came with all his armie and besieged Newcastle on the Northumberland side; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he havinge foolishlie refused articles, which he might have made at his pleasure, the toune was taken by storme, with no great losse on our side, and with very little bloodshed of the royalists. My lord Sinclars regiment were the first that entered the toune, the first partie of them of two hundredth being led by my selfe, being very well seconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my captains, Sinclare, foolishlie running contrar to my command straight to the market place, was ther killd. It was well for these of that side within the toune that we enterd so soone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant and I cleering the wall all along till the next port [Pilgrim street gate]; there we tooke tuintie gentlemen on horseback, and 200 foot sojors, and so made easie way for my Lord Levistons, now E. of Lithgows brigade [in the various accounts of the assault given in the text, Livingstone's position and the Stirlingshire regiment commanded by him is assigned to Sandgate], and Lieutecant General Baillies to enter [? at Pilgrim street gate], being before pitifullie beate oft; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approaches our regiment lost very prettie men, bot in the storm onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (whereof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters.'

Very few words are needed to piece together the story which the foregoing accounts tell. After eight o'clock in the morning, when it had become clear that Marley refused to surrender, the fire of all the batteries was directed upon the town, while the mines at White Friar tower, Westgate, and Sandgate were being hastily completed. Thus matters continued, the Scots regiments meanwhile being drawn up in readiness at the four quarters, until three o'clock in the afternoon. At about that hour, Leven was informed of the danger to which the mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate were exposed from the counter-mines of the besieged. He gave orders for them to be fired at once, and for the general assault, for which the troops had been patiently waiting, to follow. For two hours besieged and besiegers were engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict on the walls until, at about five o'clock, two more mines were sprung at Westgate and Sandgate, opening the walls to the Scots at those quarters. Almost simultaneously, their artillery effected a breach at Closegate, and sweeping along the narrow streets, the eastern and western sections of the army made their way to the centre of the town. Westgate was thrown open, the reserve poured in, and the town was won, save for the castle, where Marley was already displaying a flag of truce.

That night the town was carefully secured, 'and the Guards carefully appointed at the breaches, and by the water-side, to watch the escape of those who were within, and with so much losse and paines now caught in the snare.'²⁹⁷ The next day, Sunday the 20th, Leven, Callendar, Baillie, and the chief officers of the army entered the town and proceeded at once to St. Nicholas's church,²⁹⁸ to give 'thanks to God, that he was pleased, even according to the words, and wishes of their enemies, to prosper and blesse his People, according to the justness of their Cause.'²⁹⁹ Douglas preached³⁰⁰ from the text, 'He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

While the Scots were thus celebrating their victory, Marley, hard by in the castle, was penning a submissive letter to Leven:—³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Douglas's *Diary*.

³⁰¹ *A Particular Relation*.

For his Excellencie, the Earl of Leven, Generall of the Scottish Army.
My Lord,

Although you have the fortune of War against me (and that I might, I confesse, have had honourable tearmes from your Excellencie). Yet I hope your Noblenes will not thinke worse of me, for doing my endeavours to keepe the Towne, and to discharge the trust reposed in me, having had strong reasons so to doe, as is known to many ; And now whereas I am compelled to betake my self to this Castle, I shall desire, that I and those with me, may have our liberty, and your License, to stay, or goe out of the Towne with your safe Passe, to his Majesties next Garrison, which is not beleagured, with our Horses, Pistolls and swords ; And to have 14. daies time to dispatch our Journey, so many as please to goe. And truly, my Lord, I am yet confident to receive so much favour from you, as that you will take such care of me, as that I shall receive no wrong from the ignoble spirits of the vulgar sort ; for I doubt no other. I must confesse, I cannot keep it long from you, yet I am resolved, rather then to be a spectacle of misery and disgrace to any, I will bequeath my soule to him that gave it, And then referre my Body to be a spectacle to your severity ; But upon these tearmes abovesaid, I will deliver it to you, And so intreating your Answer, I rest,

Your Friend and Servant,

JOHN MARLEY.

From the Castle in Newcastle, the 21. of Octob. 1644.

Marley's terms were not accepted. Proclamation was, however, made³⁰² 'That no Officer nor Souldier should presume to trouble nor plunder the house of any, under the paine of death. And that better obedience might be given thereto, and all occasions of Tumults, wrongs, and oppressions might the better be avoided, It was Ordered that no Officer, nor Souldier should stay in the Towne, without speciall order, but to returne to the Leagner, and his former Quarters, And likewise for the further weal and ease of the Towne, the Quarters of the whole Army are enlarged, and none ordained to stay in Town, but the proper Garrison.'

The immediate fulfilment of Leven's orders was prevented, however, by a great storm, which swept away the two bridges of keel-boats, and compelled the army to come into the town for shelter from Sunday the 20th, to the following Wednesday.³⁰³ During its continuance, on Tuesday the 22nd, Marley surrendered at discretion. He was 'committed to his house by a strong guard, to defend him from the fury of the incensed people, for he is hated and abhorred of all, and he brought many Families to ruine. The rest that were in the Castle, have likewise in constrained humility, submitted them-

³⁰² *A Particular Relation.*

³⁰³ Lithgow.

selves, and are rendred Prisoners.'³⁰⁴ Marley, upon removal to his own house, was severely handled by the mob.³⁰⁵ On the following day, he was taken from his house and confined to 'a Dungeon trance within the Castle,'³⁰⁶ from whence, on October 29th, he was transferred to the custody of 'Master [Michael ?] Welden,' sheriff of Northumberland, who 'had much a doe to keep him from being torne in pieces, by the inhabitants in the Towne, and by those common sort of people whom hee had forced to take up Armes.'³⁰⁷

The fall of Newcastle was followed, within a few days, by the surrender of Tynemouth castle. The castle had in 1642 been repaired by three hundred men whom the earl of Newcastle had sent down for that purpose. Trenches had been dug, and six guns had been sent from Newcastle.³⁰⁸ The possession of the castle was of importance to the Scots as giving them complete command of the river, and its siege had been maintained concurrently with that of Newcastle. Its garrison had latterly been decimated by the plague.³⁰⁹ Sir William Armyne, writing to Vane, from Newcastle on the 27th,³¹⁰ describes its surrender: 'The Governor of Tynemouth Castle hath been willing to listen to propositions for its surrender, and Lord General Leven,

³⁰⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. Lithgow says that seventy-two 'officers, Ingeniers, and prime Souldiers' surrendered in the castle. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 323, says that five hundred people were in the castle with Marley. They included Wishart, Alvey, lords Crawford and Maxwell, Harvie, and others (Douglas's *Diary*), and Master Gray (*A Particular Relation*). Lord Reay was taken before he could escape thither.

³⁰⁵ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 652, says that Marley was given 'a strong guard to defend him from the outrages of the People.' Brand, vol. ii. p. 468, says that he was nearly torn in pieces by the angry mob. Brand, vol. i. p. 159, states inaccurately that Marley held the castle for eight days against Leven after October 19th. Douglas writes: 'Upon the 22d they rendered on mercie; the Maior is prisoner; Crauford, Reay, Maxwell, Ferrie, Ogilvie were brought to Scotland.'³⁰⁶ Lithgow.

³⁰⁷ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* for October 29th-November 6th, 1644.

³⁰⁸ *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 218. See also a letter on this in Brand, vol. ii. p. 115.

³⁰⁹ *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 219, quoting *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 11, for October 23rd, 1644, 'The plague was very hot in Tinmouth Castle . . . eight of them have died in one week . . . one who came out of the Castle reporteth that about sixty were sick in the Castle of the plague when he left them. So that though we cannot reach them in that high hill, yet God can you see.' 'The infected men were put into Lodges in the Fields and the Chiefe Chirurgeon there dangerously sicke, who I hear is since dead.'—Sir W. Riddell, jun., to Glemham, *ibid.* p. 219. The plague made its way to Scotland. 'The pest cam to Edinburgh with the victorie fra Newcastle.'—*Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 425. Douglas (*Diary*) writes: 'Upon the 4th [November] I came to Haddington, but got hardly lodging, because the pest was at Newcastle.'

³¹⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

according to his usual manner, was not backward to make trial what might be done in a fair way before coming to extremities, and went toward the castle himself; and after it summoned, they entered into terms for rendering it up, which was performed late this evening [the 27th], and the Lord General hath soldiers in it so that our ships may come freely in at their pleasure.' The articles of surrender concluded between Leven and sir Thomas Riddell, the governor, were as follows:—³¹¹

1.—That every officer, soldier, gentleman and clergyman shall march out with bag and baggage, the officers with their arms; and that such goods as properly belong to them, but which they are unable to carry, shall be kept for them.

2.—That the National Covenant shall not be enforced upon any officer, soldier, gentleman or clergyman.

3.—That all who desire to stay in their own country shall have protection for their person and estates; and that such as wish to go to his Majesty shall have free pass with safe convoy.

4.—Oblivion for all things passed in the service shall be extended to all who shall stay at home in their own houses.

5.—That Sir Thomas Riddell shall deliver up the Castle this day [the 27th] with a complete list of the arms, ammunition, cannon, and furniture it contains.

6.—Provided always that those who stay at home and have protection of their person and estates shall be liable to all Ordinances of Parliament.³¹²

The fall of Tynemouth castle virtually concluded the Civil War in the north and, with the capture of Newcastle, gave the Scots a hold upon Northumberland and Durham which they retained until February, 1647. But in regard to the siege of Newcastle, certain questions offer themselves for consideration in order that the story of the siege and its results may be, so far as possible, exhaustive. These questions are—first, the mortality of the siege and the fortune of the town's chief defenders; secondly, the effect of the siege upon the town's commerce; thirdly, the extent of the damage caused by the long cannonade; and lastly, the measures that were taken for the government of the town and for the regulation of its coal industry.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1645–1647, under date October 26th, 1645.

³¹² Lithgow says that sir Thomas Riddell surrendered 'after a short parley,' and that the garrison 'were glad to yeeld' because of the plague. The schedule demanded by Leven showed the castle to be possessed of 29 guns, 50 barrels of powder, 500 muskets, and ball and match.—*The Weekly Account*, No. 62, for October 31st–November 6th, 1644. *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 220, gives the number of guns at 38. After the fall of Tynemouth, certain gentlemen of the garrison came into Newcastle with 'Master Errington.'—*Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* for October 29th–November 6th, 1644.

The losses sustained by the Scots in the course of the siege and in the final assault are very variously estimated. The author of the letter printed in *The Taking of Newcastle*³¹³ states that in the course of the attack on October 19th, the Scots 'have not lost an hundredth men.' Lithgow puts the total number at two hundred and ninety-nine, of whom thirty-eight were officers, besides seven or eight hundred wounded. Edward Man, in his letter,³¹⁴ puts the number at 'not one hundred slaine' in the assault. Douglas,³¹⁵ who states that not many died in the storming of the town, gives their number at 'about 100 souldiers, and about 31 officers, of which two Collonelis, Hay³¹⁶ and Henderson,³¹⁷ Major Hepburn,³¹⁸ and Captain Hamilton,³¹⁹ and 9 or ten more.' Newcastle was therefore won at relatively very small cost of life on the part of the besiegers.

³¹³ See above, p. 223.³¹⁴ See above, p. 226.³¹⁵ *Diary*.

³¹⁶ Probably John Hay, given by Rushworth as major of the Midlothian regiment, commanded by lord Maitland. As it is not mentioned in the assault on October 19th, it formed probably part of the reserve which entered at Westgate. Douglas mentions Maitland as having the guard of the works at Closegate on August 20th. ³¹⁷ See note above, p. 217. ³¹⁸ See note, p. 224.

³¹⁹ The following reference (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. under date January 27th. 1645), in favour of 'Anna Wilson, Relict of umq^{le} captane Johne Hamiltoune Beiring that hir husband being ane captane in the Regiment under the command of the Generall of the Artillerie was killed at the intaking of Newcastle,' shows that Hamilton was attached to the Clydesdale regiment at White Friar tower. A complete list of the Scottish officers who are mentioned as having lost their lives in the assault is as follows:—

Name.	Regiment.	Stationed at
Lt.-Col. Hay ...	Midlothian (?)	... Reserve.
Lt.-Col. Henderson ...	(?)	... Carloli tower.
Major Robert Hepburn	East-Lothian...	... Newgate.
Captain John Hamilton	Clydesdale ...	... White Friar tower (or Westgate, according to Lithgow).
Lt.-Col. William Home	East-Lothian...	... Newgate.
Major Thomas Moffatt	Tweeddale(or Linlithgow and Tweeddale)	Carloli tower.
Captain Corbet ...	(?)	... Newgate.
Capt. John Home	East-Lothian (?)	... Newgate.
Capt. Thomas Hamilton	Clydesdale ...	... White Friar tower (or Westgate, according to Lithgow).
Capt. Sinclair ...	'A Levied Regiment'	Sandgate. See p. 229 of this volume.

Among the burials in the Whickham registers is 'Captane John Cunningame a Scot 22. October, 1644.'—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 242. Of the Scottish prisoners taken in the town, Lord Ogilvie was on October 26th ordered to be sent from Hull to London by sea.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. Gutbry, *Memoirs*, p. 140, states that Ogilvie had fallen into Leven's hands, after having been sent into England by Montrose. He adds that Lords Crawford, Maxwell, Reay, Dr. Wishart, and also Ogilvie were sent to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the Tolbooth. Douglas's *Diary* has, 'Upon the 22d [October] . . . Crawford, Reay, Maxwell, Perrie, Ogilvie, were brought to Scotland.' Sinclair, writing from Newcastle on October 26th. says, 'Wee intend to send our Scotts prisoners from this towards Berwick to-morrow.'—Thurloe, vol. i.

On the part of the besieged, there are few materials on which to form any sound estimate of the loss of life caused by the siege. One account³²⁰ states that the Scots 'killed very few, after they were entered.' Another,³²¹ however, asserts that the Scots killed five or six hundred of the townsmen, and imprisoned three or four hundred others.³²²

The news of Newcastle's fall was the occasion of the utmost rejoicing. On October 24th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms gave order 'that the several garrisons be advertised of the taking of Newcastle,'³²³ and on the following day a circular was issued to them to that effect.³²⁴ On the 25th, the House of Commons passed the following resolution, with which the Lords concurred: 'The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, having received certain Intelligence of God's gracious Providence, in delivering the Town of Newcastle in the Hands of our Brethren of Scotland, come in to our Assistance; do Order, That publick Thanks be given to God on our and their Behalf, by all the Ministers within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Lines of Communication, on the Lord's Day next, for this great Blessing from the Lord of Hosts; And the Lord Mayor of London is desired to take care, that timely Notice be given to the several Ministers of the several Parishes and Places aforesaid.' On the following day [October 26th], it was further ordered that the offertory collected on the day of thanksgiving should be devoted to the relief of those who were prisoners in the

³²⁰ *The Taking of Newcastle, etc.*

³²¹ *Perfect Passages, No. 2.*

³²² Sir Alexander Davison died of his wounds. His monument in St. Nicholas's church records that he 'in hujus Novi Castri obsidione cum Scotorum rebellium exercitu irruenti magnanimiter configens, novissimum spiritum (octogenarius fere) fortiter effudit.' Joseph Davison is also there commemorated, 'Josephum centurionem cordatum (in hujus oppidi contra Scotos rebelles propugnacione strenuè ad mortem usque dimicantem) hic justa tumulatum.' Lithgow mentions that when the Scots broke into the town on the 19th, some of their soldiers entered a house in which a baptism feast was being held, as the thirty guests assembled were in the act of drinking to the confusion of the Scots. The latter rifled the house and stripped its inmates even of their clothes. Another who suffered in the assault was the wife of Edward Moore, daughter of Sir William Fenwicke: 'She hersilfe for her loyalty to y^e King was forst to flie from her owne house into y^e Kings garrison of Newcastle, where after some time a close sige it was taken by storme, where she sawe severell of her nere relations killed before her face, but by Gods providence got quarter yet lost all her pearsonall estate to a great value.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Report, app. pt. iv. p. 122. See also, Bateson, *Hist. of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 145, and p. 229 of this volume. ³²³ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644. ³²⁴ *Ibid.*

hands of the royalists.³²⁵ In addition to the thanksgiving on the 27th, the fall of Newcastle was ordered to be specially remembered on the 30th, the day of public humiliation.³²⁶ The capture of the town was celebrated with the liveliest feelings of satisfaction. Sir A. Johnstone and Mr. John Crew writing from Thatcham on October 26th,³²⁷ declare 'The News of the surrender of Newcastle came very seasonably unto us, as it much encouraged the soldiers, and so affected them that many of the regiments went presently of their own accord to solemn prayer.' The *Mercurius Britannicus*,³²⁸ discovers yet another cause for thankfulness in the fall of the town: 'Did I not tell you that the Scots meant to send us coales this winter? And now the fulfilling of this Prophecie cannot but be very comfortable this *cold* weather: Me thinks I am warme with the very conceit of Newcastles being taken, though our London Wood-Merchants (perhaps) grow *chill* upon the busines, and begin to look *cloudy* after this *Northerne storme*.'³²⁹ Baillie sounds the same note in a letter to William Spang on October 25th,³³⁰ 'but above all, the news of Newcastle, in these two hours, has filled the city with extreme joy. The great God be blessed again and again for it. The people would have perished with cold without it.'

On those, therefore, who had for so long maintained the defence of the town hard conditions were likely to be enforced. On October 25th, a resolution passed the Commons³³¹ that sir John Marley, sir Nicholas Cole, sir Thomas Riddell, jun., 'are to expect no pardon.' On October 31st,³³² the Commons, in answer to enquiries from Newcastle as to how Marley should be dealt with, replied that he had already been excepted from hope of pardon, and would be proceeded against 'according to the Course of War.' On November 19th,³³³ twenty-eight of those who had been associated with the royalist

³²⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³²⁶ *Ibid.* under date October 29th. On November 5th, order was made that 'Sir Thomas Widdrington do give Notice to the Preacher, to take Notice of the Surrender of Tynmouth Castle: And that he give Thanks therefore in St. Margaret's Church.'—*Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³²⁸ No. 55 for October 21-28, 1644.

³²⁹ Echard, vol. ii. p. 482, says that coal was sold in London at £4 the chaldron. On November 30th, 1646, coal was offered at Newcastle at 5s. 3d. the chaldron.—*Corporation Records*.

³³⁰ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 69.

³³¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. under date.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ *Ibid.*

cause in Newcastle were ordered to be sent up to London in custody. Mr. John Blakiston³³⁴ was entrusted with the communication of this order to Newcastle, as also with the vote of both Houses for the trial of Marley. On December 5th,³³⁵ a further order was issued disabling eight of those already dealt with, in the order of November 19th, from holding office in the corporation of Newcastle, and on December 13th, fifteen of the original twenty-eight were ordered for committal to prison 'for levying actual War against the Parliament.'³³⁶

The effect of these regulations was to completely destroy the royalist party in Newcastle. For sixteen years those whom the eccentric John Fenwicke, in his *Christ Ruling in the Midst of His Enemies*, humorously described as 'the *Newcastilian* new dubd knights,'^{336a} pass entirely out of the town's governing body. Their place was taken by the Bonners, Dawsons, Fenwicks—those in fact whom the House of Commons, on December 5th, nominated to supervise the sequestration of the property of their enemies'. Yet, in the interval between their downfall in 1644 and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the majority of the fallen party succeeded in escaping the severest punishment to which their sturdy upholding of the royal cause might have exposed them.

The extent to which the Newcastle royalists had been associated with the town's vigorous resistance can only be gauged by the share they had in the correspondence which passed between the Scots and the besieged during the siege. The letters addressed from the town to Leven are dated February 3rd, August 17th, September 7th, October 15th, October 16th. These are exclusive of the letters signed by Marley alone, or by the commissioners for the treaty on October 18th. The following table will indicate the extent to which those named in the various parliamentary orders had supported Marley, as also their treatment at the hands of Parliament, and their ultimate fate.

³³⁴ M.P. for Newcastle in the Long Parliament.

³³⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. On the same date the Commons appointed John Blakiston, Henry Warmouth, Henry Dawson, John Cosins, Edward Man, Edward Wood, William Dawson, Ralph Fowler, George Dawson, George Fenwick, Thomas Ledgerd, Robert Ellison, Christopher Nicholson, and Thomas Bonner, to act as a committee for the sequestration of the property of the Newcastle delinquents.

³³⁶ *Ibid*

^{336a} Richardson *Reprints*.

Name.	Signed Letters Dated					Hostages. October 18th.	Commissioners. October 18th.	Named in Orders Dated			Imprisoned at.
	February 3rd.	August 17th.	September 14th.	October 15th.	October 16th.			November 19th.	December 6th.	December 13th.	
Sir John Marley (a) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Ely House.
Sir Nicholas Cole (b) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Sir Thomas Liddell (c) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Sir Thomas Riddell (d) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Richard Tempest (e) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Sir Alexander Davison (f) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Sir Francis Bowes (g) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		The Compter.
Ralph Cole (h) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		London House.
Henry Rowcastle ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		The Compter.
James Cole (i) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		The Compter.
Cuthbert Carr (j) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Thomas Blenkinsop (k) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Winchester House.
Ralph Cock (l) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Lambeth House.
Sir Francis Liddell (m) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Ralph Bowes (n) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Dr. Ambrose ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Yeldred Alvey (o) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Dr. Wishart (p) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
G. Cock (q) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Lambeth House.
Edward Scott (r) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Winchester House.
Henry Marley (s) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Peter House.
William Marley (t) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Ely House.
William Robson (u) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		London House.
Sir Thomas Riddell, jun. (s) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Thomas Sharper (k) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
Thomas Pawle (k) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		Peter House.
Metcalf Rippon (tk) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		The Tower.
Sir W. Riddell (w) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		The Compter.
Sir George Baker (v) ..	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		

(a) Escaped probably from imprisonment and compounded his delinquency in 1658. Restored to the freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. ii.

(b) Succeeded in eluding capture. The following letter from him to his wife, dated April 22nd, 1645 (*Cal. State Papers*) shows that he was at that time in hiding in London. He recovered his position and property at the Restoration (See Welford, *op. cit.*). The letter is as follows:—'Mr. Boswell has promised me he will go to Sir Archibald Johnston. The press [here] is so hot I dare not send my man abroad. I am sorry to hear the plague is so hot at Newcastle and all about you. I will send my man Sadler by sea to bring you up with Ralph and Margaret, if you think so fit, but send up Ralph that I may put him to school here. Mr. Farniby, that famous school-master, is prisoner in Ely House, where my father Cole is, and he is very desirous to have him with him; let him come by sea, that being the safest way. I think you may live as cheap here as at home, but stay not in Newcastle if the sickness increases, as I fear it will. To-day my brother James is gone to Goldsmiths' Hall to get his liberty. He has either more wit or money than the rest of his friends. For my part I am well content in that state I am in, and trust to be delivered in time. It is plain our adversaries' aim was to get our coals and colliery.' Appended to this letter are receipts showing that on April 22nd, 1645, sir Nicholas paid over to James Thorne, on behalf of lieutenant-general Baillie, the sum of £100, in accordance with an agreement on the part of sir Nicholas to pay Baillie 3d. a chaldron of coals, provided the Scots remained for twelve months in Newcastle.

(c) Compounded his delinquency, May 3rd, 1646.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(d) Died March 30th, 1650.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(e) He had signed, with Robert Clavering and others, Glemham's answer to Argyle and Arnyne on January 22nd, 1644.—*Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 806.

(f) Died of his wounds. Buried in St. Nicholas's, October 29th, 1644. See above, note 3:2.

(g) Restored to freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(h) The Act pardoning his delinquency is dated May 22nd, 1649.

(i) Compounded his delinquency, August, 1648. Restored to freedom of Newcastle, March 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(j) In command at Newgate on October 19th. Compounded his delinquency in April, 1646. See *History of the Family of Carr*, vol. ii.

(k) Is distinguished by the title 'Captain' in the order of November 19th, showing that he was in active command during the siege.

(l) Died January 27th, 1652.—Brand, vol. i. 280.

(m) In a letter of September 9th, 1645 (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1645-47), John Blakiston writes to Vane: 'I acquainted your son [Sir Henry Vane] with some information about sir Francis Liddle's escape, which he will inform you of. The Committee of Durham calls him a moderate enemy, which it is conceived might have been otherwise expressed by them.'

(n) Merchant. See Dendy's *Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Society, vol. 93), p. 209.

(o) Vicar of St. Nicholas's; died March 19th, 1649. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(p) Lecturer in St. Nicholas's. Imprisoned at Edinburgh; released in 1645. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(q) Restored to freedom of Newcastle, March 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(r) A William Robson, parish clerk of All Saints', was dismissed for his loyalty to the royal cause on November 20th, 1644, and restored in 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(s) Died in banishment 1652.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(t) Merchant. See Dendy's *Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Society, vol. 93), pp. 135, 155-191.

(u) *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, gives, under date April 5th, 1645, a minute of the Committee of Both Kingdoms to remind the Commons to give order for the release of sir William Riddell, according to the articles of capitulation of Tynemouth castle.

(v) Recorder of Newcastle. Restored to freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490; died at Hull, 1667.—Welford, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 175.

NOTE.—The authorities on which the above and following list of signatures are compiled are as follows:—For the letter of January 22nd, *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club), vol. ii. p. 307; for that of February 3rd, *A True Relation of the Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*; for that of August 17th, *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644; for that of September 7th, *The Weekly Account*, for September 18-24, 1644; for those of October 15th and 16th, *A Particular Relation*, etc.

In addition to the chief delinquents, there were others whose share in the siege was either less active, or whose convictions were not strong enough to keep them faithful to the royal cause. None of these was included in the several parliamentary orders of November 9th, December 5th, and December 13th, 1644. Their co-operation with Marley may be expressed as follows:—

Name.	Signed Letter of—					Hostages on October 18th.
	February 3rd.	August 17th.	September 7th.	October 15th.	October 16th.	
Thomas Maddison (a) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Anthony Richardson ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Thomas Clarke (b) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Charles Clarke (c) ..	x	..	..	x	x	..
William Cooke (d) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Leonard Carr (e) ..	x	x	..	x	x	..
Robert Shaftoe (f) ..	x	x	..	x	x	..
Mark Milbank (g) ..	x	..	..	x	..	..
Edward Stote (h) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Samuel Cock (i) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
Gabriel Robson ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
James Harrop (j) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
John Blackburn ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
John Robson (k) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
James Armstrong (l) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Anthony Younger ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
William Archbold ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
— Matfen (m) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
John Harrigate (n) ..	..	..	..	..	x	..
Sir Lionel Maddison (o) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Sir Francis Anderson (p) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Henry Maddison (q) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Ralph Gray (r) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
John Emerson (s) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Charles Brandling (t) ..	..	..	..	..	..	x
Thomas Davison (u) ..	..	..	..	..	..	x
Robert Clavering (v) ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(a) See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 129.

(b) Thomas Clarke, co-churchwarden of All Saints', with Henry Rowcastle of the previous list, in 1630.

- (c) Charles Clarke, a barber-surgeon, died August 2nd, 1647.—Brand, vol. i. p. 113.
 (d) A William Cooke was master of the Trinity House in 1620.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 337.
 (e) Deprived of his aldermanship in 1657. See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 485.
 (f) See genealogy in Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii. p. 296.
 (g) Received a baronetcy at the Restoration. See genealogy in Surtees, *Durham*.
 (h) Son of Richard Stote, merchant. Entered in the visitation of 1666 as captain of a foot-company in the service of Charles I. Died December, 1648.
 (i) A Samuel 'Coof' signed the letter of October 16th. Possibly a misprint for 'Cock.' Probably a son of alderman Ralph Cock, mayor of Newcastle in 1634, of whose fifteen children, four (daughters) were known, from their wealth and attractions, as 'Cock's canny hinnies,' and were married to members of the great local families of Milbank, Carr, Davison, and Marley. See Welford, *Monuments of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle*, p. 78. 'Buried December 20th, 1668. Samuel Cock, Merchant.—*All Saints' Register*. George Cock, in previous list, was probably another brother.
 (j) A 'Will Lerop' signs on October 16th.
 (k) A 'Will Robson' signs on October 16th.
 (l) A 'Will Armstrong' signs on October 16th.
 (m) Matthew Matfen, merchant adventurer, died October 11th, 1697.—Brand, vol. i. p. 298. Welford, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156, mentions a 'Weesy Matfin' who kept 'the corner shop on the Sandhill.'
 (n) Younger warden of the Trinity House, 1644. One Alie Harrigate was a pensioner of the Trinity House in 1644, at a monthly dole of 4s.
 (o) On July 10th, 1644, a letter was read in the House of Commons, from Callendar at 'Blythesnooke,' stating that sir Lionel and alderman Clavering had come over to the Parliament.—*Commons Journals*, under date.
 (p) Compounded his delinquency, July 13th, 1647. See Welford, *op. cit.* He signed on January 22nd, 1644, the answer to Armyne and Argyle.
 (q) *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644, announces his having gone to Sunderland and deserted Newcastle. See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 179.
 (r) Two Ralph Grays were leading citizens of Newcastle at this time. One was sheriff in 1628, and died May 20th, 1666; the other, sheriff in 1667, mayor 1671, and died December, 1676.
 (s) Sheriff in 1639, mayor 1660.—Dendy, *Merchant Adventurers*, index.
 (t) Of Gateshead, who sold Nun's moor to the Corporation in 1650.—Brand, vol. i. p. 441. He signed the answer to Argyle and Armyne on January 22nd, 1644.
 (u) Mayor in 1669. Married one of Cock's 'canny hinnies.'
 (v) Signed the answer to Argyle and Armyne on January 22nd, 1644. See note o above.

The effect of the siege upon the town's commerce was, undoubtedly, for a time ruinous. The coal trade and also the shipping trade which so closely depended on it were practically at a standstill. The following letters³³⁷ from the Newcastle Trinity House, written shortly after the conclusion of the siege, very clearly indicate its effect upon their business :—

To the right wor^{sh} the maister wardens and Assistants of the Trinity House of Deptford strand theise present :

Gentlemen,

After our hearty commendations remembered, wee thought good to acquaint you, concerninge the Tees lights and boyes, w^{ch} we were late tennant to you for, and desire to be still, That we have gott sett a foote against (now since Trade begann) the duties usually paid for the same, here hath bene (not unknowen to you) a longe discontinuance of Tradinge by sea ; w^{ch} hath much disinabled us in what our Corporation should have done, both concerning rent payments, the maintenance of ou' poore and paying of other necessarrie charges and offices belonging to the Corporation : Neuertheless it shalbe our care, wherein we shall not faile (God willinge) to be accomptable, and give you real satisfaccon both for what we inioyed in the tyme of your lease, granted to us, as also since, whatsoever we have received or shall recieve, for the said Tees lights and boyes, for w^{ch} purpose we shall addresse some convenient messenger, with what convenient speed may be, to come up to you both to pform these thinges,

³³⁷ *Trinity House MSS. Records.*

and to treat conferr and agree (if you please) concerning a new lease for a like tearme to come as formerly we have had, wherein we hoope you will deale courtously with us both in regarde of the great pressure and sufferings we have undergonn here, by reason of the Armies, besides lacke of trading, with the Navigation this two yeares last past, w^{ch} hath bene a lett of intercourse betwene you and us; all w^{ch} we leave to your grave consideracons, comitting you to the Almightyes ptenon, rest

Your very loueing freindes

WM. PARKER.
PHINIES ALLEN.
ROBT. BLYTHMAN.
RAPH FFELL.

Trinity house in Newcastle,
this 23. November, 1644.

The second letter to the same corporation is as follows :—

Gentlemen,

After our hartly comendations remembered, we pceiue by M^r Thomas Dixon and M^r Ralph ffell who wee desired to agree with you for a new lease of the Tees lights and boyes, that you, and they in our corporacons behalfe are agreed for seauen yeares to comence at ladie daie next paying 50*l* p. Ann. for the same, w^{ch} wee hartilie thanck you for, in your respect to us before others though we assure you there is no pbibillitie of Trade like to what hath bene in yeares past for the collieries here are much wasted and neglected: Neuerthelesse we desire you wilbe pleased to pform [?] the lease, and send it us by this bearer, M^r Raphe ffell, and we shalbe careful (God willinge) to pforme what on our pts is to be don on that behalfe; so for present comittinge you to the Almightyes ptenon, rest

Your wor^{sh} loueing freindes

PHINIES ALLEN.
ROBERT BLYTHMAN.
WILLIAM PARKER.
ROBERT CABE.
JOHN HARRIGATTE.
THOMAS AUBONE.

Trinity house in Newcastle,
15th ffebr. 1644.

We desire your freindly acceptance by this bearer of a smale token of our loue, viz^t. a bitt of salmon,³³⁸ till further opportunitie vouchsafe to accomidate you with our wounted respect.

To y^e wor^{sh}l Com^{tees} Gouvernors of y^e Trinity-house of Deptford strand at the Trinity-house near Ratcliff Crosse these present.

The statements made in these letters as to the stagnation of trade are fully confirmed by the record of ships cleared from the Tyne in 1644 :—³³⁹

³³⁸ The pay book for February, 1645, shows that the gift consisted of two salmon, costing 9s. 1d. ³³⁹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 25 n.

1644.	Coasters.	Foreign.	English Cross-sea.	Total.
January	7 ...	0 ...	12 ...	19
February	0 ...	2 ...	7 ...	9
March	0 ...	1 ...	2 ...	3
April	0 ...	5 ...	0 ...	5
May	0 ...	0 ...	0 ...	0
June	0 ...	1 ...	0 ...	1
July	}	0 ...	0 ...	0 ...
August				
September				
October				
November	}	0 ...	0 ...	0 ...
December				
Total	145 ³⁴⁰	5	1	151
Total	152	14	22	188

A comparison of the ships entering the Tyne in 1641 and 1644 is equally striking:—³⁴¹

	Coasters.	Foreign.	English Cross-sea.	Total.
1641	2,823	207	13	3,043
1644	152	14	22	188

The Trinity House receipt books, expressing its total monthly revenue, are equally significant.

1644.	£	s.	d.	1644.	£	s.	d.
January	10	17	6	July	2	15	2
February	5	18	11	August	2	14	0
March	18	9	4	September ³⁴⁴	3	18	3
April	0	11	8	October ³⁴⁵	6	0	0
May ³⁴²	3	0	0	November	4	0	0
June ³⁴³	8	5	0	December ³⁴⁶	40	13	11

The paucity of marriages in St. Nicholas's church may also be taken as some indication of the general stagnation of trade consequent on the siege. The register shows a total of eight marriages

³⁴⁰ The result of the order of November 13th, 1644 (*Commons Journals*, v. l. iii.), rescinding the order of January 14th, 1642, by which trade with Newcastle, Blyth, and Sunderland had been forbidden. ³⁴¹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 38.

³⁴² From May to November the revenue was chiefly derived by calling in loans from individuals, or by sums borrowed from William Parker, Thomas Stobbs, and John Johnson, to pay the monthly dole to the pensioners.

³⁴³ After this month, no payments were received on behalf of primage and Trinity money until the following December. ³⁴⁴ Whole sum borrowed.

³⁴⁵ Whole sum borrowed from Thomas Stobbs and John Johnson.

³⁴⁶ This sum includes £30 from Edward Lee, representing the Sunderland account, March 13th to November 1st, 1644; £3 10s. 0d. from the Tees; and £7 3s. 1d. representing the first receipts on behalf of primage and Trinity money since June, 1644.

only for 1644, as against thirty-eight in 1642. 'No marriage' is entered against the months, February, March, June, July, August, September, and there are no entries in October, November, or December.

The material damage to the town caused by the bombardment was unquestionably considerable. Of the losses incurred in that respect by private individuals there is little record. But few of the public buildings of the town appear to have escaped. Of the four churches, St. John's is the only one which, so far as evidence is forthcoming, escaped serious damage. St. Andrew's, close to the wall, and exposed to the direct fire of the battery on the Leazes, was practically unroofed. It is probable that the garrison had mounted cannon on its tower, for that portion of the building suffered severely.³⁴⁷ The main structure of the building was so far destroyed as to be unfit for public worship. An entry in the church's register for 1645³⁴⁸ states, 'Ther was no child bapt^d in the parish for 1 years tim after the towne was taken nor sarmon in this church for 1 years tim.' In 1652 an assessment was laid on the parish for the repair of the church, and in 1672 the common council was petitioned to aid the work of restoration.³⁴⁹ So late as 1708, an assessment of sixpence in the £ proving insufficient, the corporation contributed £10 to the repair of the fabric.³⁵⁰ In regard to St. Nicholas's, there is no evidence to support the tradition that Marley saved the steeple by exposing Scottish prisoners in it. An order for the repair of it in the corporation records³⁵¹ for September 4th, 1645, seems still further to belie the tradition. All Saints' church, exposed as it would be to the fire of Callendar's batteries at Sandgate, was considerably damaged. In 1651 and 1655 it underwent extensive restoration.³⁵² When the Scots entered the town after the assault, it suffered with the other churches. At St. Nicholas's, a large image of Our Saviour upon the Cross, over George Carr's monument, was defaced by them.³⁵³ The outlying churches, also, did not escape.

³⁴⁷ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 339.

³⁴⁸ In Brand, vol. i. p. 180.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ 'It is ordered, etc. That the Steeple of St. Nicholas Church be presently repaired. And that Mr. Maior, Mr. Wm. Dawson, alderman, and Mr. Sheriffe, calling unto them William Gibson, be the overseers of the same.'

³⁵² Brand, vol. i. p. 360.

³⁵³ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 339.

On June 11th, 1675, the parishioners of North and South Gosforth petitioned for contributions towards the restoration of their church.³⁵⁴

The wall, the main fortification of the town, suffered naturally considerable damage. Ambrose Barnes, a youth at the time of the siege, describes it in after years as 'an old decayed wall,'³⁵⁵ and adds that the town had been 'fortified heretofore with a castle,' thereby suggesting that the castle had been reduced to the condition from which Marley had restored it. The mine sprung at the White Friar tower destroyed fifty-six or fifty-seven yards of the wall at that point, and a committee of the council was held on March 7th, 1648, to take its repair under consideration.³⁵⁶ Yet another of the four mines³⁵⁷ sprung on October 19th made a breach fifty-five yards in length, three yards thick, and six and a half yards in height, near the Pink tower. On September 20th, 1647, urged by colonel Lilburne, the common council ordered the repair of the wall generally, and especially at that quarter.³⁵⁸ On March 22nd, 1648, the council gave further order for the repair of 'the peeres at the Close-Gate.'³⁵⁹ The suburbs of the town at Newgate suffered destruction³⁶⁰ also in the

³⁵⁴ Brand, vol. i. p. 321.

³⁵⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 90.

³⁵⁶ Under date, 'Committee about the repayringe of the towne wall att the Friars, being 56 or 57 yards.'—*Corporation Records*, quoted by Brand, vol. i. p. 4.

³⁵⁷ Probably the Westgate mine. The damage done appears to be rather the effect of a mine than of artillery.

³⁵⁸ 'Whereas At a Comon Counsell held the 12th day of August last It was thought fitt in regard, That the walls of this Towne were in great decay and in some places so ruinous that they were readie to fall downe and in regard That Collonell Lilburne, the Governour of this Towne, had urged the present necessity of the repairing of the said walls, And especially a breach neere a place called the Pinke Tower, That an Agreement should be made with the masons of this Towne for the repairing of the same, And whereas there was an Agreement made betweene the maior and Burgesses of this Towne of the one ptie and Thomas Tayler, William Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, free masons of this Towne, of the other ptie, in manner and forme followeing, vizt., That they the said Thomas Taylor, Willm Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, shall and will att or before the last day of October next ensuing the date of these prnts well and sufficiently take down, ridd and new build upp againe a breach in the Towne walls neere a place called the Pinck Tower, being in length 55 yards, about 3 yards thicke, and about six yards and a halfe high. In consideracon whereof the said Maior and Burgesses are to pay unto the said Thomas Taylor, Wm. Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson the some of fflower score and fiftene pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid unto them weekly and every weeke according to their weekly bills of worke, untill they shall have received the aforesaid some of ninetie five pounds. It is this prnt day ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen. M^r. Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell of this Towne, that the aforesaid Agreement of the Maior and Burgesses with the said Thomas Tayler, William Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, and all and every thing contained therein be ratified and confirmed. Hen. Dawson, Maior.'

³⁵⁹ Brand, vol. i. p. 7.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 422.

course of the siege, probably at the hands of the garrison and of the Scots equally. Upon February 3rd, when the Scots first appeared, the garrison had set fire to the suburbs at Sandgate,³⁶¹ and so late as June 17th, 1667, the condition of the wall was so unsatisfactory that the council gave order for its repair, and that of its gates and drawbridges.³⁶² The Tyne bridge, situated between the castle and Callendar's batteries at Gateshead, also received considerable damage. On December 3rd, 1646, and on July 5th, 1647, mention occurs in the common council books of repairs done to it, and a later entry on March 28th, 1649, shows that timber from Chopwell woods was used for the purpose.³⁶³ Of the private houses in the town two, at least, appear to have been singled out by the Scots. Upon their entry at Closegate they set fire to a house which was probably sir John Marley's,³⁶⁴ and in the course of the pillage which followed, or

³⁶¹ *A Faithfull Relation of the late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army before Newcastle.* In the *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 319, it is stated that at that time [February, 1644], 'The town of Newcastle brynt up the suburbis thairof, lest the enemy sould tak advantage thairof.' In February, also, *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*, states, 'they [the garrison] sacrificed all the Houses without the Walls, which were very many (as they think), to his Majesties service, we heard the cry of the poor people, and it is like to be heard higher.' In a letter of February, 1644 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 169), it is stated that 'they within set on fire and burnt down all the streets and houses lying without the walls on the north side of the town.'

³⁶² 'The Comon Counsell havinge this day taken into consideracon great and emergent dangers w^{ch} threaten the nation, and this Towne as a member, have ordered and be it hereby ordered that immediatly the Townes Walls, Gates and Drawbridges be repaired and all rubbish or w^t else thrown over the same that may be disadvantageous thereto be removed. And that Cannons and Carriages be procured from the Townes Shipps and planted thereupon. And further takeing into consideracon the great necessity and want of powder here, for defence of the Towne in this time of danger have ordered that the Constables goe forthwth about the Towne, and return a List before Twelue a clock tomorrow to M^r Maior of all such persons as have powder, ball or match, and w^t quantity there is of it. And that the Custome House officers be requested to permitt none to be transported, and the Tollers commanded suffer none to goe out of the Gates wthout License from the Maior, upon paine that if any shall endeavor secretly by stealth to convey any forth of the Towne wthout License as aforesaid to give them notice That a seizure shall be made, and the same stopt till further order. And in respect moneys will be necessary for the doing of the same ord^r, and above w^t the Towne is able to disburse, that subscriptions be taken from such of the inhabitants as reside here wt they are willing to lend for the comon security tow^{ds} the defraying of this charge, to be repaid them back again forth of the Towns Revenue. Will. Blackett, Maior.'

³⁶³ Brand, vol. i. p. 47. The entry for July 5th, 1647, runs: 'The worke of the Bridge, both for the stone worke and the wood worke, to be viewed and the charge computed and report to be made the next Comon Counsell that the worke may be presently undertaken.'

³⁶⁴ See *ante*, p. 226.

as the result of the previous bombardment, the vicarage was damaged to such an extent as to be practically uninhabitable. On September 24th, 1649, the common council made order to indemnify Dr. Jenison, the then vicar, for the dilapidation of his residence caused by the siege.³⁶⁵ Beyond the town wall and fortifications and the residence of the mayor and vicar, certain of the public buildings were either damaged by the bombardment or pillaged upon the entrance of the Scots. The town hutch was rifled, and many of the corporation papers and deeds were destroyed by them.³⁶⁶ The common seal of the corporation was lost at the same time.³⁶⁷ Both the grammar school and its master, Amor Oxley, had their libraries destroyed, as appears from a clause in Oxley's will, dated 1669—'the free school in Newcastle lost its library when the town was stormed and plundered by the Scottish Army, and I then also lost my own library.'³⁶⁸ Trinity House was also plundered after the assault,³⁶⁹ though fortunately its valuable records were preserved. They furnish interesting evidence of the damage done to the building by Callendar's batteries which overlooked it.³⁷⁰

- April, 1645. p^d for Carpentry worke down aboute the house, 00. 03. 06.
 p^d for nayles used aboute the worke, 00. 00. 08.
 p^d for two deales, 00. 01. 06.
- Sept., 1645. p^d the plumber for castinge the gutter betweene the Chapelle
 and the vestrie finding lead soder and workmanshipp
 p^d the slater for slatinge the said roofe and findinge
 all slates lyme lathes brods [?] and workemanshippe,
 03. 10. 00.
 p^d for nayles for that worke and for a paire of bands for the
 new doore in the low courtaine, 00. 05. 06.
 p^d for a locke and three keyes for the ptition doore in the low
 courtaine, 00. 04. 04.
 p^d for pullinge downe the Rubbish out of the Chappell vestrie,
 00. 00. 08.

³⁶⁵ See note 379.

³⁶⁶ Brand (quoting Bourne), vol. ii. p. 468 n.

³⁶⁷ *Corporation Records*, April 9th, 1645: 'Whereas the Comon Seale of this Corporation is lost at the tyme of the storminge of the towne and that there is great and special occasion for the use of the said seale, it is therefore ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, that Mr. Maior take care that forthwith a new seale to bee made in pportion and otherwise like unto the old one as near as can bee, and that same to bee done at the charge of this Corporation, and that said new Seale so made shall bee reputed and taken to bee the Comon Seale of this Corporation, and shall bee to all intents and purposes as effectull as the aforesaid old Seale heretofore hath beene. Henry Warmouth, Maior.'

³⁶⁸ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁶⁹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 329.

³⁷⁰ From the pay book.

- Oct., 1645. p^d for tenn deales formerly used about the house, 00. 07. 06.
 p^d for a paire of barres for the little meeting roome w^hin the
 chappell cont. 25 pounds wyt, 00. 06. 03.
 p^d for six booles of lyme for the house use, 00. 03. 00.
 p^d for a corsse of haire, 00. 01. 00.
 p^d a laborer making up the haire and lyme a daie, 00. 00. 08.
 p^d a plaisterer and a laborer two daies $\frac{1}{2}$ plaisteringe beame
 fillinge and seltringe up the barrs, 00. 05. 00.
 p^d for these workmens drinckes, 00. 01. 00.
 p^d two women halfe a daie carring away the rubbish w^{ch}
 came from the worke, 00. 00. 06.
 p^d for 16 foote of New glasse and seaven foote of ould glasse
 new leaded, 00. 08. 05.

So far, therefore, as there is record of the damage done by the siege to the town and its buildings, it is clear that it suffered considerably, and, further, that while the Scottish occupation lasted—until February, 1647—but little was done to repair the damage.

The fall of Newcastle was followed by the complete downfall of the party which had conducted the siege, and the triumphant installation of the Puritans.

As early as September 30th, 1644, the Commons had shown their desire to reward their adherents in the north, by the appointment of John Fenwick of Newcastle, 'a person well affected to the Parliament,' as master of Sherburn hospital in county Durham.³⁷¹ On October 9th, Henry Warmouth had been appointed deputy-lieutenant of Newcastle,³⁷² and at the same time sir John Fenwicke, sir John Delaval, sir William Selby, William Fenwicke, Ralph Delaval, sir Thomas Widdrington, sir Robert Jackson, Michael Welden, and sir Arthur Haselrig had been nominated deputy-lieutenants for Northumberland.³⁷³ Within a few days of the fall of Newcastle, however, some difficulty

³⁷¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ In the *Corporation Records*, under June 9th, 1645, is the following entry: 'It is ordered by the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell of this Towne That the Ordinance of the Lords and Comons in this present Pliament assembled for the disablunge, disfranchisinge, and removeinge of Sir John Marley, Knt., from being Maior, Alderman, and freeman of this towne and for the restoreinge of Henry Warmouth, esq^r to his place of Alderman, and for the makeinge him present maior of this Towne. And for the disablunge, disfranchisinge, and removeinge of divers psons and settinge others in their places be fairely entered in the Blacke book and Comon Counsell books, And that the fees and charges of the said ordinance to be disbursed by John Blakiston, esq^r, Member of the house of Comons. and Burgesse for this Towne be repaid him out of the Towne Chamber upon the receipte of a noate of the fees and charges from him.'

showed itself in regard to the future government and control of the town. Writing from Newcastle on October 25th,³⁷⁴ to the Committee of Estates, the Committee of Both Houses with the Scottish army reminded the former that the instructions of the English Parliament issued on July 20th, 1644, had provided that when Newcastle and Carlisle fell, they should be given up to the 'persons and garrisons appointed by the two Houses to receive and defend them.'

On October 26th,³⁷⁵ the Committee of Estates replied to this letter, and urged that the third article of the treaty between the two kingdoms, which was posterior to the instructions of July 20th, provided that the Scottish army should, when it had accomplished its work, be subject to such conditions as should be agreed upon between the two kingdoms. So soon, therefore, as the English Parliament or its Committee was in a position to communicate its advice to the Committee of Scotland regarding the governor and garrison of Newcastle, they would 'endeavour to answer the expectations of both Houses with all brotherly love and respect.' On the 27th,³⁷⁶ sir William Armyne and the other English commissioners at Newcastle wrote to Vane to represent the urgency of the position, 'we earnestly desire the House will consider of how great concernment the settling of Newcastle is to all their affairs in these northern parts, and of what advantage the coal trade and customs are for the maintenance of their armies, if rightly managed, and whenever the Scots shall draw into the field, how this town may be preserved in peace, which is yet wholly malignant and cannot be suddenly reduced to the condition which is to be wished. Pardon our earnestness in this because the delaying of this business may prove prejudicial to you, the north is far from you, and things cannot every day be presented to you as in the south. . . . We daily expect some good ministers to be sent into these parts, of which there is a very great want.' Thus urged by their representatives in the north, the Commons, on October 31st,³⁷⁷ referred to a Committee of Lords and Commons 'to consider what is fit to be done for the Settlement of the Affairs and Civil Government of Newcastle to the best Advantage of the State.'

³⁷⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* October 27th.

³⁷⁷ *Commons Journals.*

It was not until December 5th that the Commons were in a position to issue their orders on that matter. On that date,³⁷⁸ they passed resolutions appointing Dr. Jenison³⁷⁹ to the vicarage of Newcastle,

³⁷⁸ *Commons Journal*.

³⁷⁹ Jenison did not at once resume his duties. The Trinity House pay book for 1646 has the following minute:—'Given to Dr. Jenison for a gratuite when he preached in Trinity House Chapel, January 5th, when he administered the covenant 0l. 10. 00.' The same corporation has a minute under March 17th, 1645:—'Pd for beer which was bestowed on Mr. Thring, schoolmaster, while he was writing the covenant in parchment, 00. 0l. 06., p^d for a skin of parchment 00. 00. 08.'

The following entries occur in the *Corporation Records* regarding Dr. Jenison:—'At a Comon Councell holden the 21st of July, 1645. Whereas this day a lre from Dr. Robert Jennison, dated at Danske [Dantzic] the 2nd of June last, was read before the right wo^{ll} Henry Warmouth, Esq^r., Maior, the Aldermen, M^r. Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell. And whereas the said Dr. in his lre is desirous to know what place either by Ordinance of Parliament or by order of Comon Councell shall be thought fitt to be conferred upon him the said Dr., especially therein mentioninge that of All Hallowes and the weekely lecture as callinge it his Antient and truest right till by ioynt consent the said Dr. relinquish the same in whole or in p^t. Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell takinge the said lre into o^r serious consideracon, and well weighinge the great ingagemnt of this Towne to the said Dr. for his great paines and meritt amongst us and the hard measure he suffered from the Enimies of the Gospell by his suspenson and banishment. And further consideringe that the Lords and Comons of this p^{nt} Parliam^t upon o^r humble peticon amongst other thinges have, by their Ordinance dated the 26th of May last, displaced and removed Yeldart Alvey, late Viccar of this Towne from the said Viccaridge for his notorious delinquency, and Ordayned the said Dr. Robert Jenison to be vicar in his place, and stead, and to have receive and enioye to his owne use all proffitts and advantages to the said Vicaridge and lectureye belonginge, in as large and ample manner as the said M^r. Alvey might or ought to have enioyed. All the aforesaid premisses considered Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell do hereby Order that the said Dr. Robert Jennison shall over and besides the said vicaridge be lecturer on the weeke day, and preach every Thursday in the florenooone at St. Nicholas Church. And shall have paid forth of the Revenues of the said Towne the some of One hundred pouds p. anna, over and above all the proffitts and benefitts as viccar, to beginn upon his arrivall here, and to be paid Quarterly, and the Comon Councell are further plessed to declare, that they will take into consideracon his charge in removinge hither, and recompense it. Henry Warmouth, Maior.'

'An Act of Common Councell made upon Monday the 24th day of September, Ano. dmi. 1649. That whereas in the yeere 1645, by the great importunitie of the right wo^{ll}. Maior, Henry Warmouth, Esq^r., and Common Councell of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne then beinge, Doctor Robert Jenison was with wife, children, and family both by their earnest lre and by order of Common Councell called home to Newcastle from Dantzigh, as also formerlie upon their humble petition p^sented in their names unto the Parliament by M^r. John Blakiston one of the Burgesses then for Newcastle by an Ordinance of both Houses dated May the 26th in the same yeere made for the regulatinge of affaires there nominated and appointed to be the Vicar thereof, in the place of M^r. Geildard Alvie then quite displaced and removed by the same ordinance, and so outed from the Vicarage. And whereas the Vicarage house was quite ruined by the Scotts soone after the takinge of the Towne in the yeere 1644 as appears by severall surveies taken thereof in wrytinge and entered amonge the memorandums or books of the Towne, so that the said Doctor neither had nor could have att anytime any place for his dwelling in

in place of Yelderd Alvey,³⁸⁰ and, in answer to the recommendation of their commissioners on October 27th, appointed Christopher Love and William Strother to proceed as ministers to Newcastle.³⁸¹ As to the town's civil government,³⁸² the Commons appointed Henry Warmouth, mayor, and ordered ' that he shall be restored to be alderman

the said house, beinge laid open in all pts of it from end to end, and from the ground to the rooffe, yea in divers pts to the skie. And whereas the said Towne by pcuringe the vicarage to be conferred upon him as aforesaid pessed their reall and good affeccion towards him, and intended his good and benefit by the vicarage and no prejudice to him or his. And whereas the said Doctor, his heires, adm^r or execut^r may be sued for dilapedacons of the said vicarage house and made to answer dammages for the same, which cannot be done but with more exence than ever the said Doctor had prffitt by it, or is like to have, he beinge now old and infirme, by which meanes his wife and children may be utterlie ruined in their estates, especiallie after his yearlye income by his death shall faile them, which is farr and ever was farr from o' intentions att first, or desires now, he havinge for 34 yeeres now (exceptinge the 7 yeeres time of his exclusion and banishment from the p'ace) diligentlie laboured amongst us, by preachinge twice a week and for 19 yeeres and more of that time thrice a week att least.

Now upon the grounds and consideracons aforesaid, and wth respect to him the said Doctor, and his after him, Wee, Thomas Bonner, Esq^r., the now Maior, and Common Counsell of this o' Towne and County of Newcastle in Common Councell assembled, do order and think fitt, covenant and agree for us and o' successors, That the Maior and Commonaltie of Newcastle upon Tyne, for them and their successo^r shall and will save harmles the said D^r. Robert Jennison, his heires, execut^r and adm^r by and under the ('ommon Seale of the Towne, from all the aforesaid dilipidacons and from all damage and losse that shall or may insue thereby to him o' any of them, and from all incumbrance and charge, which upon any p'tence may be brought upon him or them, other than the aforesaid ordinance of Parliament requires att his or their hands.

Tho. Bonner, Maior.'

³⁸⁰ For Alvey, see *Arch. Ael.*, new series, vol. i. p. 140, and for both Alvey and Jenison see Welford, *Men of Mark*.

³⁸¹ The following resolution occurs in the *Corporation Records* for May 30th, 1645 :-- 'Whereas there hath byn a great defect and want of Able and Orthodox Ministers to supplie the severall charges of this Towne, both in respect of Lecturers and others to take the pastorall care and charge withⁱⁿ the severall pshes. And whereas M^r. Cuthbert Sydenham and M^r. Wm. Durant were recommended unto this Corporacon for their learninge and integrity of life, wch uppon good and sufficient tryall had of them, they have approved to this Corporacon. Therefore Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, do hereby order that the said M^r. Sydenham and M^r. Durant be appointed and established to be Lecturers in this Towne, And to have and receive out of the Chamber of this Towne severall yearlye pencons for the same, That is to saie, A pencon of One hundred pounds p. Anna to be paid unto the said M^r. Sydenham and a pencon of foure score pounds p. Anna to be paid to the said M^r. Durant quarterly by even and equal porcons, their severall pencons to begin from the 25th day of March, 1645, And to continue so long as they and either of them continue their faithfull and religious discharge of their severall places in the exercisinge thereof att such tymes and places as the Comon Counsell shall think fitt to appoint. And wee do further order that a quarters payment, that is to say Midsummer Quarter next ensueing, be forthwth paid to either of them, and Tenn pounds given to each of them for their charges in cominge to this Towne. Henry Warmouth, Maior.'

³⁸² *Commons Journals*, December 5th, 1644.

of Newcastle.' John Blakiston was also appointed alderman, Edward Wright, of Gray's Inn, was made recorder in place of sir George Baker, Robert Ellison was appointed sheriff, Henry Dawson, 'customer,' in place of Richard Wynne, George Fenwick,³⁸³ 'customer,' in room of Mr. Mettam, and George Dawson, collector of customs. An application from Newcastle for the election of a new burgess in place of sir Henry Anderson was at the same time ordered to be taken into consideration 'on Monday next,'³⁸⁴ and the appointment of further aldermen was allowed to stand over. On December 9th,³⁸⁵ the comptroller and customers at Newcastle were empowered to make a new 'Seal for Cockets, and other things, belonging to the Custom-House of Newcastle,' and to make use of them as their predecessors had done or ought to have done. On December 11th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms³⁸⁶ made order that business relating to 'the government of Newcastle' should be taken on the following day, and as the result of apparently long deliberation, an ordinance³⁸⁷ for constituting the mayor, recorder, and other officers of the corporation was read a first and second time on March 22nd, 1645. The military command of the town was, however, left in the hands of the Scots.

On April 10th, 1645,³⁸⁸ the Committee of Both Kingdoms agreed to take 'the business of the Governor of Newcastle . . . tomorrow at 4 p.m.,' and on that day [April 11th], ordered³⁸⁹ 'That the commission to be granted to Sir James Lumsden be drawn up and presented to this Committee.' Lumsden, who acted as governor until the Scots left Newcastle in February, 1647, had his official residence at Anderson place.³⁹⁰ As the result of the triumph of the Puritan party in Newcastle, other changes were made among those who held public positions

³⁸³ 'Who hath suffered very much and been long lanished from his house in the towne of Newcastle.'—*Lords Journals*, vol. vii. p. 43.

³⁸⁴ This order does not appear to have been complied with. In *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date September 9th, 1645, it appears that the writs were shortly to be sent down by John Blakiston. On September 11th, 1647, a discussion was raised in the Commons on the failure of Newcastle to act on the writs.—*Perfect Occurrences*, under date. About October 24th, 1647, a deputation left Newcastle for London to indict Henry Dawson, the mayor, for his opposition to the election. See *ante*, p. 127.

³⁸⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³⁸⁶ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁸⁷ *Commons Journals*, vol. iv.

³⁸⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47.

³⁸⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-1647. Lumsden's appointment as governor of the 'Towne and garieson' was confirmed and ratified on March 5th and 16th, 1645.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

³⁹⁰ See p. 112 in this volume.

in the town. In May, 1645, Thomas Turner, curate of St. Nicholas's, and John Clark, curate and lecturer at St. Andrew's, were ejected,³⁹¹ and on the 30th of the same month Amor Oxley,³⁹² master of the grammar school, was displaced, together with, as appears probable, Edward Lumsden, his under-usher.³⁹³

In such manner the Puritan government of Newcastle was constituted. It signalled its accession to power by the following order, dated April 9th, 1645 :—

Whereas att this p'sent tyme the pmittinge of Papists and their Families to inhabite in a garrison Towne may pve of dangerous consequence, and ffor asmuch as in that regard the Papists gen'ally inhabitinge this Towne have been heretofore p'emptorily ordered to departe the said towne and Countie, and yet notwithstandinge the most of them have disobeyed the said Order, and doe still remaine amongst us. Itt is therefore ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen and Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, That every of the Aldermen of this Corporation, their deputie or deputies doe therefore give it in charge to the Constable or Constables of their severall and respective Wards, that they give notice to all and every papist inhabitinge in their severall wards that he or she, them and every of them being papists, doe att or before Monday next, being the fourteenth day of this present month of Aprill, depte out of the Town and Countie. And if any papist whatsoever shall after this summons and the tyme limited for their departure bee found to stay and abide within the said libertie, he or she whosoever stayinge and abidinge is to be proceeded against accordinge to the Laws of the Land. Henry Warmouth, Maior.

On April 15th, 1645, the Puritan corporation conferred its freedom upon sir William Armyne, Richard Barwics [or Barwis], and Robert Fenwick, the English commissioners.³⁹⁴

There remain for consideration the measures that were taken for the appropriation and regulation of the coal trade, Newcastle's chief industry. If England welcomed the fall of Newcastle as the first step towards a plentiful and cheaper supply of coals, the Scots, on their part, were thoroughly aware of both the political and material advantage which the control of the collieries would place in their hands in the event of difficulties with their English allies.

On October 26th,³⁹⁵ Sinclair wrote to the Scottish Estates, 'As for the ordering of the coalls, customs, exise, sequestrations, and moneyes thereupon arising, wee intend, that it shall be done by a joynt com-

³⁹¹ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁹² He was restored, April 27th, 1662, and was then paid £40 arrears due to him at the time of his ejection.—Brand, vol. i. p. 92.

³⁹³ *Memoirs of Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁹⁴ Brand, vol. ii. p. 469.

³⁹⁵ Thurloe, vol. i.

mittee, and no otherwayes ; for the parliaments instructions to their commissioners of the 9th of March doeth expressly beare the same, howbeit they labour to putt another glosse upon them. For this purpose James Swords³⁹⁶ presence here will be very necessary, and therefor desire wee your lordships to cause hasten him hither.' On November 6th, sir Lionel Maddison, who had returned to Newcastle with the Scots, wrote to Vane³⁹⁷ the first of a series of interesting letters which throw considerable light on the critical position of the collieries and coal-owners. Regarding the intention of the Scots to lay a tax upon coals for the payment of the army, he gives interesting statistics of the coal trade.

The annual sale of coals at Newcastle, he states, was 180,000 chaldrons, or 18,000 'tens,' and at Sunderland 40,000 chaldrons. or 4,000 'tens.' The foreign trade amounted to 30,000 chaldrons, or 3,000 'tens' annually. The duties upon each chaldron of coals amounted to seven shillings and sixpence if sold to English merchants for carriage in English bottoms, including tenpence for the old custom, five shillings imposition, and one shilling and eightpence further imposition. The duty on the chaldron, if sold to or carried by foreigners, amounted to nine shillings and twopence, which included the old custom and imposition, but with an increased further imposition of three shillings and fourpence. There were, he adds, two hundred and twenty-two salt pans on the river, and in good times about one hundred and eighty or ninety of them would be working, consuming about 36,000 chaldrons of coal annually. At Sunderland also there were salt pans, consuming 3,000 chaldrons a year, which lately belonged to sir William Lambton, but were now out of repair. On the following day [November 7th], Maddison writes again to Vane :—³⁹⁸

The English Commissioners, and especially the Scotch, expect much out of the coals wrought and to be wrought, so that friends, except course be taken above, are like to suffer as well as others. I and others who conceive ourselves friends have petitioned for possession and enjoyment of our coals and collieries, submitting to all ordinances of Parliament, but can have no answer yet, but are treated withal upon some proposition put in, I know not for what good purpose, by Sir Nicholas Cole, who hath no continuing colliery, but a great stock upon

³⁹⁶ He was a burges of St. Andrews and appears to have acted as collector of customs for the Scots after the fall of Newcastle.—Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 133.

³⁹⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

his staith, which he got cheap when others had no means to do the like. His proposition is that if he may have 10s. a chaldron for the present he will let all the rest, that can be made upon them, go to the service,³⁹⁹ knowing that these being sold he needs not care much for afterwards, thinking thereby to please the Scots and clear himself for his delinquencies, but you will shortly hear no small matters objected against him. Let him ingratiate himself now, and come off afterwards as well as he can. For the imposition on coal used for salt it will be too much to lay both upon them and the salt too, and if there be a necessity of imposition, the half methinks of what is aimed at were much, considering the value and necessary use of the commodities; and if the trade elsewhere be not well balanced, both for coals and salt that shall be sold in England, we shall be draining soon of the trade, and those that have of late felt the sweat thereof, and are still desirous of the same, would lick their lips thereat. I should think an equal imposition on all commodities, by a consideration of the values proportionally, were most equal, and that those commodities most used by the poor should be most and soonest eased. Whatsoever is thought fit for home vent will, I think, be sufficient if added to the foreign vent, for if that be overburdened fewer will be transported from hence; but elsewhere the more were vented at present, double and treble benefit would accrue for the present estate, for which I speak it, in that it matters not for us to whom we sell or where they be vented. The sale for many years cannot be like former years, because so many will hardly be wrought, and in that they cannot be afforded at so low rates as formerly, men will spend fewer as they find them dearer. Again, the troubles I doubt have made fewer householders and less housekeeping; but especially whilst the troubles last they cannot be dispersed nor carried to be sold in the country so far or so freely as they have been. Coals cannot now be afforded under 14s. or 15s., paying the old 12^d, and then consider what more shall be necessary to be added, which, whatever it will be, will be so much to be paid by the buyer and poor spender of the coal in England.

P.S.—I pray God keep us from the sickness which is in divers houses in Sandgate and some few in this town, and many places in the country. Since Sir Nicholas Cole's propositions for bettering, nothing but selling by the chaldron will be hearkened unto. The speech is, and the Scots seem to make a question for all our ships in the river and for the keels as prizes or due to them without composition, the town being taken by surprise. Their wages being taken care for and the payment thereof, I hope care will be [taken] that no such claim be made, but order to the contrary.

The difficulties of the position were felt by the Scots equally. On November 8th Sinclair writes to the Committee of Estates:—⁴⁰⁰

And because wee find daylie so many difficulties occurring concerning the managing and ordering of this busines of the coale, which can nather be so well knowne nor determined, as by those who are upon the place; we conceive it very necessar, that your lordships would desire the earle of Crawford, and such others of your number as yow shall think fitting, to repaire hither for assisting of us here, our burden being very great, and our number few.

³⁹⁹ *i.e.*, be appropriated by Parliament for its own purposes. Sir Nicholas's proposal was ultimately adopted. ⁴⁰⁰ Thurloe, vol. i.

While matters were in this unsettled condition at Newcastle, the English Parliament, on November 13th,⁴⁰¹ withdrew the prohibition of trade with the Tyne ports which had been imposed on January 14th, 1643,⁴⁰² and immediately great activity was displayed in the coal industry.⁴⁰³ At Newcastle, however, the position of the colliery owners was still under discussion.

On November 14th, sir Lionel Maddison, in a further letter to Vane,⁴⁰⁴ informed him that sir Nicholas Cole's proposal, 'that friends should lend what they would give,' found most acceptance in the town. As to the disposal of collieries belonging to delinquents, he and his partners had offered in regard to the collieries in which they were interested to 'undertake for such shares as belonged to any delinquents in partnership with us.' He corrects the statement in his former letter [November 6th] regarding the custom on each chaldron. On coals for foreign export, tenpence, to English buyers, eightpence, was the custom. He thinks that the many impositions on coals will decrease the sale by many thousand chaldrons this year, and strongly urges an excise, or some other method whereby to raise a revenue and at the same time diminish the burden on coals. He again refers to the Scots having seized the ships in the river, of one of which, the 'Sarah,' he was part owner. He wishes to know if, when Bristol was taken, prince Rupert acted as the Scots had done at Newcastle?

In spite of Maddison's objections, sir Nicholas Cole's proposal was virtually adopted. On November 17th, an agreement was signed at Newcastle on behalf of both kingdoms by William Rowe, to the following effect :—⁴⁰⁵

- 1.—Sir John Marley, sir Thomas Riddell, sir Thomas Liddell, sir Alexander Davison, sir John Minns, and sir Francis Anderson were declared to have forfeited their collieries and coals to the Parliament.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

⁴⁰² See p. 146 in this volume.

⁴⁰³ See p. 242 in this volume.

⁴⁰⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

⁴⁰⁵ Bourne, p. 234.

⁴⁰⁶ On November 26th, the earl of Northumberland, Ralph Maddison, Robert Bewicke, Thomas Lawrance, Eliz. Grey, Ralph Fowler, and Robert Young were by resolution of the House of Commons restored to the possession of their collieries and of the coal on their staithes and stands.—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

2.—Other colliery and coal owners than the above were to continue in possession as ‘tenants and servants to the Parliament,’ and were to be allowed to work their collieries on two conditions :—

(a) They were to receive 10s. per chaldron of coals sold ; and the amount paid per chaldron in excess of that price was to be applied to the service of Parliament and the maintenance of the army. To the same object was to be applied any impost which might be put on each chaldron, as well as ‘the old Custom of 1s. upon the Chalder, formerly paid by the Owners to his Majesty.’ the 3d. per chaldron for the town dues, and 3d. per chaldron for the garrison.⁴⁰⁷ These arrangements were to hold good also for coals already wrought and lying at the staithes or at the pit head.

(b) The price of coal per chaldron was fixed at 15s., to which ‘the Asses of 4s’., and ‘the ancient 12d. to the king’ were to be added. Coals for export were to be sold at the same rate, with the custom duties added.⁴⁰⁸

On November 19th, the House of Commons resolved⁴⁰⁹ that the commissioners of customs at Newcastle should settle the collection of customs there ‘for the use of the Navy.’ But save to the Parliament, to whose necessities not only the customs and taxes but also a large portion of the colliery owners’ profits were to be diverted, these measures gave little satisfaction. On November 21st, sir Lionel Maddison writes to Vane :—⁴¹⁰

For the country to subsist and maintain the army, except some speedy relief be, for any time, is impossible ; that they have done so much is hardly credible. Though the farmer discounts with the landlord for most of his rent by reason of

⁴⁰⁷ Sir Nicholas Cole’s payment to Baillie (see above, p. 238) was probably on account of the garrison dues.

⁴⁰⁸ On December 23rd, 1644, the committee at Goldsmith’s hall recommended that the regulation of the coal trade at Newcastle should be in their hands, and that for the next four months they should pay the Scottish army in and round Newcastle £700 a month out of the coal, collieries, and duties on coal.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 198. ⁴⁰⁹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

⁴¹⁰ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

charges lying upon the country, and some far surmounting their rents, [so] that the landlord hath little or nothing or less than nothing; yet is the tenant like to run away too from the same, though some have been desired only to stay upon the ground and but keep fire in the houses that they fall not to ruin. The Houses, I perceive, have the business now in consideration. I pray God timely remedy may be had, else both country and army will shortly be in a miserable case, for the country have advanced what they are able, and more than the country hath cannot be had.

Again, on November 27th, he writes to the same:—⁴¹¹

No money is to be had, little provision left, nothing but money will give content; driving off what is remaining where money cannot be had is not only in part executed by the officers and soldiers, but generally threatened, and what the consequences thereof will be any man may judge . . . many are ready to run away and leave all. . . . Either in time consider us, or the Lord in mercy look upon us.

Sir Lionel, however, as appears from a letter, apparently in February, 1645,⁴¹² had a careful eye upon his own interests:—

If this treaty [Uxbridge] shall procure a happy and well grounded peace, the business I would call your attention to may pass in an act of oblivion, but if otherwise, I would not for any private benefit let it pass. It may haply prove a very considerable thing. It is a colliery near Sunderland-water, just over against Lambton, called Harraden, belonging in part to Thos. Wray, of Beamish, a grand Papist and delinquent, whom I hear has gone away. . . . I would not seem to look much after it, neither yet would I now, but that I perceive either Sir Wm. Langley, Mr. Lilburne, or Mr. Gray, or all have an aim at it.

Nor in London does the fall of Newcastle appear to have produced those results which had been looked for. In November, 1644, Whitelock writes:—⁴¹³

The city by a petition remember their forwardness in their persons and purses to serve the parliament, and desire a reimbursement of their moneys lent towards reducing of Newcastle, and that they might have coals at a reasonable price; which was held fit by the commons, and put in a way to be done.

In December, ninety chaldron of Newcastle coals were shipped for distribution among the London poor.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* The letter is among the documents of doubtful date at the end of the volume. ⁴¹³ Vol. i. p. 339.

⁴¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date December 4th. At Newcastle, in April, 1645, Whitelock says (vol. i. p. 422) 'the inhabitants were discontented at the imposition on coals.'

By the spring of 1645, therefore, the problems which arose out of the siege and capture of Newcastle may be said to have been solved. The royalist party in the town had been completely crushed; its Puritan rivals were installed in office; a Scottish governor and a Scottish garrison guarded the town, and the extensive revenue derived from its chief industry was being applied to the needs of the Parliament and its Scottish ally. Soon after the assault on October 19th, the Scottish army withdrew from Newcastle into winter quarters at Darlington, Bishop Auckland, Durham, Chester-le-Street, Morpeth, and Hexham.⁴¹⁵ Leven returned to Scotland in the course of November,⁴¹⁶ leaving behind him a town partly in ruins, evidences of heroism, which later times have known better how to appreciate than those to whom, for the moment, his victory gave the control of the town and its fortunes.

⁴¹⁵ Lithgow.

⁴¹⁶ Douglas's *Diary*, '1st of November, I came towards Scotland, the 1st day to Morpet with the General, and dined, and from that to Anick. Upon the 2d day I came to Berwick; and upon the 3d day (being the Sabbath) I taught there to the garrison upon Psalm 56, at the beginning. Upon the 4th I came to Haddington.' Sir Lionel Maddison's letter of November 27th says that Leven was returning to Scotland on November 28th, and that sir Adam Hepburn had already returned there.

ERRATA.

- On page 93 line 9, delete 'the.'
 „ 95 „ 32, page 102 line 7, and page 104 lines 4, 26, and 37, for 'Lesley' read 'Leslie.'
 „ 105, heading, for 'Lesley' read 'Leslie.'
 „ 109 line 27, and page 112 line 9, for 'sir John Lumsden' read 'sir James Lumsden.'
 „ 114 note 127, for '1639' read '1640.'
 „ 125 „ 216, for 'p. 45' read 'p. 127.'
 „ 138 „ 302, for 'Calendar' read 'Callendar.'

V.—NORTHUMBRIA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

By the Rev. H. E. SAVAGE, Hon. Canon of Durham and Vicar of St. Hild's, South Shields.

[Read on the 27th day of July, 1898.]

After the death of Bede in 735 A.D., or rather after the close of his Ecclesiastical History four years earlier, the history of Northumbria seems to suddenly become almost a blank for more than a century. The mantle of the great historian fell on no successor. There are, indeed, certain local contemporary annals, such as the 'Continuation of Bede,' which carries on his 'recapitulation' or chronological summary¹ to the year 766,² and the similar record extending to 803, which together form the basis of the *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum*, ascribed to Symeon of Durham, and which have been largely used by him in his *Historia Ecclesie Dunhelmensis*.³ There is also, of course, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But annals such as these are after all but mere skeleton outlines. Except where obviously later legends have been interpolated,⁴ they give little more than mere 'Fasti,' chiefly relating to the succession of the kings and the bishops, and (in a few cases) the principal abbats, of Northumbria. The character sketches and touches of personal or local interest, which add so much to the charm of Bede's narrative, are wholly wanting. The dry bones are not living pictures.

¹ *H. E.*, v. 24.

² Printed in the editions of Bede at the end of the Ecclesiastical History. Moore's MS. in the Cambridge University Library (Kk. 5, 16) ends at the year 734. As it is probably contemporary with Bede [See Hardy, *Catalogue of MSS. relating to the Early History of Great Britain*, vol. i. pt. i. pp. 433-4], the notes so far were probably added by Bede himself. The subsequent entries down to 766, which are found in three MSS., may probably be ascribed to Cuthbert, the devoted disciple of Bede, who wrote the account of his master's last hours, and who was abbat of Jarrow in 765 (see below p. 261).

³ Hinde, Preface to Symeon of Durham, Surtees Soc. vol. 51, pp. xv.-xviii. See also p. xix.: 'The importance of the early annals embodied in the *Historia de Gestis Regum Anglorum et Dacorum* has been greatly underrated, in consequence of their having been looked upon as the production of an author of the twelfth century, instead of being, as they unquestionably are, the genuine records of the eighth and ninth; as ancient and authentic as any of the materials which have been incorporated in the Saxon Chronicle for the same period.'

⁴ *e.g.*, concerning the relics of Acca and of Alchmund, under the years 740 and 781.

And yet, outside these records there is material, and contemporary material available by which it is possible to realise vividly some of the actors in the events so barely noticed in the annals, and to catch glimpses of the conditions of their life, and of their manners and interests and surroundings, during a transition period of great unrest and constant trouble. It is to this material that I propose briefly to draw attention, for it has been strangely overlooked hitherto by local historians. I refer to the foreign correspondence of Anglo-Saxon churchmen, engaged either in missionary or in literary work on the continent, with their friends and acquaintances at home.

The wandering, or rather travelling, instinct which is so marked a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, was as strongly active in the eighth century as in any preceding or later age. Men (and women) were as eager as a Benedict Biscop or a Wilfrid had been before them to visit the famous cities of the continent of Western Europe, and above all Rome itself ; and their constant journeys to and fro afforded an opportunity of frequent communication between those who had settled in other lands and those who remained at home. Moreover, in addition to their service, special messengers were continually coming and going between the great leaders of missionary enterprise and the heads of the church at home. In this way a mass of correspondence of various kinds accumulated at all the chief centres ; and in many cases at least these letters were carefully preserved as memorials of the great men by whom or to whom they had been written. Such collections must no doubt have existed in the leading religious houses of Northumbria, as, *e.g.*, Lindisfarne, Jarrow, York, Hexham, or Ripon, as is clear from the number of communications with them which are to be found in the Mainz records and in Alcuin's epistles. But in the incursions of the Danes, and possibly even more in the equally ruthless, if not worse, devastations of William of Normandy, they were utterly destroyed. We are now, therefore, thrown back on the fragments which have survived in the foreign collections.

There is, however, one unfortunate circumstance about these, that they were obviously cherished rather as choice literary productions, according to the taste of that age, than as historical evidence, so that almost universally the dates have been eliminated, and not infre-

quently even the names of the persons addressed.⁵ The absence of dates is often disappointing. Thus, there are two letters from Alcuin congratulating Ethelbald and Friduin respectively on their several elections to the abbacy of the twin monastery at Wearmouth and Jarrow,⁶ but there is nothing to indicate the order of their succession. But in not a few instances the dates can be readily enough supplied from the events alluded to; and in these allusions there is often no little interest of various kinds to be found. Sometimes it happens that a bare statement of the annals is rendered in this way instinct with all the life of personal details. To take but two instances of this:—

(i.) Under the year 764 the annals record that ‘heavy snow, frost-bound, lay on the land almost from the beginning of the winter to the middle of the spring.’⁷ How terribly this severe cold affected the work of the monasteries appears from a letter of Cuthbert, abbat of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the pupil of Bede to whom we owe the touching account of his master’s last hours, written to Lul, bishop of Mainz. Lul had written to him to ask for copies of some of Bede’s works. Cuthbert in return sends the prose and verse lives of St. Cuthbert, and adds that he would have sent more if possible, and that indeed he and his boys had done their best; but that the bitter winter, with its cold and frost and storms, had so numbed the hands of the copyists that they could not write out any more.⁸ One is reminded of the naïve remarks which occur at intervals in the Ecclesiastical

⁵ ‘Cum vero non propter rerum gestarum indagacionem historiaeque cognitionem describi solerent, sed ut exempla fierent literarum componendarum aut ob admonitionum gravitatem, quae in eis passim continentur, plerumque librarii et nomina et temporum signa earum neglexerunt omiseruntque,’ etc.—Dümmler, *Monumenta Alcuiniana* (edited after Jaffé’s death, from the materials prepared by him, by Wattenbach and Dümmler), p. 132.

⁶ Epp. 272 and 273 in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*. The subsequent quotations from Alcuin are taken from this edition.

⁷ ‘Anno dclxiv. nix ingens gelu ligata omnibus retro saeculis incomparabilis, a principio hiemis pene usque ad medium veris terram oppressit.’—Sym. Dun. *Historia Regum*. In the different copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle this severe frost is ascribed to the years 761 or 762.

⁸ ‘Nunc vero, quia rogasti aliquid de opusculis beati patris, cum meis pueris iuxta vires, quod potui, tuae dilectioni praeparavi: libellos de viro Dei Cudbercto, metro et prosa compositos, tuae voluntati direxi. Et, si plus potuissem, libenter voluissem. Quia presentia [?] preteriti hiemis multum horribiliter insulam nostrae gentis, in frigore et gelu et ventorum et imbrium procillis, diu lateque depressit, ideoque scriptoris manus, ne in plurimorum librorum numerum perveniret, retardaretur.’—*Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, ep. 134, p. 301.

History of Ordericus Vitalis, about the pen dropping from his fingers through the winter cold, and the necessity of postponing his story till the return of spring.⁹ And yet in this same letter the good Cuthbert, in thanking Lul for the present he had sent him of an embroidered rug for his own use in the cold weather, says simply that he had with great joy devoted it for a covering for the altar in St. Paul's church as a thank-offering for his forty and six years in that monastery.¹⁰

(ii.) In 798 A.D. the Danes attacked and ravaged Lindisfarne, and scattered the monks whom they did not kill. But though the horrors of their attack are given with slightly more detail than usual in the annals,¹¹ nothing is said of the fate of the refugees. This disaster, however, afforded Alcuin, in his comfortable security at a distance, an opportunity of writing a whole batch of letters in the congenial role of a candid friend. Even amongst those which have been preserved there are two addressed to king Ethelred, two to bishop Higbald (besides a long and inopportune poem),¹² one to Cudrad, one to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and one to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury.¹³ His theme is chiefly an unsympathetic moralizing on the prevalent sins which he assumes were directly visited with the judgment of heaven in the attack on Lindisfarne. He is eager in fact to 'improve the occasion.' Incidentally, however, the condition of matters at Lindisfarne appears here and there. At first the bishop and the remnant of the monks are urged to vigour and courage in

⁹ *e.g.*, lib. iv. ad fin. 'Multa terrigenis imminent infortunia, quae si diligenter scriberentur omnia, ingentia replerent volumina. Nunc hiemali frigore rigens aliis occupationibus vacabo, praesentemque libellum hic terminare fatigatus decerno. Redeunte vero placidi veris sereno, ea quae minus plene disserui, sive quae restant in sequentibus replicabo: Deoque iuvante, casus guerrae pacisque nostratum veraci stilo copiose dilucidabo.'—*Hist. Norm. Scriptores Ant.* ed. Du Chesne, p. 546.

¹⁰ 'Similiterque mihimet ipsi coopertorium variatum, ad tegendum scilicet propter frigus meum corpus misisti. Quod videlicet omnipotenti Deo et beato Paulo apostolo ad induendum altare, quod in eius ecclesia Deo consecratum est, cum magno gaudio dedi; quia et ego sub eius protectione in hoc monasterio quadraginta et sex annos vixi.'—*Mon. Mog.* p. 301.

¹¹ 'Veniunt . . . ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam; miserabili praedatione vastant cuncta, calcant sancta pollutis vestigiis, altaria suffodiunt, et omnia thesauraria sanctae ecclesiae rapiunt. Quosdam e fratribus interficiunt, nonnullos secum vinctos assumunt, plerumque opprobriis vexatos nudos projiciunt, aliquos in mare demergunt.'—*Sym. Dun.*, *H.R.*, 793.

¹² Du Chesne's ('Quercetani') ed., Paris, 1617, pp. 1711-1715.

¹³ Epp. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

defence of their sacred citadel, and are pointed to the example of Judas Maccabæus;¹⁴ and Alcuin promises to ask king Charles, 'when he has subdued his enemies through the mercy of God, and returns home,' if anything can be done in the matter of 'the boys who have been carried off into captivity by the pagans.'¹⁵ Cudrad the priest had evinced a special constancy of faith. Having escaped from the Danes, he seems to have resolved to devote himself to a stricter life according to rule, apparently as an anchorite; and he sent a message to Alcuin by one Buitta asking for his advice. Alcuin replies very cautiously (not to say obscurely); and while he commends his resolution he refers him to the counsel of the brotherhood, pointing out that he can observe his rule as well in the community life as in a hermit's call, and that he has an opening before him for influencing the other members of the fraternity in favour of a more regular life.¹⁶ It is clear then that the community, if scattered, was not broken up. There is no thought, even under the first pressure, of abandonment of the post. And in the later letters of this series it is apparent that the immediate danger has rapidly passed away, for Alcuin changes his tone, and loftily presses the bishop and the monks to place their reliance on spiritual weapons, and not on physical resistance.¹⁷

But besides supplying a mere sketching in of details into the already known outlines of leading events, the letters of Boniface and Lul, and more especially of Alcuin (himself a Northumbrian both by

¹⁴ 'Sed modo, qui residui estis, state viriliter, pugnate fortiter, defendite castra Dei. Mementote Judam Machabeum, quia templum Dei purgavit et populum a servitute liberavit extranea.'—Ep. 24, p. 191.

¹⁵ 'Cum dominus noster rex Karolus, hostibus per Dei misericordiam subditis, domum revertetur, nos Deo iuvante ad eum venire disponimus. Et si quid tunc vel de pueris, qui in captivitate a paganis abducti sunt, vel de aliis quibusque necessitatibus vestris vestre sanctitati proficere possumus, diligenter ad effectum perducere curabimus.'—Ep. 24, pp. 192-3.

¹⁶ 'Valde sanctorum locorum ingemisco vastationem; sed vestrae fidei laetificor constantia. Deique omnipotentis conlaudaris clementiam, qui tibi inter manus paganorum pepercit. Ideo firma fide in quo coepisti proposito permancas; confidens in misericordia Dei, ut te suae pietatis conservet, ubicumque—fraterno consilio—te habitare velit Deus. Tamen—sive in loco habitationis singularis sive in fraterna cohorte—solitariam conversationem et secretas orationes et ieiuniorum propositum diligenter observa Visitantesque te fratres consolatione sancti Spiritus diligenter ammone exhortans eos,' etc.—Ep. 26, p. 195.

¹⁷ *e.g.* 'Fortior est defensio sanctorumque intercessione [?], qui apud vos requiescunt, quam sagittarum collectio, et morum emendatio quam armorum congregatio. Memento Ezechiam regem quantos hostes una prece prosternerit.'—Ep. 25, p. 194.

birth and by training), afford invaluable information, which cannot be obtained elsewhere, as to the state of the religious houses and the general condition of life in the northern kingdom.

I.—THE MONASTERIES.

In the century which intervened between the foundation (or refoundation) of the Northumbrian church by Aidan and the death of Bede a remarkable development had taken place in the religious houses. At first they were essentially evangelistic centres, the prime object of which was to exert a missionary influence on their neighbourhood, and to train a succession of popular teachers. The instruction given in them was mainly—perhaps entirely—subordinated to this purpose. The heroes of the monastic life whose fame was greatest, and whose personal recruiting power was most attractive, were those who were especially prominent for their energy in spreading the gospel, or for the rigour of their own asceticism—a form of practical preaching which was very effective in a rough age of loose moral restraint. But with Benedict Biscop a new era began. His enthusiasm for art and culture and literature, and the varied stores collected in his travels, not only furnished his two monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow with richer accessories than their predecessors, but in effect set the standard of a new type of religious house. The chief monasteries tended now to become more and more self-centred. The pursuit of literature became an end in itself; the acknowledged leaders of thought and life were the great teachers and writers; art was developed and encouraged as a life work; personal culture took its place side by side with missionary activity as an integral aspect of the ideal Christian life. To this stage of course belongs the career of Bede himself; monuments of this period are still extant in such productions as the Codex Amiatinus¹⁸ and the Lindisfarne Gospels.¹⁹

After Bede's death the scholastic centre of Northumbria was transferred from Jarrow to York, where the mantle of the great teacher fell successively on his old pupil Egbert, and after him on

¹⁸ Now in the Laurentian library at Florence. For the interesting story of the identification of this Codex as one of Ceolfrid's three great Pandects of the new version (Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, § 12), see the *Church Quarterly Review* for Jan., 1888.

¹⁹ Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 34, n.

Aelbert, Egbert's successor in the archbishopric.²⁰ Alcuin, the pupil of both these masters, gives, in his poem *De Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae*,²¹ some idea of the range of their learning. The subjects of Egbert's lectures included, besides the sacred scriptures and ecclesiastical themes such as the calculation of Easter, grammar, rhetoric, law, Latin versification, astronomy, and natural history. It was Aelbert who amassed the extensive library which Alcuin, to whose care it was afterwards entrusted, partially catalogues in his verses;²² and its range is certainly a remarkable one: for apart from the grandiloquent reference to 'all Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and African literature,'²³ which may mean anything or nothing, the authors definitely quoted by name are sufficient to prove its literary catholicity. Aristotle is the only Greek classic specifically referred to; but the Latin classics are represented by such names as Cicero, Virgil, Statius, Lucan, Pliny, etc., besides the later grammarians; while there is a regular catena of both Greek and Latin fathers. The reverence paid to the great scholastic teachers is, moreover, emphasised by the election of Egbert and Aelbert successively to the archiepiscopal chair.

But were Jarrow and York the only literary Northumbrian houses? It is a curious fact that to these alone are addressed requests from abroad for books. Boniface writes to Egbert twice over for copies of Bede's works, and sends him a transcript of Gregory's Epistles; he also asks Huetbercht, abbat of Jarrow, for some of Bede's writings.²⁴ Similarly, Lul writes to Aelbert (under one of his *aliases* as Koena²⁵), and to Cuthbert of Jarrow, with a like request.²⁶ And at the end of the century Alcuin applies to Charles for permission to send some of his scholars to York for a supply of books;²⁷ and in two of his letters

²⁰ *Vita Alcuini*, §§ 2, 4 (*Mon. Alc.* pp. 9, 13).

²¹ ll. 1430-1452. ²² ll. 1535-1561.

²³ 'Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis,
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbri superno,
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.'—1536-9.

²⁴ *Mon. Mog.* Epp. 61, 100, 62; pp. 180, 250, 181. For Huetbercht see the references given in *Arch. Ael.*, vol. x. p. 202. It is doubtful, however, whether the inscribed fragment of a cross there referred to really represents his name. See *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xi. pp. 28-30.

²⁵ Called Aethelberht in *A.S. Chron.* s.a. 766 and 780. See Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 12.

²⁶ *Mon. Mog.* Epp. 122, 123; pp. 288, 289.

²⁷ Ep. 78, p. 346.

to the monks of Jarrow he refers to their library.²⁸ But in the other letters which passed to or from the northern houses there is no reference at all to the transmission of books.

Jarrow seems to have had, besides its literary activity, some fame for metal work as well. Boniface asks Huetbercht to send him a bell, if it be not too much trouble;²⁹ and at a later date Cuthbert mentions that he had sent to Lul by Hunvini, the priest, some six years before, twenty knives, and now forwards, amongst other presents with the books asked for, a bell 'such as he had at hand.'³⁰ In return he asks Lul to engage for him a glass worker who could make glass vessels; because he and his monks were ignorant of that art, and at a loss for it.³¹ It is clear, therefore, that the result of Benedict Biscop's importation of Gallic glass workers for Wearmouth had not been as effective or as permanent as might have been anticipated from Bede's account, written a generation earlier.³²

So far as Bede's records show, the Northumbrian religious houses seem to have been on the whole well administered, and to have maintained a fairly strict discipline during the first century of their existence. There was, however, one instance of laxity which foreshadowed the troubles of the following years: this was the case of Ebba's house at Coldingham, where amongst other irregularities the tendency to indulgence in extravagance of dress and in festal revelry had already made its appearance.³³ In the Anglo-Saxon monasteries

²⁸ Ep. 275, p. 846. 'Quid vero librorum copia prodest, si non erunt legentes in eis et intelligentes eos?' etc.—*Cf.* ep. 27, p. 199. 'Videte librorum thesaura.'

²⁹ 'Et si vobis laboriosum non sit, ut cloccam unam nobis transmittatis, grande solacium peregrinationis nostrae transmittitis.'—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 62, p. 181.

³⁰ 'Sed et ante sex annos per Hunvini meum presbyterum . . . aliqua parva exenia, cultellos videlicet 20 et gunnam de pellibus lutrarum factam, tuae fraternitati misi. . . . Duo vero pallia subtilissimi operis, unum albi alter tincti coloris, cum libellis, et cloccam, qualem ad manum habui, tuae paternitati mittere curavimus.'—*Ibid.* ep. 134, p. 301.

³¹ 'Si aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia, qui vitrea vasa bene possit facere, cum tempus adrideat, mihi mittere digneris. Aut si fortasse ultra fines est in potestate cuiusdam alterius sine tua parrochia, rogo, ut fraternitas tua illi suadeat, ut ad nos usque perveniat. Quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus.'—*Ibid.* p. 301.

³² 'Misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiae porticumque et caenaculorum eius fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, et venerunt: nec solum opus postulatam compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem huiusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt: artificium nimirum vel lampadis ecclesiae claustris vel vasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum.'—*Hist. Abb.* § 5.

³³ Bede, *H. E.* iv. 25. See Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, ed. Gasquet, vol. iii. p. 334, vol. iv. p. 426.

there was apparently no distinctive uniform garb, either for men³⁴ or for women. In his life of St. Outhbert Bede mentions as a special memorial of his influence still existing among the monks at Lindisfarne that no one there wore any garment of varied or rich colour, but only clothing of natural wool; ³⁵ while, earlier still, Aldhelm lashes in his turgid way the elaborate and fashionable attire affected by the religious in his time.³⁶ The habit of dressing gaily by the religious is assailed again and again in the eighth century. It is touched upon in the nineteenth canon of the council of Clovesho, in 747 A.D.,³⁷ and it is not improbably in connexion with this council that Boniface writes to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, 'we have forbidden the servants of God to use gorgeous dress or cloak or arms,' and later on in the same letter he dwells with considerable emphasis on this point.³⁸ So, too, Alcuin continually harps on the subject: to Higbald, bishop of Lindisfarne, to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, to the monks of York, to Ethelbald and Friduin, abbats of Wearmouth and Jarrow,³⁹ and so on.

This irregularity, indeed, was not confined to the northern houses, but prevailed throughout the country. Moreover, it was a national,

³⁴ This may account in some measure for the great importance attached to the tonsure.

³⁵ 'Unde usque hodie in eodem monasterio exemplo eius observatur, ne quis varii aut preciosi coloris habeat indumentum, sed ea maxime vestium specie sint contenti, quam naturalis ovium lana ministrat.'—*Vita S. Cuth.* xvi.

³⁶ *De laud. virg.* lviii. (p. 364, ed. Wharton, 1693). The passage is perhaps worth quoting as a specimen of his style: 'Puderet ferre quorundam frontosam elationis impudentiam et comptam stoliditatis insolentiam, quae in utroque sexu non solum sanctimonialium sub regimine coenobii conversantium, verum etiam ecclesiasticorum sub ditone pontificaii in clero degentium contra canonum decreta et regularis vitae normam deprehenduntur usurpatae, ob id solum, ut crustu interdicto, phalerataque venustate carnalis statura comatur, ac habitudo corporea membratim ac particulatim perornetur. Nam cultus gemini sexus huiuscemodi constat, subucula bissina, sive hiacinthina, tunica coccinea capitium et manicae sericis clavate calliculae rubricatis pellibus ambiuntur, antiae frontis et temporum cicini calamistro crispantur, pulla capitis velamina candidis et coloratis mafortibus cedunt, quae vittarum nexibus adsutae talo tenus prolixius dependunt, unguis ritu falconum, accipitrum, seu certe ad instar cavannarum acuuntur,' etc.

³⁷ Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 250; Wilkins, i. 97.

³⁸ 'Interdiximus servis Dei, ut pompato habitu vel sago vel armis utantur . . . supervacua et Deo odibile vestimentorum superstitionem omni intentione prohibere stude. Quia illa ornamenta vestium,' etc.—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 70, pp. 202, 209.

³⁹ Ep. 24, p. 192; 25, p. 193; 27, pp. 198, 200; 35, p. 251; 272, p. 840; 273, pp. 841, 842; 274, p. 844; 275, p. 846. Cf. 85, p. 368.

not a peculiarly monastic, failing ; for after the attack on Lindisfarne by the Danes in 793 A.D. Alcuin writes to king Ethelred severely about it : ' What also of the extravagant use of garments beyond the requirements of human nature, beyond the custom of our predecessors ? This excess of princes is the impoverishment of the people. . . . Some labour under superabundance of clothing, while others perish with cold.'⁴⁰ And in a curious letter to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, he urges that if he visits king Charles he should see to it that his retinue, and especially the clergy in it, be soberly and becomingly habited, as though extravagance of dress were not customary on the continent.⁴¹

But luxury in dress was not the only failing in the religious houses ; excess in eating and drinking also had penetrated the cloister from the court and from the outside world generally. According to Symeon of Durham's account, the members of Aidan's house at Lindisfarne had been restricted to milk or water for beverage ; but when king Ceolwulf resigned his crown and turned monk, being unable to bear this restraint, he carried with him into the monastery the use of wine and beer, which thenceforward was generally permitted in that community.⁴² Be this as it may, the fact remains that high living and drinking were unfortunately a definite danger in the monasteries in the eighth century. The council of Clovesho dealt with it,⁴³ and Boniface, in his letter to archbishop Cuthbert, in speaking of it, adds pathetically, ' This evil is a peculiarity of the heathen and of our nation. It is not practised by Franks, Gauls, Lombards, Romans, or

⁴⁰ ' Quid quoque inmoderatus vestimentorum usus ultra humane necessitatem nature, ultra antecessorum nostrorum consuetudinem ? Haec superfuitas principum paupertas est populi. . . . Alii inormitate vestium laborant, alii frigore pereunt.'—Ep. 22, p. 182.

⁴¹ ' Si vero ad domnum regem pervenias, ammonere socios tuos, maximeque clericos, ut honorifice se observent in omni relegione sancta, in vestimentis et in ordine ecclesiastico. . . . Prohibe eos auro vel siricis uti vestimentis in conspectu domni regis ; sed humili habitu incedant secundum consuetudinem servorum Dei.'—Ep. 171, p. 617.

⁴² ' Hoc rege, iam monacho facto, efficiente, data est Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae monachis licentia bibendi vinum vel cerevisiam : ante illud tempus non nisi lac vel aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem Sancti Aidani, primi eiusdem ecclesiae antistitis et monachi, qui cum illo de Scotia venientes, ibidem, donante rege Oswaldo, mansionem acceperant.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Recapit.* p. 68, s.a. 854. The story is twice repeated verbatim by Roger de Hoveden, vol. i. (R.S.) pp. 8, 45.

⁴³ Can. 21, Spelman, i. 250 ; Wilkins, i. 97.

Greeks.⁴⁴ Alcuin of course continually lashes the vice; but his virtuous indignation is somewhat discounted by his complaint to Joseph when he was detained in Northumbria in the year 790: 'Alas, alas, there is death in the pot, O thou man of God; for the wine is spent in our vessels, and the bitter ale rages in our bowels'; and he asks for one of the two casks (?) of the best clear wine promised him by the physician Winter to be forwarded to him 'if it be the best!'⁴⁵

National instincts indeed ran strongly in the cloister. The restlessness of foreign travel found its outlet for monks not only in missionary enterprise, but also in pilgrimages to Rome, and in visits to countrymen abroad, as has been already noticed. And not only men, but women also, were bent on these peregrinations. As early as 712 A.D. Oswy's daughter Aelfled, abbess of Whitby, wrote to Adolana, commending to her care a certain subordinate abbess who had long wished to make the pilgrimage to Rome, but who could not be spared earlier from her duties at home.⁴⁶ So also, *e.g.*, Eangyth and Heaburg (and Montalembert conjectures that they wrote from one of the houses on the northern coast—probably Hartlepool or Whitby⁴⁷) applied to Boniface for advice as to their wish to make the same journey.⁴⁸ To all such suggestions he replies very guardedly; and indeed he had good reason for his caution, as he explains to archbishop Cuthbert, in the sad fate of many who had recklessly rushed abroad without adequate protection.⁴⁹ Hunting, too, was a diversion occasionally indulged in by monks. The servants of God are forbidden to practise hunting, or wandering in the woods with dogs, or to keep hawks and falcons.⁵⁰ Alcuin, in the quaint manner of a

⁴⁴ 'Hoc enim malum speciale est paganorum et nostrae gentis. Hoc nec Franci nec Galli nec Longobardi nec Romani nec Graeci faciunt.'—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 70, p. 210.

⁴⁵ 'Vae, Vae, mors in olla, o homo Dei; quia vinum defecit in sitharchis nostris et celia acerba furit in ventriculis nostris. . . . Uinter medicus mihi promisit duo carrata de vino optimo et claro. Quem rogavi, ut tibi redderet. Et si habeas et si optimum sit, mittantur Rufu; ut ille mihi dirigat unum et aliud Brorda.'—Ep. 16, p. 171.

⁴⁶ *Mon. Mog.* ep. 8, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Vol. iv. p. 443.

⁴⁸ *Mon. Mog.* ep. 14, pp. 66-71. Their letter is quite pathetic, as they describe their lonely and harassed position, their yearning for sympathy, and their humble steadfastness in their loyalty to duty.

⁴⁹ *Mon. Mog.* ep. 70, p. 208.

⁵⁰ 'Servis Dei venationes et silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, et ut acceptores et walcones non habeant, prohibuimus.'—*Ibid.* p. 202

true pedant, urges the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow to pay closer attention to the training of the boys entrusted to their care ; to educate them for teachers, to keep them closely to the service of praise, and not to allow them to 'dig out the holes of foxes or to track the flying hare.'⁵¹ But after all, the picture presented of the inmates of the northern religious houses is only made the fuller of a kindly human interest by these allusions. Grave as were the occasional scandals in other parts of the land, no definite accusation of any serious moment is brought against any of the regular Northumbrian houses, except one charge only in the time of Osred, in which case they were the sufferers, not the aggressors. The enactment of preventive regulations, as in the Penitential of archbishop Egbert, does not by any means imply a widespread delinquency, any more than any secular criminal code involves a prevalence of all offences dealt with in it ; and even the censorious Alcuin himself acknowledges to the monks of Wearmouth that everything that he saw when with them, both in their domestic arrangements and in their manner of life, gave him the greatest satisfaction.⁵²

II.—THE COURT.

The court of the Northumbrian kingdom in the eighth century, except for the one interval of prosperity in the later years of Ceolwulf's reign, and under the strong hand of Eadbert, presents an ignoble and pitiable spectacle of violence, vice, and intrigue. The story of shame opens at the very commencement of the century, when, two months after the death of Aldfrid at the close of the year 705, his son Osred,⁵³ at the age of eight, became king ; and though, happily for his kingdom, he was slain by his kinsmen⁵⁴ when he was only nineteen, such had been the profligacy of his youth that he was afterwards referred to by Boniface as one of the first two abominable

⁵¹ 'Adsuescant pueri : laudibus adstare superni regis ; non vulpium fodere cavernas, non leporum fugaces sequi cursus. Quam impium est, Christi amittere obsequia et vulpium sequi vestigia. Discant pueri scripturas sacras ; ut aetate perfecta veniente, alios docere possint,' etc.—Ep. 27, p. 200.

⁵² 'Quia omnia, quae apud vos videbam, sive in habitationibus domorum sive in conversatione vitae regularis, valde mihi placuerunt.'—Ep. 274, p. 843.

⁵³ Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, 57, alone mentions the usurper Eadwulf, who held the throne for a few weeks after Aldfrid's death. He is not mentioned by Sym. Dun., or in the *A.S. Chron.*

⁵⁴ Will. Malmesb., *Gesta Regum*, i. 53.

reprobates, the other being his almost exact contemporary Ceolred, king of Mercia, who broke in upon the hitherto inviolate privileges of the religious houses, and basely seduced the consecrated nuns.⁵⁵ The monasteries had indeed fallen on evil days; for Boniface inveighs against the infringement of monastic liberties, unheard of in former times and now unknown in the whole Christian world, except amongst the English nation, by which monks were impressed to labour on the royal works and buildings.⁵⁶ And further, Bede, in his epistle to Egbert, written shortly before his death, refers with dismay to the spurious monasteries which had lately been set up in the northern kingdom by members of the court, not as religious establishments, but as refuges for a licentious seclusion, or opportunities for the counterfeit personal aggrandisement of titular ‘abbats’ who were no monks⁵⁷—a practice which had come into vogue in the evil days of Osred and his immediate successors, Coenred and Osric (both of whom met with violent deaths). After Osric a gleam of brighter times followed under Ceolwulf, the learned patron of literature, at whose request Bede wrote, and to whom he dedicated, his *Historia Ecclesiastica*

⁵⁵ ‘Privilegia ecclesiarum in regno Anglorum intemerata et inviolata permanserunt usque ad tempora Ceolredi regis Mercionum et Osredi regis Derorum et Berniciorum. Hi duo reges haec duo peccata maxima in provinciis Anglorum . . . publice facienda monstraverunt. Et in istis peccatis commorantes, id est in stupratione et adulterio nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum, iusto iudicio Dei damnati, de culmine regali huius vitae abiecti et in matura et terribili morte praeventi . . . sunt . . . Osredum spiritus luxoriae, fornicantem et per monasteria nonnarum sacratas virgines stuprantem et furentem, agitavit; usque quod ipse gloriosum regnum et juvenilem vitam et ipsam luxoriosam animam contemptibili et despecta morte perdidit.’—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 59, pp. 174, 175. The same charge was afterwards brought against Ethelbald, king of Mercia.—*Ibid.* p. 170.

⁵⁶ ‘De violenta quoque monachorum servitute operibus et aedificiis regalibus, quae in toto mundo christianorum non auditur facta nisi tantum in gente Anglorum . . . quod inauditum malum est praeteritis saeculis.’—*Ibid.* ep. 70, p. 210. See also the complaint of Eangyth and Heaburga about the ‘servitium regis et reginae, episcopi et praefecti et potestatum et comitum.’—*Ibid.* ep. 14, p. 68.

⁵⁷ ‘Sic per annos circiter triginta, hoc est, ex quo Aldfrid rex humanis rebus ablati est, provincia nostra vesano illo errore dementata est, ut nullus pene exinde praefectorum extiterit qui non huiusmodi sibi monasterium in diebus suae praefecturae comparaverit, suamque simal coniugem pari reatu nocivi mercatus astrinxerit: ac praevalente pessima consuetudine ministri quoque regis ac famuli idem facere sategerint . . . Et quidem tales repente, ut nosti, tonsuram pro suo libitu accipiunt, suo examine de laicis non monachi, sed abbates efficiuntur.’—§ 7. Compare Boniface: ‘Illud autem, quod laicus homo, vel imperator vel rex aut aliquis praefectorum vel comitum, saeculari potestate fultus, sibi per violentiam rapiat monasterium de potestate episcopi vel abbatis vel abbatissae, et incipiat ipse vice abbatis regere et habere sub se monachos,’ etc.—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 70, p. 208.

Gentis Anglorum. Even Symeon of Durham, however, the monk admirer of the monk king, is constrained to admit that the earlier years of his reign were marked by an overwhelming series of disasters—no doubt a heritage which he had received from his predecessors—but after a time a stable peace was secured by his efforts;⁵⁸ and this was maintained, and more than maintained, after Ceolwulf's retirement into the monastery of Lindisfarne in 737, under his nephew Eadbert, who ruled the kingdom with vigour and wisdom for twenty-one years. His fame spread far and wide, and he even made a friendly alliance with Pepin, king of the Franks. He also eventually resigned his throne and entered the monastic life, in spite of a strong protest from the kings of the English, who went so far as to offer to surrender part of their own territory to be added to his kingdom if he would but consent to remain in office. He was a brother of archbishop Egbert, by whose side he was buried at York.⁵⁹ After Eadbert's cession of the throne the glory of the kingdom departed, and matters went steadily from bad to worse; in less than forty years there were eight kinglets, six of whom were driven out by their subjects, two (one of them a former exiled monarch returned) met with violent deaths. Not one lived out his reign to the term of a natural death. Eadbert's son and successor, Osulf, was murdered by his own household within a year of his accession.⁶⁰ Ethelwald, surnamed Moll, the next king, won some notoriety by his victory over Oswin near Melrose in 762, and in the same year he married Etheldryth at Catterick on November 1st. But three years later he 'lost' his throne, apparently by a popular vote of the national assembly, at Winchanheale⁶¹ (which Roger of Wendover identifies with Finchale), and passed the few remaining years of his life in exile. After his death his widow entered a nunnery, as appears from Alcuin's two letters addressed to her.⁶² Alchred apparently

⁵⁸ 'Cuius Ceolwulfi regni principia et processus multis redundavere rerum adversantium motibus, sed post aridente pace ac serenitate temporum,' etc.—*Hist. Eccl. Dun.* i. 13.

⁵⁹ 'Cuius excellentiae fama ac operum virtutis longe lateque diffusa etiam ad regem Francorum Pipinum pervenit, propter quod ei amicitia iunctus multa ei ac diversa dona regalia transmisit . . . rogatus multum antea ne id faceret a regibus Anglorum, et partem regni sui eius regno adicere volentibus, dummodo retinens honorem suo in regno resideret. At ille omnibus divitiis et regnis servitutum Dei praetulit . . . sepultus est Eboraci in eadem porticu qua et frater Egbertus.'—*Ibid.* ii. 3.

⁶⁰ Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 758.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 759, 762, 765; *A.S. Chron.* 761.

⁶² Epp. 50, 62, pp. 274, 297.

made some attempt to strengthen his position by seeking the alliance or support of the young king Charles when he became king of the Franks on the death of his father, Pepin; for he wrote to bishop Lul to ask for his good offices on behalf of his embassy.⁶³ No doubt he was actuated by the example of Eadbert's alliance with Pepin. What was the immediate result of this proposition is not recorded, but even if successful it proved of no avail; for in 774 he was in his turn driven into exile 'by the counsel and consent of all his subjects, and deserted by the royal family and the chiefs of the nation.'⁶⁴

Ethelred, son of Moll, was also extruded within six years, by Aelfwold, who alone is characterised by Symeon of Durham as 'a pious and just king.' Symeon adds, 'as the next article will prove;'⁶⁵ but he relates nothing under the next year about him, except the burning of his extortionate justiciary,⁶⁶ Bearn at Seletun by two of the high-reeves⁶⁷ of Northumbria, Osbald and Ethelhard, which can scarcely be his proof. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, however, which Symeon had before him, mentions that the pall which Eanbald received from Rome in 780, the bare fact of which is narrated by Symeon, was obtained by Aelfwold, who apparently sent Alcuin to ask for it.⁶⁸ Aelfwold reigned for ten years, which is in itself an evidence of his acceptability to his subjects in such turbulent times. At length he was murdered by his patrician Sicgan at Scythlescester, near the Wall; and his memory was cherished by the building of the church of St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald on the spot.⁶⁹ Osred, Alchred's son, obtained the throne, but within a year was seized by his chieftains, 'shorn'⁷⁰ at York, and deprived of

⁶³ 'Nostri quoque, dilectissime frater, legationibus ad dominum vestrum gloriosissimum regem Carl obsecramus consulendo subvenias, ut pax et amicitia, quae omnibus conveniunt, facias stabiliter inter nos confirmari.'—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 119, p. 285.

⁶⁴ Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 774. ⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 779.

⁶⁶ 'Patricium.'—Sym. Dun. 'Huntingdon and Wendover call Bearn the king's justiciary.'—H. Hinde.

⁶⁷ 'Duces.'—Sym. Dun. 'High-reeves.'—*A.S. Chron.*

⁶⁸ 'King Alfwold sent to Rome for a pall, and invested Eanbald as archbishop.'—*A.S. Chron.* But the *Vita Alcuini* says, § 6: 'Iussus igitur (Alcuinus) ab Eanbaldo archiepiscopo . . . ut sibi pallium impetraret ab apostolico, venit Romam.'

⁶⁹ Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 788.

⁷⁰ 'Osredus autem rex dolo suorum principum circumventus et captus ac regno privatus, attonsus est in Eboraca civitate, et postea necessitate coactus exilium petit.'—*Ibid.* 790. Cf. App. to Bede, *H.E.* v. 24. 'Anno 731 Ceolunlf rex captus et adtonsus et remissus in regnum' (quoted by Sym. Dun. 782).

his power, whereupon he fled to the Isle of Man.⁷¹ Two years later, trusting to the pledged support of certain chieftains, he returned secretly, but deserted by his forces he was taken and put to death⁷² by his successor Ethelred, son of Moll, who had been recalled from exile. It was shortly after Ethelred's return that Alcuin arrived in York.⁷³ According to the *Vita Alcuini* this journey was undertaken to obtain leave from his king and his bishop to accept Charles's invitation to settle permanently at his court.⁷⁴ He did not at first find the king as well disposed towards him as he had hoped and could have wished; but he assures abbat Adalhard that he had testified to him and others, and was striving his utmost to put down injustice!⁷⁵ Three years later, however, when he had attained his purpose, and returned to France, he writes two pompous letters to his 'dearest lord, king Ethelred,' and to his 'most excellent son, king Ethelred,' on the occasion of the Danish

With reference to this, Montalembert writes:—'After two obscure reigns, Ceolwulf attempted in vain to struggle against the disorder and decadence of his country. He was vanquished, and made captive by enemies whose names are not recorded, and had to submit, as happened to more than one Merovingian prince, to receive the tonsure by compulsion, and was shut up in a convent. He escaped, however, regained the crown, and reigned for some time. . . . But after a reign of eight years, a regret, or an unconquerable desire, for that monastic life which had been formerly forced upon him against his will, seized him.'—Vol. iv. p. 275. On the other hand, Stevenson, in his translation of Symeon of Durham (*Church Historians of England*, vol. iii. pt. ii.), in these two cases translates *attonsus* by 'received the tonsure' and 'assumed the tonsure.' But the word seems to imply less than the one and more than the other assigns to it; for it does not necessarily involve entrance into the monastic life, nor does it denote a willing acquiescence. Cf. *Conc. Mogunt.*, an. 813, c. 23: 'De clericis vero hoc statuimus, ut hi qui inventi sunt sive in canonico sive in monachico ordine tonsurati sine eorum voluntate, si liberi sunt, ut ita permanent.' Ducange, vol. v., 1174.

⁷¹ 'In Eufoniam insulam, quae Man vocatur.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Eecl. Dun.* ii. 4. ⁷² Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 792.

⁷³ 'Nuper Aethelredus filius Aethelwaldi de carcere processit in solium et de miseria in magistratam. Cuius regni novitate detenti sumus.'—Ep. 16, p. 170.

⁷⁴ 'Cui Albinus: *Domine mi rex . . . tuum est tantum, hoc a meo rege et episcopo impetrare. Tandem igitur ratione victus, consensit ut iret.*'—§ 6. From a letter of Alcuin to Colcu it might seem that one object of his visit was to endeavour to restore peace between Charles and Offa, king of Mercia (cf. 'sunt qui dicunt, nos pro pace esse in illas partes mittendos.'—Ep. 14, p. 167); but it does not appear that he was actually engaged on this mission. There seems to be no evidence for the reason assigned in the *Diet. Chr. Biog.* (vol. i. p. 73 b) that 'in 790 Alcuin returned to Northumbria, possibly with a view to the security of his property.'

⁷⁵ 'Caeterum cognoscas turbatas ex parte res me offensisse in patria nec invenisse anum novi regis qualem vel speravi vel volui. Tamen aliquid fecimus ammonitionis illi et aliis. Et hodie laboramus contra iniustitiam prout possumus, cum quibusdam potentibus.'—Ep. 16, p. 172.

attack on Lindisfarne; and in yet another letter, marked 'private,' he subsequently addresses to him some homely counsels concerning his personal conduct.⁷⁶

In April, 796, Ethelred was murdered at Corbridge.⁷⁷ The news of his death, says Alcuin, writing to Offa, king of Mercia, was brought to Charles by some messengers of his who were returning from Scotland, just as he was on the point of sending a consignment of gifts to Ethelred and to the Northumbrian bishops. Enraged at the treachery of the people, whom he indignantly described as perfidious and perverse, the murderer of its lords, and worse than the heathen, he designed to retaliate upon them, had not Alcuin (as he boasts) interceded for them.⁷⁸

Osbold, the patrician, who had burnt Bearn, was placed on the throne by some of the chieftains, but he was not recognised by the court generally, and after only twenty-seven days fled to Lindisfarne, and on to the king of the Picts. Eardulf was recalled from exile and solemnly crowned at York.⁷⁹ His reign, after a stern repression of a revolt at Whalley in 798, continued until 806,⁸⁰ and so outlasted the close of the eighth century. The later succession of Northumbrian kings is preserved in the *Libellus de primo Saxonum adventu*, printed in the Surtees Society's edition of Symeon of Durham; so that William of Malmesbury's statement that 'after Ethelred no one durst ascend the throne,' is obviously incorrect. He adds, somewhat inconsistently, 'each dreading the fate of his predecessor, and preferring a life of safety in inglorious ease to a tottering reign in anxious suspense; for most of the Northumbrian kings had made their exit by a violent death, which was now become almost habitual. Thus being without a sovereign for thirty-three years, that province

⁷⁶ Epp. 22, 23, 42 ('tibi soli litteras scribere curavi').

⁷⁷ *De primo Saxonum adventu*, ap. Sym. Dun. (Surtees Soc.), p. 211. In the *Hist. Regum*, 'Cobre.'

⁷⁸ 'Similiter et Aethilredo regi et ad suas episcopales sedes dona direxit. Sed, heu pro dolor, donis datis et epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos, qui de Scotia per vos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis et nece eius. Qui, retracta donorum largitate, in tantum iratus est contra gentem — ut ait: "illam perfidam et perversam et homicidam dominorum suorum," peiorem eam paganis estimans — nt omnino, nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset et mali machinare, iam fecisset.'—Ep. 58, p. 290.

⁷⁹ Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 796.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 798; *A.S. Chron.* 798, 806.

became an object of plunder and contempt to its neighbours.⁸¹ But the general picture of the condition of things is not inapt.

Alcuin of course seized upon the tragedies of 796 as an opportunity of letter writing. He sends his condolences to Etheldryth, Ethelred's mother; he urges Ethelburga to press Ethelfled, the widow of Ethelred, to enter the monastic life; he advises the same course for Osbald, whom he dissuades from attacking his country, beseeching him to keep his letter and have it constantly read to him.⁸² Whether at his instigation or not, Osbald did turn monk, soon became abbat, and died and was buried at York in 799.⁸³ Alcuin also sends his congratulations and counsels to Eardulf; but at a later date he tells Osbert of Mercia that he has been disturbed by a report that Eardulf had repudiated his lawful wife and was living with another woman in open sin.⁸⁴ This correspondence gives a curious insight into the close attention with which events at home were followed by Northumbrians abroad.

III.—POPULAR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Of the general manners and customs of the people at large there is disappointingly little to be learned from the epistolary correspondence of the eighth century, or indeed from any other source. And yet this is no matter for wonder; for outside the chief foci of life and activity—the monasteries and their sedate occupations or sober commerce, and the court with its reckless profligacy, its military expeditions, and its autocratic rapacity—there can have been but little popular life. All men who were not actually slaves or serfs were attached either to the community of a religious house or to the retinue of some potentate; there was probably little or none of individual freedom of homely folk. It is remarkable how little of the real life of the people actually transpires even in the pages of Bede. Moreover, the writers of the period of whatever kind were all monastic. A stray king here and there, like Alchred of Northumbria or Cynewulf of Wessex,⁸⁵ might indite an occasional letter, but it was probably through the help of some kindly monk that it was penned.

⁸¹ *Gesta Regum*, i. § 73 (Stevenson's translation).

⁸² Epp. 62, 63 (?), 59, 66. ⁸³ Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 799.

⁸⁴ Epp. 65, 79 (p. 350). ⁸⁵ *Mon. Mog.* epp. 119, 138.

Alcuin urges Osbald and Eardulf to have his letters constantly read to them, not to read them.

There is, however, one fragment which affords some interesting information. Amongst the Alcuinian letters is preserved one from George, bishop of Ostia, to pope Hadrian I., giving an account of his embassy to England in 786.⁸⁶ Two synods were held in his presence, one in Northumbria and one in Mercia. The details of the latter are passed over in silence, but the canons passed at the former are enumerated, and the nineteenth, dealing with pagan rites still observed, is fully given.⁸⁷ These are: (i.) tattooing; (ii.) wearing clothes in heathen fashion (though in what this consisted does not appear); (iii.) the mutilation of horses by slitting their nostrils,⁸⁸ fastening their ears together and making them deaf, and docking their tails; (iv.) casting lots to decide disputes; and (v.) eating horseflesh. The last of these customs was an anxiety to Boniface throughout his long missionary career. About the year 732 pope Gregory III. wrote to him, 'Meanwhile you have added that some eat the wild horse, while

⁸⁶ Ep. 10, pp.155-162. See Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 786; *A.S. Chron.* 785.

⁸⁷ See below, Appendix, p. 279.

⁸⁸ The practice of slitting the nostrils of horses and asses is still in vogue in widely-separated districts of Asia, Africa, and even Europe. It seems to be based upon the idea that it improves the wind of the animal. Dr. Arthur Neve, of Srinagar, told me that some years ago he was travelling in Mesopotamia. He was riding a camel, but his guide was mounted on an ass. Owing to the want of water the ass twice fell from exhaustion. On the second occasion, the guide took out his knife and slit its nostrils. Dr. George Fleming, in *The Wanton Mutilation of Animals* (1898), p. 7, suggests, as a further reason, 'that it prevents neighing—a disqualification of much importance during war.' He refers to the prevalence of the custom 'in Persia, Mongolia, and even Northern Africa; and ponies with slit nostrils are often seen in the Himalayas and in Afghanistan. It was practised in Hungary not long ago.' Dr. J. Drummond, of South Shields, has kindly pointed out this reference. He also wrote to *The Field* in September, 1898, asking for instances of this practice. Two interesting letters appeared in answer: (i.) From 'Indicus olim' on September 24: 'I have in Upper India seen many asses with their nostrils slit. The animals so treated generally belonged to washermen, village potters, etc., and were as a rule made to carry (for their size and strength) heavy back loads. I remember asking a native why this was done. He said that asses when labouring under heavy loads have their nostrils greatly dilated, and that therefore slitting them was supposed to give them relief by enlarging the orifices.' (ii.) From 'A.B.H.' on October 1: 'This I have often seen done with the ponies in China, which are sent down from the north to be sold to Europeans for racing; the idea being (I fancy) to assist the breathing of the pony if he shows any weakness in that part.' Canon Maclean, in his *Account of the Eastern Syrian Christians*, p. 9, says: 'The great feature of all Persian plains is the donkey, carrying the produce of the land from the villages to the towns, or from village to village. They all have their nostrils split; this is supposed to give them a better wind.'

most of the people eat the tame horse. This you must on no account allow henceforward, brother, but in whatever way you can, with the help of Christ, put a stop to it by all means; and lay on them an appropriate penance. For it is a filthy and detestable custom.’⁸⁹ Twenty years later pope Zachary included wild horses in the list of animals to be avoided for food; and a curious list it is: three birds, the jackdaw, the crow, and the stork, and three beasts, the beaver, the hare, and the wild horse, are specified. ‘But,’ he adds, ‘you are well skilled, most holy brother, in all the sacred Scriptures.’ He therefore grounds his prohibition on the Levitical law, and its restrictions as to clean and unclean animals.⁹⁰ But the papal ambassadors at the Northumbrian synod did not assign this reason, nor even the real objection of the association of the custom with the worship of Odin, but merely put it quite baldly, ‘Moreover, most of you eat horses, which no Christian in the East does; the which also do ye avoid.’ It is a wonder if any self-respecting Northumbrian accepted such a prohibition!

The decrees of this synod (which seems to have been held at Corbridge)⁹¹ were signed in order by Aelfwold the king, Tilberht bishop of Hexham (as bishop of the diocese), Eanbald archbishop of York, Higbald bishop of Lindisfarne, Ethelbert bishop of Whithorn, Aldulf bishop of Mayo, the commissaries of bishop Ethelwine, Siggar the justiciary (who afterwards murdered Aelfwold), Alfrich and

⁸⁹ ‘Inter ea agrestem caballum aliquantos adiunxisti comedere, plerosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps sanctissime sinas frater, sed, quibus potueris Christo iuvante modis, per omnia conpesce; et dignam eis interdicto paenitentiam. Inmundum enim est atque execrabile.’—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 28, p. 93.

⁹⁰ ‘In primis de volatilibus, id est de graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis. Quae omnino cavendae sunt ab esu christianorum. Etiam et fibri atque lepores et equi silvatici multo amplius vitandi. Attamen, sanctissime frater, de omnibus scripturis sacris bene compertus es.’—*Mon. Mog.* ep. 80, p. 222. The names, however, are not taken from the lists in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv.

⁹¹ So Jaffé conjectures from the presence of Aldulf, who was consecrated by Eanbald, Tilberht, and Higbald at Corbridge in 786, and was sent off with due honour to his western see, enriched with many gifts.—(Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 786.) See his note, *Mon. Alc.* p. 160. The *Diet. Chr. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 644 b, describes the synod as ‘probably that of Pinchanhale.’ The latter, however (which should be written Winchanhale or Winchala—see Hinde’s note, Sym. Dun. *H.R.* p. 22), was held in the following year (Sym. Dun. *H.R.* 787), probably in accordance with the third canon of the synod of Corbridge, *de duobus conciliis quotannis agendis*. The same article is also in error in stating that ‘the acts of the southern synod are to be found in the letter of George’; it is those of the northern council which are given.

Sigwulf the 'duces' (or high-reeves), Albert abbat of Ripon, and Erhart, an abbat. It is interesting to find Aldulf present, who had just been consecrated at the monastery of Corbridge by Eanbald, Tilberht, and Higbald for Mayo, as it shows the strong link which still existed between the Northumbrian church and its offshoot at Mayo, founded more than a hundred years before by bishop Colman, after his discomfiture at the council of Whitby, and his subsequent troubles at Inisboufinde.⁹²

Thus some scattered features of the life of Northumbria in the eighth century stand out from the past, showing a slow and interrupted but sure progress of disintegration which left the kingdom an easy prey for the Danes: a corrupt court, torn asunder by intrigues; a distressed church, with no great champions to maintain her liberties; a people, which in many points had hardly emerged from the rough barbarism of heathendom. And yet, through all the mists there shine again and again the bright examples of simple earnest men and pure self-denying women, who, by their steadfast faith and honest fulfilment of duty, did honour to their generation, and left a noble heritage to those that came after. The Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons were a strong race; their misfortune was the want of strong leaders, both in the church and (more especially) in the state.

APPENDIX.

THE NINETEENTH CANON OF THE SYNOD OF 786 A.D.

Anneximus: ut unus quisque fidelis christianus a catholicis viris exemplum accipiat; et si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, avellatur contemnatur abiiciatur.

Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie; pagani vero diabolico instinctu cicatrices teterrimas superinduxerunt, dicente Prudentio:

tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus humum.

Domino enim videtur facere iniuriam, qui creaturam suam foedat et deturpat. Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturae iniuriam sustineret,

⁹² Bede, *H.E.* iv. 4.

magnam inde remunerationem acciperet. Sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad salutem: sicut nec Judaeis circumcisio corporis sine credulitate cordis.

Vestimenta etiam vestra more gentilium, quos Deo opitulante patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, induitis. Miranda res et nimis stupenda, ut, quorum vitam semper odistis, exempla imitemini.

Equos etiam vestros turpi consuetudine detruncatis: nares finditis, aures copulatis verum et surdas redditis, caudas amputatis; et quia illos illaesos habere potestis, hoc nolentes, cunctis odibiles redditis.

Audivimus etiam, quod, dum inter vos litigium versatur sortes more gentilium mittitis. Quod omnino sacrilegum istis temporibus reputatur.

Equos etiam plerique in vobis comedunt, quod nullus christianorum in orientalibus facit. Quod etiam evitate. Contendite, ut omnia vestra honeste et secundum Dominum fiant.



Yours very truly
E. H. Adamson

THE LATE REV. E. H. ADAMSON, M.A.
A Vice-President of the Society.

VI.—OBITUARY NOTICE OF THE REV. E. H. ADAMSON,
M.A., A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

By RICHARD WELFORD, V.P.

[Read on the 30th November, 1898.]

While we were considering at our August meeting the services of one departed vice-president, Mr. John Philipson, another of our honoured colleagues—our oldest member, the rev. Edward Hussey Adamson—was preparing for the summons which, sooner or later, comes to us all. A fortnight afterwards, on the 16th September, Mr. Adamson died, leaving us, out of twelve vice-presidents living eight years ago, but three surviving.

Edward Hussey Adamson was the eldest son of John Adamson, of Newcastle, solicitor, a prominent and popular representative of the intellectual life that was lived upon Tyneside during the first half of the present century. A co-founder of this society, John Adamson, with the rev. John Hodgson and Dr. Charlton as colleagues, was for forty-two years our active and energetic secretary, and for some time our treasurer. He was a co-founder also of the Newcastle Typographical Society, the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle, and the Newcastle Law Society; co-secretary for thirty years of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, and a famous Portuguese scholar, distinguished among his local contemporaries by the knightly honours of the Order of Christ and of the Tower and Sword of Portugal.

In sketches of two eminent vice-presidents, lost to us but lately, reference was made to the influence of parental example upon the development of literary taste in youth and the trend of literary aspiration in after life. Canon Raine and Mr. Longstaffe were the examples cited. To their honoured names may now be added that of our recently-departed colleague. He also, though avoiding for the most part the rugged roads of antiquarian discovery, plodded industriously along the by-paths of genealogical research, and thus, like them, 'walked in the ways of his father.'¹

¹ Other sons of John Adamson were men of mark among us. William, the second son, a member of this society, followed his father's calling, became honorary major in the Northumberland militia, and wrote down the achieve-

Born in Westgate street, Newcastle, on the 2nd of September, 1817, Mr. Adamson received his preliminary education at the Royal Free Grammar School of his native town, under the head-mastership of the rev. G. F. W. Mortimer, M.A., afterwards D.D. and prebendary of St. Paul's. While there, in 1831, he carried off the gold medal given to the school by the corporation of Newcastle for a Latin poem. His composition, remarkable for a lad so young, was afterwards printed as one of the Typographical Society's tracts, with the title *Imperii Caput et Rerum Pulcherrima Roma*. From the Grammar School he was sent to London to complete his preparatory studies, and from London he proceeded in due course to Oxford. On the 7th May, 1835, at the age of seventeen, he matriculated at University college in that city—a college founded by William of Durham for scholars born in or near the northern palatinate, and for centuries practically a north-country institution. Having, however, been elected to a Crewe exhibition at Lincoln college he, in due course, migrated thither. Unfortunately, his scholastic career was somewhat hindered by an affection of the eyes, from which he suffered more or less all his life; but, in spite of this drawback, he was able to secure a double third—classics and mathematics—in the honours list for 1839. Having in that year taken his bachelor's degree, he came north to study divinity at the newly-founded university of Durham, and prepare himself for holy orders.

Ordained to the curacy of Wallsend on the 6th December, 1840, Mr. Adamson proceeded M.A. at Lincoln college in 1841, and the year following received the same degree, *ad eundem*, at Durham. Meanwhile he had taken up his freedom of Newcastle, by birthright, as the son of John Adamson, 'master and mariner'—a title inherited from a seafaring ancestor, Blythman Adamson, younger brother of the Trinity House in the early part of last century.

ments of his corps in a little volume entitled *Notices of the Services of the 27th Northumberland Light Infantry Militia*. Charles Murray, the third son, also a solicitor, was the author of *Studies of Birds*, with fifty illustrations; *Another Book of Scraps, Principally Relating to Natural History*, with thirty-six pictures of bird life; *Some More Illustrations of Wild Birds, Showing their Natural Habits*, with twenty-four drawings; and one or two other brochures of a similar character. In the third generation we have our fellow-member, the rev. Cuthbert Edward Adamson (son of our deceased vice-president), who has contributed valuable papers to the society's publications; and lieut.-col. Charles Henry Ellison Adamson (son of Charles Murray), late commissioner in Central Burmah—an ardent naturalist and the possessor of a unique collection of objects illustrating his special branch of study.

During his curacy at Wallsend proposals were made to him to take charge of a new ecclesiastical district at Windy Nook, in the parish of Heworth. Whereupon, preaching a farewell sermon, which was afterwards published with the title of *The Parochial System*, he resigned his charge on the north side of the Tyne, and transferred his services across the water. On the 25th August, 1842, the chapel of St. Alban, Heworth, was consecrated by bishop Maltby, and Mr. Adamson entered into his new sphere of action, although it was not until August 30th, 1843, that he was formally licensed to the living.

Clerical duty in a newly-founded chapelry naturally absorbed most of the young clergyman's time and attention during the early part of his ministry. Sympathizing with those who desired more frequent opportunities for public worship, and imbued with a high sense of the responsibilities of his office, he imposed upon himself duties which the majority of the clergy did not at that time consider necessary. Yet he found sufficient leisure in the beginning of the year 1846 to publish *A Plea for the Church of England*, and in September following to issue the first instalment of the work by which he is best known—his *Scholae Novocastrensis Alumni*. Dedicated to William Burrell, esq., of Broom park, who had been one of the *alumni*, and printed by Moses Aaron Richardson, compiler of the *Local Historian's Table Book*, this little volume contained short biographies of thirty eminent men, who, like himself, had been educated at the Grammar School, beginning with John Lilburn, a turbulent hero of the Commonwealth, and ending with sir Leonard Greenwell, a distinguished officer in the Peninsular war. The same month that gave birth to his biographies witnessed his marriage. On the 9th September, 1846, he was united to Anne, daughter of Matthew Potts, of a Bedlington family. The following year, under the inspiration of his wife, to whom the booklet is dedicated, he published *Catechetical Exercises upon the Saints' Days of the English Church*.

Mr. Adamson's connection with our society commenced on the 4th of April, 1843. Our records do not enable us to estimate the services which he rendered to the society during this mid-period of its existence. That he was a useful member, enjoying the confidence of his fellows, is sufficiently shown by the fact that in 1849, only six years after his admission, he was elected one of the council. The

honour which such an appointment conferred may be judged when it is remembered that the other members of the council were John Clayton, sir Cuthbert Sharp, John Collingwood Bruce, William Sidney Gibson, John Fenwick, Thomas Bell, Moses Aaron Richardson, Robert Ormston, Henry Ingledew, William Kell, and R. R. Dees—most of them his seniors in years and in experience of antiquarian pursuits.

Towards the close of that same year, 1849, under the editorship of W. J. Thoms, secretary of the Camden Society, appeared the first number of a publication, known to all of us as a lordly treasure-house of antiquarian lore—that admirable weekly, *Notes and Queries*. It is a curious circumstance that, in the twenty-second issue of the new paper, George Bouchier Richardson, announcing that he was engaged upon *The Life and Correspondence of Robt. Thomlinson, D.D., founder of the Library that bears his name*, solicited information concerning the doctor, his family and ancestry—a subject which Mr. Adamson himself was destined in after years to elucidate. But this by the way. In No. 43 of *Notes and Queries*, issued August 24th, 1850, Mr. Adamson's initials 'E. H. A.' make their first appearance, attached to a contribution on north-country folk lore.² Succeeding volumes contain many repetitions of these initials down to last year (August 14th, 1897), when they are appended to a column of biographical matter concerning John and George Smith, editors of the Cambridge edition of Bede. Thus, during forty-seven years, our friend helped to build up that wonderful collection of matters pertaining to the past which is comprised in the ninety-eight volumes of *Notes and Queries*.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in *Willis's Current Notes*, Mr. Adamson wrote upon the subjects that lay nearest to his heart. Indeed, his pen was constantly employed, then and after, in preparing useful biographical notes for magazines and newspapers, many of which cannot now be traced. Such of them as can be recognised appear in the lists at the end of this paper.

² 'Baptismal Superstition.' In the north of England, when several children are brought to be baptized at the same time, great anxiety is shown by the people lest the girls should take the precedence of the boys; in which case it is believed the latter, when arrived at man's estate, would be beardless.—E. H. A. *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 197.

Between the years 1850³ and 1870 Mr. Adamson issued memoirs of two famous vicars of Newcastle—the rev. John March and Dr. Nathaniel Ellison—published biographical sketches of the rev. Hugh Salvin, the rev. William Smith of Melsonby, and of John Adamson, his father, and printed a sermon on the advantages of a parish church.⁴ In the last-named year he brought out *Additional Notices of Old Scholars of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Newcastle*, being a second part of the *Scholae Novocastrensis Alumni*. The dedication is to his old schoolmaster, the rev. Mr. Mortimer, and it is followed by thirty more biographies, belonging, some to the earlier period covered by the first issue, and the rest to scholars who had died in the interval.

Although a fairly regular attender at our meetings, it was not until 1883 that Mr. Adamson contributed to our literature. Inspired by some biographical notes which had been sent to us by Mr. William Shand, he wrote *Some Further Notices of Dr. Thomlinson, the Founder of the Thomlinson Library*, a paper which was printed in due course in the tenth volume of our *Archaeologia*. Having thus whetted his pen, so to speak, in our interest, he gave us a most valuable memoir of *Henry Bourne, the Historian of Newcastle*, about whom, considering that he lived down to nearly the middle of last century, singularly little was previously known. His next paper was *An Attempt to trace the Delavals from the time of the Norman Conquest to the Present Day*, which he followed up by a genial obituary notice of vice-president alderman Richard Cail, and, in March last year, a charming sketch of sir Charles Brown, an old Newcastle Grammar School boy. It was shortly after he had contributed his paper on the Delavals—in January, 1887—that he was elected one of our vice-presidents in the place of sir Charles Edward Trevelyan.

Other local organizations devoted to research with which Mr. Adamson identified himself were the Surtees Society, the Berwick-

³ On New Year's Day, 1854, he preached the university sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford.

⁴ This sermon was issued, without author's name, shortly after its delivery. A local clergyman purchased a copy, and having to preach the following Sunday at Mr. Adamson's church, thought it a most suitable discourse for the occasion. Vicar and congregation were naturally amused at hearing this familiar sermon preached by the clerical visitor as his own, and Mr. Adamson quietly commemorated the event by issuing a new edition, with the two dates of delivery on the title-page. (See list appended, No. 11.)

shire Naturalists' Club, and the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland. He joined the Surtees Society in 1860, and at the instigation of his friend canon Raine, the secretary, undertook the editorship of one of the society's volumes, to be entitled *The Diaries, or Biographical Notices of Archbishops Matthew and Neile, and Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham*. It is understood that he collected valuable material for this work, more particularly for that portion of it which related to lord Crewe. From a Crewe exhibitor no less could have been expected. Yet for some reason or other the book never saw the light, although down to 1895, the announcement of its intended publication appeared regularly in the society's reports. For the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club he wrote a memoir of his friend and clerical helper, the rev. Robert Hopper Williamson. In the Architectural and Archaeological Society he was, from 1889, one of the committee of management.

Mr. Adamson's ecclesiastical aptitudes and activities do not properly come under review in this rapid sketch of his long and useful career. He was a member of the convocation of the University of Durham, and acted for some years as secretary, in Chester Deanery, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and these, so far as is known, were the only clerical honours that he accepted. Combining much originality of mind with strong individuality of character he was content to live among his own people; and had few ambitions beyond the sphere in which their interest and welfare met. They in turn regarded him with that trust and affection which years of devoted service invariably bring. On the 25th of August, 1892, they celebrated the consecration of his church and the jubilee of his ministry⁵ by presenting him with his portrait and an illuminated address.

The courtesy of our colleague, the rev. C. E. Adamson, presents us with the following list of publications which emanated from his father's pen during a prolonged and laborious life:—

⁵ The consecration of St. Alban's in 1842, and the celebration of the jubilee in 1892 are the subject of an interesting brochure written by Mrs. Plummer (wife of the former vicar of Heworth, the Rev. Matthew Plummer, by whom Mr. Adamson was presented to the living) under the title of *A Day's Pleasure of Fifty Years Ago; with its Sequel*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan, & Morgan, 1893.

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

1. 'Imperii Caput et Rerum Pulcherrima Roma. Carmen Latinum apud Scholam Novocastrensem aureo numismate donatum. Auctore E. H. Adamson.' 1831.
2. 'The Parochial System. A Sermon.' Newcastle: M. A. Richardson, 44, Grey Street, 1844.
3. 'A Plea for the Church of England, our Dear and Holy Mother; Being Extracts from the Writings of some of the most honoured of her Sons.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: M. A. Richardson, 44, Grey Street, 1846.
4. 'Scholae Novocastrensis Alumni; Brief Notices of Eminent Men, Educated at Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, collected by Edward Hussey Adamson, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford; Perpetual Curate of S. Alban's, Heworth, in the Diocese of Durham.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: M. A. Richardson, 44, Grey Street, 1846. Dedication 'To William Burrell, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., of Broom Park, Northumberland, sometime Fellow of University College, Oxford.'
5. 'Catechetical Exercises upon the Saints' Days of the English Church.' London: J. Russell Smith, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: M. A. Richardson, 44, Grey Street, 1847. Dedication: 'To Her who first suggested it, this little Catechism is most affectionately inscribed.'
6. 'Brief Memoir of the Rev. Hugh Salvin, B.A., sometime Vicar of Alston, Cumberland. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Imprinted by G. Bouchier Richardson, at the Sign of the River-God Tyne, Clayton Street West, Printer to the Society of Antiquaries and to the Typographical Society, Both of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.' 1852.
7. 'The Rev. William Smith of Melsonby.' Reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1853.
8. 'A Former Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.' [Rev. John March.] n.d. (1853?).
9. 'Memoir of Nathaniel Ellison, D.D., Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: G. B. Richardson, n.d. (1853?).
10. 'Obituary Notice of the Late John Adamson, Esq., K.C. and K.T.S. of Portugal, F.L.S., F.R.G.S.' Reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1855. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Thomas and James Pigg, Clayton Street, 1856.
11. 'The Parish Church: A Sermon Preached in the Diocese of Durham, September, 1864, and October, 1865. Printed chiefly for Distribution in the Author's Parish.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Robinson, 38, Pilgrim Street, 1866.
12. 'Scholae Novocastrensis Alumni. Additional Notices of Old Scholars of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Stevenson and Dryden, 13, St. Nicholas's Church Yard, 1870. Dedication: 'To the Rev. G. F. W. Mortimer, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, sometime Head Master of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; afterwards of the City of London School.'

13. 'Church Music: A Sermon Preached at Evensong, on Easter Day, 1868, on the Occasion of Inaugurating a Surplined Choir. Printed chiefly for Distribution in the Author's Parish.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Robinson, 38, Pilgrim Street, 1871.

14. 'The Three Creeds: A Sermon Preached in the Diocese of Durham, April and May, 1872.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Robinson, 38, Pilgrim Street, 1872.

15. 'The Feast of Ingathering; A Sermon For Harvest Tide, 1878.' Newcastle-upon-Tyne: R. Robinson, 38, Pilgrim Street. Dedication: 'To the Rev. John Reed, M.A., Vicar of Newburn, and Lecturer of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.'

PAPERS IN THE *Archaeologia Aeliana*:

Vol. x. p. 80. Some Further Notices of Dr. Thomlinson, the Founder of the Thomlinson Library.

Vol. xi. p. 147. Henry Bourne, the Historian of Newcastle.

Vol. xii. p. 215. An Attempt to trace the Delavals from the time of the Norman Conquest to the Present Day. With an etching of Delaval Hall and two cuts by C. J. Spence.

Vol. xix. p. 133. Sir Charles Brown. With Portrait.

IN THE *Proceedings* OF THIS SOCIETY.

Vol. vi. p. 96. Obituary Notice of Alderman Richard Cail. With Portrait.

IN THE *Transactions of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*.

Vol. xiv. p. 157. Memoir of the Rev. R. H. Williamson, M.A.

IN THE *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Memoirs of the Rev. Jonathan Walton, D.D.; Rev. W. N. Darnell; John Adamson, K.C. and K.T.S.; Rev. J. B. P. Dennis, B.A., F.R.G.S.; Rev. Wm. Smith of Melsnby; Raleigh Trevelyan; Capt. West, R.N., and others.

IN THE *Newcastle Diocesan Magazine*.

Biographies of Local Worthies—Richard Holdsworth, D.D.; Thomas Jackson, D.D.; Bishop Butler; Nicholas Ridley, Bp. of London; Isaac Basire, D.D.; Rev. Hugh Moises, Headmaster of Newcastle Grammar School, and others.

IN VARIOUS MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS.

Memoirs of Thomas Baker (the 'Coll. Jo. socius ejectus'), founder of the Baker Exhibition for Durham Scholars at St. John's College, Cambridge; Rev. John Collinson, M.A.; Rev. Edward Moises; Rev. Henry Wardell; Rev. W. P. Philp; Rev. Canon Humble; Archdeacon Coxe; Rev. John Bealey, D.C.L.; Canon Ornsby; Rev. John Reed, B.A.; Rev. F. R. Simpson, B.A., *cum multis aliis*.

VII.—THE CAERVORAN INSCRIPTION IN PRAISE OF
THE SYRIAN GODDESS.

By THOS. HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., a vice-president and one of the secretaries.

[Read on the 30th November, 1898.]

One of the best known of the inscriptions which have been found on the line of the Roman Wall is that which was discovered at Caervoran (the Roman camp of *Magna*) in 1816, and which is now deposited in the museum of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. It is numbered 306 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*: 759 in the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. vii.), and it is to the following purport:—

*Inminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
Spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix,
Ee quis muneribus nosse contigit deos.
Ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,
Dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans.
In caelo visum Syria sidus edidit
Libyae colendum; inde cuncti didicimus.
Ita intellexit numine inductus tuo
Marcus Caecilius Donatianus, militans
Tribunus in praefecto dono principis.*

The inscription is evidently meant to be poetical, and consists of ten Iambic lines, unfortunately composed without much regard to the laws of metre.

Literally translated it is as follows:—

Over the lion hangs the Virgin in her heavenly sphere,
Bearing an ear of corn, discoverer of justice, founder of cities,
By which gifts we are accustomed to know the gods.
Therefore the same is mother of the gods, Peace, Virtue, and Ceres,
The Syrian Goddess weighing in her scales life and laws.
Syria gave forth this constellation first seen in her sky,
To be worshipped by Libya: thence have we all learned [her holiness].
Thus hath understood, led on by thy divinity,
Marcus Caecilius Donatianus serving
As tribune instead of prefect by the gift of the prince.

This little poem, which we may call 'a Roman tribune's confession of faith,' has often attracted the notice of commentators, but I do not think much light has yet been thrown on its meaning.



(3 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 2 ins.)

At first sight the allusion to a Heavenly Virgin, who is also a mother, might naturally lead the discoverers to think that they are dealing with a Christian monument, but the references to Ceres and Cybele, mother of gods, would at once dispel such a notion. The

first two lines are evidently astronomical, and refer to the constellation Virgo with its bright and beautiful star, *Spica Virginis*, next in place to Leo, among the signs of the Zodiac.

But what does the tribune mean by saying that he identifies this divinity with the mother of the gods, with Peace, Virtue, and Ceres, that she is the inventress of laws, the founder of cities, and the being who weighs life and laws in equal scales (a possible allusion here to the constellation Libra on the other side of Virgo)? Above all, what does he mean by saying that she is the Syrian goddess, and that her worship passed first from Syria to Africa?

I think that I have found the answer to this question, and that the inscription is virtually an apotheosis of Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus and mother of Geta.

Consider, in the first place, what is likely to be the meaning of the reference to Libya or Africa. One Roman emperor and one only came from the province of Africa, namely, Septimius Severus. We learn from the *Historia Augusta* that he was early possessed by the idea that he would one day succeed to the empire, and was on the look out for all sorts of omens of his future greatness.

After the death of his first wife, Marcia, he determined on a second marriage, and had the nativities of all eligible wives calculated, being himself highly skilled in astrology, and when he heard that there was in Syria a certain female named Julia who had such a nativity that she was destined to be mated to a king, he sought her in marriage, and obtained her by the good offices of his friends. This is Julia Domna, the mother of Geta, and, as we are told, by a second and unlawful marriage the wife of her stepson Caracalla, Geta's murderer. Undoubtedly in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla her word was very powerful in the State, and an officer admitted 'by the favour of the Prince,' to rule as Tribune with brevet rank of Prefect in the camp of Magna, might in those evil days of corruption and servility think to increase his credit with his imperial patroness by penning these lines of slavish adulation to this new Syrian goddess who had first cast her beams on the African Severus and through his devotion to her cause had become worshipped throughout the wide Roman Empire.

Certain it is that never was the influence of Syrian worship more powerfully felt at Rome than under the dynasty of Severus. It was then that the Roman world found itself with amazement the submissive slave of a dissolute Syrian youth, priest and namesake of Elagabalus, god of Emesa. It was then also, to quote a more beneficent result of Semitic influence on Rome, that the young and devout Severus Alexander raised in his private chapel an altar on which he paid his devotions to Abraham and Christ, side by side with the Hellenic Orpheus.

Whatever may be thought of the precise value of my suggestion, it is certain that there never was a time when African and Syrian influences were so curiously brought into juxtaposition as during the reigns of Severus, his son, and his grandsons.

External evidence, as far as it goes, entirely corresponds with the internal evidence which I have thus adduced.

Hübner in his note on this inscription says, 'The letters are of the third century, thin and tall, but good. Bucheler says that it was not made before the age of the Antonines. But by the lettering it is more recent still and is to be ascribed to the time of Severus or his sons.'

Upon the whole, then, I contend that the inscription is meant as a piece of flattery of the empress Julia Domna, and is either a sort of rude hymn to some goddess of her adoration, or (which I think more probable) an actual apotheosis of the empress herself.

VIII.—THE BASTLE HOUSE AT DODDINGTON,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

By W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A.

[Read on the 30th November, 1898.]

The village of Doddington is pleasantly situated on the east or right side of the river Till (which here flows in a northerly direction until it joins the Tweed below Norham), and is protected on the north and east by heather-clad hills. The view from the village in a south-westerly direction is extensive, and includes the high lands of Dod Law with its numerous camps, and in the farther distance the peaked heights of the Cheviot range. Seven miles to the north-west is the site of the battle of Flodden, which recalls the fact that it was in the district about Doddington and Wooler that the earl of Surrey, in the year 1513, assembled the English army before proceeding against the Scottish invaders encamped on Flodden field, which encounter resulted so disastrously for Scotland's king and nobility.

Surrounded by the thatched cottages in which the Doddington lairds (of local fame) once dwelt, the bastle house or tower is a striking and prominent object. It was erected in 1584 by sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham, the head of the important family, who have during many centuries possessed extensive estates in Northumberland, including Heton and the barony of Wark. They were allied to the chief nobility of England, and frequently engaged in the service of their country.

Sir Thomas Gray was the eldest son and heir to sir Ralph Gray. He married Katherine lady Nevill, daughter of Charles earl of Westmorland, of whom apparently there was no issue, as on sir Thomas's death, 9th April, 1590, he was succeeded by his brother, sir Ralph Grey of Horton.

The marriage was privately solemnized in a room in the manor house of Battersby, in Yorkshire, on the 7th day of November, 1585, 'betwixt the houres of six and nyne of the clock in the fore noone . . . by Sr Thomas Middleton, clerke, curat of Morpeth.'¹ It is

¹ *Deposit. and Eccles. Proc.* (21 Surt. Soc. Publ.) p. 323.

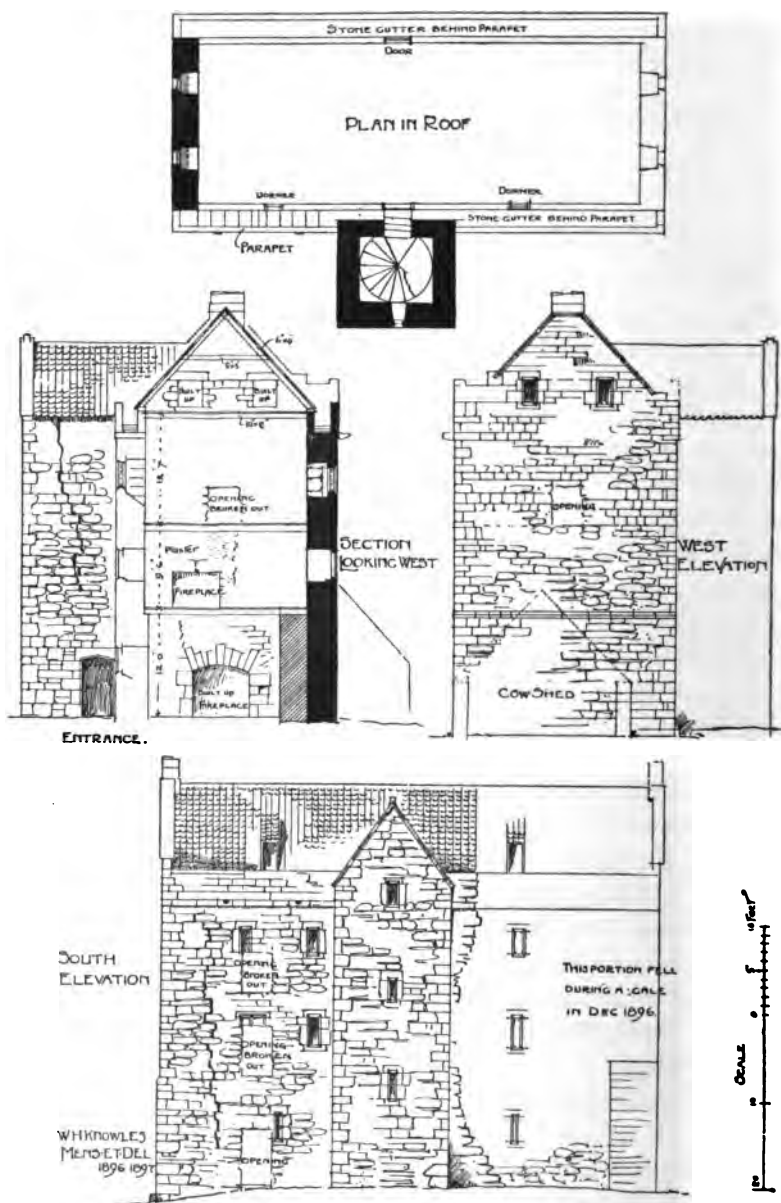


FIG. 1.

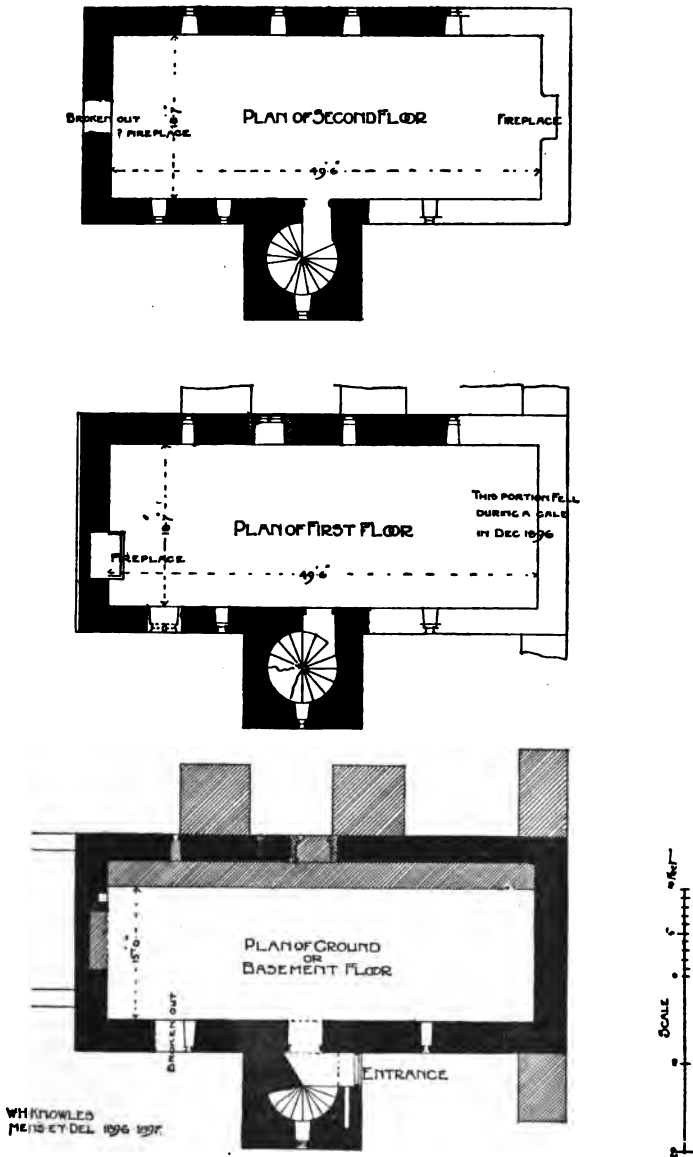


FIG. 2

curious to observe an attempt to conceal the accomplished fact in a letter written by sir Thomas Grey on the 12th of May following to secretary sir Francis Walsingham, in which he announces his intended marriage with lady Katherine Neville, one of the daughters of the late earl of Westmorland, and to request his favour and furtherance in the matter.² Whilst sir John Forster two days before had addressed secretary Walsingham informing him that 'I understand by Sir Thomas Gray that there is a contract of marriage between him and lady Katherine Nevill, one of the daughters of the late Earl of Westmoreland, and I perceive that he has had such a good liking of her, and she of him, that they have made such a contract between themselves that they cannot go back again, but are man and wife before God. If the matter come in question before Her majestie or the council, pray stand his friend; he is as true and obedient a subject as any of his degree.'³

Sir Thomas Grey was high sheriff of Northumberland in 1574, and his importance may be inferred from 'The muster and vew of the freholders and tenauntes dwelling within these East Marches of England for anyempst Scotland,' taken on the 10th March, 1579 [-80], where it is recorded that twenty-one villages were owned by him representing three hundred tenants, one hundred and twenty-nine horsed, including 'Dodengtoun, a village of said Sir Thomas, with 24 tenants, 10 horsed.'⁴

A side light is cast on the unsettled state of the country at the time in 'Rules for the Defence of the Borders' in June, 1583 (?), where it is stated that 'the fite and laste places accustomed of defence for soldiers to be in, nexte to Harbotle, is Woller, Newton, Pawston, and Downeham, all in the Easte Marches, which, with the helpe of Sir Thomas Grey and horsemen of Warcke, and other

² *Cal. of State Papers* (Dom.), addenda, 1580-1625, p. 177. ³ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁴ *Cal. of Border Papers*, vol. i. p. 14. See also 1584, Sept. 1-3. 253. Muster of the East March. Taken by Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, of all the horsemen and footmen between 16 and 60 in the East Marches, on 1st and 3rd September, 1584. Dodington town—horse 2, foot 16, with spear only, 22.—*Cal. of Border Papers*, vol. i. p. 153; and Sept. 30. 259. Muster of horse in East Marches. Doddington.—*Robert Tomson*, baeyleffe of Doodington, *Thomas Flike*, *John Walkere*, *William a Foorde*, *Edward Robinson*, *Henry Flike*, *Andrewe Jacson*, *William Browne*, *William Steamarde*, *Petter Shelle*, *John Steaward*, *Stephen Richardson*, *Alexander Nevelson*, *Richard Morton*, *William Wilkenson*, 'one the keill,' *Robert Shelle*, *George Wilkinson*, *William Wilkinson* 'one the knowe,' *George Car*.—*Cal. of Border Papers*, vol. i. p. 157.

of that contrye, are able at all tymes in peace, with one or two bands of the garrison of Barwycke, to keepe in the Yonges, Tates, Pringells, and other the Tividalls, whensoever they begin to radge, and dryve them to forsake their own houses, and whole townes of bothe Yatehams, Heyhope, and Cheretrees, as not longe since yt hathe bene done with litle charges to her Majestie.'⁵ Appeals made to secretary sir Francis Walsingham in 1574 show that the Greys were closely associated with sir John Forster, warden of the middle marches. At that time Francis Dacre complains that Forster favours lord William Howard, who, in the presence of Forster, beset Dacre's house at Morpeth with one hundred and twenty men procured by Ralph brother to sir Thomas Grey.⁶ Whilst in the same year lord Ogle, sir John Forster, sir Thomas Grey, and others complain that William Selby of Berwick set on Robert Clavering (sheriff), sir Cuthbert Ogle, etc., on their return from Newcastle, and killed Clavering, whose murderers are still at large.⁷ Further, sir John Forster writing to secretary Walsingham 'protests against information of extreme dealing towards sir Cuthbert Collingwood, and demands an enquiry.'⁸ In a postscript he says, 'If you will write Sir Thomas Gray, whose sister [anne] your servant, Thomas Collingwood [of Eslington] has married, I shall either discharge myself or take discredit.' Besides waging feuds against each other several of the gentry were 'suspected to be infected with papistry and practisyng the advancement of their profession and favourably receyved of the Kynge [of Scotland], to the offence and grieffe of many good men.' In this connexion in 1587 a 'note of the gentry on the Borders' recites 'most of those in Northumberland are cruel oppressors of their tenants, and as a great number of the latter are Scots, if there were any need of service, there would be a great want of both horse and foot. The greater part of the gentry are papists or addicted to papistry, as Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, Sir Thomas Gray, and his brother, Ralph Gray, Carr of Ford, Thos. Swineowe of Gosewick, Mr. Haggerstone of Haggerstone, and Mr. Phenicke of Wallington, a suspected priest. Cuthbert Armourer knows and told Sir George Carey how many of these entertained Brierton and other Jesuits. No one in the town

⁵ *Cal. of State Papers* (Dom.), addenda, 1580-1625, p. 103.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 118.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 268.

or garrison of Berwick can be justly charged with being a papist, anabaptist or undutiful subject.⁹ These reports prove that ever at issue with each other there was little to distinguish between the gentry of the time.

Erected in the year 1584, at a period when the arts during Elizabeth's reign were being actively cultivated elsewhere in England, Doddington bastle-house is typical of the stormy life led on the borders, where raids, theft, and murder were of frequent occurrence, where the roads were well-nigh impassable, many of the castles in a state of ruin, and the country generally in a deplorable condition. Notwithstanding, the bastles of the period, whilst retaining certain defensive features, combined some improvements in their domestic arrangements, beyond the accommodation afforded in the limited area of a square pele.

Only the portion of the structure tinted black on the plans is now in existence, the remainder, shown in outline on the drawings, unfortunately fell during a gale in December, 1896. The following description is based on notes taken before that event, and refers to the building when in its complete state.

Except for the projection on the south side, in which is placed the entrance and staircase, the plan is an oblong, three stories high, and measures on the exterior fifty-seven feet from east to west, by twenty-five feet from north to south, and to the top of the parapet thirty-six feet. On the exterior (see elevations, fig. 1, p. 294) the ends of the parallelogram and the projecting staircase have gables with chamfered water tabling. An embattled parapet crowns the side walls, and the window openings are small and square-headed, chamfered on the exterior, and partly dressed to receive glass and partly for shutters. There is no base course, and only one chamfered set off at the west end. The ashlar to the staircase, to the angle quoins, and to the door and window dressings, is all of good large squared masonry. The walling stones, obtained from the neighbouring hills, have received little attention at the hands of the mason, and the walls are built up with an inner and an outer face, the core being filled in with rough material without adequate bonding stones. It is to this inferior workmanship that the tower owes its decay.

⁹ *Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)*, addenda, 1580-1625, p. 231.

The entrance doorway is on the east side of the staircase projection. (See plan, fig. 2, p. 295.) It has a four-centred arched head in one stone, and chamfered and rebated jambs and sill. The door was secured by a draw bar, the opening for which is in the south jamb. A circular stone staircase eight feet six inches in diameter ascends to the roof level and communicates with the various floors; the treads are roughly dressed and rounded on the underside. To the right of the entrance is a square-headed door with rebated and hollow chamfered jambs. It gives access to the basement, which measures forty-nine feet six inches in length by fifteen feet in width, and before the interior portion of the wall shaded on the plan (fig. 2) was added, it was eighteen feet in width. This floor was lighted by at least three slits six inches wide; other windows may be hidden from view by the buttresses on the north side. At the west end is a large fireplace with a segmental arched head formed of large stones, and in the north jamb of the fireplace is a small recess shown on the section (fig. 1).

Ascending the staircase, which is lighted on the south side, we attain the first floor, an apartment forty-nine feet six inches in length by eighteen feet seven inches in width. The doorway has a four-centred head worked in a single stone, and chamfered and rebated jambs and threshold. The fireplace with square jambs and head and a stone hearth and curb, is in the west gable. The room or rooms was lighted by seven small windows, four on the north and three on the south side, all square-headed, and chamfered and rebated for wood shutters or window frames. In two cases, one on the north and one on the south side, the single light openings have given place at a later period to two light windows with chamfered stone dressings grooved for glass. Pieces of thin plaster yet remain on the walls and window jambs; it is stopped by the door dressings, which project slightly for the purpose. This floor was no doubt subdivided, but all traces of partitions have now disappeared. The floor joists, eight inches square, are placed about two feet apart, and are covered with flooring boards nine inches wide. The junction of the wood floor and the wall plaster was formed by a thin sloping wood skirting.

Ascending the staircase to the second floor, we enter (by a door with stone dressings similar to those already described) a room of the same size as that below, lighted by seven windows with stone dressings

chamfered and grooved for glass. The fireplace at the east end had double chamfered jambs, the outer chamfer being carried square across the head, and the inner one shaped as a four centred arch. A rough opening at the floor level in the west gable is probably the position of another fireplace. The height (twelve feet) of this floor, the fact that it possibly contained two fireplaces, and that the window openings are grooved for glass, suggests that it was occupied by the chief domestic apartments.

Continuing up the staircase, the attic space arranged in the roof is reached. It was entered by a door in the centre of the south side, and opposite to it another door gave on to the north parapet. Two dormers on the south side afforded access to the south parapet. There were windows in both the east and west gables.

The main building, but not the staircase projection, had a parapet three feet high at the lowest point, and a gutter two feet wide formed of overlapping stones the width of the wall, arranged in courses to fall each way from a ridged centre to a lower stone which was dished out to convey the water to projecting spouts or gargoyles (see the section, fig. 1). A stone in the north parapet bore the inscription:—¹⁰

T . G . MILES
HVJVS STRVC
TVRE SVPTVM
FECIT A.D. 1584.

The joists and roof timbers are chiefly of beechwood, repaired in a few places with oak and Scotch fir. The maximum of stone has been used, all the interior lintels of both doors and windows being of that material.

The tower must have shown signs of weakness at an early period of its existence. It was strengthened at different times by huge buttresses against the north and south walls, and by adding to the thickness of the north basement wall (fig. 2). That this north wall was increased in thickness is evident from the fact that an original loop and later door opening which appear on the exterior do not show on the interior.

¹⁰ This stone has been given by lord Tankerville to Mrs. Butler of Ewart park, where it now is.

There is a paper on Doddington full of local interest by the rev. Wm. Procter, jun., in the *Transactions of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, vol. vi. p. 146, and a report on a visit in July, 1870, at p. 111 of the same volume.

Mr. J. C. Hodgson, F.S.A., has kindly given me the following notes:—

'It [Doddington] is remarkable for its largeness, the badness of its houses and low situation, and, perhaps, for the greatest quantities of geese of any of its neighbourhood, and is distinguished from all the rest in the county, except Branxton, for having the chapel covered with heather and straw. It stands at the distance of a gunshot from the town, and has a very good bell. Here is one of the best and largest springs in the county, which sends out a current sufficient to serve a mill.'—Mark, *Survey of Northumberland*, 1734. Hodgson Hinde, *Inedited Contribution to the History of Northumberland*, p. 77.

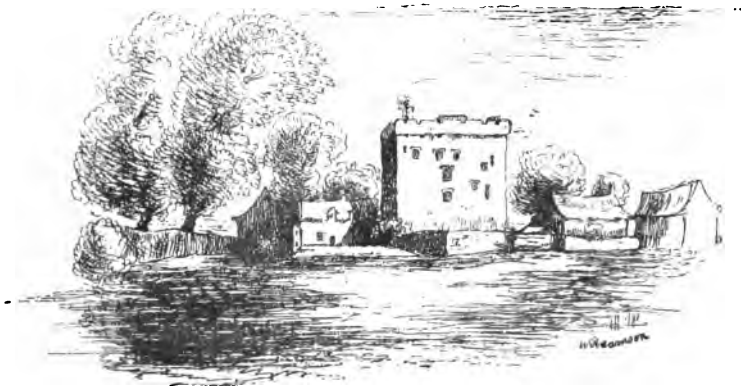
The names of streets in the village of Doddington are preserved in a couplet:—

'Southgate and Sandgate, and up the Cat Raw,
The Tinkler's Street, and Bygate Ha.'

When Will Allen, the piper, was on his deathbed he was admonished by his pious neighbours of the awful consequences of dying unprepared with all his sins upon his head. 'Pshaw,' quoth he, in a peevish manner, 'hand me my pipes, and I'll gie ye "Dorrington lads yet."'—*The Denham Tracts*, edited by Dr. James Hardy, vol. i. pp. 13, 273.

Is the following couplet a fragment of verses set to an old Northumbrian pipe tune entitled 'Dorrington lads yet?' [Dorrington is an old pronunciation of Doddington.]

'Dorrington lads is bonny, and Dorrington lads is canny ;
And I'll hae a Dorrington lad, and fide a Dorrington cuddy.'



DODDINGTON BASTLE ABOUT 1840.

(Reproduced from a drawing by the late Major W. Adamson.)

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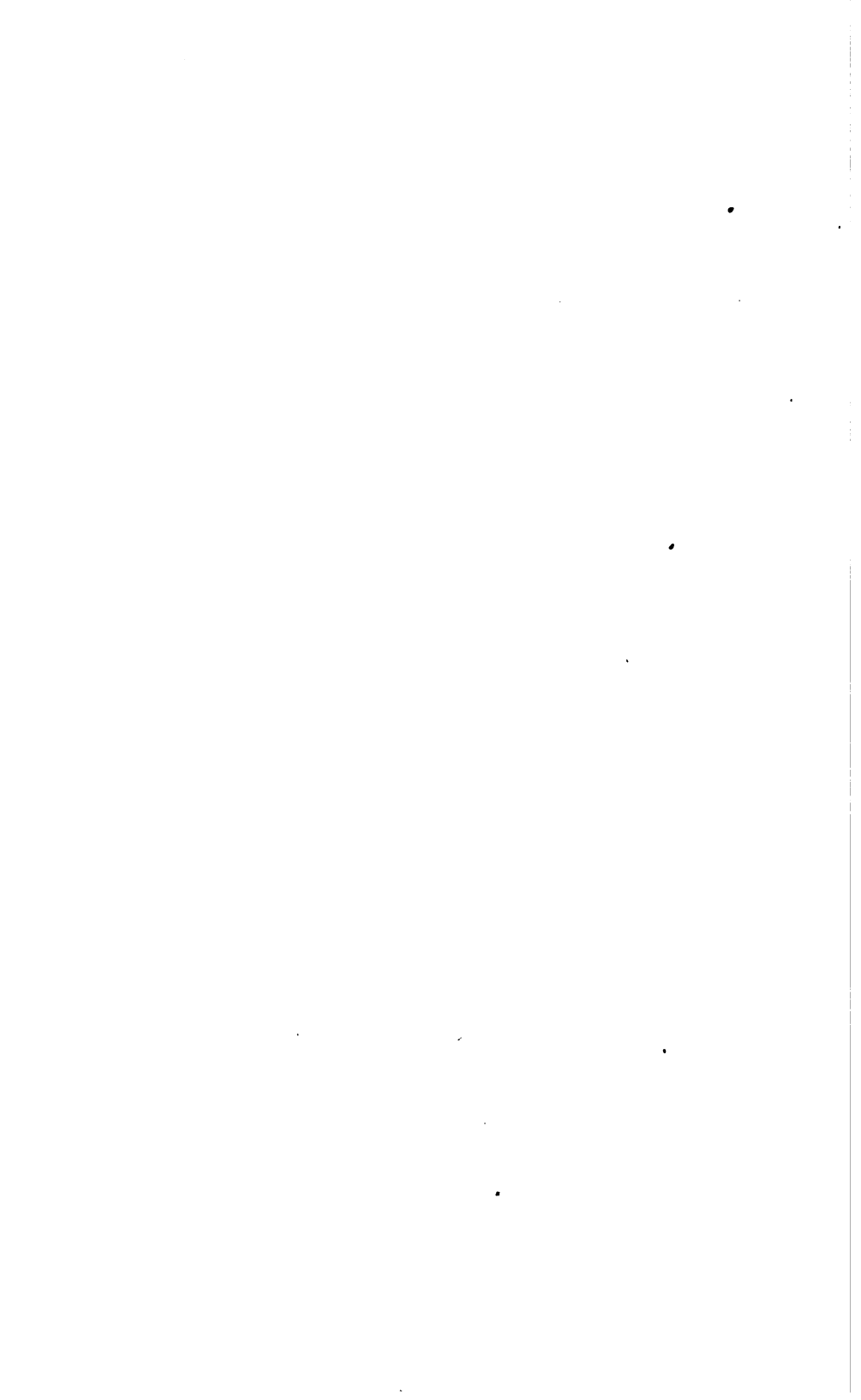
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