



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Bn 5214.83.2

★

Harvard College Library



FROM THE GIFT OF

CHARLES JACKSON

(Class of 1898)

OF BOSTON

FOR ENGLISH HISTORY AND
LITERATURE



ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOLUME XVI.

(NEW SERIES.)



LONDON AND NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:

ANDREW REID, Sons & Co., PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS, AKENSIDE HILL.

M.DCCC.XCIV.

Bn 5214.83.2
*

Harvard College Library
Feb. 1, 1912
Gift of
Charles Jackson
of Boston

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
ANDREW REID, SONS & CO., PRINTERS, AKENSIDE HILL.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
List of Plates, Woodcuts, etc.	ov & ovi
Contributions of Plates, Photographs, etc.	ovii
<i>Corrigenda</i>	oviii
Annual Reports for 1892 and 1893	i & xxi
Treasurer's Statements, etc.	ii-iv & xxiii-xxv
Report of the Roman Wall Excavation Committee and Balance Sheet	xxvi & xxviii
Statutes of the Society	xxvi & xxviii
Council and Officers for 1893 and 1894	v & xxix
Honorary Members	vi & xxx
Ordinary Members... ..	vii & xxxi
Societies with which Publications are exchanged	xiv & xxxix

I.—The Battle of Flodden. By Thomas Hodgkin, D.O.L., F.S.A. ...	1
II.—Middleton St. George: Medieval Cross in the Garden at the Low Hall. By the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A.	45
III.—Discoveries at Kirkwhelpington Church. By W. Searle Hicks ...	47
IV.—Customs of Court Leet and Court Baron of Morpeth, with Court Roll of 1632. By J. Crawford Hodgson	52
V.—The New Wallsend Altar to Jupiter. By F. J. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.	76
VI.—Names of Persons and Places mentioned in Early Lives of Saint Cuthbert. By Cadwallader J. Bates, M.A.	81
VII.—Notes on the Jacobite Movement in Upper Coquetdale, 1715. By David Dippie Dixon	98
VIII.—Notes on a Journey to Embleton and back, in 1464. By Edward Bateson... ..	118
IX.—The Ancient Farms of Northumberland. By Frederick Walter Dendy	121

	PAGE.
X.—A New Roman Inscription at South Shields. By F. J. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.	157
XI.—The Manor of Haltwhistle. By the Rev. C. E. Adamson, M.A. ...	162
XII.—The Church of Haltwhistle. By the same	177
XIII.—Some forgotten Quaker Burial Grounds. By Maberly Phillips ...	189
XIV.—The Hanseatic Confederation, with Special Reference to the Rise and Progress of the English Factories and Trading Connection with Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By Robert Coltman Clephan ...	211
XV.—Old Church Plate in the Counties of Northumberland and Durham. By Wilfred J. Cripps, C.B., F.S.A.	249
XVI.—A Bull of Adrian IV. relating to Neasham Priory, Co. Durham. By Major-General Sir William Crossman, K.C.M.G., F.S.A. ...	268
XVII.—Forgotten Burying Grounds of the Society of Friends (Second paper). By Maberly Phillips	274
XVIII.—Blanchland. By the Rev. Anthony Johnson	295
XIX.—On the Roman Altar to the Goddess 'Garmangabis,' found at Lanchester, Co. Durham :—	
I. By the Rev. Dr. Hooppell	313
II. By F. J. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.	321
XX.—The Roman Bridges across the North Tyne River near Chollerford. By Sheriton Holmes	328
XXI.—Slaley. By the Rev. A. Johnson	339
XXII.—Flodden Field. By Cadwallader J. Bates, M.A.	351
XXIII.—The 'Fox and Lamb' Public House, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle. By W. H. Knowles, F.R.I.B.A.	373
XXIV.—Sedgefield Church. By Charles Clement Hodges	379
XXV.—The Goldsmiths of Newcastle. By J. R. Boyle, F.S.A.	397
XXVI.—Note on a Fragment of Roman Scale Armour from the Walltown Crag. By the Rev. G. Rome Hall, F.S.A.	441
XXVII.—A Forgotten Reference to Roman Mile-Castles. By Cadwallader J. Bates	447
XXVIII.—'The Old Bank' (Bell, Cookson, Carr, and Airey), Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By Maberly Phillips	452
—	
Index	471

LIST OF PLATES.

	PLATE.	PAGE.
Sections across the Roman Vallum, near Heddon-on-the-Wall, and at Down Hill ol and oia, <i>between</i> pages xxvi and xxvii		
Flodden, from near the King's Stone	I <i>facing</i>	1
Map of Portion of Northumberland, to illustrate the Battle of Flodden	II <i>btwn.</i>	{ 18 19
Plan of the Battle of Flodden	III <i>facing</i>	28
13th Century Cross at Middleton Low Hall, Co. Durham ...	IV „	46
Plan of Kirkwhelpington Church, and details	V „	48
Wallsend Altar to Jupiter	VI „	76
Sketch Map of the North of England, to illustrate the Wanderings of St. Cuthbert	VII „	82
'Three Half Moons' and 'Black Bull' Inns, Rothbury ...	VIII „	102
Plans of Netherwitton in 18th and 19th Centuries	IX „	125
Plan of Common Field Strips at Corbridge	X <i>btwn.</i>	{ 130 131
Plan of an American Township	XI <i>facing</i>	149
A Roman Inscription, <i>temp.</i> Severus Alexander, at South Shields	XII „	158
Haltwhistle Church before and after Restoration	XIII „	177
Heworth Pre-Reformation Paten	XIV „	252
Hamsterley Pre-Reformation Paten	XV „	252
Elizabethan Cup, Great Stainton, Co. Durham	XVI „	254
Fac-similes of Signatures to Bull of Adrian IV., relating to Neasham, Co. Durham	XVII <i>btwn.</i>	{ 270 271
'Sparrow Hall,' Cullercoats	XVIII <i>facing</i>	285
Blanchland—General View from S.W.	XIX „	295
„ Church, from N.E.	XX „	300
„ Plan of Church	XXa „	302
„ Grave Covers	XXI „	302
„ Churchyard Cross	XXII „	304
„ 'The Happy Village'	XXIII „	306
Roman Altar at Lanchester	XXIV „	{ 314 316 317
Plan of Roman Bridges, near Chollerford	XXV <i>btwn.</i>	{ 328 329
Details of do.	XXVI <i>facing</i>	332
Conjectural Restoration of Roman Bridges near Chollerford	XXVII „	334

LIST OF PLATES, *Continued.*

	PLATE.	PAGE.
Sketch Map of Flodden District	XXVIII <i>facing</i>	358
Suggested Position of Troops at beginning of Flodden Fight	XXIX	,, 362
Plan of 'Fox and Lamb,' Pilgrim Street, Newcastle	XXX	,, 373
Elevation of do.	XXXI	,, 374
Sedgefield Church Exterior	XXXII	,, 379
Do. Plan	XXXIII <i>btwn.</i>	{ 380 381
Do. Interior	XXXIV <i>facing</i>	384
Do. Capitals of Columns	} XXXV } } XXXVI }	} " 386
Do. Grave Covers	} XXXVII } } XXXVIII }	} " 394
Portrait of John Coutts, the banker	XXXIX	,, 452

WOODCUTS, ETC.

	PAGE.	
Fragment of Roman Inscription at South Shields	158	
Roman Tile, inscribed COH V G at do.	158	
The Tower of Haltwhistle	164	
Haltwhistle Burn	188	
Ground Plan of Old Factory of Hanseatic League in London	246	
Bird's-eye View of do.	247	
Elizabethan Communion Cups	{ All Saints' Church, Newcastle	251
	{ Bishopwearmouth	257
	{ Dinsdale	258
	{ Sherburn Hospital, Co. Durham	253
Cambo Communion Cup	255	
Leaden <i>Bulla</i> of Adrian IV.	273	
Plan of Quaker Burial Ground, Cullercoats	278	
Two Roman Inscribed Slabs from Lanchester	319	
Roman Inscribed Slab, Benwell	323	
British Bronze Axe Head and Flint Scraper, Heddon-on-the-Wall	338	
Corridor in the old 'Fox and Lamb' Public House, Newcastle	374	
Rough Sketch of 'Fox and Lamb,' from Drawing by G. B. Richardson	375	
Initial Letter and Arms on Bell, Sedgefield Church	396	
Fac-similes of Signatures of Newcastle Goldsmiths	411, 415, 419, 425	
Roman <i>Loricæ</i> Scales	{ from Walltown Crag	442
	{ from Hodhill, Dorsetshire	443
	{ from Hamdon Hill, Somersetshire	444

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PHOTOGRAPHS, DRAWINGS, ETC.

- Adamson, Rev. C. E. : Loan of blocks of Haltwhistle Tower and Burn, pp. 165 and 188.
- Allen, J. Romilly, F.S.A. : Loan of blocks of side Views of Lanchester Altar, pp. 316 and 317.
- Auty, M. : Photograph of Blanchland Church, Plate XX.
- Brown, G. T. : Photograph of Blanchland Churchyard Cross, Plate XXII., and Drawings of Grave Covers, Plate XXI.
- Crossman, Major-General Sir W. : Photograph, etc., of Papal *Bulla*, p. 273.
- Dendy, W. S. : Drawings to illustrate his paper on 'Ancient Farms in Northumberland,' Plates IX., X., and XI.
- Downey & Sons : Loan of negative for Plate XII.
- Edwards, A. : Photograph of the Lanchester Altar, Plate XXIV.
- Edwards, J. S. : Photograph of Blanchland, Plate XIX.
- Gibson, J. P. : Photographs of British Axe Head and Flint Scraper, p. 338.
- Hicks, W. S. : Plan of Kirkwhelpington Church, Plate V.
- Hodges, C. C. : Plans of Blanchland and Sedgfield Churches, Plates XXa and XXXIII. ; Photographs of Capitals of Columns, Sedgfield, and Drawings of Grave Covers, Plates XXXV—XXXVIII.
- Holmes, S. : Drawing of Sections across *Vallum*, Plates 01 and 01a, and Plan, etc., of Roman Bridges, *Cilurnum*, Plate XXV—XXVII.
- Knowles, W. H. : Loan of blocks of 'Sparrow Hall,' Plate XVIII., and 'Fox and Lamb,' p. 374 ; Plan and Elevation of 'Fox and Lamb,' Plates XXX. and XXXI.
- Ogilvie, Frank S. : Drawing of Sparrow Hall, Plate XVIII.
- Phillips, M. : Plan of Quaker Burial Ground, p. 278 ; and for loan of block of John Coutts, Plate XXXIX.
- Spence, Charles J. : Drawing of Flodden, Plate I.
- Stevenson, A. L. : Photographs of Middleton Low Hall Cross, Plate IV., and of Hamsterley Paten, Plate XV.
- Tomlinson, W. W. : Loan of block of 'Sparrow Hall,' Plate XVIII.

Plates VI. and XIV. are from Photographs by Downey & Sons, South Shields; Plate XVI. by McLeish of Darlington.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 141, for 'Middleton,' in heading, read 'Trevelyan.'
- .. 180, eighth line from bottom, for 'Nov. 22, Mr. Robert Tweddell,' read 'Nov. 23, Mr. Robert Tweddall.'
 - .. 184, twenty-fourth line, for '1789' read '1782.' 1789 was the year of the death of the younger, but more distinguished brother, John, rector of Houghton-le-Spring. See page 188, lines 1 and 2.
 - .. 203, seventh line from bottom, for 'Richardson's Terrier of Survey made 1682, MS. made by Mr. Andrew Stoddard,' read 'a manuscript note in Mr. Andrew Stoddart's copy of Richardson's Terrier of Survey (made in 1768).'
 - .. 262, the Hexham grave chalice is of bronze, not of pewter (see *Arch. Ael.* vol. xv. p. 192).
 - .. 295-312, throughout Mr. Johnson's paper, wherever the word 'monks' occurs, read 'canons.'
 - .. 297, sixth line from bottom, for 'Pegannus' read 'Paganus.'
 - .. 341, sixth line from bottom, for 'west' read 'east.'

REPORT
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCII.

THE Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne continues to flourish and increase. The number of members has now risen to 317, and the crowded meetings at the Castle show that the proceedings have lost none of their interest for the members.

In one respect, however, the year 1892 will always possess a melancholy interest for the society, marked as it has been by the death of its venerated vice-president, John Collingwood Bruce, LL.D. and D.C.L. It is not necessary here to recapitulate the events of his long and honourable career, which have already formed the subject of a paper in our transactions, but we may once more refer to the sustained and vivid interest which, down to the very end of his life, he took both in the proceedings of the society and in all archaeological discoveries that were made in the North of England. We can best show our veneration for his memory by keeping the society, in whose service he laboured so diligently, in at least as high a state of efficiency as that to which he saw it raised in his lifetime. Two enterprises of an antiquarian kind have lately been commenced with the sanction of the society, if not directly at its bidding. We hope in the course of the present year to be able to congratulate our members on the publication of the first part of the new history of Northumberland, which is designed to supplement and complete the invaluable work of the Rev. John Hodgson. A beginning has also been made with the raising of a fund for a systematic excavation of the Roman camps in

our district. Should this effort meet with the support which it deserves, we anticipate from it valuable results as to the history of the Roman occupation of Britain.

The following is the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31ST DECEMBER, 1892.

The number of members has now reached 317, which is more than in any previous year. There have been 48 members elected during the year. Only 1 member has resigned, but death has deprived us of 6 of our members.

The total income from all sources has been £498 11s. 4d., and the expenditure £489 17s. 9½d. The balance of the revenue account carried forward to 1893 is £185 19s. 11d., and there is a balance on the capital account of £44 19s. 10d., of which £42 18s. 5d. is invested in Government 2½ per cent. Consols through the Post Office Savings Bank.

The receipts from members' subscriptions has been £317 2s., or £20 more than last year; but the total receipts from all sources falls about £34 short, chiefly owing to the sale in 1891 of the 4to copies of the *Border Holds*, vol. i.

The receipts at the Castle and Black Gate are within a few shillings of what they were in 1891, but the expenditure at both is greater in consequence of some urgent structural repairs done at the latter, and the furnishing of the council chamber at the Castle.

The printing of the *Archaeologia Aeliana* has cost £121 11s., and the *Proceedings* £31 0s. 6d. The sum paid for illustrations, £41 5s. 5d., is a considerable reduction on the previous year.

In the purchase of books there has been expended £53 1s. 7d., which is an increase of £31 on the previous year, but this includes the cost of making the card catalogue of the society's books.

The life members remain at three as previously.

SHERITON HOLMES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

*Sheriton Holmes, Treasurer, in Account with the Society of Antiquaries
of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1892.

	Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on January 1st, 1892	177	6	4½			
Members' Subscriptions	317	2	0			
Castle	111	5	6	82	5	3
Black Gate	23	15	7	39	10	2
Museum				5	2	6
Books	46	8	3	53	1	7
<i>Archæologia Aeliana</i>				121	11	0
<i>Proceedings</i>				31	0	6
Illustrations				41	5	5
Sundries				78	1	4½
Secretary (Clerical Assistance)				40	0	0
Balance				185	19	11
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£675	17	8½	£675	17	8½
	<hr/>			<hr/>		

Capital Account.

	£	s.	d.
Invested in 2½ per cent. Consols	42	18	5
Balance in Post Office Savings Bank	0	17	9
Dividends during 1892	1	3	8
	<hr/>		
	£44	19	10
	<hr/>		

Details of Receipts and Expenditure.

CASTLE—	£	s.	d.
Warder's Salary	66	5	0
Rent	0	2	6
Income Tax	0	1	9
Water	0	6	0
Gas	0	9	1
Insurance	2	15	0
Furniture for the Council Room	7	10	0
Coal, Firewood, &c.	4	8	5
Gratuities to Attendants at Tea	0	7	6
	<hr/>		
	£82	5	3
	<hr/>		

BLACK GATE—	£	s.	d.
Custodian's Salary	21	4	0
Rent	1	0	0
Water	1	0	0
Gas	1	5	1
Insurance	0	7	6
Coal and Sundries	0	18	10
Repairs to the Building	13	2	2
Whitewashing	0	7	6
Plumbers	0	5	1
	<hr/>		
	£39	10	4
	<hr/>		

DETAILS OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.—*Continued.*

MUSEUM—		£	s.	d.
Differential Blocks and Sling Chain	... ..	3	7	3
Indian Stone Implements	... ..	1	0	0
Sundries	... ..	0	15	3
		<hr/>		
		£5	2	6
		<hr/>		
BOOKS SOLD—		£	s.	d.
<i>Border Holds</i> , 8vo, vol. i., 10 copies	... ..	20	16	0
Other Publications sold at the Castle	... ..	25	12	3
		<hr/>		
		£46	8	3
		<hr/>		
BOOKS BOUGHT—		£	s.	d.
Re-purchase of Books abstracted from the Library	... ..	2	5	0
Cataloguing Library Books	... ..	12	11	4
Reid for Printing <i>Border Holds</i> (balance)	... ..	11	4	0
<i>Place Names of Scotland</i>	... ..	0	6	0
MSS. Book	... ..	0	10	6
Haine's <i>Memorial Brasses</i>	... ..	2	15	0
<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i>	... ..	0	7	9
Papworth's <i>Heraldry</i>	... ..	2	10	0
Leicester Archaeological Society Journal, 5 vols.	... ..	1	5	0
<i>Jahrbuch und Mittheilungen</i> of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute	... ..	2	3	0
<i>Year Book of Societies</i>	... ..	0	7	6
<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> , vol. viii., part 4, &c.	... ..	0	17	9
Dennis's <i>Cemeteries of Etruria</i>	... ..	0	10	0
Boyle's <i>Durham</i> , 1 4to, 1 8vo	... ..	1	4	9
McGibbon & Ross's <i>Castellated Architecture of Scotland</i>	... ..	3	10	0
<i>Antiquary and Reliquary</i>	... ..	0	10	0
Murray's <i>A New English Dictionary</i> , 2 parts	... ..	0	19	0
<i>Catalogue of English Coins</i>	... ..	0	19	2
Transactions Durham and Northumb. Archaeol. Soc.	... ..	2	2	0
Kendal <i>Boke of Recorde</i>	... ..	0	12	10
Woods's Map of Newcastle, 1827	... ..	1	2	6
Waters, for Binding	... ..	4	8	6
		<hr/>		
		£53	1	7
		<hr/>		
SUNDRIES—		£	s.	d.
Reid, for Printing, &c.	... ..	19	6	6
Nicholson, do. do.	... ..	28	13	0
Cheque Book	... ..	0	5	0
Gibson's Postage and Carriage of Parcels	... ..	9	6	9½
Income Tax	... ..	0	6	0
Subscription—Surtrees Society	... ..	1	1	0
Do. Harleian do.	... ..	1	1	0
Secretary's Postage and Expences	... ..	16	0	4
Treasurer's do. do.	... ..	2	1	9
		<hr/>		
		£76	1	4½
		<hr/>		

MABERLY PHILLIPS, }
W. W. TOMLINSON, } AUDITORS.

v

**THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR M.DCCC.XCIII.**

Patron.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH.

Vice-Presidents.

THE REV. EDWARD HUSSEY ADAMSON.

CADWALLADER JOHN BATES, M.A.

JOHN CROSSE BROOKS.

RICHARD CAIL.

ROBERT RICHARDSON DEES.

THE REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c

THE REV. GEORGE ROME HALL, F.S.A.

WILLIAM HILTON DYER LONGSTAFFE.

JOHN PHILIPSON.

THE REV. JAMES RAINE, M.A.

ALEXANDER SHANNAN STEVENSON, F.S.A. Scot.

WILLIAM WOODMAN.

Secretaries.

THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A.

ROBERT BLAIR, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

SHERITON HOLMES.

Editor.

ROBERT BLAIR.

Librarian.

WILLIAM W. TOMLINSON.

Curators.

CHARLES JAMES SPENCE.

RICHARD OLIVER HESLOP.

Auditors.

JOHN ARCHBOLD DIXON.

RICHARD WILLIAM SISSON.

Council.

HORATIO ALFRED ADAMSON.

RICHARD OLIVER HESLOP.

CHARLES JAMES SPENCE.

WILLIAM H. KNOWLES.

DENNIS EMBLETON, M.D.

MABERLY PHILLIPS.

ROBERT COLTMAN CLEPHAN.

CHARLES CLEMENT HODGES.

RICHARD WELFORD.

JOHN VESSEY GREGORY.

REV. CUTHBERT EDWARD ADAMSON.

JOHN PATTISON GIBSON.

HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Date of Election.	
1840 Feb. 3	His Excellency John Sigismund von Møsting, Copenhagen.
1841 Sept. 5	Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B., M.A.
1851 Feb. 3	Ferdinand Denis, Keeper of the Library of St. Genéviève, at Paris
1851 Feb. 3	Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., Lea Hall, Gainsborough.
1851 Feb. 3	Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Principal of the University of Toronto.
1855 Jan. 3	J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Hon. Tress. Harleian Society.
1855 April 14	Aquilla Smith, M.D., Dublin.
1865 April 5	The Duca di Brolo.
1883 June 27	Professor Emil Hübner, LL.D., Ahornstrasse 4, Berlin.
1883 June 27	Professor Mommsen, Berlin.
1883 June 27	Professor George Stephens, Copenhagen.
1883 June 27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June 27	A. W. Franks, C.B., Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum.
1883 June 27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1883 Oct. 31	A. von Cohausen, Wiesbaden.
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	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.

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

- Dr. Berlanga, Malaga, Spain.
- The British Museum, London.
- Prof. Ad. de Ceuleneer, Rue de la Liève 9, Ghent, Belgium.
- The Rev. Dr. Cox, Barton-le-Street Rectory, Malton.
- W. J. Cripps, C.B., Sandgate, Kent, and Cirencester.
- J. Hardy, LL.D., Sec. Berw. Nat. Club, Oldcambus, Cockburnspath, N.B.
- Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle.
- Robert Mowat, Rue des Feuillantines 10, Paris.
- The Rev. Henry Whitehead, Lanercost Priory, Carlisle.
- T. M. Fallow, Coatham, Redcar.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,
ON THE 25TH JANUARY, 1893.

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.
1843 April 4	†Adamson, Rev. Edward Hussey, Felling, Gateshead.
1873	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, North Shields.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence W., Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 2 Hutton Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Allan, Thomas, Blckett Street, Newcastle.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Anne Jane (Miss), Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Nunwick, Humshaugh-on-Tyne.
1885 Dec. 30	Armstrong, Lord, Cragside, Rothbury.
1889 Mar. 27	Armstrong, Watson, W. A., Cragside, Rothbury.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1891 May 27	Atkinson, Rev. J. C., D.C.L., Danby Parsonage, Grosmont, Yorks.
1878	Barnea, John Wheeldon, F.S.A., Durham.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Heddon Banks, Wylam.
1891 Sept. 30	Bateson, Edward, 24 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Bell, Charles L., Woolsington, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, John E., The Cedars, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
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, Houghton-on-Tyne.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Northumberland.
1888 April 25	Bolam, Robert G., Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1891 July 29	Bond, William Bownas, Blckett Street, Newcastle.
1871	Booth, John, Shotley Bridge.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rook, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Newbottle Vicarage, Fence Houses.

Date of Election.	
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, Whitley, Newcastle.
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, Greenfield Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Branford, William E., 90 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Brewis, Parker (c/o Mr. Cackett, Architect), Newcastle.
1884 Aug. 27	Briggs, Miss, Hylton Castle, Sunderland.
1866 Mar. 7	†Brooks, John Crosse, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 17 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1883 Dec. 27	Brown, John Williamson, 24 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1865 Aug. 2	Brown, Ralph, Benwell Grange.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1891 July 29	*Browne, Major A. H., Callaly Castle, Whittingham, R.S.O.
1882	Browne, Sir Benjamin Chapman, Westacres, Benwell, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, Sir Gainsford, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick
1885 Sept. 30	Burn, John Henry, Jun., Beaconsfield, Cullercoats.
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., Ridley Villas, Newcastle.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1854 Feb. 6	†Cail, Richard, Beaconsfield, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1886	Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 15 Albany Villas, Hove, Brighton.
1892 Mar. 30	Campbell, John McLeod, Scotswood House, Scotswood.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Jan. 27	Carr, Frank Joseph, The Willows, Walker.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympton, near Exeter.
1887	Carr, Rev. Henry Byne, Wickham, R.S.O.
1891 Oct. 28	Carr, R. Storer, Riding Mill.
1892 July 27	Carr, Sidney Story, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Barming Rectory, Maidstone, Kent.
1881	Carr, W. J., Printing Court Buildings, Newcastle.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Charlewood, Henry C., 2 Bentinck Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., Caius College, Cambridge.
1885 Nov. 25	Charlton, William L. S., Carritteth, Bellingham, North Tyne.
1887 Nov. 30	Charlton, William Oswald, Snab Dough, Bellingham.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester (Walter T. Browne, Librarian).
1890 July 30	Clayton, Nathaniel George, Chesters, Humshaugh-on-Tyne.
1883 Dec. 27	†Clephan, Robert Coltman, Southdene Tower, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1892 May 25	Coates, Henry Buckden, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1892 Aug. 31	Corder, Herbert, 10 Kensington Terrace, Sunderland.
1886 Sept. 29	Corder, Percy, 41 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Cowen, Joseph, Stella Hall, Blaydon.
1888 Aug. 29	Cowen, John A., Blaydon Burn, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, 32 Lower Sloane Street, London, W.
1888 Feb. 29	Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.
1889 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Longhorsley, Morpeth, Northumberland.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Library (J. H. Everatt, Librarian), Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1855 previous to	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	Dendy, Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Dick, John, 4 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Dickinson, George, Dawson Place, Allendale Town.
1884 Mar. 26	Dickinson, John, Park House, Sunderland.
1883 June 27	Dixon, John Archbold, 14 West Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1891 Oct. 28	Donald, Colin Dunlop, 172 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Nov. 30	Drury, John C., Alma Place, North Shields.
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.
1881	Edwards, Harry Smith, Byethorn, Corbridge.
1876	Elliott, George, 47 Rosedale Terrace, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Ellison, J. R. Carr-, Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1886 May 26	†Embleton, Dennis, M.D., 19 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	Emley, Fred., Ravenshill, Durham Road, Gateshead.
1885 Aug. 26	Farrow, Rev. John Ellis, Felling-on-Tyne.
1886 Aug. 28	Featherstonhaugh, Rev. Walker, Edmundbyers, Blackhill.
1865 Aug. 2	Fenwick, George A., Bywell Hall, Stookasfield, Newcastle.
1875	Fenwick, John George, Moorlands, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Rich. S., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1890 Mar. 28	Forster, William, Houghton Hall, Carlisle.
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Franklin, The Rev. Canon R. J., St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Gayner, Francis, Beech Holme, Sunderland.
1859 Dec. 2	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	†Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.
1878	Gibson, Thomas George, 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1879	Glendinning, William, 39 Jesmond Road, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.
1886 Oct. 27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1888 Feb. 29	Grace, Herbert Wylam, Hallgarth Hall, Winlaton.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Greene, Charles R., Hill Croft, Low Fell, Gateshead.
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, Francis John, 120 Ryehill, Newcastle.
1879	+Gregory, John Vessey, 10 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Haggie, Robert Hood, Blythswold, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1865 Jan. 4	+Hall, Rev. George Rome, F.S.A., Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne.
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 Road, Newcastle.
1892 July 27	Hassell, Clement, 13 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1889 Feb. 27	*Haverfield, F. J., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
1882	Haythornthwaite, Rev. Edward, Felling Vicarage, Gateshead
1886 April 28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Cheviott, Corbridge.
1884 Feb. 27	Henzell, Charles William, Tynemouth.
1891 Oct. 28	Healop, George Christopher, 135 Park Road, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	+Healop, 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, Sele House, Hexham.
1865 Aug. 2	+Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Benwelldene, Newcastle.
1890 Jan. 29	Hodgson, John Crawford, Warkworth.
1884 April 30	Hodgson, John George, Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 28	Hodgson, William, Elmcroft, Darlington.
1891 Oct. 28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, 8 Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1877 July 4	+Holmes, Sheriton, Moor View House, Newcastle.
1877	Hooppell, Rev. Robert Eli, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.A.S., Byers Green, Spennymoor.
1892 June 29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1882	Hopper, John, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1876	Hoyle, William Aubone, Normount, Newcastle.
1888 Feb. 29	Hoyle, Percy S., Randall, Wilson & Co., Bridgend, Glamorgan.
1886 June 30	Huddart, Rev. G. A. W., LL.D., Kirklington Rectory, Bedale.
1891 Oct. 28	Humble, Stephen John, Ravenswood, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1888 July 25	Hunter, Edward, 8 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1886 May 26	Irving, George, 1 Portland Terrace, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
1892 Nov. 30	Jewell, R. Duncombe, Woods & Co. Bank, Fawcett St., Sunderland.
1882	Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883 Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Rudby Vicarage, Yarm.
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, James, M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1892 June 29	Jones, Rev. W. M. O'Brady, St. Luke's Vicarage, Wallsend.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Harvey, Victoria Buildings, Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1890 Jan. 29	Laing, Dr., Blyth.
1892 Dec. 28	Leitch, Rev. Richard, Osborne Villas, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1883 June 27	Lloyd, The Rev. Arthur T., D.D., Vicarage, Newcastle.
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1850 Nov. 6	†Longstaffe, William Hilton Dyer, The Crescent, Gateshead.
1885 Aug. 26	Lynn, J. R. D., Elington House, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, Geo. Eugene, Ashfield House, Elswick Road, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., The Asylum, Morpeth.
1883 June 27	Mackey, Matthew, 33 Lily Avenue, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
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).
1884 Mar. 26	Marshall, Frank, 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1882	Martin, N. H., F.L.S., 8 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	May, Thomas, 32 Normanton Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swalling, Riding Mill-on-Tyne.
1887 Dec. 28	Medd, Rev. Arthur Octavius, Whitton Tower, Rothbury.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (c/o Edward A. Petherick, 33 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.)
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., 2 St. Andrew's Villas, Watford, Herts.
1883 Feb. 28	Morton, Henry Thomas, Fenton, Wooler.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Mulcaster, Henry, Bishopside, Catton Road, Allendale.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 34 Clayton Street West, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1882	Nelson, Thomas, 9 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Newby, J. E., Binchester Hall, Bishop Auckland.
1883 Feb. 28	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library (W. J. Haggerston, Librarian).
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1850 Nov. 7	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent. †Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1869 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 12 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Ord, John Robert, Houghton Hall, Darlington.
1883 Mar. 28	Ormond, Richard, 35 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1877	Oswald, Septimus, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1892 Mar. 30	Pattison, John, Colbeck Terrace, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Enfield Lodge, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1892 Nov. 30	Percy, The Earl, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1884 Sept. 24	†Phillips, Maberly, 12 Grafton Road, Whitley, R.S.O.
1880	Philpison, George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1871	†Philpison, John, Victoria Square, Newcastle.
1880	Pickering, William, Poplar Cottage, Long Benton, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., 2 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Potts, Joseph, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Proud, George, 25 Croydon Road, Newcastle.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1871	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1854 Oct. 4	†Raine, Rev. Canon, York. †Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, Jun., Alnwick.
1882	Redmayne, R. Norman, 27 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, Linden Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Ridley, Bardon Mill.
1892 June 29	Rees, John, 5 Jesmond High Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 Feb. 24	Reid, Andrew, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 26	Reid, George B., Leazes House, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Richardson, Frank, South Ashfield, Newcastle.
1887 Dec. 28	Richmond, Rev. George Edward, Vicarage, Wylam
1886 June 30	Richmond, Rev. Henry James, Sherburn Vicarage, Co. Durham
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Rothbury.
1844 (?)	Ridley, Sir M. W., Bart., M.P., Blagdon, Northumberland.
1892 June 29	Ridley, Thomas Dawson, Willimoteswick, Coatham, Redcar.
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 136 Brighton Grove, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Robinson, James F., Burnopfield.

Date of Election.	
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, 7 Choppington Street, Newcastle.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1877	Rogers, Rev. Percy, M.A., Simonburn Rectory, Humshaugh.
1883 Aug. 29	Rogerson, John, Croxdale Hall, Durham.
1891 Feb. 18	Rome, George Robert, 14 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Rutherford, Henry Taylor, Blyth.
1891 Dec. 23	Rutherford, John V. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Ryott, William Henry, Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1884 Aug. 27	Schaeffer, Anton Georg, 4 Benton Terrace, Newcastle.
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, Picketree House, Chester-le-Street.
1888 Oct. 31	Shewbrooks, Edward, 23 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Martin William, Blyth.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Hedgefield House, Blaydon-on-Tyne.
1892 Jan. 27	Simpson, H. F. Morland, M.A., Fettes College, Edinburgh.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Alnwick.
1888 Jan. 25	Slater, The Rev. Henry, The Glebe, Riding Mill-on-Tyne.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Wark-on-Tyne.
1883 June 27	South Shields Public Library (Thomas Pyke, Librarian).
1886 Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
1883 Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Millfield, Newburn-on-Tyne.
1882	Steavenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891 Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, Vicarage, Heworth.
1883 Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882	Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
1885 June 24	Stephenson, Thomas, 3 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1873	†Stevenson, Alexander Shannan, F.S.A. Scot., Tynemouth
1887 Mar. 30	Straker, Joseph Henry, Stagshaw House, Corbridge.
1880	Strangeways, Wm. Nicholas, Lea Hurst, Newbould Lane, Sheffield.
1892 Jan. 27	Sutherland, Charles James, M.D., Frederick Street, South Shields.
1884 April 30	Swaby, Rev. Dr. W. P., Vicar of St. Mark's, Millfield, Sunderland.
1879	Swan, Henry F., Beaufront Castle, Hexham, Northumberland.
1886 Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1887 Nov. 30	Tarver, J. V., Eskdale Tower, Eskdale Terrace, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 6	Taylor, Hugh, 57 Gracechurch Street, London.
1890 April 30	Taylor, J. W., 31 Westgate Road, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Taylor, Thomas, Chipchase Castle, Wark-on-Tyne.
1884 Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Catholic Church, Whittingham, Alnwick.

Date of Election.	
1883 Jan. 31	Tennant, James, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1888 Aug. 29	Thompson, Geo. H., Baileygate, Alnwick.
1879	Thompson, Henry, St. Nicholas's Chambers, Newcastle.
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, 39 Dockwray Square, North Shields.
1888 Nov. 28	Tomlinson, William W., 1 Victoria Villas, Whitley, R.S.O.
1892 July 27	Toronto, University of (c/o Edward G. Allen, 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.)
1884 Mar. 26	Tweddell, George, Grainger Ville, Newcastle.
1889 Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Whalton Vicarage, Morpeth.
1890 Aug. 27	Wallace, Henry, Trench Hall, near Gateshead.
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.
1892 Dec. 28	Wagh, P., 49 Warrington Street, Newcastle.
1880	+Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1886 June 30	Wilkinson, Auburn, M.D., Holly House, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Wilkinson, The Rev. Ed., M.A., Whitworth Vicarage, Spennymoor.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, Jun., 39 Widdrington Terrace, North Shields.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1848 Feb. 7	+Woodman, William, East Riding, Morpeth.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, Jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1883 Mar. 28	Young, J. R., 20 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

- .Antiquaries of London, The Society of, Burlington House, London (*Assistant Secretary*, W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.)
- Antiquaries of Scotland, The Society of (Dr. J. Anderson, Museum, Edinburgh).
- Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The (Hellier Gosselin, *Secretary*, Oxford Mansion, Oxford Street, London, W.C.)
- Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, The (Robert Cochrane, c/o University Press, Trinity College, Dublin).
- Royal Irish Academy, The
- Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen, The

- Royal Society of Norway, The, Christiania.
- Berwickshire Naturalists Club, The (*Secretary and Editor*, James Hardy, LL.D., Oldcambus, Cockburnspath, N.B.)
- Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, The (The Rev. W. Bazeley, Matson Rectory, Gloucester).
- British Archaeological Association, The (*Secretaries*, W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., British Museum, and E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., 36 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.)
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society, The (*Secretary*, Dr. Hardcastle, Cambridge).
- Canadian Institute of Toronto, The
- Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, The (*Editor*, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., Lowther Street, Carlisle).
- Derbyshire Archaeological Society, The (*Editor*, The Rev. Dr. Cox, Barton-le-Street Rectory, Malton, Yorks.)
- Folk Lore Society, The (J. J. Foster, 36 Alma Square, St. John's Wood, London, S.W., *Hon. Sec.*)
- Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, The (R. D. Radcliffe, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Old Swan, Liverpool).
- London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, The
- Manx Society, The
- Nassau Association for the Study of Archaeology and History, The (Verein für nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung).
- Numismatic Society of London, The, 4 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London (*Secretaries*, H. A. Grueber and B. V. Head).
- Peabody Museum, The Trustees of the, Harvard University, U.S.A.
- Powys-land Club, The (*Editor*, Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., Gungrog Hall, 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 des Palais 63, Bruxelles).
- Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The
- Surrey Archaeological Society, The
- Sussex Archaeological Society, The (C. T. Phillips, *Hon. Librarian and Curator*).
- Thuringian Historical and Archaeological Society, The (Verein für thüringische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde) Jena (Professor Dr. D. Schäfer, Jena).
- Trier Archaeological Society, The, Trier, Germany.
- Wiltshire Archaeological Society, The
- Yorkshire Topographical and Archaeological Association, The (G. W. Tomlinson, Wood Field, Huddersfield, *Hon. Sec.*)

**STATUTES OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.**

- Constitution of the Society.** 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.
- Election of Members.** 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.
- Obligations 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 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.

IV.—The officers of the Society shall consist of a patron, ^{Officers of the Society.} a president, vice-presidents (not to exceed twelve in number), a treasurer, two secretaries, twelve other members (who, with the president, vice-presidents, treasurer, and secretaries, 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.

V.—The election of officers shall be out of the class of ^{Election of Officers.} 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.

Members not eligible for Council.

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.

Meetings of the Society.

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 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 and 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.

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.

Reading of
Papers.

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*).

Publications
of Society.

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 presented 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 subscription, 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 en-
titled to pub-
lications.

The use of
the library.

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.

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.

REPORT
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCIV.

THE Newcastle Society of Antiquaries has now completed the eighth decade of its existence. Though it has to lament the loss of many valued members by death during the past year, their places, as far as numbers go, have been more than filled by fresh accessions to its muster roll, which now numbers nearly 350 honorary and ordinary members.

The past year has been memorable to the antiquaries of our county for the publication of the first volume of the new County History of Northumberland, containing the history of Bamburgh and Belford. The editor, or rather author, Mr. Edward Bateson, has fulfilled his task in a manner which has earned the applause of the least indulgent critics. It is earnestly to be hoped that the eleven remaining volumes may maintain the same high level which has been reached by the first.

In connection with this subject we desire to point out to our members the valuable work which may be done by them individually in connection with the several parishes in which they reside. Some important papers on parochial history have been read at our meetings during the past year. It is very desirable that steps should be taken to print the early Parish Registers of the two northern counties. In some districts, as we are informed, these are being published in the successive numbers of the Parish Magazines, an admirable plan, and one which will give a permanent value to publications otherwise of ephemeral interest. If efforts of this kind are continued, the labours of the county historian of the future will be greatly lightened.

It is also to be desired that the attention of our local antiquaries should be called to the propriety of publishing without further delay an archaeological map of the two counties of Northumberland and Durham. This has been done for the counties of Kent, Hertford,

Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire north of the Sands, Surrey, and Lancashire, under the auspices of the London Society of Antiquaries. It is eminently desirable that our own district, so rich in remains of pre-historic and historic antiquity, should not remain without a similar record.

One of the most interesting events of the past year, from an antiquarian point of view, has been the visit to our district of General von Sarwey, a member of the commission appointed by the Imperial Government of Germany to examine and report upon the *Limes Imperii* in Germany. The general has rightly felt that a comparison with similar works of the Romans in Britain would greatly aid him in his researches, and he has therefore visited both the Roman Wall in Northumberland and Cumberland and the Wall of Antoninus between the firths of Forth and Clyde. On both journeys he was accompanied by a distinguished band of Oxford archaeologists, Messrs. Pelham, Mowat, Hogarth, and Haverfield. All these gentlemen, while recognising the careful and patient study which has been already given to the Roman Wall, especially by our late venerated vice-president, Dr. Bruce, are earnest in their recommendations that more should yet be done, and that the spade, that great revealer of archaeological truths, should be more efficiently wielded. The history of Roman Britain has yet to be written, and for that history we must in large measure depend on what we can find in the ground beneath our feet. The literary historians of the empire, little interested in the fortunes of our obscure, forest-covered island, have left large spaces in our annals utterly blank. We are under inestimable obligations to Tacitus, to Dion Cassius, to the writers of the Augustan History, for what they have told us, but their recitals and the precious chapters relating to Britain in the *Notitia Imperii* do little more than excite our curiosity, and suggest all sorts of problems which they do not solve. For the solution of these problems we must depend on the inscribed stones which it was the habit of the Roman legionary to leave behind him wherever he was quartered. Much light has already been derived from these sources, but undoubtedly much more yet remains undisclosed. The history of these early centuries of our country still remains to a large extent underground. Shall not we bear our part in bringing it forth to the day?

The following is the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

for the year ending 31st December, 1893 :—

The number of ordinary members at the end of 1893 was 321. The additions during the year have amounted to 29, and the losses from death and other causes to 23.

The total income from revenue has been £486 17s., and the expenditure £455 5s. 6d., leaving a balance on the year of £31 11s. 7d.

The balance of revenue account carried forward to 1894 is £217 11s. 6d., and the capital account shows a balance of £45 18s. 3d., of which £42 18s. 5d. is invested in the 2½ per cent. Consols, the remainder being deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank.

The receipts from members' subscriptions have been £320 5s., three guineas more than last year.

The receipts from the Castle and Black Gate have fallen off considerably as compared with previous years, in sympathy with the general dulness of trade. The total received from admissions being £115 9s. 7d., against £135 1s. 1d. in 1892. The expenditure, however, is somewhat less, so that there is a credit balance upon the two places of £2 11s. 6d.

The printing of the *Archaeologia Aeliana* has cost £97 9s. 10d., against £121 11s. last year, and the *Proceedings* £39 18s. 6d., against £31 0s. 6d. There has been a slight increase of £7 under the head of illustrations.

The purchase and the sale of books have nearly balanced each other, the purchases having amounted to £50 8s. 7d., and the sales to £51 2s. 5d.

The number of life members remains at three as previously.

SHERITON HOLMES,

Hon. Treasurer.

*Sheriton Holmes, Treasurer, in Account with the Society of Antiquaries
of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1893.

	Receipts. £ s. d.	Expenditure. £ s. d.
Balance on January 1st, 1893	185 19 11	
Members' Subscriptions	320 5 0	
Castle	96 18 6	80 19 11
Black Gate	18 11 1	31 18 2
Museum ... ..	...	0 14 4
Books	51 2 5	50 3 7
<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> (printing) ... ..	...	97 9 10
<i>Proceedings</i> (do.) ... ..	...	39 18 6
Illustrations ... ..	...	48 6 10
Sundries ... ..	...	65 14 3
Secretary (clerical assistance) ... ..	...	40 0 0
Balance ... ..	...	217 11 6
	£672 16 11	£672 16 11

Capital Account.

	£ s. d.
Invested in 2½ per cent. Consols	42 18 5
Dividends and Balance, December, 1893, as per Pass Book ...	2 19 10
	£45 18 3

Audited and certified.

23rd January, 1894.

J. A. DIXON.

R. W. SISSON.

Details of Receipts and Expenditure.

	£ s. d.
CASTLE—	
Warder's Salary	65 0 0
Rent	0 2 6
Income Tax	1 7 6
Water	0 6 0
Gas	2 14 4
Book Closet	9 7 0
Repairs	0 17 10
Coal, Firewood, &c.	1 4 9
	£80 19 11

BLACK GATE—										£	s.	d.
Attendant's Salary	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	18	0
Rent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Income Tax	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6
Water	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Gas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	11
Insurance	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	6
Repairs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	2
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	1
										<u>£31 18 2</u>		

MUSEUM—										£	s.	d.
An old Watch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
Fire Office Plate	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Boars' Tusks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Casts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Carriage of Stones	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
										<u>£0 14 4</u>		

BOOKS BOUGHT—										£	s.	d.
<i>Survey of Debatable Lands</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
<i>Monumental Effigies</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	6	0
<i>Antiquary and Reliquary</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	14	0
<i>Transactions, Cornwall Institute</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
<i>Year-book of Societies</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	6
<i>Memorials of the Marquis of Montrose</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
<i>Antike Denkmäler, etc.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	14	0
<i>Testamenta Carleolensia</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	10
Tomlinson, <i>Historic Notes on Cullercoats</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
Bourne's <i>Whickham Parish</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Binding, Waters	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£27	4	3	
Do. Reid	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	6	
										<u>30 11 9</u>		
Preparing Library Catalogue	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	6	6
										<u>£50 3 7</u>		

SUNDRIES—										£	s.	d.
Cheque Book	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Gibson, J. P., for Excavations at Mucklebank Turret	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
Subscription—Harleian Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Do. Surtees do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Income Tax	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	0
Reid, for General Printing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	9	5
Nicholson, do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	2	0
Gibson's Postage and Carriage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	18	11
Secretary's Postage, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	12	3
Treasurer's do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	15	8
										<u>65 14 3</u>		

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO MAKE EXCAVATIONS *PER LINEAM VALLI*, MADE TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE ON THE 31ST DAY OF JANUARY, 1894.

The members of the Committee of the Northumberland Excavation Fund, in presenting the report of their first year's working, are not able to boast of any great discoveries, but they hope that their slender band of subscribers will feel that their scanty funds have been judiciously expended.

The chief object pressed upon their attention by their correspondents at Oxford and elsewhere was the determination of the character and composition of the *vallum* which so mysteriously accompanies the Roman *murus*. In this earthwork two series of cuttings have been made, one about a quarter of a mile east of Heddon-on-the-Wall, and the other at Down Hill, a little to the east of *Hunnunum*.

By the former cuttings, owing to the fortunate presence of a seam of fire-clay (through which the fosse of the *vallum* was cut, and some portions of which were found both in the northern *agger* and the southern), it has been possible to determine satisfactorily the manner of disposing of the earth which was dug out of the trench, and to show that the ditch and its northern and southern mounds were made at the same time. There were also found in the northern mounds at this place, near the ancient level of the surface, two objects of considerable interest, one a bronze axe-head, socketed and looped, and the other a flint scraper.¹ These curious relics have suggested a question whether it is possible that the *vallum* can after all be a work of the pre-Roman period.

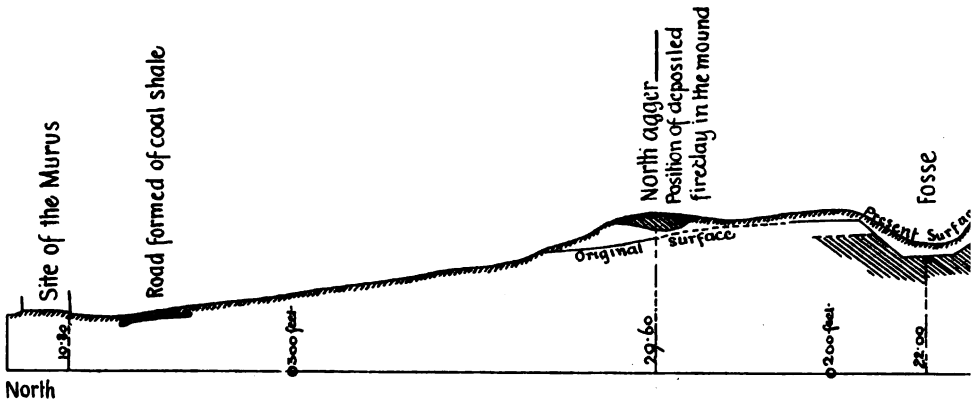
The cuttings at Down Hill were made at the point where the *vallum* makes its remarkable curve of divergence from the line of the *murus*. The interesting feature in connection with these excavations has been the discovery of traces of a road running east and west seventeen feet wide and parallel with the Wall.

Is this road of Roman origin? It has a clay foundation and consists of a sandstone pitching, similar to the bottom pitching of a modern macadamised road, but without any hard metal on the top. It has been traced from the Carr Hill farm westward along the

¹ See p. 338.

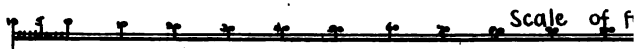
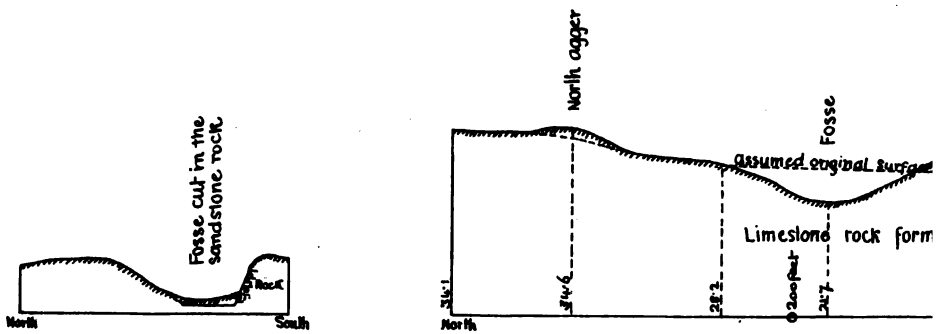
Vallum S

Near Heddon on the



Where the original surface could be determined the line

Near Heddon on the Wall. N°2

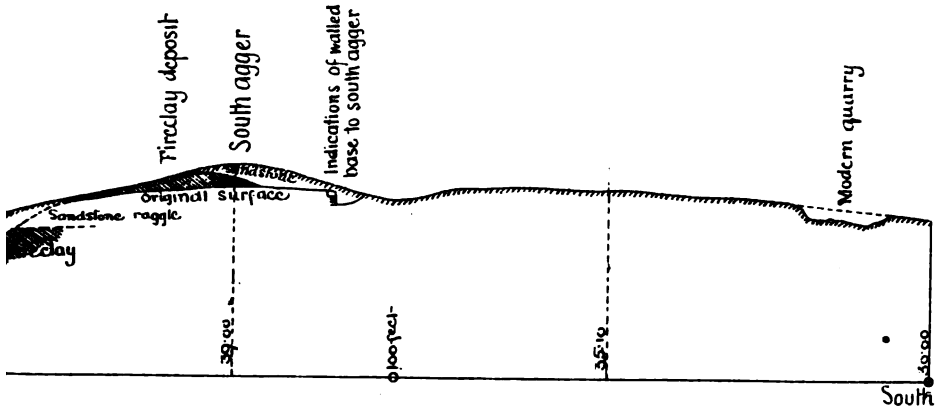


SECTIONS ACROSS THE ROMAN V

ctions

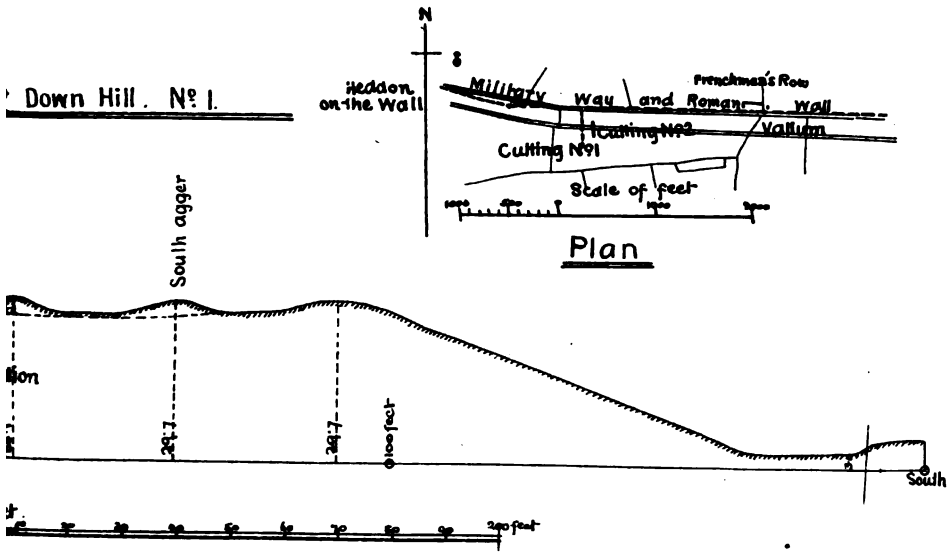
Wall. N°1

1893



is full. Where doubtful it is dotted

Down Hill. N° 1.

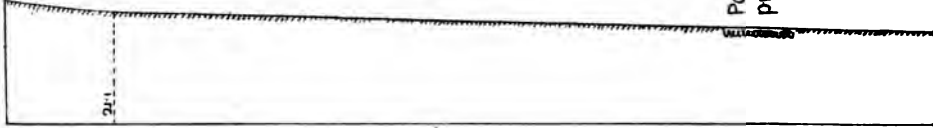


Vallum Secti

At Down H

Military Way and Roman Wall

Paved road presumably Roman



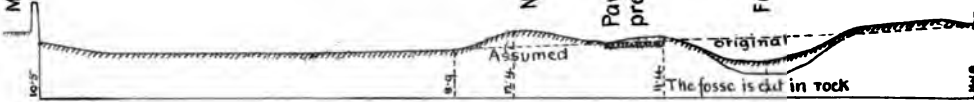
Where the original surface could be determined

Military Way and Roman Wall

Northagger

Paved road presumably Roman

Fosse



Scale of feet

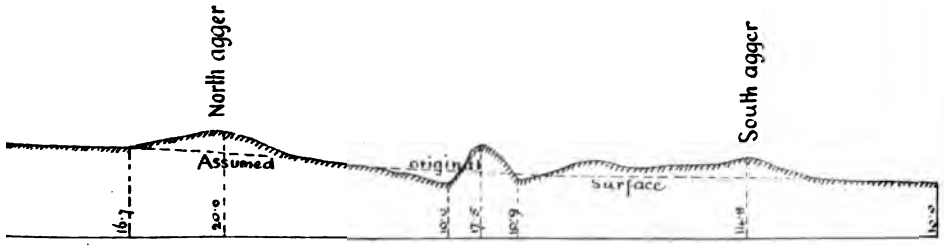


SECTIONS ACROSS THE ROMAN

S

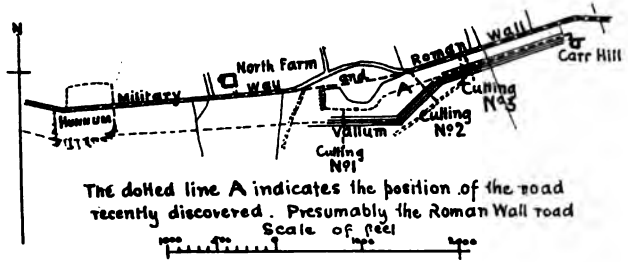
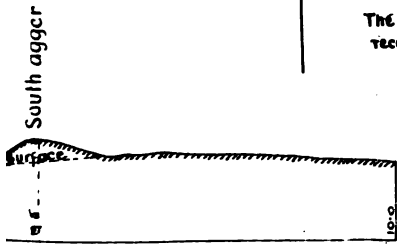
||
||
||

Down Hill. N°2



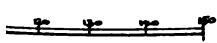
The line is full. Where doubtful it is dotted

Down Hill. N°3



The dotted line A indicates the position of the road recently discovered. Presumably the Roman Wall road
Scale of feet

Plan



At the Annual Meeting of the Society held on the 31st day of January, 1894, it was resolved that the following additions be made to—

Statute IV. (see p. xvii) "That the librarian be *ex-officio* a member of the council."

Statute X. (see p. xix) "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 ; and that no paper which has been printed elsewhere be printed in the society's transactions except at the request of the council ; and the council shall issue to the members two illustrated parts of *Archaeologia Aeliana* in each year, viz. : in the months of January and June, such parts to be in addition to the monthly issue of the *Proceedings*, and the annual report, list of members, balance sheet and statutes.

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

Patron.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH.

Vice-Presidents.

THE REV. EDWARD HUSSEY ADAMSON.
HORATIO ALFRED ADAMSON.
CADWALLADER JOHN BATES, M.A.
JOHN CROSSE BROOKS.
ROBERT RICHARDSON DEES.
THE REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &
THE REV. GEORGE ROME HALL, F.S.A.
WILLIAM HILTON DYER LONGSTAFFE.
JOHN PHILIPSON.
THE REV. JAMES RAINE, M.A.
ALEXANDER SHANNAN STEVENSON, F.S.A. Scot
WILLIAM WOODMAN.

Secretaries.

THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A.
ROBERT BLAIR, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

SHERITON HOLMES.

Editor.

ROBERT BLAIR.

Librarian.

MATTHEW MACKAY, JUN.

Curators.

CHARLES JAMES SPENCE.
RICHARD OLIVER HESLOP.

Auditors.

JOHN ARCHBOLD DIXON.
RICHARD WILLIAM SISSON.

Council.

REV. CUTHBERT EDWARD ADAMSON, M.A.
FREDERICK WALTER DENDY.
DENNIS EMBLETON, M.D.
JOHN PATTISON GIBSON.
JOHN VESSEY GREGORY.
RICHARD OLIVER HESLOP.
CHARLES CLEMENT HODGES.
WILLIAM H. KNOWLES.
FRANK MARSHALL.
MABERLY PHILLIPS.
CHARLES JAMES SPENCE.
RICHARD WELFORD.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE,

ON THE 31st JANUARY, 1894.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.		
1840 Feb.	3	His Excellency John Sigismund von Mösting, Copenhagen.
1841 Sept.	5	Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B., M.A.
1851 Feb.	3	Ferdinand Denis, Keeper of the Library of St. Genéviève, at Paris.
1851 Feb.	3	Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., Lea Hall, Gainsborough.
1851 Feb.	3	Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Principal of the University of Toronto.
1855 Jan.	3	J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, Kent.
1865 April	5	The Duca di Brolo.
1883 June	27	Professor Emil Hübner, LL.D., Alhornstrasse 4, Berlin.
1883 June	27	Professor Mommsen, Marchstrasse 8, Charlottenburg bei Berlin.
1883 June	27	Professor George Stephens, Copenhagen.
1883 June	27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June	27	A. W. Franks, C.B., Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum.
1883 June	27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1883 Oct.	31	A. von Cohausen, Wiesbaden.
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	Edwin Charles Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., Cambridge.
1886 June	30	David Mackinlay, 6, Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
1888 Jan.	23	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.

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.
1843 April 4	†Adamson, Rev. Edward Husey, St. Alban's, Felling, R.S.O.
1873	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, North Shields.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence W., Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 14 Richmond Terrace, Gateshead.
1891 Jan. 28	Allan, Thomas, Blakett Street, Newcastle.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Anne Jane (Miss), Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Nunwick, Humshaugh-on-Tyne.
1893 Sept. 27	Archer, Mark, Farnacres, Gateshead.
1885 Dec. 30	Armstrong, Lord, Cragside, Rothbury.
1889 Mar. 27	Armstrong, Watson-, W. A., Cragside, Rothbury.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1891 May 27	Atkinson, Rev. J. C., D.C.L., Danby Parsonage, Grosmont, Yorks
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Heddon Banks, Wylam.
1891 Sept. 30	Bateson, Edward, 24 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Bell, Charles L., Woolington, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, John E., The Cedars, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon Hall, near Sunderland.
1893 April 26	Bentham, J. W., Bentham Buildings, Newcastle.
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, Haughton-on-Tyne.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Northumberland.
1888 April 25	Bolam, Robert G., Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1891 July 29	Bond, William Bownas, Blakett Street, Newcastle.
1871	Booth, John, Shotley Bridge.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rock, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Newbottle Vicarage, Fence Houses.
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, Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, Greenfield Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Branford, William E., 90 Grey Street, Newcastle.

Date of Election	
1892 Aug. 31	Brewis, Parker, Ellesmere, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866 Mar. 7	+Brooks, John Crosse, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 17 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1883 Dec. 27	Brown, John Williamson, Holly Cottages, Monkseaton.
1865 Aug. 2	Brown, Ralph, Benwell Grange, Newcastle.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1891 July 29	*Browne, A. H., Callaly Castle, Whittingham, R.S.O.
1882	Browne, Sir Benjamin Chapman, Westacres, Benwell, Newcastle.
1893 June 28	Browne, Thomas Procter, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, Sir Gainsford, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick.
1885 Sept. 30	Burn, John Henry, Jun., Beaconsfield, Cullercoats.
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., Ridley Villas, Newcastle.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1868	Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 121 Hopton Road, Streatham, London, S.W.
1892 Mar. 30	Campbell, John McLeod, 4 Winchester Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympston, near Exeter.
1877	Carr, Rev. Henry Byne, Whickham, R.S.O.
1892 July 27	Carr, Sidney Story, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Barming Rectory, Maidstone, Kent.
1881	Carr, W. J., Printing Court Buildings, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., Caius College, Cambridge.
1885 Nov. 25	Charlton, William L., Reenes, Bellingham, North Tyne.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester (Walter T. Browne, Librarian).
1890 July 30	Clayton, Nathaniel George, Chesters, Humshaugh-on-Tyne.
1883 Dec. 27	Clephan, Robert Coltman, Southdene Tower, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1892 May 25	Coates, Henry Buckden, Northumberland Street, Newcastle.
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, North Shields.
1887 Jan. 26	Cowen, Joseph, Stella Hall, Blydon.
1888 Aug. 29	Cowen, John A., Blydon Burn, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, 32 Lower Sloane Street, London, W.
1888 Feb. 29	Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.

Date of Election.	
1869 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Longhorsley, Morpeth, Northumberland.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Library (J. H. Everatt, Librarian), 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.
1891 Mar. 25	Dick, John, 4 Hawthorn Terrace, 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, 14 West Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1891 Oct. 28	Donald, Colin Dunlop, 172 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Nov. 30	Drury, John C., Alma Place, North Shields.
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.
1881	Edwards, Harry Smith, Byethorn, Corbridge.
1876	Elliott, George, 47 Rosedale Terrace, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Ellison, J. R. Carr-, Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
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.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Rich. S., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1890 Mar. 26	Forster, William, Houghton Hall, Carlisle.
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Franklin, The Rev. Canon R. J., St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Gayner, Francis, Beech Holme, Sunderland.
1859 Dec. 7	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	†Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.
1878	Gibson, Thomas George, 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1879	Glendenning, William, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.
1886 Oct. 27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1888 Feb. 29	Grace, Herbert Wylam, Hallgarth Hall, Winlaton.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Greene, Charles R., Hill Croft, Low Fell, Gateshead.

Date of Election.		
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, Francis John, 120 Ryehill, Newcastle.
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, 9 Prior Terrace, Tynemouth.
1865	Jan. 4	†Hall, Rev. George Rome, F.S.A., Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne.
1883	Aug. 29	Hall, James, Tynemouth.
1883	Aug. 29	Hall, John, Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1887	Mar. 30	Halliday, Thomas, Myrtle Cottage, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1893	July 26	Harris, Sir Augustus, Tyne Theatre, Newcastle.
1892	Aug. 31	Harrison, John Adolphus, Saltwellville, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884	Mar. 26	Harrison, Miss Winifred A., 9 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893	Aug. 30	Hastings, Lord, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
1889	Feb. 27	*Haverfield, F. J., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
1882		Haythornthwaite, Rev. Edward, Felling Vicarage, Gateshead
1893	Aug. 30	Hedley, Ralph, 19 Bellegrave Terrace, Newcastle.
1886	April 28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Cheviott, Corbridge.
1884	Feb. 27	Henzell, Charles William, Tynemouth.
1891	Oct. 28	Healop, George Christopher, 135 Park Road, Newcastle.
1883	Feb. 28	†Healop, 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, Sele House, Hexham.
1865	Aug. 2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Benwelldene, Newcastle.
1890	Jan. 29	Hodgson, John Crawford, Warkworth.
1884	April 30	Hodgson, John George, Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1887	Jan. 26	Hodgson, William, Elmcroft, Darlington.
1891	Oct. 28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, 8 Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1877	July 4	†Holmes, Sheriton, Moor View House, Newcastle.
1877		Hooppell, Rev. Robert Eli, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.A.S., Byers Green, Spennymoor.
1892	June 29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1882		Hopper, John, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1876		Hoyle, William Aubone, Normount, Newcastle.
1888	Feb. 29	Hoyle, Percy S., Randall, Wilson & Co., Bridgend, Glamorgan.
1886	June 30	Huddart, Rev. G. A. W., LL.D., Kirklington Rectory, Bedale.
1888	July 25	Bunter, Edward, North Eastern Bank, Elswick Road, Newcastle.
1886	May 26	Irving, George, 1 Portland Terrace, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
1892	Nov. 30	Jewell, R. Duncombe, 4 Park Place, St. James's, London.
1882		Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883	Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Rudby Vicarage, Yarm.

Date of Election.	
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, Sir James, Bart., M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1892 June 29	Jones, Rev. W. M. O'Brady, St. Luke's Vicarage, Wallsend.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Henry, 38 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1890 Jan. 29	Laing, Dr., Blyth.
1892 Dec. 28	Leitch, Rev. Richard, Osborne Villas, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1883 June 27	Lloyd, The Rev. Arthur T., D.D., Vicarage, Newcastle.
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1850 Nov. 6	†Longstaffe, William Hilton Dyer, The Crescent, Gateshead.
1885 Aug. 26	Lynn, J. R. D., Blyth, Northumberland.
1894 Jan. 31	Maas, Hans, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, Geo. Eugene, Ashfield House, Elswick Road, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., East Cottingwood, Morpeth.
1883 June 27	Mackey, Matthew, 33 Lily Avenue, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
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).
1884 Mar. 26	†Marshall, Frank, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1882	Martin, N. H., F.L.S., 8 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1893 Oct. 25	Mather, Philip E., Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	May, Thomas, 12 Salisbury Street, Warrington.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swatling, Riding Mill-on-Tyne.
1887 Dec. 28	Medd, Rev. Arthur Octavius, Whitton Tower, Rothbury.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (c/o Edward A. Petherick, 33 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.)
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1893 Dec. 20	Mitchell, Charles, LL.D., Jesmond Towers, Newcastle.
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., 2 St. Andrew's Villas, Watford, Herts.
1883 Feb. 28	Morton, Henry Thomas, Fenton, Wooler.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Mulcaster, Henry, Bishopside, Catton Road, Allendale.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 34 Clayton Street West, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1882	Nelson, Thomas, 9 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Newby, J. E., Binchester Hall, Bishop Auckland.
1883 Feb. 28	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library (W. J. Haggerston, Librarian).
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1893 Feb. 28	Nicholson, Joseph James, 8 North View, Heaton, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent.

Date of Election	
	†Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1889 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 7 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Ord, John Robert, Haughton Hall, Darlington.
1883 Mar. 28	Ormond, Richard, 35 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1877	Oswald, Septimus, Brightside, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1892 Mar. 30	Pattison, John, Colbeck Terrace, Tynemouth.
1893 Mar. 29	Pearson, Rev. Samuel, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Enfield Lodge, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1892 Nov. 30	Percy, The Earl, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1884 Sept. 24	†Phillips, Maberly, 12 Grafton Road, Whitley, R.S.O.
1880	Philipson, George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1871	†Philipson, John, Victoria Square, Newcastle.
1880	Pickering, William, Poplar Cottage, Long Benton, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., 2 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Potts, Joseph, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Proud, George, 128 Sidney Grove, Newcastle.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1882	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1854 Oct. 4	†Raine, Rev. James, Canon of York.
	†Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, Jun., Alnwick.
1882	Redmayne, R. Norman, 27 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, Linden Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Ridley, Bardon Mill.
1892 June 29	Rees, John, 5 Jesmond High Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 Feb. 24	Reid, Andrew, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 26	Reid, George B., Leazes House, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
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.
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Rothbury.
1877	Ridley, Sir M. W., Bart., M.P., Blagdon, Northumberland
1892 June 29	Ridley, Thomas Dawson, Willimoteswick, Coatham, Redcar
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 136 Brighton Grove, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Robinson, James F., Burnopfield.
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, 7 Choppington Street, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1877	Rogers, Rev. Percy, M.A., Simonburn Rectory, Humshaugh.
1893 Mar. 8	Rowell, George, 100 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1893 April 26	Runciman, W., Fernwood House, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Rutherford, Henry Taylor, Blyth.
1891 Dec. 23	Rutherford, John V. W., Briarwood, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Ryott, William Henry, Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1893 Nov. 29	Savage, Rev. H. E., St. Hilda's Vicarage, South Shields.
1884 Aug. 27	Schaeffer, Anton Georg, 4 Benton Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Scott, John David, 4 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Scott, Owen Stauley, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.
1886 Feb. 24	Soott, Walter, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Scott, Walter, Holly House, Sunderland.
1883 Feb. 28	Sheppee, Lieutenant-Colonel, Picketree House, Chester-le-Street.
1888 Oct. 31	Shewbrooks, Edward, 23 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Marlow William, Blyth.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Hedgefield House, Blaydon-on-Tyne.
1892 Jan. 27	Simpson, H. F. Morland, M.A., 80 Hamilton Place, Aberdeen.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Alnwick.
1888 Jan. 25	Slater, The Rev. Henry, The Glebe, Riding Mill-on-Tyne.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Wark-on-Tyne.
1893 Mar. 29	Smith, William Arthur, South Shields.
1883 June 27	South Shields Public Library (Thomas Pyke, Librarian).
1866 Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
1883 Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Millfield, Newburn-on-Tyne.
1893 Mar. 8	Spensley, James Richardson, Belle Vue House, Gray Road, Sunderland.
1893 May 31	Stanton, Harved James Clifford (Captain); Barracks, Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1882	Stevenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891 Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, Vicarage, Heworth.
1883 Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882	Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
1885 June 24	Stephenson, Thomas, 3 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1873	†Stevenson, Alexander Shannan, F.S.A. Scot., Oaklands Mere, Weybridge, Surrey.
1887 Mar. 30	Straker, Joseph Henry, Howdon Dene, Corbridge.
1880	Strangeways, William Nicholas, 20 Harborne Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1892 Jan. 27	Sutherland, Charles James, M.D., Frederick Street, South Shields.
1879	Swan, Henry F., North Jesmond, Newcastle.

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

Date of Election.	
1866 Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1887 Nov. 30	Tarver, J. V., Eskdale Tower, Eskdale Terrace, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 6	Taylor, Hugh, 5 Fenchurch Street, London.
1892 April 27	Taylor, Thomas, Chipchase Castle, Wark-on-Tyne.
1884 Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Catholic Church, Whittingham, Alnwick.
1883 Jan. 31	Tennant, James, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1893 May 31	Terry, C. S., The Minories, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1888 Aug. 29	Thompson, Geo. H., Baileygate, Alnwick.
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 W., 1 Victoria Villas, Whitley, R.S.O.
1892 July 27	Toronto, University of (c/o Edward G. Allen, 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.)
1884 Mar. 26	Tweddell, George, Grainger Ville, Newcastle.
1889 Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Whalton Vicarage, Morpeth.
1890 Aug. 27	Wallace, Henry, Trench Hall, near Gateshead.
1887 Mar. 30	Watson, Joseph Henry, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1892 Oct. 26	Watson, Mrs. M. E., Burnopfield.
1887 Jan. 28	Watson, Thomas Carrick, 21 Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1892 Dec. 28	Waugh, R., 49 Warrington Road, Newcastle.
1893 June 28	Wear, Arthur T., 1 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1880	+Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1893 April 26	White, Henry, Little Benton, 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 O., Dacre Street, Morpeth.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, jun., 39 Widdrington Terrace, North Shields.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Wilson, William Teasdale, M.D., 8 Derwent Place, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1848 Feb. 7	+Woodman, William, East Riding, Morpeth.
1893 Aug. 30	Woodward, Rev. G., Mickley Vicarage, Newcastle.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, Jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

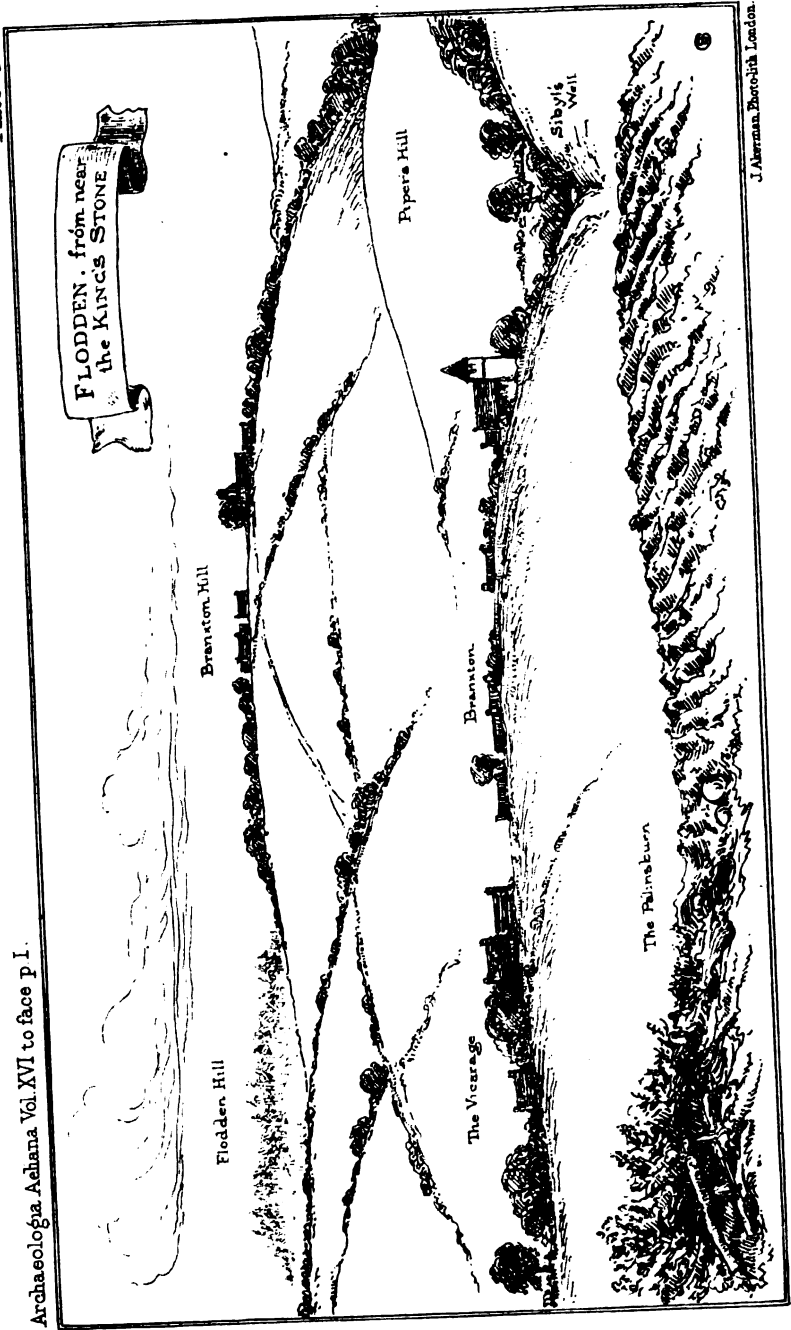
- Antiquaries of London, The Society of, Burlington House, London (*Assistant Secretary*, W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.)
- Antiquaries of Scotland, The Society of (Dr. J. Anderson, Museum, Edinburgh).
- Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The (*The Secretary*, Oxford Mansion, Oxford Street, London, W.C.)
- Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, The (Robert Cochrane, 7 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin).
- Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen, The
- Royal Academy of History and Antiquities (c/o Dr. Anton Blomberg, *Librarian*), Stockholm, Sweden.
- Royal Society of Norway, The, Christiania, Norway.
- Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, The (*Secretary and Editor*, James Hardy, LL.D., Oldcambus, Cockburnspath, N.B.)
- Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, The (The Rev. W. Bazeley, Matson Rectory, Gloucester).
- British Archaeological Association, The (*Secretaries*, W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., British Museum, and E. P. Loftus Brook, F.S.A., 36 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.)
- Cambrian Antiquarian Society, The (c/o J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., 20 Bloomsbury Square, London).
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society, The (*Secretary*, T. D. Atkinson, St. Mary's Passage, Cambridge).
- Canadian Institute of Toronto, The
- Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, The (*Editor*, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., Lowther Street, Carlisle).
- Derbyshire Archaeological Society, The (Arthur Cox, *Hon. Sec.*, Mill Hill, Derby).
- Folk Lore Society, The (G. L. Gomme, 1 Beverley Villas, Barnes, London).
- Heidelberg Historical and Philosophical Society, Heidelberg, Germany.
- Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, The (R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Old Swan, Liverpool).
- London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, The (c/o Chas. Welch, F.S.A., Guildhall Library, London).
- Nassau Association for the Study of Archaeology and History, The (Verein für nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichte forschung).
- Numismatic Society of London, The, 22 Albemarle Street, London, W. (*Secretaries*, H. A. Grueber and B. V. Head).
- Peabody Museum, The Trustees of the, Harvard University, U.S.A.
- Powys-land Club, The (*Editor*, Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., Gungrog Hall, 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 des Palais 63, Bruxelles).
- 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, 8 Danes Inn, Strand, London, W.C.)
- Sussex Archaeological Society, The (C. T. Phillips, *Hon. Librarian and Curator*).
- Thuringian Historical and Archaeological Society, The (Verein für thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde) Jena (Professor Dr. D. Schäfer, Jena).
- Trier Archaeological Society, The, Trier, Germany.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, The (G. W. Tomlinson, *Hon. Sec.*, Wood Field, Huddersfield).

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

- Dr. Berlanga, Malaga, Spain.
- The British Museum, London.
- Prof. Ad. de Ceuleneer, Rue de la Liève 9, Ghent, Belgium.
- The Rev. Dr. Cox, Holdenby Rectory, Northampton.
- W. J. Cripps, C.B., Sandgate, Kent, and Cirencester.
- J. Hardy, LL.D., Sec. Berw. Nat. Club, Oldcambus, Cockburnspath, N.B.
- Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle.
- Robert Mowat, Rue des Feuillantines 10, Paris.
- The Rev. Henry Whitehead, Lanercost Priory, Carlisle.
- The Bishop of Durham, Bishop Auckland.
- The Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Witton-le-Wear.

Archaeologia. Aethana Vol. XVI to face p. I.



J. Altemann, Engraver London.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

BY THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A.

[Read on the 26th August and 28th October, 1891.]

HAVING been selected to describe the site of the battle of Flodden to the members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, and having for that purpose made a pretty careful survey of the field under the most helpful guidance of Mr. Watson Askew-Robertson, I propose in the following paper to tell, as briefly as I can, the story of the great encounter. I will not apologise for what some would call the presumption of adding anything to the immortal sixth canto of *Marmion*. I am loyal to Sir Walter to my heart's core, and would venture to maintain that his description of Flodden is the finest battle-piece that has been painted in words since Homer sang of the wrath of Achilles. But Prose has his office as well as his sister Poetry. While she sweeps majestically through the air we sons of Prose may creep humbly along the ground with our measuring-chain, and survey the fields which her wings have overshadowed. The highest aim of any historian of this battle can now be only to give his readers a prosaic explanation of some point which Scott, by the rules of his art, was forced to leave unnoticed.

More substantial is the need of an apology for treating of a subject which has been already so well handled in our own *Archaeologia* (vol. iii. (n.s.), pp. 197-230) by that careful and industrious antiquary, Mr. Robert White, and in a somewhat more popular manner, but with great accuracy, by the Rev. Robert Jones, vicar of Branxton.* My only excuse can be that when one has read a good deal concerning a spirit-stirring scene like this, one is under a strong inclination to tell the story over again in one's own words, however well it may have been told by one's predecessors; and, moreover, in a few points,

* 'The Battle of Flodden Field.' Coldstream, 1869; also, *Proc. Berw. Nat. Club*, vol. iv., p. 365.

especially with reference to the conduct of James IV. my conclusions are not precisely the same as those of my prosaic predecessors, nor even as Sir Walter's. But enough of apologies. I will briefly indicate the chief sources of the narrative as far as I am acquainted with them.

(1) Undoubtedly the best authority that we at present possess is the *Gazette*¹ of the battle, which was printed in black letter by Richard Faques, 'dwellyng in Poulys Churche Yerde,' and which has been two or three times reprinted. The absolutely contemporary character of this narrative is shown by its enumeration of the losses of the English 'Syr John Gower of Yorkeshyre and Syr John Boothe of Lancasshyre both wantynge, and *as yet not founden.*' It of course gives the English side of the story, and, unfortunately, for the actual events of the battle it is rather meagre.

(2) Next in order come the letters and documents published in the *Calendar of State Papers*. These are of great value, though not quite so full as we could wish. There are accounts for the payment of wages to Lord Surrey and his soldiers; letters about the campaign from Katharine of Arragon to her husband and to Wolsey, the very interesting and *naïve* letters of Ruthal, bishop of Durham (also to Wolsey), two important letters from Lord Dacre, Lord Surrey's cartel to James IV., and an 'Account of the battle of Flodden,' anonymous, but evidently put forth by authority.

(3) Next, but at a long interval in time, is the narrative of the historian *Edward Hall*, compiled about 1533.² No other authority, I think, marks the dates so carefully as Hall, and on the whole his is perhaps the best and fullest account of the battle, but with some little signs of bias and partiality.

(4) Rather more impartial but not quite so full, and yet farther from the time, is *Raphael Holinshed*, who wrote his *Chronicles* in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and published them in 1571. It is to be observed that Holinshed tells the story of Flodden twice over—once in the *English Chronicles*, and once in the *Historie of Scotland*; but in this latter work he is confessedly only abstracting the Scottish historians who had gone before him.³

¹ Not self-styled by that name.

² 'He perfited and writt this historie no further than to the foure and twentie yere of Kyng Henry the Eight.'—*Richard Grafton's Preface.*

³ Who were these? Hector Boece does not reach so far.

The two Scottish historians from whom we get the fullest account of the battle appear to be (5) *Robert Lindsay* of Pitscottie (about 1500-1565) and (6) *George Buchanan* (1506-1582), the celebrated tutor of James VI., and versifier of the Psalms. The first is little more than a name to us, whilst the second is one of the best-known literary characters of Scotland; but for our present purpose they may not improperly be classed together, since both give us that version of the history which was generally current in Scotland in the first and second generations after Flodden was fought. Pitscottie's work is incomparably the more interesting to a modern reader, giving as it does 'the very form and fashion of the times,' the story of the great overthrow as the writer may have heard it in his boyhood told in broad Scotch, with many a 'wæful' ejaculation by grey-headed beldames whose sons had fallen in the fight. But of course history collected from such sources as this is apt to contain a large infusion of somewhat inaccurate gossip, and this is probably the character of some of Pitscottie's statements.⁴

Buchanan's is a history written in Latin in 'correct' and classical fashion, after the model of Sallust or Livy, but does not I think show any great endeavour after minute historical accuracy, while it certainly is far less pictorial than that of Pitscottie.

(7) Lastly, we come to the source from which we derive perhaps more of the colouring of the picture than any other, but which must be considered inferior as an authority to any of those already named—*The Ballad of Flodden Field*. This curious poem was probably written towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The writer is evidently a great admirer of the glories of the Stanley family, and it has been therefore conjectured that he was a native either of Lancashire or of Cheshire, where the influence of that family was most felt. Much, but not all, of the ballad might have been written by an author who had a volume of Hall or Holinshed before him. It is perhaps allowable to suppose that some local traditions derived from returning soldiers of Stanley's troop are imbedded in this curious production, in which there are occasional thrills of something like real poetical emotion.⁵

⁴ There are some features in the work of Lindsay of Pitscottie which remind me a little of Procopius.

⁵ The bibliography of this ballad is accurately described by Henry Weber, in his edition (Edinburgh, 1806), a much more useful one than that by Robert

And now, after this slight sketch of the authorities, I will proceed to the story of the campaign, not detaining the reader with any detailed account of the various causes of the war, real or alleged. There were disputes between the two royal brothers-in-law, James IV. and Henry VIII., about Queen Margaret's dowry, disputes by sea and land between the sailors of the two nations, who called one another pirates,⁶ and the borderers of the two countries who called one another thieves. But the last incentive to James's enterprise seems to have been supplied by the Queen of France (Anne of Brittany), who, though an elderly lady, sent him her ring and a letter, couched in the romantic language of the times, and calling upon him, as her true knight, to advance, if it were but three steps, into the realm of England, in order to deliver her from a 'traitour knight' who had brought her into deadly peril. This, being translated into the language of prose, meant that Henry VIII. had invaded France and was besieging Terouenne, and that a Scottish attack on his northern border might effect a diversion of his forces highly convenient to Louis XII., the husband of the distressed lady. The result of this appeal was that on the 22nd of August, 1513, James IV. entered England with an army which all the English historians estimate at 100,000 men. The same number is given us by the Scottish chronicler, Lindsay of Pitscottie, but I confess that

Lambe, vicar of Norham. But he has not noticed, probably because he had not met with, the *printed* edition by Richard Guy, of which there is a defective copy in the British Museum. In the catalogue the place of publication is given as York, the date 1750, the size is duodecimo. Unfortunately, the copy in the British Museum is so mutilated that neither title, nor place, nor date of publication appears upon it. There are some curious pictures over which a former possessor of the ballad has scrawled the names of the heroes represented, as 'bastard Heron,' 'Earl Surrey,' and the like.

A new edition of the ballad, by C. A. Federer, was published at Bradford in 1884. It is a painstaking performance, but I do not think it gives a better text than Weber's.

The British Museum *Manuscript* (not the above printed copy) which is mentioned by Weber (p. xiii.), and which is No. 3,526 of the *Harleian MSS.*, is bound up (as Weber remarks) with several papers on heraldic matters. It occurs to me as probable that all of these came into the possession of the Duke of Norfolk as hereditary earl marshal, and that this is the reason why they are bound up with a ballad which commemorates the exploits of the greatest of the Howards.

⁶ Chief among these bold sailors, who might be called pirates or patriots according to the nationality of their nomenclator, was Andrew Barton, who (at a time of peace between England and Scotland) was accused of piratical practices against English commerce, and being attacked by the two brothers Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard (sailing under letters of marque) was killed after an obstinate sea-fight (August, 1511).

I have my doubts whether it is not greatly exaggerated. The English army by which James was eventually defeated, numbered as we know 26,000 men, and it seems clear from the story of the battle that there was no overwhelming inequality of force on one side or the other. No doubt James had not a very firm hold of his men, especially the borderers and the islanders (from the Hebrides), and we hear of many desertions from his standard, but if we put these desertions at 20,000 and suppose that the Scottish army was thereby reduced from an original 50,000 to 30,000, I fancy we shall have attributed to this cause as large an effect as it could possibly produce.⁷ The king had made considerable preparations in respect of ordnance, and especially ordered seven great cannons which were called 'the Seven Sisters,' cast by Robert Borthwick, master gunner, to be brought out of the castle of Edinburgh, where they were usually kept. It was while this artillery was being removed, the king himself being at the abbey of Holyrood, that the well-known scene occurred of the midnight summons uttered at the market cross to the king and many of his nobles to appear before the lord of the infernal regions within the space of forty days. It is worthy of remark that this same period of forty days was that assigned by the king's own proclamation as the probable length of the campaign, for which, accordingly, all the king's liegemen were to bring provisions. It is indeed hardly possible that the whole commissariat of the army can thus have been left to the care of the soldiers themselves, but however its details may have been arranged the fact that forty days were mentioned in the king's proclamation seems to me to be an answer to those critics after the event who attributed James's defeat to the fact that the campaign was protracted over the not unreasonable space of

⁷ Since writing the above I have had the advantage of reading Mr. Sheriff Mackay's *Preface to the Scottish Exchequer Accounts (1507 to 1513)*, which throws a most interesting light on many points in Scottish history in the years immediately preceding the great battle. He puts the number of the actual combatants on the Scottish side higher than I have done. As he says, the estimates vary from the 80,000 of Hall to the 20,000 of Pitscottie. 'But the Scottish writers after the defeat diminished the proportions of their army and there can be little doubt that Hall's estimate more nearly answers to the real number. The names of the commanders, as well as those who fell, clearly prove that every district of Scotland was represented. The only baron who is said to have left before the battle was old Angus ('Bell-the-Cat') and his sons and vassals remained. So there seems no authority for Pinkerton's statement that the Scottish host melted away till there remained not above 30,000.' Still we know certainly that the English host numbered only 26,000, and the whole story of the battle seems to imply that there was no great preponderance of numbers in favour of the Scots.

eighteen days. On the English side, though there were haste and bustle, there was not that state of unpreparedness which has so often been found in our history since the days of Ethelred the Unready. For some time it had probably been felt that the relations with Scotland were becoming strained and tended towards war. Wolsey's superb aptitude for business found fitting scope in the preparations for a Scottish war, and his royal mistress, Katharine of Arragon, seconded his efforts perhaps more strenuously than her showy husband, who was then before the walls of Terouenne, would have succeeded in doing. Mr. Brewer, whose admirable impartiality and careful examination of the State Papers make him a most trustworthy guide for the history of this period, attributes to Queen Katharine a large share of the credit for the success of the English arms, and she herself in a letter to Wolsey,⁸ written apparently early in August, says 'They are not so busy with war in Terouenne as I am encumbered with it in England. They are all here very glad to be busy with the Scots for they take it for a pastime. My heart is very good to it, and I am horribly busy with making standards, banners, and badges.'

Now for the next eighteen days let us arrange the chief events of the campaign calendar-fashion, taking the dates from the historian Hall who seems to have recorded them correctly. James's antagonist is the Earl of Surrey, lord treasurer and marshal of England, about whom I will say a little more presently. King Henry VIII. has left Surrey in England for the express reason that he cannot trust the Scots, and Surrey, chafing and fuming at being thus shut out from the prospect of distinguishing himself in France, is hoping 'if ever he meet the king of Scots in battle to make him as sorry as he is himself.' On receiving the tidings of James's intended invasion Henry has appointed Surrey lieutenant-general of the north, and all the various wardens of the marches are put under his orders.

22nd August, 1513. James IV. enters England and lays siege to Norham castle. (This castle was the stronghold of the bishops of Durham in the northern part of their possessions, and an attack upon it, though needful from a strategic point of view, had the disadvantage of at once embroiling King James with the church, and terrifying some of his more superstitious followers with fears of the vengeance of St. Cuthbert.)

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers*, No. 4,398.

25th August (St. Bartholomew's Day). The Earl of Surrey hears of the siege of Norham.

26th August (Friday). Lord Surrey who is at York sets off for Newcastle. He is much hindered by the foul weather which makes the roads almost impassable.

28th August (Sunday). Norham castle is taken on the seventh day of the siege, the governor having spent his ammunition too freely at first, and a treacherous inmate of the castle having pointed out to King James the side from which it might be most advantageously assaulted.

In the week beginning on the 28th August (apparently) the castles of Wark, Etal, and Ford are taken by King James. The castle of Ford is set on fire.⁹

30th August (Tuesday). Lord Surrey hears mass in Durham abbey. He is informed of the capture of Norham and receives from the prior the banner of St. Cuthbert. There is a terrible storm on the night of the 29th-30th and he is in great alarm for the safety of his son, the admiral, who is coming by sea with 1,000 men to join him.

On the 30th of August he reaches Newcastle. He has summoned all the 'gentlemen of the shires with their retinue' to meet him at Newcastle on the 1st of September. Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, and Sir Marmaduke Constable repair to him there, and the accommodation at Newcastle being somewhat scanty for the numbers of soldiers who are pouring in, he marches forward to Alnwick.

3rd September (Saturday). Lord Surrey is at Alnwick. As all his soldiers have not yet joined him 'by reason of the foul ways' he waits there till

4th September (Sunday), when he is joined by his son, the admiral, who has, after all, made his voyage in safety.

From Alnwick he sends a herald, 'Rouge Cross,' to the king of Scots challenging him to fight. King James is at this time lying at Ford castle. Instead of returning a message by Rouge Cross the king keeps that herald prisoner in his camp, and returns a defiant answer

⁹ Pitscottie says of Ford, that the Scots, 'Kest it doun quhilk did gritt skaith to the Kingis men, in the falling with the timber thairof.' But the destruction in any case was not complete, since some days after this the king's headquarters were in the castle (the king lay at Ford), and much of the earlier work is still visible.

by his own herald 'Ilay.' But while these heralds are passing to and fro with their messages let us use the interval to examine, a little more at leisure, the chiefs of the two armies.

James Stuart, fourth king of that name, is now forty-two years of age, strong, brave, and handsome, a brilliant king, but with some of those faults of fickleness and self-indulgence which often go with brilliancy.¹⁰ He has succeeded in making the wild inhabitants of the Hebrides subject in fact as well as in name to his authority, and they are now marching under his orders to the battle. His army thus consists of four great divisions, whose diverse arms and equipments are so admirably described by Scott in the fifth canto of *Marmion*, the highlanders, the lowlanders, the islanders, and the borderers. All of them have fire and courage, but at least two divisions, the islanders and the borderers, are still greatly deficient in discipline and stability.

And the leaders, the flower of Scotland's nobility—

‘that roll of names

Who followed thee, unhappy James,
Crawford, Glencairn, Montrose, Argyle,
Ross, Bothwell, Forbés, Lennox, Lyle ;
Why should I tell their separate style ?

Each chief of birth and fame,
Of Lowland, Highland, Border, Isle,
Foredoomed to Flodden's carnage pile.’

There are two only, not mentioned in this list, to whom I would direct your attention. One is a natural son of King James, a youth of fine talents, who gives fair promise of intellectual eminence, Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrews. It is a curious illustration of the state of the Scottish church on the eve of the Reformation, that a young bastard of royalty, however genial and accomplished, could be promoted to a position analogous to that of

¹⁰ In his admirable Introduction to the poems of William Dunbar, published for the Scottish Text Society, Mr. Sheriff Mackay says, ‘The king is of course the central figure in these poems. Every trait in his variable and inconsistent character finds its poem or its line—the licentiousness of his youth, his penitence and remorse, the desire of novelty and dabbling in science which made him the prey of impostors and flatterers, the love of amusements of all kinds, from the tournaments of knights and contests of poets to card-playing and the jests of fools, and his liberality extended even to quite unworthy objects. Yet Dunbar never seems to have quite lost faith in James, and his feeling, even when his satirical shafts fly very near the royal person, is that of a dutiful subject, warning the king against his weaknesses and remonstrating against his vices. He appears to have thought that there was an under-current of virtue, which, if it could get the upper hand, would overpower his faults.’ (pp. li.-lii.)

Archbishop of Canterbury among us, and could then be found among the staunchest of the warriors in the terrible *mêlée* round his father's banner. The short-sighted bookish lad, the favourite pupil of Erasmus, with all his Stuart courage, must have felt himself ill prepared to cope with the crushing English bills, the fast-flying English arrows on that dreadful September afternoon.¹¹ The other nobleman of whom I will here make mention is Alexander Home or Hume,¹² the lord chamberlain of Scotland. He was a great border-lord, from his castle being just on the other side of the Tweed. He was apparently an impetuous and dashing soldier, and at the very outbreak of the war had led a band of 8,000 marauders into England, but, on his return, with his plunder, had been overtaken by Sir William Bulmer, and his men having been sorely galled by the English archers, he had been forced to fly, leaving his banner and his brother Sir George in the hands of the enemy. But notwithstanding this proof of his zeal for Scotland, there was a suspicion (probably quite unfounded) that on the day of the fight he did not stand loyally by Scotland's king. It is true that in later years he was found on the side of the English faction in the intrigues which then distracted the kingdom, and that he was eventually put to death as a traitor; but of disloyalty to James on this day of battle there is no proof.

Now let us turn to the English army and learn the names of some of its chief commanders. General-in-chief and lord lieutenant of the north, as has been already said, is Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. 'An old cruiked carle in a chariott,' the Scottish chronicler styles him; a 'grand old man' he would nowadays be called by his enthusiastic countrymen. Though just verging on the seventieth year of his age, he shares with his sons the labours and dangers of the campaign, and by toilsome marches through miry lanes, under drenching rain-storms, no less than by the terrible hand-to-hand encounter in the battle-field, he delivers England from the invader. Few are the generals

¹¹ This reflection is made by Brewer (I. 207 n.) who says 'Erasmus tells us that he could not read without holding his book to the very end of his nose.'

¹² There is constant variety in the spelling of this name, which leads to much confusion. In Tytler's *History of Scotland* the index-maker has actually entered the same person under two different headings as 'Home, Lord Chamberlain,' and 'Hume, Alexander, of Hume, Chamberlain.' I think the right course seems to be to spell the name Home and pronounce it Hume, according to our usual fashion of pronouncing names differently from the spelling.

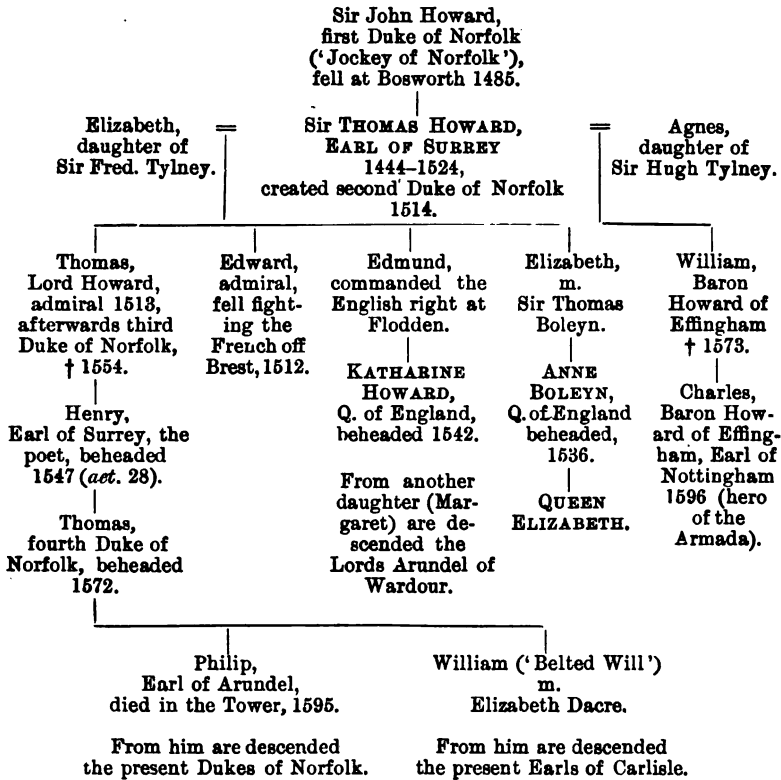
who at any period of the world's history have won victories after sixty, and at this special time, for some reason or other, men were growing old early. As Prof. Brewer¹³ points out, Louis XII. died a complete wreck at fifty-three, Charles V., an abdicated king, died in his cloister at fifty-nine; Wolsey, who was 'an old man broken with the storms of State' even before his fall, died at fifty-five: Henry VII., a wasted and emaciated old man, died at fifty-two completely worn out in mind and body. 'The fearful excitement through which men had passed told heavily upon them. Like men who had struggled and buffeted for life in a stormy sea, they saved it only to drag out a few weary years on dry land.' All this makes the skill, courage, and endurance of the almost septuagenarian Surrey the more remarkable.

But why, it will naturally be asked, is this old man, head of the house of Howard, saluted only with the title of Earl of Surrey, which is usually borne by younger men, the heirs apparent of the Dukes of Norfolk? Even the inferiority of rank is an honour, for it tells of faithfulness and loyalty. Consistently Yorkist all through the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses, when some noble families were anxiously studying the art of timely tergiversation, the Howards left the head of their house, the ever-bold 'Jockey of Norfolk,' dead on the field of Bosworth. His son, our Lord Surrey, who had received that title from Richard III., was attainted and committed to the Tower by Henry VII. During Lambert Simnel's insurrection he refused to accept a release improperly offered him by the Lieutenant of the Tower, saying that he would only accept his freedom from the king who had ordered his imprisonment. The evident fidelity of the man attracted the new king's attention, and Henry VII. being determined to have Thomas Howard for a friend rather than a foe, released him from the Tower, and made him successively Lieutenant of the North, Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshal. In 1502 he escorted the young princess, Margaret Tudor, northward across the Border, and presented her to the brilliantly armed knight who was about to make her his wife—that very James IV. whom Surrey is now about to meet in far different fashion, and whom he hopes 'to make as sorry as he is himself for letting him from the French war.' It is anticipating our story a little, to mention that in the next year, after the battle

¹³ *Reign of Henry VIII.* i. 74, n. 1.

of Flodden, the Earl of Surrey received his father's forfeited title of Duke of Norfolk as a reward for his glorious victory.

As the Earl of Surrey (for so we must continue to call him) was twice married, and left several children, it will make the narrative clearer to introduce here a portion of the Howard pedigree :—



I do not want to trouble you with more genealogical details than I can help, but by just glancing over this pedigree you will see how much that is glorious and how much that is tragical in English history connects itself with the descendants of the hero of Flodden. Two of the ill-fated queens of Henry Tudor, two lovely women who, by his order, passed from his marriage bed to the scaffold—namely, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard—are granddaughters of the Earl of Surrey. Lord Howard of Effingham, the victor of the Spanish

Armada, is his grandson; the great queen under whose orders he fought, 'who had the heart of a king, and a king of England, too,' is his great-granddaughter. Lord Surrey, the poet and courtier, father of English blank verse, and praiser of the mysterious Geraldine, is another grandson, and he, like his crowned cousin, ends his young life at the headsman's block on Tower hill. So, too, does his son Thomas, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1572, on account of his treasonable schemes for rescuing and marrying Mary, Queen of Scots. Here we have the descendants of the two protagonists on Branxton moor brought into strange relations with one another. How little could James Stuart and Thomas Howard in that September afternoon of 1513, when the bills and the lances were making such fatal chasms in the ranks of the warriors around them, have dreamed that the day would come when a Howard, duke of Norfolk, great-grandson of the one, would lay down coronet and life for the love of Mary Stuart, granddaughter of the other!

The Earl of Surrey was accompanied to the field of battle by two sons. His eldest, Thomas, lord Howard¹⁴ (who eventually succeeded him as Duke of Norfolk, and narrowly escaped execution at the very end of the reign of Henry VIII.), held at this time the office of lord high admiral, which had been conferred upon him after the death of his younger brother, Edward, who died in 1512, gallantly fighting the French in the harbour of Brest. To prevent confusion between him and his brother, it will be well to call him by his title, admiral, rather than by his name. This brother, Sir Edmund Howard (in after days father of Queen Katharine Howard), a young and somewhat inexperienced officer, had, perhaps by his father's partiality, a somewhat higher position in the army than he was strictly entitled to by his previous services.

Beside the three Howards, the officers on whom it is chiefly necessary to fix our attention are Bulmer, Tunstall, Dacre, and Stanley.

(1) Sir William Bulmer, sheriff of the bishopric of Durham, commands the troops furnished by the great prince-bishopric, and bears the banner of St. Cuthbert. All this portion of the host is

¹⁴ As he bore the courtesy title of Lord Howard, this, rather than Lord Thomas Howard, is the correct mode of designating him.

burning to avenge the injury done to the honour of St. Cuthbert by the attack on the fortress of Norham, over which his banner was waving.

(2) Closely joined with Sir William Bulmer was Sir Bryan Tunstall, 'the stainless knight.' His father had been so named by Henry VII. because of his unshaken truth and loyalty. The elder Tunstall had through all the troublous times of the civil wars remained true to the house of Lancaster, had crossed over with other Lancastrian refugees to the court of Brittany, had returned and fought for Richmond on the field of Bosworth, and again at Stoke with Martin Swart. There seems to have been a pleasant fantasy in passing on to the son the same honourable epithet ('stainless') which had been borne by the father.

(3) Lord Dacre, who was the chief leader of the men of Cumberland, may perhaps be considered the English counterpart of Lord Home. Like him, a borderer who had borne a conspicuous part in the savage cut-and-thrust of border warfare, a warden of the west marches and a frequent representative of the Tudor kings at the Stuart court, he nevertheless was accused by his enemies of secret leanings to the Scottish side. I can discover nothing in his conduct, either at Flodden or in the events which followed it, to justify such a suspicion, but I think it is worth noticing that these men of the border, on either side, were not such deadly enemies as to escape the occasional imputation of being too close friends. I liken them to the 'middle party,' the moderate men in political strife, who know the real difficulties both of the attack and the defence, and who, because they cannot raise the war-cry of either party with the same unreasoning fervour which rings in the voices of the extreme men (who spent their lives far from the border and know nothing of its strength or its weakness), are in each camp looked upon with coldness and almost denounced as traitors. We note, in passing, that this borderlord, Dacre, who has his stronghold at Naworth castle, is ancestor of that well-known 'Bessie wi' the braid apron,' who married 'Belted Will' Howard, the grandson of the poet-Earl of Surrey, and thus brought the Howards to Naworth, where they still reign as Earls of Carlisle.

(4) The men of Cheshire and Lancashire owned as their chief leader

‘the man
From whom true valour fairly springs.
Whose worthy praise and prowess great
Whose glorious fame shall never blin,
Nor Neptune ever shall forget
What praise he hath left to his king.’

So the ballad-writer (who is apparently a Lancashire man) glorifies his hero—

‘Sir Edward Stanley, stiff in stour,
He is the man on whom I mean,
With him did pass a mighty power
Of soldiers seemly to be seen.’¹⁵

Sir Edward Stanley is a younger son of that Thomas, lord Stanley, who married the countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., and whose opportune desertion on the field of Bosworth gave the crown of England to his step-son. In the stormy time of the Wars of the Roses the Stanleys, now Yorkist, now Lancastrian, had by no means steered with so even a keel as the Howards, between which family and their own there was much jealousy and dislike. But they had now settled down into fairly loyal subjects of the reigning dynasty, and the devotion with which they were served by the men of Lancashire and Cheshire made their representative Sir Edward an important person in the army.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Battle of Flodden*, cccxxxvii. and cccxxxviii.

¹⁶ Perhaps the reader who is generally accustomed to see only the poetical side of the battle of Flodden may be not unwilling to hear what, in plain prose, was the pay of the English combatants. In the *Calendar of State Papers* (No. 4,375) we have the ‘Account of Edward Benstead, late Treasurer of the Wars of the King’s Army in the North under Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Treasurer and Marshal of England, Lord Lieutenant and Captain-general of the said army . . . of monies received and paid for the expenses of the army for 84 days from 4 August to 27 October 1513.’

‘Paid for wages coats and conduct money for the retinue of the Earl of Surrey for one month beginning 4 August : viz. for 500 coats of white and green at 4s. each.

Lord Surrey for himself £5 a day.

Lord Barnes, marshal of the army, 6/8 a day.

10 petty captains, 2s. each a day.

22 demi-lances 9d.

One spear 18,,

462 archers 8,,

2 surgeons 8,,

1 trumpet 16,,

&c. &c.

Sum total of the payments, £2,166 11s.

Having thus described some of the chief leaders in either host I will return to the story of the manoeuvres preceding the battle.

It was on Sunday, the 4th of September, that Lord Surrey sent Rouge Cross, *poursuivant at arms*, to King James at Ford castle to complain of his breach of the oath which he had sworn to the king of England when peace was made between the two countries; to offer him battle, and to desire him 'as he was a king and a great prince that he would of his lusty and noble courage consent thereunto and tarry for the same.' Rouge Cross was also charged with a special commission as to Ford castle and its lord. If James would forbear to overthrow the castle and would restore its lord, Sir William Heron, at that time a prisoner in Scotland, Surrey would restore four Scottish captives: Lord Johnston, two Homes, and William Carr. Further, the admiral sent a private message, avouching himself the author of the death of Andrew Barton, the Scottish admiral, and prepared to justify the deed on any member of the Scottish host save the king himself.

On the 5th of September (Monday) Surrey marched to Bolton in Glendale, about six miles west of Alnwick, and there encamped for the night.

On the 6th of September (Tuesday) no Rouge Cross returns to the English general, but instead, there appears at the outposts a 'harolde of the Scottish king called Ilaye.' This 'harolde' is detained two or three miles from the camp in order that he may not view the army, and when he delivers his message it is to the effect that if Lord Surrey will justify his message by accepting battle that is the thing which will be the most to the comfort and joy of the king of Scots. As for Ford castle the king will make no promise of any kind nor will he restore Sir William Heron; and the four Scottish prisoners he himself is come in person to redeem by 'dint of war.' Friday is proposed as the day of battle and accepted by Surrey. This appears to be the one fixed point to which all these messages and counter messages converge. On Friday, the 9th of September, both parties are bound in honour to meet one another in battle, come what may. Rouge Cross is set free and returns in haste to the English army: Ilay to the Scottish. The defiances of heralds are over and the manoeuvring of armies begins.

On the same day (6th September) Lord Surrey marches fourteen miles northward to Wooler Haugh, thus leaving the valley of the Aln and entering the valley of the Till. Meanwhile—on what day we are not informed—James IV. has encamped his host on the heights of Flodden, one of the last spurs of the Cheviots, a magnificent position, but, as Lord Surrey pathetically remarks, ‘more like a fortress than anything else.’¹⁷ Here he remains, splendidly posted, with ordnance all round the lower part of the hill. His army is well supplied with all sorts of provisions; the beer is so excellent that the English who captured it before the week was over would not have believed that it was so good had they not ‘tasted and viewed it to their great refreshing.’ But it is still raining incessantly, and possibly the Scots on their bleak hill top have less shelter from the rain than the English in their valley. The distance between the two armies is nearly six miles ‘as the crow flies,’ a good deal more, doubtless, by any practicable road.. It is important to notice this, because some of the chroniclers much understate the distance¹⁸ and thereby attribute to the Scottish king a greater power of watching the movements of the enemy than, in those days before Galileo’s invention of the telescope, he can possibly have possessed.

Thus far the invasion has prospered. King James has taken some important fortresses (no one who knows the story of Norham or marks

¹⁷ The position is thus described in the ballad (ccccix. ccccx.) :—

‘Even on the height of Flodden Hill
Where down below his ordnance lay,
So strong that no man’s cunning skill
To fight with him could find a way.
Such mountains steep, such craggy hills,
His army on one side did not lose,
The other side, great grizzly gills,
Did fence about with mire and moss.’

¹⁸ For instance, Hall, whose account of the battle is generally accurate, says that ‘Surrey set forward to a place called Wooler Hawgh, and there lodged on Tuesday night, three littell miles from the king of Scots.’ In fact Wooler Haugh is quite six miles from the heights of Flodden. And again, on Thursday the Englishmen ‘took their field under a wood side called Barmer [Barmoor] wood, two myle from the Scots.’ But the map shows that the present village of Barmoor is six miles in a straight line from Flodden heights, and that the English camp could not be pitched more than a mile on the Flodden side of that village. The ballad is more accurate than Hall :—

‘The total army did ensue
And came that night to Wooler Haugh,
There th’ English lords did lodge their host,
Because the place was plain and dry,
And was within six miles at most
Whereas their enemy’s host did lie.’—cccl-ccclii.

its present ruins will deem its capture a trifling achievement): though he has not marched far into English territory, still he is within it, splendidly posted and well provisioned, and the English lieutenant-general, ill-supplied with provisions and munitions of war, is about to be forced to give him battle with forces certainly not superior in number, perhaps greatly inferior, and with great disadvantage of position. Assuredly it was not the Scottish king but the English earl, who, in the early days of that week, anxiously pondered the military chess-board and doubted what would be the event of the game.

But by one daring manoeuvre all the conditions of the problem were to be changed, and if we may believe the writer of the ballad, the suggestion of this manoeuvre to Surrey came from an unexpected source, and was made with dramatic suddenness. Some four or five years before the time of which we are speaking, Sir Robert Ker, the Scottish warden of the middle marches, had been set upon and slain by three Englishmen, one of whom was the bastard Heron, half brother to the lord of Ford castle. Lilburn, one of the murderers, was arrested by the Scots, but Heron and his other accomplice, Starhead, escaped. However, Henry VII., who was then reigning in England, anxious not to imperil the peace which had been sealed by the marriage of James and his daughter Margaret, declared the lives of Heron and Starhead forfeit. Starhead was kidnapped, carried across the border, and slain by Sir Robert Ker's son; but Heron remained for some years in hiding, and the English king, loving peace apparently more than justice, gave his brother, Sir William Heron, as a prisoner into the hands of the Scots. At length in the year 1511 news arrived that the bastard Heron had died of the pestilence, somewhere between Newark and Northampton, and doubtless Henry VIII. and his councillors congratulated themselves that a troublesome affair was thus well ended.

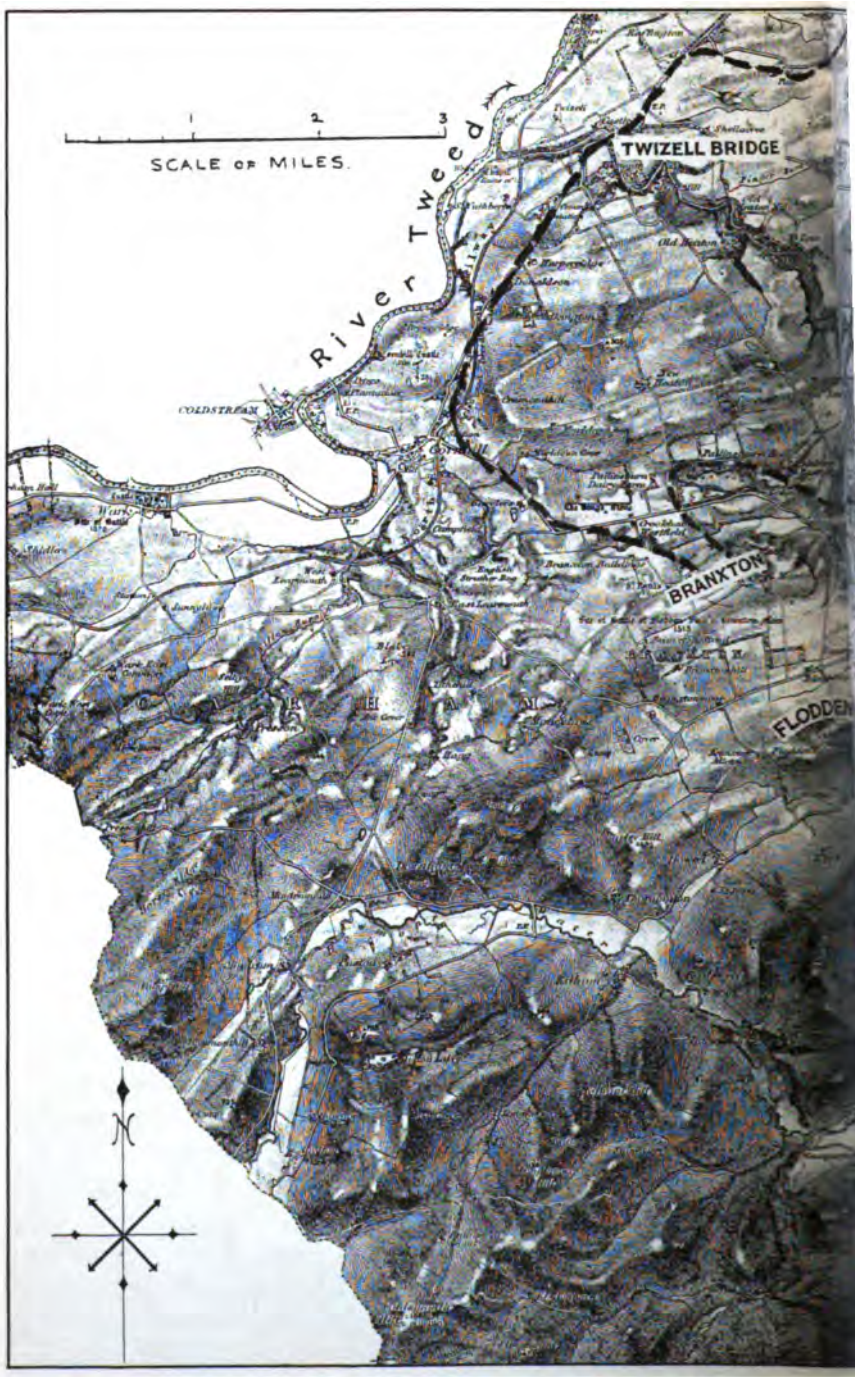
But now a horseman clothed in scarlet, and with his visor down, came riding into the camp, and dashed into the presence of Lord Surrey. Having fallen on his knees before the general and prayed for the preservation of his life, he was bidden to utter his name, and the crime for which he sought forgiveness. He declared himself to be guiltless of treason, but not of disobedience to his king.

‘ And as for murdering Englishmen,
I never hurt man, maid, or wife,
Howbeit, Scots some nine or ten
At least I have bereaved of life.’—ccccxxiii.

Being further pressed, he declared himself to be the bastard Heron, and when he raised his visor all men saw that he was indeed the same. His death by the pestilence had been a tale trumped up by his servants to save him from the necessity of repairing, by the king's command, to London, and there surrendering himself to justice; and for two years the man believed to be dead had been living in hiding in his own house, his secret known to none but his wife and three servants. Now he had come, being, as he said, brought up on the borders, and knowing every foot of the country, to offer his guidance to the Earl of Surrey, guidance which was joyfully accepted by that general, and which probably changed the fortune of the campaign.

In the position which Surrey occupied on Tuesday, the 6th September, he was, as we saw, about six miles distant from the Scottish camp, and no river or important natural obstacle interposed between him and the enemy. Now, on Thursday, the 8th September, he crosses to the other side of the Till, putting that deep, though not wide, stream between him and the Scottish camp, and marches eight miles northward to Barmoor. A strange, and at first sight unintelligible, manoeuvre for a general who has pledged his word of honour to fight with the Scots on the following day. He seems, when we look at the map, to be, for no earthly object, increasing the distance between himself and his enemy. But look, not at the map, but at the face of the country, and you will soon see his motive. While he is at Wooler Haugh all his movements are, if the day be clear, pretty easily discernible by the army posted on Flodden hill. At Barmoor he has already got behind that screen of hills which stretches all round the north-eastern horizon, from Doddington to Twizell bridge, and of all his subsequent movements James must remain in hopeless ignorance.

On the eventful Friday morning (9th of September) the van of the army (which apparently was much the larger portion) under the command of the admiral, and drawing all the cannons with



MAP OF PORTION OF NORTHUMBERLAND
Digitized by Google



PHOTO LITHO SPRACUE & CO LONDON

them, make a forced march of some fifteen¹⁹ miles in all. At first they go from north-east to north-west, and recross the Till by Twizell bridge. All this time they have kept behind the screen of hills; but now they advance rapidly southward, and at three o'clock in the afternoon King James, who has imagined them to be all the time somewhere in the neighbourhood of Wooler, sees them advancing from the north upon the little village of Branxton in the valley below him. All the advantage of his strong position, 'more like a fortress than a camp,' is taken from him: the English enemy are between him and his own country: they can cry 'check' to his queen and castle of Edinburgh, and he may have to fight on this fatal Friday, to which his knightly honour is pledged, not where he wills, but where Surrey wills.

The march, as I have said, was a forced one. Fifteen miles for foot soldiers, over bad and miry roads, was a good stretch to accomplish before two or three in the afternoon, and what heightens our admiration of the brave and patient English plough-boys who made it, is that they are said to have been absolutely fasting. Surrey's commissariat was evidently inferior to that of James, and while the Scots had their fine beer laid up in store on Flodden hill, the English soldiers for two days had only water to drink. But perhaps some one will say that this was the reason of their victory.

Now, with reference to the march of this vanguard of the army, I think it is clear that it was a complete surprize to the Scottish king, and that it was not till they were within two or three miles of him, at least as near as Cornhill, that he discovered what they were doing. The beautiful lines therefore in which Scott describes the march of the English over Twizell bridge, as seen by the Scots, the shifting of the Scottish lines, observing the movements of the admiral and themselves, observed by the practised eye of Marmion, must, however graphic and vivid the narrative, be struck out of the page of

¹⁹ By the map it is eight miles, 'as the crow flies,' from Barmoor to Twizell and five by road from Twizell to Branxton. We seem to want further information as to the road by which the army would march from Barmoor. The best road (though a somewhat circuitous one) now available, leads by way of Ford and Etal and the valley of the Till; but this road, as I understand the matter, would not be taken by the admiral, because he would lose the advantage of the intervening screen of hills. Probably, therefore, he took the more northern route by Duddo, though this may have been little better than a bye-road.

history. I doubt whether even in clear weather it is possible to see from Flodden hill the bridge of Twizell, five miles distant and somewhat down in a hollow, and on the 9th of September the weather was not clear, but the air was thick with vapour from rain fallen or falling.

In this part of the poem Scott has evidently followed the patriotic Pitscottie, whose account of the proceedings in the Scottish camp, though, as I believe, inaccurate, must here be noticed, since it is almost the only record that we have of what was passing on Flodden hill in the morning of Friday, the 9th of September. The King of Scotland, according to Pitscottie, knew nothing of the Earl of Surrey's coming, and did not 'believe that he would have battle of him nor of none other of England at that time, considering the king was not present in the realm. Deceived by the wiles of the wicked lady of Ford,²⁰ and abiding her coming (though she did nothing but deceive him, and came not again till the English army came with her), he never knew the coming of the army of England till they were within the space of three miles, arrayed in seven great battles . . . When these novels [news] were shown to the King of Scotland he would scanty credit them, but lap on horse and rode to the hills to visit them. But when he saw them coming so fast forward, he caused to sound his trumpets and put his men in array, and ordained to charge his artillery and make all ready.'

Then follows Pitscottie's description of a council of war held by the Scottish lords, which the king attended in disguise. Patrick, lord Lindsay, 'chancellor and first voter in the council,' delivered a harangue earnestly dissuading from battle, at any rate, from battle in which the king should take part. The chances of the game were not equal. To put in jeopardy their noble king and his nobility against 'an old crooked carle lying in a chariot [the Earl of Surrey], and certain suitors and sailors with him in company,' was to act like 'a common hazarder who should jeopardy a rose-noble on a cast against a glead halfpenny.' Whereupon he voted for the departure of the king and certain of his lords with him, leaving the battle to be fought by those whom he might think most expedient to take the matter in hand, and jeopardy themselves for the king's pleasure and their own

²⁰ This alludes to a story which I shall notice at the end of this paper.

honour, and the safety of the common weal. At this extraordinary proposition the king threw off his disguise and burst into the council, saying, in furious tones, 'My lords, I shall fight this day against England though ye had sworn the contrary; though ye would all flee from me and shame yourselves, ye shall not shame me as ye desire. And to Lord Patrick Lindsay that has gotten the first votes, I vow to God I shall never see Scotland sooner than I shall cause him hang at his own gate.'

'Seeing the king thus enraged, the lords were fain to satisfy his pleasure and serve his appetite in all things as he commanded.' It was probably in this council that the historic scene²¹ between James IV. and old Archibald ('Bell-the-Cat') Douglas took place; the aged nobleman urging his king to decline battle, the king replying, 'Douglas, if you are afraid, you may go home,' and the earl taking the monarch at his word, but leaving his two sons to fight and die with their hot-tempered master.

'By this' (to return to Pitscottie's narrative) 'the watches came and showed the king the English army was at hand, marching fast forward within the space of a Scottish mile. Then the king caused blow the trumpets and set his men in order of battle, to wit, he gave the vanguard to the Earl of Huntley and to the Lord Home, who were in number 10,000 men, and took the great battle unto himself with all the nobility of Scotland, which passed not above 20,000 men, and marched forward a little in the sight of the Englishmen who were then passing over the bridge to them. Then the master-gunner, Robert Borthwick, came in presence of the king, and falling on his knees implored permission to shoot his artillery at the English host when they were coming over the bridge of Tills, promising to cut the bridge at their overcoming, and that the king should have no displeasure at the one-half, while the other should be devoured. But the king answered, like a man that had been reft of his wit, "I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and draw thee if thou shoot one shot this day. I am determined that I will have them all before me on a plain field, and see then what they can do all before me."' "

This chivalrous refusal of King James to use his ordnance for the slaughter of his enemies while passing Twizell bridge has become an

²¹ Mentioned by Buchanan.

essential part both of the poem and the history, and yet I think we may boldly say that at any rate in its present shape it is utterly inconsistent with fact, and could never have been accepted as fact²² by any one who had studied the ground. Take Pitscottie's own version of the event. The English army was 'at hand marching fast forward within the space of a Scottish mile,' that is to say, they were at least as far advanced as Cornhill, probably farther. By the time that any considerable part of the vanguard 'marching fast forward' had reached Cornhill how many of their comrades would still be on the other side of Twizell bridge, at least three miles behind them? And, then, even if gunner Borthwick could have seen Twizell bridge on that rainy September day in order to take aim at it (which I do not believe), what ordnance had he that could carry so far and batter down the solid stone arches of the bridge at that distance. Twizell bridge, as I have said, was fully five miles from the crest of Flodden. It is true that the 'Seven Sisters' and their companion guns were probably not on the crest of the hill, but on the plain below, but they were planted to command the eastern and south-eastern approaches to the hill, and therefore they would be out of position for firing towards the north-west, and would be not less but more than five miles distant from their supposed mark. In the stage of development which the art of gunnery had then reached we may surely pronounce Robert Borthwick's alleged proposal quite impracticable.

But an opportunity for the use of artillery was afforded to James by the march of the rearguard of the army, and was neglected by him. It is from some confused remembrance of this, as I imagine, that the story of the proposal to batter down Twizell bridge has arisen.

When Earl Surrey sent forward the vanguard and the ordnance under the command of his son, the admiral, he reserved for himself marching with the rearguard the shorter journey along the base of the triangle of which they were to tramp along the hypotenuse and perpendicular. Shorter it was, but also in some respects more dangerous and difficult. As they descended from Barmoor towards Etal and Ford the English rear must have become in some measure visible to

²² I say 'as fact.' Scott had most carefully studied the ground, but he claimed the liberty conceded *pictoribus atque poetis* of telling the story in the way which most conduced to pictorial effect.

the Scottish host (who very possibly thought that the whole of the English army was coming by this route); and, then, they had to cross, not by a bridge but by a ford, the Till, that deep and treacherous stream of which the border muse has sung—

‘Tweed said tae Till
 “What gars ye rin sae still?”
 Till said tae Tweed
 “Though ye rin wi’ speed
 And I rin slaw
 Where ye droon ae man
 I droon twa.”’

And now the sullen river had its power for evil largely increased by the incessant rain which had been falling ever since September opened.

However, the ‘old crooked carle,’ with the men under his command, accomplished the passage successfully, probably at some of the fords in the neighbourhood of Crookham.²³ Surrey spoke words of cheer and encouragement to his men as they dashed into the turbid flood. ‘Now, good fellowes, do like Englishmen this day; take my part like men, which part is the king’s part. If I thought you would not, I would in my own person fight with the king of Scots, rather to die honourably by his cruelty than to live in shame, or that any reproach should be laid to me hereafter.’ To whom they answered ‘that they would serve the king and him truly that day.’

After crossing the ford the rearguard had to creep round the shoulder of a hill overlooking the valley, where we now see the pleasant gardens and fine old red brick mansion of Pallinsburn. The Pallins-

²³ These fords are (1) Millford, close to the old Barley mill (now in ruins), one-third of a mile below Etal manor; (2) Willowford, about half a mile above Etal; and (3) Sandyford, about half a mile above Willowford, if you follow the here very winding course of the river, but only a quarter of a mile from it if you take the straight course (the chord of the arc) across the green haugh which lies between them. It seems to me probable that Surrey’s troops, to whom it was important to save time, would cross by more than one of these fords simultaneously, and the contemporary evidence names at least two of them. Millford (not to be confounded with three or four miles distant *Millfield*) is mentioned by Hall, and Sandyford by the author of the ballad (ccclix.), who, however, has probably confused it with Pallinsburn when he calls it—

‘A brook of breadth a tailor’s yard.’

The river at all these fords is probably now fuller than it was in the sixteenth century, owing to the dams which have been constructed across it; but Sandyford is still pretty often used in summer time by labourers going to or returning from their work. It is important to notice that at this ford the soldiers would be out of sight and out of range of an enemy posted on Flodden hill, being hidden by a little eminence near Crookham.

burn, or brook of Paulinus (in which the apostle of Northumbria is said to have baptized a multitude of his converts) lost itself at the time of the battle in a great expanse of bog, perhaps about a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, near the base of the hill which is, as it were, a footstool to Flodden. This great straggling marsh is now drained, fine crops of turnips are raised from the recovered land, a good hard road runs through it, and the brook of Paulinus, though still apt to rise in rebellion after heavy rains, generally flows peacefully enough along the narrow channel which the spade of the drainer has prepared for it. In 1513, however, it was quite untraversable by foot-soldiers, and the waters of the marsh combined with the height of Flodden hill to make the Scottish position unassailable. Of course the same waters preserved the English rearguard from charges of horse or hand-to-hand encounter of infantry while they were executing this part of their dangerous flank march. But it is difficult not to think that the Scottish ordnance, the 'Seven Sisters' and all their clamorous kindred, ranged at the foot of Flodden hill, could have grievously hindered the march of Surrey and his men as they crept round the little hill which rises on the north side of the marsh, and still more, while slowly, almost in single file, they toiled over the little bridge (Branx bridge) which led them out at last on to solid ground about half a mile north of Branxton. It is therefore to the march of this part of the army, not to the passage of the vanguard over far-away Twizell bridge, that I would apply the proposal of gunner Borthwick to bring his cannon to bear on the foe; and here in Pallinsburn marsh and over Branx bridge it was that the Englishmen were saved from ruin by the apathy or over-strained chivalry of James: here that, from the Scottish point of view, the great opportunity was lost by which might have

'From Fate's dark book a leaf been torn,
And Flodden had been Bannockburn.'

Thus, then, the daring scheme of Surrey and his son, the separation of the army and the long flank march of the vanguard, succeeded; and though we are not told the exact time or place we must, I think, infer that somewhere about two o'clock vanguard and rearguard coalesced near Branxton. This little village is situated about half-way up a long, low ridge called Branxton moor. It is about a mile

due north of Flodden hill, but it is not immediately below that eminence. The ground slopes sharply down from Flodden height, and then rises again a little before it descends on Branxton, so that there is a central ridge which, to a spectator standing at Branxton and looking southward, forms the visible horizon, quite shutting out the higher ground of Flodden itself. On this central ridge evidently the battle was fought, and in a line extending about a mile due east and west, between 'Piper's hill' on the west and Mardon on the east.²⁴

When the Scottish king had fully grasped the position and saw that the English army was posted between him and Scotland, he seems, after some little hesitation, evinced by his calling a council of war, to have decided to descend from his unassailable position on Flodden height, but to win at least the lower height, the 'central ridge,' and with such vantage ground as that afforded him, to fight the inevitable battle. It is said²⁵ that he was finally persuaded to make this movement by an Englishman, Sir Giles Musgrave,²⁶ who assured him that the English were going to range 'the Merse,' the fruitful plain of Berwickshire. What any Englishman can have been doing at this crisis in the king's camp, and how he can have established himself as a trusted counsellor of the king, is one of the mysteries of the story on which we desire further explanation.²⁷

Before he quitted the higher ground, James ordered his men to set fire to their 'litter and other filthy ordure, according to their custom.'²⁸ The smoke of this burning so darkened the air that the movements of each army were hidden from the other till they were only a quarter of a mile apart.²⁹

²⁴ It should, therefore, if we wish to be strictly accurate, be called not the battle of Flodden but the battle of Branxton, and it is interesting to observe that in the gazette it is thus described:—'Hereafter ensueth the names of sundry noblemen of the Scottes slayne at the sayde batayle and felde called Brainston Moore.'

²⁵ Both by Hall and by the ballad.

²⁶ 'That gainful Greek,' the ballad calls him, perhaps with an allusion to Sinon and the Trojan horse.

²⁷ The editor of the little volume, in *Scottish History from Contemporary Sources*, suggests, with some probability, that Musgrave may have come to Scotland in the time of Queen Margaret.

²⁸ So says Hall; *not* to their tents, which were to be removed to the lower hill.

²⁹ This seems almost incredible to any one who knows the ground and sees the wide space that intervenes between Flodden and Branxton. But the air was evidently already thick and heavy with vapour, and the wind may have been blowing from the south. The fact is vouched for both by Hall and the ballad, and it certainly increases the improbability that the Scots could have seen the admiral crossing Twizell bridge.

Then, about four in the afternoon, the great battle began.³⁰ When the clouds of smoke cleared away, the English host, still divided into two 'battles,' the vanguard and the rear, saw the Scotch in five 'battles,' composed of great 'plumps,' some of which were square, marching down the hill towards them, 'silently and in good order, after the manner of the Almayns.' For a short time there was an artillery duel between the two armies, and at the first roar of the Scottish guns, we are told, the men of Bamborough and Tynemouth fled in panic from the field. But the English artillery soon asserted its predominance. The master-gunner of Scotland (the same Robert Borthwick who had in vain implored the king's permission to fire on the advancing English) was slain, and the fire from the English guns so galled the Scots that they made the more haste to descend the hill and come to close quarters with their foes. The armies were soon so closely locked in deadly embrace that cannons could be of little service in the fray.

The ordering of the troops on each side was in this wise. It is to be remembered that the Scots, though they had their backs to Cheviot, were facing the north. The English had behind them a small part of England, but much more of Scotland, the Tweed and the whole of the fertile Merse, reaching round from the triple-pointed Eildon hills to conical Duns Law. Each army was therefore in a certain sense cut off from its natural base; either half if beaten might look for utter destruction.

We will take the two lines of battle as they would appear to an observer looking southward, from behind the English position.

(1) First, on the Scottish left (west), not far from the present homestead of Moneylaws, were two 'plumps' of borderers, amounting to 8,000 men,³¹ under the lord chamberlain (Alexander Home) and Alexander Gordon, earl of Huntley.

Opposite to them, on the English right, were young Sir Edmund

³⁰ It is not very easy to understand why the battle began so late in the day. The 'Account of the Battle of Flodden,' in the Record Office (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. I. 657, No. 4,441) says that the admiral passed the bridge of Twizell at noon. Yet the same paper says that the battle began between four and five in the afternoon. I presume that we must allow at least an hour for the march from Twizell bridge to Branxton; but there is still an interval of three hours, which, I suppose, was filled by the Scottish council of war, the burning of the litter, striking the tents, and setting the battle in array.

³¹ Pitscottie, i. 277.

Howard 'with divers esquires and gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire,' commanding, doubtless, their own retainers. Here, too, was young Sir Bryan Tunstall, 'the stainless knight.' Apparently the whole of this portion of the army only numbered 3,000 men.³² These two opposing wings disputed with one another the possession of the little hill called 'Piper's hill,' and the broken ground, moss-land, stream margins, and little wooded dell to the west of it.

(2) Next to Home and Huntley in the Scottish line came the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, 'accompanied with many lords and gentlemen, all with spears, on foot.'³³

Opposite to them, in the English right centre, was the great admiral, Thomas, lord Howard, captain-general of all the vanguard of the army, surrounded not only by his own seasoned soldiers brought over from France, but also by the esquires and gentlemen of Yorkshire and Northumberland, and pre-eminently by the men of the bishopric of Durham, led by Sir William Bulmer, clustering round the banner of St. Cuthbert, and, as I have said, eager to avenge the dishonour done to their saint. The whole of the troops under the immediate command of the admiral amounted to 9,000 men.

The fight in which these troops were engaged must apparently have raged most hotly round the little church of Branxton. It is strange that in none of the narratives of the battle is any allusion made to that building.

(3) On the left of the admiral, perhaps somewhat overlapping Crawford and Montrose, and partly facing the Scottish centre, came the gallant old man, Sir Marmaduke Constable,³⁴ with many Constables of his clan, and his son-in-law, Master William Percy. He, too, like Sir Edmund Howard (who occupied the corresponding position on the admiral's right) had 3,000 men under his command, who hailed from Holderness in Yorkshire, and from Northumberland.

(4) In the very centre of the opposing lines were the two supreme commanders, James Stuart and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, the 'noble young prince' and 'the old crooked carle.'

³² *Gazette*, 'And in either wing of the same battle were 3,000 men.'

³³ Hall.

³⁴ 'Seventy years old' says White. I have not traced his authority for the assertion.

They must have been on the same parallel of longitude as the present vicarage of Branxton, but how far north or south of that spot, up or down the hill, the battle may have raged, it is impossible to say. The troops under the command of the Earl of Surrey (5,000 men in number) are still spoken of as belonging to the 'rearward.' Possibly this is only a remembrance of the position which they had occupied on the march from Barmoor. But though it is hardly possible to understand the plan of the battle if the English army was at first drawn up in two parallel lines, the foremost under the admiral and the hindmost under his father, there does seem to have been something of a diagonal direction in the English line. The right is the first and the left the last to engage in the battle.³⁵

(5) Lastly, on the extreme right (east) of the Scottish position were Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Campbell, earl of Argyle, commanding a body of Highlanders and Islesmen, brave but undisciplined.

Opposite them, on the extreme English left, were the men of Cheshire and Lancashire, probably 5,000 in number,³⁶ under the command of Sir Edward Stanley.

(6) There were also certain forces held in reserve on either side. On the Scottish side 'Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, and the rest of the nobility of Lothian.'³⁷ On the English 'the Lord Dacre with a number of horsemen was set apart by himself to succour when need should seem to appear.'³⁸

As to the character of the conflict and the nature of the weapons employed we have some interesting information in the *Gazette*. The

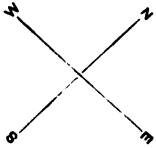
³⁵ I suppose the correct way of describing this movement is to say that the English army advanced in *écheleon*.

³⁶ The gazette which gives us such valuable information as to all the rest of the English line unfortunately fails us here. Evidently something (perhaps two whole pages) has dropped out between pp. 4 and 5. But by deducting the numbers already given from 26,000, the ascertained total of the English host, we get 5,000 for the number of Stanley's followers (allowing 1,000 for Dacre's horsemen yet to be mentioned).

³⁷ Buchanan, p. 138.

³⁸ Holinshed, iii. 596. I think upon the whole the balance of evidence is in favour of the above arrangement of the troops (which is that adopted by Scott in *Marmion*), but it should be noticed that Holinshed puts Lennox and Argyle on the Scottish left (instead of right) and makes them fight with Edmund Howard. He also puts Huntley on the Scottish right, and herein Hall and the ballad agree with him, and Buchanan also, but he is hopelessly wrong as to the position of the troops. The position of Huntley is the most doubtful point, but may, I think, be considered as settled by Dacre's letter (No. 5,090 in the *Calendar of State Papers*), in which he says that he encountered the Earl of Huntley and the chamberlain.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.



SCOTS.

BOTHWELL

LENNOX and ARGYLE

James the Fourth

CRAWFORD and MONTROSE

HOME and HUNTLEY

8,000 Border Forces.

STANLEY

5,000. Cheshire and Lancashire.

SURTEY

5,000.

SIR M. CONSTABLE

3,000 Holderness and Northumberland.

ADMIRAL LORD HOWARD

8,000. Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire.

EDMUND HOWARD and TUNSTAL

3,000. Cheshire and Lancashire.

DACRE

1,000 Horse (Reserve).

ENGLISH.

Scots had all the advantage of the higher ground, a great wind in their favour, and a sudden shower of rain which damped the English bow-strings. They 'fought manly, and were determined either to win the field or to die.' They were well equipped at all points with defensive armour, so that few of them were slain by the English arrows, but the bills wielded by the Southrons did more damage and did beat them down, though with sore pain and danger to the Englishmen. The Scots' chief arms were 'a keen and sharp spear, five yards long, and a target before them, and when their spears failed and were spent, then they fought with great and sharp swords, making little or no noise.' 'The bills,' says the Bishop of Durham, writing to Wolsey,³⁹ 'disappointed the Scots of their long spears on which they relied.'

The battle began at the western end of the line. Here Sir Edmund Howard, with his 3,000 men of Lancashire and Cheshire, was hopelessly outnumbered by Huntley and Home with their 8,000 men. Tunstall was slain. Sir Edmund Howard himself was thrice felled to the earth, and left alone with his standard bearer and two of his servants, when the bastard Heron, already sorely wounded, came up to him and said: 'There was never nobleman's son so like to be lost as you this day; but for all my hurts I shall here live and die with you.' At this moment, when it seemed as if the English right wing must be utterly destroyed, an opportune charge by Lord Dacre with his reserve of horse beat back the followers of Huntley and Home, and enabled Edmund Howard with the remnant of his troops to fall back on the admiral, who with the main body of the late 'vanguard' was now advancing up the hill to the left of them. On his way to join his brother, Sir Edmund met 'Davy Home' of Wedderburn and slew him with his own hand. What fate befell the brave and sore-wounded bastard Heron we are not informed, but his name does not appear among the English slain.

The Scottish conquerors certainly do not seem to have improved their victory. It is conjectured (but only conjectured) that Home's wild borderers may have dispersed to strip the slain and to plunder the English homesteads now lying defenceless below them. A more probable explanation of their conduct is that Piper's hill, which was situated between the Scottish left and centre, shut out from the victors

³⁹ *Calendar*, 4,461.

the view of the fight at Branxton vicarage, and that Home and Huntley were really ignorant of their king's necessity till it was too late to succour it. Certainly the accusation brought by the Scots of a later day against Home was rather of inactivity than of too hot pursuit of the beaten foe. According to Pitscottie, when Home and Huntley were standing 'in arrayed battle' at the close of the day, very few of their men having been either hurt or slain, the Earl of Huntley desired my Lord Home that he would rescue the king in his extremity, seeing he was overset with multitudes of men. But the Lord Home answered: 'He does well that does for himself, for we have foughten our vanguard and won the same; therefore let the rest do their parts as well as we have done.' Huntley replied that he could not see his native prince overcome by his enemies before his eyes, sounded his trumpet and gathered his men together, but found it was then too late to save his king from defeat.

The decisive moment of this earlier part of the battle appears to have been Dacre's well-timed and vigorous charge, which not only enabled Edmund Howard to escape to his brother, but restored to that brother, the admiral, confidence in success. A short time before, when he saw 'the four great battles of the Scots all on foot with long spears, like Moorish pikes, advancing towards him, he had sent to Surrey his *Agnus Dei* that hung at his breast, and begged him to move up the rearguard speedily, since he himself was not able to encounter alone the whole battle of the Scots.' Now, this earnest petition being granted, his left being covered by the advancing soldiers of his father, and his right (probably) made more secure by Dacre's brilliant charge, the admiral was strong enough to fight his foes. The many lords, knights, and gentlemen who were in this part of the host 'fought all with spears on foot, but the lord admiral and his company acquitted themselves so well that with pure fighting they brought a great number to the ground, and both the Earls of Crawford and of Montrose were slain.' Of course the angry votaries of St. Cuthbert had their share in this victory, to which probably Sir Marmaduke Constable and the men of Holderness also contributed.

But in the centre of the line, where fought the two generals-in-chief, James and Surrey, the fight was far more obstinate. Seeing from Flodden height the defeat of the English right, James pressed

impetuously down the hill, eager to mingle in the fray. Of course the nobles who surrounded him, longing to distinguish themselves in their sovereign's presence, added to the ardour of the onset. They put away their horses that they might not slide in the slippery descent, kicked off their boots and shoes and trod the hostile soil with naked, or at least with 'stockinged' feet.⁴⁰ The king himself fought on foot in the foremost ranks. 'O, what a noble and triumphant courage was this,' says Hall, 'for a king to fight in a battle as a mean soldier.' But admirable as was the courage which led him thus to share the dangers of the poor peasants who were venturing their lives in his quarrel, it is evident that he would have served his people better, if he had remained on the high ground in their rear, and from thence given to the different divisions of his army the guidance which they sorely needed. Surrey also was near the great *mêlée* in the centre, but, as we may perhaps infer, somewhat behind the front rank, and acting more as a commander, and less as an old Homeric combatant, than his kingly foe.

The battle in the centre, though it must have caused great loss in the ranks of the Scottish nobility, would perhaps have remained doubtful, or even resulted in a Scottish victory, but for the events which were passing on the English left. Here, Sir Edward Stanley, though he seems to have been last in coming into line, pressed forward with great impetuosity up the central ridge. Probably as the Scottish line at the other end overlapped the English, so the English at this end overlapped the Scottish, for Stanley's men seem to have been unopposed in their ascent of the hill. Like their foes, they kicked off boots and shoes in order to get a firmer footing.⁴¹ With panting chests, and limbs streaming with perspiration, they stood at the top of the ridge almost ere the Scots perceived their advance. The Highlanders and Islanders under Lennox and Argyle offered a weaker resistance than any other part of the Scottish line. Probably they were worse provided with defensive armour, for we hear of great havoc wrought among them by the 'grey goose-wings' of the terrible archers of Cheshire. Whatever the cause, both the leaders, Lennox and Argyle, were soon slain, and their division of the Scottish host hope-

⁴⁰ The said Scottes were so plainly determined to abide battle and not to flee, that they put from them their horses and also put off their boots and shoes and fought in the vampis of their hooses.—*Gazette*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Ballad, dxxi.

lessly beaten. From the vantage ground which Stanley had thus gained he surveyed the whole field below him, and saw the desperate battle which was still raging in the centre. Swooping down with his victorious men of Lancashire and Cheshire, he attacked King James in his flank and rear. Dacre about the same time made a similar charge from the English right. The Scottish reserve under Bothwell had been already drawn into the fray, and could offer no resistance to these manoeuvres. Possibly the English arrows, flying from behind, may have been more deadly than when aimed at the Scotsmen's targets. According to the ballad, it was from an arrow in his forehead that the king received his first wound; but though half-blinded with his blood, he called to his men to fight on and not to be dismayed by his wounds, 'for Fortune yet might turn her scale.' But in truth we have hardly any accurate information—and no wonder that we have it not—concerning this last desperate encounter. Scott's imagination, we instinctively feel, has beheld the terrible scene as vividly as any of the combatants saw it, and his words are as true as those of any chronicler:—

'The English shafts in volleys hailed,
 In headlong charge their horse assailed:
 Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep,
 To break the Scottish circle deep,
 That fought around their king.
 But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
 Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
 Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
 Unbroken was the ring:
 The stubborn spear-men still made good
 Their dark impenetrable wood,
 Each stepping where his comrade stood,
 The instant that he fell.
 No thought was there of dastard flight:—
 Linked in the serried phalanx tight,
 Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
 As fearlessly and well;
 Till utter darkness closed her wing
 O'er their thin host and wounded king.'

The night was now closing in but darkness came too late to save the gallant little band of surrounded heroes. According to Holinshed 'when the king saw Adam Forman, his standard-bearer beaten down he thought surely there was no way for him but death: wherefore to

deliver himself from such despiteful reproach as was like to follow he rushed forth in the thickest press of his enemies, and there fighting in most desperate wise was beaten down and slain.' His son, the short-sighted, clerkly Archbishop of St. Andrews fell near him : both within a spear's length of where Surrey stood.⁴² No quarter was given, no rich prisoners (as was so often the case in those days) held to ransom ; the English soldiers' hearts were bitter, and the 'sutors and taylors' dealt unsparing blows at the knights and noblemen who clustered round their doomed king.

At nightfall the Earl of Surrey bade the trumpets sound the retreat. The battle with all its horrors had lasted barely three hours. 'If we only had had longer daylight, and our victuals,' said the English soldiers, 'we should have given the Scots such a lesson that they would have been ware how they entered the realm of England again.'⁴³ As it was, the English encamped for the night on one part of the field, the still unbeaten forces of Home (10,000 men in number) on another, and it might have been possible while the canopy of darkness was over all to argue that the battle was a drawn game, though the multitude of fugitives who crossed the Tweed at Coldstream ford were of a different opinion. But when daylight dawned and showed the ghastly harvest of Scottish slain there could be no longer any doubt to whom the victory pertained. Lord Chamberlain Home with his 10,000 men melted silently from the field, making no attempt to rescue the Scottish guns ('five great curtalles, two great culvernyngs, four sacres and six serpentynes, as fair ordnance as hath been seen, besides other small pieces') all of which, together with the English ordnance was safely conveyed, with Dacre's help, across the Till to Etal castle.⁴⁴

Of the number of slain at Flodden field we have only the English estimates, which are contradictory and in some cases no doubt exaggerated. According to these the Scottish losses were 12,000⁴⁵, 11,000 or 12,000,⁴⁶ 10,000,⁴⁷ or 8,000,⁴⁸ while the English loss in killed and prisoners was only 1,500,⁴⁹ 1,200,⁵⁰ or, according to the official estimate,

⁴² Account of the Battle of Flodden, u.s.

⁴⁸ Hall. *Gazette*.

⁴⁴ Account of the Battle of Flodden, u.s.

⁴⁹ Hall.

⁴⁶ *Gazette*. ⁴⁷ Account of the Battle and Ballad.

⁵⁰ Holinshed.

⁴⁸ Hall and Holinshed and Ballad. Hall says, 'of the English side were slain and taken not 1,500 men as it appeared by the book of wages when the soldiers were paid.' This reference to the pay-sheet does look rather like fact.

⁵⁰ *Gazette*.

as low as 400.⁵¹ Both the story of the battle itself and the cautious movements of the English general after it make it difficult to believe that there can have been such a tremendous disproportion between the losses of the two armies. But what made the day of Flodden so memorable and so disastrous was the high rank of many of the victims. Besides the king and his son, one bishop, ten mitred abbots, twelve earls, fourteen lords, and fifteen knights and gentlemen, in all forty-six persons of eminent rank, the flower of the Scottish nobility lay dead on Branxton moor on the morning of the 10th of September, 1513.⁵²

On the English side the only men of rank who were slain were Sir Bryan Tunstall,⁵³ Sir John Gower,⁵⁴ Sir John Booth,⁵⁵ Sir Wynchard Harbottle,⁵⁶ and Maurice Berkely.⁵⁷

It was long before the body of the hapless king was found. At length Lord Dacre, who had often seen him in life, discovered the corpse naked, as having been stripped by plunderers, and gashed with many wounds, one with an arrow and another with a bill.⁵⁸ It lay near the place where he and his great antagonist Surrey first encountered one another. Dacre brought it to Berwick and there delivered it into the custody of Surrey.⁵⁹ The king died excommunicate, that ecclesiastical penalty having been denounced on either party who should break

⁵¹ Account of the Battle.

⁵² I must here transcribe the able summary of the results of the battle given by Sheriff Mackay (*Preface to Echoquer Accounts*, p. clxxxviii.):—

'Every district of the country also contributed to the numbers of the slain, and attests the huge proportions of the carnage. No prisoners were taken. Besides the king there fell thirteen earls, at least as many lords, and a still greater number of lesser barons and gentlemen. Two bishops, St. Andrews and the Isles; two abbots, Inchaffray and Kilwinning; and the Dean of Glasgow, represented the clergy, whom the English satirist blames for taking part in the battle. Edinburgh lost its Provost Lauder, and if many credit Pitscottie's story of the summons of Plotcock, only one of its burgesses came home. The Western Highlanders, whose rash onset contributed to the defeat, fell in large numbers, besides several of their chiefs—MacIain of Arinamurchan, Campbell of Glenurchy, and MacLean of Dowart. Few of the men of Caitness returned, and it was long deemed unlucky to cross the Ord with green, the colour they wore when led by their earl to the muster. The descendants of the tall borderers of Ettrick, the 'flowers of the forest,' and the stalwart burghers of Hawick and Selkirk preserved the sad memory in songs. Masses were said for the dead in every church throughout the realm, and the title deeds of almost every estate, as well as the public records of the commencement of the next reign, prove that scarcely a family of note did not mourn more than one of its members. It is probable that Hall, who reckons the total loss at 10,000, did not greatly exaggerate. "I never read," writes Lyndsay, "in tragedie nor storie, at ane journaie so many nobles slain for the defence and lufe of their soverane."'

⁵³ Ballad.

⁵⁴ *Gazette* and Ruthal's letter. No. 4,462 in *Calendar*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Account in *Calendar of State Papers*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Hall.

⁵⁹ Dacre's letter in *Calendar*, No. 5,091.

the covenant contained in the treaty between England and Scotland. Henry VIII., with that stiffness of assertion of his legal rights which was characteristic of the Tudors, seems to have at first decided on burying the body in unconsecrated ground. Pope Leo X. in a courteous and diplomatic letter⁶⁰ suggested that such treatment of the brother-in-law of the king of England would not redound to his honour, and gave permission (which perhaps had never been asked for) to bury the body in St. Paul's. It was, however, eventually deposited (enclosed in a leaden coffin) at the monastery of Shene in Surrey, and after the dissolution of that religious house in the reign of Edward VI. it seems to have been subjected, through carelessness, to many indignities. Herein, however, the invader of England fared no worse than some of her own noblest kings, whose monuments at Glastonbury were destroyed and their bones spread like dung upon the earth in the same orgy of brutal iconoclasm.

Even as we, six years ago, hoped against hope that the heroic Gordon had escaped from the ring of Moslem fanatics at Khartoum, so the loyal Scots long refused to believe in the death of their king. The body that had been found, said they, had not the belt armed with iron spikes which the king always wore in penance for his share in the rebellion against his father. He had caused ten of his followers to be clad in coats of armour like his own, and it might be one of these that had been found.⁶¹ He had glided from the field when he saw that all was lost, and had gone on a long-vowed pilgrimage to the Holy Land. With such pious sophisms as these did each loyal Scot try to banish from his soul the thought of the ignominy that had befallen his king. But as the years passed on and no James Stuart returned from the Holy Land, men gradually acquiesced in the unwelcome truth that the fairest of all 'the flowers of the forest' was 'wede awa' under Flodden hill.

On the 16th September Queen Katharine sent on to her husband the letter of Lord Howard, describing the great victory that his subjects had won in his absence, and expressing the hope that he would not forget to thank God for it. 'I could not for haste send by Rouge Cross the piece of the King of Scots' coat which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your Grace shall see how I can keep my promise,

⁶⁰ Quoted by Weber (p. 302) from Rymer's *Foedera*.

⁶¹ But according to Dacre's letter he found him stripped naked.

sending you for your banners a King's Coat. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have been in peace than have this reward. All that God sendeth is for the best.⁶² Unhappy is the lot of kings, compelled by reasons of state, one while to take another king into their inmost family circle, and another while to slay him. For this James, whose gory coat Katharine was sending to her lord, was husband to their sister Margaret, whom the glorious victory of Flodden had made a widow.

It is amusing to read in the *Calendar of State Papers* Bishop Ruthal's letters to Wolsey concerning the siege of Norham and the battle of Flodden. When he hears that his castle is stormed by the king of Scots he is so touched with inward sorrow that he would 'liever' be out of the world than in it. It will cost him 10,000 marks in five years' time to repair the damage caused by the siege. Never has the hand of God been so sore upon him as in this matter; but he will search his conscience to find for what cause this judgment is sent him; he will reform that sin as much as lies in his power, and henceforward regard God more than the world. When the battle is won he is clear that the victory is due to St. Cuthbert and the good Sir William Bulmer; he regrets that Lord Surrey could not leave the dead king's body at Durham, but exults that 'my father under St. Cuthbert's banner brought home his banner, his sword, and his gwyschys,' that is to say the harness for his thighs.

The day after the battle Lord Surrey conferred the honour of knighthood on forty gentlemen who had borne themselves most bravely in the field, his son, young Edmund, among the number. Surrey himself was, as has been said, created Duke of Norfolk within five months from the winning of Flodden (1st February, 1514), and Sir Edward Stanley was, about the same time, created Lord Mont-eagle.⁶³

The effects of this decisive victory on the policy of the two kingdoms must be estimated by those who are better acquainted with their history than I claim to be. It is easy, however, to see in Henry's

⁶² *Calendar*, No. 4,451.

⁶³ His descendant in the fourth generation was that Lord Monteagle who received the mysterious letter that led to the discovery of Gunpowder Plot, and thus saved the life of the great-grandson of James IV.

proud and confident tone towards the other great powers of Europe, especially towards the emperor and the French king, some trace of that increased security which he derived from a victory that for one generation at least crushed all hopes of a successful Scottish invasion of his country. Perhaps also the same sense of security may have emboldened him to treat with a more superb disdain the disaffection of his Catholic subjects (whose stronghold was in the north of England, and who would otherwise have found dangerous allies on the other side of the border) when, sixteen years after the battle of Flodden, the time came for him to put away his Spanish wife, and to abjure the supremacy of Rome.

On the politics of the northern kingdom the immediate effect of the carnage of Flodden must have been disastrous. With James IV.'s death commenced another of those ever-recurring regencies which, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were the calamity of Scotland. From 1405 to 1584, a space of 179 years, 84 years, nearly half, were occupied with regencies. What encouragement was thus given to anarchy, how hard the lot was made of the peaceable and law-abiding citizen in these days, when the king governed as well as reigned, and when the full-grown king's name was a tower of strength to those who sought his protection, we can without difficulty imagine.

In conclusion, I will venture on a word or two of comment on the military aspects of the battle and the short campaign. The battle is an interesting one as being the last, or nearly the last, engagement in which the old-fashioned English yew-tree bow, which did such execution on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers, was an important element of victory. In all the great battles of the Civil War, the next important fights on English soil, the cloth-yard shafts are, I think, unheard of, and some form of musket or of cannon is practically the only arm used in projectile warfare.

As for the strategy of the two commanders my views have been already in some measure indicated. I cannot think that James IV. showed any undue delay in his procedure. It was surely a piece of good generalship to secure the castles which commanded the passage of the Tweed; and Norham, Etal, Ford, and Wark were not an insignificant result of a fortnight's fighting. Especially the incessant rain which hampered all the movements of both armies must in fair-

ness be taken into account, whether we are criticising his strategy or that of his opponent. The army raised by Lord Surrey had to be beaten before the king of Scots could gain any secure foothold in English territory, and in order to have the advantage in that necessary conflict the position of Flodden was surely not ill-chosen.

Of the manoeuvre by which Surrey turned that position and forced James to come down and fight on more equal terms I have already expressed my admiration. But though brilliant, it was surely audacious to the very verge of foolhardiness. To divide the English army in two parts, putting a distance of many miles between them, and relying on their meeting, under the eye of the enemy, on the field of battle, to send the larger part of the army on a fifteen mile march,

‘ Black fasting as they were born
From flesh, or fish, or other food,’⁶⁴

and then to call upon them, at the end of an exhausting march, while faint for lack of victuals, to fight an uphill battle against the warlike Scots, animated as these last were by the presence of their king, surely this was a desperate venture, a move on the board which Hannibal or Caesar would not have made, and which was only justified, if justified at all, by its success. Possibly Flodden should be included among the many ‘soldiers’ battles’ which have been won in defiance of the rules of war by the dogged patience and toughness of fibre of the English soldier.

Thus, then, was fought the last great border battle between England and Scotland. That phase of human history has passed away forever, and it needs an effort of the imagination to conceive of the time when ‘the silver Tweed’ was a real liminary stream disparting bitter foes. In every quarter of the world the Englishman and the Scotchman, brothers in arms and brothers in council, have stood side by side against their common enemies, or have won in friendly partnership the nobler victories of peace. May it be permitted us to dream of a day when enmities not more bitter than those which once sundered the Scot and the Southron shall have passed away into oblivion; when the Rhine shall be as innocent of fortresses as the Tweed, and the Balkans shall fear war as little as the heights of Flodden.

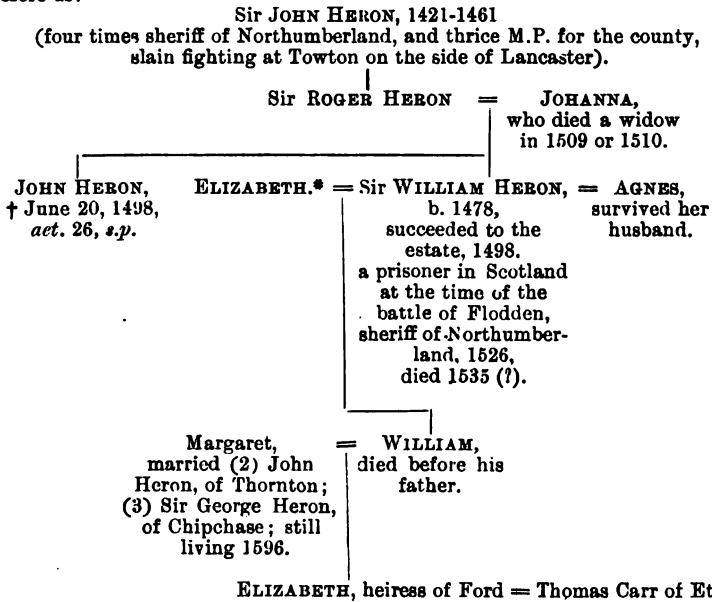
⁶⁴ Ballad, ccoclvii. The above expression is used of the rearguard, but probably applies equally to the vanguard.

NOTE I.—JAMES IV. AND LADY HERON.

Not only readers of *Marmion*, but students of our ordinary English histories, will probably be surprised at my silence as to one cause which is generally supposed to have contributed powerfully to the Scottish defeat. I allude to the criminal intimacy of James IV. with Lady Heron, the wife of the lord of Ford Castle. My reason for not introducing that subject into the main course of my narrative is that I have grave doubts whether the alleged intrigue ever existed, or, if it did exist, whether it had any serious influence on the fortunes of the campaign.⁶⁵

In the first place, we must entirely clear our minds of one avowedly fictitious element in the story, the presence of the bewitching Lady Heron in the Scottish court, as described in the fifth canto of *Marmion*. This, as Sir Walter Scott himself would be the first to tell us, is pure poetical imagination. There is nothing in the authorities to imply that Lady Heron ever crossed the Scottish border.

⁶⁵ The following is the pedigree of the Herons of Ford castle for the period before us:—



* This is the lady who, according to Hall, made suit to James IV. for the preservation of Ford castle in 1518.

Neither is there a word about this lady in the contemporary gazette, in any of the letters in the *Calendar of State Papers*, in Hall, in Holinshed, in the ballad (which though itself late may possibly embody several earlier traditions), nor in any authority whatever, except Lindsay of Pitscottie, whom, however, we must consider as a contemporary, though a late one, since he was probably a boy at the time of the battle.

Pitscottie's words are⁶⁶:—'On the morrow the king went to Wark and Norham and cast them down, and thereafter went to Ford and cast it down. Great slaughter was made of the king's men that stood about the house in the flyings of the timber. Some say the lady of Ford was a beautiful woman, and that the king melled with her, and also his son, Alexander Stuart, bishop of St. Andrews, with her daughter, which was against God's commandment and against the order of all good captains of war,' etc. 'Notwithstanding, the king continued still there [presumably at Ford] the space of twenty days without battle till at last all the victuals and vivers of the commons were spent, and many of the fat North-land and Isles-men were spent and wasted in the famine, in the same manner that it was force to them to pass home; and every lord and gentleman sent one or two home of their special friends to bring them victuals in these ways; there abode not with the king above 10,000 men by [except] borderers and countrymen. Yet the king's grace took no fear, because he believed no battle of the Englishman at that time.'

'But the wicked lady of Ford, seeing the king's host so dispersed for lack of victuals, and knowing all the secrets that were among the king's men and the army, both of the king himself and his secret council; and this experience she had by her frequent whoredom with the king, and also her daughter with his son, which moved her to ask license at the king to pass inward in the country to speak with certain of her friends, declaring to the king that she should bring him all novels [news] out of the south country, what they were doing, or what was their purpose for to do, desiring his grace to remain at her coming.'

'As an effeminate prince, subdued and enticed by the allurements and false deceit of this wicked woman, he gave her over hastily

⁶⁶ I quote from Weber's note. He has modernized the spelling.

credence in this behalf, and believed surely all had been true that she had promised, and to that effect gart [caused] convoy her a certain way from the host as she desired. But this lady, thinking nothing that she had promised to the king that in no ways she would keep it for the love she bare her native country, but hastily passed, with a deceitful mind, to the Earl of Surrey where he was lying at York at that time, and show to him the whole secrets of the King of Scotland and his army, what point he was at, and how his men were departed from him for lack of victuals, and that there were not abiding with him but 10,000 men of all his army. Therefore she thought it expedient that the Earl of Surrey should come forward with all that he might be at that time. She promised to them that they should have victory for she by her craft and ingine [ingenuity] should deceive the king so far as she could, to put him in the Englishmen's hands.'

'These novels [news] being come to the Earl of Surrey by this wicked woman, he was very glad thereof, and thanked her greatly for her labours and travels she took for her native country, promising to her that within three days he should meet the king of Scotland and give him battle.'

• • 'Thus the king of Scotland so insolent, having no foresight nor moyen in the country, lay still, taking no thought, as a man uncounsellable, which would do nothing for his lords and his captains, for the safeguard of his host and commonweal of his nobles, nor yet for obtaining of victory and defending of his own honour, but lying still, abiding the lady of Ford's coming, but all for naught, for she did nothing but deceive him, and came not again till the English army came with her. So the king of Scotland never knew the coming of the army of England while [till] they were within the space of three miles, arrayed in seven great battles.'

Such is the indictment against James IV. in reference to Lady Heron, resting on Pitscottie's authority, and on that alone; and I think it is not too much to say that it breaks down at every point. The record of James's movements is so utterly inaccurate that it is impossible that it could have been derived from the meanest soldier in his army, unless his memory were utterly paralysed by age.

(1) It is said that the king 'continued there (Ford castle) the space

of twenty days without battle.' The whole campaign lasted only eighteen days from James's first passage of the Tweed (22nd August) to the battle of Flodden (9th September).

(2) Of these eighteen days six were occupied by the siege of Norham castle, which Pitscottie apparently thinks occupied only part of a day ('and on the morrow went to Wark and Norham and cast them down').

(3) James does appear to have made Ford castle his headquarters after the capture of Norham, and it is possible that he may have remained there from the 29th August till the 5th of September. On the 6th of that month he is already encamped at Flodden. Thus we have seven days as the utmost limit of his sojourn at Ford castle which was in itself not at all a bad position for a general holding the valley of the Till.

(4) But, according to Pitscottie's own account, during no part of this week can the lady of Ford have been entertaining or beguiling the invader, for she 'hastily passed with a deceitful mind to the Earl of Surrey where he was lying at York at that time.' But the Earl of Surrey quitted York on the 26th of August, three days before Norham had fallen. Lady Heron would require not less than two days—probably three—to travel from Ford to York, and therefore if Pitscottie's narrative is correct she must have left her home within two days at the utmost after James entered England. And yet Pitscottie speaks of her frequent adulterous intercourse with the king.

(5) It will be seen that according to the story told by Pitscottie two generations of the family of Heron were engaged in the hateful intrigue. But no daughter of Sir William Heron's appears in the genealogical table of that family,⁶⁷ and it is most improbable that any such lady ever existed. Nor does the scandal accord with what we hear from other sources of the disposition of the young Archbishop of St. Andrews.

(6) The king's conduct in dismantling Ford castle looks very little like that of a lover of its *châtelaine*.

Are we, then, to dismiss altogether the idea that these two persons, with whose names the scandal of the third generation after their own was so busy, ever met one another? We are prevented from going so

⁶⁷ I take this statement from Weber, p. 187.

far as that by the following passage in Hall's *Chronicle* (forming part of the instruction given by Surrey to Rouge Cross as to his message to the King of Scots):—

‘First, where there hath been suit made to the King of Scots by Elizabeth Heron, wife to William Heron of Ford, now prisoner in Scotland, for casting down of the house or castle of Ford: and as the said Elizabeth reportet upon communication had, that the said king hath promised and condescended to the said Elizabeth, that if she any time before noon the fifth day of September would bring and deliver unto him the Lord Johnstown and Alexander Home, then prisoners in England, he then is contented and agreed that the said house or castle shall stand without casting down, burning, or spoiling the same: whereunto the said earl is content with that upon this condition, that if the said king will promise the assurance of the said castle in manner and form aforesaid under his seal to deliver the said Lord of Johnstown and Alexander Home immediately upon the same assurance. And in case the said king can and will be content to deliver the said Heron out of Scotland, then the said earl shall cause to be delivered to the said king the two gentlemen and two others, Sir George Hume and William Carre.’

This passage in Hall's *Chronicle* obliges us to admit that the king and Lady Heron had met, probably during the week that followed the capture of Norham. The lady makes suit to the monarch for the restoration of her husband from unjust captivity and for the preservation of her castle, which he has begun to dismantle. The king grants at any rate part of her request on certain conditions, to which she has to obtain Surrey's consent. She therefore goes southwards to the English army (which she meets assuredly not at York but at Alnwick or Barmoor), and she probably conveys to its commander some valuable information as to the position and number of the enemy—though she certainly does not tell him that they are dwindled to 10,000 men.

Out of all this the Scottish nobles, who knew too well the amorous character of their monarch, made up a tale of scandal, which grew and magnified as the years went on and as men felt more and more the necessity of some scapegoat for the great national disaster

and humiliation of Flodden.⁶⁸ I am not concerned to defend the moral character of James IV., which was undoubtedly far from pure, nor do I deny the *possibility* that there may have been some intrigue between him and the lady of Ford; but I do say, that considering the gross and obvious incorrectness of Pitscottie's story, and remembering the general character of that charming but credulous writer, historians have too lightly accepted a tale which may have affixed an unjust blemish on the character of a pure and innocent woman, and that in any case the alleged intrigue had no practical bearing on the issue of the campaign, and ought not to be any longer specified as one of the causes of the Scottish defeat.

NOTE II.—ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF SOME FLODDEN SITES.

A few words may be needed to enable the visitor to fix in their true position the various scenes of the battle, whether historical or fictitious.

Above all, he must entirely dismiss from his mind one apparently well-established identification. In the wood just below Flodden heights is a little spring, gushing out of the hill into a stone trough with the well-known inscription (slightly modified):—

‘Drink, weary pilgrim, drink and pray
For the kind soul of Sybil Grey, etc.

But this inscription, which was placed there some twenty or thirty years ago by the genial enthusiasm of the late Marchioness of Waterford, transfers the well-known death-scene in *Marmion* to an utterly impossible locality. This so-called well of Sybil Grey is almost in the heart of the Scottish camp, far to the left of the extreme left of the English line, whereas *Marmion* fought and fell on the extreme right of that line.

The real ‘well of Sybil Grey’—that is to say, the well which Scott probably had in his mind when he wrote his description—is a much more prosaic looking affair; in fact, not much better than a

⁶⁸ I would also suggest the possibility—I will not call it the probability—that some of the followers of James who knew the great share taken by the bastard Heron in causing the failure of the expedition may have returned to their homes full of rage against him and his race, and that some words of theirs misunderstood and incorrectly repeated may have been the germ out of which grew the scandal against lady Heron.

common drinking trough for cattle on the road a little below Branxton church. Surveying this part of the battle-field (some two miles away from the sham Sybil's well) we find that all comes together beautifully, just as Sir Walter imagined it. Here, about two hundred yards from the 'drinking trough,' is the little hill on which Lady Clare was stationed to view the battle, and from which, had the Scots been victorious, she would have had a clear line of escape to Berwick. Through the little valley below this hill Marmion's reinless steed came rushing from the fight at Piper's Hill. In that valley runs the stream which was so stained with the blood of battle that Clare could not offer it to Marmion; and so we come back to the little well by the roadside, from which she drew the cooling draught for her dying enemy.

II.—MIDDLETON ST. GEORGE: CROSS IN THE GARDEN AT THE LOW HALL.

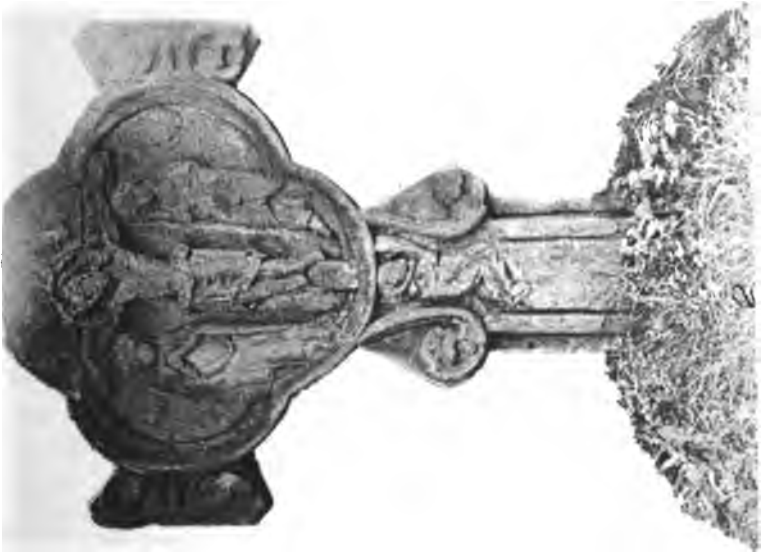
BY THE REV. J. T. FOWLER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read on the 25th May, 1892.]

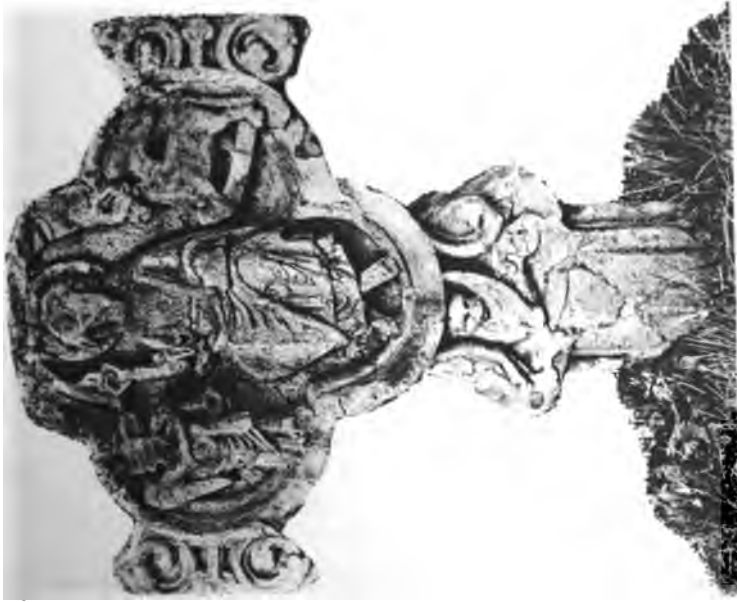
In the garden at the Low Hall, Middleton St. George, is the principal portion of a fine sculptured cross of close-grained red sandstone, set up with the lower end of the shaft in the earth. Its present height above the ground is three feet ten inches, and it is just three feet across the transverse part. The design is that of a large quatrefoil with four short and spreading arms, set upon a shaft oblong in section, with deeply cut roll and hollow mouldings on the sides. The upper arm is broken off. In the quatrefoil, on what is now the north side, is a representation of Christ on the cross, with SS. Mary and John, the former on his right hand and the latter on his left. The central figure has the cruciferous nimbus, and the head bowed to the right. There is apparently an indication of the wound in the right side. The waist-cloth is bound round the loins, and extends down to the knees. The feet have been represented as nailed on separately, but are broken off. Above the arms are traces of something, probably the moon on the right and the sun on the left, and in the

vacant spaces outside SS. Mary and John are indications, possibly of stars. St. Mary is represented with a long flowing hood over her hair, and her hands are clasped on her breast. St. John's right hand is elevated. In the lowest arm is a kneeling figure, apparently that of a man in monastic habit with hands raised, much resembling figures often seen in seals. The other arms are occupied by simple but effective thirteenth century foliage, and the same is continued on either side of the kneeling figure.

On the other, now the south side of the cross, is a representation of our Lord seated in majesty, with cruciferous nimbus, and his right hand raised in blessing, with the two first fingers extended and the thumb and the other fingers bent over. The left hand has perished. No indications of wounds can now be seen. The robe is flowing, and girded round the waist; the feet are exposed. In the vacant spaces within the quatrefoil are two of the evangelistic symbols—the winged ox for St. Luke, with a label not now showing any letters, on the left; and on the right the winged man for St. Matthew, holding something very unusual in the case of the symbolical figure. With his right hand he holds before him a large object in the form of a bottle with a round foot, but probably meant for a money-bag. The bent part of the left wing projects in front of his face, most of which has perished. The winged lion of St. Mark occupies the lowest arm, outside the quatrefoil; and the eagle of St. John has, of course, been in the upper arm. The four arms are decorated with foliage similar to that on the other side. The outside of the quatrefoil and the ends of the arms are quite plain. The character of the figures, foliage, and mouldings, as well as the general design, appear to indicate a date of some time in the earlier half of the thirteenth century. The stone has begun to split from the action of the weather, and will be all to pieces in a few more years unless it be put under cover.



Rommier & Jousat, Dresden



A. L. Stevenson, photo

THIRTEENTH CENTURY CROSS AT MIDDLETON LOW HALL, CO. DURHAM.

III.—NOTES ON THE RECENT DISCOVERIES AT KIRK- WHELPINGTON PARISH CHURCH.

BY W. S. HICKS.

[Read on the 29th June, 1892.]

THIS church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, consists of a nave, chancel, western tower, and south porch only. I give a plan of it, showing the indications of earlier forms which have lately been discovered.

The fabric, when I first saw it two years ago, was in a most dilapidated and unwholesome condition: its modern roof in holes, its timbers decayed, its floors, seats, and gallery soaked and green with damp. The chancel only was in a state of repair, though greatly reduced in size and disfigured in proportions by the rebuilding undertaken some time ago by the lay rector.

The nave walls, roughly rebuilt of ancient stones, contain some portions of the lancet windows, but nothing of their ancient character, and nearly all the windows have plain square sashes.

The roof was an ordinary king-post construction of the early part of this century, containing a little of the old oak of a former roof, so cut up as to leave no trace of its earlier form.

The tower is buttressed with huge modern buttresses, partly enclosing and hiding the old ones, and it has been so altered in its upper stage as to be almost beyond recognition as a thirteenth century tower. The south porch is a modern structure made entirely of ancient stones.

The ground on both sides of the church had become banked up three or four feet above the present floor level, and this floor appears to be a foot or a foot and a half above the ancient one. There were some indications, in this high ground, of transept walls on both the north and south sides, and these indications were more or less of a puzzle.

Hodgson says of it, at vol. i., part 2, page 208:—‘It has been a cross church, but its transepts have been removed.’ On the other

hand, I am told by the vicar that the late Mr. Johnson expressed his opinion that it was not a transeptal church.

The excavations justify both of these contrary opinions in a curious and interesting way, reconciling them, as I shall presently show.

There being urgent need of repair, a plan was made for an alteration of the roof, and a contract was entered into with Messrs. R. Carse & Son of Amble. I am much indebted to Mr. J. T. Carse, who has had this work under his charge, and am glad of this opportunity of mentioning his intelligent interest, and the care with which all relics and traces have been observed, preserved, and pointed out, and handed over to me by him and his workmen.

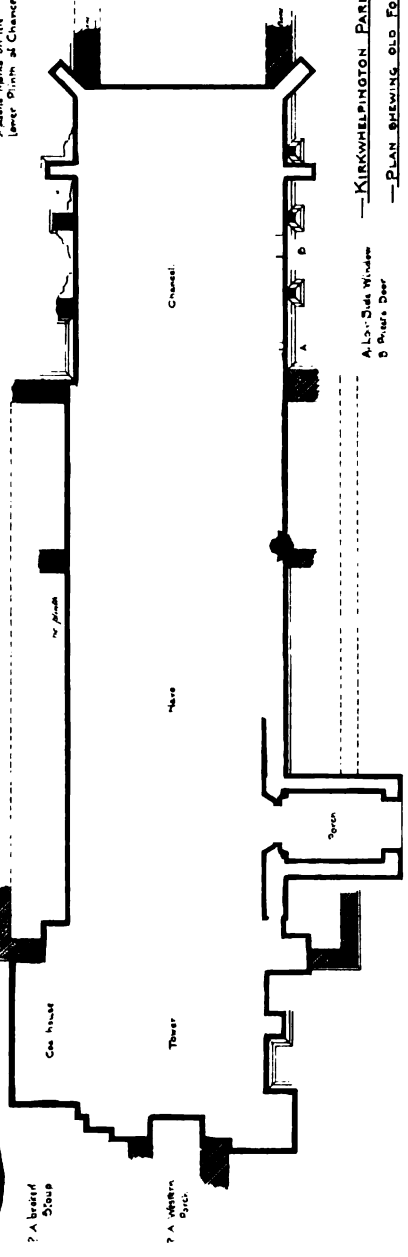
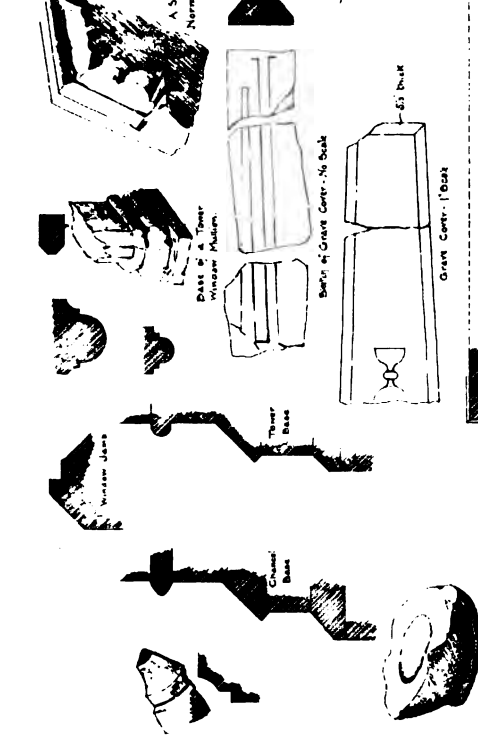
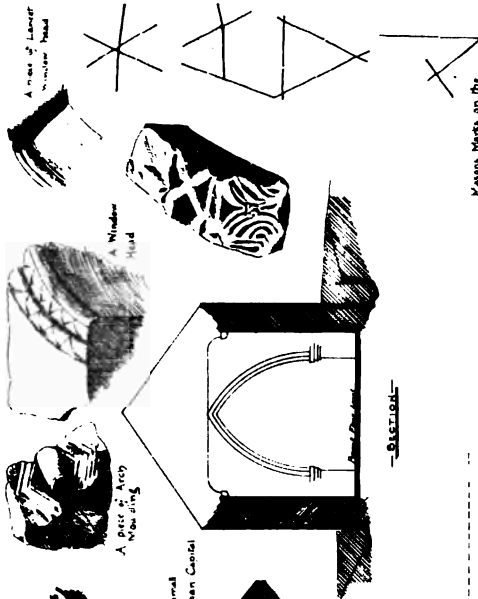
The first contract for roof and drainage was completed, and a sufficient sum of money was still available this year for a second contract, which is now being carried out by Mr. Carse. This consists of cutting away so much of the embankment of earth, and building *débris*, and other remains above mentioned, as will enable us to put in a good open trench all round the church below the present floor level, and at what is probably the ancient level of the floor.

This is intended to dry the building, and it is this excavation which has brought to light so many very interesting features, and has thrown so much fresh light on the original condition and the changeful history of this much altered fabric.

The excavated earth has been searched with the result that some pieces of thirteenth century glass have been found (if I am not mistaken) all calcined almost beyond recognition, and beyond the possibility of entire preservation. These fragments have been placed in the Museum at the Black Gate, having been presented by the Rev. C. W. Soden, the vicar.

I picked up a calcined bone; and the marks of fire on the stones also show that the building has been completely destroyed by fire once, if not more than once.

Two original grave covers have been found in fragments. I give drawings of them. One is of an ordinary kind, with cross and sword; it has been preserved by being worked into a triangular coping, and turned upside down. The other is a very interesting and uncommon stone with a chalice incised on it, and nothing else whatever.



—KIRKWHELPINGTON PARISH CHURCH—
 —PLAN SHOWING OLD FOUNDATIONS—
 —DISCOVERED JUNE 28th 1892—

A.L. = Old Window
 S. = Stone Door



Hodgson also mentions, at page 104 of the volume already quoted, a tombstone found in some excavations ordered by Archdeacon Thorp, 'with a figure in the middle of it, and an inscription round the margin which nobody could read.' It had disappeared for ten years when Hodgson wrote. It has not yet reappeared.

The laying bare of the plinths and buttress foundations of the old walls is the most interesting of all the work that has been done, and it is much to be wished that a further excavation could be made beyond that which is required for the trenching of the church, so as to show the extent of the ancient aisles and transepts.

The plinths now uncovered show round the chancel, and at the east ends of the aisles or transepts, a handsome double plinth with a string-course above it. This chancel had small buttresses about twelve inches by twelve inches, at intervals of about nine feet; also a low side window and a priest's door on the south side. The plinths followed the slope of the ground, declining towards the east about *one in sixty*, or two and a quarter inches in eleven feet six inches.

These plinths and string returned round all the buttresses, and at the east wall of the aisles, as above mentioned. The original masons' marks are quite clear on these plinths, showing that they were buried, and their surfaces thus protected from decay, at an early period in their history. All the tool marks are quite distinct. I give drawings of this chancel base, and of the masons' marks.

The tower had also a base of the same character, slightly differing in dimensions. This seems to show that one was copied from the other, rather than all worked from the same patterns at the same time.

The west walls of the transepts show no signs of any plinths whatever; and this is to be noted as additional and conclusive evidence that the transepts are not the original form, for if they had been, they would naturally have had their plinths on their western as well as their eastern walls.

The plinth of the present nave is like the lower plinth of the chancel, but a little smaller and of later chiselling, having the appearance of a reduced and re-used plinth, taken from the aisle walls when the present nave walls were built on the site of the ancient nave arcade when the aisles were destroyed. The foundations of both aisles show this plinth at their west ends. There is a break of five

inches in the thickness of the south wall at the west end, the present wall of the nave being two and a half feet thicker, outside and inside, than the respond wall against which it is built.

This thick nave wall contains the old aisle door, rudely rebuilt. This is the entrance doorway described by Hodgson as 'decorated with two shafts, mouldings, and a drip stone.' There is a north door, with a square head opposite, now walled up.

The foundations of the chancel walls extend further eastward than the modern east end; how far east I have not yet been able to discover. They appear to have been removed in order to make a path. There are also foundations of a western porch to the tower.

A portion of an aisle pillar with its base, apparently almost *in situ*, exists at the western corner of the south transept; but nothing is found to correspond with this on the north side.

There are several other fragments of mouldings—all indicating a fine and characteristic Northumbrian church—of the beginning of the thirteenth century. The summary of its history appears to me to be as follows, approximately:—

Omitting the original Norman church, of which a few fragments remain, but nothing to indicate a plan, we find the usual Early English church, with a long chancel, a nave with narrow aisles six feet six inches wide internally, and a western tower, bearing out Mr. Johnson's opinion that it was not originally a transeptal church.

Secondly, we have a general destruction, probably by fire, and a rebuilding of the chancel, with larger buttresses, on the north side; also a rebuilding of the nave (possibly about the same time), without aisles, but with transepts, bearing out Hodgson's record; a south porch, a great buttressing of the tower, and a destruction of the western porch. Part of this was probably at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, and part much later. The filling in of the fine pointed tower arch with its zigzag mouldings, the apex of which is still visible, and the huge character of the tower buttressing, all go to show that the tower was in a dangerous, if not ruinous, condition.

Lastly, the still more modern disturbances, involving the destruction of the north chancel buttresses and of the transepts, as men-

tioned by Hodgson ; a rebuilding of the east end of the chancel, considerably short of the east wall foundations ; also, a partial destruction of the nave and rebuilding of the upper part of the nave walls ; and the construction of the new roof.

I do not know how many of these last alterations may have been undertaken at the same time, when the leaden roof was taken off in 1805 and replaced by one of Westmorland slates, according to Hodgson, above quoted, page 203. This is the roof I found two years ago, and which I altered and repaired under the instructions of a committee of the Restoration fund, consisting of the bishop, the archdeacon, and the rural dean.

IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE COURT LEET AND COURT BARON OF MORPETH, WITH THE COURT ROLL OF 1632. (Extracted from Mr. Woodman's Collection.)

By J. C. HODGSON.

[Read on the 30th March, 1892.]

THOUGH the history of Morpeth has been exhaustively given by the Rev. John Hodgson, there remains in Mr. Woodman's collection a great mass of unpublished information and documents: some of these relating to the Court Leet and Court Baron, with original notes of the Trades Guilds, the writer desires, with Mr. Woodman's permission, to lay before the Society.

As the charter of 15 Charles II. has it 'the inhabitants and 'burgesses of the town and borough beyond the memory of man have 'been a body corporate by the name of "the Bailiffs and Burgesses of 'the Borough of Morpeth.'"

The body of the corporation consisted of freemen elected in a certain customary manner from the 'seven companies' or crafts, and it may be of some interest to preserve some notes of these trade guilds which originated in a distant and well-nigh prehistoric past, as the customs which their books, or tradition, have preserved if not now narrated will be lost. Each guild was independent and governed by its own bye-laws, each elected a definite number of its members to become freemen on the governing body of the municipality.

1. The merchants¹ and tailors to whom were 'imputed' barbers, waxmakers, 'bowers' and 'shaethers,' electing four brothers to be burgesses.
2. The tanners and barkers electing six.
3. The fullers and dyers, to whom were 'imputed' wrights, carvers, and hatters, electing three.

¹ 1666 1 Nov. It is agreed by the alderman and company of marchants to fine ye Taylors for their public contempt to ye alderman and trade of marchants six shillings eightpence every man toties quoties.

NOTE.—For deed as to Morpeth markets, fairs, and mills, see *Arch. Aeliana*, Vol. III. (N.S.), p. 69.

4. The smiths, sadlers, and armourers, to whom were 'imputed' slaters, loriners, and sword slippers, electing three.
5. The cordwainers, to whom were annexed the curriers, electing three.
6. The weavers electing three.
7. The skinners, glovers, and butchers electing two.

What a change the present century has made in these trades! The merchants and tailors still exist; the tanners entirely gone, and their tan-yards converted into building ground and gardens, yet Mr. Woodman remembers eight of them, although the very names of the occupants are forgotten. Of the fullers, carvers, dyers, and hatters, not one remains; one hatter he remembers who felted hats, and two or three fullers and dyers, but no carver. The armourers and sword slippers, all defunct, are no longer wanted, and the loriners² gone, but a small number of cordwainers yet exists. The weavers are gone, although in the early years of the century the woollen, linen, and diaper weavers were numerous, but at that time a spinning wheel was in every house. Mr. Woodman recollects three skinners and one glover, now there is not one; three tallow chandlers, two cloggers, two hecklers, two woollen manufacturers, one considerable. A cotton manufactory was established, but failed. An old man from Light-water house, near Mitford, attended the market weekly with turned wooden goods, milk bowls, creaming-dishes, trenchers, and butter stamps. The carding machine and power loom have banished heckling, and weaving is done in huge factories. An old woman used to boil linen webs in wood ashes and bleach them.

The members of the guilds or free brothers were inchoate freemen, but before they could be sworn in, it was decided by lord Mansfield 'that the full set of twenty-four must be complete and all of full age before any one could be sworn in, and that the lord of the manor was obliged to swear all, having no power to reject any of those who presented themselves,' and as each of the seven companies had to

² Loriners or Loriners, a company of artificers in London who make bits for bridles, spurs, and suchlike ironware for horses.—Bailey.

To the Worship of Almighty God and the sustentacion of Saint Loys gyld and light in the hye Kyrke of Morpeth after ye lawdable manner and coostome of the said Toune and in eschewing of contencion and dyscorde y^t hath ben amongs smyths Saidlares armarais . . . bretherin of ye said gyld &c.—*Byelaws of the Company of Smiths, Sadlers, and Armourers, 1533.*

contribute its quota of brothers to make up the set of twenty-four, and some of the companies having no brothers to elect the system at length came to an end. After election a brother could sell his right to be sworn; the sum of £60 and upwards in the present century was given, because being a freeman entitled a man to have a field supplied by lord Carlisle or Mr. Ord; this cost each upwards of £1,000 a year: so much for parliamentary representation. Well might Frederick, earl of Carlisle, write from Rome to his friend Sir George Selwyn, 'I have a Benedictine father teaching me Italian who will not allow me to pay him, I wish my burgesses at Morpeth had the same taste.'

Every brother paid twopence per month to the funds of his company, which were anciently expended in lights for the church, and up to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, in payment to the friends of a brother on his death;³ for providing black cloaks and hat bands, which at that time were worn by all attending funerals, and for occasionally entertaining⁴ a stranger and minstrels, other than the waits.

The relation between religion and business was maintained. The great meeting day of the Tanners' company was Trinity Monday, when a bough of oak was planted before the alderman's door; the brethren met, each carrying a branch of oak and marched to church

³ And if any broder or sister be ded ye den schall bring ye candeles to ye dirge and euery broyer and sister schal offre an halpeny at ye chirche and he yat offres nacht he schal paye an halpeny to ye almes at ye next manspeche.—*Gild of the Holy Cross, Lincoln.*

Also it is ordeyned yat on ye day of ye sepulture of any broder or syster of yis gilde y^e euryche offre a ferthyng and yemen a halpeny to allemasse ande aboute ye dede ij candelles of viij pounds of wax and two pouere men shal bene hirede of ye almesse silver to holden ye torches about ye dede.—*Gild of St. Christopher, Norwich.*

A brother dying six miles off, the alderman shall go with the wax and bring the body to the 'herthe'.—*The Tailors' Gild, Norwich.*

And so all fairly clad they go in procession with much music to the Church of the Friars Minors of Beverley, and there at the altar of St. Elene solemn mass is celebrated and every one of the Gild makes offering of a penny. The Mass ended and all prayers said they go home and after dinner all the Gild meet in a room within the hall of the Gild and there they eat bread and cheese and drink as much ale as is good for them.—*Gild of St. Elene, Beverley, 1378.*

⁴ 1623 geven to minstrelles and songstares xvij^d

payd for strangers that came in by chance ij^s

1648 Disbursed to the waits of Alnwick 2^s

this yeare to our oune waits 5^s 6^d

1652 Pay^d on our craft day for wine 3^s

to the musitians on our feast day 2^s—*Merchant Tailors' Books.*

and heard mass ;⁵ they then went to the Town Hall for business, after which they had their feast, the principal dish being a fruit pie⁶ of veal, ham, currants, and raisins. In modern times the alderman entertained the brethren with cheese and ale.

It will be observed that the guilds were what is now styled 'co-operative,'⁷ it being more for the common interest to buy for all, and then divide in proportion to the requirement of each. Thus it will be seen that the Tanners' company bought oak trees, stripped the bark, and sold the wood.

A remarkable instance of the change in our habits is that for three Wednesdays after the Stones Fair⁸ in Newcastle all the ordinary work of the tan-yard was given up, and the men stood in the street, where

⁵ At ye general day yat ilke brother be redy wit othir to go to ye kirke wit is brothere with a garland of hoke leaves.—*Byelaws of Wigenhall, Norfolk.*

1601 Paid for Strangers of Trinitie Sunday xij^s x^d
Item 8 quarts of wine of Trinitie Sunday v^s iiiij^d
Item to the county pypers of Trinitie Sunday xvij^d
Item six quarts of wine at dinner the Mounday after Trinitie Sunday iiiij^d

Item more to the Tanners 4 quarts of wine ij^s

Item more in sugar that daye xiiij.

Item more for straungers that day v^s x^d

Item more for a pottel of wine xiiij^d.—*Tanners' Company.*

1613 The x. April. For twoe oche graines to ye towle bouth for Trinitie Sun. ij^d. 1639 Paid for oake graines for the towle bouth 4^d. Item for oake graines to the church 4^d.—*Books of Tanners' Company.*

1645 Paid for dressinge the chamber at Trinitie Monday 1s.—*Ibid.*

The merchant tailors, however, used branches of birch. 1632 pd for ye burche sett up at Towle Bouth 2^d.—*Merchant Tailors' Books.*

⁶ This dish Mr. Woodman's father had and which Mr. Woodman still has.

Also it is ordeyned that upoun the Sondag next after St Kateryne day most commonly to be hadde the said alderman and his Brederne and sisters shall come to their Gilde Halle togedre and take such as shall be there prouyded by the Stuarde off the Gilde for the tyme beyng. Att which dyner a man and his Wyff shall paye iiiij^d and eny other single persone—both preste man and woman shall paye ij^d. Any one not present to pay a lb. of wax and his dinner beside.—*Guild of St. Katherine, Stamford, Henry VII.*

⁷ 1564 21 April. Purchased of Cuthbert Horsley of Horsley esq: 500 oak trees growing at Horsley Birks for £145.

1605 24 April. George Fenwick of Longshaws esq. entered into a bond that Robt. Mitford of Mitford esq and Cuthbert his son and heire apparent should perform an agreement for the sale of the woods and underwoods at Espley for £100.

1607 1 July. Paid to Robert Haslerige of Swarland esq.: £60 for 70 trees on Swarland aforesaid.

1668 1 July. Paid Richard Wilson £59 5s. 0d. for barke from Ulgham Parke.

1695 26 May. Bought of Thomas Ledyard of Newcastle upon Tyne a parcel of oak bark at Tritlington Bankes.—All the foregoing from the Tanners' Book.

⁸ Last Wednesday in November.

scales were fixed, to take the mart hides from the farmers, weigh and pay for them, after which the men dined in their master's house. This was kept up to the year 1825. Now, so completely is the killing of marts⁹ given up that few housekeepers know what hung beef is. And at that time all farmers came to market in carts, or on horseback with a sack, carrying the hides. Now dog carts are general.

No one could carry on business in the borough unless he were a brother of one of the companies.

The fair presented a union of the municipality and of the lord. All the tenants of the lord from Longhorsley, Stannington, Ulgham, etc., as well as at Morpeth, were required to attend on Ascension Day and St. Magdalen's Day, to accompany the steward who proclaimed the fair in the market place, then at the Fair-moor and at the old lime kiln at the terrace, in the following words:—

Whereas it is enacted that every lord of a fair shall make, or cause to be made, open proclamation how long the said fair shall endure now know ye that the [*Right Honourable Frederick Howard*] Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacre of Gilsland, and Lord of this present fair, doth strictly charge and command all manner of persons, coming and repairing to this present fair, that they keep the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King; that no manner of persons during this present fair shall commit or make any riot, route, or unlawful assembly, or any other misdemeanour within the precincts of this fair; and all manner of persons are required peaceably and quietly to pay their tolls, due or accustomed, and that no person or persons bring to the said fair any infected goods, and all such persons as shall buy sell or exchange any horse, gelding, mare, or filley within the said fair, shall enter them with the clerk of the tolls, with the colours, age, and marks of the said horses, geldings, colts, and filleys, together with the names, surnames, and dwelling places as well of the buyer as the seller thereof. And it is the will and pleasure of the lord of the said fair coming, and repairing to the said fair, shall have free egress and regress, to and from, the same; and if there should happen any difference, or controversy, to arise between party or parties, within the said fair, the party or parties, grieved may repair to the officers of the said fair, when they shall have justice administered unto them according to the court of Pied poudre; and lastly know ye that the said fair shall continue for the space of three days whereof the present day is one. God save the King. *The Lord of the Fair.*

So soon as this was done the bailiffs with all the corporate officers

⁹ Mairt.—An ox slaughtered at Martinmas and salted for winter store. It was not unusual for a few families to join in the purchase of a mairt and to divide it among them.—*Brockett.*

proclaimed the fair at the market place, the blue stone at Buller's Green, and the lime kiln at the terrace.¹⁰

The bailiffs were judges of the court of *Pied poudre*, and Mr. Woodman has been frequently present when one of them heard and decided cases. In former times no sale could take place before the market bell¹¹ rang at eleven o'clock; in modern times the market began with sunrise, in winter before it. A curious custom general, if not universal, in the market, was as follows:—A butcher buying an ox took a shilling in his hand, spit¹² upon it, and if his offer were accepted, gave it to the seller; this of course was the earnest or 'arles' penny, but the spitting on the coin is not so easily explained. In some cases the seller had to return some coin known as the 'luck penny;' to this some of the borderers attached great importance.

The duties of the bailiffs were numerous, and, during the long war, onerous, and their house doors never rested. They were justices of the peace, and qualified as such at the Christmas Quarter Sessions, they had to swear in the recruits, to commit deserters, to billet soldiers, to relieve soldiers' widows¹³ and children having passes, they had to fix the weight of bread according to the price of wheat, they had to condemn the bread under weight seized by the bread weighers and give it to the poor.

The corporation were large occupiers of land, and were tenants of 1,500 acres at Clifton field, which lord William Howard offered to them at 1s. 6d. per acre, although he was informed it was well worth

¹⁰ The lord received stallage and pickage, the first for placing stalls, the second for breaking the surface of the ground.

¹¹ Item that noe barker shall by covenant or make bargain for any skins ye Saturday or one the Wednesday before the bell ringe cheape nor handle any skins and every one offendinge shall for every skin soe by handled or cheaped forfitt and pay the one half to the lord the other half to the comon.—*Bye Law Book of 1593*.

¹² Spitting to avert evil influences was considered an act of religion. It is an Irish luck superstition.

Most tradespeople have a peculiar custom they call handsel, that is to say, the first money they receive in the morning they spit upon and put it in their pocket. The same in Scotland.—*Past and Present*, p. 544.

To spit in your hand before grasping the hand of a person with whom you are making a bargain is held to clench the bargain and make it binding on both sides.—Napier, *Folk-lore*, p. 100.

Spitting a defence from magic.—Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 1633.

Spittle a charm against all kinds of fascination.—Theocritus, Pliny, many examples. Brand, pp. 139, 140, 141.

¹³ The women were paid 6d., the children 3d.

2s. 6d. They had their own 'common' of 401 acres. It has been in their possession from time immemorial, and was what is commonly designated 'moor' until 1762, when it was first ploughed. Adjoining the common on the west is the 'Gubion,' containing about 312 acres. For it the corporation paid a rent of £10; lord Carlisle offered a lease for ninety-nine years at £10 10s. This offer was refused, an action of ejectment was successfully brought against them in 1806,¹⁴ and lord Carlisle recovered possession. It was then all heath and whins. They also occupied the moor land of Cottingwood, of some 400 acres. They gave it up in the latter part of last century, after which it was fenced and cultivated. In Cottingwood was the racecourse, in the south-east corner of which, at 'the hollin port,' the inhabitants of Morpeth encamped at the time of the great plague. The 'ridges' behind the houses were cultivated as corn lands, as were the North Field lands, 60 acres of which they ridded of wood, but afterwards parted with, only reserving the after-eatage.

The officers of the corporation were two bailiffs, a sergeant-at-mace, two flesh- and fish-lookers, two ale-tasters and bread-weighers, and four constables, who were elected and appointed at the court leet, according to ancient usage: the bailiffs and sergeant being elected by the lord from the nominees of the jury who selected and presented all the other officers. The orders and bye-laws of the borough, as revised and agreed upon in 1598, may be found in a book commonly called 'the blue back,' which yet remains in the town's hutch, a copy of which was in the box of each company. Amongst them is

AN ORDER CONFERRING THE ELECTION OF BAYLIFFES AND SERGEANT.

Itm it is ordered and concluded and agreed by the said Thomas Lo. Dacre burgesses and comenaltie aforesaid that ye great inquest at ye Court at Michaelmas shall by there discession name 4 men to ye election of bayliffes and ij men to ye election of sargeant and they soe named to ye election of ye said officers it is concluded that the said S^r Phillip Dacre Knight brother to ye Lo Dacre or other for the tyme beinge the office that the said S^r Phillip now beareth officient with him or them the aldermen of the seven crafts shall by their discession elect and chuse twoe of the said 4 soe named to the Offices of Bayliffes and these elect to stand for the space of one year and alsoe to elect one of the said ij names to the office of a sargeant and soe by them in like manner to stand for

¹⁴ 1806 13 May at a common guild it was resolved that to defend the claim made on the Gubion by the earl of Carlisle the stint money be increased to 10^s — *Corporation Book*, No. 2, p. 97.

the space of one year as is above said prived always he beinge once elected to the office of a bailiff or sergeant as aforesaid and serving in the said office by the space of one year shall not be elected or chosen to any of the said offices for and duringe the terme of three years next ensueinge but that he shall duering the term of three yeares soe longe to be cleyr from the election of any of the offices above s^d.

As the holding of the court leet and manor court has almost ceased, it may be of interest to preserve an account of their customs. The courts were held at Michaelmas and Easter, the former being styled the head court, when the various officers were elected. The manor court was also held at Christmas. As the municipality was self-governed, the bailiffs met in the town hall at a Cite-court or side court three weeks before Michaelmas Monday, to fix and give notice of the court; they chose the jury summoned by the sergeant.

In the early morning of Michaelmas Monday there was an appearance of bustle in the town—a general sweeping of footpaths, repairing of pavements, and scattering of gravel to cover defects. Two men with halberts visited each public house: they were the ale-tasters, whose duty it was to see and report that the ale brewed was ‘healthful for man’s body.’ At 10 o’clock the warning bell rang, fifteen minutes later the notice bell, and shortly after the meeting bell. Those whose duty it was to attend the court had for some time been assembling at the ‘Queen’s Head,’¹⁵ where they prepared for the duties of the day by partaking of biscuits with wine and spirits. They took their places in order—first, the town’s waits, a piper and fiddler in green coats and drab knee breeches, each bearing on his right arm a silver badge of the corporation arms; then four constables bearing staves with square tops, having on the sides the arms of the lord of the manor and of the corporation, the old town cross with its flat roof and large balls at the corners, and the scales of justice; then two fish- and flesh-lookers, having staves with knives at the top; then the two bread-weighers and ale-tasters with their halberts; the sergeant with his silver mace came next, followed by the two bailiffs; then the steward of the court, the seven aldermen and the jurymen. In the old town hall was a semicircular seat raised on an elevated platform. On this the lord’s steward, as presiding officer, seated himself, the bailiffs, as assessors, sitting on either side, and beyond them

¹⁵ *i.e.*, Queen Anne’s.

seven aldermen. The serjeant placed the mace on the table opposite to the steward, and standing beside him, made proclamation—

OYEZ! OYEZ! OYEZ!

All manner of persons who owe suit and service to the court leet of the lord of the manor¹⁶ and borough of Morpeth now to be holden, or who have been summoned to appear at this time and place draw near and give your attendance. Every man answering to his name when called to save his amercement. God save the king and the lord of this manor.

Those who held lands by suit and service were then called, and where there had been a change of ownership the new owner was admitted.

The roll of burgesses was then called, 'app^d' [appeared] being written opposite the names of those who answered to their names.

The serjeant again made proclamation:—

OYEZ! OYEZ! OYEZ!

All manner of persons who owe suit and service to this Court and have not answered to your names, appear and answer to the second call, otherwise you will be amerced. God save the king and the lord of this manor.

Those on the roll who had not answered were again called; those who, being absent, had deputed others to answer for them, who paid a penny, were marked 'ess^d' [essoigned]. Those who entered no appearance were marked 'abroad' or 'def.' [default].

The bailiffs then handed to the steward the names of those who had been summoned as the leet jury or lord's jury, to the foreman of whom the following oath was administered:—

FOREMAN'S OATH.—You as foreman of this homage with the rest of your fellows shall enquire and true presentment make of all such things

¹⁶ The manor of the borough of Morpeth is distinct from the manor of the castle of Morpeth: the lord had influence but not power, his duties being ministerial. When the De Merlays obtained a grant of the borough the lord possessed no land therein, and it may be presumed that the plots of ground he subsequently held were acquired by bargain from the suitors. His duty being to lead and protect the burgesses, he said to them 'give me a bit of land whereon I may build me a tower for my men at arms and give somewhat yearly towards their maintenance.' They gave both, the burg-bote amounted to the then large sum of £11 9s. 2d. and the same amount is yet paid as Borough Rent (*Auxilium dicitur quod ex consuetudine debetur ad restaurationem urbium burgorum castrorum.*—Spelman). And so with the mill and bakehouse. Again, the lord was bound to protect merchants resorting to the fair and therefore undertook the repair and mending of the roadway of the streets, and in consideration levied and received tolls formerly amounting to a large sum for all cattle and sheep sold in the market.

The monastery of Newminster had eighty houses in the town, the chantry several more, showing that religious bodies prior to the Reformation had one-third of the land,

as shall be given to you in charge; and of all such other matters as shall come to your knowledge presentable at this Court: you shall present nothing out of hatred or malice, nor conceal anything through fear favour or affection: but in all things shall true and just presentment make according to the best of your understanding. So help you God.

Then were sworn the rest of the homage, by three or four at a time, thus:—

The like oath which A.B., your foreman hath taken on his part you and each of you shall well and truly observe and keep on your respective parts. So help you God.

A return was then made by the respective aldermen of persons elected by the companies to be admitted freemen, who were then sworn.

THE FREEMEN'S OATH.¹⁷—You and every of you shall swear now being elected Freemen and free burgesses within this Borough to be true and faithful to the Lord of the same, his heirs, and successors. And also shall to your wit power and ability maintain and defend all the orders privileges and customs belonging to this town and Corporation. So help you God.

The following proclamation was then made:—

OYEZ! OYEZ! OYEZ!

If any person or persons can inform this court or inquest of any treason, felonies, bloodshed, or any other offence, matter, or thing, let them come in and they shall be heard.

The jury was then 'charged' by the steward learned in the law, who directed them to examine and report on any matter which he thought right, after which the jury retired, perambulated the short or long boundaries of the borough—the short comprising the borough without and prior to the grant of the North Field lands in 1281, the long including those lands—they then sat to hear complaints, to decide them, and to prepare their report, also to nominate four bailiffs, two sergeants, and the other officers.

The leet jury dined by themselves.

In the evening, a procession similar to that of the morning was formed and marched back to the town hall, the great bell solemnly tolling for the 'dying' officers. When all were seated, the names of

¹⁷ As before stated, it was decided by lord Mansfield that no one of those elected could be admitted and sworn until the entire set of twenty-four was complete, each one being of full age.

the leet jury were called, and the foreman handed their presentments to the steward, who, as each case was called, named a fine and entered them in the roll. Two burgesses named by the jury were then sworn as 'affecters.'¹⁸ These confirmed or reduced the amercement as they thought right, but could not increase or altogether dispense with it: their decision was conclusive.

Burgus	Læta et Viffus franc Pleg. Cum Cur' Barroni p' nob'lis
de	Dni Will'mi Howard et D'ne Elizabeth' vx'is sue ib'm
[Mor]peth	tent' primo Die Octobris Anno Reg. Caroli nunc Angl.
. . . ibm	&c. Octauo A ^o q D'ni 1632 Coram Thome Witherington
. . . . Baroni	armigero Senefcallo Cur' p'd :
.	
. . . .	Dn's Lumley p' Stanington nup' terras Rogeri Thornton gen'
defalt'	Heres Dni Ogle p' manerio de Shilvington
defalt'	Heres Dni Ogle p' manerio de Midleton Morrell
defalt'	S' John ffenwicke miles et Barronett p' manerio de Walker
defalt'	Idem Joh'es ffenwicke p' manerio de Wallington
defalt'	Rob'tus Witherington armig' p' Manerio de Plessey in Stanington
	Shotton Blakdon & Northwetflet
this onely 3 ^o -4 ^d et primus	Will'ms ffenwicke armig' p' Man'rio de Stanton
non comp'uit eff. p. m' waters	in p'ochia de Horley
defalt'	Tenentes de west Duddoe p' tenen' D'ni Will'mi Howard
defalt'	Ten'tes vel occupatores de Cookes Land in Stanington
ap :	Will'm Bowlton admiffis antea Joh'es Ogle armig' p' terris in Horley
Bulbecke	James Care comp' p' W ^{mo} ffenwick Heres Will'mi ffenwicke de Whit-
Barroney	chefter gen'
defalt'	Will'ms ffenwicke gen' p' Man'io de East Heddon
p' cat'	Rob'tus Bewicke gen' p' Man'io de Haughton in p'ochia de Heddon
	sup' murum
p' cat'	Rob'tus Shaftoe gen' . . . heres de Cawdwell p' villa de Benwell
nil fact'	D'ns Man'ij de Etchwicke
defalt'	Heres Joh'is Killingworth p' terris et Ten'tis in p'ochia great Benton
defalt'	Matheus Newton de Stokffeild hall gen' p' vna farma in Etchwicke
defalt'	Joh'es ffenwicke de ffennam p' vna farma in Etchwicke
Comp'uit	Georgius Clarke de Etchwicke p' vna farma ib'm
Comp'uit	Oliverus Killingworth de Killingworth gen'
defalt'	Will'ms Kilingworth de killingworth gen'
defalt'	Oswaldus Mitfordford (<i>sic</i>) de North wetfleyd gen'
comp'uit	Rob'tus Dalton de Northwetfley gen'
	Cuthbte Ogle est tenens et est admiffis
	Heres Comit'is Salopiæ eff p' Ro: Lefley
	Ball' burgi de Morpeth
	Edw'us fillius (<i>sic</i>) et heres Will'mi Readhead infra statem
	Willms Readhead fillius Jarrardi Re statem
eff p' C.C.	Nich'us Thornton ar

¹⁸ French, *affecter*, to tax.

eff p. Jo: White Thomas Oxley Clic'us
 Joh'es Bull . . .
 Co Rob'tus Wardhaugh
 Co Georgius Marhall
 Co Cuthb'us Pye
 eff p' S. Smith Joh'es Smith
 eff p.' Ed: Oliu' Georgius Graye gen'

The Lords Jurie

Thomas Pie Jur'	} Jur'	Jarrard Readhead	} Jur'	John Dinin	} Jur'
Gawaine Smith		John Smith, Cordiner		Cuth Pie	
Thomas Aydon		Tho: Stoco		John Smith tanner	
Edward Bride		Edward Bewick		Tho: Watfon	
Stephen Clarke				Will'm Bethum	

[Presentments].

Quit Wee p'fent Richard Greene of Morpeth for makinge affray vpon
 Will'm kellam

Quit Will'm Kellam for the like vpon Richard Greene

in Will p' Peter Brathe miller for difobayinge the fergant xij^d
 feipm' pleg' Will'm Harifon

... will p' Peter Brathe miller for makinge affray vpon the fergant xx^d
 ... ipm' pleg' Will'm Harifon

in will p. Peter Brathe miller for affray vpon Edward Oliver Constable xx^d
 feipm' pleg' W^m Harifon

Quit Will'm Milburne for affray & a bloud vpon Rob'te Boyde
 pleg' Geo: ffenwicke tann'

Quit Rob'te Boyde for the like vpon him the said Milburne

in will p. Rob'te Greve for affraye vpon Edmond Scott xx^d
 feipm' pleg' John Mage

in will p. James Carr for affraie vpon James Hall on the m'kett daie x^s
 feipm' pleg' Geo: ffenwicke gen'

vacat' James Hall for the like vpon the said Carre on the m'kett daie

Quit Thomas Clugh Milner for affray vpon Thomas Henderfon
 pleg' Rob'te Smith iu'

... Thomas Henderfon for the like vpon the said Clugh
 pleg' John Brakine

Quit francis Greene for affray vpon Margerye Ratcliff on the ffaire daie

Quit Margery Ratcliff for the like vpon him the fame daie
 pleg' Rich: Greene

Referd francis Greene for affraie vpon Luce Greene on the faire daie

Refered Margaret Greene for affraie vpon Margery Ratcliff on the ffaire daie

vacat' Margery Ratcliff for the like vpon hir the fame daie
 pleg' Rich: Greene

in will p francis Greene for affraye vpon Markett Greene on the ffaire
 feipm' daie 1^s .

Try Quit Marke Greene for the like vpon him the said francis
 Greene the fame daie 1^s
 pleg' Tho: Greene Cordwayner

in will p. feipm'	ffrancis Greene for affraie vpon Lowrence Softley beinge fergant in executinge his office on the faire daie	1 ^a
in will p feipm'	ffrancis Greene & Margaret his wife for abufinge the Bailiffs, and Raifinge an vprore vpon the faire daie, and difobay- inge the bailiffs authoritie, and for Cominge forth of ward w th owt their privitie or Consent, being Comitted to ward for their abufes	iiij ^a iiij ^d
....	Will ^m Awbon fhomaker for affraie & bloud vpon Thomas Clugh	iiij ^a ...
....	[Thomas Clugh] miller for affraie & bloud vpon him the faid Awbon	pleg' Jo: Greene pleg' Jarrett Todd
quit	Cutbte ffawcas for affraye vpon Thomas Clugh miller pleg' W ^m Awbon	
quit	Thomas Clugh miller for affraie vpon him the faid ffawcas pleg' Jarret Todd	
Culp	John Craforth miller for affray & bloud vpon Thomas Clugh miller	iiij ^a iiij ^d
	[Tho]mas Clugh miller for the like vpon John Craforth miller	pleg' Will ^m Awbon
[in will] p feipm'	Marke Greene for affray & a bloud vpon George Smith Rob'te Sadler of Langhurst for affraie & bloud vpon Edward Robinfon of Throple on the Markett daie	xx ^d vi ^a
in will p. pleg'	Edward Robinfon the like vpon him on the same daie pleg' Tho: Potts sen'	vj ^a
vacat'	Parfevall Pearfon for affraye vpon Jarett Readhead	
in will p feipm'	Jarrett Readhead the Like vpon him	
vacat	Lancelott Swane for affraie vpon John Challino ^r	
in will p feipm'	John Challino ^r the like vpon him	xx ^d
in will	Will ^m Tayler for keeping fwyne Contrarie the order	xx ^d
in will	Rob'te Vrwen the like	xx ^d
in will	Thomas Simpfon the like	xx ^d
in will	Will ^m Bentham the like	xx ^d
in will	Gawen Smith the like	xx ^d
....	Thomas Wills for brewinge Contrarie the order	iiij ^a iiij ^d
....	Ezeakaell Cutb'te for the like	iiij ^a iiij ^d
in will	George ffenwicke gen' the like	iiij ^a iiij ^d
in will	Rob'te Sedgwicke the like	iii ^a iiij ^d
	Yo ^w to inquire for the Lord of the manor what wafts & decayes is w th in yo ^r brough and what rent or rents the faid	
Theanfwere to this In- quifitionis abouzed (?) on the backe fide	waifts ought of Right to paye vnto the Lord of the brough & howe Longe the faid rents haue bene behinde & vnpaid & by whom, & who were Tennants to the faid burgages, when they fell into fuch decaye, & whether ['there' interlined] were any tymber or ftones Ledd or Caried away from any of the faid waifts and by whom they	

were Caryed away & what quantitie there was of the same stone or ty[mber] & whether the said waifts belonge to the Lord of the Man^r or to any other p^rson or no, And whether there be any rent belonginge to any other p^rson beside th dewe to the Lord of the free issewing out of any of the said waifts, howe much rent, & to whom is the same to be paid.

2. Yo^r shall Inquire whether the passage on both sides of the Towne bridge be stopp'd & by whom, whereby the Inhabitants Cannot have free passage to fetch their watter from Waynspecke.

We finde that the one passage was inclosed by m^r Oxley schoole-master by the consent of the Towne, being a Conveniencie belonging to the schoole; And for the other passage is paved according to a late order, but we finde that the railes nowe sett downe by Robert vrwen shall be pulled (?) vp and taken awaie p^rsently.

The Juryes
v^rdict to
the
Inquiffcon
for the
waifts.

We finde a waifte burgage Late in the occupacⁿ of Richard Todd of the yearly vallewe of iiij^d vnto the Lord and hath bene waifte for the space of this five yeares or there abouts; by whom wee doe not knowe, for that no p^rson hath inhabited since in the same and wee finde that neither stone or tymber is wantinge from the same savinge twoe spares but whom they were taken away wee knowe not and that there is a yearly rent of viij^s dewe to the Kinge out of the same as also iiij^s p. ann^r to the scoole of Morpeth.

We finde a waift late in the occupacⁿ of widdowe Lemen of iiij^d p^r ann^r to the Lord w^{ch} is vnpaid for 4 yeares by past by whom wee knowe not, for that it hath bene waifte eu^r since and no p^rson inhabitinge therein and that the spares in the said howse were taken away by Rob^{te} Vrwen and that there is a rent yearly to be paid to the kinge but howe much wee knowe not.

We finde a waifte Late in the possession of Will^m Watfson of the rent of iiij^s p. ann to the Lord, and that the rent is arrear'd for the space of certaine yeares but by whom wee knowe not and that all the stones & tymber thereof was sould & dispossed off by the said watfson to the vallewe of x^{li} by the said watfsons confession to vs, and there is other rent issuinge owt of the same.

Wee finde a waifte Late in the possession of Mathewe Dawfson deceased of the yearly rent of iiij^d to the Lord & yearly to the Kinge viij^s. and that the said Dawfson was Tennant to the said burgage when it fell into decaie, and that the burrowe rent as arrear'd to the Lord for the space of 5 yeares by past and that all the spares Ribbs & riginge tres thereof are wantinge and pte of them taken awaye as wee are informed by Rob^{te} Vrwen.

Wee finde a litle waifte latly purchas'd by m^r Nicholas Thornton of the yearly rent of iiij^d but that rent is yearly paid to the Lord.

Wee finde that the Late Bailiffes are liable to a payne of xxxix^s xj^d imposed vpon them for not reparinge and mendinge the bowe bridge accordinge to an order made the Last Courte at Easter 1632 as appears by the Records.

Wee order & finde that no inhabitant wthin this burrowe shall bake either Loafe bread or mancheats vpon the saboth daie vnder the payne of vj^s viij^d. and that the Baxters shall not heate the oven to bake any vnder the like payne.

[Wee find] & order that no Inhabitant wthin this burrowe shall hereafter impound anye mans beaft for any [kind of trespaſs in their] backe howfes or courtaines but in the Com'on pownd vnder the payne of vi^s [vij^d] but that the succedinge Bailiffs shall from tyme to tyme keep th[e pound in] good . . . repaire vnder the like paine, and to haue a good Lock for the gate [of] the said pownd.

In will
feip.

John Bulman doth p^rſent Lowrence Softley for not Executinge his office beinge Sergeant and refuſeing to feiz the goods of Rodger Toores George ffenwicke & others haueinge Execucon to that effecte & goods of the feverall ptyes shewed vnto him.

vij^d in execut altror. but the fyne moderate because the party greued hereby is ſatiffyed.

in will 8^d in
ex' altror'
& goods . . .
The ſame doth likewiſe p^rſent Gerrard Readhead as aforeſaid for refuſeing to ſeiz the goods of Thomas Greane Cordiner haueinge execucon to that effect the goods of the ſaid Thomas Greane ſhewed vnto him.

qu in Eaſter Court John Bullman for bakinge from the Lords oven—Culpable
1633: Try xij^d.

for keepinge ſwyne contrarye to the order :

Quyt	Thomas Simpſon		
Try culpable	Thomas Oliver	ij ^s iiij ^d	Alice Hall in will vj ^s 8 ^d
culpable	Gawen Smith	ij ^s iiij ^d	Tho: Will in will vj ^s 8 ^d
.	Thomas Greane tailor	i pige xij ^d	Ezekell Cutb'te in will vj ^s 8 ^d
	Stephen Clarke	i pige xij ^d	Geo: ffenwicke g' in will vj ^s 8 ^d
	Raiphe Errington	xij ^d	Ro: Sedwicke in will vj ^s 8 ^d for brewinge Contraie to order.

The jury then gave the ſteward a liſt of the burgesſes ſelected to fill the various offices, four being returned for bailiffs, two for ſergeants, etc., from which the ſteward made a ſelection (the bell tolling for the dying bailiffs.)¹⁹ Attached to the above roll are the following :—

¹⁹ One gentleman (Mr. J. Fenwick) had been ſo frequently bailiff (1700-1740), and the bell had ſo often tolled for him, that he was very generally known as 'old death.'

When a bencher of the Middle Temple was raiſed to the judicial bench during term, he dined at the high table in the uſual way ; but at the cloſe of dinner he roſe and 'paſſed down the hall between ſhouted "good byes," the 'doors ſwung open, and as he paſſed out of them *the bell tolled ſolemnly as for a parting ſoul*. He had gone from among us ; he was no longer of us.—*The Still Life of the Middle Temple*, by W. G. Thorpe, F.S.A., p. 343.

Balifes	Aletasters
Thomas Pye	Edward Bewick
Will'm Grene Jur'	Thomas Gayre the elder } Jur'
John White	
John Pye Jur'	
Sergeant	fflethe lookers
Jerrard Redhead Jur'	Steaphen Clark } Jur'
Richard Todd	Tho: stokoe
Conftables nether ward	Como' kep's
George ffenwick tan' } Jur'	Will'm Marr Jur'
Thomas Gayre the younger } Jur'	Mathew Tod Jur'
midell ward	Cuthbert Ogle
John smithe tanne' } Jur'	George Marfhall Jur'
Robert Smyth merchunt }	
vpper ward	Cotting burn kep's
John Cowp' } Jur'	Cuthb't fnaudon Jur'
John Challenor }	Hughe Anderfon Jur'

In April 1653 the 'free Burgefles off morpeth were John White, Robert Wardhaugh, Tho: ffaucus, Geo: Vinins, James Watfon, Will'm Green, John Pye, Tho: Gayre, Tho: Stoker, Edward Bewick, Edward Olliver the elder, Will'm Bethune, John Smith, John Coup', Tho. Watfon, John Challener, John Woodruffe, Robt Vrwen, Gawen Smith, Geo. Marfhall, Gerard ffenwick, John Gaire, Thomas milburne, tann^{er}, xxofer Patterfon, Edward Vrwen, Richard Hutton, Edward marr, Matthew Challener, Will'm milburne, Raiph White, Edmond Oxley, Raiph milburne, Tho milburne tayler, francis Pye, Tho warriner, Tho. Shipley, William Marr, Robert Pott, Georg Davy, John Chanley, Thomas Wardhaugh, Gawen Aydon, Michael Tompfon, Robert Lumfden, Edward hutton, George Olliver, Will'm Baites. Will'm Davy, Robert White, William Vrwen, Robert Smith, Thomas Dawfon, Thomas Pearfon, Ofwould mitford, Thomas Bitlefton, William Barker, John Pye Clar, mich widdrington.'

The two new bailiffs were then sworn.

The oaths are important as setting out the duties here :—

THE BAILIFFS' OATH.—You shall swear as Bailiffs and Chief Officers within this town of Morpeth for this year next ensuing if you shall so long live. You shall do equally and indifferently right and justice as well to the poor as to the rich according to your knowledge wit and power and according to the laws and statutes of this Realm and according to the antient customs of this Town without respect of Persons. And that you shall not take nor exact anything of any person but such fees as the laws of this Realm *doth* permit and award unto you. And that you shall at all times hereafter maintain defend and keep inviolable all the liberties privileges and customs of this Town to your power. And do all things that may be commodious to this Town during the time of your office. And make account of such things as ought to be good to the commonwealth of this Town. You shall serve the King's Majesty and his Successors. Your natural Lord and his Heirs respecting the Commonwealth of this Town. So help you God.

The bells then rang a merry peal for the new bailiffs. The sergeant was next sworn :—

THE SERGEANT'S OATH.—You shall swear that for the year next ensuing you shall well and truly serve as Sergeant of this Town and truly do and execute all and every thing that to the said office belongeth without taking of any person exaction or bribe other than the ancient accustomed fees, and such as the laws of this Realm, and the ordinances of this Town doth allow, without having respect to any person for love, favor, or affection but as right and your duty doth require. And you shall in all things lawful obey the Bailiffs and be true to the Commonwealth of this Town. So help you God.

The two fish- and flesh-lookers, who carried a pole with a 'gully' at the top, were then sworn :—

THE FISH AND FLESH LOOKERS' OATH.—You and either of you shall swear that you shall well and truly serve in the office of Flesh and Fish lookers for this year next ensuing. You shall see that Flesh and Fish brought to be sold in the market be healthful for Man's body. Likewise you shall see that all persons bringing flesh and fish for sale within your office that they and every of them bring good and wholesome flesh and fish for man's body. And every one offending, you shall present at this Court. And in every other thing you shall well and truly behave yourselves in your said office according to the best of your knowledge. So help you God.

The two ale-tasters and bread-weighers who carried halberts were then sworn :—

THE ALE TASTERS' OATH.—You and either of you shall swear that you shall well and truly serve in the office of the Ale tasters and Bread weighers for this year next ensuing, that the bread brought to the Market to be sold be truly weighed, and the same do continue the weight according to the Price of the Corn sold in the Market. Likewise you shall see that Ale brewers and tiplers within your office that they and every of them make good and wholesome Ale and Beer for man's body. And every one so offending you shall present at this Court. And in everything you shall well and truly behave yourselves in the said office. So help you God.

The four constables²⁰ who bore staves were then sworn :—

THE CONSTABLES' OATH.—You and either of you shall swear that you shall well and truly serve in the office of Constables of this Town for and during the space of one whole year now next ensuing. You shall endeavour

²⁰ There had formerly been more than four constables, two being elected for each of the wards into which the borough was divided. When there were gates at the end of each street, and probably a stockade round about, the duties of the constables would be onerous, as their watch and ward must have been constant. In 1722 it was ordered 'that noe person for the future shall be sett upon the watch but who shall be above the age of 16 years, and that they shall continue 'from 9 o'clock at night till four o'clock next morning under the penalty of '13^s 4^d upon the person who sends such watchman.' Evidently the constables might use or employ deputies.

yourselves to the utmost of your powers to see the King's Majestie's peace kept and watch and ward observed and kept in this Town as it hath been accustomed and as it ought to be. And according to the Statute you shall punish all rogues vagabonds and sturdy beggars haunting and resorting within the precincts of your Office and punish offenders accordingly. Also you shall punish all such persons as do or shall play at any unlawful games. And if need require you shall raise Hue and Cry after felons according to the Statute in that behalf made to the utmost of your powers. So help you God.

After the appointment of officers, the court was adjourned by the following proclamation :—

OYEZ ! OYEZ ! OYEZ !

All manner of persons who have appeared this day at the court leet of the manor of Morpeth may now depart, keeping their day and hour on a new summons. God save the king and the lord of this manor.

The bells then rang out a merry peal and the attendants of the court in procession as before marched to the house of the senior bailiff; here were assembled on the first floor many young people with great baskets of apples and nuts which were thrown to the street to be scrambled for. In the rooms were tables covered with linen, on which were a large Cheshire cheese, loaves of bread, pipes, and tobacco, and silver tankards borrowed from friends. Servers then gave to each person two apples and two handfuls of nuts while the serjeant received from each a shilling,²¹ although the payment was far from universal. After a short sitting the party in like manner proceeded to the houses of the junior bailiff and serjeant, after which they all found their way home as best they could.

It will be observed that the jury had many and large powers to remove nuisances, fix boundaries, prevent waste, punish for forestalling²² and regrating,²³ grinding away from the lord's mill or baking

²¹ The dinner given by the lord of the manor is certainly of late introduction. Of old, after the labours of the day were over, the persons who had taken part in the proceedings had probably been entertained by the newly elected bailiffs and serjeant in three parties—the new officers at the senior bailiff's, the retired officers at the junior bailiff's, and the jury at the serjeant's. In this collation of bread, cheese, ale, apples, and nuts, all home produce, we have the remains of the primitive and ancient custom of the thirteenth century. The shillings paid for the bread and cheese, etc., were paid to the bailiff entertaining; the shillings paid were few and far between.

²² Buying up merchandise on the way to market before it was presented for sale in market hours, abolished by 7 and 8 Vict. c. 24.

1709 Chas. Burnett's wife for forestalling the market amerced 3^s 4^d.—*Morpeth Court Rolls*.

²³ Buying goods in market and selling again in or near the same, abolished by the above statute.

1668 Robert Storey presents George Young for a regrator for buying cabbage plants in the market and selling them again.—*Morpeth Court Rolls*.

from his oven, prevent the straying of pigs and cattle, proscribe eavesdropping,²⁴ prevent assaults or fighting when they 'presented' both offending parties. With all this, they had no power to inflict a fine or punishment, this rested with the steward, yet his judgment was not final but had to be traversed by two 'affecters.'

After the lord's jury had left the hall to make their perambulation, the jury of the manor court, commonly called the party jury, were sworn. Their jurisdiction was in the trial of causes, as in the county court.

Actions entred
x^o Sept' 1632 to
be tryed this Courte

Cur' Barron' p'nob'lis dni Will'mi Howard et d'ne Elizabeth vx'is sue ib'm tent' die Lune viz primo die octobris A^{no} Reg Caroli nunc Angl' &c octauo A^{que} d'ni 1632 Coram Thome Witherington armig'o Senescallo Cur' p'd.

The ptie Jurie

Andrew marr	Jur'	Robt Smith merchant	Jur'
John greene	}	Georg ffenwick tan'	Jur'
John white		Tho: Gaire junior	Jur'
John Pie		John lawfon	Jur'
Tho: Vrwen		Robt Smith Joyner	Jur'
Tho: Gaire fenior		John Challiner	Jur'
Edward oliver	}		
Richard Todd		Jur'	
Richard Pearfon			

. . . names

Refferd Actions at the Last Courte.

	Thomas ffawcus Alderman of the fullers Complayneing against Thom[as] Magee in a plea of debt of . . . . .	. . . . .
Try Quytt	Robte Vrwen of Stanton againstt Efeakaell Cutbert in a plea of affumpfit of his p'mife for graffinge a Cowe & quie ad dam'	vij ^a x ^d
Try Quit ye defendt'	Robte Lumfden againstt Ofwould Mitford in a plea of debte for dyinge of x yards of Cloth of a deare Collor at ix ^d the yard	vij ^a vj ^d
Refer'	John Scot againstt Hugh ffyfe in debt of the p'ties both to appeare next Courte [This entry struck out.]	
Try Culp-able ij ^a	Will'm ffenwicke of Wallington gent' againstt Rob'te Thompson of west gate in a plea of debt of pleg' Tho: Gaire fen'	xxxix ^a xj ^d
agreed	Edward Milburne of Langfhawes againstt Thomas Browne of Netherwitton in a plea of debt of	vij ^a vj ^d

²⁴ 1717 Presented John Mather for an easing-dropper and common disturber of the peace and neighbourhood of this corporation. Amerced 39^s 11^d. Affected to 30^s.—*Morpeth Court Rolls*.

Refer to Bratram Gaire & Jo: Bullman	Margaret Greeve vidua against Thomas Baites in a plea of Covenant for the repairing hir howfe who did not ad dam'	xxxix ^a xj ^d
default' ex'	George Marfhall against Jarrett Todd in a plea of debte for a boll of oats vpon a wager of a horfe race	vj ^a viij ^d
agreed	Peter Graye of Stannington against John Hall of Netherton in a plea of debt of	xvj ^a
default Culp- able iij ^a p dam'	Phillip Harifon against John Stanrker al's Stankley in a plea of trespas on the Cafe ad dam' pleg' Jarrett Todd	xxxix ^a . . .
default	The said Phillip against the said p'tie in a plea of affumfit of p'mife for Charges expended at Yorke by the complanant against the defend' ad dam' pleg' idem	. . . .
Refer' to Phil- lip Gare fen & W ^m Greene	John Lawfon against Thomas Watfon in a plea of trespas for diftroyinge of Corne ad dam'	xx ^a
Confett xxxv ^a v ^d quit for the rest . . . culpable 35 ^a v ^d	Iffabell ffawcus widdowe against Thomas Potts fen' in a plea of debte for Lether	xxxix ^a xj ^d
default	John Smith of Mofden adm'i'tr to Thomas Smith against Rob'te Robfon of Shaftoe in a plea of debt for xxxiij ^a iiij ^d remaynder of xl ^a pleg' Jo: Greene	xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d
Paid all in Courte	Thomas Hudfon against Edward Scott in a plea of debt of	vj ^a
quit vpon the oath of the def ^t	Iffabell Attkinfon of Hepcott against Ofwold Mitford in a plea of detinewe of viij yards of white Cloth ad dam'	viij ^a
agreed	Rob'te Robinfon fmith against Rob'te Harbotle of Hebborne in a plea of debt of ... ..	... x ^a vij ^d
Refer'	Will'm Kellam against Edmond Oxley in a plea of debt of ... ..	. . . .
Culpable vj ^a	Roger Towers of Morpeth against Will'm Awbon of the fame thoema[ker] in a plea of debt of vj ^a iiij ^d remaynder of a debt of xxxix ^a xj ^d ... ..	. . . .
Refer'	Thomas Shipley & Edward Shipley against Ement Humble in an action of the Cafe for fayinge that the Complanants stole his wifes Lyninge weebb ad dam' quer'	xxxix ^a xi ^d
difffmif	John Brakine against Margery Waryner in a plea of debt for twoe extres 2 ^a , one harrowe xiiij ^d three fellowe Cribbs 2 ^a , one dobler 2 ^a a doble falt fate in toto	viij ^a v ^d
Refer to John & Bartrum Gaire	Thomas Baits against Margaret Greve in an action of debt for howle rent ...	xxvj ^a [i ^d]
Try. Culp- able ix ^a	Thomas Smith tann' against Will'm Awbon in a plea of debt of	xij ^a

default'	The same against Rob'te Smith of the spitle in a plea of debt beinge plege & bondfman for the said Rob'te Smith beinge arrested in Morpeth Courte at the suite of Jasp' Smith of Effthott who recovered against the said Rob'te Smith and so execution was awarded against the Complenant as appeareth by the Records of the Courte who paid the monye ...	xxvj ^a viij ^d
default'	The said Thomas Smith against the said Rob'te Smith in a plea of debt beinge plege & bondfman for the said Rob'te Smith who was arrested at the suite of one Thomas Palm' of Lynton Mill the said Rob'te Smith was evicted in Courte [and] the Comp ^l as bond for hym paid the monye vpon execution as appeareth [by the Records] of the Courte ...	xj ^a iiij ^d
[Refer']	Cutb'te Ogle ten' gent' against Iffabell Huntley administratrix to James Huntley in a plea of debt of Bartram Gaire & Phillip Harifon bailiffs against Thomas ffawcus glover in a plea of debt for scoole Rent ...	[iiij'] iiij ^a
Confest	The same against Iffabell Headlye Will'm Watfson & Hugh Anderfson in a plea of debt for scoole Rent ...	[iii']
default'	The same against Rob'te Lawfson of Benrige for scoole rent for a howfe in Morpeth ...	[xx . .]
fatet'	The same against Thomas Vrwen in a plea of debt for scoole rent ...	iiij ^a . .
default	The same against Phillip Milburne in a plea of debt for scoole rent ...	ij ^a iiij ^d
Quyt	Gilbert Challinor against Ezeakaell Cutbert in a plea of debte of ...	. . . .
.	Margery Waryner against John Brabine in a plea of debt of ...	. . . .
Try. Culp- able xiiij ^a viij ^d	George Davye tann' against Thomas Greene Thomaker in a plea of debt for Lether. to be paid at Cornwell faire 163i ...	xix ^a
Try. Quyt.	Iffabell dawfson & Thomas dawfson execut' to Christofer dawfson deceased against Will'm Greene in a plea of debt for the rent of a shope in the m'ket stead ...	x ^a
	Iffabell Marshall widdowe against Peter Brathe millner in a plea of trespas for Castinge hir yarne into the millne dame viz' vj heare of lynin yarne & iiij heare of strakinge ad damp' ...	iiij ^a
	[This entry is struck out.]	
Try Quyt	Parfevall Pearfson against Roger Towars in a plea of withholdinge a bedd stead ...	vj ^a
.	John Bullman against Thomas Greene & his wife in a plea of debt of ...	xxiiij ^a
default'	The same against Will'm ffawcus webiter in a plea of debt of ...	... xvj ^d

default'	The same against Rob'te Clafp' & his wife in a plea of debt of ... ..	...	vj ^a
Try. Wee doe finde	John Bullman beinge alderman of the lawfon and Cuthbt ogle	Marchants against John Lawfon and	
p'ctors shall make a Just	of what they alledge to be	Cutb'te Ogle as Prockters to the said	
acompt w th in xx ^{tie} daies	nowd'isburfed by them then	Companie of Marchants in a plea	
they are charged wh .. to	be culpable of the arrers.	of debt of	xxxij ^a v ^d
agreed	Rob'te Bell tann' against Will'm Awbon fhomaker in a plea of debt of	The same John Bullman against the	
.....	Will'm Betham against Thomas Todd tayler in debt of	said Prockters in a plea of debt ...	xxxij ^a v ^d
... vj ^d	John Shipley against Rob'te Lumsden in debt for his horfe hire... ..		xxviiij ^a
Culpable	Bartram Gaire against Rob'te Storrer in debte of ...		xviiij ^a
Try. Culp-	Dm'ns Will'ms Howard against Margery warnr in a		
able	plea of debt for fower yeares Rent of a Clofe in hill gate at ij ^a viij ^d		xliij ^d
Try. Quyt	Rob'te Lifleyger ag ^t Thomas Browne al's Muge in an action of trespas w th sheep in Corne ad dam' ...		iiij ^a ix ^d
fatet'	Rob'te Mowe against Tho: Knight in debte		x ^a
fatet' v ^a j ^d	The same against Tho: Potts fen' in debt		xliij ^a
[Endorsed	'Michaellmas Courte i632. M ^r widdrington vpon Rob'te widdringtons default for not appearinge did fine him iiij ^a iiij ^d as doth appear vnder the stewards own hand writtinge as the booke will make mencion']		vj ^a vj ^d

The duties of the party jury were at an end after they had given their verdicts in the various cases before them.

The steward, officers, party jury, and those who had been admitted freemen, dined together. The steward, who presided, had great opportunity for the exercise of tact, by toasts and occasional songs, in keeping order in what was often a turbulent and unruly party.

After dining, they returned to the town-hall to attend as burgesses the evening sitting of the court, and to witness the appointment of officers, and thence to the houses of bailiffs and sergeant.

NOTE.

Of the popular estimation of these courts in former times, of the care with which they were guarded, and of their importance, an illustration may be found in lord William Howard's *Household Book* (Surtees Soc. vol. 68, pp. 397-402). In a letter from sir John Forster, the warden of the Marches, to secretary Walsingham, a memorial to the Queen by Mr. Francis Dacre, and a contemporary narrative, all reprinted from the State papers, we have presented to us a lively picture of some events of 1587.

In that year lord Wm. Howard held the lordship of Morpeth as husband of Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress of lord Dacre; but the rights of the co-heiress were contested by Francis Dacre, her uncle. Lord William was in possession, and his constable, Edward Grey, held the castle for him; but through their attachment to an ancient and splendid name, Dacre had many friends and sympathisers among the burghesses. 'The meanest sort of the most parte of the inhabitants of the said towne of Morpeth who did owe sewte and service unto the same did not onlye refuse to macke there appearance and do the services unto them apperteynenge, as before time they were accustomed to do at the lyke courtes there holden for the said Lord William Howarde, but affirmed that yf there were any courte there to be howlden for the said Mr. Fraunces Dacars they wolde make there apperaunce there and in no where els.' Sir John Forster, the Lord Warden of the Marches, was called upon to preserve order by the constable, Mr. Edward Grey (who happened to be his nephew), and the narrative insinuates that he displayed partiality through this kinship, and that he had 'in his possession parcell of the lands in controversie of the yerely value of one hundred markes at the least, by the graunt of the said lord William.' 'Immediately then did sundry troopes of horsemen come to the town by dossens, scores, and sence xxx in companyes, all of Mr. Graye's freinds of the borders, and soone after the Lord Warden came in with a great companye and rode to the castell, and there lodged with Mr. Gray the said constable,' . . . 'Yn the morning by day was lyght, the streat over agynst Mr. Dacre's lodging was sett all along with men of the Borders weaponed with swords, daggs, pikes, and the lyke upon the bakysyde of the sayd lodging to the number in all of about 100 persons and Mr. Gray and others with him walking before them caryng their walk so far as the howse reached wheryn Mr. Dacre lodged, and so turned agayne still so contynuyng untill 3 of clocke at afternoone when Mr. Dacre came away.' One of the bailiffs of the town supported the authority of lord William, 'the other bayliffe, all the aldermen and the burghesses upon the ring of the bell came to the Moote Hall, and beyng called dyd flatly say they wold neyther sitt yn court, appere, or make awnswer but yn Mr. Dacre's name and accordyng to the order of theyr town, and therupon departed.'

Lord William's officers caused the mace to be taken from the town's serjeant in the presence and with the countenance of the Warden and when 'they cowld not make a Jury, they, of theyr own awthorytye, withowt and contrary the order of the town, did create vj new fremen . . . and yett, for all the evill hast cold not make up the number of xij persons had they not supplied ther want with one who had not longe before that tyme had bene a Lord of Mysrule, and one other that was the common Hayward [the other account says 'nowtherd'] of the Towne.' Mr. Dacre, outnumbered and outmanoeuvred, left the town, and in his memorial to queen Elizabeth of his wrongs and sufferings we have preserved to us this scene of a sixteenth century drama.

After many years of legal conflict the possession of the estates was confirmed to the co-heiresses, and lord William, by a politic course of good sense and liberality, attached his refractory and disaffected burghesses to himself and his house. His was the gift of the great mace to the corporation.²⁵ In 1680 he re-granted the

²⁵ See *Arch. Ael.* vol. xiii. p. 201, for an account of the Morpeth mace.

Clifton field of 1,500 acres to be held by the burgesses at a low rent, and in 1606 lett to them the farm of tolls.

'Memorandum that I Willm Howard have granted to the Bailliffs of the Burrowe of Morpeth the towle within the foresaid Burrowe for the sum of Twenty shillings for ane whole yeare and that the overplus of the said towle shall be employed by the said Bailliffs to the benayfitt of the foresaid Burrowe and to be declared upon their accounts. In witness wherof I have sett my hand the syxt daie of September in the yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland the fourste and of Scotlande the . . . Anno dom 1606

'WILLM HOWARD.'

By such prudent conduct he conciliated his opponents and so endeared himself to his friends that, in 1610, we find from an entry in their books that the Tanners' company bestowed upon him 'a present of wyne and sugar,' which cost them 1s. 6d.

APPENDIX.

After our hartie comendacions upon intelligence gyven us by . . . officers as well of y^r sute for the occupacon of pcell of the demean of Morpeth called Clifton feild conteyng xv^o acres, as also of the value thereof we are well contented for the better maintenance of y^r estate, and the rather also at the request of our verrie good ffrende the Lord Warden, that y^e shall have the same in lease from Michaelmas next for the terme of fyve yeares then next ensuing employing y^t to tillage or pasture to y^r best comodities at y^r choise and pleasure f^r the yearlie rent of one hundred Poundes being much lesse then y^t is worth and close upon y^r yearlie payem^t of the usuall rent you shall have and enjoy th use and profits of such meadowes and haye boundes in the said Clifton feilde as y^r [predecessors] held in the late L. Dacres tyme And if yⁿ shall dislike or not so will accept the lease of the said Clifton Feild as we have ment w^h great favour to delyver y^t unto y^{ou} we will then upon y^r answeare received w^{ch} we furthwth expect of you, deliver the said Clifton Feilde over to others to our better comoditie, and never the lesse to . . . you in forme before said to enjoye that y^{ou} said meadow and thus we bid you farewell. From London the xiiijth of June 1580

y^r loving ffrends

Arundell

William Howarde

Concord. cum origin.

Northumb.

Decimo quarto die mensis Octob. Anno R.R. }
Jacobi xvj^o Annoqz dni. 1618. }

Receaved of the fermars of my land of Clifton feeld and Hepsocott in the county aforesaid the sum of five hundred pounds of curra^t mony of England for one yeares rent or farm of the said grounds called Clifton feeld & Hepsocot due to me at the feast of S^t Michael the Archangell last past before the date hereof of w^h some I acknowledge my self fully satisfied by thes pnts. In wittnes whearof I have heerunto sett my hand and seale ye day and year above written

William Howard

vth



V.—A NEW ALTAR FROM WALLSEND DEDICATED TO
JUPITER.

BY F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read on the 25th May, 1892; since added to.]

THE inscription discussed in the following note was found in May, 1892, in the newly-made Wallsend allotments ground, in garden 20 belonging to Mr. A. Arnott. This site, which is technically in Walker, though close to the Wallsend boundary, has only lately come under cultivation, and appears worthy of archaeologists' attention, as it has already yielded, besides the altar here to be noticed, a figure of Mercury with a fragmentary inscription beginning *D(eo) M(ercurio)*, and various carved and worked stones.¹ The altar now under notice is of local freestone, 35 in. high by 16 in. wide and deep; the letters in the first line are 2 in. high, in the last 1½ in., in the other lines 1-1½ in. I am indebted to Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., for a squeeze of the stone, which I have also examined myself. Descriptions have appeared in print in the *Newcastle Daily Journal* of May 17th, 1892, in the *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, xi. par. 57, in the *Proceedings* of the London Society of Antiquaries (xiv. (1892) p. 171), and in those of this Society (v. 164, 166). The stone itself, I understand, remains in the possession of Mr. Arnott.

The reading, which appears to be beyond doubt, is:—*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Coh(ors) iii Lin | gonum eq(uitata), | cui attendit | Iul(ius) Honor | atus (centurio) leg(ionis) ii | Aug(ustae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. There are several points of interest in this inscription:—

1. The altar was dedicated by the Fourth Cohort of Lingones, a regiment of auxiliaries of which we have some other mentions. We know from military discharges (*privilegia militum*) of January A.D. 103 and of A.D. 146² that it was in Britain at those two dates. We have a statement in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the British portion of which

¹ *Proc.* v. pp. 166, 187.

² *C.I.L.* vii. 1193; *Ep̄h.* v. p. 96, vii. No. 1117.



ROMAN ALTAR TO JUPITER,

Discovered at Wallsend.

was composed probably about A.D. 300, that it was stationed at SEGEDUNUM, or Wallsend, the most easterly fort along Hadrian's Wall (*Occ.* xl. 33, ed. Seeck); and we have an altar, dedicated to Jupiter by its *praefectus*, which was found a little east of Wallsend, at Tynemouth, in digging out the foundations of a building connected with the priory church. When the cohort came to Britain we do not know. The guesses of Urlichs and others, who try to find a place for it in the army of Agricola, are, and must remain, pure guesses; but we have no reason to suppose that the Roman garrison was increased during the years between the end of the governorship of Agricola, A.D. 85 and A.D. 103, and consequently we may suppose that this regiment, like many others, came to Britain tolerably early in the occupation and remained here till its end. It is, indeed, possible that it, or some soldiers from it, took part in Hadrian's Jewish war (A.D. 132-5). Statius Priscus Licinius, subsequently governor of Britain (A.D. 161-2) and commander in Armenia, began his career as prefect of this cohort, and, apparently while holding this post, was decorated by Hadrian for services in *expeditione Iudaica*, and hence Schürer and others assume, though the conclusion is not absolutely necessary, that the cohort was engaged in the siege.³ But this absence was, at the best, a temporary one.

2. The epithet *equitata* implies that the cohort included mounted men—roughly about a quarter of its number. This arrangement was often adopted for the Roman auxiliary infantry: thus, at least, six out of ten cohorts in Numidia were *equitatae*. It appears mainly on frontiers, and was doubtless intended to provide cavalry for an emergency and to facilitate rapid movement of infantry. It is, however, rare in other, later, armies, though there is a possible parallel in the Guides of our Punjaub Frontier Force. The epithet *equitata*, which seems to have become official about A.D. 120, is added or omitted in what seems to be a very arbitrary manner, and we can therefore draw no inference from the fact that it is omitted in our other mentions of the fourth cohort of Lingones.

3. The *Notitia* tells us the cohort was stationed at SEGEDUNUM,

³ *C.I.L.* vi. 1523; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*. i. 574, note 96.

which, as has always been fairly certain, was at Wallsend. The only question is, whether there was or was not a subsidiary fort at Tynemouth, where two inscriptions have been found: one of a soldier in the sixth legion, the other, already mentioned, of a *praefectus* of this cohort. There do not appear to be any real traces of a fort at the place; but Thomas Hodgson, and after him Dr. Bruce and Dr. Hübner, have accepted its existence as adequately proved by the commanding situation, and the occurrence of the two inscriptions mentioned.⁴ The case is perhaps not so strong as it looks. It is never safe to argue that a commanding site with a wide prospect must have been occupied by the Romans. Their ideas of suitable positions were vastly different from ours, and for defence of the river mouth the South Shields fort was surely enough. And there does not appear to be any serious objection to the supposition that the two stones were brought from Wallsend to Tynemouth. It may be easier and cheaper to-day to cut stone on the spot than to transport it from the neighbourhood; but in the times when, for instance, Tynemouth priory was built, carriage was cheap and stone-cutting comparatively difficult, and in this case, where water-carriage was available, it need not surprise us if two hewn stones, detached and of movable size, were moved some four or five miles for a new building. I am therefore inclined to believe that, as pretty certainly at Hexham and at Jarrow, so at Tynemouth, Roman stones have been moved to a medieval edifice. Of such transport by water we have perhaps a relic in the illegible altar found a few years ago in the Tyne near Hexham (C. C. Hodges, *Abbey of St. Andrew, Hexham*, p. 4), and now in Hexham abbey slype. One may recall, too, the story told by Bede of how St. Cuthbert brought safe to shore certain log-rafts which were being floated down the Tyne *usibus monasterii*, for a monastery near the mouth on the south bank, and were in danger of being blown out to sea.⁵ There are other early

⁴ Hodgson, *Arch. Ael.* i. (1822), 231; Bruce, *Lapid.* Nos. 1, 2; Hübner, *C.I.L.* vii. 493, 494.

⁵ Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 3; Green, *Making of England*, p. 316, in telling the story, says the wood was for 'the construction' of the monastery. It has been doubted whether Bede meant the Newcastle Tyne or the river by Tynningham (see Horsley, *Brit.* p. 104). In *The Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert* (Surtees Soc. 87, p. 84), recently edited by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., the place is identified with South Shields, as is clear from the mention in the following extract of the chapel of St. Hilda, now the parish church of that town:—

references, I believe, to the use of the Tyne for transport, and it may even be that rafts with inscriptions, brought down the stream when no saint was at hand, have drifted out to sea, and that their precious burdens are now lying deep in the North Sea. Further discoveries may establish the existence of a Roman fort at Tynemouth; at present the balance of evidence seems to me wholly and absolutely insufficient to prove it. The same seems to me the case with the camp which Dr. Bruce, on strength of the name, puts at Blake Ohesters, between Wallsend and Tynemouth.

4. Of Julius Honoratus, so far as I can find, nothing more is known: but the description of him is worthy of notice. The phrase *cui attendit* appears to be unique, and is not very easy to explain, but the meaning is clear.⁶ We have here another instance of a legionary centurion commanding an auxiliary troop. The centurion, always an important officer in the legion, seems to have acquired additional power and prestige during the second century, and notably in the military reforms of Septimius Severus. Accordingly, we find the centurion, in a certain number of cases, detached from his legion and put over a cohort instead of the regular *praefectus*, just as conversely it became usual, after A.D. 200, to commence the equestrian career with the centurionate instead of the *praefectura cohortis*, which had formed the regular first step in the first two centuries. The rank of legionary centurion and auxiliary *praefectus* became equal, and the centurion sometimes takes the prefect's place. There may be a further significance in the change. For instance, Mommsen once suggested that we have examples in such cases of the tendency to appoint the

'In takenyng [token] of this thing we rede,
 Be [by] the tellyng of saint bede,
 how sometyme was a monastery
 That eftir was a nonry,
 Bot a litil fra tynemouth'
 That mynster stode in to [rowards] the south'
 Whare saint hilde chapell' standes nowe,
 Thar it stode sometyme trewe.'

The date of this version (A.D. 1450) is too late to give much weight to its authority; but it is more reasonable to suppose that Bede meant the Newcastle river. Mr. Fowler leaves the question unsettled.

⁶ Presumably *attendere cohorti* means 'to look after a cohort,' but I can find no proper parallel. Nearest are the post-Augustan uses with the dative (*e.g.*, *deus attendit votis*, 'listen to prayers' (Silii, viii. 591); and, especially that in Suetonius, *eloquentiae attendere*, 'to pay attention to, to study, eloquence, and the like).

higher officers from the ranks instead of from the upper classes ; but the evidence is as yet hardly sufficient to let us decide this point, though the tendency itself was undoubtedly at work from the middle of the second century onwards.⁷

It may be worth while to add the other instances in Britain of centurions commanding auxiliary troops:—

ELLENBOROUGH : *M. Censorius . . . Cornelianus, centurio leg. [x. f.]retensis, prae[positus] cohortis i. Hispanorum.*—*C.I.L.* vii. 371.

CHESTERS : *Aurelius Athenio (?) , centurio, curator alae ii. Asturum.*—*C.* 587.

BIRDOSWALD : *Cohors i. aelia Dacorum cuius curam agit Iulius Marcellinus, centurio legionis i. Augustae.*—*Eph.* vii. 1071 ; *Arch. Ael.* xii. 288. On lately examining this inscription at Birdoswald farmhouse, I thought to detect a centurial mark before *leg. i.* One had previously assumed that it had been omitted accidentally.

NETHER CRAMOND : *Cohors i. Tungrorum, instante Ulpio S . . . [centurione] legionis xx. Valeriae Victricis.*—*C.* 1084. The reading after *S* is uncertain ; but it is probable the centurion's mark stood there.

ROUGH CASTLE : *Cohors vi. Nerviorum c.o. Flavius Betto centurio legionis xx. v.v.*—*C.* 1092. The exact expansion of *c.o.* is unknown ; but it must mean much the same as *c.o.a.* in the Birdoswald inscription above, and may possibly be the same, *curam-agit* being (as seems sometimes to be the case) treated as one word.

5. I do not think it possible to fix the date of the inscription, though the occurrence of a centurion as auxiliary *praefectus* suggests something not earlier than the middle of the second century. The lettering is not specially careless, and Dr. Hübner's statement (*Proc.* v. 164) that there are no stops is incorrect ; but I should not be disposed to argue any date from these details. Still less am I inclined to refer it to some restoration of the Wall by Septimius Severus. We have yet to prove that Septimius Severus had any hand in extensive building operations along the Wall.

⁷ See Mommsen, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1869 ; there are also rather inconclusive articles by Karbe (*Dissertationes Halenses*, iv. 305) and A. Müller (*Philologus*, xli. 482).

VI.—THE NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE EARLY LIVES OF ST. CUTHBERT.

BY CADWALLADER J. BATES.

[Read October 26th, 1892.]

THE figure of St. Cuthbert as the shepherd-boy of Lauderdale, as the hermit of Farne, and as the bishop-prophet witnessing the slaughter of Nechtansmere from beside the Roman well at Carlisle, appeals so vividly to the imagination, that we are prone to think these three scenes complete the whole cycle of his life, and it is only upon calmer reflection that we find them inadequate to explain the reason of that pre-eminence accorded to him among the many saints of our Northumberland. It is a most singular fact, that the extraordinary series of wanderings of his shrine, during the devastations of Dane and Norman, has almost obliterated in the popular mind the remembrance of those wanderings of the living saint himself, which originally caused that shrine to be the object of such loyal veneration.

It is now nearly eight years ago since our genial member, the late Rev. J. L. Low of Whittonstall, read in this castle a paper on the 'Authorities for the History of St. Cuthbert,'¹ in which he laid emphatic stress on the necessity for falling back on the earliest lives of the saint, if we would comprehend that absolute abnegation of self, and that perfect love of every other living thing, whether man or woman, beast or bird, that has preserved his hallowed memory in so mysterious a manner. To-night, I wish to restrict my remarks to the background of that impressive picture, and to examine the topographical setting of St. Cuthbert's acts of charity and deeds of mercy in the cold light of historical criticism.

In my turn, I must ask you to at once divest your minds of those apocryphal accretions to St. Cuthbert's life and fame, which grew up during the long slumber of the true spirit of history, and perhaps still more so at the first shock of its re-awakening. In a certain sense, the close of the nineteenth century is much nearer the seventh, much

¹ *Arch. Acl.* N.S. XI. p. 18.

more capable of judging what really took place in it, than were the twelfth, the fifteenth, or the eighteenth centuries. We should then turn directly back to the two fountain-heads of St. Cuthbert's biography, the life by a nameless monk of Lindisfarne,² and that by the Venerable Bede³ (of which there is an earlier version in heroic metre),⁴ both composed in the beginning of the eighth century, both dedicated to Edfrid, the third prelate who sat in St. Cuthbert's chair.

Each of these lives is essentially a hagiography, a string of separate incidents calculated, as it were, to attest the saint's title to canonisation, the heads of evidence for a brief that would put out of court any possible *advocatus diaboli*. With the exception of Bede's touching record of St. Cuthbert's last days, it is only by quite a secondary consideration that each life affords a certain disjointed narrative of the saint's career. Both writers avowedly discarded much material that had been collected by others for their purpose, the nameless monk because he thought he had written enough to ensure St. Cuthbert's celebrity, without fatiguing his own readers;⁵ and Bede, with the complacent pride of a *littérateur* at the artistic perfection of his work.⁶

Bede was fortunately persuaded by the monks of Jarrow to adhere to the same chronological order in his prose life that he had adopted in his poetical one; but the compilation of the monk of Holy Island is peculiarly valuable on account of its giving us the names of persons and places which Bede may have purposely omitted in his more high-finished essay, lest their barbarous sounds should mar the rhythm of his Latinity.

Unfortunately, the Lindisfarne life was very carelessly printed by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum*, the proper names being

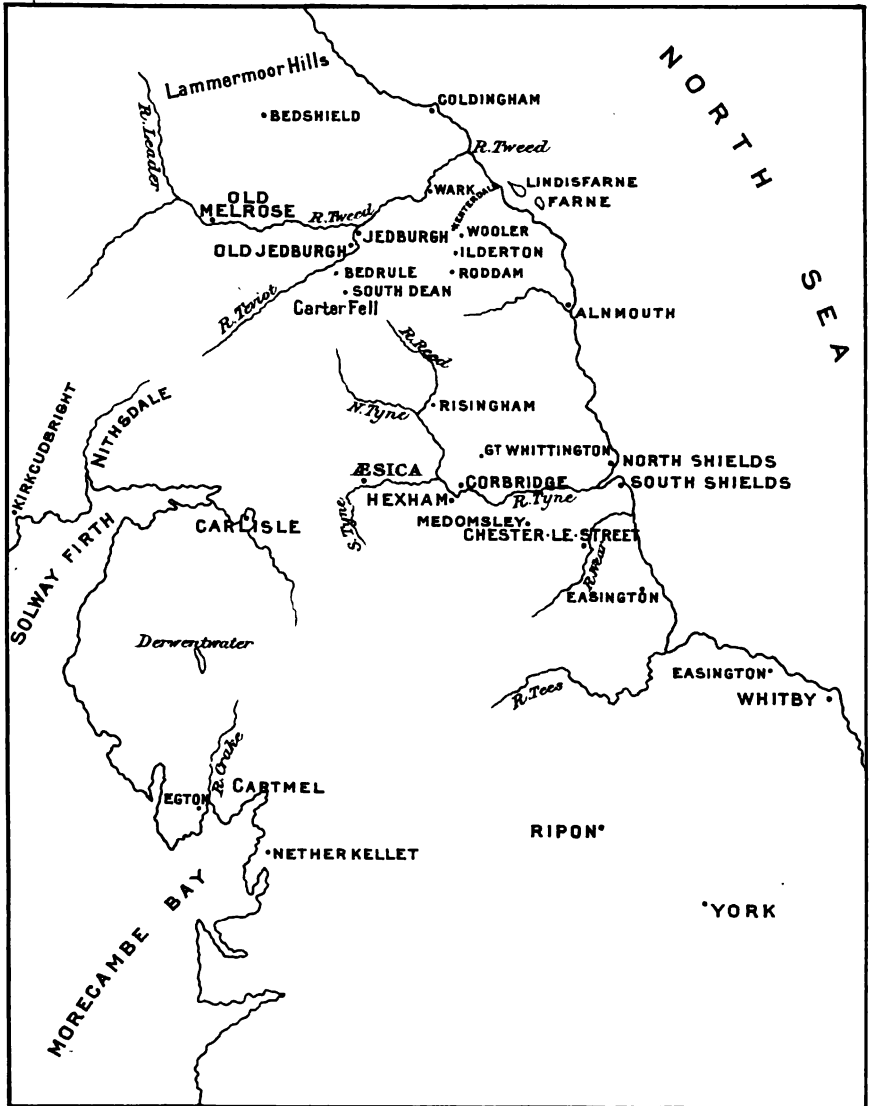
² *Acta Sanctorum*, Mart. III. p. 117; *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede*, ed. by Dr. Giles, 1843, VI. p. 357. That this life is earlier than that by Bede seems clear by the fact that Ethelwald is mentioned in it, lib. iv. § 4, as prior of Melrose, while Bede, cap. xxx. speaks of him as abbot.

³ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* IV. p. 202. No trust should be placed in the English translation added by Dr. Giles.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. p. 1.

⁵ 'Quamquam etiam ex his, quae nobis comperta erant, plura omisimus, quia sufficere credidimus, si tantum excellentiora notarentur, simul et legentibus consulendum fuit, ne quod pararet copia congesta fastidium.'—Prologus; ed. Giles, VI. p. 358.

⁶ 'Alia multa nec minora his, quae scripsimus, . . . memoriae digna videntur, si non deliberato ac perfecto operi nova interserere vel superadjudicare minus congruum atque indecorum esse constaret.'—ed. Giles, IV. p. 204.



ANDREW REID 2008 & CO. 50 GREY ST. NEWCASTLE.

especially distorted, and as the only manuscripts of it were upon the Continent,⁷ all recent writers on the history of St. Cuthbert have contented themselves with making use of the corrupt printed version, and at the most recording their suspicions as to the correctness of its readings.

Now, I am afraid I am not a believer in the comfortable doctrine that there can be any real distinction at the present day between a historian and an archaeologist. A historian, I venture to think, must cease to be a mere grandiloquent populariser of other men's work, 'reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strawed,' and if his summing up is to carry any permanent weight with it, he must accept nothing by hearsay, if more direct evidence can possibly be attained by the exploration of localities, or the yet more tedious examination of archives and muniments. Noticing, then, the manifest discrepancies in the orthography of the names of places and persons in the Lindisfarne life, I proceeded this summer to Treves and to Arras to examine two of the most important manuscripts of it. The manuscript in the splendid library of the old monastery of St. Vaast at Arras⁸ is the more ancient of the two, being of the tenth century, but as often happens, I am inclined to think that the Treves manuscript,⁹ though written nearly three hundred years later, has in some instances more faithfully preserved the spelling of the original writer.

In order to better explain the results of my researches, I will introduce them as they occur in a short and rigidly unimaginative sketch of St. Cuthbert's life :—

The first spot we can absolutely identify as connected with St. Cuthbert is North Shields,¹⁰ where, as a boy, he rebuked the heartless-

⁷ The Bollandists profess to have printed 'e duobus valde antiquis codicibus,' one in the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer, the other in the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves.

⁸ MS. Bibl. S. Vedasti ap. Atreb. 812. My best thanks are due to M. Wicquot, the librarian, for his extreme kindness and courtesy. This MS. was in the library of the monastery of St. Vaast before its dissolution, but nothing further is known of its origin. It might just possibly have been acquired by exchange from the monastery at St. Omer.

⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. Mar. et Apr. MSS. T. 1151. num. loc. 453. Herr Keuffer, the 'Stadtbibliothekar' rendered me considerable assistance in the examination of this manuscript, for which I am very grateful.

¹⁰ 'Stabat in altera amnis ripa vulgaris turba non modica, in qua stabat et ipse (Cuthbertus).'—Bede, § 3, ed. Giles, p. 216. This incident is related by Bede only.

ness of the half-heathen countrymen who were there enjoying the spectacle of five boats manned by the monks, who had just settled on the opposite bank of the Tyne—

‘Where saint hilde chapell standes nowe,’¹¹

being swept out to sea in a strong westerly gale.

A little later, as a youth, he was watching the flocks of his master on the distant banks of the Leader,¹² a stream descending from the Lammermoor hills to join the Tweed near Melrose, and it was there on the night of the 31st of August, 651, that he had a vision of the soul of St. Aidan being borne heavenward by a company of angels.

Now, as to his parentage or birth-place we know nothing, beyond the fact that at the age of eight he had been taken into the house of a widow named *Kenswith*,¹³ whom he came to regard as his mother, and who dwelt in the village of ‘*ruringaham*’¹⁴ or ‘*Rutlingaham*.’¹⁵ It is clear from the difference existing between the name of this village in the two manuscripts, and from the evident difficulty the scribe who copied the Arras one had to decipher it, that neither form can be relied upon. If the reading of the Treves manuscript be correct, the only place between the Forth and the Tyne that can be supposed to still bear a contracted form of a name like ‘*Rutlingaham*,’ is Roddam, formerly written and pronounced ‘*Rudham*.’ It would have been much more natural, we are told, if St. Cuthbert had entered

¹¹ *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert*, Surtees Soc. Publ. 87, p. 34, l. 1129. The fact that there was still in the fifteenth century no question as to this monastery being at South Shields, is one of the very few pieces of historical information to be gleaned from this purely philological volume. Bede calls it ‘*monasterium non longe ab ostio Tini fluminis ad meridiem situm, tunc quidem virorum, nunc autem, mutato, ut solet per tempora rerum, statu, virginum Christo servientium, nobili examine pollens.*’ The idea that it was at Tynningham, on the north bank of the Scottish Tyne, may be dismissed once for all.

¹² ‘*remotis in montibus*,’ Bede, § 4; ‘*in montanis juxta fluvium quod dicitur Leder*,’ *Vita Lindisf.* lib. ii.

¹³ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 7, Arras MS. The Treves MS. fo. 137, d. has ‘*Coensuid*.’ The Bollandists, mistaking the Early English ‘*w*’ for ‘*p*,’ read ‘*Kenspith*,’ and subsequent writers have followed the error.

¹⁴ Arras MS. ¹⁵ Treves MS. The Bollandists read ‘*Hruringaham*.’ ‘*Wrangholm*,’ in the south of Scotland, is generally said to have been the ‘*birthplace*’ of St. Cuthbert, by the crowd of writers who are content to complacently copy any statement they have once seen in print. I can find no place of this name in the Ordnance maps, and if there is, ‘*Ruringaham*’ could by no known law of permutation become contracted into it. If ‘*Ruringaham*’ is nearer the truth than ‘*Rutlingaham*’ it may be a corruption of *Risingham*, the Roman station of *HABITANCUM*, in the valley of the Rede, ‘*s*’ in early MSS. being frequently mistaken for ‘*r*.’

the monastery of Lindisfarne from the very first instead of that of Melrose,¹⁶ and that it was only the great reputation of the prior, St. Boswell, that drew him to the latter. This surely implies that the home of his youth lay more within the sphere of influence of Lindisfarne than that of Melrose. Roddam, too, lies about half-way between Tyneside and Lauderdale, the first and second known scenes in which he makes an appearance. An additional argument in favour of the hypothetical claims of Roddam may, it will afterwards be seen, be drawn from its propinquity to Ilderton. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the elision of 'ing' in place-names is of rare occurrence. At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that St. Cuthbert was a Scotsman in the nineteenth century application of that term, any more than that he was one in the seventh century application.

His vision of the assumption of St. Aidan's soul determined Cuthbert to embrace the monastic life; but in the meantime he bravely did garrison-duty as a soldier in defence of the Christian faith and the Bernician monarchy.¹⁷ He even had a second similar vision. This time it was the soul of a righteous prefect that was received into everlasting bliss.¹⁸ Returning from the south, possibly from the pursuit of the discomfited host of Penda in 654, he made his way in the depth of winter through the great waste that then stretched from the Tees to the Tyne. After crossing the *Wear* at *Chester-le-Street*,¹⁹ he providentially discovered some food for himself and his horse in the deserted 'shielings' of some shepherds. He proceeded to Melrose, where, leaving his horse and spear, he became the favourite disciple of St. Boswell. Two or three years later he became 'hosteller' at Ripon,²⁰

¹⁶ 'Quidam Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam multos habere sanctos viros, quorum doctrina et exemplis instrui posset, *noverat*, sed fama praeventus Boisili sublimium virtutum monachi et sacerdotis, Mailros *petere* *muluit*.'—Bede, § 6.

¹⁷ 'in castris contra hostem cum exercitu sedens.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. i; Giles ed. vi. p. 361.

¹⁸ 'animam Praefecti in obitu suo ad caelum elevari vidit.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Vita Lindisf.* i. § 4. The Arras MS. has 'uuir' and 'Kuncacester'; the Treves MS. 'uuir' and 'cunca cestur.' Cf. 'Sedes episcopalis, quam in Lindisfarnensi insula superius diximus, in Cuncacestre restauratur.'—*Hist. Dun. Eccl.* iib. ii. cap. xiii.; Symeon of Durham, Rolls ed. i. p. 69. The Bollandists call the river 'Wir,' the place 'Leunckcester,' an error that has caused it to be identified with Lanchester.

²⁰ 'praepositus hospitum,' Bede, § 7; *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert*, bk. ii. l. 1403, p. 42.

a monastery that had been placed under the care of Eata the abbot of Melrose. On the return of Wilfrid from Rome in 659, Eata and Cuthbert were forced to retire again to the banks of the Tweed, as they clung to the ancient Roman practice of fixing Easter (which had been confirmed by Pope Leo the Great in 443,²¹ and followed by the churches in Britain and Ireland), and refused to accept the reforms introduced on this subject by Pope Victor in 525, when Britain was cut off from the rest of the western patriarchate by the piratical fleets of the heathen Saxons.²² In 664, the Northumbrian witenagemot at Whitby definitely condemned the continuance of the Leonine usage,²³ and St. Colman was consequently obliged to withdraw from his see of Lindisfarne. Eata and Cuthbert chose this time to conform, and on St. Colman's parting recommendation, Eata was appointed abbot over the English monks who remained at Lindisfarne. Hardly had these changes been completed when St. Boswell died of the great plague then raging, and Cuthbert succeeded him as prior of Melrose. Boswell had been a great missionary on Tweedside, but Cuthbert surpassed him in this respect, spending often two or three weeks or even an entire month in mission tours among the mountains. It was an ancient custom that had survived in Britain to call churches after the saints who founded them. Probably we have a memorial of St. Boswell's personal labours in the dedication to him of the church of Tweedmouth, and it gives us a very much higher estimate of St. Cuthbert's work in the evangelisation of Central Britain, if we regard many of the churches dedicated to him as having been the actual scenes of his preaching, instead of mere resting places of his shrine. This latter idea, which has taken such root in popular fancy, rests solely on the authority of John Wessington, prior of Durham in the

²¹ *Annales Cambriae*, in anno; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 830. This, the very opening statement of the chronicle, is perhaps the clearest explanation of the intricate point, on which see Haddon and Stubbs, *Ecclesiastical Councils and Documents*, I. p. 152.

²² The charge brought against the Celts that they were Quarto-decimans is of course absolutely without foundation.—*Ibid.*

²³ It should be remembered that the fixing of Easter at Whitby was an act of the civil power. Far from attaching the great importance to the precise date of the Easter festival that Wilfrid and his followers did, the Roman Church, even at the present day, allows it to be kept according to the eastern calendar by Catholics of the Latin rite in the whole of Russia except the kingdom of Poland, and by Catholics of the Greek rite in Austria. It also recognises Colman as a Northumbrian saint.

fifteenth century, and even he restricted it to the Cuthbertine churches on the western sea-board.²⁴ If we accept it on Wessington's authority, we may just as well swallow the extraordinary Irish fairy tales of St. Cuthbert's infancy, which Wessington was equally ready to vouch for.²⁵ Wessington makes no allusion to the Cuthbertine dedications in the south of Scotland. We may be certain that the great period of St. Cuthbert's missionary activity was while he was prior of Melrose, a fact that the monks of Lindisfarne and Durham seem to have considered it to be to their interest to gloss over. The sea and the mountain both had powerful attractions for St. Cuthbert. At *Coldingham*²⁶ he is said to have walked into the waves up to his neck for several nights, singing hymns of praise. With Tydi and another monk he sailed in mid-winter down the Solway in a boat to *the country of the Nithsdale Picts*,²⁷ probably to Kirkcudbright, and remained there storm-bound for nearly a fortnight. On another occasion we hear of his setting out from Melrose and journeying southward along the *Tesgeta*;²⁸ and then of his visiting his adopted mother Kenswith at 'Rutlingaham,' which seemed to have been a village in a street running east and west,²⁹ and therefore, probably, at any rate, not situated upon the Leader which flows in a southerly direction.

How long St. Cuthbert remained as prior at Melrose before he was transferred in the same office to Lindisfarne cannot be determined

²⁴ 'in partibus occidentalibus,' see Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 43, n.

²⁵ 'natione Hibernicus, regiis parentibus ortus,' *ibid.* p. 15, n.

²⁶ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 3, 'colodesbyrig,' Arras MS.; 'colodesburg,' Treves MS. The Bollandists misreading 'r' for 's' have 'Coloderbyrig.' The forms 'byrig' and 'burg' deserve notice; as also the fact that in Coldingham we have a settlement of the descendants of this Colod who appears to have founded the burg which Bede calls 'urbs Coludi.' This is a strong argument against Kemble's idea that these patronymics in 'ing' referred to remote ancestors on the Continent.

²⁷ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 4; 'ad terram pictorum ubi niudwæra legio,' Arras MS.; 'ubi dicitur niudera regio,' Treves MS. fo. 136, d. The reading 'regio' is no doubt more accurate than 'legio.' The Bollandists gravely print the extraordinary muddle 'ubi Mudpieraegis,' that first led me to suspect the general accuracy of their rendering of the place-names. Bede's life, § ii. has 'ad terram Pictorum, quæ Niduari vocatur.' See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 133, 238; ii. 208, 209.

²⁸ So the *Acta Sanctorum* and the MSS. all read. The river was no doubt the Teviot, as is generally supposed.

²⁹ At any rate Kenswith's house 'in extrema parte vici ad orientem posita videbatur.' Cf. the conflagration at Bywell in 1285, *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 119; *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xiv. 374, n.

with certainty. The Lindisfarne life would lead us almost to suppose that it was not until Eata became bishop of Lindisfarne in 678.³⁰ That he was not so very long prior of Lindisfarne may be gathered from the fact that there is only one detailed miracle ascribed to him during that period. One day, we are told, a prefect of King Egrid, named *Hildemer*,³¹ arrived at Lindisfarne begging the prior to send a priest to administer the sacrament to his wife who was he said at the point of death, and afterwards to accord her the privilege of sepulture on Holy Island. Cuthbert decided to accompany Hildemer himself, and they set out on horseback together. On the way, he rightly conjectured that the real facts of the case were that the lady had gone out of her mind, and he comforted Hildemer with the assurance that by the time they reached his house she would come forth to greet them, perfectly cured in mind and body, and it was so. It seems not improbable that Hildemer's 'town' may be the present Ilderton, anciently called Hilderton.³² This incident has been admittedly taken out of the chronological order so as to immediately follow that relating to Rutlingaham,³³ and for this there seems to be no other reason than that Roddam and Ilderton being so close together, the writer was led on from an event happening at the one to an event happening at the other by a very natural train of thought.

In the autumn of 685, Cuthbert was with great difficulty induced to quit the hermitage to which he had retired on Farne Island, in order to be elected bishop of Hexham at the synod held at Twyford on the Alne, the river that formed the boundary between the dioceses of Lindisfarne and Hexham. He made it a condition of accepting the dignity that his consecration should be deferred till the following spring, and again retired to Farne. Eata, who was still bishop of Lindisfarne, requested the bishop-elect of Hexham to come and see him at his monastery of Melrose. On the return journey Cuthbert

³⁰ 'a venerabili et sancto episcopo Eata invitatus et coacte ad hanc insulam nostram quæ dicitur Lindisfarne . . . advenit.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. iii. ; Giles, ed. p. 368.

³¹ *Ibid.* lib. ii. § 8 ; 'hildmær,' Arras MS. ; 'Hildimer,' Treves MS. fo. 137, d ; 'Hildmer,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

³² *Placita*, 10 Ric. I. ; Hodgson, *Northumberland* III. ii. p. 337, etc.

³³ 'illa tempore ecclesie nostrae Praepositus erat.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. ii. § 8.

crossed the *Tweed*³⁴ at *Examford*³⁵ a little above the great earthwork of Wark, and *Sibba*,³⁶ the lord of the 'vicus,' that preceded the medieval castle, besought him to bestow his benediction upon it. Accordingly Cuthbert entered the stronghold with solemn chants of psalms and hymns. Hearing that one of Sibba's servants lay at death's door, he blessed some water and sent another of the earl's household, named Baldhelm,³⁷ with it to the sick man, who after the third draught fell asleep and recovered. On this being told to King Egfrid, he and all the Britons with him are said to have given St. Cuthbert the land of Cartmel, and the town called Suth-gedluit. This the saint in his turn entrusted to the good abbot Cynéferth.³⁸

At Easter, 685, Cuthbert was consecrated at York, and it is said that Eata and he exchanged sees the same day. On the 20th of May, the day of Egfrid's defeat and death at Nechtansmere, Cuthbert was at Carlisle, and after consecrating on the following day the church of a

³⁴ *Ibid.* iv. § 7, Giles ed. p. 376; 'twide,' Arras MS.; 'tuidue,' Treves MS. 140, d. The Bollandists have 'Opide,' but several writers have seen that the river between Melrose and Farne must necessarily be the Tweed. The chronology and geography of this incident rests on Bede's Life, § 25; ed. Giles, p. 291:—'Cum . . . electus ad episcopatum Cuthbertus suam remeasset ad insulam . . . evocavit eum venerabilis episcopus ejus Eata, atque ad suum colloquium Mailros venire praecepit. Quo expleto colloquio, dum domum redire coepisset,' etc.

³⁵ We should never have looked for 'Examford' on the Tweed, but the Survey by Bowes and Ellerker in 1541 speaks of 'An other forde called Hexham forde enteringe into the said ryver of Twede in the said felde of Warke upon the southe syde and stretcheth over unto the said felde of Caldstreame upon the northe syde.'—Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 200, n. There can then be no reasonable doubt of this being the same miracle as that recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: 'Postquam vero sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quae vocatur Examforda, dedit ei rex Egfridus terram quae vocatur Cartmel, et omnes Britanni cum eo, et villam illam quae vocatur Suth-gedluit.'—*Symeon of Durham*, Rolls ed. p. 200.

³⁶ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 7, Giles ed. p. 376; 'Sibba,' Arras MS.; 'Sibca,' Treves MS.; 'Sibba,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

³⁷ 'benedixit aquam et dedit ministro comitis nomine Baldhelmo.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, § 25, Giles ed. p. 292. Baldhelm's is the only proper name that is given by Bede, and not by the Lindisfarne biographer.

³⁸ See above, note 35. When 'Examford' proves to be on the Tweed near Wark, and not, as but for the passage quoted from the Border Survey of 1541, we might have concluded on the Crake, near Egton in Furness, it is impossible any longer with certainty to identify the land and town, given by king Egfrid to St. Cuthbert, with Cartmel and Nether Kellet in North Lancashire. Considering the locality of the miracle and the general sphere of St. Cuthbert's interests, it would be more natural if 'Cartmel' should turn out to be the district of the Carter Fell, and 'Suth-gedluit' to be South Dean on the Jed. To judge from the details of the boundaries of the territories of the two 'Gedwardes' (Jedburghs) given by bishop Egred 831-847 to the church of St. Cuthbert, *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, §, Rolls ed. p. 201, this latter district was independent of them, and was already known by the name of 'Duna.'

monastery in the neighbourhood, he promised Queen Irminburg to follow her to Bamburgh. In the course of his visitation of his diocese of Lindisfarne, he came to the 'vicus' of *Hemma*,³⁹ a 'comes' of Alfrid the new king. This probably stood on the mound called Greencastle in *Kenterdals*⁴⁰—the old name apparently for the valley in the Cheviots at the back of Wooler. *Hemma*, coming out to meet him, thanked heaven for his arrival, as his wife was so ill that her life was despaired of, and if only he would bless some water, it might shorten her agony or restore her health. The bishop at once blessed the water, and gave it to Bede his chaplain, not to be confounded with the historian, who sprinkled the patient and gave her some to drink. Her recovery was so rapid that she was able to rise and entertain St. Cuthbert, herself handing him the loving cup. Cuthbert proceeded on his episcopal tour across the Tweed as far as '*Bedesfeld*,'⁴¹ where he had shortly before granted a settlement to some nuns who had abandoned their convent further north through fear of an advance of the victorious Picts.⁴² He was probably recalled to Hexham in consequence of the death of bishop Eata, which is supposed to have taken place on the 26th October. From Hexham, probably in February, he journeyed towards *Carlisle*,⁴³ no doubt along the ancient Carel-gate. Half-way between the two cities he spent two days in a mountainous country, preaching and confirming at a place called

³⁹ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 3, Giles ed. p. 374; 'hemma,' Arras MS.; 'hemini,' Treves MS. fo. 139, d.; 'Heunna,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. It is right to mention that Redesdale and Coquetdale met on the Scottish frontier at a place called 'Henmer's (or Henmyer's) Well' in the Border Survey of 1604 (printed by Mr. R. P. Sanderson, Alnwick, 1891, pp. 41, 84), but apparently 'Hyndemars felde' in the survey of 1541 (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 208).

⁴⁰ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 3; 'in regione quae dicitur Kintis,' Arras MS.; 'hintis,' Treves MS.; 'Henitis,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. I was disappointed not to find a reading that would identify this 'regio' with the 'Cheviots,' as I had expected.

⁴¹ 'ad vicum, qui Bedesfeld dicitur,' *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 4, Giles ed. p. 375; 'bedesfeld,' Arras MS.; 'Bedesfeld,' Treves MS.; 'Bedesfeld,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. The place is probably either Bedrule in Roxburghshire, or Bedshield at the foot of the Lammermoors, near Polwarth.

⁴² 'in vicum quandam, in quo erant feminae sanctimoniales non multae, quibus timore barbarici exercitus a monasterio suo profugis, ibidem manendi sedem vir Domini paulo ante donaverat.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxx. Giles ed. iv. p. 306. This donation to the nuns shows that, whether as bishop or not, St. Cuthbert did really possess some property in land.

⁴³ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 5, Giles ed. p. 375; 'luel,' Arras MS. and Treves MS. p. 139, d. The Boilandists misread this 'Vel,' and have to answer for a multitude of learned conjectures as to its location. That 'Luel' was Carlisle is well known:—'Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur.'—*Hist. Dunelm. Ecol.*; *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls ed. i. p. 53.

'*Æhse*' or '*Echse*,'⁴⁴ probably the Roman station of *ÆSICA* or Great Chesters. As this was clearly within the diocese of Hexham, it is probable that he had undertaken the administration of it till a new bishop should be appointed. At Carlisle he received the religious profession of the widowed Queen Irminburg,⁴⁵ and met for the last time on earth his great friend St. Herbert, the hermit of Derwentwater.⁴⁶ He then set out to visit Elfled, the abbess of Whitby, and to dedicate a church for her at *Easington*,⁴⁷ on the Yorkshire coast. On his way he appears to have passed through the village of *Medomsley*, in which the plague was committing frightful ravages at the time.⁴⁸ At Easington Cuthbert, who as a shepherd, had seen a vision of the beatification of bishop Aidan, beheld now as a bishop

⁴⁴ 'Quodam tempore episcopus sanctus proficiscens ab Hagustaldense, tendebat ad civitatem, quae Luel dicitur. Mansio tamen in media via facta est, in regione ubi dicitur *sehæ*,' *Vita Lindisf.* Arras MS.; '*echse*,' Treves MS. The Bollandists have '*Alise*,' a mistake that might easily arise in making a hasty transcript of the Arras MS. where the word is somewhat blurred. If their reading had rested on independent authority, it would have been most interesting, since *Alisee* is the name of a farm just west of *ÆSICA*, and we should have had the English and Roman name of what was practically the same place side by side. The survival of the Roman name so late is, of course, unique in Northumberland; but *Luel* likewise seems only a contracted form of *LUGUVALLIUM*. *Ash*, in Cumberland, on the King's Water, seems both too near Carlisle and too far off the road to the north to enable it to compete with *ÆSICA*, the position of which exactly suits all the requirements of the case. After '*Hagustaldense*' in the passage quoted above, '*civitate*' is to be understood. This miracle is said in the *Vita Lindisf.* to rest especially on the testimony of a certain '*Penna*' (Treves MS.), whom the Bollandists call *Henna*.

⁴⁵ 'Cuthbertus ad . . . Lugubaliam . . . advenit, quatenus ibidem sacerdotes consecrare, sed et ipsam reginam, dato habitu sancta conversationis, benedicere deberet.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxviii. Dr. Giles (iv. p. 301) actually translated the latter part of this extract, 'but also to bless the queen herself with his holy conversation.' Eddi, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, § xxiv. says of queen Irminburg, 'de lupa, post occisionem regis, agna Domini, et perfecta Abbatissa, materque familias optima commutata est.' Her name appears in *Liber Vitae* of Durham, Surt. Soc. Publ. I can, however, find no authority for Dr. Osber's statement, *Wilfrid der Aeltere*, p. 49, n, that she was afterwards canonised.

⁴⁶ Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxviii.

⁴⁷ '*Osingadun*,' Arras MS.; '*Osingadum*,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. The fact that the messenger who left Whitby in the early morning (Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxxiv.) returned to Easington as mass was being sung shows that it could not have been Easington in the county of Durham, as at first might be supposed, this being then in the diocese of Hexham. Bede, however, says Cuthbert wished his final retirement to *Farne* to be after a visitation, not only of his own diocese, but of certain neighbouring monasteries—'*non solum sua circuita parochia, sed et aliis circa fidelium mansionibus visitata.*'

⁴⁸ '*medilwong*,' Arras MS.; '*medinluong*,' Treves MS. Confusing, as usual, the early 'w' with 'p,' the Bollandists have '*medilpong*.' I see no reason for identifying this place with '*Mechil Wongtune*,' where king *Oswulf* was killed in 757, *Sym. Dun. Hist. Regum*, in anno, which is more probably Great (muckle) Whittington, to the north-east of Corbridge.

himself the beatification of the shepherd *Hadwald*,⁴⁹ whose death was confirmed to him by Elfred, who came to him herself into the sanctuary as mass was being celebrated.⁵⁰ He turned north to South Shields, where he received a splendid welcome from the abbess Verca,⁵¹ and it is here, in the company of one of the five saintly women, Kenswith, Ebbe, Elfred, Irminburg, and Verca, for whom he always evinced especial affection, that the story of his life on the mainland closes, immediately opposite the spot on the northern bank of the Tyne where he first appeared. Soon afterwards he retired again to the storm-lashed rocks of Farne, and died there on the 20th of March, 687, under the touching circumstances related by Bede.

Enough has, it is hoped, been said to show that when properly studied, the actual wanderings of the historical St. Cuthbert are certainly of equal interest to the semi-mythical migrations of his shrine. The period of his retreat on Farne was probably shorter than has popularly been supposed, but his mission work from the centre of Melrose, and his episcopal administration not only of the diocese of Lindisfarne but of that of Hexham, account for the mighty influence for good that he exerted over so large a tract of country. It is not only the more famous islands that we may regard as associated with his life, but Chester-le-Street, Wark-on-Tweed, and ÆSICA, and with a lesser degree of certainty Roddam, Ilderton, Kenterdale, and Medomsley. The more we read of our Northumbrian history the more should we feel inclined to put our shoes from off our feet, for nearly every spot on which we tread is holy ground.

⁴⁹ 'hadwuald,' Arras MS.; 'haduwaldi,' Treves MS.; 'Hadpuald,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

⁵⁰ 'dedicantique eo die ibi ecclesiam, et missam cantantibus in eo loco, ubi dicitur 'Memento, domine, famulorum.'—*Vita Lindisf.* iv. 10. This incident perhaps shows more strongly than any other how diametrically contrary to the truth are those fantastic traditions of the Middle Ages that make out St. Cuthbert to have been a fierce woman-hater. The restrictions on women in church applied to Columban monasteries generally.—Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 207, n.

⁵¹ It was on this occasion that he is said to have chosen water to drink in preference to wine or beer, but to have afterwards changed it into wine:—'Quaerebant quid bibere vellet, rogantes ut vinum, sive cervisiam, afferri liceret. 'Aquam,' inquit, 'date mihi.'—Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxxv. This shows that he regarded the use of neither beer nor wine with disapproval.

VII.—NOTES ON THE JACOBITE MOVEMENT IN UPPER COQUETDALE, 1715.

By D. D. DIXON, of Rothbury.

[Read on the 24th February, 1892.]

FOR the first glimpse of what may be termed Jacobite sentiments we must cast our thoughts back to the great internecine struggle of the seventeenth century, when the blood of Cavalier and Roundhead darkened many a spot throughout this fair land of England. Then the struggle lay between Royalist and Parliamentary, as in after years it lay between Jacobite and Whig. The Royalists in the days of Charles I. and the Jacobites of the last decade of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century were, both of them, supporters of the Stuarts, while the Whigs during the same periods were, first, the supporters of the Parliamentary party, next of William, prince of Orange, and then of George I.

The term Jacobite (from 'Jacobus,' the Latin form of James) was given to the party who still adhered to James II. after his deposition in 1688. The term Whig is said to have been given by the Royalists to the Parliamentarians during the days of Cromwell, from the initials of their motto, 'We hope in God'—WHIG. It is not for me, neither is it the time or place, in which to discuss the question of the hereditary right of kings, for on this point, even at the present day, there is a great diversity of opinion. Look, for example, what an intense interest the whole nation took in the Stuart Exhibition of 1889, when Jacobite relics of almost sacred associations were sent from all parts of the kingdom. There also exist societies such as 'The Jacobite League' and 'The Order of the White Rose,' whose object is, amongst others, to keep in perpetual remembrance the sorrows and the sufferings of the house of Stuart; to keep the solemn days of the order, notably the 30th of January and the 29th of May, in commemoration of the murder of Charles I. and the restoration of Charles II.; and 'To study the history of the house of Stuart and its adherents.' To have openly held these opinions—to have published such a code of rules—would

during the last century have been accounted high treason. But in this the nineteenth century the feeling in favour of the Stuarts is supposed to be more sympathetic and sentimental than real; yet the members of the orders I have just mentioned are expected to profess certain principles, which are expressed in their monthly publication,¹ where most able and interesting papers appear relating to Jacobite times and Jacobite measures, in which the writers evince a warm sympathy for the Stuarts and their unhappy cause. While, on the other hand, we can read, almost any day, in the columns of a portion of the English press views exactly the opposite. Therefore, it would seem that in this advanced age, as well as in '15 and '45, we have amongst us both Jacobites and Whigs.

If during the reading of this paper, my own sympathy for the old Jacobites comes out somewhat strongly, I can at least rejoice in the companionship of an eminent member of our society. The owner of one of the old manors of the Radcliffes,² who in 1883, prompted by a laudable spirit of admiration and regret at the untimely end of two of our brave Northumbrian noblemen, caused a roadside cross to be erected between Langley castle and Haydon Bridge, bearing the following inscription:—'In memory of James and Charles Viscounts Langley, Earls of Derwentwater, beheaded on Tower Hill, 24th February, 1716, and 8th December, 1746, for loyalty to their lawful sovereign.'

Although it was not until the coming of William, prince of Orange, in 1688, that the term Jacobite was first used, and the Jacobite movement really began, yet it may be of interest if I endeavour to show you that the political leanings of the inhabitants of Upper Coquetdale were mostly in favour of the Stuarts (or Royalists) during the troubles of that melancholy era in our nation's history, the great civil war of the seventeenth century. We have in our remote valley evidences of this sympathy for the Stuart cause, not only in the traditions handed down to us, and in the historical records of that period, but it is also found expressed in the pages of the old vestry books of our parish church of Rothbury. About the year 1653, Ambrose Jones, rector of Rothbury, was ejected from the living, and his place filled by Thomes Cotes, some time schoolmaster at Stanton.

¹ *The Royalist*.

² C. J. Bates.

Probably this person got the appointment through the influence of Edward Fenwick of Stanton, esq., who was high sheriff of Northumberland during the Commonwealth—1655—or thereabouts.³ The first intimation we get of opposition on the part of the parishioners of Rothbury to the minister appointed by the Parliament is in the evident disregard they paid to his repeated injunctions to attend the vestry meetings. We can gather from the minutes of meetings held in 1658 and 1659, that no business could be transacted owing to the non-attendance of churchwardens, vestrymen, and overseers of the poor. Complaints of this neglect are found entered time after time in the old record book during the Commonwealth. But at the Easter vestry meeting of April 14th, 1660, just on the eve of the restoration of Charles II.—mark the change that came over these men of Coquet!—the minutes of that meeting tell us that ‘The names were called, and all appeared.’ After recording the ordinary business of the meeting, the minutes end as follows: ‘Some other things of Triviall Concernment was done, and some, more weighty, were mensioned, but not done, after which they friendly and lovingly parted,’ and then as if to express their joy at the approaching event, they add, ‘VIVAT REX CAROLUS SECUNDUS FLOREAT ECCLESIA ANGLICANA. AMEN.’ As another piece of local evidence bearing on the subject I might add that on the original jamb of an old fireplace in the Black Bull inn at Rothbury (now the Newcastle house) there are cut in fine bold relief the letters ‘B.R., 1660.’ This has evidently been done by a person of some character, as if to record an event of more than ordinary interest. I should say the initials are those of Bernard Rumney, who at that time was the village poet and musician. His name often occurs in the

³ From the following entry found in the pages of the Rothbury Church records of that period, in the handwriting of Thomas Cotes, it would appear that Edward Fenwick had been the high sheriff of Northumberland somewhere about 1655 or 1656:—‘A collection was made for the Protestants of Piedmont and Savoy the summe pd. £4 11s. 06d. to Edward ffenwick of Stanton Esq. then High Sheriffe’—also in a conversation which followed the reading of this paper Mr. Richard Welford pointed out—‘that the date of the shrievalty of Edward Fenwick of Stanton was fixed by a deed quoted by him in a paper on Cuthbert Gray (see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, XI. 72), being the marriage settlement of William Fenwick of Stanton, eldest son of the high sheriff of Northumberland, and Elizabeth Ellison, daughter of Robert Ellison, high sheriff of the county of Durham, and niece of William Gray, author of the *Chorographia*. It appears, however, from a list of the high sheriffs of Northumberland, compiled by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, and published in vol. VI. of the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, pp. 98-104, that Edward Fenwick of Stanton held the office four times in succession, namely, from 1656 to the Restoration.’

Rothbury church records as churchwarden after the restoration of 1660, but *never* during the Commonwealth.

No doubt there were persons to be found in Upper Coquetdale who took the side of the Parliamentarians against the Royalists. Of this party a numerous and influential family named Potts, the owners of much property at Sharperton, Holystone and the Trewhitts, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and whose descendants are yet in Coquetdale, appear to have been the leaders. On the 24th of January, 1648, 'Michael Potts of Sharperton, co. Northumberland, vintner, was a witness against Charles I.'⁴ But the majority of the dalesmen and the country squires, the Selbys of Biddlestone, the Widdringtons of Cartington, and the Claverings of Callaly, with their tenants and their retainers, fought on the side of the king. Again, in the bloodless revolution of 1688, when William and Mary were placed on the throne, there were found in North Northumberland a few who kept their allegiance to James II. Of this change in the line of English monarchs there is no historical record having any special reference to Coquetdale; but, as a link in the chain of events that led up to the Jacobite rising of the next century, I may be permitted to give a passing notice of one of the bravest of Northumbria's sons, Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, 'the flower among them a', who forfeited his life for the part he unfortunately took against William, prince of Orange. Sir John Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th of January, 1697. I have in my possession a knife and fork of antique pattern, once the property of this unfortunate nobleman. Boyer, in his annals of the reign of Queen Anne, states that the horse 'Sorel,' from which William III. prince of Orange was thrown, thereby causing his death, was bred at Wallington, and had been part of Sir John Fenwick's confiscated property. Taking advantage of this strange fatality, the Jacobites, much to the chagrin of the Whig party, composed a poem in praise of 'Sorel,' beginning 'Illustris sonipes;' whilst, after that fatal occurrence, a frequent toast at the convivial meetings of those wicked Jacobites was:—'To the health of the little gentleman in the black velvet coat,' which meant the mole that made the hillock into which Sorel slipped his foot when he fell

⁴ Kennet's *Hist. of England*

with the king.⁵ It is curious to notice the traditional connection of flowers and animals with many of our great national movements, the Broom or *planta genista* of the Plantagenets, the White and Red Roses of York and Lancaster, the White Rose of the Jacobites, even our domestic pest, the common rat, does not escape this distinguished honour. One of our members, Dr. Embleton, tells us:—‘Of the two great parties of rats, contending for supremacy in England during the last century, the black was called the Jacobite, the brown the Hanoverian, in obvious historic allusion.’ In some of the old Jacobite ballads, George I. is often described as the ‘Muckle Hanoverian Rattan.’

I shall now speak of the rising of 1715, one of the most romantic periods in the history of our country. This feeling is no doubt looked upon by a number of stolid, matter-of-fact people nowadays as mere sentiment, to those I would say, we little understand how large a part sentiment plays in our lives. On the accession of George I. in 1714, that bitterness of political party feeling, which during the reign of queen Anne had run so high, rather increased than diminished. It was then that the Jacobites made a strenuous but futile attempt to place a Stuart once more on the English throne, in the person of James, the son of James II. This prince was James III. of the English Jacobites—the Chevalier de St George of the French, James VIII. of the Scotch—but by the Whig party in England he was called the ‘Pretender.’ The outbreak was no doubt hastened by the somewhat harsh measures adopted by the Elector King and his ministers against the Jacobites. Many persons of high rank were imprisoned on bare suspicion. Then riots took place in various parts. The oak leaf (the symbol of Charles II.), was openly worn at Oxford, and the effigy of William, prince of Orange, was burnt amidst an applauding mob. In this northern county of Northumberland, amongst the country squires and the yeomen of our rural districts the Jacobite cause found much favour, and not a few supporters. Whether it was the old border love of adventure, mingled with a real wish to have James to reign over them, or simply a sentimental feeling of sympathy for an exile, a romantic feeling said to have been largely prevalent amongst the fair sex of that period, that caused our Northumbrian

⁵ Hodgson’s *Hist. of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. i. p. 257.

gentry to take part in the plot, one cannot tell; but whatever the motive, a number of the High Tory party, and nearly the whole of the Catholic gentry of Northumberland, true to their political traditions and steadfast adherence to their hereditary faith, took a prominent action in the movement, for which several of the heads of our leading families, the very cream of our Northumbrian gentry, forfeited not only their estates, but their lives.

It was early in the month of October, 1715, that the gathering discontent of the Northumbrian Jacobites, which for some time had been gradually gaining strength, suddenly burst forth into an open declaration against the rule of George of Hanover. The Highland clans, under the earl of Mar, had already (on the 9th September) raised the standard of the Chevalier, and proclaimed him as James VIII. of Scotland. Fortunately there exists an account of the rising of 1715, written by the Rev. Robert Patten, priest of Allendale, Northumberland, one of the chaplains in the Jacobite army. This person was taken prisoner with many others, at the defeat of the Jacobites at Preston, in Lancashire, but saved his life by turning king's evidence; and, says Burton in his history of Scotland, 'holds a distinguished place in the annals of infamy.' This volume, known as Patten's *History of the Rebellion of 1715*, is full of the most interesting information respecting the Jacobite movement, and although the information is most valuable, yet, as one reads its pages those minute records of the daily action and movements of the Jacobites by one of their own number, who having himself received the king's pardon, coolly turns round and calls his former comrades 'rebels.' It raises a feeling of disgust at the baseness of the man, who having saved his own life in so cowardly a manner, could thus write of those whom he had so recently urged on by precept and example.

It is rather singular that in the rising of 1745 the well-known John Murray of Broughton, secretary to Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender, should have been guilty of the same ungenerous act. It would render this paper much too long and tedious, to follow all the movements, or to relate in full the various schemes and measures planned and concerted in London by the Jacobites during the years 1714 and 1715, in which deliberations two Northumbrian gentlemen

took an active part, captain John Shaftoe, one of the Bavington family, who was afterwards shot; and captain John Hunter of North Tyne. I shall therefore confine my notes as much as possible to the county of Northumberland, and more especially to the valley of the Coquet. Here I cannot do better than quote the words of the Rev. Robert Patten, who, when speaking of the Northumbrian Jacobites, says,⁶ 'the first step towards their appearing in Arms was when about the latter end of September the Lord *Derwentwater* had notice that there was a Warrant out from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that the Messengers were come to *Durham* that were to take him. Mr. *Forster* likewise having notice of the like Warrant against him. Upon this news they had a full Meeting of the parties concerned in Northumberland' (at which a resolution was passed). 'Pursuant to this Resolution, an Appointment was made, and notice of it sent to all their Friends, to meet the next morning, which was the 6th of *October*, at a place called *Green rig* (in the parish of Birtley, North Tyne) which was done accordingly, for Mr. *Forster*, with several Gentlemen, in Number at first about Twenty, met at the Rendezvous; but made no stay here, thinking the place inconvenient; but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*, from whence they might discover any that came either to join them or to oppose them. They had not been long here but they discovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that Morning from his own Seat at *Dilstone*, with some Friends and all his Servants, mounted, some upon his Coach-Horses, and others upon very good useful Horses, and all very well arm'd. . . . They were now near 60 horse, most Gentlemen and their Attendants; when, calling a short Council, it was concluded to march towards the River *Coquett*, to a place called *Plainfield*.' There is a tradition to this effect, that the stone stoup or *Waterfalls* comb stands on the spot where *Derwentwater* mounted his horse to ride with the troop into Coquetdale). 'Here (says Patten) they were joined by others, who came straggling in, and having made some stay here, they resolved to go that night to *Rothbury*, a small market Town. Here they stayed all Night, and next Morning, being the 7th of *October*, their number still increasing, they marched to *Warkworth*.'

⁶ Patten's *Hist. of the Rebellion of 1715*, pp. 26, 27, 28.

The reason why the Jacobites fixed upon Plainfield as their place of rendezvous in Upper Coquetdale was probably owing to its central position, as well as being near that point where the troop coming out of Redewater would enter the valley of the Coquet. Plainfield Moor, where it is said they met, forms part of the Harbottle estate, and is situated midway between Harbottle and Rothbury, on the lower slopes of the Wreigh Hill Pike, and commands a full view of the Cheviot hills on the north, is only a very short distance from Biddlestone, the seat of the Selbys; Callaly, at that time the seat of the Claverings; and Cartington, then the seat of the Talbots; all of whom were staunch Catholics, and active partizans in the movement. Plainfield Moor still exists, and, with the exception of the fences by which it is surrounded⁷ and intersected, it probably presents much the same aspect to-day as it did on that October afternoon of 1715, when those loyal hearted Northumbrian Jacobites, led by the earl of Derwentwater, gathered round the standard of the exiled prince. Tradition points to a fine old ash tree, which forms a prominent feature in the landscape, on the moor between Sharperton Edge and Plainfield, as the spot where Derwentwater first unfurled the standard of the prince in Coquetdale. During the early part of the present century a farmer named Robert Wealleans, residing at the adjoining farm of Charity Hall, had in his possession, amongst other relics and curiosities, a gentleman's leather gauntlet glove, said to have been found on a thorn bush near to this ash tree, shortly after the departure of the Jacobites to their quarters at Rothbury.

It is evident that the final step had been taken somewhat hastily by Derwentwater and Forster, the leaders of the Northumbrian Jacobites, because lord Widdrington⁸ only heard of the gathering on the evening of October 5th, when, with several members of his family, he hurried up the next day to join the earl of Derwentwater at Plainfield. There is not a complete list of those of our Coquetdale ancestors who, on the 6th of October, 1715, went to swell the ranks

⁷ In a map of Rothbury parish, made by Edward Smith in 1816, kindly lent me by Mr. James Brook of Hepple, the highway leading from Rothbury to Harbottle is shown as not enclosed, being at that time quite an open road through Plainfield Moor.

⁸ Hodgson's *Hist. of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 256 (note 41, Widdrington Miscellanea).

of the insurgents on Plainfield Moor ; yet, along with the men out of Tyndale and Redesdale, we would have found there lord Widdrington and his two brothers Charles and Peregrine, John Talbot of Cartington, William Clavering of Callaly, and his kinsman George Collingwood of Easington ; Ephraim Selby of Biddlestone and his steward ; John Hunter of Callaly, laird Ratcliffe of Thropton, and his neighbour James Robson, the stonemason, with probably a few family retainers and yeomen out of the valleys of the Coquet and the Aln. Towards the close of that stormy autumn afternoon, two horsemen might have been observed hastening across the moor, their heads bent down over their horses' necks as they struggled against the westerly gale which blows hard and strong on that high-lying portion of Upper Coquetdale. Suddenly they are surrounded by a band of Jacobite troopers, who order them to halt, and without much resistance lead them prisoners into the Jacobite camp. The two captives were Justice Hall, better known throughout the county as Mad Jack Hall of Otterburn, and his man servant. Judging from the remark of Patten, that at Plainfield 'they were joined by others who came straggling in,' it would seem that the movement was more among the squires and well-to-do yeomen, than amongst the middle and lower classes of the population, and that not many of the common people in Coquetdale joined in the rising. It is amusing to learn that whilst several of our Northumbrian gentry were induced to join in the Jacobite movement only after much persuasion on the part of their Jacobitish friends, we find it was exactly the reverse with others, whose friends did their utmost to restrain them from taking any part in the rising, and who, when force of argument failed, had recourse to extreme measures, as in the case of⁹ Joseph Forster of Old Buston, a hot-headed, warm-hearted Jacobite, known as 'the Old Justice.' This plucky old gentleman was actually put in prison by his own relatives until the commotion was past, and was only thus prevented from joining the Jacobite army at Warkworth.

The rector of Rothbury, Dr. John Thomlinson, appears to have been neutral in the matter, or rather, he may not have had his loyalty to the reigning power put to the test. The Jacobite party left Roth-

⁹ Extract from the Forster deeds, kindly given me by Major Thompson, Walworth hall, Darlington.

bury on the Friday, and spent the Sunday at Warkworth; therefore it was reserved for the poor vicar of Warkworth¹⁰ to stand the trial whether he would, or would not, read the prayers in the parish church, according to the dictation of the Jacobite general. One can easily imagine the alarm there would be amongst the inhabitants of Coquetdale, as the cavalcade of armed men marched down the valley on their way from Plainfield towards Rothbury, and the anxious excitement within the little market town itself, when the Jacobites entered the wide old-fashioned street, and halted in the market-place in front of the 'Three Half-moons' and the 'Old Black Bull,' and there, under the shadow of the venerable walls of the old parish church, proclaimed James the third, king of England. Amongst the Coquetdale Jacobites already mentioned, we know there were with them that night at Rothbury:—¹¹ Thomas Forster, jun., of Etherstone; the earl of Derwentwater and his brother Charles; Philip Hodgson of Sandhoe; Thomas Errington of Beaufront; John Clavering of Berrington; William Shaftoe of Bavington and his son John; old Edward Shaftoe and his son captain John Shaftoe; John Thornton of Netherwitton; Charleton of the Bower and his son William: the pick of Northumberland. How or where the men and horses were quartered we are not told; but, according to a well-known tradition, the earl of Derwentwater spent the night under the thatched roof of that ancient hostelry the 'Three Half-moons,' now in ruins, the apartment in which he slept being afterwards called the earl's chamber.

The troops of lords Derwentwater and Widdrington are said to have been well armed, but the greater part of those who joined in the rising was certainly not; neither were these trained to act in concert. The Jacobite army of 1715 has been described as a mob of brave men armed with swords, guns, and pistols, which they had not been drilled to use. Whether it was in the affair of '15 or '45 I am not sure, but it was said that when the Jacobites in one of their marches through the county were about to enter the town of Wooler, the commanding officer, wishing his men to present a soldier-like appearance before the good folks of Wooler, gave the word of command, 'Draw swords,' when, much to the amusement of the spectators, a wag amongst the

¹⁰ Patten's *Hist. of the Rebellion of 1715*, p. 28.

¹¹ Lady Cowper's diary, 1714 to 1720, p. 185 (Appendix).



»THREE HALF MOONS« AND »BLACK BULL« INNS, ROTHBURY.

crowd shouted, 'And what are they to do who haven't swords?' An incident which shows the daring character of the men engaged in the movement, also the great lack of arms amongst them, occurred at Rothbury during the first week of the campaign.¹² On Friday, the 14th of October, Matthew Robson of Bellingham (a Redesdale yeoman), when returning from the Quarter Sessions held at Alnwick, proposed on arriving at Rothbury to bait his horse and have some refreshment himself. He had evidently been making his way to the 'Three Half-moons,' for on riding up the village, he came quite unexpectedly upon a company of Jacobites assembled in the Market Place. Immediately on his appearance, as he rode round the 'Black Bull' corner, two or three of the Jacobites, Robert Talbot, William Dod, and William Charleton of Reedsmouth (who no doubt knew very well that Matthew Robson was on the Hanoverian side), came forward and disarmed him, took possession of his horse, and placed the poor yeoman under arrest. After keeping him for three hours in mortal terror of his life, with threats to slay him or shoot him, he was released and sent off home to Bellingham on foot, a distance of twenty miles—his horse and harness, his buff belt, and his trusty broadsword being retained by his captors wherewith to arm a Jacobite trooper.

For several weeks, from the first day of the rising, Rothbury appears to have been the Jacobite head-quarters for the district, and was evidently visited and re-visited by roving parties of Jacobites. It is recorded that on the 2nd of November, 1715, the inhabitants¹³ 'att Rothbury were in great consternation by an alarme in the night that they would be attacqued, some gott one boot on, and some neither, but mounted in great disorder.' The rebel army, however, did not molest the town. No wonder, therefore, that the Government kept a watchful eye upon Rothbury, as the following item in the sheriff's accounts for the year 1715 will show:—'For the Sheriff's clerk and two Bailiffes expences, by order of the Earl of Scarborough, Lt. Lieutenant of the County, in going to Rothbury as spies, £06 08s. 00d.' On the 19th of October there was a general muster of the whole force of English and Lowland Scotch supporters of the cause held at Rothbury. No doubt from its central position and its easy distance

¹² *Records of the English Catholics of 1715*, by John Orlebar Payne, M.A., p. 114.

¹³ *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*.

from Scotland, the little Border town was on that occasion considered by the Jacobite leaders to be the most convenient spot where they could effect a junction of their forces. As I have already stated, the Jacobites, on leaving Rothbury on the 7th of October, marched down the valley of the Coquet to Warkworth, where they stayed over the Sunday, thence to Morpeth, intending to go on to Newcastle; but not being received by the wary merchant burgesses of that important town with open arms, as they had been led to expect, the little army, somewhat discouraged, proceeded up the Tyne to Hexham, which they made their head-quarters. On Tuesday, October 18th, a messenger arrived at Hexham with the news that the Scottish Jacobites were crossing the Borders, and wished their Northumbrian friends to meet them at Rothbury. Having also been informed that general Carpenter, who had arrived at Newcastle, was preparing to attack them, the Northumbrian Jacobites at once decided to proceed northward; therefore the whole troop, under the command of the earl of Derwentwater, left Hexham early the next morning (being Wednesday, October 19th), and after halting some time at Kirkharle, marched across the fells, and entered Rothbury by the Hexham road late in the afternoon. Here they were met by the Jacobites of the Scottish Lowlands, with their leaders, lord Kenmure, the earl of Nithsdale, the earl of Wintoun, the earl of Carnwath, and lord Nairn, as brave an assembly of hardy Borderers as ever met on the banks of the Coquet. It is said that men and officers spent a convivial night in true border fashion, and we may be sure that many a Jacobite song and many a Jacobite toast would ring through the rafters of the 'Three Half-moons,' and the 'Old Black Bull,' on that eventful night. Very fond our Jacobite ancestors were of drinking toasts and singing ballads in which they expressed their sentiments. Many of the Jacobite toasts were so esoteric and seemingly contradictory in their verbiage, that except to the initiated it was most difficult to say which king, Jacobite or Whig, was really being toasted. Besides the well-known toast, 'To the king over the water,' the following were often used at mixed meetings with perfect safety:—

'Here's a health to the king, whom the crown doth belong to,
 Confusion to those who the right king would wrong so.
 I do not here mention either old king or new king,
 But here is a health, boys—a health to the true king.'

Or again—

‘God bless the king, I mean the faith’s defender,
 God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;
 But who Pretender is, or who is king—
 God bless us all—that’s quite another thing.’

Thanks to Sir Walter Scott, to the Ettrick Shepherd, and to the compilers of our own Northumbrian minstrelsy, we have a goodly collection of Jacobite songs and ballads handed down to us. Many of these songs are yet great favourites amongst the rural population of Northumberland. I myself hear them frequently sung at our social gatherings in Coquetdale, and how expressive and heartstirring these old Jacobite verses are, such as, ‘There’ll never be peace till Jamie comes hame,’ ‘Charlie is my darling,’ ‘Jamie the rover,’ ‘Wha wadna fight for Charlie,’ ‘The auld Stuart’s back again,’ and others holding up to ridicule the house of Hanover. ‘Though Geordie reigns in Jamie’s stead,’ ‘Awa, Whigs, awa,’ ‘Oh, what’s the rhyme to porringer,’ ‘The wee, wee German Lairdie,’ ‘The sow’s tail to Geordie,’ and the like. On the morning of Thursday, the 20th of October, the combined forces marched from Rothbury to Wooler, where they rested for the night, and reached Kelso the next day. The subsequent movements of the Jacobite army are too much a matter of general history to be repeated in this paper. The leaders, after much discussion and many dissensions, decided upon entering England by way of Carlisle, which they did, and penetrating as far as Preston in Lancashire, they were totally defeated by the king’s forces. Of that miserable affair at Preston, when there were taken no less than seven lords and 1,490 followers, numbering amongst them the finest noblemen in the land, I need not relate to you in full. Among the Jacobite prisoners in that ignominious march from Preston to London, besides the noble earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington and his two brothers, William Shaftoe of Bavington, his son John and other two of the family, there were the Ordes, Forsters, Riddells, Thorntons, Claverings, and Scotts, the flower of Northumberland chivalry.

It may be of some interest if I give a short account of some of those brave but misguided gentlemen who were taken prisoners, and the fate which befel them. Of the execution (or, as the Jacobite calendar puts it) ‘the murder of James Ratcliffe,’ earl of Derwentwater, and of William Gordon, viscount Kenmure, Kenmure as commanding the

Scotch, and Derwentwater as commanding the English Jacobites at the first rising, who were beheaded on Tower Hill, February 24th, 1716, I shall only remark that, by a strange coincidence, the reading of this paper has fallen on the anniversary of the sad death of these two unfortunate noblemen; whilst, to show how tradition lingers amongst our rural population in remote districts, it was only the other day a person in Upper Coquetdale told me that from their earliest recollections they had heard the 'Aurora Borealis' called 'Derwentwater's Lights.' Patten furnishes us with the names of the prisoners, from whose list I shall give the names of a few who were connected with the rising in Coquetdale:—'William Widdrington, lord Widdrington, Charles Widdrington, Esq., brother to the lord Widdrington of Northumberland, Papist, pleaded guilty; Peregrine Widdrington, Esq., third brother to this lord, and aide-de-camp to General Forster, Papist; John Hunter, a farmer at Callylee, in Northumberland, reputed very rich, he made his escape; John Clavering, a Papist, of Northumberland; John Clavering, brother to William Clavering, both Papists in Northumberland.'

In his defence, lord Widdrington pleaded that¹⁴ 'he went with his kinsmen to the assembly at Plainfield in October, 1715, without any definite knowledge as to what was intended,'¹⁵ 'for although he had met with publick rumours and reports of intended invasions from abroad, and insurrections at home, yet he never knew, or any other way heard of, any formed design against the government, till he was told the night before of a meeting intended at Plainfield in Northumberland on the sixth of October last; and being soon after informed that almost all his neighbours and acquaintance had there met in arms, he took a hasty and inconsiderate resolution of joining them, nor was he in any sort prepared for such an undertaking, having only some of his own family with him, no arms, but his common fowling pieces, and wearing swords.'¹⁶ Notwithstanding this evidence, it was well known that lord Widdrington and his two brothers, Charles and Peregrine, with about twenty men, joined the Jacobite army at Warkworth on Saturday, October 8th. Lord Widdrington was sentenced to death, but

¹⁴ Doran's *London in Jacobite Times*, vol. i. p. 135.

¹⁵ Hodgson's *Hist. of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 256 (note 41 Widdrington Miscellanea).

¹⁶ Lady Cowper's diary, p. 186 (Appendix).

afterwards pardoned. William Clavering of Callaly, the chief of his house, was over seventy years of age when he joined in the rising. It has been a puzzle to many how the Widdringtons, the Selbys, and the Claverings, managed to save their lives and their estates after the active part they took in the affair of 1715 ; but a perusal of lady Cowper's diary makes this matter somewhat clear. Most interesting details relating to the trials in London of the Jacobite prisoners of 1715 are given in the 'Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, 1714 to 1720.'¹⁷ 'Her maiden name was Mary Clavering, and she was the Daughter of John Clavering, Esq., of Chopwell, in the county of Durham, who was himself of a younger Branch of the Ancient Northumbrian Family of Clavering of Callalee and Axwell, a Race entertaining the Jacobite predilections which were then so prevalent in the north of England and Scotland.' She was married in 1706 to William lord Cowper, who was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and at the trial of the Jacobite prisoners he was appointed High Steward of England. Lady Cowper was possessed of considerable personal attractions, and although the object of much admiration at the court of George I. she preserved an unsullied reputation. Lady Mary appears to have sided with the political opinions of her husband in support of the Hanoverian succession, rather than with those of her Jacobite kinsmen. Speaking of the arrival of the prisoners in London, lady Cowper gives the following melancholy picture:—¹⁸ 'This week the prisoners were brought to town from Preston. They came in with their arms tied, and their horses (whose bridles were taken off) led each by a soldier. The mob insulted them terribly. The chief of my father's house (Wm. Clavering of Callalee) was amongst them. He was about seventy years old. A desperate fortune had drove him from home in hopes to have repaired it.' It was no doubt due to the benign influence of lady Cowper, the beautiful Mary Clavering of Chopwell, that so many of our north country squires and their followers were acquitted or quietly allowed to escape from prison, who would eventually return to their Northumbrian homes, sadder and wiser men. It fared very differently indeed with the gentle George Colling-

¹⁷ Lady Cowper's diary, p. vii. (Preface).

¹⁸ Lady Cowper's diary, p. 62.

wood of Eslington, of whom even the renegade Patten thus speaks: 'George Collingwood of Northumberland, a Papist of a valuable estate. He was ordered for London, but he was seiz'd with the gout at Wigan, and from thence he was carried to Liverpool, and there found guilty, and afterwards executed there the 25th of February, 1716. He was a very pious gentleman, and well beloved in his country.' Traditions of George Collingwood were still current amongst the old inhabitants of Whittingham Vale some forty or fifty years ago. It was said that Collingwood, like his friend Derwentwater, was strongly urged by his wife (a daughter of lord Montague) to take part in the rising; and that when on his way to join the Jacobite army, he turned round at Thrunton Crag End, a range of hills south of the village of Whittingham, and fondly gazed over his fair domain with a sorrowful heart and a secret foreboding that he was looking upon it for the last time, and that never again would he sleep under the ancient roof-tree of the Collingwoods of Eslington. Lady Cowper tells us how, before his execution, there were 'sad pleadings.' Poor 'Mrs. Collingwood wrote to a friend in town to try to get her husband's life granted to her. The friend's answer was as follows:—'I think you are mad when you talk of saving your husband's life. Don't you know you will have five hundred pounds a year jointure if he's hanged, and that you won't have a groat if he's saved? Consider, and let me have your answer, for I shall do nothing in it till then.' The answer did not come time enough, and so he was hanged.

Amid the corrupt court of George I. it was only with some difficulty, and after much bribery, that any petition in favour of a Jacobite prisoner found its way to the king. Lord Nairn, one of the Scotch Jacobites, after lying many months in prison, and spending a large sum of money, was at last set at liberty. The following entry from his lordship's diary—which is brief, blunt, but expressive—tells its own tale:—¹⁹ 'Gave to lawyers and bitches during that time, £1,500.' In Patten's list of prisoners a gentlemen, who for a short time resided at Cartington, is described thus:—'John Talbot of Cartington, in Northumberland, a brave young gentleman (his father made himself famous for his courage at the siege of Buda, but was killed). This gentleman made his escape from Chester.' The Talbots

¹⁹ Doran's *London in Jacobite Times*, vol. i. p. 281.

appear to have succeeded the Widdringtons at Cartington. Of this family I have only come across one entry in the Rothbury Parish Register, and that is of a burial :—‘ November 18th, 1679. Edward, fil Mr. John Talbot, Cartington.’ This was the last of the Talbots at Cartington, for in the register of burials (two years after the ’15) is found December 25th, 1717. ‘ John, fil Mr. John Fenwick, Cartington.’ In the July of 1716, twenty-four Jacobites were condemned to death, but through the intercession of the duchess of Shrewsbury, twenty-two of them were reprieved. The two unfortunate exceptions were Parson Paul, a Church of England clergyman, and Justice Hall of Otterburn. Doran²⁰ relates the following incident which took place at the execution of these two unfortunate men :—‘ As Justice Hall was standing meekly at Paul’s side, a cowardly Whig ruffian in the crowd threw at the doomed man a stone which reached its aim. The poor gentleman bowed his head in acknowledgment of the civility, turned to the hangman, and died without fuss or protest.’ Patten relates a conversation, which he remarks ‘ has something diverting in it,’ which took place between William Shaftoe of Bavington and John Hall of Otterburn, whilst prisoners in Newgate :—‘ Couzin Jack (said Shaftoe) I am thinking upon what is told us that God will visit the sins of the fathers unto the third and fourth generations. I am of opinion that it is so with us ; for your grandfather and my grandfather got most of their estates as sequestrators ; and now we must lose them again for being rebels.’ The explanation Justice Hall gave of how he got entangled in the Jacobite rising is a little curious, and often enters my mind whilst crossing Plainfield Moor :—²¹ ‘ Two witnesses deposed that they had seen him in the company of the rebels ; but he alleged that, on a tempestuous day, as he was returning home from a magistrates’ meeting on Plainfield, while he was leaning forward to screen himself from the weather, he was suddenly surrounded by rebels, who forced him and his servants away with them, though he was unarmed, and had only seven shillings and sixpence in his pockets.’

To the list of noblemen and gentlemen who were taken prisoners at Preston, Patten adds the names of their servants and followers. Two of these, I think, I have been able to identify as Coquetdale

²⁰ Doran’s *London in Jacobite Times*, vol. i. p. 260.

²¹ Hodgson’s *Hist. of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. i. p. 113.

men, viz., William Ratcliff and James Robson. Other names rather uncommon also occur in the list, such as Rowland and Tasker, which are frequently met with in the Rothbury parish register. William Ratcliff is (I should say) that laird Ratcliff of Thropton, whose death is recorded in the register of December 16th, 1720. Whilst of James Robson we find a note to a song in 'Bell's Rhymes of Northern Bards' (1812), page 250, which says: 'This song is imperfectly compiled from part of a "Satyr upon Women," wrote in Preston prison in 1715 by Mr. James Robson, a freeholder in Thropton, near Rothbury, Northumberland, at that time a musician in the rebel army. He sung the satyr aloud, at an iron-barred window looking into a garden, where a lady and her maid were walking. After the song was finished, the former says: "That young man seems very severe upon our sex; but perhaps he is singing more from oppression than pleasure; go give him that half-crown piece," which the girl gave him through the grating, at a period when he was at the point of starving.' It would appear that this Jacobite bandsman had at length been set at liberty, for on looking through that portion of the Rothbury parish register then specially set apart for Papists and Dissenters, I find there were Robsons (Papists) residing in Thropton 200 years ago. Between 1705 and 1714 there are frequent baptismal entries of the children of James Robson of Thropton. In 1714 these entries cease; but in 1723 we find amongst the burials, 'Mary, wife of James Robson, Thropton,' and then on May 6th, 1757, the burial of our hero himself is recorded thus:—'James Robson of Thropton.' In searching through our parish register for the several items just quoted, I could not help observing what I thought to be one of the symptoms of the unsettled state of society during that period of which I have been speaking, the palpable decrease there is in wedding entries. It is said of our own day that marriages are more numerous in prosperous times than in times of commercial depression. So we find in the Rothbury register there were in 1713, twenty weddings; in 1714, fifteen weddings; in 1716, there were fifteen weddings; while in 1715 there were only seven. Burials and christenings went on as usual; in fact, on the very day that the Jacobites marched from Plainfield to Rothbury there was a christening from Flotterton:—'Oct. 6, 1715, Margt., fil Michael Potts of Flotterton.'

The following extracts from the session records of Northumberland show that both before and after the Jacobite rising of 1715 the government, through the reports of the High Constables to the Quarter Sessions, obtained a complete register of the names and places of abode of all the Roman Catholics in the county :—

(EASTER SESSIONS, 1714.)

A List of the Papist Houses in ye West Division of Koket-dale Ward.

Mr. John Talbot	} in Cartington.	John Vint in hepple.
William Dod		MA James Selby in Allenton.
Mr. Thomas Story in Low Trewhit.		Mr. Robert King } in Biddlestone.
Edward Givens	} in Sniter.	John Reed
Peter Robson		Mr. Fenwick Robson in healey.
James Robson in Thropton.		Thomas Hunter } in Rothbury.
George Robson in ye Spittle.		George Hunter

(Signed) WILLIAM READHEAD (High Constable).

A List of ye Papiests names of Rothbury pairish August ye 16th daye 1715.

Mr. John Talbot in Cartenton.	George Robson in Thropton Spittle.
William dood in Cartenton.	Thomas Hunter in Rothbury.
Mr. Thomas Story in Trewghett.	George Hunter in Rothbury.
Mr. George Story in Trewghett.	John Hunter in Rothbury.
peeter Robson in Snitter.	Mr. Fenwick Robson in Healey.
George Robson in Snitter.	William Hunter in Thorney-haugh.
Edward Jineings in Snitter.	John Hunter in ye Raw.
George Besford in Snitter.	John Denntt in Hepple.
Mr. Francis Huntredge in Thropton.	Hendry Johnstone in Flotterton.
James Robson in Thropton.	John Reiveley in ye Busy Gapp.
Christtefer Davison in Thropton.	

At Hedgeley August ye 19th 1715 this return made by George Chaitter high Constable for ye West Division of Coquetdale Ward.

A List of ye papists names of Allington parish and Halleystone August ye 19th 1715.

Mr. Robert King in Bittleston.	Franke Scott in Bittleston.
George Rutherford in Bittleston.	Alexander Rutherford in Borrowtown.
John Reed in Bittleston.	Thomas Potts in Borrowtown.
Thomas Rutter in Bittleston.	Mr. James Selby in Allington.
John Grey in Bittleston.	John Jameson in Harbottle.
John Sprote in Bittleston.	Marke Scotte in Harbottle.
William Walles in Bittleston.	John Robson in Foxton.
Alexander Luke in Bittleston.	George Stavert in Halleystone.
John Brown in Bittleston.	John Gardner in Fairnham.
Thomas Davisen in Bittleston.	

At Hedgeley August 19 1715 this return was made by George Chaitter high Constable for ye West Division of Coquetdale Ward.

Papists in ye North Division in Coquetdale Ward August 19 1715.

Calleley ...	John Clavering esq. — Moodey. — Moodey.		John Blagdon. John Pery. Christopher Pery. W ^m . Robson.
Yeatlington ...	Luke Blakelock. W ^m . Avery. James Gardiner.	Whittingham...	John How.
High Houses ...	Mr. John Hunter.	Mountain of ye Clay ...	Mr. George Morrison.
Eslington ...	Geo. Collingwood esq. Cuthbert Blakelock. John Wilson. John Ferry. W ^m . Cowley. Mich. Brown.	Glanton ... Edlingham ... Fawdon ...	John Heslipp. Alexander Himer. Tho ^s . Snawdon. W ^m . Snawdon. — Snawdon, a Brother of ye same.

At Hedgeley, August ye 19th, 1715, this return made by fergus Storey, high Constable of the North Division of Coquetdale Ward.

In 1718, this system of espionage, if we might so call it, still continued in force, for an entry in the Session Records reads thus:—

I John Hopper High Constable for the North Division of Coquetdale ward do hereby certifie that I have made Diligent Search and Enquiry for such persons as were concerned in the late Rebellion but have found none only the following persons hereunder named who formerly were residing within my Division and about the time of the Rebellion withdrew themselves and went abroad and are suspected to have been concerned therein but are not now to be mett with in my Division. As witness my hand the 14th day of January 1718.

(Signed) JOHN HOPPER.

John Hunter of Calliley high-houses.	George How of the same.
Tho ^s . Selbye of Calliley.	Henry Brown of Eslington Miln-house.
Jno. How of Whittingham.	George Downey of Thrunton.

In a letter from Thos. Burrell, esq., of Broom Park, to Thomas Ord, esq., Clerk of the Peace, dated Jan. 12, 1718-19, he says:—

The bearer John Hopper High Constable for this Division haith to my knowledge made deligent search for ye Rebels in these partes but they are so wise as to get out of ye way and tho' he hath often made it his busingness to finde them yet to no purpose as I believe he will be reddey to make oath thereof.

About the same time, Robert Readhead, High Constable for the West Division of Coquetdale Ward, gives the following report:—

John Vint of heple, Edward Greings of Snitter, John Talbot of Cartington, John Henderson of Cartington, Thomas Davidson of Bittlestone, Roleand Robson of healey weare psons formerly Resideing within my Division and about the time of the Rebellion withdrew themselves and went abroad and are suspected to have beene concerned in the Late Rebellion but are not now to be found in my division. George Story of Cartington I have taken and caryed him before Thomas Collingwood Esq. As wites my hand this 14th Jan. yr 1718.

(Signed) ROBERT READHEAD.

VIII.—NOTES OF A JOURNEY FROM OXFORD TO
EMBLETON AND BACK IN 1464.

BY EDWARD BATESON.

[Read on the 29th September, 1892.]

I RECENTLY had occasion to examine a large number of documents at Merton college, Oxford, bearing upon the history of Embleton, many of which will shortly appear elsewhere. In the course of my search I came across some memoranda written in contracted Latin upon long narrow slips of paper; the writing being in many places faded and difficult to read.¹ Upon examination it became evident that the memoranda were the rough notes of the daily expenses of a journey of one of the bursars of the college from Oxford to Embleton and back in the year 1464.

The object of the bursar's journey was no doubt to superintend business connected with the rectorial tithes of the two Northumbrian livings of Embleton and Ponteland, which belonged to Merton college.

Any record of a journey from one end of England to the other at so remote a period must be of great interest, but more especially during the troubled time to which this record refers. For it will be remembered that the battle of Hexham was fought in May, 1464, and the state of affairs was such that in the same year Edward IV. ordered the sheriffs to proclaim that every man from sixteen to sixty should be well and defensibly arrayed and ready to attend on his highness at a day's notice. It is surprising, therefore, that a long journey should have been undertaken by a private individual at such a time, and more especially when the road led to the seat of the greatest disorder. But an examination of the record itself may afford some valuable conclusions as to the general state of the country at that time.

The bursar started from Oxford on Monday, August 13th, 1464, *i.e.*, the Monday preceding the Feast of the Assumption. Being the first day of his long journey he was anxious not to make himself stiff by riding too far, and only got as far as Buckingham, about 17 miles.

¹ *Merton Coll. Deeds*, No. 2,853, on paper 140 lines, 4 inches wide.

He there bought a halter, probably to lead one of his pack horses, and supped on ducks, bread and beer. On Tuesday, August 14th, the eve of the Feast of the Assumption, he dined at Bedford, and he must therefore have ridden about 25 miles before mid-day. He had roach, from the Ouse at Bedford, for dinner, with bread and beer, and pushing on in the afternoon he reached Gamlingay, a little village in Bedfordshire, by night. Merton college has still some property at Gamlingay.

He appears to have timed his journey to arrive at Cambridge, to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption, on Wednesday, August 15th. On that day he dined with the master of St. John's. It should be remembered that this individual was not the master of the present foundation, but master of the Hospital of St. John, which stood on the site of the college of the same name. The bursar was wise in his choice of a host on this occasion, for the hospital was wealthy, and the extravagant sums spent by the canons of St. John's upon their commons afforded shortly afterwards a reason for the suppression of the establishment. He spent the afternoon of the feast-day in drinking beer with a companion, and treated himself to sixpennyworth of meat for supper. The object of the bursar's visit to Cambridge was no doubt the transaction of some business connected with the Merton college property there. The name of Merton hall, the old house facing the Madingley road, still recalls the connection of the ancient Oxford college with the University of Cambridge.

On Thursday (August 16th) the bursar again dined with the master of St. John's. In the afternoon, like some modern graduate, he walked to the picturesque village of Grantchester, about two miles from Cambridge. There he spent the afternoon with his friend Lacy, and refreshed himself with beer and carp—the latter probably caught in the mill pool, then recently made famous by Chaucer. On the same day he bought a horse comb.

Resuming his journey on Friday (August 17th) he reached Huntingdon, 12 miles distant, in time for the midday dinner. Pushing on after dinner he reached Stamford, 20 miles from Huntingdon, by night, having therefore travelled 32 miles in the day. A payment for candles shows that he sat up after it had become dark.

Before starting on Saturday (August 18th) the usual draught of

beer was taken as a stirrup-cup. Grantham (15 miles) was reached by dinner time, Newark (12 miles from Grantham) in time for supper. The day's journey of 37 miles ended at Tuxford.

On Saturday night the bursar cast up his account for the week's journey and found that his expenditure amounted to 10s. 11d. He had only eaten butcher's meat once, viz., on Wednesday, the feast-day, his other meals had consisted of bread and beer, with fresh-water fish, or an occasional duck.

Resuming the road on Sunday (August 19th) he travelled by way of Blythe (8 miles) where he dined, to Doncaster (16 miles) where he mended his saddle. The day's journey was short, and ended at Wentbridge, 23 miles. Meat was eaten twice, at dinner and supper, in observance of the day.

On Monday (August 20th) he dined at Wetherby (14 miles) and ended the day at Northallerton, a day's journey of 34 miles.

The next day (Tuesday, August 21st) he went to Stillington, where Merton college had property,² and arrived at Durham (23 miles).

Wednesday (August 22nd) he spent in Durham, attending to the shoeing of his horses.

Thursday (August 23rd) was the eve of the Feast of St. Bartholomew, which he celebrated by the exceptional luxury of two pennyworth of wine with his dinner in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He arrived on Thursday night, after a ride of 19 miles, at the Merton college living of Ponteland.

He proceeded on the following day, Friday (August 24th), to Rothbury (12 miles) and Bolton; and thence he had to take a guide to lead him across Alnwick Moor to Alnwick. The distance from Rothbury to Alnwick is entered in a memorandum of the distances at the end of the paper as only 8 miles, but it is in reality much more. As there was no regular road the bursar seems to have trusted to his memory for the distance.

At Alnwick the bursar's long journey was virtually at an end, and he therefore celebrated his safe arrival by a dinner on Saturday, upon which he spent the sum of one shilling. This was more than double the usual cost of that meal, and would be equivalent to at least ten

² The Rolls for Stillington are at Merton college. They are very numerous and voluminous.

shillings at the present day. No doubt every obtainable delicacy graced the bursar's board on that occasion.

As he was to dine with the Abbot of Alnwick on the following day (Sunday) he expended a penny in shaving. The expenditure of the week amounted to 9s. 7½d. : a total for the fortnight of 20s. 6½d.

On Sunday (August 26th) he dined with the Abbot at Alnwick abbey, and on Monday (August 27th) he arrived at the end of his outward journey at Embleton. The bursar appears to have entertained a large party at Embleton, at both dinner and supper on that day.

His journey north had occupied exactly a fortnight, but it must be remembered that he had not come direct from Oxford. He had only had twelve days of actual travel, and had traversed in that time a distance of about 256 miles, and therefore his average day's journey had been rather more than 21 miles.

The bursar stopped at Embleton for a month, and did not leave that place until Friday, September 28th, when the harvest would be well over, and the tithe corn safely stored in the college grange.

On his return journey the bursar dined on Sunday (September 30th), the feast of St. Jerome, with the Abbot of Newminster, and stayed in Newcastle until Wednesday, October 3rd. On his return his calvacade was composed of at least four horses, for he got three horses re-shod in Newcastle, and he also mentions another—a white horse. Either he himself or some of his party seem to have fallen ill in Newcastle, for he had to spend eight pence on some medicines there, and four pence on some sort of surgical instrument. Possibly he had caught a chill, as he began to pay for fires on Tuesday, October 2nd.

Either this illness or some other cause delayed the party in Durham from Tuesday, October 2nd, to Saturday, October 7th, and when the journey was resumed one of the party rode on a crupper specially bought in Durham, with a new bit. An item of expenditure at Durham was 2s. 6d. for a salt, apparently medicinal. Two curious items also are 4d. for two citations, and 2s. 6d. for a 'malediction,' perhaps a form of exorcism. The bursar followed the same road by which he had come as far as Northallerton, when he struck across the Yorkshire moors to Newburgh, near Coxwold. In noting his expenditure the bursar describes the latter place as 'Newburgh, namely the new borough, where Saint Saviour is.' There was an August-

tinian priory at Newburgh, and the bursar alludes here to a miraculous image of St. Saviour, at Newburgh, which was an object of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages from many miles around. At Newburgh he spent 2d., on 'minshynys,' a provincial word meaning a small piece as applied to food. Hungry children on receiving a small piece say 'what a minchin to give me.' At the present day Newburgh park, the former priory, is associated with the memory of Oliver Cromwell, whose heart is said to be mouldering somewhere within the walls of Sir George Wombwell's house. On Wednesday, October 10th, the bursar proceeded to York, and travelling by way of Doncaster, Worksop, Mansfield, Nottingham, Leicester, Kibworth, and Daventry, he reached Oxford on the evening of Monday, October 15th, having been absent about two months.

At the end of his itinerary he has noted down a few miscellaneous items, *e.g.*, for an excommunication 8d., for gaiters for a member of the party 10d., for a guide from Bedlington to Newcastle 6d.

Not the least interesting feature in the document is a memorandum at the end of the various distances from one place to another on the outward journey. Where the high-road was followed these distances are fairly accurate, but in the more remote regions they are not quite trustworthy, *e.g.* the bursar estimates the distance from Alnwick to Embleton as only four miles. The bursar seems to have bought the horse, upon which he rode himself, for twenty shillings. The total cost of the journey, inclusive of everything, amounted to £6 7s. 3d.

Looking at the document as a whole, our feeling is possibly one of disappointment that no reference whatever is made to contemporary events. The bursar and his servants jogged on from day to day in perfect safety, and covered their twenty or thirty miles a day with unflinching regularity. No toll was exacted and the roads were good. We might have expected some distant echo of the clang of arms to have penetrated even this formal document, but it cannot be said that the bursar's memoranda strike anywhere a martial note. Whilst feudalism was dashing itself to pieces in the mighty conflicts of the civil war the country at large was absolutely peaceful; and whilst the great lords were involved in mortal conflict, the humble traveller could proceed from one end of England to the other without let or hindrance. We are sometimes told that England, during the Wars of the Roses,

was given over to ruin and bloodshed. Upon statements of this nature the bursar of Merton's memoranda furnish a valuable if sober commentary. The document itself is as follows :

MD. quod exitus meus versus Northumbriam erat in die lune immediate precedente diem assumptionis B. Marie viz. xiiij^o die Augusti, anno regni regis Edwardi IV^o IV^o, unde inprimis, in dicto die lune, in cena apud Bukyngham anatis iij^d, in pane obolus, in c[ervisia] ij^d, et pro capistro obolus, et pro prebend' equorum per noctem illam et matutinum diei martis vij^d.

In die martis viz. in Vigilia assumptionis B. M. Virginis in prebend' equorum j^d ob'. In prandio apud Bedford in roche iiij^d, in pane ob', in cervisia iij^d, in prebend' equorum iij^d, in nocte apud Gamyngay in pane equino iiij^d.

In die mercurii, scilicet in die Ass. B. M. in prandio cum magistro Sci. Johannis apud Cantebr'. In cervisia cum Cokwes post nonam ij^d, in cena cum Ravff Hych in pane j^d, in cervisia iij^d, in carne vj^d.

In die Jovis, in prandio cum magistro Sci. Johannis, item post' nonam cum Lacy apud Graunceter in cervisia et carb' iiij^d, in cena cum Ravff Hych vj^d, in prebendo equorum a matutino diei mercurii usque ad matutinum diei Veneris xxix^d, item pro pectine equino iiij^d.

In diei Veneris, in cervisia apud dominum (?) Cokwes j^d, in prandio apud Hyntyngdon in pane ob. in cervisia ij^d, in piscibus iiij^d ob, in prebendo equorum iij^d, item apud Styllton in cervisia ob. in prebendo j^d, in nocte apud Stavnford in pane ob. in cervisia ij^d, in prebend' equorum vj^d, in candelis ob.

In die sabbati, in cervisia ibidem ante exitum ob. in prandio apud Grantham ob. in pane j^d, in cervisia iij^d, in piscibus iiij^d, in prebendo equorum ij^d, in cena apud Newark in pane j^d, in cervisia iij^d, in piscibus ij^d, in prebendo ij^d, in nocte apud Tuxford yn cleey in pane ob, in cervisia ij^d, in candelis ob, in prebendo vij^d. Summa x^s xi^d.

In die Dominico apud Blythe, in prandio, in pane ob, in cervisia ij^d, in carne iij^d, in prebendo ij^d, in cervisia apud Dankaster j^d ob. in emendacione selle j^d, in prebendo ij^d, in cena apud Wentbrygg in pane ob, in cervisia ij^d, in carne iij^d, in candelis ob. in prebend' vj^d.

In die lune, in prandio apud Wethurby in pane ob. in cervisia ij^d, in carne j^d, in prebendo ij^d. Item apud Borobryg in pane, cervisia, et carne iij^d, in prebendo j^d, in cena apud North Allerton in pane ob. in cena j^d, in carne ij^d ob. in prebendo iiij^d.

In die martis in prandio apud Styllington, in nocte in cena apud Durham, in cena iiij^d.

In die mercurii, in prandio vj^d, in cena iij^d, in ferrura iiij^d, in prebendo a tempore introitus in villam usque ad recessum xij^d.

In die Jovis, scilicet in vigilia Sci Bartholomei, in prandio apud Novum Castrum vj^d, in vino ij^d, in nocte apud Ponteland in avenis iiij^d.

In die Veneris in prandio apud Rothysbury iiij^d in prebendo ij^d. Item cuidam ducenti me a Bolton ubi architi[us] ? usque ad Anwyk ij^d, in cervisia ibidem et in prebend' iij^d, in nocte apud Alnewyk in cervisia j^d.

In die sabbati in prandio apud Alnewyke xij^d, in rasura j^d, in cena Alnewyke vj^d. Summa ix^s vij^d ob.

In die dominico in prandio cum abbate de Alnewyke, in cena cum Davyson ibidem vj^d. Item in prebendo a tempore introitus usque ad exitum xx^d. In die lune in prandio apud Emaldon xij^d, in cena ibidem xvj^d. Item in cervisia ibidem in nocte j^d.

In die martis in prandio ibidem iij^d. Summa iij^o x^d.

In die Sabbati scilicet in vigilia Sci. Michaelis in regressu apud Alnewyke in prandio et prebend' xij^d. In nocte apud Moorpath, in cena iijj^d, in prebend viij^d. Summa ij^o.

In die dominico scilicet in die Sci. Jeronimi in prandio cum abbate Novi Monasterii, in nocte in cena apud Novum Castrum, in pane, cervisia et carne apud Fo^{b^{us}} iijj^d, in prebendo viij^d. In regarda cujusdam equitantis mecum a magistro Johanne Eland vica^m apud Bedlyngton versus Novum Castrum vj^d. Item cuidam equitanti ad Newbygyng pro D^{no} Thoma Fyshwyk iij^d. In die lune que est prima dies Octobris, in prandio apud Novum Castrum, et in cena, et in prandio in die martis, et in cena eadem die, et in nocte diei martis, et in prandio in die mercurii per totum hoc tempus in Novo Castro ij^o. Item in prebend' ij^o vj^d. Item in ferrura trium equorum de novo ij^o. Item pro equo albo in prebend' ix^d. Item viij^d pro medicinis, item pro artificio iijj^d. Item pro prebend' ejus expost (?) v^d, item pro uno equo pro Roberto Mawnder equitanti mecum ad Durham per tres dies et dim'. xiiij^d. Summa xj^o ij^d. In cena apud Durham vj^d.

In die Jovis, in prandio nostro vj^d, in cena iijj^d.

In die Veneris, in prandio iijj^d, in rasura j^d, fob^{us} et candelis j^d, ob. in vino ij^d, in cervisia cum magistro Roberto Bartram ij^d.

In die Sabbati in prandio viij^d et pro aliis in prebend' equorum a die mercurii ad noctem usque ad diem Sabbati in matutino ad exitum iij^o viij^d. Item pro gyfreno et croper viij^d. Item ad Walterum pro Sallt ij^o vj^d. Item magistro Roberto Bartram pro feodo procuratoris iij^o iijj^d. Item pro duobus citationibus sibi iijj^d. Item sibi pro maledictione ij^o vj^d. Item Roberto Mawnder xvj^d, in cena apud Stillynghon, summa xxx^o v^d ob. Summa hac usque lvj^o x^d.

In die dominico, videlicet septimo die Octobris, in prandio apud Stillington. In die lune, in prandio cum Hertylpolle apud Aolce, in prebend' ibidem iij^d, in cena apud Darlington vj^d, in prebend' v^d.

In die martis, in prandio apud North Alderton iijj^d ob, in prebend' ij^d. Item apud Newburgh, scilicet novum burgum, ubi sanctus salvator est. In minshynys ij^d, in prebend' ij^d, et hec erat dies Sci. Dionisii, in nocte in cena apud Creek vj^d, in prebend' v^d.

In die mercurii in prandio apud Eboracum xj^d, in prebend' iijj^d ob. in vino iij^d, in cena apud Wentbrygg v^d, in prebend' et fo^{b^{us}} et igne vj^d.

In die Jovis, in prandio apud Dankaster iij^d, in prebend' ij^d. Item apud Dankaster ob. in cena apud Wussop vij^d, in prebend' et candelis et fo^{b^{us}} vj^d.

In die veneris in prebend' apud Maynesfold ij^d, in prandio apud Notynggham v^d, in prebend' iijj^d.

In die Sabbati apud Leycester, in prandio cum tenentibus de Barkby, Roberto Johnson et clerk, et aliis x^d, in prebend' iijj^d, in cena apud Kybworth cum Johanne clerk. Summa ix^o iijj^d.

In die dominico in prandio apud Kybworth cum clerk in nocte, in cena apud Dawyntree viij^d, in prebend' vij^d. in die lune in prandio apud Bakley viij^d, in prebend' iijj^d, in cena Oxon', vj^d. Summa dj^o v^d. Summa totalis iijj^o vj^o vij^d

ob. Memorandum quod Walterus habuit de me in camera mea apud Oxoniam post hoc iter ix^a.

Item Walterus habuit pro faciacione ocrearum suarum apud Durham vel Newcastle x^d.

Item deliberavi Waltero apud Durham pro salet ij^a. Item Walterus habuit de me ante exitum suum ab Oxonia mecum versus boream xx^d. Summa xiiij^a vj^d. Item ad sequestratorem episcopi dominum Ricardum, pro vicario iiiij^{or} marcas. Item pro visitacione x^a. Item ij^a viij^d pro excommunicacione. Item in vino cum ipso iiiij^d.

Memorandum quod dedi cuidam conducenti me a Bedlynton usque ad novum castrum vj^d. Item eidem equitanti ad dominum Thomam Fyshwyk iiiij^a ij^d.

Cantebr. Huntyngdon xij ml, Stavnford xx, Grantham xv, Newerk xij, Tuxford in Cleey x, Blythe viij, Dankaster viij, Wentbryg vij, Appulford x, Wetherby iiiij, Borrowbrig viij, Topclyff iiiij, Northallerton viij, Zaru viij, Styllington v, Durham xij^d, Novum Castrum xij^d, Ponteland vij, Rothysbury xij^d, Alnewyk viij, Emeldon iiiij.

Memorandum de xx^d solutis ad Lacy pro plumbo, item de xiiij^a iiiij^d episcopo pro institucione, item de viij^d datis Magistro W^{mo} Gysburne scribe episcopi.

Memorandum de v^a solutis Ravf Hych pro Johanne falcatore murorum de Merton hall. Item solut' Ravf Hych pro equo meo xx^a. Item Mag^{ro} W^{mo} Labovrne iiij^a iiiij^d. Item data ad servum ejus iiiij^d. Item officiali vocato D^o Roberto Watson xiiij^a iiiij^d. Item Walterus habuit ad equitandum ad Durham pro sequestro etc. iiij^a iiiij^d. Summa vjⁱⁱ vij^a iiij^d.

IX.—THE ANCIENT FARMS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.¹

A PAPER FOUNDED PRINCIPALLY UPON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE
POSSESSION OF MR. WILLIAM WOODMAN, OF MORPETH.

BY FREDERICK WALTER DENDY.

[Read on the 27th day of September, 1892.]

'Nam huc pertinet praeclara nostri poetae sententia :—
Laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito.'

THE manor and the township are both descended from one archaic parent, the village community.²

At an early date the manor became the nucleus of agricultural and landowning rights and duties ; and the parish, a later institution, has since become, for most purposes, the administrative unit of imperial and county machinery. The township has thus been bereft of much of its ancient vitality and importance, but as a landmark of past history it has more value than either the manor or the parish. For whilst grants of the Crown and transactions between landowners have influenced the extent of manors, and whilst ecclesiastical requirements have determined and varied the limits of parishes, the present boundary line of the township is still in most cases identical with the original metes and bounds of the rural colony who peopled it from pre-historic times.³

¹ I had completed the outline of this paper and prepared the appendices to it before I knew that the bishop of Peterborough (then canon Creighton of Embleton) had written a paper founded largely upon the same materials, which paper, under the title of 'The Northumbrian Border' was read by him at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute, at Newcastle, in 1884, was published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October, 1884, was also published with appendices in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xlii., and was reprinted as a pamphlet, which I am informed is now scarce.

² Gomme's *Literature of Local Institutions*, p. 171.

³ A parish is a precinct within a diocese (*Selden*, p. 80). Several townships may be contained in the same parish (Comyn, *Title, Parish*) and, *per contra*, several parishes may exist in one township (*Fleta*, 4, c. 15, s. 9.) As to the institution and gradual increase of parishes and parish churches, see Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 269. "The term manerium seems sometimes used for the whole honour, hundred, or holding of the chief lord ; sometimes for a single holding, whether or not commensurate with a vill or township, held of a chief lord ; sometimes for a collection of such holdings which their lord for convenience had treated as one manor, holding the courts for all in one of them, sometimes merely a dwelling or mansion house, as in 'Stanmore Abbas Johanne manerium construxit' 'Manerium de Kyverdale fuit integraliter combustum.'

The village of each country township was, up to recent times, to a large extent independent of the outer world; for it was isolated by the difficulties of inter-communication and was self-supplied with all the necessaries of life. Its fields and live stock provided food and clothing, its wastes timber for building, and turves for fuel.⁴ The women spun the yarn and wove the clothing, and the men tanned the hides of the slain cattle in the village tan vats, and made them into breeches for themselves⁵ and harness for their beasts of draught.⁶ Each township had its mill and bakehouse to which the inhabitants were bound to bring their corn to be ground and their dough to be baked, and it was a treasured and exceptional custom of the favoured burgesses of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the reign of Henry I. that each burgess might have his own oven and his own hand-mill, saving the right of the oven of the king, the lord of the manor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁷

A few years since, a theory prevailed that the communities settled in the townships of England were, at the outset of the history of the English in this island, free communities, which gradually degenerated into the serfdom of the middle ages.⁸ That theory has been shaken by the researches of Seebohm⁹ and De Coulanges,¹⁰ who have traced the existence of these village communities in a state of serfdom back to the time of the Roman occupation of this island. These writers advocate the view that the origin of the Norman manor and the Saxon township is to be found in the rules which regulated the serfs and colonists attached to the Roman villa. The fact that the two-field and three-field systems, which prevailed in England on manorial estates from the earliest times have never been at all general in the corner of the continent from which the English came, supports the

In the vill we have the township, which the bishop of Chester treats as the unit of the Anglo-Saxon polity, and which had in itself public duties in criminal administration apart from any relation to a lord. The goods of fugitives were to be delivered 'a la ville pour nous en respondre.'" *Scrutton on Common Fields*, 12.

⁴ Prothero's *Landmarks*, 2. Ashley's *Economic History*, 35.

⁵ Dr. Jessop, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1892, p. 972.

⁶ An old lady I knew in Lincolnshire always made her own soap in the early days of her housekeeping, and on many farms in Norfolk the wood-ashes are still saved to scour the dairy utensils.

⁷ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, i. 33, 34. Stubbs's *Select Charters*, p. 112.

⁸ Green's *The Making of England*, p. 182.

⁹ Seebohm's *Village Community*, p. 438.

¹⁰ *The Origin of Property in Land*, by Fustel de Coulanges, p. 150.

supposition that the village community, as found in this island, did not originate with these immigrating English settlers.¹¹ But instead of ascribing the township organisation of agriculture to the Romans, many have recently thought that it originated in the relationship which existed between the Celts and the pre-Aryan aborigines of these islands before the Romans appeared on the scene; and that Rome left the village communities of Celtic Britain as England would leave the village communities of the India of to-day 'untouched in their inner life, but crystallized in their form by pressure from without, and that the after-arrival of the Teutons affected the inner life of those communities, but did not affect their outer shell.'¹²

The importance of the customs of these ancient communities to students of history and of social science has only been fully realised during the latter half of the present century. The study of the subject was started in Germany by Maurer and Nasse,¹³ was continued in England by Sir Henry Maine¹⁴ (who brought to bear on the subject his knowledge of similar communities in India), in France by Fustel de Coulanges,¹⁵ and in Russia by Kovalesky¹⁶ and Vinogradoff.¹⁷

'They cull for the historic page,
The truths of many a doubtful age,
Thus are their useful labours shewn,
New lights on darkling times are thrown,
And knowledge added to our own.'¹⁸

The clear and exhaustive investigations of Mr. Seebohm, narrated in his *English Village Community*, and the descriptions of other modern writers,¹⁹ have made us now well acquainted with the general outlines

¹¹ Hanssen, quoted by Seebohm, 372, 373, and Ashley's *Economic History*, 15.

¹² Gomme's *Village Community*, 292, and see Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 201, 236. From an article by Mr. Seebohm on 'Villeinage in England' contained in the *Royal Historical Review* for July, 1892, it would appear that he himself is now modifying towards this direction the views on the subject which he expressed in his main work in 1883. See also the account of the early land tenures of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland contained in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii.

¹³ A list of the principal German works on the subject is set out in Appendix II. to Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West*. See also Sir R. Morier's description of the German Communities in his report to the Government in 1869, republished by the Cobden Club in a work entitled *Systems of Land Tenures in various Countries*, p. 243.

¹⁴ *Village Communities in the East and West*.

¹⁵ *The Origin of Property in Land*.

¹⁶ *England's Social Organization at the Close of the Middle Ages* (in Russian). *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia* (London, 1891).

¹⁷ *Villainage in England*.

¹⁸ *Death and the Antiquaries*.

¹⁹ For the latest accounts see especially Ashley's *Economic History*, vol. i. pp. 5-68; Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*, p. 224 et seq.; Prothero's 'Landmarks in British Farming,' *Agricultural Soc. Journ.* vol. iii. 3rd series, pt. I.

of the open field system of husbandry : a system which prevailed in this country from pre-historic times down to the end of the middle ages and lingered in many parts of England well into the present century.²⁰

Whilst the main features of the system generally have now become so well known as to need no further explanation, a desire still exists for information as to its prevalence in particular localities, and as to local variances in custom and nomenclature which may possibly throw new light on the subject as a whole.

Workers in every county are utilizing the information which may be gathered from local records with regard to the characteristics of the village life of its former inhabitants ; and it is with the view of placing before the notice of those interested in such matters in Northumberland the materials which Mr. Woodman has collected upon this subject, that he has asked me to write upon it a paper to be read before this Society.

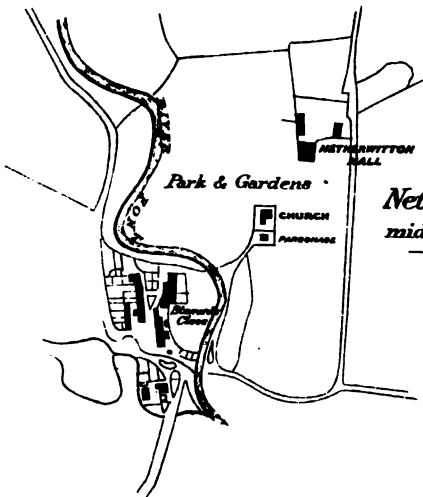
In doing this I must, for the sake of making myself plain, go over much ground that has been trodden before, both upon the subject generally and upon its local application. Although many of our members have interested themselves in the topic, very few papers have been read and very few discussions have taken place upon it. To some members it may even be new in some of its elementary propositions. If, therefore, I can pave the way for future original papers and discussions founded on fresh local knowledge there will be reason as well as excuse for my taking but little for granted in presenting the subject to your notice.

Whether the village communities of which we have been speaking were formed of originally free or originally servile cultivators, and whether their system of husbandry was organized under compulsion or by voluntary effort may be doubtful, but there is no doubt that the vast majority of the tillers of the soil were in a state of serfdom at the commencement of the time covered by extant written records in England. The villans, or customary tenants of the village lands, laboured not only for themselves but for a lord in authority over them.

²⁰ Nasse's *Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages*, pp. 6, 84. Interesting particulars of the somewhat similar communal system of co-operative agriculture still existing at the present day in Russia will be found in Wallace's *Russia*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 144 and 179-209.



*Netherwitton Village in the
beginning of the 18th Century*



*Netherwitton Village in the
middle of the 19th Century*

In Northumberland, as elsewhere, the township in the middle ages almost invariably possessed the following characteristics. There were in the village the houses of the cultivators with little garths adjacent to them. As yet there were no isolated farmhouses, such as we see in these days scattered here and there among the fields. They belong to a later period, for their establishment and erection followed upon the subsequent enclosure of the open fields and commons.

Near the clustered houses of the cultivators stood the village church (if the township was also a parish), the village mill, and the hall or castle of the lord or chief landowner or of his bailiff. This hall or castle was the *maenor* or *plas* of the Celts,²¹ the *aula* of the Romans, the *hall* of the English, and the *manoir* of the Normans.²²

Beyond and around the village was the arable land, divided into great fields or flats, usually three in number. In that case they were worked on a three field rotation of crops, one being appropriated for autumn sown corn (*i.e.*, wheat or rye), one for spring sown corn (*i.e.*, barley or oats), or for peas and beans, and one was left fallow.²³ These fields were again sub-divided into *furlongs* or *squares* or *shots*, placed very often at right angles to each other, with *headlands* or *head-riggs* between them, on which the plough turned, and by which access was gained to these smaller areas. Each furlong was divided into acre or half acre strips, separated from each other by *balks* of unploughed turf,²⁴ and these acre or half acre strips were usually known in the south as *sellions*²⁵ or *stitches*,²⁶ and in Northumberland, Scotland, and Ireland, as *rigs*.

²¹ Lewis, 230-233. The address 'Manor Hall Place,' not unfrequently met with, is a pleonasm similar to that contained in the name 'Derwent-water Lake.'

²² Le manoir, maison, mesure, avec la cour & jardin doit de relief trois sols pourvû qu'il ne contient plus d'une acre; & s'il en contient moins, il doit pareillement trois sols. *Coutumes de Normandie*, 1585. Article 159. Le vieux manoir de Turdy, édifice élégant dans sa force. George Sand's *Mademoiselle de Quintinie*, p. 7.

²³ A two field system is also found very often, Vinogradoff, 255. Canon Taylor in 'the Ploughland and the Plough' (*Domesday Studies*, 144) and Mr. Prothero (*Landmarks of Farming*, p. 10) think that the two field course was the more ancient. In the manor of Milton in Cambridgeshire there were four common fields. The three field system was the prevailing one in Northumberland, at any rate in the late middle ages.

²⁴ In a terrier for the manor of Milton the furlong is used as a superficial measure, each furlong containing 20 acres. These furlongs were therefore oblong in shape, as a square furlong would contain 10 acres.

²⁵ Milton terriers of 1599, 1637, and 1707. *Penes* J. P. Baumgartner, esq.

²⁶ Lewis, 493.

Where the strips were acre strips they were usually a furlong or furrow long (220 yards) in length and 4 rods or perches (22 yards) in breadth, and where they were half acre strips they were still usually a furlong in length, but they were only two rods instead of 4 rods in breadth. Except in counties where the customary acre differed in size from the statute acre the common field acre corresponded with the statute acre fixed by the ordinance of Edward I., which declared that 40 perches in length and 4 in breadth make an acre, and a ploughman still measures his acre in the same way, for he will tell you that eleven score yards long and 22 yards broad make up the acre that he ploughs.

The strips were distributed in equal proportions amongst the cultivators in such a manner that each man's holding was made up of a number of acre or half acre strips lying apart from each other in the several square or oblong furlongs of which the three fields were composed, and these strips were so dispersed amongst similar strips held by his neighbours that no man, while the system remained intact, held two contiguous strips. Each individual holder was bound to cultivate his strips in accordance with the rotation of crops observed by his neighbours, and had rights of pasture over the whole field for his cattle after the crops were gathered.

Besides the three arable fields there was usually attached to each township a meadow called a *lot meadow*,²⁷ a *lammas meadow*²⁸ or *leazes*.²⁹ This meadow was divided into portions by lot, or rotation, for the purposes of hay harvest and after that time was thrown open for the cattle to graze upon it. In most cases there was also, beyond the arable fields and meadow, a large space of uncultivated ground consisting of woodlands and rough common, into which the cattle of the cultivators were turned either *without stint* or *stinted*; or, in other words, restricted to number of cattle, sheep, and horses, proportioned to the extent of each man's holding. This wild ground also afforded to the cultivators turves for fuel, heather for thatching and bedding

²⁷ Scrutton, 3.

²⁸ Seebohm, 11. Vinogradoff, 260

²⁹ Lord Coke says 'leswes' or 'lesues' is a Saxon word and signifieth pastures. In a Jesmond deed dated 1667 occurs the expression '5 riggs or leazes of ground and 3 riggs or leazes and one tongue or half rigg of ground lying in a place called the Long Fridaries in Jesmond Field.' See also '*leys* of land lying in the Shieldfield,' Welford's *Newcastle*, ii. 172; '*les rigges* in the Shieldfield,' Welford, ii. 258. In the Saxon version of the *Rectitudines* (ancient laws, etc., Record edition, 188) common pastures are called *gemane laze*.

and *house bote*, *hedge bote*, and *plough bote*, that is material for repairing their houses, fences, and ploughs.

The full number of strips in the open arable fields which belonged to each customary homestead in the village, with the meadow and common rights also appurtenant to it, was called throughout England a *yardland*, in Dorsetshire a *living*, meaning the holding of a family,³⁰ in Kent³¹ and Essex³² a "*wista*", in Cambridgeshire a "*full land*,"³³ in the North of England and in Scotland a '*husband land*,'³⁴ or a '*whole tenement*,'³⁵ and in Northumberland and in the North of Durham a '*farm*' or '*farmhold*.'³⁶

The number of acres in the arable fields constituting such a yardland varied in different localities. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that 30 acres was the most usual quantity.³⁷ The author of Sheppard's *Touchstone*, who wrote at a time when this form of holding was common throughout England, states that 'in some countries it doth contain 20 acres and in some countries 24 acres, and in some countries 30 acres.'³⁸ In Littleport a 'full land' contained 12 acres,³⁹ and Professor Vinogradoff⁴⁰ gives instances of other quantities, varying from 15 to 80 acres, as the normal holding, but states that 30 acres is perhaps the figure which appears more often than any other.

Some of the cultivators held only a *half-land* or *bovate* or *ox-gang*, which was half a yardland; and according to the Boldon Book for the estates of the bishop of Durham (1183) as quoted by Mr. Seebohm⁴¹ there were in Boldon 22 *villani*, each holding two bovates, amounting together to 30 acres each; whilst at Whickham there were 35 *villani*, each of whom held one bovate or ox-gang of 15 acres.

In almost every township there were also a few cottagers holding each a cottage and a smaller number (usually from 2 to 5) of acres in

³⁰ Lewis, p. 493. ³¹ *Cust. Batt.* xiii.

³² Spelman's *Glossary*, Title 'Wista.' The word is probably the same as the British word, *Gwesta*, meaning the amount of food or money in lieu of it payable to the lord of the manor. *Domesday Studies*, vol. i. 271.

³³ Maitland's *Court Baron*, p. 109.

³⁴ Seebohm, p. 61. *Scotch Legal Antiquities* by Cosmo Innes, p. 242.

³⁵ Ovington deed of 1607.

³⁶ As to Northumberland, see the instances cited in Appendix A. Westoe and Harton in North Durham paid their church rate to Jarrow by the number of farms at which they were rated in the old parish books until after the year 1810. Nicholl's *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 46.

³⁷ Seebohm, 27. ³⁸ Preston's edition, 93.

³⁹ Maitland's *Court Baron*, 108.

⁴⁰ P. 239.

⁴¹ P. 69.

the arable common fields. The holder of a yardland contributed two oxen to the ploughing of the common fields, including those strips that were in the hands of the lord as part of his demesne or home farm; the holder of a half-land or ox-gang contributed one ox for the same purpose; whilst the services of the cottagers never included ploughing, since they did not possess oxen,⁴³ but they paid rental in eggs and poultry, and contributed a share of weekly labour.

Where the strips were stunted by abutting upon some obstacle, such as a river⁴³ or highway, they were called *butts*. The term is common throughout England and in Northumberland. There were butts in the west common field of Corbridge⁴⁴ and North Butts and South Butts in the common fields of Elswick.⁴⁵ There were also butts in the fields of Jesmond.⁴⁶ There was a close called the Eight Butts in Westgate in 1801⁴⁷ and numberless other instances might be cited.

Where the strips were compelled from the lie of the land to taper, or, in other words, to assume a wedge-like shape, they were called *gores*, a term which still survives in dressmaking and wooden ship-building. One of the common fields of Benwell, next the Scotswood, was called Gore Flatt.⁴⁸

Besides the number of acre or half acre strips, making up the quantity which each cultivator held in the arable fields, he had also his proportionate share of the meadow strips or *hay bounds* (which were enclosed up to hay-harvest and were afterwards thrown open for pasture) and of common in the waste, so that if there were, say 10 full tenements in the township, and the township consisted of, say, 2,000 acres, the holder of each tenement would (although he might probably hold only 30 acres in the cultivated fields), have an interest, subject to the rights of the lord of the manor, in 200 acres altogether of arable, pasture, wood, and common, forming in the whole a tenth part of the entire township.

Amongst the manuscripts in the possession of this Society is an account by Mr. Hodgson Hinde of the township of Ovington. Speaking of its condition in the seventeenth century he says:—

⁴³ Ashley's *Economic History*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ 'Et habebunt istas buttas usque ad filum aquæ prædictæ.' Record quoted by Cowell, Title, *Filum aquæ*.

⁴⁵ Corbridge Enclosure Book.

⁴⁶ Elswick deed of 1722.

⁴⁷ Jesmond deed of 1677.

⁴⁸ Westgate deed of 1801.

⁴⁹ Augmentation Office Record, 1650.

The homesteads of all the farms within the township were situated in the village of Ovington, with two exceptions, Ovington Hall and Wellburn. Ovington Hall lay almost contiguous to the village, but the land which belonged to it was generally enclosed and divided from the rest of the township. The lands of Wellburn were partly enclosed and partly intermingled with those of other proprietors. With the exception of some small garths and crofts adjacent to the village of Ovington the remainder of the township was undivided and consisted of two portions: the town fields, containing about 600 acres, and the common pasture, containing upwards of 100 acres, which was called the Ox-close. Besides this the customary tenants of Ovington (who had acquired the freehold of their holdings by purchase from the Crown's Escheator after the attainder of the earl of Westmorland) had a right of common, jointly with several other townships, on an extensive tract of open land called Shildon common, containing between 1,600 and 1,700 acres. The Ox-close lay to the north of the town fields and was divided amongst the freeholders about the year 1680. The town fields consisted of three portions—the Low Field lying between the River Tyne and the road from Ovington, the Middle Field and the North Field; the two latter lying between the Low Field and the Ox-close and separated from each other by an occupation road called 'Fallow Field Way' leading eastward from Ovington towards Whittle Dene.

In 1708 these town fields were divided by commissioners appointed by the freeholders. In 1749 an Act of Parliament was passed for dividing Shildon common and the proportion thereof falling to Ovington township was also awarded amongst the freehold landowners of Ovington so that the acreage of the original whole tenements which consisted of 21 acres each⁴⁹ of arable land was increased proportionately by the division of the ox-close or common meadow in 1680 and again proportionately by the division of the common or waste land in pursuance of the Enclosure Act; since which time the land of the township has all been held as enclosed land, cultivated according to the present methods of husbandry.

To come still nearer to Newcastle, there were in Elswick, in the reign of James I., ten whole tenements, and there appertained to each of them 2 acres of meadow ground and 24 acres of arable land, 6 ox-gates and 2 horse-gates in a several pasture, 6 beast-gates 'on the moore' and 'for 30 sheep there.'⁵⁰ The same survey as to Benwell states that:

All the said tenants being xv in all, and xv entire farms, doe holde to everye tenant particularye as followeth: a house, a barne, and a garth, arable land 20 acr., meadowe land 2 acr., pasture gates for vi oxen vi young beasts two horses and xx^{uo} sheepe.

⁴⁹ Ovington deed of 1588. ⁵⁰ Land Revenue Office Survey, Northumberland, Jas. I.

This survey states another interesting fact as to the tenants of Benwell, namely that the fishings and mills were not, as is usual, in the hands of the lord, but that the tenants held in their occupation 'by ancient custome' the fishings on the Tyne and the water corn mills at customary rents which they equally divided amongst them, and these rents were added to the rents of their farms. The customary tenants of the historic manor of Aston and Cote in Oxfordshire had in 1658 similar fishing rights.⁵¹

No map has been published showing the common fields and the acre strips in them for any township in Northumberland. Good examples of such maps are to be found in Seeböhm's *Village Communities* for the township of Hitchen in Hertfordshire,⁵² and in Canon Taylor's *Domesday Survivals* for Burton Agnes in Yorkshire.⁵³ Mr. R. R. Dees, one of our members, has in his possession a manuscript map showing the common fields and common field strips for a township in Durham county, and Mr. R. O. Heslop, another of our members, has in his possession a similar manuscript map for the township of Corbridge in Northumberland. When the Corbridge enclosure award was made in 1777 four half acre strips, lying side by side, were apportioned to different owners, and have been separately cultivated as half acre strips up to the present day. I produce for your inspection a survey of these four strips as they appear in the year 1892.⁵⁴ It will be observed that they are approximately a furlong in length and 2 rods in breadth, and although they are only half acre strips you will see that they are wider than the 'rigs' or 'sam-casts'⁵⁵ used for drainage purposes in enclosed fields. It will also be observed that there are wide grass balks separating each strip from the others, and that each strip instead of being straight has a double curve giving it an S shape, which is much more apparent when the strips are actually viewed in perspective. These bends, which have been remarked upon by several writers on the subject, are due apparently to the swerve of the plough-oxen in the centuries of continuous ploughing which the strips have undergone,⁵⁶ and the sweeping curves to be found in the hedges of our oldest country

⁵¹ Gomme's *Village Communities*, 136.

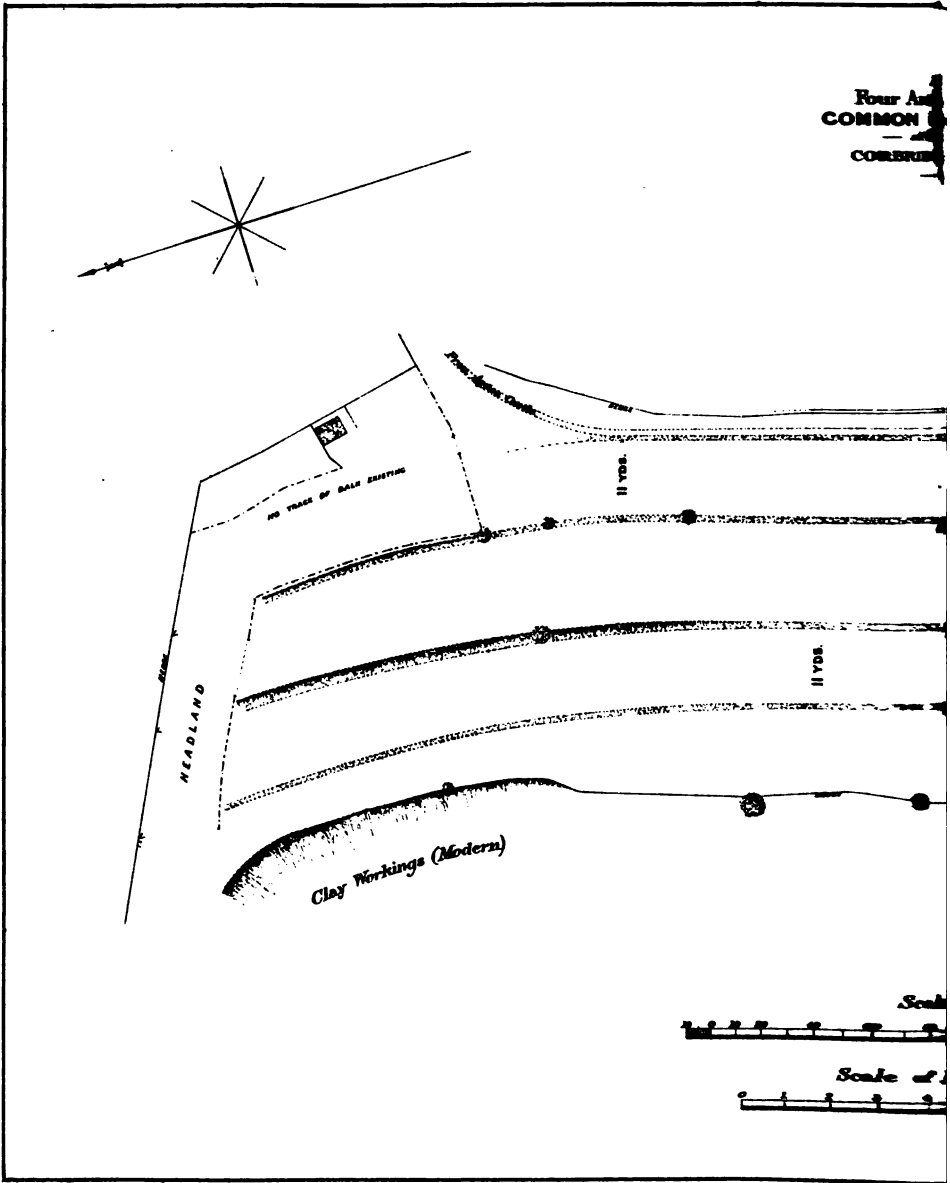
⁵² Frontispiece and facing pp. 6 and 28.

⁵³ *Domesday Studies*, vol. i. p. 54.

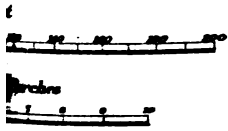
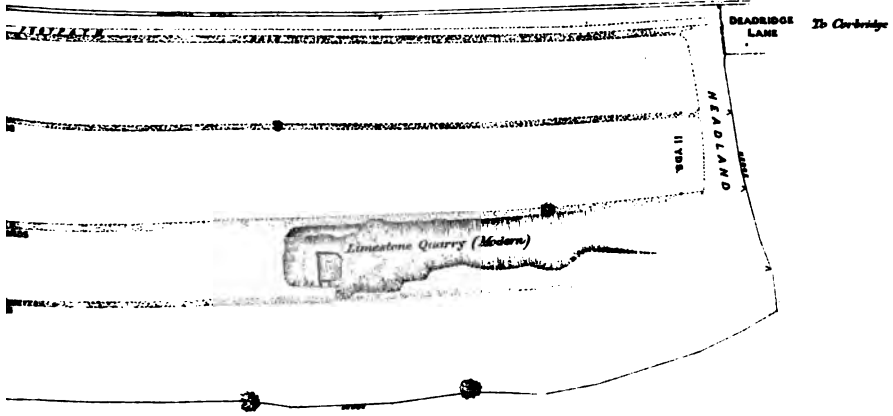
⁵⁴ Kindly prepared for me by Mr. Scott of Corbridge.

⁵⁵ See Mr. Baty's letter in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* for the 4th of June, 1892.

⁵⁶ *Domesday Survivals*, p. 61.



1/2-acre
STRIPS
7/16
TOWNSHIP



Just

lanes and enclosed fields, are doubtless, in most cases, a perpetuation of the trend of the acre strips, whose course they followed. The two westernmost strips have, unfortunately for their continued identification, recently come into possession of one owner (Mr. Straker) and the balk between them is consequently being ploughed away and becoming indistinguishable. I think if the owner knew what old-world interest attached to them he would take measures for preserving what is still left of the dividing balk.

In the year 1832 Mr. William Woodman, as solicitor for the master of the Morpeth Grammar School, revived a Chancery suit instituted in the year 1710 to set aside an improvident lease which had been granted by the bailiffs and burgesses of Morpeth in 1685 to Nicholas Thornton, of lands in the township of Netherwitton, which lands had been made part of the endowment of the school on the dissolution of the chantry of Netherwitton in the reign of Henry VIII.

At the time the lease of 1685 was granted the lands of Netherwitton had been neither divided nor enclosed, and the portions belonging to the charity lay intermixed in the common fields. The family of Thornton, by purchases made both before and subsequently to the granting of the lease, became, in course of time, the owners of the whole of the rest of the township, and they had, previous to 1710, destroyed all traces of the boundaries of the charity lands, and enclosed and brought into cultivation the ancient arable lands, the meadow, and large portions of the waste and woodlands.

In order to recover the charity lands in the suit commenced in 1710 and revived in 1832, it was necessary to distinguish them from the rest of the land of the township, and under the circumstances it may readily be conceived that this was not an easy task. No such light had then been thrown on the common field system as now exists. Its historical importance had up to that time been almost entirely overlooked, and although scattered instances of the existence of the system still remained, they were, towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, looked upon as abnormal, and not as having been, as they have since been shown to be, the ancient universal method by which agricultural lands were held in this country.

Brand, the historian of Newcastle, writing his history in 1789 was evidently puzzled with the account of the Castle Leazes in Newcastle,

which he quoted from Bourne as follows :—⁵⁷

The place was formerly the inheritance of divers persons owners thereof, who were accustomed, from ancient time, to take the fore-crop thereof yearly, at or before Lammas Day, and after that, by an ancient custom, all the Burgesses of the Town used to put in their kine and used the same in pasture of them till Lady Day in Lent yearly and then to lay the same for meadow again until Lammas.

The Rev. John Hodgson, the learned historian of Northumberland, knew little or nothing of the subject when he was consulted upon it by Mr. Woodman ; and Kemble, the author of the *Saxons in England*, writing to Mr. Woodman in 1849 says :—

It was indeed little to be imagined that a system, whose details I had induced from such a heap of heterogeneous arguments, and from so many isolated facts, should be after all found to exist as it were under our eyes. I trust it is not only a feeling of gratified vanity and selfishness that causes me to rejoice at this confirmation of my view. It has quite given me much comfort and much strengthened my confidence in the methods and nature and results of my investigations.

Mr. Woodman found from the ancient grants and leases dating from before the time when the land was parted with, and from the evidence taken by commission in 1710, that the whole of the township of Netherwitton, at the time the lease was granted, consisted, and that in 1710, although it had then been enclosed, it was still deemed to consist, of $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms, and that of those $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms, $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms formed the charity estate which he was seeking to recover. It was his object to show that those $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms formed an aliquot proportion of the entire $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms into which the township was divided, or, in other words, that each of those $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms was of exactly equal value, and that he was therefore entitled, in respect of his $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms, to exactly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total value of the entire township of Netherwitton, which was still, in 1832, held as one property by Mr. Raleigh Trevelyan. It had devolved on him through the marriage of Walter Trevelyan with Jane, the heiress of James Thornton.

Mr. Woodman was met at the outset by the difficulty that, at the time when he was reviving the suit, the word *farm* had in ordinary parlance no such equational meaning as that which he sought to attach to it ; and that it was, in 1832, used in Northumberland, as it was elsewhere in England, in the modern and general acceptation of the word, as expressing merely a parcel of land uncertain both as

⁵⁷ Brand, vol. i. p. 438.

to extent and value. There had even been so early as the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth a legal decision in a case of *Wrottesley v. Adams*,⁵⁸ laying down the general local acceptation of the word in England in a sense different from that which he sought to establish.

The definition in that case had been adopted by Lord Coke, and by the editors of all the law dictionaries published after that time. In that case Anthony Brown, (Justice) and Dyer, (Chief Justice) decided that farm was :—

A collective word consisting of a message with the lands, meadows, pastures, woods, common and other things appertaining to it, and that the message was not a common message and that the lands were not of the quantity of the other lands ordinarily belonging to the other messages in the same township but was a chief message in the town, and that the lands belonging to it were of great demesne and more ample in quantity than the demesnes belonging to the other messages.

Mr. Preston also, who was the great authority on conveyancing matters in the beginning of this century, added the following note to the above definition of the word *farm* where it occurred in his edition of Shepherd's *Touchstone*, published in 1820 :—‘ By the word *farm* is understood : ‘ Any such quantity of land in all its varieties and to any extent as are occupied by one tenant.’ I think perhaps he would have been still more correct if he had added the words ‘ at one rent.’

Mr. Woodman, however, made enquiries as to what had formerly been the meaning of the word *farm* in all the parishes lying around Netherwitton ; and he collected in support of his case a remarkable series of affidavits from the leading agricultural authorities connected with the parishes which stretched from Elsdon in the north-west to Tynemouth in the south-east of the county, showing that in all the townships of all those parishes the word *farm* had been used to denote an aliquot part of an entire township, and that each township consisted of a certain recognized number of these ancient reputed farms.

The witnesses who made affidavits to that effect in 1847 included many names well-known in the county of Northumberland. I may here mention those of William Forster of Burradon, Thomas Arkle of Elsdon, Middleton Henry Dand of Hauxley, Robert Swan of Bedlington, and Francis Brummell of Morpeth, and the names of other Northumbrian agricultural authorities carrying equal weight will be found set out in Appendix A.

⁵⁸ Plowden, 195.

Their evidence proved that 'Church Rates and Poor Rates, Land Tax, Parish Clerks' Fees, and Lord's Rents were assessed and paid by farms, each farm in every case contributing an equal sum, and that in some cases the custom was continued almost to the present day⁶⁹ that property was described in deeds as so many farms and parts of a farm, that commons were stinted and divided according to farms and parts of a farm which each proprietor of ancient land had ; and that the reputation of the meaning of the word as an aliquot part of an entire township was almost universal in the county. It was so used in terriers prepared by the collective wisdom of the parish in deeds of all kinds, in rate books, in court rolls, and proceedings in the Court of Chancery.'

Vice Chancellor Shadwell, the judge before whom the suit was tried, after carefully reading the affidavits, stated in court that they had convinced him that the word *farm* had been used in the county of Northumberland in a sense different from that which was usually attributed to it.

It is impossible in this paper to do justice to the evidence which was collected relating to each parish and township, but I have endeavoured to epitomise it in Appendix A. One affidavit on the point was so conclusive and valuable that I have thought it best to set it out in full in the body of my paper, both as an example of what the other affidavits are like and also because it possesses a peculiar interest of its own ; inasmuch as it speaks to facts which still affect many property owners in 1892. The affidavit is made by the late Mr. Cuthbert Umfreville Laws, who was then the deputy steward of the manor of Tynemouth. The value of this affidavit is enhanced by the fact that this division of townships into ancient farms still exists in theory in the transactions of the manor of Tynemouth at the present day. The copyhold tenants of that manor still pay annually the *hall corn rent* which represents the weekly work the original villan had to perform in ploughing for, sowing, and reaping the lord's corn ; commuted first into a corn rent and then into a money payment ; the *boon day rent*, which represents the additional services or precariae which they rendered—services generally acknowledged by the lord finding them provision upon the day they were so occupied ; and the

⁶⁹ The above sentence occurs in a brief written in 1847.

shire rent, which represents either the tenant's contribution to the payment for county purposes which was assessed upon the lord in respect of the entire manor, or possibly a rent payable for the right of pasturage on the Shire Moor, or possibly a rent payable by all the householders in the ancient shire of Tynemouth—for the parts of Northumberland known as Tynemouthshire, Hexhamshire, Northhamshire, and Bedlingtonshire, are supposed by some to be divisions of the ancient northern kingdom of Bernicia.

In surrenders and admittances which I have passed this year before Mr. Edward Leadbitter, the present steward of the manor of Tynemouth, copyhold land is still described as a quarter of a farm, meaning a quarter of the ancient holding of one customary tenant; and I venture to think that there are few instances still existing in any part of England where traces of the ancient village community are so practically impressed upon the transactions and dealings of so large and influential a number of nineteenth century property owners as they are in the manor of Tynemouth to-day.

Mr. Laws's affidavit is as follows :—

I, CUTHBERT UMFREVILLE LAWS of Tynemouth in the County of Northumberland, Gentleman, make oath and say that I am Deputy Steward of the Manor of Tynemouth in the said County of Northumberland that all surrenders of and admittances to the copyhold lands within the said manor are prepared by and passed before me and all customary payments to which the lord of the said manor as such is entitled are received by me, that the said manor comprises the several townships of Tynemouth, North Shields, Cullercoats, Chirton, Murton, Preston, Monkseaton, and Whitley in the parish of Tynemouth and Backworth and Earsdon in the parish of Earsdon. That the townships of Tynemouth, North Shields, and Cullercoats are of freehold tenure and consist principally of houses and buildings but all the other before named townships comprise considerable tracts of land held by copy of Court Roll and also portions of freehold land and each township consists of a certain number of antient farms, that is to say :—

Parishes.	Townships.	Farms.
Earsdon	Backworth... ..	10
	Earsdon	8
Tynemouth	Chirton East	5
	Chirton West	3
	Monkseaton	10
	Murton	4
	Preston	5
	Whitley	5

That the following payments are annually due from the copyhold tenants of the said manor and from time immemorial as I verily believe have been received by the lord of the said manor and are now received by me on his behalf that is to say 2s. 6d. per farm for 'Boon days' or 'days work money' for or in respect of each copyhold farm within the said manor, 32 bushels of bigg or barley and 16 bushels of oats for or in respect of each copyhold farm within the said townships of Earsdon, Monkseaton, Whitley, and Preston, 24 bushels of bigg or barley and 24 bushels of oats for or in respect of each copyhold farm within the said township of Chirton and 82 bushels of oats for or in respect of each farm in the township of Murton, all which several corn-rents become due and payable at Saint Andrew's day in each and every year, and are rendered or paid by each of such copyhold tenants by a money payment calculated according to the average price of corn or grain in Newcastle market on such day commuted for or in lieu of the quantity of corn or grain payable by him for or in respect of and according to the number of antient reputed farms or fractional part or parts of a farm of which his land consists, contributing for each such antient reputed farm the quantity of corn payable in respect thereof as hereinbefore mentioned or a proportionate quantity for any fractional part or parts of such antient reputed farms which he holds. And there is also due and payable by the said copyhold tenants an antient immemorial payment called 'Shire Rent,' each antient farm in the township of Earsdon and Monkseaton paying 20 shillings, those in the said township of Whitley 16s. 8d., in Preston 13s. 4d., in Chirton 18s. 8d., and in Murton 11s. 0d. The following schedule sets forth the mode in which these payments are made in the said township of Earsdon :—

Tenants.	Number of Farms or parts of a Farm held by each Tenant.	Hall Corn Rents. Half-year Payable at September, 1846.	Shire Rents. Half-year due 1846.	Boon Days. One Year due Michaelmas, 1846.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.
Hugh Taylor, Esq.	1½	7 10 7½	0 15 0	3 9
Peter Shield's sequels	½	2 10 2½	0 5 0	1 3
Josh. Barker's heirs	1	5 0 5	0 10 0	2 6
Forster of Pigg's Charities	½	2 10 2½	0 5 0	1 3
Charles Dalston's heirs	1	5 5 5	0 10 0	2 6
Rev. Ed. Parker's heirs	½	2 10 2½	0 5 0	1 3
		25 2 1	2 10 0	12 6

Each of the farms in the following townships also paid a modus for hay tithe, which payment continued up to the commutation of tithes a few years ago, viz. :—

	s.	d.
Earsdon	0	8 per farm in all .
Monkseaton	0	8 do.
Whitley	1	3 do.
Preston	0	8 do.
Chirton	0	8 do.
Murton	0	8 do.

And I further make oath and say that in all surrenders and admittances the land which is included in a surrender or admittance is stated to consist of so many farms or fractional parts of a farm and a fine of £4 for a farm, £2 for half a farm, and £1 for a quarter of a farm is paid to the lord on each surrender; the word 'farm' meaning such antient reputed farm as aforesaid. And I further make oath and say that in the year 1790 a certain Common called Billy Mill Moor was divided under the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in the 28th year of the reign of his late Majesty King Geo. 3rd intituled 'An Act for dividing, allotting, and enclosing a certain common moor or tract of waste land called Tynemouth Moor, Shire Moor, Billy Moor, or Billy Mill Moor, within the manor of Tynemouth otherwise Tynemouth Shire, otherwise Tynemouth with Tynemouth Shire, in the County of Northumberland,' and that the said common was divided among the proprietors of such antient reputed farms as aforesaid; a certain value of the unenclosed lands being awarded to or on account of each antient reputed farm and so in proportion for a fractional part of such antient reputed farm.

And I further make oath and say that the paper writing hereunto annexed and marked with the letter 'A' and signed by me contains a true and correct extract from the original award made in pursuance of the said Act. And I further make oath and say that the number of the said antient farms which is comprised in each of the said townships is perfectly well known and notorious and I have often heard of the same from divers old inhabitants of the said parishes. And that in all the said payments, surrenders, and admissions and division of Common each antient farm was considered as being one of several portions of land of equal value of which each of the said townships consisted, although the relative value of these is no longer the same, changes by cultivation increase of population and other circumstances in the course of years having completely changed this and these antient farms have no relation to the farms as now held and that the word 'farm' as used in all these matters and proceedings was used in a sense totally and entirely different from the modern and general acceptation of the word as expressing a parcel of land uncertain both as to extent and value. And I further make oath and say that I have been informed and verily believe that the word 'farm' was formerly generally used in the County of Northumberland as one of several parts of a township of the same value.

The evidence was ample that the word *farm* was used in the county to express an aliquot part in value of a township, and that a *farm* was one of the several portions of land of which a township consisted, each one of such portions having originally been of equal value. But the question naturally arose how such an equalization could have existed in spite of all the differences in the value of the soil in any one township. The Continental and English works which now exist upon the subject, and which would so fully have explained this point, were not then in existence, but evidence was found that the

township of North Middleton in the same parish of Hartburn (of which Netherwitton was a chapelry) had only been enclosed as lately as the year 1805, and that up to that time it had remained undivided both in tillage and pasture ground, and had been occupied in common, each proprietor's share or interest being estimated by the number of ancient farms, or parts of a farm, of which his land was known to consist. Evidence was adduced in the suit to the effect that prior to the division and enclosure of that township in 1805 it had been customary for the proprietors or their tenants to meet together from time to time and re-divide or re-allot the tillage and meadow-land amongst themselves in proportion to the number of farms to which they were entitled, and after the Chancery suit had been determined and compromised Sir W. C. Trevelyan copied from the documents in the muniment room at Wallington, and gave to Mr. Woodman, the following account extracted from a case laid before counsel with regard to the undivided North Middleton land:—

CASE.

The township of North Middleton in the parish of Hartburn in Northumberland consists of 14 ancient farms comprising about 1,100 acres of arable meadow and pasture land.

The Duke of Portland is proprietor of 10 of these farms; Messrs. James George & Robt. Hepple of $1\frac{1}{2}$ of a farm; Lord Carlisle of 1 farm; Wm. Hodgson, Esq., of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a farm; John Arthur of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a farm. In all 14 farms.

The sesses and taxes of the township are paid by the occupiers in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms by them occupied.

These farms are not divided or set out, the whole township lying in common and undivided except that the Duke of Portland has a distinct property in the mill and about ten acres of land adjoining and that each proprietor has a distinct property in particular houses, cottages, and crofts in the village of North Middleton. The general rule of cultivating and managing the lands within the township has been for the proprietors or the tenants to meet together and determine how much and what particular parts of the lands shall be in tillage, how much and what parts in meadow, and how much and what parts in pasture, and they then divide and set out the tillage and meadow lands amongst themselves in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms which they are respectively entitled to within the township, and the pasture lands are stinted in the proportion of 20 stints to each farm. So that upon the pasture land the Duke of Portland or his tenants are entitled in respect of

his 10 farms to	200 stints
the Duke of Portland is also entitled in respect to his mill and mill lands to	5½ "
Messrs. James George & Robt. Hepple in respect to their 1 & ¼ of a farm to	32½ "
Lord Carlisle in respect of his 1 farm	20 "
Wm. Hodgson, Esq., in respect of his ½ of a farm to	17½ "
John Arthur in respect of his ¼ of a farm to	10 "
	<hr/>
	285½ stints

Messrs. Hepple, Mr. Hodgson, and John Arthur have each of them a distinct property in several small parcels of land which lie in the open fields and which are known by the name of cottage lands, and when the lands in which any of these cottage lands are situated are in tillage the proprietor or the tenant of such cottage lands is entitled to sow such cottage lands with corn and reap and carry away the crop of corn which shall grow thereon to his own use. And when the lands in which any of these cottage lands are situated are in meadows the proprietor or his tenant of such cottage lands is entitled to cut and make into hay the grass grown thereon for his own use. And when the lands in which any of these cottage lands are situated are in pasture such cottage lands are also in pasture and are depastured in common with the other lands of the township but in such case the proprietor or tenant of such cottage land is entitled to a certain number of stints in respect of such cottage lands over and above the number of stints above mentioned, that is to say the said Messrs. Hepple are in such case entitled in respect of their cottage land to 3 stints and ¼ of a stint, the said John Arthur is entitled in respect of his cottage land to 1 stint and ½ of a stint, and the said Mr. Hodgson is entitled in respect of his cottage land to 4 stints and ¼ of a stint. Further there belongs to the Duke of Portland 2 stints commonly known by the name of Bailiff or Manor stints.

Besides affording valuable evidence upon the local customs of ancient farms in Northumberland the above case is also interesting upon the general question of the origin and customs of the common field system, because it shows a still more archaic method of cultivation than is found to be the case with regard to common fields in England generally. According to Professor Vinogradoff, the latest writer on the subject, and one of the most careful investigators of the ancient muniments bearing upon it, the *re-division* of the arable land is not generally found in the documents of the middle ages. There is, according to those documents, no shifting of the arable strips, and Professor Vinogradoff compares the strips in the arable fields to the ice-bound surface of a Northern sea. He says, 'It is not smooth, although hard and unmovable, and the hills and hollows of the

uneven plain remind one of the billows that rolled when it was yet unfrozen.⁶⁰

Mr. Elton also, in his *Origins of English History*,⁶¹ after mentioning that in several parts of Germany the land held in common was divided by lot, the drawings for the arable having originally been held once in three years, but afterwards at longer intervals, goes on to say:—‘It is true that there is hardly any documentary evidence to show that the arable in England was ever divided in this way.’ He adds in a foot-note that it is said that the Enclosure Commissioners had met with instances of arable which was distributed by lot. The statement as to North Middleton does not mention whether the distribution was effected by lot,⁶² but it states clearly that there *was* a redistribution, and this statement is therefore a not unimportant contribution to the literature existing on the subject. To follow up the simile used by Professor Vinogradoff, it shows a portion of the sea still unfrozen and its waves still in motion.⁶³

The prominence given to the cottage lands in the account of this undivided township should not escape attention. The place of the cottager in the rural economy of the middle ages was almost as conspicuous as that of the villan or holder of the customary farm. The cottager’s duties are mentioned in the Saxon ‘laws of land right’ of the tenth century.⁶⁴ It is there laid down that he ought to have 5 acres in his holding, ‘more if it be the custom on the land, and too little it is if it be less.’ According to the Domesday Survey, whilst the villans embraced 38 per cent. of the whole population, the cottagers embraced another 32 per cent., and in no county were there less than 12 per cent. of them.⁶⁵ According to the same survey, the cottager’s holding varied from one acre to ten, but was generally five acres. To some this holding will suggest the ‘five free erwes (or common field strips) cotillage of wastes and hunting,’ which, under the ancient laws of Wales,⁶⁶ were the ‘three immunities of an innate

⁶⁰ Pp. 403, 404.

⁶¹ pp. 405, 406.

⁶² The Corbridge strips are still known in the district as ‘the cavils,’ a term which supports the supposition that they were at some time apportioned by lot.

⁶³ Compare the customs of Lauder in Berwickshire, cited in Maine’s *Village Communities*, p. 95. Gomme, 149.

⁶⁴ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Ed. Thorpe, p. 432.

⁶⁵ Seebohm, p. 90.

⁶⁶ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 516.

Cymro,' and to some the fact that these cottage lands in North Middleton were defined and ascertained whilst the rest of the common land was fluctuating and re-divisible, will afford an argument that the cottage lands were held by a still older title or under a still older system. Possibly the nineteenth-century appeal for three acres (which approximately represents in area the five free erws of the 'innate Cymro') is an echo from a time long past.

The list which forms Appendix A to this paper contains the number of farms ascertained by the evidence in the action of the Attorney-General *v.* Trevelyan to have existed in the various parishes and townships in Northumberland. The bishop of Peterborough has a somewhat similar list as an Appendix to his paper read before the Archaeological Institute in 1884.⁶⁷ There are, however, in my list further particulars of payments and of local names which may be useful to other workers in the same field.

It will be seen from the nature of the evidence epitomised in that Appendix that clergymen and churchwardens of parishes, overseers of townships, and those who, as land agents, solicitors, or antiquaries, have access to the muniments of the great landowners of the county, can add from many sources much valuable information upon the subject of these Northumbrian farms. The points to which their attention should be directed are, (1) as to the time when the word farm was first used to express a yardland or husband land, (2) as to the nature of the tenure of the cultivators of these holdings, (3) as to the nature of the services rendered by the tenants, and (4) as to the extent of the holdings. I purpose to contribute a few suggestions under each of those heads.

Although the documents in the suit of Attorney-General *v.* Trevelyan throw such ample light on the use of the word *farm* as meaning a yardland, they do not contain any evidence of the antiquity of that use of the word in the county of Northumberland. In Appendix B are some notes as to its derivation and as to its use in England generally.

With regard to the *nature* of the tenure it will be observed that although in other parts of England the present representatives of these customary tenants are to a large extent copyholders, yet in Northumber-

⁶⁷ *Archaeological Journal*, xlii. p. 41.

land copyholds only exist in certain townships of the manor of Tynemouth, in Hexhamshire, in North Sunderland, and, as I am informed, in Bedlingtonshire, also formerly one of the possessions of the church. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the customary farms in Elswick and Benwell are described as copyhold, and 'The tenants claimed to hold their lands by Coppie of Court Roll as Coppie holders of inheritance.'⁶⁸ These manors of Elswick and Benwell had been part of the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Tynemouth, and even after the dissolution the roll was kept at Tynemouth, and the surrenders and admittances were made as of that manor.⁶⁹

There is a statement in Clarkson's Survey of the earl of Northumberland's estate in 1567⁷⁰ that the tenants of High Buston should build better houses, 'seeing they have now their tenements by copyhold,' and another statement in the same survey that Roger Clay, one of the tenants of the same town, paid a rent 'to the late dissolved monastery of Hulme,' would seem to show that these copyholds, too, were connected with ecclesiastical estates.

The word 'copyholder,' and the method of conveying by copy of Court Roll, are both things of comparatively modern growth. The customary tenants of a township are, according to Comyns,⁷¹ first called 'copyholders' in the first year of the reign of Henry V. They are called 'tenants by the verge' in the fourteenth year of Henry IV. They are called 'customary tenants' by the statute of Edward I. 'Extenta Manerii,' and that was their usual name or description before the word copyhold came into use.

Professor Maitland⁷² points out in the proceedings of the bishop of Ely's court at Littleport, a stage in the formation of copyhold tenure. In the cases in Edward the first's reign in which there is

⁶⁸ Land Revenue Office Survey, Jas. I.

⁶⁹ Welford, vol. iii. p. 146. William Jenison, who acquired the manor of Elswick under grant from the Crown, bought up the copyhold farms from the holders of them, had them surrendered to him or to trustees for him, and enclosed the common fields. Hodgson MS. Title, Elswick. Since that time the whole of the manor has been held and disposed of as freehold, although 'the 9 farmholds sometimes called copyhold tenements or farmholds' still linger in the description of the parcels in the deed of partition of the lands of Elswick between George Stephenson and John Hodgson so late as 1776. Benwell has become almost entirely freehold, although traces of existing copyholds are still to be found in that township.

⁷⁰ Extracted by Mr. J. C. Hodgson (by permission of Earl Percy) for a paper for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.

⁷¹ Vol. ii. p. 361.

⁷² Court Baron, p. 122.

litigation in that manor about customary tenements, a jury is employed. At a later date the litigants put themselves not upon the jury but upon the rolls of the court as giving the proper proof of title, and according to the form of the surrender and admittance still in use in the manor of Tynemouth, it is the homage, or jury, who find to this day that the vendor has surrendered his tenement into the hands of the lord before the lord by his steward admits the surrenderee.

Now it is well known that although according to common custom these tenements descended from father to son, or were alienated from tenant to tenant at the manor court, yet the theory of the Norman lawyers was that they were held purely at the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor, and that the lord might oust the tenant when he pleased without any reason.⁷³ Although that legal right in the lord was in many cases exercised, it was controlled by the rights of usage, and was met by emphatic protests on the part of the peasantry, and at length the king's courts felt bound to recognise the universal custom which existed in favour of the customary tenant's right to alienate his lands, and the right of his heir to inherit them; and this conclusion found expression in the reign of Edward IV. in the cases cited in Littleton⁷⁴ as follows:—

But Brian, Chief Justice, said that his opinion hath alwaies been and ever shall be that if such tenant by custome paying his services be ejected by the lord he shall have an action of trespass against him. H. 21. Ed. 4. And so was the opinion of Danby, Chief Justice, in 7 Edward IV. for he saith that tenant by the custome is as well inheritour to have his lands according to the custome as he that hath a freehold at the common law.

Prior to that time and when the harsher rule as to the meaning of 'the will of the lord' prevailed it would appear an obvious advantage to the customary tenant to have a lease for life or for years of his lands. The big monastic houses, with more clerical assistance at their command, commenced to enter surrenders and admittances upon their court rolls at an earlier date than was done by other lords of manors. It was easier for these lay lords of manors and their less educated stewards to grant a lease in individual cases than to keep a record of all the changes of the tenancy upon the rolls of their court.

⁷³ Gilbert on Tenures, p. 198.

⁷⁴ Litt. section 77. The passage is not found in the earliest editions. It occurs for the first time in Redmayne's edition in 1530.

These leases, however, operated in the end prejudicially to the customary tenants, for whilst it was held, as stated above, that copyhold tenants having no lease had an estate of inheritance in their lands, it was also held by the courts⁷⁵ that if a copyholder takes a lease for life or for years the copyhold is destroyed, and for ever gone, and so by taking a lease he would lose his inheritance. It is probable that the customary tenants in Northumberland took these leases where they could not acquire by purchase from the lord the freehold of their holdings. In Cornwall to this day the freehold of all the land in many manors is still in the hands of the lord, all the tenants holding on leases for ninety-nine years determinable on lives.

In the well-known survey of the lands of the baronies of Bywell and Bolbeck, held in 1569 after the attainder of Charles earl of Westmorland for the Great Northern Rebellion, it is stated that 'all the tenants hold their lands by indenture for term of years which are very fineable when their leases are expired.'

Traces of leases for lives are found in titles to landed estates in various districts of Northumberland. They still exist in the township of Stamfordham. The form of lease prevalent in that township contains a covenant by the lessor for the renewal of the lease upon the dropping of any life, and this covenant was supposed to render the Stamfordham leases perpetual. The question was tested in 1884 in the action of Swinburne *v.* Milburn.⁷⁶ It was held in that action by Lord Esher the Master of the Rolls and Lord Justice Bowen that the covenant in the lease in question was one for perpetual renewal. This decision was, however, overruled by the House of Lords, who held that the covenant in the lease was for renewal, not perpetually, but only as often as any one of the three lives for which it was originally granted should drop. In consequence of this ruling these leases for lives will probably become extinct in Stamfordham, as they have already become extinct, or nearly so, in other parts of Northumberland.

With regard to the nature of the *services* rendered by the tenants, it will be remembered that Mr. Seebohm, as the result of his researches upon the subject in various parts of England, summarises the services and payments of the villan which he finds to have been prevalent under the following heads⁷⁷:—

⁷⁵ Comyns, vol. iii. p. 409. Gilbert on Tenures, p. 290.

⁷⁶ L. R. 9 App. Cas. 844. ⁷⁷ P. 78, 79.

Week-work, *i.e.*, work for the lord for so many days a week, mostly three days. Precarise, or boon-work, *i.e.*, special work at request. Payments in money or kind or work rendered by way of rent or "Gafol," and payment of other dues under various names. The requirement of the lord's licence for a marriage of a daughter, and fine on incontinence. The prohibition of the sale of oxen, etc., without the lord's licence. The obligation to use the lord's mill, and to do service at his court. The obligation not to leave the land, without the lord's licence.

He also sets out⁷⁸ the services of a gebur or farmer of a yardland or customary farm from a document entitled 'The services due from various persons,'⁷⁹ the Saxon version of which dates probably from the tenth century. This document sets out the above services and states of the gebur that 'if he do carrying he has not to work while his horse is out,' and later on 'he shall have given to him for his outfit ii oxen and i cow and vi sheep. And he must have given to him tools for his work and utensils for his house. Then when he dies his lord takes back what he leaves.' 'Let him who is over the district take care that he knows what the old land customs are and what are the customs of the people.'

Remnants of similar services may be traced in Northumberland from the fourteenth century to the present day. A document dated 1378 and entitled 'Customs and Works that the men of Tynemouth ought to do and from ancient times have been accustomed to observe and perform' is extracted by Brand⁸⁰ from the Tinmouth Chartulary. That extract sets out that:—

All of Tynemouth who hold land shall plough once a year for the food of the Prior with their own ploughs. All those who hold lands and tofts shall give three boon days in the autumn with one man only and a fourth boon day with their whole family (except the house-wife) at which the four sworn men of the township shall be reapers. All the 'selfodes'⁸¹ shall give each three boon days only. All the 15 tenants shall each do one 'inlade' without food or sheaf, *viz.*, from the field of Tynemouth withersoever they have been directed by the cellarer. Each shall bring one cart load from Seaton Delaval and each of them

⁷⁸ P. 131.

⁷⁹ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Ed. Thorpe, p. 185.

⁸⁰ Brand, vol. ii. p. 594.

⁸¹ Vinogradoff, p. 250, notices this term in Northumberland in an inquisition post-mortem 55 Henry III. where it is spelt 'selfoder.' He thinks it means 'self-other,' but 'self-owned' would appear to be an equally probable interpretation. As to the tenures by theinage, by drengage, and by cornage which existed in Northumberland and Durham, see Professor Maitland's article in the *Royal Historical Review*, vol. v. p. 625; Mr. Bates's *Border Holds*, p. 312; and Canon Greenwell's *Glossary* in the Appendix to the Boldon Book, Surtees Society edition.

who shall with another companion make carriage as is aforesaid shall have food and sheaf²² except 'ulryg.'²³

The men of Tynemouth shall guard the prisons, and if there shall happen any escape they shall pay for each escape £8 sterling. And they who reside on the chief tenements called the XV. shall have common of pasture in open time. Also every cottager of the township of Tynemouth shall have common for his animals in the common moor, viz., Schiremoor, at all seasons of the year and not elsewhere. And all the waste places called Balkes are the separate soil of the Prior.

And no tenant holding inland or outland can alienate or give any part of his holding without paying a fine in the court of the said Prior. And if a heir by blood is entitled to entry into his inheritance he shall pay a relief or double his rent (suam firmam) at his entry and shall do fealty and suit of Court from 3 weeks to 3 weeks.

And all the tenants of Tynemouth on occasion shall pay layrewyt (that is a fine for incontinence) for their daughters or handmaidens; and also merchet for giving their daughters in marriage except the Lord Philip of Marston who is exempt from that service.²⁴

In the year 1784 an Act was passed for dividing and allotting part of the town fields and the whole of the town green of Elrington in the parish of Warden in the county of Northumberland. By that Act, after reciting that there were within the said township certain lands called the town fields and town green and that the greatest part of the lands lay intermixed and dispersed, and that other part thereof was held by the proprietors as tenants in common, and that Fewster Johnson, Esq., as owner of the capital messuage called Elrington hall and the demesnes of Elrington, was entitled to divers rents issuing out of three several tenements in the said township, and was also entitled for each and every of the said three tenements to one heriot (that is to say the best beast or forty shillings at his election at the death of the owner of the said capital messuage and the owner of the said three tenements and each of them), and was also entitled yearly for each of the said three tenements to two mow dargues and two shear dargues or days' works, and also to three hens and three catches or carriages yearly from Elrington aforesaid to the town of Hexham, and also reciting

²² 'And he (the villan) is bound to carry sheaves, and for each service of this kind he will receive one sheaf called "mene sheaf," and whenever he is sent to carry anything with his cart he shall have oats as usual so much namely as he can thrice take with his hand.' *Chartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury*, cited in Vinogradoff, 175.

²³ I cannot find an explanation of this term in any glossary.

²⁴ Compare the very similar services rendered by the 14 serfs of the vill of Wridthorpe in Lincolnshire in 1109. *Ingulph*. Bohn's edition, 240.

that the owners of the said three tenements were entitled to take out of the demesnes of the said Fewster Johnson sufficient hedgeboot, stakeboot, and rice for the making and amending of hedges and fences, it was enacted that the said lands should be enclosed and that satisfaction should be made for the said rights of the said Fewster Johnson, and that from and after the 22nd day of November, 1784, all right and title of the said Fewster Johnston, his heirs and assigns to the aforesaid yearly rents or annual payments, heriots, mow dargues and shear dargues or day works, hens and catches or carriages to the town of Hexham, and all right or title of the respective owners for the time being of the aforesaid three tenements to hedgeboot, stakeboot, and rice as aforesaid should respectively cease and be for ever extinguished.

It will be seen that in 1784 the servile incidents of layrewite and merchet have disappeared.⁸⁵ The week work has been replaced by 'divers rents.' But the heriot still remains as an acknowledgment of the Anglo-Saxon doctrine:—'Then when he dies the lord takes back what he leaves.' The boon days of two mow dargues and two shear dargues also remain, and the three catches or carriages yearly to Hexham probably have their counterpart in farm leases in Elrington township at the present day as they had in the chartulary of Tynemouth in 1387.⁸⁶

I produce rent-receipts, surrenders, and admittances, dated in the years 1891 and 1892, showing payments in those years to the lord of the manor at Tynemouth for hall corn rent in lieu of week work, boon day rent in lieu of boon day services, for shire rent, and for

⁸⁵ The latest account of the custom of 'merchet' is to be found in Mr. Owen Pike's Introduction to the Year Books, 15 Edward III. (Record Office Publications) pp. 15 to 62. As to 'merchet' in Northumberland see Bracton's *Note Book* (edition, Maitland), Case No. 895, and *Testa de Nevill*, 389. In Russia, prior to the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, serfs could not marry as they chose without the consent of their masters, and the proprietor would not allow the daughter of one of his serfs to marry a serf belonging to another proprietor—because he would thereby lose a female labourer—unless some compensation were offered. Wallace's *Russia*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 114-140.

⁸⁶ The Rev. J. Thomlinson, rector of Rothbury, says in one of his MSS.: 'No doubt all the lands in the town of Whitton did belong to the rector, but the inhabitants having held them time out of mind at one pound per annum each farm and two days' ploughing and leading with their draughts and as many ploughing and reaping (the rector finding them meat when they work for him), they now look upon themselves as freeholders.' *History and Directory of Northumberland* (Hexham Division), published by Bulmer, Manchester, and Beavis, Stewart, & Co., Newcastle, 1886.

finer on the admittance of an heir and on the alienation of a quarter of a farm. It will also be observed, from the wording of the admittances, that the new tenant still does fealty for his holding at the lord's court.⁸⁷

With regard to the *extent* of these customary holdings the following extract as to the township of High Buston made by Mr. J. C. Hodgson from Clarkson's Survey of 1567 is interesting as showing that each farm was looked upon as a living for a family, that no farm could be partitioned unless the farmer had acquired the freehold from his lord, and that even where freehold farms were sub-divided or sub-let the commonable rights of the partitioners were carefully restricted within the limits of those formerly enjoyed by the whole tenement :—

This towne was at the fyrst plantid with xvi tenn^a as yett appeareth by the scites of there tenem^a and are nowe but viij tenn-s the cause of that there ys so litle arable land and medowe grounde as also pasture moore grounde wh. will not well suffice for the living of so many tenn^a and for yt also they sholde the better lyve and be more able to do ther dewtyful serveyce to their Ld and Mr. they were of xvj made but viij tenn^a.

The said Thomas Buston hath one lytle house there wherein dwelleth one tenn^a. to do him serveyce wc ys agaynst the old ancyent ordre of this Lp; for althrough he aledgeth that he or any other may upon his freholde sett such several buildinge upo ancyent scites as they shall think good, wherunto I must by leave agree, Never the lesse yf we conyder the premiss and for what cause the said towne was brought from xvi tenn^a to viij fermors as also the small quantity of the corne moare (?) And that every inhabyt wth in any towne must have suffycent for the maintenance of him and his family and wher also suche staite (extinte) of all things ys kept (as ys in the towne of Bustone) the will think it bothe lawe and reason that every tenn^a of lyke lande and like rent have lyke porcyon in all things upon the said como pasture. And sure (?) I would give order that the said Thos. Bustone should have not more pasture or other extinte or fewell (seeing he ys in all respects equal with every one of the said tenn^a) for him and his tenant both, than one of the said tenants have and that under great penalty yf he be found by the Jurye convicte thereof.

If we take the number of farms contained in each township, as mentioned in Appendix A, and divide the total acreage of the township by them, we shall find a varying number of acres assignable to each farm, and if we exclude the townships of Rochester and Troughend in the parish of Elsdon, which contain an unusual and extraordinary quantity of useless waste and mountainous land, we shall find that the five hundred farms which are left have an average of nearly 160 acres of township land assignable to each of them. This is of course inclusive of arable land, meadow, pasture, and waste.

⁸⁷ As to manor courts see *Proc. New. Soc. Antiq.* vol. 5, p. 161.

Section of an American Township divided into quarter section farms. Area of section-1 Sq. Mile - 640 acres. Area of quarter section. 160 acres. Lineal measurement on each side of section 8 furlongs. Lineal measurement on each side of quarter section farm- 4 furlongs.

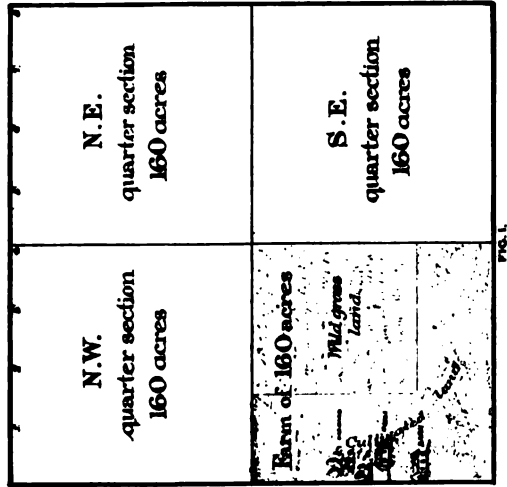


FIG. 1.

Area of a quarter section farm of 160 Acres (scale two-fold fig. 1) $\frac{1}{4}$ of area - 40 acres $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ area - 20 acres = 1 square furlong. Lineal measurement of the side of each square furlong 1 furlong = 40 poles = 220 yds. $\frac{1}{4}$ of each square furlong = 1 normal common field acre 40 poles by 4 or 220 yards by 22.

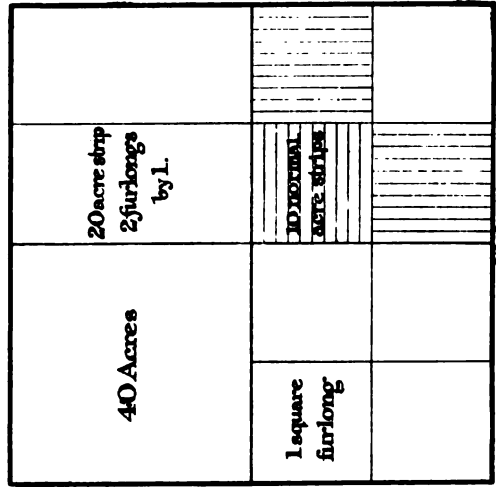


FIG. 2.

It will be seen from the instances cited in the former part of this paper⁸⁸ that the arable land assigned to each farm ranged between 20 and 30 acres, that the meadow land ranged between 2 acres and 10 acres, and this would leave from 120 to 140 acres of open pasture and waste assignable on an average to each farm.

According to Sir Henry Maine⁸⁹ the encroachments of the lord were in proportion to the want of certainty in the rights of the community. In the grass land he intruded more than into the arable land; into the waste much more than into either. The conclusion suggested to his mind is that in succeeding to the legislative power of the old community the lord was enabled to appropriate to himself such of its rights as were not immediately valuable and which, in the event of their becoming valuable, required legislative adjustment to settle the mode of enjoying them. If that were the process it had probably begun before either the Saxon thane or the Norman baron had entered England.

I will conclude by offering for your inspection a plan of a farm of the present day in a newly-settled country. It is the plan of a farm in the south-west quarter of section 28, of township 20, range 13 west of the 6th principal meridian, in Barton county in the state of Kansas. It contains 160 acres, and the whole of the land is capable of being profitably cultivated. At the time of its survey, in 1888, 40 acres were in maize, 25 in wheat, 15 in other crops, and 80 acres were in wild grass. Similar plans of hundreds of these farms are amongst the papers of those who invest in American mortgages. They are almost all of the same size of 160 acres, or $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of a square mile, but some of them are half that size, or only 80 acres in extent. Where the holdings are 80 acres, a larger proportion is cultivated as arable land. Notwithstanding the introduction of modern methods of cultivation, the quantity of land which one household can profitably manage does not appear to have varied greatly in the last thousand years.

Notwithstanding the apparently modern scientific method of the

⁸⁸ By an early statute of the Scotch Parliament (*Scotch Statutes*, vol. i. p. 387) it was ordained that the ox-gangs shall contain 13 acres. Two ox-gangs or 26 acres made a husband land (Innes, 242), so that we have a statutory warrant that 26 acres of arable land was the normal extent of a similar holding across the border.

⁸⁹ *Village Communities*, 141.

mensuration of this American square mile, the influence of the common field-furrow, and the gad, or rod, or pole, by which the common field acres were marked out can be traced in every corner of the plot. According to Canon Taylor,⁹⁰ a furlong is the length of the longest furrow that could be conveniently ploughed before the oxen had to stop and rest; whilst the breadth of the acre depended on the number of furrows which formed the daily task of the villan and his oxen. Mr. Pell, in his learned but difficult paper on the Domesday Assessment, disputes this,⁹¹ and states that the furlong means not a furrow long, but rather a line 40 rods long, that this line 4 rods broad makes the acre, and that both the acre and the rod are merely convenient fractions of some larger area. However this may be, 8 of these furlongs lie on each side of the square mile shown on this plan. Quarter the area and you get the normal farm of 160 acres, quarter the farm and you get the 40 acres which we have seen to be the usual extent of the part cultivated or enclosed for corn and meadow hay; quarter that cultivated portion and you get the square furlong, or *ferdell*,⁹² which contained 10 normal acre strips, each acre strip being 40 rods long and 4 rods broad, in other words, a furlong in length and 4 rods in breadth, the area which, according to the ordinance of Edward I., constituted a legal acre. In fact this American square mile, divided into four farms of 160 acres each, is exactly similar in extent, dimensions, and divisions to the four carucates of arable land, containing in length 8 furlongs, and in breadth 8 furlongs, the gift of Algar, the knight, to the abbey of Croyland, which was confirmed to that abbey by that description by the charter of Wiglaf, king of the Mercians, in the year 833.⁹³

There are two great differences between this modern Kansas farm and the ancient Northumbrian farms which we have been considering. Its homestead is isolated from those of its neighbours and its lands are cultivated in severalty. If, instead of being connected by the power of steam with other parts of the earth, from which it can obtain the supplies of those necessaries which are produced by different industries, its proprietor had had to depend for these on mutual exchange with

⁹⁰ *Domesday Studies*, vol. i. p. 60.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 371.

⁹² *Decem acræ terræ faciunt secundum antiquam consuetudinem unam ferdellam.* Spelman's *Gloss.* Title *Virgata terræ.*

⁹³ Kemble's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, vol. I., page 306. See also *Ingulph.* Bohn's edition, page 15.

his immediate neighbours, he would probably for convenience have placed his dwelling closer to theirs. If, instead of being protected by the far reaching arm of a strong central government, he and his neighbours had been subject to maraudings similar to those spoken of in the Bywell survey of 1569⁹⁴ as 'the continual robberies and incursions of the thieves of Tynedale to assault them in the night' he and his neighbours would probably have arranged their dwellings in a single street which could be closed and defended at each end.

In that case the land which could be most conveniently cultivated would have been that which lay nearest to the aggregated homesteads, and there must have been, for the sake of peace, some equitable method of arranging that each neighbour had his fair share of good land and bad land, of land which lay conveniently at hand and land which lay awkwardly at a distance. Some have thought that it was such considerations as these which induced the early settlers in our townships to cultivate their land on the common field system;⁹⁵ others have thought that its origin was the ancient pastoral right of the community to turn their cattle upon every part of the township, including even the arable fields after the crop was carried;⁹⁶ others have thought that the obligations of a co-operative system of ploughing and of contributing oxen for that purpose are responsible for these dispersed and scattered holdings;⁹⁷ whilst some believe that no such consideration would be strong enough to form so elaborate a communal arrangement as that which we have surveyed and that only the dominion of a master over his serfs could bring about the uniformity of the organization.⁹⁸

An examination of historical documents shows many traces of free institutions, so far as the civic life of these village communities is concerned, but the details of their agricultural organization seem connected in almost every case with incidents of serfdom. It may be that they began to cultivate on a common field system after they lost their freedom, just as that method has been discontinued since they have regained it. But all these views and theories probably contain only some disconnected part of the whole history and truth as to the ancient village community in England.

⁹⁴ Hall and Humberstone's Survey of the Barony of Bywell, 1569.

⁹⁵ Vinogradoff, 254.

⁹⁶ Systems of Land Tenure in various countries. Morier on German Tenures, 244, note.

⁹⁷ Seebohm, 117.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 178.

APPENDIX A.

Epitomising in a tabular form the evidence collected by Mr. Woodman of the existence down to recent times in the parishes and townships of Northumberland of ancient farms, each forming one ascertained aliquot part of the township in which it was situated :—

Parish.	Townships in each Parish.	No. of Ancient Farms in each Township.	Assessments and Payments Calculated and made per Farm and up to what Date.	Evidence in Support of the Facts Stated.
Earsdon, 7 townships, 66½ farms.	Newsham Seaton Delaval Hartley Backworth Earsdon Seghill Burradon Holywell	6 4/6 farms 11 " 9 6/10 " 10 " 8 " 10 " 5 " 6 4/6 "	Vicar of Earsdon customary payment 6/8 per farm (up to 1847). Church rates (up to 1841); system departed from at this date because several collieries had opened out which did not contribute under the old arrangement.	Affidavit of John Moor of Brenkley, made 14th July, 1847. Affidavit of Henry Warkman of Earsdon, made 22nd July, 1847. Parish books of Earsdon parish. Deponent John Moor stated 'I was informed by my father, who died in 1844, at the age of 84, that the greatest part, if not all, the said county was divided into a number of ancient farms — farm meaning land of a definite value and not as at present, a portion uncertain both as to extent and value.'
Kirkwhelpington, 10 townships.	West Whelpington. (No evidence of the number of the ancient farms in the other 9 townships of this parish.)	19 farms	Church rates. Modus of 3d. per farm for tithe hay (1844).	Affidavit of Thos. Lawson of Longhirst Grange, made 14th July, 1847.
Bothal.	Longhirst. (No evidence as to the number of ancient farms in the other townships of Bothal parish.)	12 12/36th farms. 6 of these were 'freehold farms.'	Church rates of Bothal. Modus for hay (1847). Parish clerk 5d. per farm in Bothal parish. Fee farm rents in township of Longhirst.	

APPENDIX A—THE ANCIENT FARMS OF NORTHUMBERLAND. 153

Parish.	Townships in each Parish.	No. of Ancient Farms in each Township.	Assessments and Payments Calculated and made per Farm and up to what Date.	Evidence in Support of the Facts Stated.
Woodhorn.	North Seaton (<i>inter alias</i>)	16 farms.	Church rate (1746). Poor rate (1831).	Affidavit of John Swan made in 1847. Deponent states that the words per farm and per plough were used synonymously.
Hartburn.	Netherwitton.	19 1/2 farms.	Parish clerk 8d. per ancient farm.	Affidavits of Thos. Forster of Longwitton, and Thomas Ramsey of Backworth, both made in 1847.
	Coatyards.	21 1/2 farms	Parish clerk 8d. per farm.	
	North Middleton	14 farms.	Enclosed and partitioned in 1805 in the ratio of the number of farms. Poor rates and Church rates paid per farm.	Affidavits of Robert Coxon of Morpeth and of William Davison of Middleton, both made in 1847.
	High and Low Angerton.	16 farms.	Each farm in 1662 paid 2d to the Vicar of Hartburn.	Terrier in the register of the Consistory Court of Durham.
Rothbury, 24 townships.	Snitter.	21 farms.	Church rates.	Affidavit of James Storey of Rothbury, made in 1847.
	Bickerton.	7 "		
	Flotterton.	8 "		
	Farnelaw. Whitton.	4 "	Tithe paid per farm in 1695.	Terrier in the registry of the Consistory Court of Durham.
Alwinton	Burradon. (<i>inter alias</i>)	18 farms.	Poor rates (1817), Highway rates (1827), Church rates (1830).	Affidavit of Wm. Forster of Burradon, made in 1847. Deponent exhibited a deed evidencing that Burradon 'Southside' had been divided amongst the owners thereof in proportion to the number of ancient farms each held. Affidavit of Thos. Walbey of Lark hall, made in 1847. This deponent speaks to the division of Burradon Southside in 1723 and Burradon Northside in 1773 in proportion to the number of ancient farms owned by each participant on the assumption that the whole township consisted of 18 ancient farms.

154 APPENDIX A—THE ANCIENT FARMS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Parish.	Townships in each Parish.	No. of Ancient Farms in each Township.	Assessments and Payments Calculated and made per Farm and up to what Date.	Evidence in Support of the Facts Stated.
Elsdon, 7 town- ships.	Sharperton.	11½ farms.	Parish clerk 4d. per farm.	Affidavits of Thomas Arkle of Elsdon and Henry Dodds of Peels, both made in 1847.
	Rochester.	27 "		
	Troughend.	24 "		
	Otterburn.	27 "		
	Woodside.	17 "		
	Monkridge.	15 "		
Whalton, 4 town- ships.	Elsdon.	38 "	Church rates (1846). Poor rates (last century). Parish clerk 3d. per farm (1846).	Affidavit of James Robson of Whalton, made in 1847. Terrier in the registry of Consistory Court of Durham, in which the farms are called ploughgates.
	Newham.	12 "		
	Ogie.	14½ "		
	Replington.	3 "		
	Whalton.	18½ "		
Wark- worth.	Amble.	14 "	Church rates (1835). Parish clerk. Sexton. Landtax. Moduses. Fee farm rents. Hall corn rent in barley (1837) paid per farm. Church wall repaired in 1826 at 2 yards per farm.	Affidavit of Middleton Henry Dand of Warkworth, made in 1847. Parish books.
	Morwick.	6 "		
	Togstone.	12 "		
	Acklington.	10 "		
	Hauxley.	10 "		
	Walkmill.	1 "		
	Sturton	8 "		
	Grange			
	Brotherwick.	3 "		
	Spittle and			
	LowBuston	13 "		
	Demans and	10 "		
	HighBuston	8 "		
	Birling.	10 "		
	East Chev- ington.	14 "		
West Chev- ington.	12 "			
Hadstone.	8 "			
Bedling- ton, 61½ farms.			Church rates (1674 to 1782), land tax (1836) poor rates 1763 paid per farm.	Affidavit of Robt. Swan of Bedlington, made in 1847.
Tyme- mouth.	Chirton East	5 "	Hall corn rents, Boon day rents and Shire rents paid to 1847 (and still paid in 1892). Stewards' fees on surrenders and admittances assessed by farm. Billy Mill Moor divided amongst proprietors of ancient reputed farms in proportion to the number of such farms owned by each participant.	Affidavit of Cuthbert Umfreville Laws of Tynemouth, made in 1847.
	Chirton West	3 "		
	Monkseaton	10 "		
	Murton.	4 "		
	Preston.	5 "		
	Whitley.	5 "		
Choller- ton.	Chollerton.	8 "		Affidavit of Christopher Bird, vicar of Choller- ton, made in 1847.
	Barrasford.	23 "		
	Gunnerton.	20 "		

APPENDIX B.

AS TO THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'FARM.'

Coke says¹ 'By the name of *ferme* or *fearme* houses, lands, and tenements may pass and *firma* is derived from the Saxon word *feornian* to feed or relieve—for in ancient times they reserved upon their leases cattell and other victual and provision for their sustenance.

Spelman states² that customary tenants at will rendered to the lord a certain portion of victuals and things necessary for hospitality, and he goes on to say 'This rent or retribution they call *feorne*, but the word in the Saxon signifieth meat or victuals, and although we have ever since Henry II.'s time changed this reservation of victuals into money yet in letting our land we still retain the name of *fearmes* and *farmers* unto this day.'

Mr. Lewis³ says 'The word 'farm' (A.S. *Feorm*) is from the Latin *firma* and meant originally an oath of fealty, whence it came to signify the measure of food or provisions rendered by the tenant as his fealty rent and afterwards the land held at and under such fealty and rent.'

Mr. John Kemble in a letter to Mr. Woodman says '*Fearme* is from *feorm* and by no means from the Latin *firma*.'

The editor of the *Dict. Universal* (Paris, 1721) after reviewing the above suggested derivations, adds 'It is more probable that the word comes from *ferma*, which in the Celtic or Bas-Breton signifies a letting and *fermi* signifies to let.' Turning to the *Dict. Breton-Français* of Le Gonidec we find that *ferm* in the Bas-Breton means a letting, or the price of a letting, and *fermier* is the Bas-Breton spelling and pronunciation of the French word *fermier*. Le Gonidec quotes the following Bas-Breton sentence:—'Chetu ann ti em euz fermet' as meaning 'There is the house which I have hired.' Dr. Nicholas in his *Pedigree of the English People*⁴ points out the close relationship of the inhabitants of Brittany in France with the Celts of Britain. He says that history relates the conquest of Armorica or Brittany by the Britons and he confirms the correctness of the statement made by M. Emile Souvestre:—'Le bas Breton actuel n'est donc pas un reste de Gaulois, mais de langue Bretonnique.'⁵ In Picardy the provincial form of the French word *ferme* is *farme*.⁶

In England the term farm in most ancient documents means a rent or letting, and not the reversion or the thing let, and this mode of expression is found down to the surveys of the time of the Commonwealth, e.g., 'the farme of the coal-mines of Bebside and Cowpen.'⁷ Spelman, however, in his *Glossary*, Title *Firma* quotes three early instances of its use to designate parcels of the land itself, viz., 'Malmeb in Williel. Rufo. An. 1090, Rex. Will. ecclesias et monasteria fere totius Angliæ in manu sua pastoribus defunctis retinens; gravi omnia depopulatione vastabat et instar *firmarum* laicis commendabat. Concil. Westmonast. An. Dom. 1127. Episcopi Presbyteros abbates Monachos Priores subjectos *firman*

¹ Comm. Litt. p. 5^a.

² *Feuds and Tenures*, 15.

³ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 468.

⁴ P. 45.

⁵ *Les Derniers Bretons*, i. 144.

⁶ *Dict. Litté.*

⁷ *Augmentation Parliamentary Surveys*, 1650.

tenere inhibeant. Idem Concil. London An. 1237, etc., Constitut. Phil R. Franc. Dedit villam Burgesiam *firmas* blada molendina, etc., villæ de Guingencampo.'

In the Paston Letters, written in the fifteenth century, where the term frequently occurs, it almost always means the rent or hiring of the land rather than a quantity of land itself, but very early in the sixteenth century the present signification of the term as designating the land itself comes again to the front.

Bishop Latimer in his first sermon before Edward VI., on the 8th March, 1549, says: 'My father was a yoman and had no landes of his owne onlye he had a *farme* of iii or iiii pound by yere at the uttermost and hereupon he tilled so much as kepte half a dozen men. He had walke for a hundred shepe and my mother mylked xxx kyne. * * * * He kepte hospitalitie for his pore neighbours and sum almes he gave to the poore and all this he did of the said *farme*.'

More, in his *Utopia*,⁹ written in 1515, says: 'They have in the countrey in all partes of the shiere houses or *fermes* builded,' and a frequent use of the word as meaning the lands themselves will be found as well in Shakespeare as in all subsequent writers.

In France the word although used also in the modern English sense is also much more generally used in the sense of a letting, as in the case of a *Fermier Generale*, while the contractor who lets the chairs at a French church is a '*Fermier des chaises*' and his contract is a '*ferme*.'

If the term is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *feorm* and not from the Celtic *ferme*, it is strange that we should find the word most generally used in Gallic France, and that it should have its nearest approximate form in the especially Celtic province of that country, whilst there is, I believe, no trace of the use of the word in either its ancient or modern English sense in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia, from whence the English are supposed to come.

We find from the Boldon Dook (Surtees Society edition) that there were in 1183 in Durham county *villani* and *firmarii* in the same township, and that the *firmarii* did not pay so much in money or give so much in labour (App. lxi.). In Hatfield's survey the *firmarii* are called *mallmen*. In Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*, p. 183, *et seq.*, the author examines the status of these *mallmen* or *molmen* and states that the word is commonly used in the feudal period for villans who have been released from most of their services by the lord on condition of paying certain rents.

⁹ Arber's edition, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 74.

X.—A NEW ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM SOUTH SHIELDS.

BY F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read on the 29th day of March, 1893.]

THE inscription tells us that a water supply was provided for the Fifth Cohort of Gauls, the Roman garrison of the South Shields fort, in the first year of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222) and while Marius Valerianus was governor in the North of Britain. Its details are of an ordinary character and need but little comment.

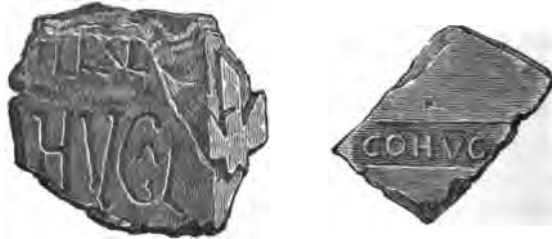
1. The Emperor Severus Alexander, of whose reign we have several memorials in Britain, is here described by his full titulature, and his name Alexander has been erased. Both features are extremely common, but it may be worth while to explain why no more than 'Alexander' has suffered erasure.¹ The reason is to be found in the fact that the emperors who reigned in the early part of the third century used very similar sets of names: Aurelius, Severus, Antoninus were common to nearly all of them and it is sometimes hard to identify even an unobliterated title. Naturally, then, after their deaths, their enemies often needed to erase only one word in an inscription, in order to obscure the identity of the emperor named, and, in the case of Severus Alexander, this one word was Alexander. There was, perhaps, a further reason for this acting in dealing with this emperor. His reign marked a brief recoil from the military despotism established by Septimius Severus, and when in A.D. 235 he and his energetic mother fell victims to the soldiers, their hatred would naturally be appeased by an erasure which left standing the names that had belonged to his military predecessors. If this was not intended, the coincidence between the erasure and the fact deserves to be noticed merely as a coincidence.

2. Marius Valerianus, governor of the province in which South Shields was situated, is known from two inscriptions of A.D. 221-2,

¹ For other inscriptions of this reign in Britain see end of this note. For erasures of Alexander, see *C.I.L.* iii. p. 1117; Wilmanns, 1002, 1004; Dessau, 479, 480, 484, 1356, etc. Any collection of inscriptions will furnish similar instances for Caracalla, Macrinus, and Elagabalus.

found at Chesters and Netherby.² He bears two names common in the third century, but nothing further seems to be recorded about him.

3. The cohort garrisoning South Shields is also an old friend. It was in existence as a *cohors equitata* at least as early as Vespasian's reign (A.D. 69-79); it was in Pannonia in A.D. 84-5 and probably for some years earlier and later, and it may have joined in Trajan's Dacian campaigns, for its tiles have been found in a little Roman fort on the north bank of the Danube, near one of Trajan's crossing places.³ We do not know when it moved to Britain, but, as a guess, we may suppose that it came with Hadrian, who appears to have moved one or two other auxiliary regiments from the Danube to Britain. In Britain our cohort is recorded at two places. One inscription mentioning it has been found at Cramond, near Edinburgh, in the ruins of a fort which was possibly connected with the operations of Pius.⁴ More definite traces, tiles, an unmistakable though fragmentary



inscription and some less intelligible leaden seals have been unearthed at South Shields within the last few years,⁵ and our new inscription proves that the cohort was in garrison there about A.D. 222. Its subsequent history is unknown.

² Septimius Severus divided Britain into *Inferior* (York) and *Superior* (Chester), but the frontier is unknown, and this inscription (like most others) does not help us. That Marius was a provincial governor and not a mere legionary *legatus* is proved by the words *pro praetore*: the *legionum legati*, though usually expraetors, had neither that title nor the powers it implied. For the Chesters inscription see *C. vii.* 585 and *Lapid.* 121, for the Netherby one *C.* 965 and *Lapid.* 774.

³ An Aquileian inscription (*C. v.* 875; Orelli, 3651) mentions one Minicius Italus who began as *praefectus coh. v. Gallorum equitatae*, was afterwards decorated by Vespasian, and, late in life, was in A.D. 105 otherwise distinguished. For the Pannonian and Dacian evidence see *C. iii.* p. 855; *Ephem.* v. p. 93; and *Arch. epigr. Mittheilungen*, xiv. p. 111. This appears to be a case where we may safely suppose that all the mentions of a *cohors v. Gallorum* refer to the same cohort, an assumption which is often dangerous.

⁴ Gordon *Itin. Sept.* p. 116; *C. vii.* 1083.

⁵ *Eph.* vii. 1003 (inscription), iii. p. 143 and iv. p. 207 (tiles); iv. p. 209 (seals); *Arch. Ael.* x. 223 *et seq.* Dr. Hübner (*Hermes*, xvi. 52 n.) says tiles have also been found at Tynemouth, but this is a mistake.



Downey & Sons, Photo.

ROMAN INSCRIPTION AT SOUTH SHIELDS.

(One-twelfth the size of the original.)

4. The date of the inscription is fixed to the first year of Alexander's reign by the titulature, as well as by the name of the governor whom (as has been said) we know to have been in Britain in A.D. 221-2. Of itself, the titulature would not be quite conclusive evidence, as, from about the time of Septimius Severus, the numeral is sometimes omitted after TRIB. POT.

5. The formula of the inscription is of the usual character. It is, perhaps, a little unusual to find the governor himself *curantem*, but there are many parallels and the omission of any praefect or other inferior's name may imply the immediate supervision of Marius. The plural *usibus* is less common.

The inscription possesses, however, a further interest than any involved in the details just noted. Like most lapidary monuments, it adds of itself but a shred to our knowledge, and only possesses real value when combined with others of its class. This new inscription from South Shields is a useful addition to a group of inscriptions which it is important for the student of Roman Britain to rightly understand. This group comprises the records of buildings erected or repaired in Roman fortresses, such as head quarters, offices, aqueducts, armours, baths, drill halls, store houses. Many of these records are dated, and, as is shown by the rough list appended to this note, the dates belong mostly to the first half of the third century. We need not, of course, take these records literally. The men who set them up followed only too readily the example set with more excuse by Septimius Severus, and they sometimes exaggerated their achievements. Not every building which is described as 'ruined by lapse of time' (*vetustate conlapsum*) was really in serious disrepair. But the inscriptions are not wholly groundless glorifications: they may be connected with historical facts, and it has been usual to connect those found in the North of Britain with the campaigns of Septimius Severus and the statements which attribute to him the building of a Wall. However, the dates of the inscriptions make this view almost impossible, for a very considerable number of them are subsequent to the death of Severus in February, 211, and scarcely any belong to the years of his personal presence in Britain. We must turn rather to the changes in the army introduced by that emperor and his successors, which tended to make the troops more territorial and the

administration more efficient. Hence the number of new buildings and repairs providing for a more permanent occupation and sometimes, perhaps, occupying ground, as at Lambaesis, vacated by soldiers who had received land outside.

I. British Inscriptions of the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235):—

BATH (near)	... C. vii. 63	... Fragment dated A.D. 235.
CAERLEON	... C. vii. 104	... Dedication dated A.D. 234.
YORK	... C. vii. 1223 ^s	... Tile (see Borghesi, iv. 295).
OLD PENBITH	... C. vii. 319	... Dedication to the Matres.
OLD CARLISLE	... C. vii. 348	... " " " [uncertain: after examination of the stone I think Alexander and Iulia Mamaea were named on it.]
CHESTERS	... C. vii. 585	... Restoration and dedication of some building A.D. 221.
"	... <i>Eph.</i> iii. 100	... Dedications [uncertain: perhaps relating to and vii. 1016 Elagabalus and Alexander A.D. 221.]
"	... <i>Eph.</i> vii. 1021	... Fragment, not much later than A.D. 222.
HOUSESTEADS	... <i>Arch. Ael.</i> x. 148	
	... <i>et seq.</i> ; <i>Eph.</i> vii. 1041	... Dedications to Thingsus, etc.
CHESTERHOLM	... C. vii. 715	... Gateway and turrets restored, soon after A.D. 222.
GREATCHESTERS	C. vii. 732	... Granary restored A.D. 235.
CAWFIELDS	... <i>Arch. Ael.</i> xi. 132; <i>Eph.</i> vii. 1115	... Milestone.
NETHEBBY	... C. vii. 965	... Basilica exercitatoria equestris A.D. 222.

There are some other uncertain inscriptions—*e.g.* (C. vii. 222) at Ribchester belonging to this or the preceding reign (C. vii. 1045) at High Rochester, dated about A.D. 219-222.

II. Rough List of Building Inscriptions:—⁶

BATH (near)	... C. vii. 62	... <i>Principia ruina oppressa</i> , A.D. 211-217.
CAERLEON	... C. vii. 107	... <i>Cohorti vii centurias a solo restit</i> A.D. 253-9.
"	... 106	... Building restored A.D. 198-211.
"	... <i>cf.</i> 95	... Temple rebuilt about A.D. 260 (C. vi. 1417).
CAERNARVON	... C. vii. 142	... Aqueduct restored A.D. 198-211.
ILKLEY	... C. vii. 210	... Something rebuilt A.D. 197?
RIBCHESTER	... C. vii. 225	... Some work done by soldiers, about A.D. 165.
"	... <i>cf.</i> 222	... Temple rebuilt A.D. 218-235?
BOWES	... C. vii. 273	... Bath burnt and rebuilt. Probably between A.D. 193 and A.D. 198.
"	... 275	... Uncertain: Hadrian's reign.

⁶ This list contains only inscriptions which appear to relate to some definite edifice or construction in a fortress. I have omitted the inscriptions which testify to the building of the two Walls by Hadrian and Antoninus, and other wall-stones. I have used my own discretion in including or excluding inscriptions of doubtful meaning.

BAINBRIDGE	... C. vii. 269	... ? <i>Opus cum</i>] <i>bracchio caementicium</i> A.D. 198-211.
GRETA BRIDGE	... C. vii. 281	... Uncertain: after the division of Britain into two provinces.
LANCASTER	... C. vii. 287	... Bath and basilica restored about A.D. 200-250.
WHITLEY CASTLE	C. vii. 310	... Probably building about A.D. 218-7.
OLD PENRITH	... C. vii. 316	... Building restored third century.
LANCHESTER	... C. vii. 446	... <i>Principia et armamentaria restit</i> A.D. 238-244.
"	... 445	... Bath and basilica built same date.
CLIBURN	... <i>Aroh. Ael.</i> xii.	
	289 <i>et seq.</i> and	
	xiii. 185; <i>Eph.</i>	
	vii. 960	... Bath rebuilt: perhaps A.D. 197.
CHESTER-LE-STREET	... <i>Eph.</i> vii. 986	... Water laid on. A.D. 216. ⁷
BENWELL	... C. vii. 510	... Temple restored A.D.
CHESTERS	... C. vii. 585	... Rebuilding A.D. 221.
"	... C. vii. 586	... Bridge—but doubtful: undated.
"	... <i>Eph.</i> vii. 1021	... Uncertain: soon after A.D. 222.
HOUSESTEADS	... C. vii. 621	... Uncertain: A.D. 237.
CHESTERHOLM (or near)	... C. vii. 715	... Gate and towers rebuilt soon after A.D. 222.
GREATCHESTERS	C. vii. 732	... Storehouse rebuilt A.D. 225. [The word used, <i>horreum</i> , does not necessarily imply a corn-store.]
BIRDOSWALD	... C. vii. 833b	... Building A.D. 236.
"	... 838	... Uncertain: possibly between A.D. 211-222; the legate mentioned reappears at Netherby (c. 964).
CASTLESTEADS	... C. vii. 894	... " undated.
NETHERBY	... C. vii. 965	... Riding school A.D. 222.
"	... 964, 966, 967	... Uncertain: probably early in 3rd century.
BEWCASTLE	... C. vii. 978	... Inscription of Hadrian, perhaps founder of this camp, as of Netherby (c. 961.)
RIBINGHAM	... C. vii. 1003	... Walls and gate restored A.D. 205-8.
"	... C. vii. 984	... Bath: undated.
"	... 1008-10	... Two buildings restored: undated.
HIGH ROCHESTER	C. vii. 1039	... Building erected, perhaps temple, A.D. 219-222.
"	... 1041	... <i>Praetorium</i> ? A.D. 137-143.
"	... 1043	... Uncertain (perhaps only a statue) A.D. 215.
"	... 1045	... <i>Ballistarium</i> built (or rebuilt) A.D. 219-222.
"	... 1046	... " rebuilt. Same date.
"	... 1044	... Fragment: probably A.D. 211-217.

⁷ The inscription appears to mention the *territorium* of the garrison. This primarily commissariat arrangement dates back to the first century (Brambach, *I. Rh.* 377) and need not, with Schiller (*Gesch.* i. 773), be connected with the changes of Septimius Severus.

XI.—THE MANOR OF HALTWHISTLE.

BY THE REV. C. E. ADAMSON.

[Read on the 29th day of March, 1893.]

THE manor of Haltwhistle or Hautwysel¹ formed part of the 'Franchise of Tindale,' of which the kings of Scotland were lords seigneur, during parts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1191 William the Lion gave Haltwhistle, Bellister, and Plainmeller as a dowry to his natural daughter Isabel, widow of Robert de Brus, on her marriage with Robert de Roos of Hamlake (Helmsley) and Wark-upon-Tweed, and the manor remained in the possession of her descendants for fourteen generations. Robert de Roos was succeeded by his son William who appears to have left Hamlake to his eldest son and Haltwhistle to his second son Alexander. In 1306, September 11th, Edward I. passed through Haltwhistle, and on his arrival at Carlisle he granted to the lord of Haltwhistle license to hold a weekly market and two fairs, one on the festival of the Invention of the Cross and the other at Martinmas.

On the same occasion a complaint was made by William, son and heir of Sir Alexander Ros of Yolton, knight, alleging that he had been wrongfully deprived by John de Balliol, formerly king of Scotland, of the services of thirlage and maintenance of the mill pools of Hautwysel in Tyndale due by the lord of Grendon and his tenants in the time of his ancestor, Sir Robert de Roos, to whom William king of Scotland gave the manor of Hautwysel and appurtenances and praying remedy from the king as now lord of Grendon since the death of Antony bishop of Durham.

It appears that Gilbert, the then lord of Grindon in the chapelry of Haydon Bridge, had granted an annual rent charge of four marks to Alexander de Ros for liberty for himself and his tenants to grind

¹ At the east end of the town is a mound known as the Castle Hill. It bears traces of ancient fortification, and it has been suggested that the name of Haltwhistle (or Hautwysell as it was originally spelled) is derived from the 'watch' [wessel] on the 'high' [alt] mound.

their corn at Haltwhistle mill. His son Hugh had exchanged lands with Alexander III. king of Scotland from whom they had descended to John Balliol on whose forfeiture Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, came into possession for a short time, but the king had recovered them at this parliament at Carlisle. The complaint is endorsed:— ‘As the King’s father died seized in the Manor and the service was not done for long before, the case must be more fully considered.’²

Robert de Ros or de Roos was a very important personage. His name is continually occurring in state documents of the period. He held the important barony of Wark-upon-Tweed as well as Haltwhistle and had extensive estates at Helmsley in Yorkshire. In 1209 he was one of the escort appointed to attend William of Scotland to York, and he is one of the witnesses to the agreements between the English and the Scottish kings. In 1212 he had ‘taken the habit of religion’ in connection with the Knights Templars, but we find him shortly afterwards again engaged in State business, and yet when he died in 1227 he was buried as a Knight Templar in the Temple church. He, with the Northumbrian barons Eustace de Vesci, John fitz Robert, and Gilbert Delaval, took a prominent part in promoting the signing of the great Charter (1215). Two of his grandsons, each named Robert de Ros, also took a prominent part in public affairs, but Haltwhistle passed into the possession of descendants whose names seldom occur in the public records.

In 1343 William de Roos died leaving two daughters of whom one (who married Sir John Ellerker) succeeded to Yolton in Yorkshire, the other to Haltwhistle, and thus the manor passed to Sir Thomas Musgrave the husband of Margaret de Roos. The Musgraves were an old Cumbrian family settled at Musgrave and afterwards branching out into the four families of Great Musgrave, Edenhall, Hayton, and Crookdale.

The tower of Hantwysel is first mentioned in the list of towers and castles that existed in Northumberland about the year 1416, and is probably the same as that described in 1542 as the inheritance of Sir William Musgrave and in measurable good reparation.³ It is—as

² See Hodgson’s *Northumberland*, III. 385, and Bain’s *Documents relating to Scotland*, III. 48, 236.

³ ‘At Hawtewysle is a toure of thinherytance of S’ Will’m Musgrave knyghte in measurable good rep’ac’ons.’

it now stands—a plain building with a loop-holed turret built on corbels. The old roof, which was removed some twenty years ago, was formed



of flags laid on heavy oaken beams and fastened thereto with sheep shank bones. The floor also consisted of flags laid on joists formed of the roughly squared trunks of oak trees. A winding stone stair-case leads to the upper part of the tower. As Haltwhistle cannot have had a resi-

dent lord during the tenure of the Musgraves, the tower was probably the official residence of the bailiffs who seem to have exercised considerable authority in the town. In 1279 Roger le Tailleur was bailiff. In 1473 Robert Stevenson, vicar, is named as seneschal. In 1552 Nicholas Blenkinsopp was bailiff (*Nicolson's Leges Marchiarum* 164). John Ridley, bailiff of Haltwhistle, by his will dated 1616 bequeaths his best ox as a 'herryate' to Lord William Howard, and another John Ridley and Nicholas Ridley held the office in 1634. (Lord William Howard's Household Book.)

In 1516 Sir Edward Musgrave obtained from Henry VIII. a confirmation⁴ of the grant of fairs and markets of Edward I., and his second son Simon (who succeeded to the estates on the death of his nephew Sir Richard without surviving issue) sold the manor to Sir Richard Lowther, knight, whose virtues and honours are thus recorded in Lowther church :—

'Sir Richard Lowther knight, succeeded Henry lord Scroop in the office of lord warden of the West Marches, and was thrice a Commissioner in the great affairs between England and Scotland all the time of queen Elizabeth. And after he had seen his children to the fourth degree, given them virtuous education and means to live, advanced his brothers and sisters out of his own patrimony, governed his family and kept plentiful hospitality for 57 years together, he ended his life the 27th of January, 1607, *Ætatis suæ* 77.'⁵

⁴ See Appendix, page 176.

⁵ Nicolson and Burns, *Westmoreland and Cumberland*, I. 431.

Christopher his son married Eleanor daughter of Sir William Musgrave of Hayton, co. Cumberland, and his daughter Annie married Alexander Featherstonhaugh of Featherstone near Haltwhistle.

With her the manor passed to the Featherstonhaughs, and her son Albany Featherstonhaugh sold it to Lord William Howard (Belted Will) in 1611. The date of the sale is approximately fixed by the following entries in Lord William Howard's Household Book for 1612 under 'Rents Pentecost and Martinmas.'

'HAUTWYSELL.—Augusti 5°. Received of John Ridley for the half yeare's rent of the tenements thear, due to my Lord at Midsomer last, the sum of *iiij* *li* *iiij* *s* *viii* *d*.—Per quitt' Nov. 19. Rec. of John Ridley for the half yeare's rent of the tenements thear, due to my Lord at Martinmas last and for the towle *xx* *s* *v* *d*. Rec of Mr. Harrison for wholl yeare's rent of the mill thear, due at Martinmas last *v* *li* *v* *s* *viii* *d*.'

But that it was then a recent acquisition is shown by an entry under another head :—

'Rec of Cuthbert Harryson as remayning upon his accompt of *x* *li* part of the payment for the purchase of Hautwysell 28 Feb. *iiij* *s* *x* *d*.'

Again under 'lands purchased' :—

'March 1° by bills—To Mr. Cuth. Harryson as parcell of the money due by my Lord for the purchase of Hautwysell and for drawing of writings belonging thereunto *x* *li* * * * To Cuthbert Harryson for John Corry for the purchase of his assignment for the lease of Hautwysell mill *xx* *li*.'

Moreover this property does not occur in Lord William Howard's rental for 1611.

Other entries in the same book are :—

'1612, Aug. 26, the stewards' dinner at Hautwysell Court *ix* *s* *iiij* *d*., in 1641, *xii* *s*.

1618 (various receipts) *clxvii* *li* *iiij* *s* *x* *d*. ob.—June 18. Rec. of Mr. Cuth. Harryson for the towles of St. Ellens and Martinmas 1618 for *ij* *fares* *xv* *s*. For Composition of all tradesmen comming to those *ij* *fares* *xiiij* *s*. For towle corn *xiiij* *s*. For towle of bread *vij* *s*. Rec of John Bell for one of his sons for his amerciament for playing at *ix* holes *vi* *s* *viii* *d*.'

Aug. 13. Various receipts of John Turner for corn and coals sold at Haltwhistle are enumerated :—

'5 stone of Coale roap for Hautwisell and the other *xvi* *s* *viii* *d*.'

1620, June 2. Rec. of John Ridley Miller for one half yeares rent of the Walk Mill at Hautwysley due at Whitsunday 1621, xls.'

The miller received *vi*l. yearly as wages, probably this was the corn miller.

'Mr. Laurence Middleton for keeping the court at Hautwysley iij times due at the last St Ellenmas court 1621 xxxs.'

In connection with this period the following from a document (in the handwriting and peculiar spelling of Mrs. Cuthbertson) preserved among the manor records is interesting :—

'Lord Wm Howard bought ye Lordship of Albany
Featherstonhaugh
Observations on Haltwhistles Court Rolls
due to ye Lord of ye Man^r
Herriots on Desent & arbitrary fines on allinations
£ s d
Estamated Worth Yearly 6 3 : 6
Certain Day works of ye several Tenant
s d
Estimated Worth : 7 6
£ s d
Profits of ye fairs & markets 1 8 : 4

Court & Court Leets &c fines on Alenation Herriots releases wayfes & deodands
Felon good &c Hawking Fowling Hunting fishing & all other Profits and Per-
quasites worth

£ s d
3 · 6 · 8

Lord Howard let ye follow to Tho Waugh—

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Rood.</i>	<i>P.</i>
Message Barn & Stack yard &c. ... ..	...	—	20
Close call ^d Skele end Containing ... ..	...	6	—
Land Lyeing in Haltwhistle Hough con ^s	...	—	2
Land Lying in y East feild Bounded by Walk	}	1	—
Water Mill Butts on ye West Containing			
Two Ridges of Land lye ^{l^{ts}} in East feild ...	...	—	2
Third Part of a Pasture call Akey know ...	...	11	2
Ground Lyeing in Halt ^w Westfeilds con ^s	...	4	2
Land Lyeing in ye feild Call ^d . Wilyae con ^s	...	1	—
	25	—	20

The above was lett to Tho Waugh by Lord Howard with all Perquisite mention^d. (excepting Mills & Quarrys).

Tenants paying y^e best Beast they dye^d Seize^d of for a Her^{ot}.

Haltwhistle. Lord Howard let y^e following to Hugh Ridley, 1632.

	Acres.	Rood.	P.
A Message Barn & Garth Containing	—	1	—
A Frontstead Containing	—	—	10
Land laying in Haltwhistle Hough Con ^s ...	1	—	20
Land Lyeing in y ^e Haither East Feild con ^s	1	2	—
Land Lyeing in Haltwhistle West feilds con ^s	5	1	—
Land Laying in y ^e feild call ^d . Wylegae con	1	1	—
The whole Contain ^{ms}	9	1	30

At his Death to pay a Herriot & all other Custom & Dutys as ye Tenants are Bound to perform.

The water Corn Mill wth all Mulsturs Tolls Sute Soken Custome &c to y^e same belonging.

The Walk Mill with Pool Water &c thereto belong^{ms}.

The Dye House with all Advantages theretoo belong^{ms}.

Coal Mines & Seams of Coal discoverd or to be Discover^d & all profits what so Ever.

Lord Howard let y^e follow^{ms} to John Bidley alias Easyb.

	A.	R.	P.
Parcel of Land Call ^d . Bayfield Hough contain ^s ...	20	—	—
Land Call ^d Haltwhistle Lowe Hough con ^s ...	3	2	—
Land Lyeing in Haltwhistle Eastfeilds Bounded by ye river Tyne on y ^e South con ^s	6	2	—
Land lyeing in Haltwhistle West feilds con ^s ...	15	1	20
Land lyeing in a feild call ^d Wylegae con ^s ...	1	3	—
The whole	47	—	20

Lord Howard let y^e following to Christp. Bidley.

	A.	R.	P.
A Messag House a smith shop garth & Close Call ^d	11	2	—
Edenslaw containing	11	2	—

Lord William Howard died in 1640 just as the troubles of the civil war were beginning; indeed it is supposed that his hasty removal from Naworth to Greystock on the approach of the Scots was the immediate cause of the death of the old man whose once sturdy frame was now well nigh worn out.

Sir Charles Howard, third son of Lord William Howard (who married Dorothy Widdrington), now succeeded to the manor. He 'was a person whose political and religious principles did not permit him to bask in the favour of "Oliver" the "Captain General of all the forces," or of the honourable parliament of the time; for, on the 14th July, 1652, "the humble petition of the lady Dorothy Howard late the wife of Sir Richard Howard, knight, one of those presented to their honours in the new list from the Commissioners for compounding as a papist delinquent, and of William Howard Esq. their son, being that day

read" before the House of Commons "it was resolved—that the name of Sir Charles Howard, of Haltwhistle, be inserted into the bill"; and accordingly the name of Sir Charles Howard, of Plenmeller, near Haltwhistle, occurs in a long list of his offending neighbours, who were put into the bill of November 2nd, 1652, for the sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason.* Accordingly the estate was put up for sale, and the following document belongs to this date. It is endorsed thus:—

'A DESCRIPTION OF HALTWHISTLE BOUNDARIES TAKEN BY COMMISSIONERS FOR THE SALE OF FORFEITED ESTATES IN THE YEAR 1653. No. 6.

Boundary of Haltwhistle Lordship Beginneth at the South East Corner of the Falling in of Tippat Burn into the River of South Tyne; And from thence Northwest up the said Burn to the Foot of Pansdale Sike, then North the said Sike to the Sandiefords. And so to the Wall Town Mosse; And then East thro' the said Mosse to the Mear Poole And so along the Meare Steand to the Cawburn And from thence North East to the Roman Wall, And North beyond the said Wall up the Cawburn by the Summer Yards to an Old Double Dike And So along the said Dike to the Caw Gap And So South Over the Roman Wall to the Staving Stone And So South by the West End of the Christy Cragg And so still South by the Shudders (*gy. Struthers*) to the River Tyne And then West up the said River to Tippat Foot where the Bounder begun.'

From the proceedings in connection with this forfeiture and subsequent sale we learn that Lord William Howard by a deed dated 8th October, 1638, had settled Plenmeller and Haltwhistle first on himself and his then wife with remainder to Sir Charles Howard his son, and with further remainder to William Howard son of Sir Charles. But in April, 1651, Nicholas Ridley and others stated in a petition that 'Capt. Thomas Howard and Sir Charles Howard papists in arms held the land until the Scots invasion when they fled leaving the lands waste,' and thereon the petitioners returned to their lands from which they had been formerly expelled by Lord William Howard and had held them for eight years paying rent, but the County Committee having sequestered Sir Charles Howard's estates had let their tenements. They stated also that their ancestors had long held these lands paying rent to the crown but Lord William Howard purchased the royalties of king James. Roger Harbottle, on June 11th, states

* Hodgson's *Northumberland*, i. II. p. 80, quoting Commons Journal, vii. 154, 204.

in a counter petition that the estate was sequestered seven years ago, and that Sir Charles being very aged and unable to prosecute these trespassers, Sir A. Haselrigg and the Northern Commissioners had let the premises to himself at an improved value of £55, and yet the others go on ploughing and sowing. The dispute was concluded by a re-sequestration of the estate on June 4th, 1652, and it was sold on November 10th, 1653, to Philip Purefoy, of whom nothing seems to be known and who within ten years had parted with his purchase.

This order of the trustees for the sale specifies :—

‘All those the Mannours Lordships and Townships of Haltwhistle Haltlebourne Plenmeller and Ferrysheids with the Lands Tenements Rents Royalties Rights members and appurtenances thereof And also all that Water Corne Milne and a Fulling Milne or Walke Milne with the Appurtenances unto them belonging in Haltwhistle aforessaid And also all that Dying house together with the Coalery Coale Mynes or Seams of Coales lying and being in Haltwhistle aforessaid and belonging to the said Mannours with the appurtenances And also of all other the Messuages and Tenements with the Lands and appurtenances thereunto belonging lying and being within the said Mannours by what name or names soever they are called.’

The next owner was William Pearson who is said to have lived at Haltwhistle Spital, now part of the Blenkinsop estate, where his initials W. P. were cut in the stone over the door of the house. In the valuation of the county of the year 1663 William Pearson is assessed for Haltwhistle town at £140 and for the mills at £20.⁷ In 1672 we find George Pearson coupled with William in a note for the calling of the Fair, but in 1713 we find ‘Mr.’ William Pearson alone described as lord of the manor, and a John Pearson who is recognised as entitled to a share in the division of the common. At this time both William Pearson and John Pearson are described as of ‘S. Gyles Hospital als Hexham Spital.’ John is an infant who acts by his mother Margaret. As William Pearson’s daughter⁸ was married as late as 1728, it would appear that we have at least two if not three generations of Pearsons.

⁷ Hodgson’s *Northumberland*, I. iii. 318.

⁸ Mr. Thos. J. Leadbitter has kindly supplied the following note on Wm. Pearson :—

‘My ancestor, Matthew Leadbitter, of Wharnley and Warden (the grandfather of my great grandfather) succeeded to the Warden property in 1682 on his father’s death.

His *eldest* son succeeded him as owner of Warden.

His 2nd son, Matthew Leadbitter, of Wharnley, purchased Haltwhistle Spital in 1726, and *he* was buried at Warden on 10 June, 1751. His 3rd wife

In 1713, an agreement was made for the division of certain parts of Haltwhistle Common which were known by the names of 'The foulding Steads Walkers Hill the Pike Horsley Radstones Greenholes Irdon Hill lyeing on the East side of Haltwhistle Burne Broomshaw hill Williah head the Kemb Hill Little Painsdale Great Painsdale the Hard riggs the Lees the Inner Lees hole the Outer Lees Hole the ffeild head lyeing & being on the West Side of Haltwhistle Burne and all that parcell of Ground lyeing and being at the Head of Hardriggs.' The parties to the agreement were William Pearson of St. Gyles Hospital also Hexham Spittle, lord of the manor, of the one part, and of the other Robert Coatsworth (of Unthank), Bartholomew Coulson, Matthew Henderson (of Akieknow), Albany Glenwright, John Johnson (of Elwick, Co. Durham), Cuthbert Lethart, Roger Pigg (Dyer), William Armstrong, John Newton (of Hórse Close), James Armstrong, George Johnson, Thomas Pratt (Smith, of Whittington), Christopher Bell (of Old Sheels), Hugh Ridley, Matthew Ridley, Thomas Crawford (of West Renton, Co. Durham), Thomas Jackson, Thomas Bell, Thomas Waugh, John Waugh (of Bitchellgate), Thirlwell (. . . .), Nicholas Havelock (of Cawfield), Thomas Pate (Vicar), John Mowbray (of the City of Durham, gentleman), Thomas Marshall (of Walltown), Joseph Bell (Glover), John Nixon, Dorothy Hankin, Henry Hankin (of Newcastle, Barber Chyrurgion), Teasdale Mowbray (infant by his father for lands, late John Winter's Mason and also late Thomas Neven's), John Pearson (of Haltwhistle Spittle by his mother Margaret Pearson), Christopher Armstrong, John Routledge, William Whitfield, John Blenkinsopp, Dorothy Snawdon, Mary Routledge, Richard Blenkinsopp, all of Haltwhistle and yeomen, unless otherwise described. The land divided amounted to 518 acres 2 roods of which 50 acres were allotted to the lord of the manor for his demesne lands and two detached acres in right of two cottages. The 50 acres included the Lees, The Inner Lees, and Lees hope bounded by the burn. The largest allottees

was Mary, daughter of William Pearson, of Hexham Spital, to whom he was married on 20 June, 1728. They had issue an only daur., Margt., who was living and unmarried in 1760. (The above is extracted from Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part II. Vol iii. p. 410.) I have the portrait of colonel Pearson who fought in 1715 at Preston, and was a colonel in the Jacobite army. He was very nearly taken prisoner, and was said to have been a very resolute and powerful man. He is said to have lived at the Spital, Hexham, and, no doubt, was the Wm. Pearson of Hexham Spital, and lord of the manor of Haltwhistle, party to the agreement of 1713 for division of Haltwhistle Common.'

were the Mowbrays who received 140 acres to be divided by themselves into portions of 90 to one and 50 to the other.

In 1714 the manor was sold to Thomas Carr of Hexham, gentleman, for £1,100, and the deeds show that it had been previously mortgaged to John Bacon, esquire, of Staward, for nearly its full value. Thomas Carr had married Ann, the daughter of Thomas Burrell of Broom park, and his son John Carr in his will dated 14th April, 1738, left his landed property at Hexham and Haltwhistle to his 'dear brother James Carr'⁹ with remainder, in default of issue, to George Cuthbertson who had married his aunt Mary Burrell, and to his heirs male in strict entail.

James Carr had no issue, and consequently the property descended to George Cuthbertson. The entail was broken when the younger George Cuthbertson came of age, and the property was resettled on his marriage, with remainder to his wife if she survived him, and then to his children.

George Cuthbertson the elder and George Cuthbertson the younger were successively town clerks of Newcastle. The son, however, died before his father and thus never came into possession of Haltwhistle. The elder George Cuthbertson died in 1767, and his grandson, another George, on coming of age was admitted to the Hexham property, but his mother was lady of the manor of Haltwhistle from 1767 until her death in 1796 when she was succeeded by her only surviving child Elizabeth, in accordance with the settlement.

Mrs. Cuthbertson was the daughter of Leonard Bower of Scorton, Yorkshire. She only enjoyed married life for about five years, her husband dying in 1756 at the early age of 26. She has left behind her a beautifully written book of daily expenses,¹⁰ and the court rolls and presentments for this period are still preserved.

Miss Elizabeth Cuthbertson, locally known as lady Cuthbertson and the eccentric Miss Cuthbertson, lived at Haltwhistle in the new manor house, rebuilt in 1800, and at one time known as the 'Griffin inn.' At first she kept up considerable state but afterwards (report says in consequence of an unrequited attachment) she became very eccentric. She was very tenacious of her manorial rights. She kept a

⁹ James Carr son of Thomas Carr of Hexham, gent., University Coll., matriculated 10 Mar. 1736-7, aged 18. Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

¹⁰ See *Proceedings*, Vol. V. p. 248.

gamekeeper to preserve the 'fowling' on the manor. She was continually quarrelling with her tenants. At the time of her death, the whole property (with the exception of two houses then lately built) was in a complete state of ruin, according to a report made by Mr. John Adamson to her successors in the manor.

She died in 1836¹¹ intestate, and the manor therefore passed in 'moieties' to her cousins Robert Bower and Frances and Charlotte Heron. The former represented her aunt Philadelphia whose marriage is thus announced in the *Newcastle Journal* for 14th July, 1759:— '1759, July, married John Bower of Bolton York^a at St. John's Church N.C. to Miss Cuthbertson dau : to Geo : Cuthbertson Clerk of the Peace for North^d an amiable and polite young lady with a handsome fortune.' The ladies represented Anne Cuthbertson of whose marriage there is no record, the bride having eloped with Mr. Heron to (it is supposed) Gretna Green. Mr. and Mrs. Heron had a large family, but the only survivors at the death of Miss Cuthbertson were two of the younger children, Frances and Charlotte. These ladies were descended from one Thomas Heron of Heron's Hill near Corbridge, and he is understood to have been closely connected with the baronets of Chipchase. Thus by a curious coincidence the manor of Haltwhistle came into the possession of descendants of its ancient owners, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Musgrave by his first wife Alice, having married John Heron of Chipchase in the last years of Henry VIII.

" '1836. Dec. 17. Died at Haltwhistle at the advanced age of 82 years Elizabeth Cuthbertson a maiden lady. She chose for her abode the second storey of a miserable abode in Haltwhistle, the door of which was nearly constantly locked and many of the windows bricked up to shut out the gaze of inquisitive people. Here she lived alone, and the wealth with which she was blessed, and which might have been a source of blessing to all around her, was allowed to accumulate, as she invariably refused all applications to improve the estate or render those around her more comfortable. For the latter part of her life her exclusiveness became more strict and her solitude more remarkable. She kept no steward or servant or any one to look after her affairs or manage her property, and consequently much inconvenience was sustained by all the neighbourhood. Towards her tenants she behaved in a very peculiar manner. It is said that there were some who had not paid any rent for a great number of years, there were others who paid a portion of the rent due only, and both these descriptions of tenants she allowed to live upon the respective tenures they occupied because they owed her money, but those who paid the whole of their rents she immediately discharged. It is said by those who had occasional access to her that she had a fine intelligent countenance but it was clouded with austerity, and a little more cleanliness would have made it more agreeable. During the last few years of her life she declined transacting any business in the most positive manner, and no inducements or persuasions could prevail upon her to abandon her system of non-intercourse with the world.'—Local Papers, Richardson's *Table Book*.

In 1844 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the division of the remainder of the common and also of the rig or dale lands. The common contained about 1,360 acres yet undivided. Under the Act, one-sixteenth was allotted to the lord and ladies of the manor in consideration of their manorial rights, three large plots were sold to pay the expenses of the division, and the remainder was divided amongst those entitled to right of common. The rig or dale lands have a peculiar interest in that they were relics of the old system of farming when the farmers had each his toft and his croft and his share in the common fields. In each field each freeholder had his rig or dale, and this was convenient when perhaps the manor possessed only one plough for which every farmer contributed an ox and the village blacksmith the irons and so on, but it was altogether out of date and inconvenient under the modern system, one particular disadvantage being that no system of drainage was possible in plots of land seldom or never exceeding one acre in extent. By comparing the old documents relating to Lord William Howard's tenants, and a map made by the commissioner for the division, we can get a fair idea of these common fields. We see first that every tenant had his 'Message Barn and Garth,' and also 'Lands Lyeing in' various places. Haltwhistle Haugh was the land lying south of Edenslawn and the churchyard by the riverside. The East field may have been situated near the foot of the burn. The West fields perhaps lay on either side of the road leading to Bitchelgate, and the field called Wilyae lay to the north of the town. Besides these we have Bayfield Haugh in the older document (perhaps the Bogfield which lies between Edenslawn and Haltwhistle Haugh), and in the map we find that dale lands lay south of the river in Bellister Haugh, and that there were other plots at Bitchelgate and Tippalt Foot (perhaps also parts of the Westfields). These were all divided into convenient fields according to the several interests of the owners thereof.

The Misses Heron bequeathed their moiety to the surviving children of their friend, Mr. John Adamson of Newcastle. The Adamsons afterwards acquired the other moiety by purchase from Mr. Bower, thus becoming sole lords of the manor; and it may be noted as another curious coincidence that the Adamsons are descended (by a chain with several female links) from the original grantee through the

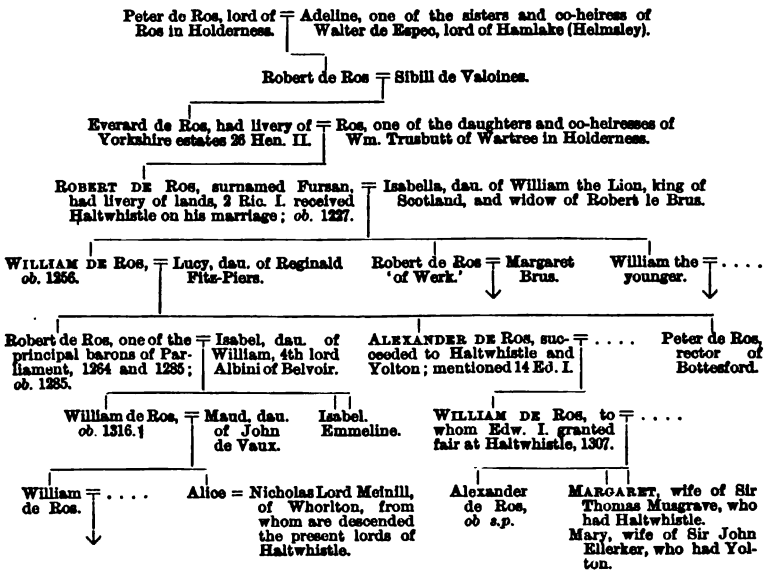
families of Darcy, Dodsworth (of Thornton Watlass) and Blythman (of Westoe).

The manor could not pass through such a tenure as that of Miss Cuthbertson without some serious depreciation ; but the present lords still hold the old Tower, the Castle Hill, the 'Water Corne Milne,' the 'Fulling Milne or Walke Milne,' the 'Dying house' (in the occupation of Mr. Saint whose ancestors have for several generations carried on business therein), the 'Coalery Coale Mines or Seames of Coales' (still worked for the supply of household coal), the Town Foot Farm representing the old demesne lands, and the Leas Hall Farm, allotted in lieu of the lord's rights over the common. This latter farm is bounded on the east by Haltwhistle Burn, which, as it flows for a short distance between rugged cliffs of valuable freestone, presents to view one of those picturesque spots which are characteristic of the county of Northumberland.

APPENDIX.

PEDIGREE OF DE ROS OR DE ROOS.

Arms: *Gules three water bougets arg.*



HALTWHISTLE FAIR.

Hodgson quotes a writ showing that in 1207 king John granted a weekly market to Robert de Ros. Rex vicecomiti Northumbriae.—praecipimus tibi quod facias habere Rob. de Ros unum mercatum apud Altewis' singulis septimanis per diem jovis quia illud ei ibi concessimus nisi sit, etc. Teste me ipso apud Oxon x di Febr. A. r. n. 8vo. (*Rot. Lit. Claus. temp. Johan*, p. 77.)

At the date of this John of England and William the Lion of Scotland were at war with each other.

Confirmation Roll. 7 Henry 8. Part 2, Membrane 13.

D' Confirmac'o'e Edwardo Musgrave. Rex Omnibus ad quos haec saltem Inpeximus cartam domini Edwardi nuper Regis Angliae primi Progenitoris nostri factam in hec verba. Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliae Dominus Hiberniae & Dux Aquitaniae Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus suis Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse & hac carta nostra confirmasse dilecto & fideli nostro Willielmo de Ros de Yoltone quod ipse & heredes sui imperpetuum habeant unum mercatum singulis Septimanis per diem Jovis apud manerium suum de Hautwyselle in Tindale in comitatu Northumbriae & unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per tres dies duraturam videlicet in vigilia & in die & in crastino Inventionis Sanctae Crucis & unam aliam feriam ibidem per tres dies duraturam videlicet in vigilia & in die & in crastino Sancti Martini episcopi in hyeme nisi mercatum illud & ferie ille sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum & vicinarum feriarum. Quare volumus & firmiter praecipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod predictus Willielmus & heredes sui imperpetuum habeant predicta mercatum & ferias apud manerium suum predictum cum omnibus libertatibus & libris consuetudinibus ad hujusmodi mercatum & ferias pertinentibus nisi mercatum illud & ferie ille sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum & vicinarum feriarum sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus W. Ebor Archiepiscopo Angliae primate W. Covent'r & Lich J. Cicestr. R. London' & J. Kafilol' Episcopis Henr' de Lacy Comite Lincoln' Guidone de Bello Campo Comite Warr' Hugone le Despenser Rob'to fil' Ric' Rog'o de mortuo mari Petro de malo lacu & aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Karliolum decimo octavo die marcii anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto. Nos autem cartam predictam ac omnia & singula contenta in eadem rata habentes & grata pro nobis & heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus & approbamus ac dilecto & fideli nostro Edwardo Musgrave militi nunc tenenti manerii de Hautwysel predictum & heredibus suis ratificamus & confirmamus prout carta predicta in se rationabiliter testatur. In cujus haec T. R. apud Westm' xiiij. die Aprilis.

Pro decem solidis solutis in hanapio.



HALTWHISTLE CHURCH, FROM THE S. E.

BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION.

XII.—THE CHURCH OF HALTWHISTLE.

BY THE REV. C. E. ADAMSON.

[Read on the 31st day of May, 1893.]

THE church of Haltwhistle is a good and thoroughly characteristic work of the early part of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately it has been very badly treated at various times, but, indeed, considering its proximity to the Border, it is wonderful that it has come down to us with so little serious injury. At the beginning of this century (as the picture in Hodgson's *Northumberland* shows) the aisles had eighteenth century sash windows and the roof was of a very low pitch, but sufficient traces remained to enable the late R. J. Johnson, in 1870, to restore the original lancets and the original pitch of the roof. The plan of the church is peculiar. The nave and aisles are so wide in proportion to their length that they appear to form a square, while the long chancel seems almost as long as the nave. The actual dimensions of the nave and aisles are, however, 64 feet by 44 feet, and of the chancel 46 feet by 19 feet.

A Haltwhistle gentleman lately visiting at Crail, in Fifeshire, noticed that the church there was very like the church at Haltwhistle, and when the minister of Crail afterwards paid a visit to Haltwhistle and inspected that church, the two gentlemen agreed that the two churches were as nearly similar as could be. The abbey of Arbroath, to which Haltwhistle belonged, had property in 'Karale,' and thus it would appear that both churches were built from the same or a similar set of plans; and at Haltwhistle there are details about the mouldings, etc., which, in the opinion of Mr. W. S. Hicks,¹ speak of a Scottish origin.

The nave has lofty and dignified arcades of four arches, and doors, north and south, opposite to each other. The bases of the pillars, as existing before the restoration, showed that the floor line must have

¹ I visited the church with the vicar, the Rev. Canon Lowe, and Mr. W. S. Hicks, the architect. Canon Lowe carefully watched all the work done during the restoration in 1870, and I am therefore greatly indebted to him as well as to the technical knowledge of Mr. Hicks in my description of the building.

been, where they stand, about one foot higher than the floor where the responds, east and west, stand. These responds have fillets of an apparently later date than the general appearance of the building would indicate. The label moulding of the nave arcade has a dog tooth ornamentation. The capitals of the pillars have attracted some notice. The bell of the capital, which is circular at its base, gradually changes into a very irregular octagon. The abacus follows the shape of the bell and the members of the arch seem to spring from the edge of this curious irregular octagon. The west end of the church was rebuilt in 1870.

The chancel contains several objects of interest. The east window consists of three lofty lancets of great beauty, with richly-moulded trefoil inner arches and delicate shafts. It is now filled with excellent glass by Morris. The reredos is a representation of the Visit of the Magi. The piscina is said to be an exact reproduction of the original work. The sedilia have been very beautiful, though there is a very curious admixture of bold and delicate work in the mouldings. In the south wall is a fifteenth century low side window of two lights, square-headed, now blocked up, and at the restoration traces were seen of a former window in nearly, but not quite the same position. There are four ancient grave-covers within the altar rail, two bearing the arms of Blenkinsop, two those of Thirlwall. On one of the former lies a recumbent effigy, possibly that of Thomas de Blenkinsop, who died in 1388. The shield, which is very small in proportion, with the arms containing the three well-known garbs, is fastened to the knight's left arm, and therefore, as the effigy lies, it is almost out of sight. The other grave-cover bears, besides the arms, a beautifully flowered and traceried cross, a sword, a staff, and a scrip. These two stones are probably *in situ*. The other two were found buried under the eastern arch of the south arcade of the nave. During the restoration, marks were found indicating that an altar had been attached to the east wall of the south aisle, and there is a broken piscina with a drain on the south side of the aisle. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that this was a chantry of the Thirlwalls. The grave-covers have each floriated crosses of a similar character to that on the Blenkinsop stone, and the arms within a bordure a chevron between three boars' heads. On the south side of the chancel is the tombstone of John Ridley of Walltown,

brother-in-law of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London. It formerly stood on two dwarf pillars in the middle of the chancel. Under two coats of arms placed side by side one showing a wall with three turrets, the other a chevron between three falcons with jesses and bells, is the following inscription (in capital letters and lines as shown):—

I HON		REDLE
THAT	[Against Deth.]	SUM
TIM		DID BE

THEN LORD OF THE WALTON
 GON IS HE OUT OF THES VAL OF ~~MERSER~~
 HIS BONE LIES UNDER THES STON
 WE MUST BELVE BE GODS MERS^R
 INTO THES WORLD GAVE HES SO^N
 THEN FOR TO REDEM AL CHRES^T
 SO CHRIST HAES HES SOUL WO^M
 AL FAETHFUL PEOPLE MAY BE FAERN
 WHEN DATH COMES THAT NON CAN FLE
 THE BODE KEPT THE SOUL IN PAEN
 THROUGH CHRIST IS SET AT LEBERTE
 AMONG BLESSED COMPANE TO REMAE^N
 TO SLEP IN CHRIST NOWE IS HE GON
 YET STEL BELKVES TO HAVE AGAEN
 THROUGH CHRIST A IOYEFUL RESURR^{ECION}
 AL FRENDES MAY BE GLAD TO HAER
 WHEN HES SOUL FROM PAEN DID GO
 OUT OF THES WORLD AS DEOTH APPEE
 IN THE YEER OF OUR LORD
 A: 1563
 X X

In the soffit of the chancel arch are two square holes evidently for the rood beam, and above are hooks for the chains or rods which supported the arms of the crosses. On either side of the arch are small brackets for figures.

The font which stands at the west end of the church is very remarkable. The bowl only is ancient, the pedestal having been renewed at the restoration when it replaced one of similar form, which itself was comparatively modern. The exterior of the bowl is altogether of the rudest character and uneven in form. The shape is hexagonal. On one side is a representation of a face surrounded by rays which is evidently intended for our Lord; next to it an intricate knot is carved; on the third side is a group of thistle heads; the fourth has a Maltese cross; the fifth a *fleur de lys* with the letters IS; while the sixth has another knot. At some period it has had a fixed cover as the holes made in the rim for its support clearly indicate.

Near the upper edge, the following has been incised: 'R.P. July the 27th 1676.' R.P. are no doubt the initials of Robert Priestman who was the vicar at that date. The interior of the bowl, however, and the moulding round the top are carefully and accurately worked, and moreover show signs of considerable wear and tear, while the outside is as sharp as if it had been recently cut. Can it be that the old font was recut in 1676 by some unskilful mason who incised upon its new sides imperfect copies of ornamentation which he had seen elsewhere?

There is in the churchyard what appears to be a holy water stoup. It consists of a very roughly cut semi-circular bowl fixed upon a short round pillar, and looks as if it had originally stood against a wall.

The following inscription on a tombstone in the churchyard deserves mention on account of the pathos which it expresses:—

D. O. M.

Post Vitam Brevem

Difficilem Inutilem

Hic

Quiescit in Domino

Robertus Tweddell

De Hazleton Monac

in Com Dunelm Gen

Salutis 17 35

Ætatis 32.

The vicar finds this entry in the Register of Burials for 1735:—

'Nov 22 M^r. Robert Tweddell Gentⁿ of Monkhasleton in the County of Durham.' He was no doubt connected with the family of that name at Unthank.

The exterior of the church is severely plain but very dignified, and it is beautifully situated to the south of the town. The chief entrance in former days would appear to have been the very richly moulded door on the north side now covered by the modern vestry.

To the south-east of the older portion of the churchyard stands the picturesque old vicarage house against whose northern walls the soil

has been allowed to accumulate until half its height is buried out of sight. It has been supplanted by a more commodious house a little to the east of the church.

The communion plate as described by Mr. Blair² in the *Proceedings* consists of eight pieces, six of silver and two of pewter.

The history of the church of Haltwhistle should commence with the labours of St. Aidan, for Leland has preserved a tradition that 'there lyethe one of the Holy Aydans and other Holy Men in the Churche Yarde by the Chapel' at White Chapel in this parish.

But the earliest existing notice of the church seems to be contained in a confirmation of William the Lion, king of Scotland, of his grant of it to the abbey of Arbroath which he had lately founded.³ It may be translated into English thus :—

William by the grace of God king of Scotland to the bishops abbots earls barons justices sheriffs bailiffs officers and all honest men of his whole land clerks and laymen greeting Let (all) present and future know that I have given granted and by this my charter have confirmed to God and the church of Saint Thomas archbishop and martyr of Abirbrothok and to the monks serving God there in free and perpetual alms the church of Hautwysill in Tyndal with all that appertains to it in chapels in lands in tythes in alms and in all other ecclesiastical rights customs and benefits with common pasture also and all other easements of the same parish To BE HELD as fully as any parson has ever held the same church and so freely and quietly well and peaceably and honourably as any alms in the whole of my land are possessed Witnesses, etc.

This is followed in the 'Registrum de Aberbrothoc' by two other confirmations :—

Robert de Bruys to all friends and his men greeting, &c., as above, as the charter of my king witnesses and confirms * * *

To all ministers sons of holy church Robert de Ros and Isabella his wife greeting Let all present and future know that we have granted to God and the church of Saint Thomas the martyr of Aberbrothoc and the monks serving God there the church of Hautwysill with all justly belonging to it which lord William king of the Scots gave to the aforesaid monks and by his charter confirmed To BE HELD to themselves in free and quiet and perpetual alms * * *

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* vol. iii. p. 367.

³ The date of the foundation of Arbroath is of some interest in church and public history. Thomas a Beckett, the high church archbishop, was slain at the altar of his own church of Canterbury on the 29th of December, 1170. Two years afterwards he was canonized; and within five years of his canonization, and not more than seven from the period of his death, in the year 1178 William King of Scotland had founded, endowed, and dedicated to Saint Thomas the Martyr the Abbey of Arbroath.' Preface to 'Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc' published by the Bannatyne Club.

The first and second of these confirmations are dated by the editors of the 'Registrum' 1178-1180, the third 1199, that is eight years after the marriage of Robert de Ros with Isabella the daughter of William the Lion.⁴

In 1240 William de Ros the son and successor of Robert in the manor of Haltwhistle seems to have disputed this grant, for we find an entry in the Patent Roll, 25 Henry III., stating that Roger Bertram, Odinel de Fordhe, Henry de Neketon, and William de Dera are justices of assize concerning the advowson of the church of Hautwysel to be held at Carlisle in the quinzaine of St. Hilary [Jan. 28th, 1241] where William de Ros arraigns the abbot of Abirbrothe. Unfortunately the assize roll for Cumberland for this date is not now extant, and therefore we cannot know what was the exact point in dispute.

The 'Taxatio' of 1254, sometimes called 'Innocent's' or 'vetus valor,' contains the entry—'Hawtwesil' iij-xx m^{rc}. Dec. viij m^{rc} Porcio Radulphi de Bosco xxxvj m^{rc} Dec. xlvijjs.'

In 1306 'The Prior and Convent of Lanercost⁵ beg the king having regard to the reduced state of their house and the damages they have suffered by the King and his attendants which a great sum would not suffice to restore without perpetuity of something that in recompense of these damages he would grant them the church of Hautwyselle which is not worth more than 100 marks a year and make allowance to the monks of Arbrothock in Scotland whose it is; if agreeable to the King and his Council.' Shortly after 'The abbot of Abrebrothok for himself and his convent replies (as commanded) to the King and Council respecting the proposed exchange of their church of Hautwyselles that the King is "fundour" of their house and they have no other head to maintain their rights than him and his council. Begg the King to examine their muniments and confirmation of the said church from Rome and then to command restitution of the church of which they have been forcibly despoiled by the bishop of Durham.'

The letter is endorsed 'Ponatur inter dormientes.'

⁴ This grant of Hautwysill church is also mentioned in a general confirmation [1211-1214] by the same king, and in a great confirmation of King Alexander [1214-1218]. There is also a confirmation of Pope Honorius [1220].

⁵ From the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. II. Lanercost had been pillaged and burnt by the Scots in 1291 and again in 1296, and it never recovered its prosperity. Edward I. visited the priory in 1280 and 1307.

In 1309, on the feast of All Saints, John resigned (or was removed from) the office of abbot, and in 1311 the church of Hautwysel was assigned to him as a pension by his successor Bernard de Linton and the convent. The grant, however, was revoked the next year, and a loan was raised to redeem him from captivity as a prisoner of war in England.

In 1311 the vicar of Haltwhistle, one Robert de Pykwell, was carried off by the Scots, and the bishop of Durham wrote him a letter of sympathy, allowing him to raise money on his living for his ransom. Shortly afterwards the bishop reports that he can levy nothing towards the king's subsidies on the vicars of Norham, Bywell St. Peter's, Haltwhistle, Ilderton, or the parson of Ovingham, because all their goods as well as the churches and villages in their parishes were entirely burnt and destroyed by the Scots. The present condition of Haltwhistle church shows that the word 'entirely' does not apply to that building, though it may have been rendered unfit for use.

In 1329 there was held an 'Inquisicio ad quod damnum'⁶ about this church. The abbot of Aberbrothok claimed the church as having belonged to him and his predecessors before the war between England and Scotland, and Edward III. appointed three commissioners to enquire into the justice of the claim. These commissioners held their enquiry at Newcastle, and reported that witnesses had said on oath that John the predecessor of the abbot had last held the church of Hautwysell, and that his predecessors had held it of the gift of William formerly king of Scotland, and by the bull of a certain pope Alexander and by the grant of Robert de Isle formerly bishop of Durham; and that Edward the king's father during the war had appointed his clerk Robert de Dyghton, who had been admitted and instituted, and still held the church as parson. In accordance with this report, Edward III. ordered the church to be restored to the abbot and convent of Aberbrothok, but he seems afterwards to have resumed it as an escheat; and eventually it was granted by a deed⁷ dated 13th July, 1385, to the convent of Tinmouth, the patronage being reserved to the bishop and a settled portion to the vicar. After the dissolution of the monastery, Edward VI., by letters patent 5th July, 1553, gave

⁶ 2 Edw. III., No. 11, m. 1, and m. 2, Patent Roll, 3 Edw. III., part 1, m. 16.

⁷ Quoted at length in Hodgson's *Northumberland*.

to John Wright and Thomas Holmes 'the whole rectory and church.' In 1585 Nicholas Bidley died possessed of the church; and afterwards (*temp.* Chas. I.) it was forfeited by R. Musgrave and granted to the Nevilles of Chevet by whom it was sold to the Blacketts who now possess the great tithes.

Walter de Merton, chancellor of England, who died October 27th, 1277, left 25 marks to Haltwhistle as being one of the places where he had held preferment. Bishop Hobhouse (*Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England, Bishop of Rochester, and Founder of Merton College, Oxford*; Oxford, 1859, page 45) quotes the will, and to 'Hautwyse' he adds a note—'Supposed to be Haltwhistle in Northumberland in the patronage of the bishop of Durham. No evidence exists, except this bequest, of the founder's having held this living.' The writer has here fallen into the very natural mistake of supposing that Haltwhistle has always been in the patronage of the bishop of Durham, but as at the time of Walter de Merton the patronage was really in the hands of the king of Scotland or of his much favoured abbey of Aberbrothoc, and as a letter from the Scottish queen asking a favour of the English chancellor shows that these personages were on very friendly and intimate terms, it is therefore not unlikely that Walter de Merton held this benefice by the good will of his friends, and it may be that the church was built during his incumbency. Two other vicars of some note were Rotheram⁸ (1768-1789) and Hollingsworth (1809-1829), the first an ex-professor of Codrington college in Barbadoes, and the latter an author and a poet.

Wallis mentions a tradition that the parish church formerly stood on land in Bellister haugh, which is now part of the vicar's glebe, and states that human bones have been dug up in this field, but it appears more reasonable to suppose that, if there were any such

⁸ Mackenzie, *Northd.* vol. ii. p. 263, speaking of Haydon Bridge school says :—'Rev. William Rotherham . . . had two sons who also acquired celebrity for learning and piety. Thomas, the eldest, was born in 1715, and took the degrees of B.A., 174... and M.A., 1744. In 1744 he accepted a professorship in Sir William Codrington's college, in Barbadoes, and remained there till his health compelled him to quit the island in 1763. On his return to England he accepted the curacy of Great Stainton, county of Durham; and in 1768, was collated to the vicarage of Haltwhistle, not far from the place of his birth. The venerable simplicity of his character and manners, which residence in a foreign climate had neither altered nor corrupted, rendered him an object of universal esteem and respect.'

church and burying ground, it was a chapel of ease for the benefit of the parishioners who lived on the south side of the river.

With regard to the dedication of the church there is a curious doubt. Cole says 'Hautwizzle St. Aidan q. Holy Cross q. — St. Aidan as I judge,' and in this opinion he is followed by Hodgson⁹ and Bates.¹⁰ The latter says:—'A rather obscure passage in Leland's *Itinerary* has preserved the traditionary connection of St. Aidan with that district and the name of Eden's Lawn attached to a part of Haltwhistle immediately west of the church seems to be a re-translation of the Celtic Llan Aidan. St. Aidan's well at Bamburgh had been corrupted into 'Edynwell' *temp.* Ric. II. The idea that Haltwhistle church was dedicated to Holy Cross had its origin in the erroneous notion that the fair day generally followed the feast of the dedication.' Raine in his *York* (Historic Towns series) spells the name Ædan, as if the pronunciation should be Edan.

The parish of Haltwhistle until recently was very large, extending about fifteen miles from north to south and twelve from east to west. It included, besides Haltwhistle itself, the townships of Bellister, Blenkinsop, Coanwood, Featherstone, Hartleyburn, Henshaw, Melkridge, Plainmellor, Ridley, Thorngraston, Thirlwall, and Walltown. In 1890 the townships of Ridley, Thorngraston, and a portion of the township of Henshaw were formed into the new parish of Beltingham with Henshaw; and in 1892 the townships of Blenkinsop and Thirlwall were formed into the new parish of Greenhead. The two new parishes together contain an area of about 26,000 acres, leaving the mother-church still with the large area of 32,000 acres, and a population of 4,000 within its borders.

At Beltingham there is a very fine little Perpendicular church, said to be the only building solely in this style in Northumberland. It is dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Its dimensions are 68½ feet by 18½. The east window is of five lights, and there are six windows on the south side but one only on the north. Local tradition states that it was built as a domestic chapel of the Riddleys. It was restored in 1884, and during the work a grated squint in the north wall of the chancel and a thirteenth-century grave-cover, on which is a cross in high relief, were discovered. Numerous stones have been found about

⁹ *Hist. North.* II. iii. 123. ¹⁰ *Arch. Ael.* XIII. 324.

the church or have been built into it, which indicate that a twelfth-century building once stood here. In the churchyard, in addition to the three venerable yews, on the north side of the building are an early churchyard cross and a Roman altar without inscription. The communion plate has been described by Mr. Blair in the Proceedings of the Society.¹¹

A chapel erected in 1827 at Greenhead, and entirely repewed and renovated throughout a few years ago, chiefly at the cost of the late Edward Joicey, esq., of Blenkinsop hall, is now the parish church for the western portion of the old parish of Haltwhistle.

VESTRY BOOKS.

The vicar has made the following extracts from the vestry books:—

The earliest entry is a burial. George Ridley, of Henshaw, was buried the 21st of . . . (? Dec.) 1656. The earliest baptism is in 1691, and the earliest marriage in 1703 :—

The extant minutes of vestry meetings are contained in three volumes, dating from the year 1717. For the most part they consist of records of the Easter meetings of the 12 men, for settling the church accounts, the election of wardens and the laying of rates, whenever required, for church expences. Occasionally we come across matters which have a certain interest as showing the condition of the fabric and the cost of its reparation. For instance, on May 19th, 1718, the 12 men and churchwardens agreed with Geo. Kell, 'plummer' of Hexham, to keep in good repair, and keep dry, the 'leed' of the church for 7 years at £1 10 a year, to be paid at Lammas each year. This shows that at that time the outer covering of the roof was entirely of lead. The agreement was signed by all the 12 men, two of whom were unable to write their names.

In August, however, of the same year, 'the 12 men and wardens agreed with the vicar (finding our church out of repairs) to repair the roof, Mr. Pate to find all material, to cast the lead at 8 lb. per square foot, to lay gutters and to make spouts for £44. Work to be inspected by two sufficient workmen, and Mr. Pate to give security for performing the bargain.' Cautious wardens!

Non-attendance at vestry meetings is a failing of ancient date, for we have the following memorandum made at the Easter meeting, 1725 :—'It is agreed and ordered by unanimous consent of the 12 men that whosoever of us (after lawful summons given) does not attend in the vestry, and discharge the trust in us reposed by this parish, shall for his absence on Easter Tuesday forfeit the sum of 2s. 6d., and for any absence at any other time the sum of 1s. to be disposed of at the discretion of those who are present.'

In the wardens' yearly accounts we find constant entries of sums paid for killing 'vermin,' at the rate of 2s. 6d. for old foxes' heads, 1s. for young foxes' heads, and 4d. each for brocks, 'foomurts' and otters' heads.

At Easter, 1726, an assessment of three and sixpence in the pound was laid towards 'whitening of the church, payment of arrears for gates to the church-

¹¹ Vol. iii. p. 367.

yard, and other uses,' and in the following year an assessment of two and sixpence in the pound is laid for 'repairing church wall and other uses.' As it appears from the accounts that the repair of the wall only cost £9 19s., one wonders why so high an assessment was required. It can hardly have been on the rateable value of the parish, as the amount realised would have greatly exceeded that sum, and yet in 1751 it was agreed by the vestry 'that all monies raised for repairing of church and other legal purposes shall be by an equal rate or assessment according to the rack rents or true legal values.'

In 1785 two wardens were chosen by the vicar and two by the parish. In 1783, 10s. 6d. was paid for a new font cover. In 1741 there is the following entry:—'For a spade and hack to Beltingham chapel, 4s. 6d. N.B.—The spade and hack are an imposition. Sir Edward Blackett is impropriator there.' In 1744, 8d. was paid for two otters' heads, and on August 24, 1773, Cuthbert Bidley entered to be clerk. In John Snowball's account for 1739 he charges 9d. for a quart of ale, but does not say who had it. Keeping the roof in repair was evidently troublesome, for in 1765 there is the following item:—'Agreed that Edward Robson, senior, and Edward Robson, junior, be employed to keep leads of roof in good repair for the whole year, on condition that he receives £5 in hand and £5 in Easter week, 1766. N.B.—Wardens are to take care that Edward Robson fulfil this bargain for the above term, otherwise the wardens must be presented by the vicar if the leads are not taken care of and kept free from holes and letting in rain.' In 1768 it is noted that Rev. Mr. Wilson left Haltwhistle in September of that year, and on Friday, 14th of October, the Right Worshipful John Sharp, D.D., archdeacon, visited the church and ordered 'that all the pews in the church be furnished with moveable kneeling boards, low, flat, and broad. That a cover for font be provided. That a new stone threshold for chancel door be provided. That a new bell of at least equal weight with the present one be provided. That remaining heaps of rubbish against church and chancel be removed. That one casement be made in each side of the church and chancel. That pulpit and reading desk be raised as vicar shall direct, and painted white. That a stool or moveable kneeling board, low and flat, be provided for reading desk, covered and stuffed. Matthew Ridley and Isaac Thirlwell monished to cause them to be performed and to certify at visitation to be held after Easter next.' In 1770 it was 'agreed that a hearse be got for conveying of corps for the use of the parish, and to be kept in the church;' and it was further agreed that 'the sexton shall have from the executor or principal person that comes along with the corps sixpence for cleaning the said hearse.' There is no entry of the cost, but in 1789 there is an entry of £12 1s. 'for hearse and trappings.' In 1771, £13 5s. 5d. was paid for hearse house and other repairs. At the same vestry meeting it was agreed 'that any person who kills an old fox within the parish, and makes oath thereof before a magistrate, shall receive for the same 2s. 6d., and for every young fox, 1s. In 1771, £1 4s. 6d. was paid 'for a cloak for the sexton, and 2s. for making it.' In 1772 a weathercock was erected at a cost of £1 12s. 6d. There is no record of any stoves being purchased, but in 1776 sixpence halfpenny is charged for a load of coals. In those days it would seem that Haltwhistle church was very like one about which the parish clerk, when asked how it was warmed, as there appeared no place for a fire, indignantly replied—'We put our fire in the pulpit—that's

the proper place for it.' In 1782 it was noted that the Rev. Thos. Rotheram, M.A., who became vicar in 1768, died on the 5th of April, whilst visiting his brother at Houghton-le-Spring. He was succeeded by the Rev. Hugh Nanney, M.A. In 1783 a new bell was bought at a cost of £1 10s. In 1786 the royal arms and five texts of scripture were placed in the church. In 1792 it was decided at a special meeting 'that as the lead roof was in a ruinous state, the most effectual course will be to take it off and to put on instead a substantial slate roof, also that the west window be enlarged and the north side aisle windows be made to correspond with the south,' in which sash windows had been substituted for the ancient lancet windows. The slating was done for £55 and the roofing for £103. The west window was altered by Jas. Armstrong for £1 3s. 6d. In 1794 Geo. Biggs was appointed parish clerk, vestry clerk, and schoolmaster. In 1799 notice was given in church on two consecutive Sundays to receive proposals from masons to ceil and paint inside and outside of north and south aisles. The work was let for £40. In 1795 Mr. Wm. Saint was elected churchwarden for Haltwhistle township. In 1800 the outside walls of the church were rough cast and the inside whitewashed at a cost of £8. The following is among the entries of the Easter meeting, 1798:—'It appearing at this meeting that a very great destruction of sheep, lambs, and geese is likely to happen in this parish from an uncommon increase of the breed of foxes, it is therefore ordered that instead of five shillings now to be paid for each old fox killed in the parish, that the sum of ten shillings and sixpence be paid until Easter next. Also ordered that the several sums be paid to people that produced vermin heads at this meeting.'

One volume of the registers contains a curious soliloquy on matrimony by vicar Wilson.



HALTWHISTLE BURN.

XIII.—NOTES ON SOME FORGOTTEN BURYING GROUNDS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS :

GATESHEAD, WHICKHAM, BOLDON, AND SOUTH SHIELDS.

BY MABERLY PHILLIPS.

[Read on the 28rd day of December, 1891.]

ONE of many difficult problems that puzzled the early members of the Society of Friends was how to dispose of their dead. A great number stood excommunicated at the time of death, and, on that account, were denied interment in the ordinary manner. It is said that some of the clergy refused to bury any of them, and the story is told of one reverend wag, who, when upbraided for such inhuman conduct, denied the accusation, stating that, far from declining to bury them, he would cheerfully bury them all ! Be this as it may, it is certain that the religious persecutions that the early nonconformists were subjected to, led to the formation of private burying grounds, in garden, orchard, or field, the privilege of interment being often extended to relatives and friends. For establishing such grounds the owners were sometimes cited before the ecclesiastical court at Durham, so that it must have been most perplexing to know how to act. When the laws were altered, public nonconformist burial places were gradually opened, the private ones falling into disuse. In many cases the ground has been utilised for other purposes, and in some instances, has been so entirely forgotten that even the situation occupied cannot now be identified.

Such interments as I have named not being entered in the parish books naturally led to formation of private registers, in which births and marriages were also recorded. No body of dissenters was so careful in keeping its registers as the Society of Friends.

Sims, in a chapter upon 'Non-parochial Registers,' when remarking upon the Quaker Registers says :—'The Commissioners appointed by Her present Majesty in the year 1838, to enquire into the state of the Registers of Births, etc., in England and Wales, having called upon the Society of Friends to deliver up their Registers, with a view to some arrangement for depositing them with the Board ; the several Registers from the origin of the Society down to the establishment of

the system of civil registration, under the Act of 6 and 7 Will. IV. were brought to London for their inspection.' The Commissioners state, in their Report :—' We have visited their place of deposit, and saw enough of their state and condition to testify that they exhibit an admirable specimen of the state to which order and precision may be carried in the classification and arrangement of records of this description.' At this time the Society declined to surrender their books but subsequently consented to do so. I believe that prior to the surrender of these books, most, if not all, were copied in duplicate, one being retained locally, and the other deposited at Devonshire House, the London depôt of the Society.

One local volume has the following endorsement :—' Surrendered to the Commissioners of Non-parochial Registers, pursuant to Act of Parliament III. and IV. Vic. Cap. 92.'

I find from 'The Lists of Non-parochial Registers in the custody of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages' the number of volumes now at Somerset House exceeds 1,500. Unfortunately they are difficult of access ; were they more easily got at for purposes of literary enquiry, they would prove of the greatest use to the antiquary and the genealogist.

A short time ago I was fortunately able to examine one or two of these registers, which much aided my investigations. I have further been very much assisted by the kindness of Mr. J. R. Boyle, who placed at my disposal the notes that he extracted from the records of the Society of Friends when preparing the chapter 'Early Quakerism in Gateshead' for his *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*. Mr. Blair also kindly lent me some most interesting papers, which were endorsed 'Copied from original documents in private possession, saved from fire, when the room within the gates at Auckland Castle was cleared out to make room for an office for the agent to the Eccl^l Com^s and the papers ordered to burnt. The carts carrying the documents to the flames were intercepted and many of the papers, but not all, secured.'

Those who wish to see an account of the rise of Quakerism in this district, I refer to the most interesting chapter in the *Vestiges*, to the pages of Ambrose Barnes (*Surtees Soc.* vol. 50) and to Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*. The first home of Quakerism in this

immediate neighbourhood was Gateshead, and there we find the earliest burying ground.

One of the volumes at Somerset House bears upon its opening page the following :—‘The register book of the Burials of the People of God In scorn called Quakers and others their relations and kindred who have been buried in their Buring Ground In Gateshead in the county of Durham.’ The book also contains the record of several persons who were buried in their own grounds. These I will first enumerate and give what account I can of the owners.

1679. ‘Susannah daughter of John Carneath of Newcastle, Tanner, & of Mary his Wife, was buried in his garden the ninth day of ye 6 monthe.’ The burials of several members of the family are recorded.

In 1681 John Carneath had his goods distrained upon to the value of £1 0s. 9d. for tithes. The charity and generosity of the society is shown by the following entry in the records :—‘Agreed that Ann Carneath take care of Jos. Bell till next monthly meeting and that friends doe pay for his diett, and shee to make prooffe, in that time, how much he can doe towarde earning his bread, in the Tobacco Trade & to report to the Meeting.’ Probably the child remained with Ann Carneath, as another entry says :—‘Paid Ann Corneath to buy Jno. Bell’s child a hatt 00 · 01 · 6.’

In 1689 Ann Carneath was scandalized by Lionel Johnson ‘for using an unjust measure, in that she measures barke by Cockle parke Bushell.’ The matter having been debated, and a certificate from ‘ffive of the trading tanners in Newcastle intimating it to be an usual measure, and that they have bought by it, being read, in this meeting, Lionell Johnson has condescended, that if any two of the ffive Tanners that have certified conserning that measure, doe declare that it is an usual measure, then he will acknowledge that he has done her wrong. The two Tanners y^t Lionel has pitched on, to prove this matter, is Christophere Barker and John Harle. And Christopher Vickers, John Harrison, Hue Middleton, and Jeremiah Hunter are appointed to take the said two Tanners Account, and to report to the next monthly meeting.’ At a subsequent meeting the matter was most carefully gone into. The tanners affirmed ‘that it is usual to buy Barke by Cockle parke measure,’ and ‘Lionele Johnson reprimanded

for having wronged Anne Corneath in her repute, through his false reports.' I quote this account to show how very carefully disputes between members were investigated.

The next entry in the register that I note is '1688, 8 m. 26 d. Benjamin Tittory son of Daniel Tittory of Glasshouses broad glass maker & of Mary his wife was buried in his garden.' The Tittorys were one of the celebrated glass-making families who came from Lorraine during a religious persecution in their own country.¹

Another entry is '1678. Peregrin Tizacke son of Peregrin Tizacke of Glasshouses, broad glassmaker and of Debora his wife was buried the thirteenth day of the 11 month.'

'1679. Abigail daughter of John Tizack of Glasshouses broad glassmaker & Sarah his wife, was buried the 7 day of the 12 month.'

The headstone that marked the resting place of Abigail may now be seen at the side of the footway, just below 'King John's Palace,' in Heaton park. It bears the following inscription :—'Abigall Tizacke Daughter of John & Sarah Tizacke, departed this life ye 7th day of ye 12th month and in ye 7th weack of her age Anno 1679.' Brand, the historian, says that he found this stone in a garden belonging to Captain Lambton, near the Glasshouses. Although the register does not mention 'in his garden' as in the case of Carneath and Tittory, it does not say in Gateshead. It is therefore highly probable that the Tizacks had a burying place in their garden at the glasshouses like the Tittorys. The Tizacks were evidently very active members of the society as the constant mention of missions entrusted to their care fully testifies. In 1683 John Tizack was taken from a meeting at Gateshead on pretence of being a dangerous person, and for some time confined in Durham gaol.

Mr. Boyle tells us that the first meetings of the Gateshead Friends were held in Pipewellgate, at an old house, now the Fountain inn. That many-gabled old building may yet be seen in crossing the Swing bridge. Here Fox found them upon his second visit in 1657. In 1660 their meeting house was in the High street on property belonging to Richard Eubank. It would appear that their burying

¹ See *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*, p. 148. We cannot now identify the locality of their place of interment, but as they are described of 'Glasshouses,' probably the ground was somewhere in that locality, although the burial was recorded in the Gateshead register.

place was from the first in ground adjoining, as I have notice of burials here as early as 1655, two years prior to the time that we know they were holding their meetings in Pipewellgate.

In 1674 Richard Eubank was cited in the Archdeacon's court at Durham for being a quaker, and in 1677 'for enclosing a burial place for sectaries.'² He died in 1678, and was interred in the ground in question.

At the Gateshead monthly meeting held 10 d. 9 m. 1679 'friends ordered y^t Robert Younge, perig Tizeck, & Edward Kinge, assist one another in collecting a sum of money, for purchasing a Burieing grounde, of Margret Eubank, & to bring an acct thereof to ye next monthly meeting.' Subsequently a lease of the ground was taken 'in the name of Pergryne Tyzack and ors, from Margaret Eubank for 19 years, the consideration for which was fifteen pounds.'

In 1680 it was 'ordered that a Bricke Wall is to be built about the ground, about the Meeting house door in order for having it for burying in. Peregrin Tizacke, Jeremiah Hunter, Robt. Wallis, John Ayrey, Geo. Raw, and Samuel ffreeman to get it done.' At a subsequent meeting it was 'Desired that the friends formerly appointed to get a wall made about the ground, before the meeting house, doe continue their care to get it effected.'

Again in 1689, 'Ordered that ffrriends of Gateshead Meeting be reminded of building the wall about the Ground before the Meeting House for a New burying place, and that if it may with convenience, it be effected, betwixt this meeting and next monthly meeting.' The ground was in use until 1698. Mr. Boyle states that in all 101 interments were made. Subsequently (in 1731) the alms-houses built by the bequest of Thomas Powell were erected upon the site of the burying ground. In a conveyance of this property from the heirs of the survivors of Powell's trustees to the churchwardens and overseers of Gateshead, it is described as:—'All that messuage, burgage, and tenement, garden, yard, and back side, with appurtenances in Gateshead aforessaid, formerly belonging to Richard Ewbank late of the same place, tailor, deceased, and heretofore in the possession of John Doubleday his undertenants and assigns.'

The earliest mention of an interment that I noticed in the Register

² Surtees, vol. 47, p. 226-7.

at Somerset House was in 1660, when 'Deborah Turner daughter of Barth and Jane Turner of Gateshead dyed, the 21 day of the ninth month 1660 and was Interred in the Burying ground in Gateshead.' But from the registrar at Devonshire House I have been favoured with the following :—'1655. 11 m. 4 d. Isabella Hunter d. of Cuthbert Hunter and Elen was interred in Richard Eubanks bury^g place in Gateside.'

The Aireys were another important family, some of whom were here interred. In 1677, George Airey was cited to Durham 'For not resorting to the Divine service at the Parish Church and for being a Quaker.'

Anno do: 1683
the 13th of the
11^h Moneth called
January.

'John Ayrey of Gateside, Mathew Allinson of the same, John Allett of Newcastle, John Tyzack of the Glass houses being at a meeting at Gateside amongst other friends, vpon pretence of being dangerous persons to the government & for refusing to take the oath of Alleagiance, were comitt to the goale at Durham by Isaac Basier, John Jenkins.'³

The following list will be a guide to the leading Quaker families in Gateshead in 1686 :—

'A schedule or list of Severall Quakers or p'sons reputed Quakers within the County Palatine of Durham convicted as Recusants, and prosecuted by Exchequer Proces, for the Penalties thereby incurred.'

Gateshead.

Christopher Bickers and his Wife.
John Doubleday.
Lionel Hetherington, Sadler.
Moses ffisher, and his Wife.
Jno Ayrey, the Elder.
Jno Ayrey, the younger.
W^m ffenwicke and his wife.
John Allenson and his Wife.
Mathew Allenson and his Wife.
Robert Mooney and his wife.
Barbara Hunter.

The notes before me abound in accounts of fines, penalties, and imprisonments suffered by various members of the families named, but much as I am tempted to record the same, they are hardly within the scope of my paper.

³ Mr. Blair's papers.

Soon after the opening of the burying ground in Newcastle, the Gateshead one was abandoned, and, as already stated, the place was subsequently occupied by Powell's alms-houses. They are situated, as most of my hearers will be aware, on the east side of the High street, a little above the railway arch.

WHICKHAM.

In the churchyard of Whickham, under the west window of the chancel, are two flat stones, which originally had round their margins the following inscriptions :—‘ Here lyeth the body of George Hodgson, he departed this life the 1st of December 1667.’ ‘ Here lyeth the body of Aibiah Hodgson, Daughter to George Hodgson, she departed the 6th of February 1669.’ The stones are considerably weathered, and the inscriptions much defaced. On the face of the right-hand stone was the following :—‘ These gravestones were removed out of a field at the west end of Whickham, on the 30 day of Nov. 1784 into this church yard, by order of Mr Robert Hodgson of London, druggist, a descendant of the said George Hodgson, and as a memorial that his ancestors were inhabitants of this Parish, and had lands of inheritance therein, as may be seen by the division of lands made in the year 1691 under the name of Luke Hodgson M.D. grandfather of the said Robert Hodgson.’

Such is the account given by Surtees, the historian of Durham. He adds, ‘ These sepulchral memorials of the *Quakers* were, on a cursory view, reported as the monuments of two Knight Templars.’ The will of George Hodgson is not to be found at Durham, but there is an inventory (see Appendix I. p. 207) there of the goods that he died possessed of, which were appraised by George Shafto and Richard Harding, of Whickham, gent., William Lonsdale, of Swalwell, yeoman, and William Cutter, of Newcastle, cooper.

I submitted what scant information I had of the George Hodgson in question to my friend Mr. Richard Welford, and he soon favoured me with most interesting memoranda, which show that George Hodgson, buried at Whickham in 1667, was the great-great-great-great-great grandfather of our late member, Mr. John Hodgson Hinde.

MEMO.—1656, *June 9*.—Francis Wetwary of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper, and George Hodgson, of the same town, assign to Thos. Brignall, of Whickham, gentleman, 4 acres of land in the south field of Whickham, with all coal mines, pits, and seams of coal under the said 4 acres, with liberty to dig, sink, work, and make pits for the getting of coals.—*MS.*

1682-83, *February 23*.—Witness to the will of Oliver Killingworth of Killingworth (a famous nonconformist family), Luke Hodgson with William Cutter.

1705, *June 14*.—Witness to a deed relating to the manor of Killingworth, in which John Hodgson and Mahitabel, his wife, daughter of Thomas and Mehitabel Partis (the Madam Partis of Ambrose Barnes's *Memoirs*), and daughter of Oliver Killingworth were parties—Luke Hodgson.

The particulars give inter-marriages with the Killingworths of Killingworth, and other strong Puritan families, but for the positive connection with the Quakers we only have the historian's statement. The name does not appear in the notes from the records before me, nor is it mentioned amongst the Quakers of Whickham who were cited to Durham in 1673, but in the same year Luke Hodgson, Nicholas Hodgson, and Massiam Hodgson, all of Whickham, were cited to the Durham Court for not paying church cess. The registers of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House have been most kindly searched for me, and they afford no particulars of any Quaker burials at Whickham or Quickham as it was often called, nor do they give any record of the death of George and Aibiah Hodgson. William Cutter who appraised Hodgson's goods was with his wife in July, 1667, at the celebrated conventicle held at the house of Mr. Richard Gilpin, in the 'White Freers,' at 6 o'clock in the morning, when the doors were broken open, and the names taken of all who were present. It was at the house of 'Madam Partis,' a relative of Hodgson's, that Mr. Thomas Bradbury delivered his noted speech. These circumstances and the various marriage relationships lead one to think that the Hodgsons were not Quakers, but belonged to some other body of nonconformists. On the other hand, George Hodgson's great-great-grandson, *John*, who purchased Elswick in 1720, undoubtedly belonged to the Society of Friends, and was interred in their burying ground in Pilgrim street in 1749. Richardson in the *Table Book*, *His.* vol. ii. p. 25, gives an account of the same, and a copy of the family arms.

That a burying ground did exist at Whickham, other than that around the parish church, is beyond a doubt. The first field on the right-hand side of the path that leads from the high end of Whickham to Swalwell, and numbered 670 on the large Ordnance map, is locally known as the 'Graveyard' or 'Kirk Garth field,' and there are those still living in the village who hand down the tradition that it was from this field that the stones were removed to the churchyard in 1784. One native assured me that he remembered seeing other stones in the same field at the early part of the present century.

Upon a recent visit to Whickham I was kindly allowed to search the parish registers, but I could find no mention of the burials of George and Aibiah Hodgson, or any reference to the removal of the stones. A book in the church safe marked 'An ancient award of Common Lands in the Parish of Whickham' gives a full account of the division of the lands in 1691. Luke Hodgson was awarded 77 acres, Henry Hodgson, jun., 43 acres 2 roods 7 poles, and Henry Hodgson, sen., 23 acres, fully verifying the inscription on the stone.

I am informed that the two stones at the church were originally standing upright, but at some 'restoration' were placed in a recumbent position, since which the inscription has become very much defaced.

WEST BOLDON.

Another volume at Somerset House has the following endorsement:—'This book bought by me Robert Linton att Randalls shop Newcastle, in or about the year 1678 w^{ch} cost me four shillings.' From entries therein we have records of burying grounds at Boldon, South Shields, North Shields (high end), and Cullercoats; each of which I shall review in order.

The Boldon ground was in the orchard of Christopher Trew hitt. How it came to be established there the records of the society shall show in their delightfully quaint style. 'Our Meeting at Sunderland was held at ye house of George Humble, at ye beginning, who was a faithful man, and died a Prisoner for his Testimony, in reprovng a persecuting Justice (so-called) namely George Lilburn, who [George Humble] after he died was brought home & buried in his own ground at Sunderland aforesd, where severall oth^r frds children were likewise interred. But in process of time, when frds increased, our burying

place was usually, at West Bowden in ye garden of Christopher Trehwitt, where to omitt naming of them, a great many of our frds were buried, as also from Shields, but it being far from us at Sunderland, and ye waters tedious oftentimes, especially in the winter season, In ye year 1670 the Lord stirred up ye mind of Richard Willson⁴ and W^m Maull, to purchase a more convenient Burying Place, w^{ch} in due time they gott accomplished & bought a parcell of ground, a copyhold Estate, in a place called ye Panfield in ye Parish of Bpps wearmouth.' . . . Then follows a long account of how the enclosure walls were provided, etc., but as Sunderland does not come under consideration I must pass on.

The earliest note that I have of a burial at Boldon is in 1657, when Eleanor Harper, wife of Roger Harper of Sunderland, was interred at 'West Bowden.' Another entry says, 'In Christopher Trehwitt's Orchard at West Bowden.'

I give what particulars I have gathered of the Trehwitt family.

In 1664, 'William Trehwitt of West Bowden had his goods distrained upon for £3 6s. 8d. by a Bailiff for R^o Chapman, priest.'

In the list of recusants for 1686, we find Joseph Trehwitt, George Trehwitt, and his wife.

George evidently married Isabella Walker, according to the rules of the society, as the subjoined entry shows:—'At the meeting at Gateshead 13 day of . . . Month 1675 George Trehwitt, of Bowden, declares y^e 2nd Tyme, his Intentions of 'Taking Isabella Walker, of Monckhesleton, to Wife a certificate Redd from y^e Meeting at Sunderland, to w^{ch} she Belongs, giving their consent, and soe passed wth y^e consent of ffriends Heare.' This marriage is confirmed by records of Boldon which inform us that in September, 1677, George Trehwitt and *his pretended* wife were cited to the court at Durham 'for procuring themselves to be clandestinely married.' (See Appendix III. p. 208.) This being the expression used for all marriages of non-conformists.

Some members of the family were also cited 'for being Quakers,' and 'for not paying clerks wages.'⁵

In 1689, the Boldon family were again harassed for 'Tythes.'

⁴ See Appendix II. p. 208.

⁵ Surtees, vol. 40, p. 218.

1689. 4 m. 'Charles Basier,⁶ of Bowden, in the county of Durham, because he could not get Wool from Joseph Trewitt, for Tythes, sent his men Robert Thompson, and Wm. Johnson, who instead thereof, took away a Lamb, worth four shillings and sixpence.

And in the $\frac{6}{m}$ sent his men aforesaid, who took from the said Jos. Trewhitt, Two Thrieves of Bigg, worth Two Shillings, and one Waine Load of Hay worth 20s. They took more from him, 7 Threaves of Wheat altogether in one Row, and 3 Threave of Oates — Altogether to ye Value of 7s. 6d. in all to the value of Three pounds 12s. & 6d. } 3 12 6

And the same Joseph Trewhitt having Tenn Rigg^s of Bose, The afore s^d 2 Men, took up one halfe Rigg together, and the Impropriator the other half to the Value of 12^s. 6. } 0 12 6

More corne taken from said Joseph Trewhitt by Rob Carnaby Impropriator, the like Quantities as by the Priest, to the said value of four pounds, nine shillings & sixpence. } 4 9 6

Taken from him in all 8 19 0

In 1661 William Trewhitt was taken prisoner at South Shields and for some time confined in Tynemouth castle, but of this I shall give an account when I come to remark upon the burying ground at South Shields.

William Trewhitt died about 1677, his will is dated November 30th of that year, he names himself as William Trewitt of West Boldon, yeoman, and leaves George Trewitt and Thomas Wood his executors, and directs that his property be sold and divided in the following manner :—

Richard Wilson late of Sunderland his Executors ...	30 0
William Humble of East Boldon	10 0
Widdow Hogg of East Boldon	10 0
Widdow Feckell of Newcastle	20 0
Thom Peddison of Hedworth	11 10
Thom Wood of Cleadon	5 0
	86 10

'Ye charges' at his funeral are quoted at £1. Would that funerals were conducted as simply in the present day.

Christopher Trewhitt lived to see quieter times. From the calendar at Durham I find his estate was administered to in 1692, but unfortunately the document is not now to be found.

⁶ Rector of Boldon, 1673-1691.

The name Trewhitt has evidently been long in the county of Durham. By the will of James Dale of Ravensthorpe, June 4th, 1507, there is bequeathed to 'Sir Thomas Trewhit, prior of Hertypoule, a nag.' By the favour of Mr. F. J. Trewhitt of Sunderland I give in the Appendix IV. (p. 208) a copy of a will of Cuthbert Trewhitt of 'Houghton in the Springe,' dated 25th Sept., 1512. He leaves four sons, Robert, John, George, and Christopher, he desires to be buried in Houghton churchyard, and would probably be interred by the celebrated Bernard Gilpin who was rector at that time.

The Vestry Book of the Parish of Houghton-le-Spring has been published by the Surtees Society.⁶ Nearly every name in the will is mentioned in some way in it, and in an account of the letting of the stalls it is remarked, that although the sexes are divided 'Widdow Trewhete' still has her state on the men's side, as a widow might occupy the room of her husband.

Two of the children of Robert Wardell were interred at Boldon in 1661 and 1670 respectively. Wardell was another leading man amongst the Friends, and numerous references are made to him in the records. In 1670 he was instrumental with Rob^t Chipchase and W^m Dawson in building two side walls to the Sunderland burying ground. In 1672 he was cited 'for not comeing to the church' [Wearmouth], and in 1675 with others 'schismaticks and offenders against all order' and 'for keeping open Shoppe on Holydays.'

The last entry that I find at Boldon is in 1670. There is no reference to the Quakers in any way in the Parish Registers at Boldon. I have been quite unable to identify the position of this ground although I have made diligent enquiry. I give a list of all the burials at Boldon that I have note of.

BURIALS AT BOLDON IN CHRISTOPHER TREWHITT'S ORCHARD.

Year.	Day.	Mo.	
1657	4	6	Eleanor Harper Wife of Roger Harper of Sunderland.
1658	3	7	Margaret Jackson of So. Shields Widow.
1660	15	6	Mary Turner D. of Thomas Turner of Gateshead.
1660	21	6	Roger Harper of Sunderland.
1661	29	6	Lancelot Wardell.
1662	20	11	Robert Warham Daughter of William.
1665	3	8	Johanna Linton D. of Robert & Joan Linton of South Shields.

⁶ Vol. 84, *Durham Parish Books*.

Year.	Day.	Mo.	
1665	5	5	Thomas Turner late of Winlaton.
1667			Levi Trewhitt Son of William Trewhitt of West Boldon 9 Months.
1669			George Linton Son of Robert Linton and Joan Linton of South Shields 1 9 3.
1670	18	9	Margery Wardell daughter of Robert Wardell.
1681	17	10	Ellenor Wife of George Carr of So. Shields.
1682	14	12	George Carr Husband of Ellenor Carr of South Shields.

SOUTH SHIELDS.

The next ground that the register under consideration makes mention of is that of South Shields. As previously stated this was situated in Robert Linton's garden. It will be remembered that it was Robert Linton who purchased the register book at Randall's for four shillings. Two of his children (one in 1665 and another in 1669) were buried at Boldon, so that it seems hardly likely that the Shields ground was opened until after the latter date. The first interment that I can record is 1673 when 'Mary Fearon daughter of Thomas Fearon of South Shields was buried in Robert Linton's Garden.' The date of the last use of the ground was in 1697.

Linton was evidently a prominent member of the society. From Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers* we get a most interesting account of how a meeting at Linton's house was surprised, and all persons present taken prisoners. I give the story in Besse's words: 'Anno 1661. On the 10th of the month called August, John Blakeling of Drawell near Sedberg in Yorkshire, Yeoman, Thomas Jackson, Robert Fowler, of Burlington, Samuel Nelhest of Whitby in Yorkshire, mariner, John Stockley, Thomas Allison, William Hurt, John Dove, and William Dove of Whitby, Yorkshire, yeomen [which undoubtedly should be Whitley, Northumberland], Mary Dove, jun., of the same, spinster, William Trewithwaite of Bowden, Robert Linton, Thomas Chandler, Thomas Merriman, Lancelot Wardell, merchant, Thomas Smith, labourer, Richard Wilson & Margaret his wife, George Carr, salt merchant, Sarah Knowles, Dorothy Dawson, Joane Sanderson, spinster, William Maud, merchant, George Linton, John Harrison, all of Sunderland or Shields, Susannah Truthwaite, spinster, and Laurence Haslem of Whitby in Yorkshire [should be Whitley, Northumberland] mariner, were taken at a meeting at Robert Linton's at South Shields by Major Graham the deputy governor of Tinmouth

Castle and cast into nasty Holes there, where they lay a full month and then he turned them out, having so far as appeared to them neither Order, Authority, or Warrant, for any Part of his Proceedings.

I fear that George Linton suffered from the imprisonment as he only lived a few months after his release, when his body was stolen by the soldiers, but this I shall give an account of at another time.

Robert Linton appears to have been in an extensive way of business, and amongst other things was proprietor of several salt pans.

One mission on which Linton was engaged will show the care the society took that their members should only marry 'Friends.' '1678, 10 day 7 month. Friends also agreed y^t Robert Linton, Anthony Wind (interred the following year in the ground under consideration), Jno. Harrison, John Linton, & Bridget Pinder, goe as soon as possible may be, and speak wt^h Jane Michell touching Intentions to marry one of y^e world, & as we ar Informed ar already cald in y^e steeplehouse & to bring an acct thereof to y^e next monthly meetinge.'

From the register of marriages I find that Robert Linton married Jane Parrott. Amongst the names of the witnesses who signed the register are William and John Dove of Whitley.

The Rev. C. E. Adamson has favoured me with the following extracts from the Westoe Court Rolls:—

'1671. It^m R^o. Linton that he repare & amend the way down the Banks toward the dam lying right above the ground hee now enjoys before the first of february they lay a paine of 10 lb. 10 s. 00 d.

It^m they p'sent . . . together with Robert Lyntons servants for throwing their ashes into the street. . . .'

Recusants in 1682. 'Robert Linton South Shields, Yeoman. Jane his wife. Sarah Linton, Spinster.'

Richardson's Terrier of Survey made 1682. MS. made by Mr. Andrew Stoddart.

'In 1667 the Lay Farm was separated from the other four, and belonged to Lewis Frost, Ra. Milbourne, Mich^l. Coatsworth, and Rob^t. Lynton.'

This 'Lay Farm' was afterwards subdivided, and in 1768 belonged to Rob. Green, Mrs. Shrive, Rev. Mr. Radley, and possibly others (62 acres).

It seems to have been the fringe of Westoe township, which included much of what is now called High Shields.

Court Rolls of Westoe contain these names, thus :—

1668-9-70.	1671-3.	1675.
Lewis Frost	Lewis frost	Lewis frost
Milburn	Exor Ra Milburne	Henry Wolfe
Linton	Ry Lynton	Ro Linton
Coatsworth	. . . . .	. . . . .
	Mich Coatsworth	Mich Coatesworth

A short time ago the Rev. C. E. Adamson brought to our notice⁷ a very interesting stone now in an outhouse of the residence of the late Robert Ingham, esq., at Westoe. The stone, it was stated, had been removed from the neighbourhood of Frederick Street, Laygate, South Shields. The stone marked the resting-place of Ralph Milbourne, who died January 14, 1668, of Grace Woolf, who died 16th January, 1702, and of Henry Woolf. 'Grace Wolfe,' named on the stone, wrote a most interesting letter to Ambrose Barnes, the Puritan alderman⁸ of Newcastle.

At that time I was inclined to think that the stone was a relic of the burials in Robert Linton's garden, but subsequent consideration leads more to the belief that Milbourne and Woolf were nonconformists, either Presbyterian or Independent, but not belonging to the Society of Friends. Milbourne was buried in 1668, and had the ground at Linton's been then open a child of the latter would hardly have been buried at West Boldon in 1669.

The earliest entry that I have of any burial at Linton's is in 1673, five years after the date of Milbourne's death. St. Hilda's register says that he was 'buried in his house.' The wills⁹ of Milbourne and Woolfe are at Durham, and from them I find that Grace was the widow of Milbourne, and subsequently married Henry Woolfe.¹⁰ From the wills we are able to get a short pedigree of the family.

⁷ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* vol. v. p. 100.

⁸ *Surtees Soc. Publ.* vol. 50. p. 196.

⁹ For wills see Appendix VI. and VII. pp. 209 and 210.

¹⁰ Henry Woolf's will is dated April 25, 1709. He describes himself as of the Lay Yett, near South Shields, and desires that his body shall be buried at the discretion of his executors.

One daughter of the second marriage became Mrs. Oay, and another Mrs. Linskill (see Appendix V. p. 209).

The signatures of several witnesses are on each will, but I do not find the name of Milbourne, Woolfe, or of any one person referred to in the wills mentioned in the Quaker records before me.

Henry Woolfe and one of his co-tenants [Michael Coatsworth] of the Lay Farm are both named in the will of Henry Hudson of Brunton, November 22, 1700, as 'my worthy friends.' Hudson himself desired to be buried in the Sidgate, Newcastle, which was the 'Quig's' burying ground, the first in Newcastle used for nonconformists. Again, in 1672, when King Charles the II. granted his 'Preaching Licenses, or licenses of indulgence to tender consciences,' in the list for Durham we find, under South Shields, 'The house of Cuthbert Cotesworth in the Westpans near South Shieles Durrham Pr [Presbyterian] Meeting Place.' The Whitburn records show that Cuthbert Coatsworth and his wife were in 1674 cited to Durham 'for not comeing to theire Parish Church,' 'for keeping theire children unbaptised, and she not comeing to be churched after her childe birth.'¹¹ These considerations lead me to think that the stone found by Mr. Adamson was not from the Quaker burying ground in Robert Linton's garden, but that probably as Milbourne and Linton were joint tenants of the Lay farm, they each appropriated some spot of ground for their private burials. The site most probably was about Frederick street. It is stated that when excavations were made for the formation of the street several skeletons were found that could in no way be accounted for.

A cash book belonging to the Society of Friends, now in the custody of Mr. C. J. Spence, has this entry:—'1817 12 mo Cle^r Graveyard in S^h S^o 8s.' Mr. Spence knows of no other burying-place than the one under consideration. It seems most remarkable that if 8s. was paid in 1817 for cleaning the ground there is no one who can identify the site that it occupied. I give a list of those that I have a record of as being buried in Robert Linton's garden between 1673 and 1697.

¹¹ Surtees Soc. Publ. vol. 47, p. 245.

BURIALS AT SOUTH SHIELDS IN ROBERT LINTON'S GARDEN.

Year.	Day.	Mo.	
1673	6	2	Mary Fearon daughter of Thomas Fearon of South Shields was buried in Robert Linton's Garden.
1674	28	10	Martha daughter of Thomas Fearon.
1674	7	9	Margaret Wife of James Smith of South Shields.
1684	1	3	Mary Harrison of Blackwell Co. Durham.
1684			Elizabeth Lisle daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Lisle.
1688	20	10	Anthony Wynd of South Shields.
1695	14	1	Thomas Chandler of South Shields.
1695	6		Timothy Frost son of John and Dorothy Frost.
1697	20	8	Ann Chandler of South Shields.

Robert Linton lived to see more peaceful days for the Quakers, both he and his wife were laid to rest in the Friends' Burial Ground at North Shields 'Upper End,' the former in 1715 and the latter in the following year.

I had been much struck with the fact that in some of the very early Quaker burying grounds many head-stones, with lengthy inscriptions upon them are to be found, while grounds of later date possess very few stones. I made many enquiries but could get no explanation, until a few days ago Mr. C. J. Spence favoured me with the following, which fully explains the matter, and may also account for the entire absence of stones in nearly all the grounds I have been reviewing :—

EXTRACT FROM RULES OF DISCIPLINE, 3rd Edition, 1834.

1717. This meeting being informed that friends in some places have gone into the vain custom of erecting monuments over the dead bodies of friends, by stones, inscriptions, etc., it is therefore the advice of this meeting, that all such monuments should be removed, as much as may be with discretion and expediency : and that none be any where made or set up, near or over, the dead bodies of friends or others, in friends burying places for time to come.

In 1766 another resolution was passed :—

This meeting being informed that since the advice formerly issued, in order to excite friends to a proper regard to our testimony against grave stones, divers having accordingly been removed, and being desirous that the revival of this concern may be effectual, we earnestly recommend the removal of them may be general.

This rule was rescinded in 1850, when a plain stone was allowed with name, age, and date, under direction of the monthly meeting :—

So that in each particular burial Ground such an entire uniformity may be preserved in respect of the material, size, and form of the stones as well as the mode of placing them, as may effectually guard against any distinction being made in that place between the rich and the poor.

One other extract from the records shows the desire for simplicity at funerals :—

Gateshead ye 8th day of ye $\frac{9}{m}$ 1675. At ye saide meeting friends had a discourse touching a black cloth upon ye coffin and desired consideracon further had about it till next monthly meetinge.

At ye monthly meeting at Gatesid the 13 Day of $\frac{10}{m}$ 1675 ffriends have generally given theire Judgment touching Burialls, that whean there is a coffin, there's noe nissisity of any cloth at all. And y^t the distriabution of wine, And serveinge of ffreinds and people In ye maner of ye world as is a customed, is surperfluos and needles, and not comendable amongest ffreinds.

I fear that during the two hundred years that have elapsed since this resolution was passed 'ye manner of ye world' at funerals has not very much improved.

If my hearers are not weary of the subject I propose at an early opportunity to give an account of the ground at North Shields 'High End' and of the one that used to be at Cullercoats, the existence of which may be fresh in the memory of many present.

APPENDIX.

I.

GEORGE HODGSON, 1667.

A true & perfect inventory of all such goods & chattells as George Hodshon, late of Newcastle-on-Tyne, died, seized of, 17 Decr., 1667.

Itm. One Lease of a cloyrie.

Itm. A Lease of Boldon fflate, Milne Goods at Bowdon fflate, two oxen, etc., etc.

Itm. One Lease of a house in Newcastle, wherein the testator lived.

Itm. One Lease of a Cole Stath from Sir James Clavering.

Itm. One Lease of a Cole Stath from M^r George Shafto.

Itm. The Testator's purse, etc.

Itm. Debts owing to the Testator.

Sum total ... £147 7s. 4d.

George Shafto, }
Richard Harding, } of Whickhm, Gentn.
William Lonsdale, Swalwele Groman.
William Cutter of Newcastle.

II.

' . . . Richardum Wilson . . . , for not coming to the Churoh: 23 Augusti [16]74. Ex^t.' ' . . . Richardum Wilson, sen., . . . for schismaticks, and offending against all order: 10 Dec. [16]75. Ex^t.' ' . . . Gulielmum Maude . . . , for keeping open shoppes on Holydays: 26 Aug. [16]77. Ex^t.'—Surtees Soc. Publ. vol. 47, pp. 246-7.

III.

'OFFICIUM DOMINI contra Gulielmum Trewhit et Doratheam uxorem ejus, Adonellam Cornforth, Georgium Trewhit, Margaretam Trewhit. *Quakers*; Gulielmum Trewhit et Georgium Trewhit, *for not payeing assessments to the Church*: 5 Jan. 1678. Ex^t.' 'Gulielmum Trewhit, Georgium Trewhit, Johannem Robson, Robertum Steel, Richardum Moore, et Robertum Laidler, *for not payeing Clerk's wages*; Thomas Bedson, et Janam Johnson, uxorem ejus pretensam; Georgium Trewhit et uxorem ejus pretensam, *for procureing themselves to be clandestinely married*: Sept. 1677. Ex^t.—Surtees Soc. Publ. vol. 47, p. 218.

IV.

Durham Probate Court.

In the name of god Amen, the 25th day of September, in the yeare of our lord god 1582: I Cuthbart Trewghit of Howghton in the Springe, seake and euill at ease in my bodey by the visitation of allmightie god, but by his grace and mercye in good and perfect remembrance makethe my last will and testament in maner and forme followinge. ffirste, I committe my soule into the handes of allmightie god, who as I stedfastlye trust and hope will receaue it, for the merites of his deare sonne and oure sauoure Jhesus Christ, who hath redeamed it, withe his most precious bloude: And I will that my bodie be buried in my parrishe churchyarde of the saide Howghton, after I have ended the course of this miserable lyfe. Imprimis, I geaue to the poore, 0 3/4. Also I make Allice Trewghit, my wyfe, Robart Trewghit, John Trewghit, Henrye Trewghit, xpofer Trewghit, And Jane Trewghit my chyldren, executores of this my last will and testament. Also, I make Mr. John Casson, and Raulfe Pendrithe, supervisors of this my last will and testament, desiring theym for the loue of god, and as I trust theym, to see this my last will and testament performed and fulfilled to the true intent and meaninge hereof, Recordes (?) and wytnesses hereof, Are Mr. John Casson, Robart Rueter (?) John Browne, Roger Amond, And Anthonye Chiltoune.

The Inventorye of all the goodes and cattelles, wch weare the goods and cattels of Cuthbart Trewghit of Howghtone in the Springe, of late deceased, pryced by these men, John Browne, John Chilton, Henrye Clerksone and Robart Rueter (?) the 26th day of februarye. An'o. dni: 1582.

Imprimis, fowre kye (?)	...	...	...	5 ^{li}	v ^{li}
Itm One mare, & twa stagges (?)	...	...	...	3 ^{li} 13 ^s 4 ^d	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Itm 22 ^v sheape	...	...	...	4 ^{li}	iiij ^{li}
Itm fower swyne	...	...	...	...	xviii ^s
Itm fowre bee hyves	...	...	...	...	xvi ^s
Itm wheate in the stackgarthe	...	...	...	...	iiij ^{li}
Itm otes in the barne	...	...	...	...	xxx ^s
Itm wheate sowen upon the grounde	...	...	...	...	iiij ^{li} vi ^s viiii ^d
Itm hay in the barne	...	...	...	...	xvi ^s
Itm sowen bourdes (?) & all wood geare	...	...	...	...	xxvi ^s
Itm Ambryes, cawels (?), arkes (?), chystes, tables, formes, and chayres	...	...	...	...	iiij ^{li}
Itm powder vessell, brasse pottes And other vessell	...	...	...	...	iiij ^{li} viii ^s viiii ^d
Itm howshoulde stuffe in the chamber	...	...	...	...	xxxiii ^s iiiii ^d

Itm	fowre	threave	of	hempe	&	pulleyne	...	...	...	iii ^a
Itm	one	Iron	chymney,	all	his	worke	geare	And	theyre	
		appurtenances	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xl ^a
		Some	...	...	...	xxxiii ^{ll}	xii ^a			
		Debtes owinge to the sayde Cuthbart.								
Xpofe	haal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	iii ^a
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(?) viii ^a
		Some	...	...	...	xi ^a —xxxv ^{ll}	iii ^a			
		Debtes to be taken out of the some aboue.								
To	Mr.	S'riffe	(?)	Bellassis	...	...	...	...	...	iii ^a iii ^d
To	Nycolas	Pounder	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ii ^a viii ^d
To	Robart	Ironsyde	younger	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiii ^a
Itm	for	reparacons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxxiii ^a iiiii ^d
Itm	for	wheate	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxxvi ^a
Itm	for	clensing	of	the	howse	...	...	...	...	xxxv ^a iiiii ^d
		Some	...	...	...	v ^{ll}	xiiii ^a	vii ^d		
		Some	tot	...	...	xxix ^{ll}	viii ^a	v ^d		

V.

Mr. H. A. Adamson informs me that the Linskills of North Shields originally came from Whitby. The 7th vol. of the North Riding Record Society states that at the Quarter Sessions held in 1677 William Joseph and Reuben Linskill of Whitby (all Quakers) made affirmation of loyalty to their sovereign, but claimed exemption from the penalties imposed on Roman Catholics. The Tynemouth Lodge estate and other property at North Shields properly came into the possession of the Linskill family by the marriage of William Linskill of Whitby with the daughter of Anthony Pearson in 1754.

VI.

Durham Probate Court.

RALPH MILBOURNE, 1668.

I, Ralph Milburn of South Shields Westoe Salt pans in the County P. of Durham, etc., etc.

Imp. I give & bequeath unto my Wife Grace (my debts being first paid out of the whole) that p'cell of Ground in the Lay called by the name of the Bordwell Close wth the new house thereon erected and all appur^t thereunto belonging, being one fourth part of a farme lyeing in the township of Westoe w^{ch} I bought of Thomas Burdon.

Itm. I also give & bequeath unto my wife Grace one full third part of all my other estate real & personal.

Itm. I also give & bequeath unto my son Joshua another full third part of all my estate.

Itm. I also give & bequeath unto my two youngest sons John & Edward the other third part of my whole estate to be equally divided between them.

Itm. I do hereby constitute & ordain my wife Grace Sole Extri^x of this my last Will & Testament in witness whereof I have hereto set my hand this twelfth day of Jany in the twentieth year of the Reign of King Charles the Second Anno Dni, 1668.

Ra. Milbourn,

Signed in the presence of—

Lewis frost,
 Mich Colesworth,
 Thomas Airey,
 Milburn,
 Cuth Colesworth.

Proved Feb. 6, 1668.

Long inventory of Stock at Salt pans. Shares in sundry vessels (nine)
 proved at £640 19s. 8d.

VII.

Dusham Probate Court.

I, HENRY WOOLFE of Lay Yett, near South Shields My body to
 be buried at the discretion of my Exors. . . .

To my Son in Law John Cay & Grace his wife my daughter

To my Son in Law Robert Linskill & Rubina his wife my daughter

& shall suffer Henry Linskill & John Linskill sons of the s^d Rob^t & Rubina
 . . . to John Linskill, Alice Linskill daughter of the said Robert Linskill
 . . . Grandson Robert Cay.

Robert Cay Messuage & five salt pans held from Dean and Chapter.
 Robert Cay twentieth part of Elswick Colliery . . . Farm in Harton lately
 bought of Thomas Watson.

I give & b. to each of my son in law Joshua Milbourne's five children
 Hannah, William, John, Grace & Jane Milbourne £5.

Dorothy Milbourne another daughter of the said Joshua Milbourne share of
 Ship Love of which her said father is now master. Henry, John & A. Linskill to
 be put to some honest trade.

Dated April 25th, 1709.

Proved 1710.

Witness—

Samuel Doneson,
 Hannah Greenwich,
 Wm. Rutter.

Executors, John Cay & Grace his wife.

XIV.—THE HANSEATIC CONFEDERATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH FACTORIES AND TRADING CONNECTION WITH NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

BY ROBERT COLTMAN CLEPHAN.

[Read on the 28th December, 1892, and 22nd February, 1893.]

PART I.—GENERAL SKETCH.

It is impossible to deal intelligibly with the Hansa factories in England without an introductory sketch of the history, aims, and government of the League in general. The outline to-night must necessarily be brief. The subject is so interesting and so pregnant with vast issues bearing on the history and trading policy of medieval northern Europe, that it is a matter for astonishment that historians have too often rather shrunk from grappling with its subtle and somewhat obscure ramifications. Dynasties and wars form more concrete subjects for the historian, but trading aspirations have given the keynote and provided the sinews of war to many a scheme of empire, thus pulling the wires of history, so to speak, to an extent not always recognised.

The German and Lombard towns laid the foundation for future corporate greatness by strenuous efforts made to lighten the oppression of the feudal system, which existed nowhere more conspicuously than in medieval Germany. Cities organised themselves against aggression, and associated themselves together with others for mutual protection against the injustice and exactions of a rapacious nobility. The feudal lords, instead of protecting the third estate, harassed and oppressed it. Little by little the towns began to organise their resources with a view of at least mitigating the grievous disabilities under which they groaned. They contended for safety of person and goods against freebooters; the clearance of robbers from the high seas and highways; right to own land; the substitution of regular tribunals instead of the barbarous trial by combat; or the test of hot iron, the

so-called 'judgment of God';¹ an equitable regulation of dues and taxes; authorised weighing of goods; machinery for the enforcement of debts; municipal government; and many other reforms which we should now consider absolutely necessary for the most elementary condition of society. At times buying the protection of their liege lords, or setting one baron or princeling against another; by slow degrees they achieved power, with freedom to organise their community, and pursue their commerce unfettered and unmolested. From the reign of the great Frederick Barbarossa, the so-styled holy Roman emperors were constantly engaged in wars in Italy and elsewhere, leaving Germany a perfect cockpit of faction. The cities, being frequently called upon for levies of men and money, gradually exacted privileges and monopolies in return, which, by and by, resulted in opulence, independence, and power, their alliance being eagerly sought after by powerful princes. Associated together they became irresistible, their citizens enjoying even wider immunities abroad than under their own rulers, and at length were a power to be reckoned with by the great states of Europe. Many of them became free cities of the empire, with most of the attributes of independent states. Eventually some eighty cities banded themselves together, forming a league powerful enough to dispose over fleets and armies, dethrone and set up kings; and to dictate their conditions more or less to all the northern sovereigns.

The political condition of northern Europe, and especially that of Scandinavia in the middle ages afforded this association, so remarkable for diplomatic astuteness, opportunities for pushing its protectionist and exclusive trading policy, which it used to the utmost, but which eventually rendered it intolerable.

ORIGIN, MEANING, AND APPLICATION OF THE TERM HANSE OR HANSA.

The word Hansa or Hanse was in use in north-western Europe, particularly in England, from a very early period. It invariably indicated a merchants' guild or association.

The first mention I can find of the word in the middle ages occurs as early as 799, when the merchants' guild of Regensburg, in South

¹ Carry a bar of red-hot iron, or walk over a red-hot ploughshare.

Germany, is styled 'Hanse.' It is very rarely met with in old Teutonic records, but frequently crops up, after Domesday Book, in early English history; and it was the use of the word in England that probably suggested its adoption by the early confederacies trading with the British Isles, and subsequently by the Hanseatic Bund. We find the term in an undated charter signed by Archbishop Thurstan (about 1120), granting to the citizens of Beverley, the same privileges as enjoyed by those of York: 'Volo ut burgenses mei de Beverlaco habeant suam hanshus' King John conferred a charter on Dunwich in Norfolk which runs: 'Concessimus etiam eis hansam et gildam mercatoriam' These examples may suffice—there are many others.

The origin of the word would seem to have been low German, probably the middle low German of the old dukedom of Saxony, or what is very similar, Anglo-Saxon, though it occurs in Bishop Ulfilas's Gothic translation of the bible, written about A.D. 350: 'Judas nam Hansa' (Judas took council); and the very early trading relations between the merchants of Cologne, 'homines Imperatoris,' and Wisby on the island of Gothland, might point to a Gothic derivation.

I came across a report from the *Edinburgh Review* dated October, 1877, of a most interesting article entitled 'Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Goths,' on which it is impossible to dwell this evening. The article is unsigned, but is, if I am not much mistaken, from the pen of our learned colleague Dr. Hodgkin.

That the name was not confined to German unions is clearly shown by the fact of the Flemish federation of twenty-four towns associated together for trading purposes in England, styling itself 'The London Hansa,' and curiously enough the 'London Merchant Adventurers' at one time called their association by this very name also.

HISTORIC SUMMARY.

The Hansa Bund sprang out of the early Teutonic trade with England, which dates back to Roman times. The League of the cities of Westphalia, and those of the Rhine generally, with its Friesland and Flemish allies, led by Cologne, was clearly the prototype for the association of Baltic cities, with Lübeck at its head; and eager was the rivalry and competition of the two confederacies until

they merged together in the Hansa, with Lübeck as its acknowledged queen. The Hanseatic Bund was thus clearly a development of the earlier Teutonic unions. The city of Lübeck was engaged in trade with Denmark before the dawn of the thirteenth century, and took part in a campaign against the celebrated Waldemar Seir; and the crushing victory of Bornhoved in 1227 was largely contributed to by the Lübeck contingent. The Danes were also beaten in Livonia and Courland, and their last stronghold, the castle of Reval, taken. The foothold then obtained resulted in the establishment of German factories at Reval, Dorpat, and Riga, but the position was lost again in 1238, when the treaty of that year gave Reval back to Denmark. The German influence soon after regained predominance, and these stations were re-established, by and by to be incorporated in the Bund. The victory of Bornhoved wrung concessions from Denmark for the herring fishery in the Baltic, and the possession of this trade clearly marked out Lübeck for the leadership of the Wendish cities, which union formed the nucleus for the future Hanseatic Confederation. Already at this period the little herring had begun to play an important part in the history of Europe; it was the loadstone that specially attracted the Germans to Baltic waters.

It is impossible within the limits of a short paper to give more than a mere outline of the dynastic history, so to speak, of the League. Anyone wishing to pursue the subject in this direction, would be amply repaid by a perusal of Miss Zimmern's charming book, published in England. For what may be described as the archaeological and commercial sides of the question, I have freely availed myself of the labours of Dr. Lappenberg, and the writers of a series of papers published by a society styling itself 'Verein für Hansische Geschichte,' whose field of operations covered most of the towns and factories, beginning 1870 and extending over the following decade.

The oldest records of the Baltic League are to be found in the laws and compacts of the old Wendish towns of Lübeck, Rostock, and Wismar, dated 1259, 'Lübische Recht' (Lübeck laws) they are called; they are written in Latin, but a German version dated 1240 lying in the town archives of Kiel, points to a still earlier origin. The co-operation of these towns, together with Gadebusch, Stralsund

Elbing, Kiel, Greifswald, and Hamburg goes still further back, and these common laws may be regarded as the corporate foundation of the Hanseatic League, which, however, did not adopt the designation before the middle of the fourteenth century, 'Hanse der Deutchen,' when the two sections united and the League became formally constituted.

There is an agreement of a slightly earlier date between Hamburg and Lübeck, but this concerns merely the mutual protection of the highway between the two cities.²

The first of these Wendish compacts provides for a common action against pirates and robbers, but there is no special mention of commercial union; while the second, dated 1265, decrees in addition that the necessary expenses be subscribed by all. The first document expressly states that it is compiled for all merchants using the 'Lübische Recht,' 'zum Nutzen aller Kaufleute, die daes Lübische Recht gebrauchen,' runs the later high German translation. Provision is made that all bad citizens be banished their towns, carrying away no property save and except 'apron and knife,' and the cities contract not to harbour the criminals of each other. Bigamy incurs the penalty of death by the axe, but this punishment was soon found too drastic, and but a little later was commuted to a fine of ten marks, later still increased to forty marks; two-thirds to go to the town treasury, remainder to judge or court, and the offender to hand over half his property to the woman he first married.

Shipwrecked goods (Strandgut) and prizes taken in war to be delivered to the Rath of the League, or their agents, for realisation for revenue purposes. Offenders against this article to be mulcted ten marks, or in default, banishment from the allied cities.

Common action is arranged for in cases of disputes between the cities and their liege lords, with the saving clause that only money, not men, be subscribed by the cities not primarily interested.

The punishment of whipping on the seat was inflicted for fraud, bribery, and minor offences. 'Qui falsa et nequam emptione seu

² Disraeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature* ('Feudal Customs'), says: 'There was a time when the German lords reckoned amongst their privileges that of robbing on the highways of their territory; which ended in raising up the famous Hanseatic Union to protect their commerce against rapine and avaricious exactions of toll.'

vendicione promeruerit sedere in sede que dicitur "scupstol" arbitrio consulum et iudicio eorum subjacebit.' Which may be rendered :—' He who by fraudulent and wicked buying and selling shall have deserved to sit in the seat which is called "scupstol," shall be ducked at the discretion of the counsellors and according to their judgment,' so here we have not only the word but the application. The word 'scupstol' recalls the punishment in the old Scottish law 'cukstule,' cucking or tossing the culprit up and down and in and out of dirty water. In the England of the Normans the punishment was expressed by 'tumbrel,' and later by cucking or ducking stool; in France 'tombereau' or 'tomberel,' and in Latin 'tumbrellum.'

We are far too apt to look upon the middle ages as entirely a rude and rough page in the world's history, and to plume ourselves on the supreme refinement of our own age as against all that preceded it; as if the application of steam to the locomotive was more wonderful than the genius that breathed life in the creations of Phidias and Praxiteles. Such generalizations are often hasty and very misleading. The world's history is made up of rising civilizations that culminate and set in luxury and effeminacy; then darkness prevails, when almost all experience is lost or hidden, and the world has to begin again, as it were. So it has gone on for many thousand years, and so it will go on to the end. We owe much to the middle ages, which were progressive, and contained a great deal that was sturdy and good; in them lay the resurrection of art, liberty, and jurisprudence.

The early history of the Wendish League was characterised by singular astuteness in negotiation, both with foreign powers and the feudal lords of its cities, and the political condition and combinations of northern Europe in the middle ages materially assisted its development. It invariably exhausted all the resources of diplomacy before drawing the sword, rightly judging that the baleful influence of war on commerce is but badly compensated for even by a successful appeal to arms. That the Wendish towns, including Hamburg, were more or less acting together for common objects with those of Westphalia, the Netherlands, and Livonia, is shown by an early treaty between the Gothic city of Wisby (Gothland) on the one hand, and the prince of Smolensk and burghers of Lübeck, Soest, Munster, Gröningen, Dortmund, Bremen, and Riga on the other. All the earlier efforts of the

League were concentrated on extending trade and acquiring influence in the Baltic, and the Norwegians, once the terror of the seas, became restricted to their own coasting trade, while the English were ousted from a great part of their oversea traffic.

In 1278 Magnus of Norway granted extensive trading privileges to the Wendish cities and Bremen, and the foundations for the important factory of Bergen were then laid down.

The constant friction and frequent wars among the three divisions of Scandinavia gave the League opportunities for pushing its influence in Baltic waters, which it used to the utmost, and its success became so evident that Waldemar III., surnamed Atterdag (a day will come), determined at all hazards to attempt to check its growing power. The Confederacy sustained its first reverse in the opening campaign, when Waldemar took and sacked the rich city of Wisby in 1361, the then richest and most important emporium of the League; the king thereupon assuming the title of king of the Goths; his success was, however, but transient, as the Lübeck fleet led by the burgermeister Johan Wittenberg, assisted by Henrik of Holstein, soon afterwards completely defeated him before Helsingborg. Wittenberg meeting with a serious reverse after this was recalled and beheaded, a common fate for Hansa leaders whose operations were not crowned with success. Lübeck now made a league with 77 cities, Wendish, Westphalian, Netherlands, and Livonian; the compact being signed at Cologne in 1367. The struggle for supremacy between the cities of Cologne and Lübeck will be touched upon more particularly in the second section of this paper, as it has a special bearing on English trade, but at this crisis they became united in common aims and objects, and the Hanseatic Confederation was now formally constituted. The forces now wielded by the Bund became very formidable, and their fleets took and sacked Copenhagen. The peace of Stralsund signed in 1370 gave the now powerful Confederacy undisputed sway in the Baltic, and a veto on the election to the Danish throne. Following is a list of the Hanse towns in alphabetical order:—

Amsterdam.	Brandenburg.	Buxtehude.	Duisburg.
Anklam.	Brauensberg.	Danzig.	Einbech.
Arnheim.	Braunschweig.	Deventer.	Elbing.
Berlin.	Bremen.	Dordrecht.	Elburg.
Bielefeld.	Breslau.	Dorpat.	Emmerich.
Bolsward.	Briel.	Dortmund.	Frankfurt a. O.

Gardelegen.	Kiel.	Osnabrück.	Stettin.
Gollnow.	Koesfeld.	Osterburg.	Stolpe.
Goslar.	Kolberg.	Paterborn.	Stralsund.
Göttingen.	Köln.	Pernau.	Tangermünde.
Greifswald.	Köln-on-Spree.	Quedlinburg.	Thiel.
Gröningen.	Königsberg.	Reval.	Thorn.
Halberstadt.	Krakau.	Riga.	Uelzen.
Halle.	Kulm.	Roermonde.	Unna.
Hamburg.	Lemgo.	Rostock.	Utrecht.
Hameln.	Lippstadt.	Rügenwalde.	Venlo.
Hamm.	Lübeck.	Salzwedel.	Warburg.
Hannover.	Lüneburg.	Seehausen.	Watershagen.
Harderwyk.	Magdeburg.	Soest.	Wesel.
Hasselt.	Minden.	Soitbomel.	Wisby.
Helmstedt.	Münster.	Stade.	Wismar.
Herford.	Nordheim.	Stargard.	Zierixee.
Hildesheim.	Nymwegen.	Staveren.	Zülphen.
Kampen.	Oschersleben.	Stendal.	Zwolle.

The list covers an immense and almost international area. Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, and even Sweden being all represented. Many have sunk into insignificance and others have disappeared altogether. The roll was ever a changing quantity, as cities joined or left the Confederacy, or were 'unhansed.' Discipline among the towns was strictly maintained, and any contumacious towards the diet were subjected to 'unhansing,' that is ejection from the Bund, and were only readmitted after abject submission and the imposition of a heavy fine. The important city of Bremen, which pressed her views as to leadership, remained unhansed for thirty years, and many cities once recalcitrant were never allowed to rejoin.

The diet, presided over by a syndic, was composed of deputies from each town on the roll, but there was always great reticence displayed to the world outside as to the numbers composing the League. A deputy questioned on this head would answer evasively, 'Those who fight the Hansa's battles.' The meetings were generally held at Lübeck, the deputies being received with great pomp and ceremony; heavy fines were inflicted for non-attendance without good cause assigned, and the decisions of the majority bound the entire Confederacy. The diet was the grand court of appeal for all questions and quarrels; it controlled all diplomatic action, and held in its hands the issues of peace and war. The Hansa had no regular seal of association, but all documents were sealed with the arms of the town in which the diet happened to meet. The usual symbol attached to all Hansa guildhalls was the double eagle with the legend 'quo omnes

utimur in praesenti.' The remaining years of the fourteenth century were characterised by unwearied efforts of the League to consolidate and increase its influence in the Baltic; but in the beginning of the fifteenth the rich and influential towns of the Netherlands withdrew in a body from the Association, allying themselves with king Eric against the Hansa. The Lübeck fleet under Tidemand Steen was defeated in the Sound, and an attempt on Copenhagen in 1428 was unsuccessful. The rival Confederacies continued the struggle for Baltic supremacy until 1445, when a truce between them was arranged.

At the close of the war Bergen became the complete vassal of the Hansa, and its extensive fishing industry a source of great riches to the Association. This northern factory calls for a passing notice, and our tourist countrymen may spend an interesting hour or two in inspecting the last settlement built after the great fire in 1702, soon after which the hated foreigners were driven out by the government under the Danish crown.

BERGEN.

After the times of the Vikings when the coast towns of Norway ceased to be enriched by the spoils of other nations, the Norwegians were thrown back on their own resources, which, with the exception of extensive fisheries, were of a trifling character. Although still in possession of a considerable fleet, they were unable from some cause or other to do their own carrying trade in fish, possibly because of the horror and detestation with which the Norsemen were still regarded on the other side of the North Sea, or more likely by a wave of decadence passing over them.

A competition for this trade ensued between the Wendish towns and England, the former completely ousting our countrymen, by reason of their more powerful fleet. The Germans soon made good a foothold on the land itself at Bergen, which they successfully maintained for centuries, in spite of the bitter opposition of the citizens.

The relentless policy of monopoly nowhere showed itself in darker colours than in the Hansa's arbitrary and oppressive dealings with Norway. The maritime position of Bergen with its unrivalled land-locked harbour and fishing grounds marked it out as a centre for this important trade, and the factory grew rapidly; already in the middle of the fourteenth century it assumed the name of 'Hansiche Kontor.'

The factory consisted of twenty-two strongly built buildings of timber facing the fjord, connected with the water by a gangway for loading and discharging. The frontage was narrow, but warehouses extended far behind. The dwelling portion of each tenement was styled the 'Hof,' and the accommodation for the 'Hansebrüder' was of the rudest description. Each house contained a 'family' of about 120 persons, the majority coming from one particular Hanse town; all men were sworn to celibacy and presided over by a 'Husbonde.' These were divided into classes, such as managers and clerks, svender, bootsjunger, cooks, and servants. At the back was a large yard and garden, in which numerous ferocious dogs were kept. The most curious of the offices rearwards was the 'Schütting,' an old Norwegian fire annex, with a single entrance, windowless beyond a hole in the roof with an adjustable shutter, to let light in and smoke out. This shutter was closed when the fire cleared. During summer the 'family' lived in the 'Hof,' eating and sleeping in their own rooms, but in the winter months they all lived in common in the capacious 'Schütting,' where a table stood for each. The fleet being laid up during the winter months, all business was at a standstill at that season.

A large branch of the import trade was the highly prized pepper, and merchants of the Hansa at Bergen rejoiced in the nickname of 'Pebersvende' (pepper lads), which name still survives in the languages of Scandinavia for a bachelor over forty, the members of the factory being all celibates. I may perhaps suggest to our philologists that the word nickname was necknavn (neken—to tease).

All marriage was forbidden, and no woman permitted within the enclosure; but for all that great laxity of morals prevailed, deepening as the central control became weaker.

A manuscript of the fifteenth century was found in one of the houses giving an account of a carousal held over a barrel of beer by one of the 'families,' the ale being the fine imposed on a clerk for an illegitimate child; the manuscript ends thus 'may our brother soon be found tripping again.'

The factory was really a fortress, entrance by a bridge surmounted by the arms of the station, viz., half the double eagle and a crowned cod's head. The total number of inhabitants varied from two to three thousand, and the community was governed by two Oldermønd,

assisted by a council. They made their own laws, had their own churches, and generally set the Norwegian authorities at defiance.

It was at Bergen where the German of the middle ages and renaissance was seen at his very worst, his otherwise genial though somewhat coarse humour here took the form of tyranny, licentiousness, and brutality of the most odious type. The bestial games and orgies indulged in when candidates from German towns presented themselves for admittance to the 'families' to fill up gaps in the community caused by removal or death, were a scandal even in that rough age. These were subjected to the most dreadful barbarities, smeared with filth and garbage, underwent terrible whippings, which some did not survive; duckings in the sea occasionally ending in drowning; compelled to ascend a chimney under which filth was burnt, so as to cause a nauseous smoke that frequently overcame them. These are but a sample of the horrors that took place, and no wonder that the Hansa continues a term of reproach in Norway down to our own day. The games, harmless enough when instituted, clearly degenerated into a device for the limitation of immigration from the parent towns.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Evidence of a very early connection of our own city with the Hansa, or more properly with the older associations whence it sprang, is not wanting, and it is certain that a considerable trade was carried on soon after the Conquest, and probably much earlier. I have found direct testimony of trading operations on a large scale at the beginning of the fifteenth century, which by implication may be set much further back. A despatch preserved in the archives of Stralsund, dated 5th September, 1401, from the mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,³ addressed to the Rath of Stralsund, thanks the latter for the agreeable audience given to an ambassador from the former, and promises a like favourable reception to the Stralsund ships and merchandize to the Tyne. A promise is given by the magistrate to convey the sense of these negotiations to king Henry IV.

I have ventured to give the document *in extenso* as having a local application. It runs as follows:—

³ Sykes states that Sir Peter Scott was the first chief magistrate of Newcastle, having the title of mayor in 1251, but there was a mayor in 1243. See *Arch. Aol.* iii. 125, N.S.

‘Reuerendis et discretis viris Consulibus et Burgimagistris Ciuitatis Stralesundensis, Mator, Vicecomes et Communitas ville Noui Castri super Tynam in Anglia salutem cum reuerencia pariter et honore. Scire dignetur vestra discrecio, veneranda nos vestras literas honorabiles per manus Johannis Sterneke, nostri burgensis, nuper recepiisse, cui vestram beneuolenciam ac multiplices grates nostre dileccionis intuitu prout nobis retulit, amicabilem intimastis; eundemque Johannem in suis agendis efficacius pertractando, vnde vobis ex toto nostri cordis desiderio intime regraciamur cum affectu. Et quantum ad grauamina, prout in dictis literis vestris continetur, vestratibus illata, aut quod aliqua discensio inter vos et aliquem nostrorum esset inita, seu orta, multipliciter condolemus. Insuper quoad literam vestram excellentissimo principi et domino nostro Regi Anglie et Francie directam, ipsam eidem Serenissimo principi domino nostro Regi festinatione qua commode poterimus, secundum formam copie litere nobis transmissa presentabimus cum affectu. Scientes pro firmo, quod cum et quando placuerit aliquibus vestrorum partes et villam nostram cum vestris nauibus seu mercibus visitare, quantum in nobis est et secundum totum nostrum posse, digne et amicabilem recipiantur, que consilia mercatoribus nostris apud vos fieri semper cupimus et speramus. Vestram prosperitatem, prout nostram, perpetuam conseruet altissimus gloriose Virginis intemerate filius per tempora longius duratura. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, nostro sub sigillo consignatas. Datum apud dictam villam nostram Noui Castri super Tynam: quinto die mensis Septembris, Anno Dni: Millesimo quadringentesimo primo.’

We find mention of the trade of Newcastle with the Hansa, towards the end of the same century, in a memorandum by a certain priest Clement Armstrong, he says:—

‘These merchants bring to England pitch, tar, wood for quarterstaves, wax and pork from the north; wine from Spain; alum from Italy; madder, silk, and many other articles from Flanders; and to buy cloth bring with them gold and silver in bars, whence the name (E) sterling money comes. England is stuffed and pestered’ with foreign goods.

He sermonizes on the good old times before England determined to dominate the channel. Then comes the following remarkable passage:—‘There were towns besides London that had steelyards, viz., Hull, York, Newcastle, Boston, and Lynn.’ There were undoubtedly factories or steelyards at both Boston and Lynn, and I shall give some account of them in Part 2, but I have not found any evidence in corroboration of this statement as to York, Hull, and Newcastle. The term steelyard implies a residential German settlement, and I am of opinion there were never more than depôts at these three towns. Investigation among local or imperial records should define what the position of the Germans here really was, but I have not yet been able

‘Pestered (pest—black death).

to find anything more bearing on the question. In 1448 Copenhagen became the capital of Denmark, and the almost always nominal union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms came to an end.

It was king Eric who first instituted the Sound dues, so fiercely contested by the Wendish cities.

The renaissance had now succeeded the middle ages, and Martin Luther was preaching his propaganda, soon to exercise such a disintegrating influence on the fortunes of the Hansa.

Norway had become a Danish province when Christian II. ascended the throne in 1513. He invaded and again subdued Sweden, for the last time to be united to the Danish monarchy. The Hansa, true to its traditional policy of preventing the realisation of a strong and united Scandinavia, determined at all hazards to break the union which always aimed at its exclusion from the Baltic, and declared war against the king. In the campaign that ensued Christian was completely defeated, losing both his liberty and throne. The Hansa then placed Gustav Wasa on the Swedish throne, and Frederik of Slesvig Holstein on that of Denmark, and for a time the Bund enjoyed vast privileges in Scandinavia, but even the kingmakers were never quite able to close the Sound against the Frieslanders, their most formidable rivals in the Baltic, though its most strenuous efforts were directed to that end.

The great and lucrative trade enjoyed by the League at this epoch, with a well equipped trading fleet, quickly and easily convertible into powerful squadrons for war, resulted in a great accumulation of wealth, which, coupled with an unrivalled diplomacy and successful wars, had made it the arbiter of Northern Europe, and secured it the almost entire monopoly of the Baltic trade. Its factories extended to Norway and Russia on the one side, and England and Lisbon on the other, with depôts at Venice and many other important centres; the merchants were like great princes in the wool, cloth, tallow, wax, salt, hides, timber, wine, and beer trades, besides spices, to say nothing of herrings and stockfish, which in these fast fading catholic days continued to swell the sails of the mighty confederacy. The other maritime nations could barely keep the seas, and became restricted mostly to their own coasting traffic, but times were at hand which were soon to have a disastrous influence on the further progress of the League, which never could realise that competitive power and influence was fast accumulating in other directions.

In 1538 the democratic burgomaster of Lübeck, Jurgen Wullenwewer, made a supreme effort to obtain possession of the entrance to the Sound, the key to the Baltic. The city of Lübeck, as representing the Bund, under the leadership of this ambitious man, again attacked Denmark. The allied Scandinavian kingdoms assembled their forces to oppose him, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hansa fleets before Assens, which sadly weakened her power and prestige, and becoming a potent factor towards her downfall. Wullenwewer paid for his failure with his life as he suffered at the hands of the executioner; the lessons of his career are not the least interesting pages of the history of this hitherto successful Confederacy. The key to the prosperity of the League lay as ever in the Baltic trade, which now began rapidly to decline, owing to these frequent wars, the rising power of the Frieslanders, and relative political consequence and wealth of other nations. The Reformation began to sow dissension among the cities, and the discovery of America and the ocean route to India told heavily against them, for they made the blunder of using Lisbon as the depôt for the oversea traffic, instead of tracking the trade to its source. Dissensions in the League itself, brought about by divided interests, new political combinations, and religious bigotry, rapidly weakened its power and prestige. The loss of Livonia and Bornholm, the final closing of the station of Novgorod, and gradual loosening of discipline and co-operation, all combined for the now inevitable disruption of the Bund. The Hansa still possessed influence enough to keep the Sound closed against the English, but even here the fates were against her, as the discovery of the Arctic route to Russia by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553, gave our countrymen direct access to Russia, and the formation of a company styled 'The London and Moscovy Merchant Adventurers' was another severe blow to the League.

In 1562 the Swedes took forty ships of the League in the waters of Narwa. To avenge this outrage the Hansa once more drew the sword and this time, during the seven years' war, not without a flickering amount of success, as it succeeded in exacting from Sweden an indemnity of 75,000 Thalers, and a free passage through the Sound, a privilege it was only destined to retain for a single year. In 1577 the operations of the League were forbidden in England, and the steelyard temporarily closed in 1598.

The Hansa at length began to realise the weakness of her position ; as these successive blows fell heavily upon her, she now held but weakly together, and but fifty towns remained on the roll, only a very few of which continued to contribute to the general fund ; and from this time the famous Bund, which had played for centuries such a leading part in history, ceased to be the great connecting link between the east and west of Europe.

A letter written by a certain Dyrik Busselborch at Brunswick on the 10th November, 1586, gives a contemporary glimpse of the condition of the Hansa Bund at that time. Written in the time-honoured Low German of Lübeck, which had become after Latin the diplomatic language of the League, the letter is addressed to the Rath of that city. Following is a short digest :—

‘He sees with sorrow that the Bund is falling to pieces, its trade daily more and more restricted by arbitrary and oppressive duties, rapidly becoming prohibitive. Referring bitterly to a heavy duty recently imposed by Denmark on piece goods, he sorrowfully contrasts the now impotent condition of the League, as compared with its dominant position but a short few years before, when the will of the Hansa was law to Denmark. He sees arrogance and reprisals on every side ; privileges and monopolies enjoyed for centuries, arbitrarily and suddenly curtailed. He refers to the abandonment of trading routes, owing to rancorous opposition from abroad, and to the selfish policy of the cities as pursued towards each other. Then follows a philippic against the blasphemy prevailing, the deplorable religious differences, the rioting, indolence, and luxury —he sees in all this the judgment of God.’

This picture has many parallels in history and vividly portrays the pass the Hansa had now reached. She had sown monopoly and oppression, and the harvest was ready. On the close of the sixteenth century it became impossible to get a quorum for the diet. The thirty years’ war had played havoc with what remained of the once great trade. The *coup de grace* was reached when Christian IV. of Denmark drove the Lübeck fleet into its own river the Trave, and publicly proclaimed that the exceptional privileges so long enjoyed by the League in the Baltic had ceased for ever. On the signing of the peace of Westphalia in 1648 the Hanseatic Confederation ceased to be a corporate body. A portion of the towns continued to act together, but at length only Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen remained to carry down the Hansa legend to our own day.

PART II.

THERE is no chapter in the history of the Hanseatic Confederation so interesting and suggestive as that relating to its English trade and factories, for in England the association had its birth, and there it received its death-blow at the hands of that energetic and enterprising corporation the Merchant Adventurers of London, led at that time by the famous Sir Thomas Gresham. Its fall was brought about by changing times and a commerce developing by such leaps and bounds that the old Hansa monopoly was simply crushed out of existence.

The trading of the Teutonic nations with the British Isles dates from a very early period; indeed, before the closing days of the Roman empire. Tacitus, in the year 97, refers thus to Londinium:—‘Londinium . . . copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre.’¹

Anglo-Saxon England sent missionaries to convert the Germans to Christianity, but these were conveyed in German ships.

The first historic mention of extensive trading between the two nations is to be found in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, wherein is reproduced a letter from the emperor Charlemagne to king Offa of Mercia, guaranteeing safety and justice to English merchants trading in Germany in consideration for reciprocity in this respect by England. Thus in the year 758 a system of reciprocity in trade prevailed, which certainly ceased for the most part soon after the German traders had made good a footing on English soil.

The ravages of the Vikings during the ninth and greater part of the tenth centuries seem to have effaced all record of German trade with England during that period, but that the Easterlings had again secured a preferential position there by 990 is shown by a document of the reign of Ethelred II., in which the Germans are described as ‘homines Imperatoris,’ and the annual tax of two grey handkerchiefs and one brown one, ten pounds of pepper, five pairs of men’s gloves, two casks of vinegar, and one barrel of oysters, shows clearly that they at this time formed a corporate body on English soil. This acknowledgment was made at Christmas, and it is therefore certain that they were not merely bringing and taking away goods in ships, but living in England all the year round, as oversea shipping was invariably laid up during the winter months.

¹ *Taciti Annal.* 1, xiv. 33.

During Canute's reign there was a lively trade and an intimate relation between the peoples; his daughter Gunhilda was married to a son of Conrad II. Early in the eleventh century we again find mention of the 'Emperor's people' in the judicial records of London, and a petition was addressed by the merchants of Tiel and Waal to the emperor Heinrich II. in 1018 (Canute) praying him to command the Frieslanders to cease from placing hindrances in the way of their trading with England. The designation 'Leute des Kaisers' was at this early period applied generally to all the traders of the lower Rhine, and Maas, Dordrecht and purely Dutch towns, Cologne, and towns in the old Duchy of Saxony, and on the Elbe, constituting the larger portion of the Hansa's field of operations in later times; but at this period there is no mention of Lübeck and the Wendish towns proper. Regulations regarding tolls show that inland cities such as Brunswick, Magdeburg, and towns of the Harz district, largely participated in the trade of the period with the British Isles.

Cologne was the queen of this early Confederacy, and the trade in the then so highly prized Rhine wine was very considerable. She was the dominant factor of the League and visible head at the Gildehalle.

The career of the Hansa and kindred associations from start to finish was always characterised by jealousies and dissensions among the roll of cities forming its membership, which, as set forth in Part I, was always an uncertain quantity. It is very remarkable that a magnet so potent as English trade should have been able for centuries to keep this mass of conflicting interests and ambitions from falling asunder.

In monkish chronicles frequent mention is made of the Easterlings. William of Malmesbury states that London and York enjoyed a considerable trade with the empire in the reign of Henry I. A connected account of the trading relations of Germany with England begins with the reign of Henry II. (1154), and a letter from this monarch to the emperor Frederick promises protection to the Cologne house at London, its inhabitants, and goods. 'Henricus Dei gracia rex Anglie, etc., etc. . . . Precipio vobis, quod custodiatis et manuteneatis et protegatis homines et ciues Colonienses, sicut homines meos et amicos et omnes res et mercaturas suas et possessiones ita quod neque de "domo sua London." . . . ' It may thus be inferred

that the Germans had a settlement in London, certainly as far back as Anglo-Saxon days, and the tax paid in kind in the days of Ethelred was doubtless an acknowledgment or rent for land occupied as a factory; and distinct reference is made in the letter of Henry II. to 'domo sua London.' In 1175, the king takes the house of the Easterlings under his protection, 'as if they were my own people.'

Richard Cœur de Lion in passing through Cologne, homeward bound from his captivity in Austria, after first remitting all charges in kind, settled the annual tribute for 'de Gildhalle sua London' in money, viz., two shillings English currency. Richard borrowed large sums from the Easterlings for the Crusades, granting in return extensive privileges and monopolies. Besides assisting the king with loans, the League was useful to the nation in bringing over large quantities of corn, then much needed in England by reason of an extensive failure of the crop in 1260. It was in this year when on leaving England for the second time, the king gave instructions to his brother Henry, running thus:—'I give my protection to the merchants of the German Empire, who possess the house in London usually called "the Gildhalle of the Germans," and guarantee to them all the privileges they have ever enjoyed in my kingdom.'

In 1269, owing to continuous complaints of bad weight, the beam and scales of the Easterlings were forcibly taken from them, and publicly burnt at Eastcheap, after which all their goods were required to be weighed on the public steelyard.

The Easterlings, unlike the Lombards, were always more a trading than a banking association; still as far as the English crown was concerned they bought and successfully maintained their extraordinary privileges, which for centuries weighed so heavily on English trade, by making themselves useful, nay indispensable, to the kings of England as bankers, and it was this fact alone that enabled them to resist the constant efforts of the English mercantile class to oust them from their favoured possession of English trade.

There is no record when or from whom the piece of land was acquired on which the first 'Gildehalle Teutonicorum' stood, but a memorandum in the archives of Cologne, dated 1260, states that William son of William Reyners, sold to Arnold (Thedman's son)

Altermann of the Germans, for two marks² Easterling, the yearly rent (interest of two shillings), a piece of ground east of the Gildehalla. This mention of Arnold reveals the interesting fact that at that time an English merchant, though of German origin, held the office of alderman of the Easterlings. In 1344, we find the lord mayor of London, John Hammond, figuring in this capacity, but the office must have been merely honorary in such a case as this. Fifteen golden nobles, inside a pair of gloves, could be merely an acknowledgment to a friend at court. Dr. Lappenberg gives a list of the 'Altermanner,' from which it would appear that the said John Hammond held the office as above stated, after him coming the senior alderman of the City of London, Sir William Walworth. Then follows a long list of German names, from which it is obvious that the system in vogue, for a short time, of having highly placed members of the City of London holding the office, had not answered, most likely owing to the growing impatience of the citizens to the Hansa monopolies; and the factory clearly reverted to officials of its own order and nationality. Presents were freely distributed among the corporation and government officials—the lord mayor receiving yearly a cask of the finest Rhine wine.

There was a movement among the German merchants during the latter half of the thirteenth century to cease lodging with London citizens, and to reside within the factory enclosure; doubtless for the better security of person and goods, and from this time no chance of acquiring any land or buildings east of Cosins lane was allowed to slip.

King John was well disposed towards the Easterlings, who supplied his pressing needs for money. In his reign we find trading privileges first accorded to Bremen, and reference made to Hamburg (Hamborch). Frequent mention is made of Sandwich, Winchester, Yarmouth, Southampton, Winchelsea, and Lynn, as trading centres of the Germans.

We hear nothing of Lübeck before the reign of the succeeding monarch (Henry III.) in 1226, but this city is destined soon to supplant its archiepiscopal rival as leader of the League, now rapidly developing into the Hanseatic Confederation of history. The glimpse we get of the social life of the times of the successors of the Conqueror

² An old English mark was of the value of two-thirds of a pound sterling.

and Plantagenets, shows how highly prized by the ruling class were the wines of the Rhine, the beverage of the knights and nobles, just as much as mead was that of the peasantry. One can thus well understand how Cologne, as the chief emporium of this trade, was so long able to dominate the councils of the League, in spite of her distance from the seaboard. After the signing of 'Magna Charta,' when the peasantry began to be a more important factor in the state, and some signs of a middle class were becoming apparent, the trade in dried and salted fish took very large dimensions in our islands, particularly as it formed the staple food for the armies of England abroad. Lübeck as the centre of this industry, with a large fleet of vessels at her command, quickly and easily convertible into formidable squadrons for war, began to press hard for the leadership, which did not so much imply prestige as a policy. Fierce became the rivalry between the two cities in the thirteenth century. Petitions to the emperor for equal rights became frequent, and at length Frederick III. sharply reprimanded Cologne, and compelled her to extend equal rights in England to the Wendish towns and Wisby in Gothland. These commands were seconded by the English themselves, in the interest of the ever growing importance of the trade in fish, and as early as 1260 Lübeck began to take the lead among the cities. In 1266 Lübeck and Hamburg were formally invested by the English crown with the same rights and privileges as those so long enjoyed by the League under the leadership of Cologne, against an annual acknowledgment of five shillings each. It will be seen that the English crown was ever careful to fix a limit of time to the immunities enjoyed by the Easterlings; and merely nominal acknowledgments were exacted, so that a revocation was possible almost at any time, but as we know all too well in our own day, vested interests have a faculty of growing, and are not so easily set aside as created, limits of time notwithstanding.

During the remainder of the century the relations between the League and England were in the main peaceable and progressive, though chequered by obstacles and difficulties placed in the way of the trade of Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Berwick, with Bergen and Iceland. There was also a serious dispute with the English crown regarding the reparation of the Bishopsgate,

which gate had been, strange to say, for centuries in the watch and ward of the Easterlings. How it ever came about that a colony of foreigners should have been entrusted with the keeping of one of the gates of London, and responsible for its armanent and repair, is unknown and most remarkable; the fact alone goes far to show what an exceptional position the Easterlings held in England, and how little is really known of their earlier history. It also goes to show how deeply rooted the connection was, and in some measure explains the invincible tenacity with which the Hansa held to privileges that in the face of it seemed unreasonable and excessive. In 1282, the gateway had got into a dilapidated condition, and, after much negotiation, the Easterlings paid 240 marks sterling towards its repair, undertaking to bear a third of the cost of manning it, and to provide one-third of the necessary force. All further wall dues, *Muragium*, to be remitted. In other matters the Easterlings carried their points, greatly owing to the prestige the League enjoyed as the undoubted mistress of the seas, and the development it assured to English trade, by the system of barter that prevailed, whereby English products, such as wool, hemp, hides, and even iron and tin found a ready exchange in wine, fish, tallow, wax, spices, and many other articles now rapidly becoming indispensable to the growing necessities of England. Above all, the factory was conducted in a manner calculated to give little umbrage to the English authorities and a judicious application of presents and bribes in high quarters, and a readiness to meet the views of the crown in the way of loans, all helped at this period to smooth over matters in dispute.

Towards the end of the reign of Edward II., the power of the crown, which had hitherto invariably stood between the Hansa and popular clamour, became deplorably weak. This encouraged the citizens of London to agitate against the privileges enjoyed by the Easterlings, which had not been formally renewed on the king's accession, as was usually the case at the beginning of each reign, and a court of enquiry into the whole question was decided on in January, 1325. The heading of the warrant is interesting. It runs:—
 ‘Placita coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium de termino Sancti Hilarii, anno regni Edwardi, filii regis Edwardi decimo octavo
 G. le Scrop.’

The enquiry was concluded two years afterwards, shortly after the coronation of Edward III., and the crown, having regained its customary control, with vast schemes of aggression in prospect, all privileges were renewed and even extended. The rights of the Easterlings to appoint their own alderman was formally recognised, with the reservation, however, that he must possess property in the City of London. The nomination of this official by the Germans henceforth required confirmation at the hands of the lord mayor and court of aldermen, to whom he was to be presented then and there to make oath that he would govern his constituency in strict accordance with the laws of England, and so as not to impinge on the time-honoured rights and customs of the citizens of London.

King Edward III. showed a disposition to befriend and further the views of the League from the very commencement of his reign, doubtless concluding that this powerful association would be an extremely useful ally in the schemes of conquest he meditated. He soon made use of it as bankers, and quickly demanded or was proffered a loan for military purposes, depositing as security certain jewels of the crown. Being unable to meet his acceptances at maturity, he offered on the 14th November, 1342, the security of a great Flemish financier, Paul de Montefiore, and his associates.

In 1346, the king contracted another loan with the Easterlings, lodging his royal crown as security, which remained deposited at Cologne for three years, being redeemed on February 17, 1349.³ In the year following there must have been another transaction of a similar nature, as Edward lodged with the Germans several gold cups and tankards, besides ornaments adorned with precious stones.

In August, 1347, the Black Prince mortgaged the tin mines of Cornwall to the Easterlings, and the king the produce of the wool tax, *subsidium lanarium* (forty skillings, or about equal to three shillings per sack), for three years, against a loan for the equipment of the armies for Crecy and Poitiers.

The riches of some of the magnates of the Hansa at this period must have been enormous. In 1350, king Edward conferred on one of them (Tideman von Lymburgh) estates in seven counties for services rendered to the crown.

³ *Calendars of the Exchequer*, vol. i. p. 156.

The Hansa fleet was at the king's disposal during the French wars, and the Easterlings were styled 'the allies of the English crown,' and are so mentioned in all treaties with France.

In 1367, Lübeck became the acknowledged queen of the now formally constituted Hanseatic Confederation. This city had risen to great power and influence, not only in the councils of the League, but as the centre of northern banking operations and general communications.

The career of the Bund went on progressing until the Wars of the Roses, when the rivalries of York and Lancaster induced corresponding divisions in the League itself, brought about by conflicting aims and interests, and the desirability of keeping on the winning side as the fortunes of war swayed in either direction, or as continental influence and intrigue were brought to bear on the struggle.

There seems to have been some reciprocity in the case of Stralsund in 1401, as shown in its relations with Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but this was clearly local and exceptional, the rule being for the Germans to take everything and give nothing, or as little as possible in return. In fact, the constant bone of contention, now as ever, between the merchants of London and the Easterlings was that the continental towns would not extend reciprocal treatment to English trade.

During the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. English shipping enjoyed a considerable trade with Danzig, and for a time England was represented by a consul or agent there, as in the case of Stralsund.

In 1400 an ordinance of the Privy Council decreed that the towns of Lübeck and Wismar be requested to send an ambassador to London to answer certain charges made against them by English merchants for insult to person and damage to the goods of English traders. These negotiations would lead one to infer that the English oversea traffic at this time was far from being so insignificant as has been generally supposed, and this renders the Hansa's position in England all the more remarkable. Of a verity were they allies of the crown of England, and it was this favoured position that enabled them to keep their English competitors so long at bay.

There was a continued considerable English trade with Danzig, and in 1432 a petition from the House of Commons was presented to Henry VI. praying that the London factory be made responsible for

all loss and damage sustained through the ill-treatment of English merchants at Danzig. The king, however, refused to interfere in the matter. In 1434 the Council of the Hansa sent as ambassadors to London the burgomasters of Cologne, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Danzig to settle these matters, which were fast becoming burning questions, but the negotiations came to an end in the fatal 'black death' year, 1435. Soon after this the English were much embittered against the Hansa by reason of being shut out from trading with Iceland by Eric of Denmark, a measure which the English properly ascribed to the machinations of the League, then all-powerful with Denmark. Henry VI. threatened to annul the privileges enjoyed in England unless this objectionable edict was revoked. The Hansa at this juncture found, or bought, a friend at court in the person of cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, who had great influence with the king. The cardinal agreed that what the Hansa required was merely the continuance of a time-honoured privilege, while the English demands had simply no warrant at all.

On 22nd March, 1437, a highly-advantageous treaty for the Hansa was signed at London, and countersigned by the king the same year; the English merchants being permitted to trade with Stralsund and Danzig when furnished with free passes by the League. A poem written by John Lydgate⁴ showed how the Hansa formed part and parcel of the civic life of London in the reign of Henry VI. The poet commemorates the rejoicings at the king's coronation in verse, describing how the lord mayor was bravely clad in satin, the sheriffs and aldermen riding on horseback in their scarlet mantles trimmed with fur; then came the citizens in grand array marching 'to mete with the Kyng.'

'And for to remembre of other alyens,
 Fyrst Jeneneyes, thoughe the were straungeris,
 Florentynes and Venycyens,
 And Easterlings, glad in her maneres,
 Conveyed with the sergautes and other officeres,
 Estatly horsed aftyr the maier riding,
 Passid the subbarbis to mete with the Kyng.'

Following are a few of the old statutes and regulations of the Steelyard; the first series of which we have any knowledge dates from 1320 :—

⁴ Lydgate's Minor Poems. Percy Society, p. 4.

The first provides for fine and punishment for leaving straw or other rubbish about the yard. Small fines were payable in wax, which was used for providing 'All Hallows,' the church frequented by the Hansa community, with candles.

In 1348 the fine for libel, fighting with the fists, or using the knife, was £5.

Any German bringing an Englishman into the Steelyard to fight or play at ball, £1.

The gate was locked at 9, and it was forbidden to knock or call out later—penalty, £1.

There were many complicated regulations, as the levying of dues, which are very interesting, but too bulky for treatment here.

Throwing dice in any tavern, £2. One noble to go to the informer.

No merchant shall place any hindrances in the way of his fellow doing business, or make any effort to tempt a customer once in any one warehouse into another. £2.

Samples not allowed to be drawn from bulk and shown secretly to merchants outside the Steelyard.

Small fines below four pfenninge were the perquisite of the alderman.

Etc., etc., etc.

During the Wars of the Roses, the attempt made by the Wendish towns to close the Baltic to the English led to heavy reprisals, and the Cologne section of the League protested violently against the selfish policy pursued by their northern colleagues, which was fast endangering the very existence of the English factory. The English colony at Danzig had been driven away and British trade with Iceland prohibited. This so embittered the Merchant Adventurers that their privateers sought to intercept the fleet of vessels bringing over Princess Marie of Gueldres, the bride of James II. of Scotland. They missed the convoy, but met with and attacked a large fleet of vessels laden with salt and wine, from Lisbon to the Baltic, in spite of the ships being provided with a safe-conduct granted by the English Crown. This act of war or piracy resulted in fierce reprisals, and Lübeck captured an English ship laden with cloth, bringing her into Bergen, selling ship and cargo there. In 1458 the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais and Admiral of the Fleet, attacked twenty-eight Lübeck ships, laden with wine and salt. His flotilla consisted of only twelve ships, but he succeeded in capturing six of the enemies' vessels, and brought them in to Calais. The privileges of the Hansa were nevertheless renewed by Henry VI. and Edward IV., but for all that a state of war prevailed, during which seventy Lübeck ships of an estimated value of £20,000 were taken by the English. These matters at length resulted

in Lübeck on the 1st May, 1460, recalling the Hansa merchants from England, and forbidding the sale of English cloth in any of the cities of the northern Bund. The confusion of these events, both in England and the Hansa cities can only be explained by the civil war in England, and the conflicting interests of the northern and southern branches of the League. The Steelyard was handed over to the merchants of Cologne, the earlier possessors of the factory, who sided with the Red Rose of Lancaster, and a judgment of the privy council was registered against the Bund in favour of the Merchant Adventurers for £13,520 towards the recouplement of their losses at the hands of the Germans. The Hansa fleet then ravaged the English coasts, and captured our ships on the high seas.

Edward had to fly the country on the restoration of Henry VI., but returning with a small armament within six months recovered the throne. Although then at war with the Northern League, for some reason that we cannot quite follow, it assisted Edward's descent on England, by lending him seven ships, the remainder of the squadron being chartered at Walcheren, and paid for by an advance of 50,000 St. Andreas gulden, made by Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Through the mediation of Charles peace was restored between England and the Hansa, by the Treaty of Utrecht, and an Act of Parliament dated 6th October, 1473, confirmed its conclusion. It runs :—

'The Kyng calling vnto his tendre remembrance how that in tymes passed vnto nowe of late the marchaunts & people of the nation of Almayn hauing the howse in London commonly called Gyldhalle Theutonicorum that by Gods grace the warre and hostilitie, that hath been betwixt boothe parties, maye vtterlie cease and be avoided, the oolde freendlihode also betwixt them to be renouelled in such wyse, as it maye abide and endure for ever, by the aduis and assent of the Lordes spiritually and temporallie and the commons in this present parliament assembled '

King Edward not only confirmed all the old privileges, but granted new ones. He bound himself to pay £10,000 solatium, but the amount remained still unpaid in 1486 after Henry VII. had obtained the throne, and it seems in every way probable that the amount was eventually written off as a set-off against some concession or counter-claim.

The Treaty of Utrecht brought about by Charles the Bold of Burgundy was decidedly the culminating point of the glories of the

Hansa in England, and its provisions formed the basis for all future negotiations of the Germans with the English crown ; but the ink was barely dry when fierce disputes between the English merchants and the Steelyard broke out afresh. An English fleet of merchantmen attacked the Hansa settlement in Iceland, and Lord Lomely (Lumley ?) with some ships from Hartlepool despoiled several Lübeck vessels.

The Merchant Adventurers now began to have some influence at court, and they induced the Government to impose a limit on the enjoyment of the Hansa's monopoly in cloth ; but the citizens of London were up in arms for the abolition of all preferential advantages whatever. In March, 1493, a London mob invaded the Steelyard and plundered some of the dwellings and warehouses, but after a hand-to-hand fight the Easterlings, always well armed and organised for such an emergency, drove out the rabble and succeeded in closing the gate. The mob, being reinforced, assailed the gate with clubs and crowbars, when the lord mayor came to the assistance of the foreigners and quelled the tumult, taking eighty of the rioters prisoners and lodging their leader in the Tower.

The sons of the German merchant princes caused much bad blood in London by reason of their luxury and love of dress, vying with the English nobles in this respect, and there exist many regulations on the Steelyard minutes for keeping this competition in check, as highly detrimental to the best interests of the League, in making enemies at court.

At the close of the reign of Henry VII. some very remarkable events happened. Columbus discovered the West Indies, John Cabot landed in America, and Vasco de Gama had doubled the Cape and reached India by sea. These extraordinary discoveries gave an immense impetus to English trade, and the Corporation of Merchant Adventurers became a power in the land with influence enough to press the Steelyard hard, and it became rapidly apparent that the extensive monopolies enjoyed by the Hansa were quite incompatible with the legitimate growth of English trade, and would not be very much longer tolerated by the country, now bounding towards the first place among the nations in adventure and commerce.

The Merchant Adventurers were recognised as a corporate body by the Government in 1505. In 1509 an enquiry was held into the

Hansa's 'title' to the possession of the Steelyards of London, Boston, and Lynn. The warrant for the enquiry begins:—

'Be it hadde in remembrance that a Commission by writte was directed oute of the Kyngs Esceker to the Sheriffs of London in anno XXII Henrici VII, nuper regis Angliæ, to enquere who were the occupiers of the tenements hereafter folowyng, that is to say, one that kyng Richard II gave to Richard Stratford, chapleyn, the VIII yere of his reign, the XXII day of September, called the diehowse, with 11 tenements thereto adioyning etc.'

Henry VIII. and his minister Wolsey were favourable to the Hansa pretensions, and all her privileges were renewed at the beginning of the reign, but the diminished prestige of the League abroad, owing to the reverses of Wullenwewer, began to react on its English relations, and popular clamour against its monopolies grew steadily more pronounced. This ill-feeling and impatience was much accentuated by a proclamation of neutrality in the war with Francis I., when the Hansa reaped a rich harvest by supplying both combatants with munitions of war, a policy so different from that pursued by the Association in its relations with Edward III., when England warred with France.

The old privileges were, however, again renewed on the accession of Edward VI., but it soon afterwards became apparent that the League would not be able to hold its own for long against the rising power and influence of the Merchant Adventurers and general consensus of English opinion. This is not surprising in the face of the fact that the Hansa's export of cloth exceeded that of the English traders by forty times, the latter being handicapped by nearly a like proportion of extra duty and expense.

A manuscript in the British Museum,⁵ being a return of the Hansa's export of cloth, dated 1552, headed—

'Shipped by the Merchauntes of the Stillyard, from the first yeaere of King Edward II. unto Michaels last past, as by the King's recordes of his Grace's exchequer it dothe plainly appeare, as hereafter followith.'

As follows are a few examples:—

The first yeaere of King Edward II. (1307) owt of this realme of England but VI clothes.

The first yeaere of King Henry VI. (1422) the said merchauntes shipped owt of this realme the number of IIII^m IIII^c LXIII. clothes, XXII. yeaeres.

⁵ Cotton Manuscript. Claudius E. VII. Fol. 99.

The first yeare of Edward IV. (1461) VI^m I^o LIX. clothes.

The fifteenth yeare of Henry VII. (1500) XXI^m III^o IIII^{xx} IX. clothes.

The XXVIII. yeare of Henry VIII. (1537) XXXIII^m VI^o IIII^{xx} XIII. clothes, and XI. yeardea.

The XXXVIII. yeare of Henry VIII. and first yeare of Edward VI. (1547) XXIX^m VI^o IIII^{xx} IX. clothes.

The second yeare of Edward VI. XLIII^m V^o IIII^{xx} III clothes.

During the reign of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey ordered all writings concerning the Reformation propoganda to be burnt. A great quantity of these writings from Germany, such as Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica*, *De Castitate*, and Tyndal's English Testament, printed at Antwerp, smuggled into England, hidden in bales of merchandise, were consigned to Steelyard merchants, and, in fact, a lively trade in this forbidden literature was carried on. At length, on January 28th, 1526, Sir Thomas More visited and rummaged the Steelyard. Nothing contraband was discovered, owing, doubtless, to some hint received as to what was in store for them, but the alderman and eight elders were cited before a court of enquiry, regarding which a lively correspondence ensued between the English king and Sigismund I. of Poland.

With Henry VIII. the Hansa's absolute domination of the foreign trade of England came to an end, and the reign of his successor saw her shorn of many privileges and advantages, a pear ripe for the gathering by her young and vigorous rival. Popular clamour grew apace, and in 1551 an English secret society was discovered, the members of which had bound themselves by an oath to attack the Steelyard on the 1st May. The head quarters of the League became alarmed, and at a meeting of the Rath at Lübeck the deputy from Hamburg advised that the valuable plate at London, together with the archives of the Steelyard, should be taken to a place of safety on the Continent.

Sir Thomas Gresham made strong representations to the king that a continuance of the Hansa monopolies would be fatal to the development of English trade, and advised that as no reciprocity was to be obtained, the exports of the League should be confined to her own cities, urging that the rate of exchange for gold was seriously prejudiced by the freedom from duty enjoyed by the foreigners for almost the entire export of cloth, which they refused to carry under any other

flag than their own, to the great detriment of the English mercantile marine and development of the Royal Navy, and that the revenues that must accrue to the English crown by a national trade would far more than compensate for the loss of the very inadequate dues paid by the Hansa.

At a meeting of the Privy Council held 23rd February, 1553, Gresham stated that the Hansa records had been examined with the following result :—

1. That the Hansa was no properly constituted corporation.
2. That their members names and countries supposed to be invested with her privileges were unknown or ill-defined.
3. That Edward IV. had renewed the privileges, but subject to the express condition that no adulterated goods were to be introduced into the country, and that this condition had been persistently violated.

It was represented to the Council that the League began its operations by exporting only six pieces of cloth yearly, then a hundred, which increased gradually to a thousand, then six thousand, and in 1552 had increased to 44,000 pieces.⁶ This enormous increase in weavings had been greatly brought about by the immigration of the exiled Flemings. These arguments, supported as they were by facts and figures, proved irresistible, and on the following day a decree was issued depriving the Hansa of all exceptional privileges as regards the export of cloth, placing her in this respect on the same footing with other foreigners and English merchants, the Hansa's 'title' to the possession of the Steelyards in England was not called in question. In the following May this decree was countersigned by the king. Thus, for the time at least, the Merchant Adventurers had triumphed ; indeed the struggle was an unequal one. The Hansa grown effete and shorn of all powerful political support, had only her musty parchments to set against the telling arguments of the English nation, hard indeed she fought, but the new order of things simply overwhelmed her and her sophistries, her work was done, and the foundations of a mighty trade, destined to enrich England and colonize new worlds, were laid on her ashes. She was still destined fitfully to regain part of her lost privileges, as the forces of reaction had their play, but her death blow had fallen. That she had been so long able to maintain

* A report of these proceedings may be seen in the King's Pocket Diary.

her English monopolies practically unimpaired can only be explained by a chain of political circumstances, the innate conservatism of England and English respect for treaties.

The Hansa had meanwhile not yet given up everything for lost, and the Rath sent ambassadors again to London, craving for a renewal of the privileges as set forth in the Treaty of Utrecht, and at length with some success, as certain modified monopolies were restored to her.

Under the reactionary government of Mary, the Hansa, with Philip II. as her advocate, temporarily regained the fiscal position as enjoyed under Henry VIII., and the League took joyful part in the public welcome accorded to Mary on her state entry into London, having fountains cascading Rhine wine in the streets, and spending something like £1,000 in gifts and street decorations. The ambassador sent over to felicitate the queen on her accession had barely reached home again when violent disputes broke out afresh, and the Adventurers succeeded in obtaining a substantial curtailment of the privileges so very recently renewed. The negotiations were endless until the death of Mary in 1558.

Elizabeth on her accession showed the Hansa a certain degree of favour, for she remitted some vexatious restrictions placed on the landing of certain goods at the Steelyard wharf, and permitted all sorts of goods to be received there.

Gresham, who had lost influence under Mary's reactionary regime, soon got the ear of her enterprising and sagacious successor, and he strongly represented that if it were just for the Hansa to enjoy monopolies in England to the detriment of the English trading classes, surely the League should be compelled to extend reciprocity to English trade in German territory. This was the one thing the Hansa had always been unwilling to do; but, Elizabeth herself taking a personal interest in these negotiations, an arrangement was arrived at under which it was agreed that the Merchant Adventurers were to be assigned a station at Hamburg for ten years. Sir Richard Clough was appointed English resident at the head of the establishment. This factory's operations were attended with complete success, as in 1569 the admitted value of the cloth imported in that year amounted to little short of a million thalers.

The Hansa, alarmed at the lamentable effect produced on the Steel-

yard export of cloth, withdrew permission to continue the station, and the English got notice to quit possession of their factory at Hamburg.

For the Hansa, with such a roll of monopolies behind her, to give England notice that the Hamburg concession would be withdrawn, was clearly a dangerous step to take, especially at this critical juncture of affairs, but indeed the League began to find itself unable to compete with its English rivals under anything like equal conditions. It was, besides, torn by dissensions from within, owing to conflicting interests and ambitions among the cities still on the roll. In fact, the League was everywhere tottering to its fall. Her cloth export had begun to shrink coincident with the competition of the English *dépôt* at Hamburg, as the following figures show :—

1550-1555—	50,000	pieces,	average	annual	export.
1560-1562—	40,000	"	"	"	"
1570-1575—	30,000	"	"	"	"

The Hansa in her negotiations with England at this time found an opponent anxious and able to deal with facts and plain issues. It had ceased to be a question of old treaties and privileges, bought at a price and handsomely paid for long ago, and it became clear to both parties that the Hansa had had her day. Secret information as to the possible seizure of the Steelyard induced the fathers to send all important documents and silver plate to Lübeck, these documents had now amply served their turn.

The long impending blow fell on 7th April, 1579, when the Privy Council withdrew in a word all the Hansa's privileges and monopolies. The question as to the Steelyard 'title' being left in abeyance.

The Hansa herself, torn by conflicting councils, and unable to tell friends from foes, was unable to make any headway against the storm, and confusion reigned at the Steelyard.

The Merchant Adventurers were refused access to all German ports by the emperor, but had still a settlement at Stade, on the Elbe, established 1587, in succession to that of Hamburg.

Lord Leicester, writing to Secretary Walsingham in 1585, says :—
 'Hamborou ys a villanous town and wholy the kings of Spayn, my lord Wyllouby was in great danger to be taken in there territerye. But yf yt please her Majesty to bestow her merchants in other places, I believe verly more to their proffyt, but far more to their safety.'

Elizabeth seemed now determined to carry the war into the enemies' country, for she dealt another important Hansa staple a crushing blow, by granting the trading monopoly in steel, practically long enjoyed by the Hansa, to Robert and Richard Cammerlane.

The war with Spain brought about the final catastrophe. Sir Francis Drake, finding the Hansa supplying the Spanish fleet with grain and munitions of war, took forcible possession of sixty of their vessels redhanded.

All English merchants were thereupon ordered to quit Germany, and on 13th January, 1598, the Steelyard merchants received notice to quit England within fourteen days. On 25th July the lord mayor and sheriffs took possession of the Steelyard in the queen's name, and on the 4th August following the Hansa merchants, with their belongings, and headed by their alderman, Heinrich Langerman, marched out of the Steelyard, shutting the gate behind them.

THE STEELYARDS OF LONDON, BOSTON, AND LYNN.

The house which was originally the 'Gildehalle Teutonicorum,' stood in Upper Thames street, eastward of Cosen's lane; the other factory buildings extended in the direction of All Hallows' lane. The oldest house was doubtless of wood, like the early halls of the London guilds, and the German buildings at Bergen and Novgorod. The word 'Gildehalle' is probably of Old Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon origin, and the structure built, or at all events owned by Cologne may possibly go back to the times of *Colonia Agrippini*, when we know a considerable trade existed between that Roman city and *Londinium*.

In 1260 there is mention of the hall as situated in the parish of All Hallows (*in parochia omnium sanctorum*), but its locality in Dowgate, Downgate, or Dovegate ward does not appear before 1383. It lay on the bank of the Thames in close proximity to the ancient wall and fortifications already ruinous in the days of Henry II.

In all probability the wooden building was replaced by one of stone in the time of Henry III., in whose reign it was styled the house of the Easterlings. Even then the factory must have consisted of several houses and buildings, as we find in a taxing record of the period the phrase *domus et mansiones in Warda de Dovegate*. The new Gildhall was about 32 feet broad and 100 feet long; it had com-

munication with a quay. The façade faced Cosen's lane, and the building was provided with a tower in which the records of the association and valuable collection of silver plate were kept. It had accommodation for ambassadors and foreign deputations of importance, and was the place of meeting of the alderman and council of twelve. Near it stood the *buden* (booths) which provided dwellings for the merchants and their apprentices, then came the warehouses, offices, and stables.

The factory had now grown too small for the accommodation required within its walls, and the State Papers contain many records and agreements concerning the acquisition of new ground, river frontage, and buildings, of which I quote a few :—

Sir Thomas of Salisbury makes over to Reynand Lone, citizen of London, for £20 sterling, the buildings adjoining the quay in St. Dunstan's parish (1365).

Richard II. confirms the purchase of Sir Richard Lyon's house and quay (1383).

Richard Medford, bishop of Chichester, declares that he placed at the disposal of J. Northampton the houses used for dyeing, 2 houses by the stairs, and the cellar in Windgoos lane (1391).

Robert Comberton transfers to his son-in-law, Robert fitz Robert, jun., all his possessions in Dowgate ward (1410).

Th. Ferrars and others let the piece of ground and quay in Wind goos lane for 20 years for £66 13s. 4d. (1417).

The Hansa transfers to the citizens of London and Sergeant J. Russel the watch house in the Bishopsgate, and rent of the dwelling house in the same (1438).

The Hansa bought the five houses westwards in Windgos lane in 1475, but it was the house eastward in the same lane, acquired in 1384 'with the steelyard,' that most likely gave the factory its latest designation, as at one time the royal weighing beam, for determining the weight of goods subject to duty, stood on this very spot. Indeed, it is quite likely that this very beam was retained in use by the Hansa merchants. The government weighing station had been transferred to Cornhill, but the name steelyard (stilliard) continued to stick to the piece of land now taken possession of by the Hansa, and we find the Easterlings referred to in 1411 as the steelyard merchants. In my parent's home the household weighing beam was called the stilliard, and perhaps such machines are still so called; but I greatly fear our housewives of to-day do not use such things as much as their grandmothers did.

There is evidence of steel, iron, and other goods being weighed here, and a tariff of charges fixed for the Hansa porters, dated 22nd February, 1449, mentions steel on its list of articles. Dr. Minschens, in 1617, refers to the steelyard as a broad place or court where 'much steel is sold.' The mention of steel in connection with steelyard, is, however, most probably a mere coincidence, still there remains some difficulty as to the derivation of the name.

In the reign of Elizabeth the Gildhall, then known as the Old Hall, is described as a great stone building with three round doors to the street, the middle one being the largest, the others bricked up. Above the doors were placed the following inscriptions:—

'Hæc domus est læta, semper honitate repleta;
Hic pax, hic requies, hic gaudia semper honesta.'

'Aurum blanditiæ pater est natusque doloris;
Qui caret hoc moeret, qui tenet, hic metuit.'

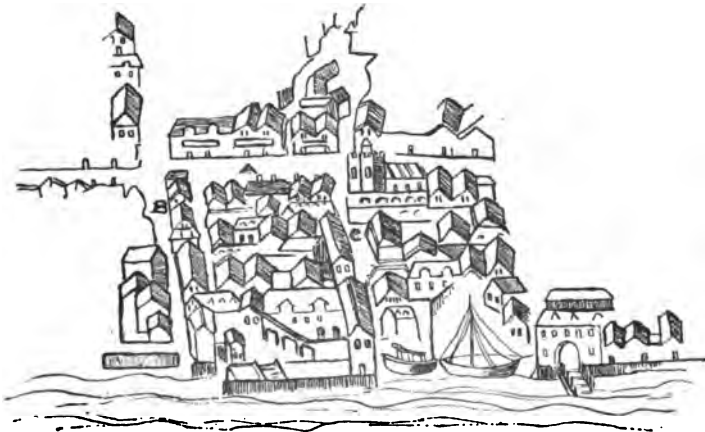
'Qui bonis parere recusat, quasi vitato fumo in flammam incidit.'

The middle inscription also surmounted the celebrated picture by Holbein, painted about 1535, which adorned the dining hall. This picture was destroyed with the buildings in the Great Fire.

Next we have the dwelling of the housemaster, a stone building overlooking the Thames. Here was the great kitchen. Between this house and the Gildhall lay the garden, in which fruit trees and currant bushes flourished. Then comes Sir Richard Lyon's house, called the Rhenish wine house. In Nash's book (1592), *Pierce penilesse his supplication to the diuel*, the lazy man says, 'Let us goe to the Stilliard and drink Rhenish wine.' A few years later we read in one of Webster's plays, 'I come to intreat you to meet him this afternoon at the Rhenish winehouse in the Stilliard.' The rooms above the public drinking hall were sometimes used by ambassadors, and at the back of the house was a large apartment called the 'winter hall.' The summer-house lay on the Thames, and the remaining buildings consisted of booths, etc., as previously described. On an open space facing the river stood the big crane.

The factory was walled in as a provision against sudden attacks by mobs, and every man in the factory had his arms and was taught how to use them.

The accompanying sketch is from an old print of the time of queen Bess. The ground plan herewith is not that of the old factory, though doubtless the old walls and foundations were used as much as possible and the old plan more or less adhered to, as the resources at the command of the Hansa after the Great Fire were very limited indeed. The ground plan is dated 1667. Another I have seen of 1797 shows some very important changes. The clearly-marked site of the factory is now shrouded by the lower end of Cannon street station, but the homogeneous character of the Steelyard block under the projecting station still retains its old form, extent, and general features. Bounded on the north by Upper Thames street, with a frontage of something like 200 feet, on the south by the river Thames, and on the west and east by Cosen's and All Hallows' lanes respectively, with an average depth towards the quays from Thames street of about 400 feet.



A—Upper Thames street. B—Cosen's lane. C—All Hallows' lane.

After the closing of the Steelyard in 1598, it was acknowledged by the king in council on the 8th April, 1663, to be still the property of the Hanse towns. Sir John Evelyn had been desirous of securing the site for a new exchange, but this could not be arranged. The Great Fire on Sunday morning, the 2nd September, 1666, laid the Steelyard in ashes.

Boston and Lynn were both early factories, the former, under its old name of Hoyland, was first established. Henry II. issued

letters of protection for the Easterlings here, and Leland refers to the station in his *Itinerary*. This factory was closed in 1550. Lynn Episcopi, after the Reformation, Lynn Regis, was the other important factory. King John endowed it with extensive privileges. Among the public archives is an immense amount of correspondence regarding the Hansa's 'title' to the freehold of these stations.

With Elizabeth, the Hansa monopoly in England, and indeed practically the League itself came to an end, and but for the possession of the freeholds of the Steelyards of London, Boston, and Lynn, we should have heard very little more of the Hansa in England, after her reign. The possession of these places, however, gave rise to continued negotiations and correspondence, and the Steelyard was rebuilt after the Great Fire in 1666, with the German traders pretty much on the footing of other merchants.

Pennant, in his work on London (1790), referring to the Steelyard, says:—'Next to the waterside are two eagles, with imperial crowns round their necks, placed on two columns.'

In 1853 the Steelyard was sold by the citizens of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck for building purposes for £72,500, and the site is now nearly equally divided between the premises of a large wholesale wine merchant and a gigantic colonial meat refrigerating company.

'Quicquid excessit modum
Pendet instabili loco.'

Seneca.

XV.—OLD CHURCH PLATE IN THE COUNTIES OF
NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.

BY WILFRED J. CRIPPS, C.B., F.S.A.

[Read on the 27th April, 1892.]

FOLLOWING the example of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne has collected a very complete body of statistics relating to the ancient church plate of the wide district in which it is interested. If the former enquiry embraces the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, or in other words, the diocese of Carlisle, the latter comprises the present dioceses of Durham and Newcastle, being the counties of Northumberland and Durham and part of Cumberland, and in fact completes it for the northernmost portion of England. The interesting details which have been obtained in the course of this enquiry are necessarily scattered throughout many numbers of the *Proceedings*¹ of the Society, and it is very desirable to present the result to the members in a more compact form. It is the object of the present paper to accomplish this, to draw attention to the objects of special interest which have been brought to light in either county, to mark their place in the history of old English church plate, and to compare the returns generally with those which have been collected in other parts of the country. Until recently it would have been impossible to get together any such record at all. There were but little means at the disposal even of the antiquary for dating specimens, except for the inscriptions which some might bear; and so little was known about what might or might not be expected to be found that it would have been difficult to turn the search to any good archaeological account.

Things are now, however, different in both these respects; old plate and its marks are more intelligible; specimens, whether inscribed or not, can be, in most cases, easily dated by their fashion and their hall marks; and since the appearance of Chancellor Ferguson's most interesting account of the church plate of the diocese of Carlisle, so many

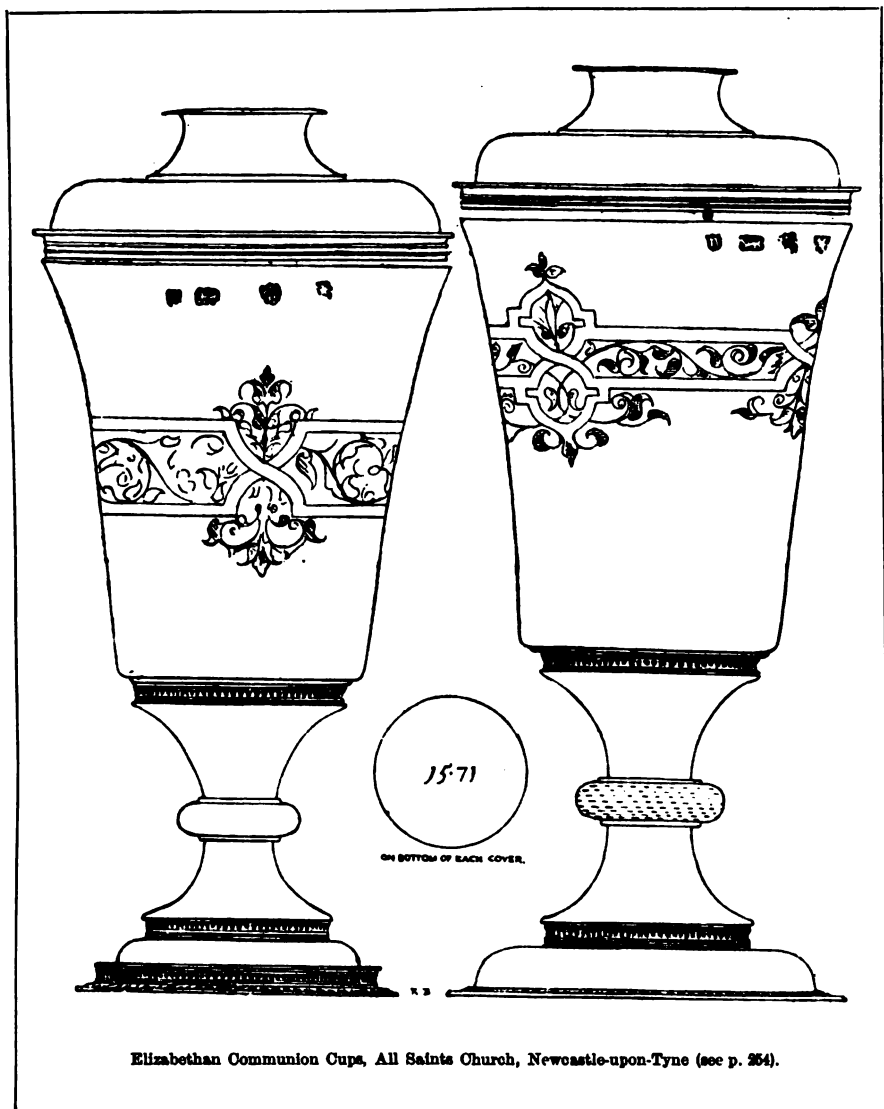
¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* vol. ii—v.

other similar searches have been taken in hand, and some of them carried to completion, that we are able to compare their results with increasing interest.

It is unnecessary to go into any details as to English plate making and the science of hall marks here. Suffice it to say that the references on this subject which occur throughout the details are to the third edition of *Old English Plate*, a work which may be further consulted if necessary on such points. These references have, however, a special local colour in the present case, owing to the existence of an active guild of goldsmiths in Newcastle, joined as they were with workmen of kindred crafts in that always busy centre of industry. An unusual amount of the church plate in the northern counties proves, as might be expected, to be of Newcastle manufacture; and it is interesting to find that it illustrates the work of the Newcastle silversmiths throughout the whole of their working history, from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. It is needless to say that the records of the craft extend back much further than that, certainly reaching to the early part of the sixteenth century, and indeed for purely archaeological purposes, even to the middle of the thirteenth. But the existing specimens of Newcastle work cover the period, speaking in general terms, from the Restoration to the present century.

It is now well-known how few specimens of pre-Reformation plate remain to illustrate the history of Gothic art as regards church vessels. Much that was beautiful was melted down to satisfy the Puritanical outburst which signalized the short reign of king Edward VI., and whatever escaped this, fell under the ban of the renewed crusade against all that was held to savour of popery which marked the early years of his sister, queen Elizabeth. No doubt there was a short respite during the few intervening years of queen Mary, but details as to this disastrous period are not needed for our present sketch. Suffice to say that one single chalice—that at Old Hutton—remains in the diocese of Carlisle, whilst some thirty only remain, so far as is yet known, in all England. It is possible that one or two may still be discovered in unsuspected places, but the enquiry has now gone so far that many more are not to be expected.

No chalice remains of pre-Reformation type in either Northumberland or Durham, but we are more fortunate as regards patens



which are represented by two examples. Pre-Reformation patens are more numerous than chalices, some ninety altogether being known, of which almost a third are in Norfolk. The two north country examples are (see Plate XIV.) the rude paten at Heworth, county Durham, which is of 1514, and a similar example (see Plate XV.) formerly at Hamsterley in the same county, but now preserved in the Chapter Library at Durham, of the year 1519.

They are of the usual type found in the later Gothic period, showing a six-lobed depression, with a very rude representation of the Vernicle engraved in the centre of the plate. A large proportion of the patens remaining are of this fashion, and are of the thirty years between 1490 and 1520. With the accession of Edward VI. the whole fashion of church plate changed. The chalices were melted down or exchanged, under stringent visitation articles of the bishops, into plain communion cups of the strictest Protestant shape and character; but owing, no doubt, to the shortness of the reign there are fewer communion cups known of this period than chalices of the pre-Reformation type, few though there are even of these. Not a single example is to be seen in our present list. Come we then to the reign of queen Elizabeth for the first examples of vessels of the Protestant type to be found within the range of our present enquiry; and we are immediately struck by the extreme paucity of such pieces compared with what we might fairly have expected to find. The change from chalice to communion cup was made all over England with such rapidity that in the course of a few years, say, in the interval between 1558 and 1580, almost every church in every county and diocese from one end of England to the other was provided with vessels adapted for the new use, and everywhere examples of the cups so provided are commonly found at the present day—everywhere but in the extreme north it must now be said—for whereas they are broadcast over the south of England and Midland counties, strange to say only seven individual examples of undoubtedly Elizabethan cups and plates have been brought to light in the whole county of Northumberland, and hardly more, comparatively speaking, in Durham, which can, however, show some seventeen specimens as will be seen by the list appended to this article. If we add to these the very few pieces which appear to be of sixteenth century fashion, but which,



J. Downey & Sons, photo.

HEWORTH PATEN.

1514-5.

(Full Size.)

mensuration of this American square mile, the influence of the common field-furrow, and the gad, or rod, or pole, by which the common field acres were marked out can be traced in every corner of the plot. According to Canon Taylor,⁹⁰ a furlong is the length of the longest furrow that could be conveniently ploughed before the oxen had to stop and rest; whilst the breadth of the acre depended on the number of furrows which formed the daily task of the villan and his oxen. Mr. Pell, in his learned but difficult paper on the Domesday Assessment, disputes this,⁹¹ and states that the furlong means not a furrow long, but rather a line 40 rods long, that this line 4 rods broad makes the acre, and that both the acre and the rod are merely convenient fractions of some larger area. However this may be, 8 of these furlongs lie on each side of the square mile shown on this plan. Quarter the area and you get the normal farm of 160 acres, quarter the farm and you get the 40 acres which we have seen to be the usual extent of the part cultivated or enclosed for corn and meadow hay; quarter that cultivated portion and you get the square furlong, or *ferdell*,⁹² which contained 10 normal acre strips, each acre strip being 40 rods long and 4 rods broad, in other words, a furlong in length and 4 rods in breadth, the area which, according to the ordinance of Edward I., constituted a legal acre. In fact this American square mile, divided into four farms of 160 acres each, is exactly similar in extent, dimensions, and divisions to the four carucates of arable land, containing in length 8 furlongs, and in breadth 8 furlongs, the gift of Algar, the knight, to the abbey of Croyland, which was confirmed to that abbey by that description by the charter of Wiglaf, king of the Mercians, in the year 833.⁹³

There are two great differences between this modern Kansas farm and the ancient Northumbrian farms which we have been considering. Its homestead is isolated from those of its neighbours and its lands are cultivated in severalty. If, instead of being connected by the power of steam with other parts of the earth, from which it can obtain the supplies of those necessaries which are produced by different industries, its proprietor had had to depend for these on mutual exchange with

⁹⁰ *Domesday Studies*, vol. i. p. 60. ⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 371.

⁹² *Decem acræ terræ faciunt secundum antiquam consuetudinem unam ferdellam.* Spelman's *Gloss.* Title *Virgata terræ.*

⁹³ Kemble's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, vol. I., page 306. See also *Ingulph.* Bohn's edition, page 15.

It will be seen from the instances cited in the former part of this paper⁸⁸ that the arable land assigned to each farm ranged between 20 and 30 acres, that the meadow land ranged between 2 acres and 10 acres, and this would leave from 120 to 140 acres of open pasture and waste assignable on an average to each farm.

According to Sir Henry Maine⁸⁹ the encroachments of the lord were in proportion to the want of certainty in the rights of the community. In the grass land he intruded more than into the arable land; into the waste much more than into either. The conclusion suggested to his mind is that in succeeding to the legislative power of the old community the lord was enabled to appropriate to himself such of its rights as were not immediately valuable and which, in the event of their becoming valuable, required legislative adjustment to settle the mode of enjoying them. If that were the process it had probably begun before either the Saxon thane or the Norman baron had entered England.

I will conclude by offering for your inspection a plan of a farm of the present day in a newly-settled country. It is the plan of a farm in the south-west quarter of section 28, of township 20, range 13 west of the 6th principal meridian, in Barton county in the state of Kansas. It contains 160 acres, and the whole of the land is capable of being profitably cultivated. At the time of its survey, in 1888, 40 acres were in maize, 25 in wheat, 15 in other crops, and 80 acres were in wild grass. Similar plans of hundreds of these farms are amongst the papers of those who invest in American mortgages. They are almost all of the same size of 160 acres, or $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of a square mile, but some of them are half that size, or only 80 acres in extent. Where the holdings are 80 acres, a larger proportion is cultivated as arable land. Notwithstanding the introduction of modern methods of cultivation, the quantity of land which one household can profitably manage does not appear to have varied greatly in the last thousand years.

Notwithstanding the apparently modern scientific method of the

⁸⁸ By an early statute of the Scotch Parliament (*Scotch Statutes*, vol. i. p. 387) it was ordained that the ox-gangs shall contain 13 acres. Two ox-gangs or 26 acres made a husband land (Innes, 242), so that we have a statutory warrant that 26 acres of arable land was the normal extent of a similar holding across the border.

⁸⁹ *Village Communities*, 141.

that the owners of the said three tenements were entitled to take out of the demesnes of the said Fewster Johnson sufficient hedgeboot, stakeboot, and rice for the making and amending of hedges and fences, it was enacted that the said lands should be enclosed and that satisfaction should be made for the said rights of the said Fewster Johnson, and that from and after the 22nd day of November, 1784, all right and title of the said Fewster Johnston, his heirs and assigns to the aforesaid yearly rents or annual payments, heriots, mow dargues and shear dargues or day works, hens and catches or carriages to the town of Hexham, and all right or title of the respective owners for the time being of the aforesaid three tenements to hedgeboot, stakeboot, and rice as aforesaid should respectively cease and be for ever extinguished.

It will be seen that in 1784 the servile incidents of layrewrite and merchet have disappeared.⁸⁵ The week work has been replaced by 'divers rents.' But the heriot still remains as an acknowledgment of the Anglo-Saxon doctrine :—'Then when he dies the lord takes back what he leaves.' The boon days of two mow dargues and two shear dargues also remain, and the three catches or carriages yearly to Hexham probably have their counterpart in farm leases in Elrlington township at the present day as they had in the chartulary of Tynemouth in 1387.⁸⁶

I produce rent-receipts, surrenders, and admittances, dated in the years 1891 and 1892, showing payments in those years to the lord of the manor at Tynemouth for hall corn rent in lieu of week work, boon day rent in lieu of boon day services, for shire rent, and for

⁸⁵ The latest account of the custom of 'merchet' is to be found in Mr. Owen Pike's Introduction to the Year Books, 15 Edward III. (Record Office Publications) pp. 15 to 62. As to 'merchet' in Northumberland see Bracton's *Note Book* (edition, Maitland), Case No. 895, and *Testa de Nevill*, 389. In Russia, prior to the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, serfs could not marry as they chose without the consent of their masters, and the proprietor would not allow the daughter of one of his serfs to marry a serf belonging to another proprietor—because he would thereby lose a female labourer—unless some compensation were offered. Wallace's *Russia*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 114-140.

⁸⁶ The Rev. J. Thomlinson, rector of Rothbury, says in one of his MSS.: 'No doubt all the lands in the town of Whitton did belong to the rector, but the inhabitants having held them time out of mind at one pound per annum each farm and two days' ploughing and leading with their draughts and as many ploughing and reaping (the rector finding them meat when they work for him), they now look upon themselves as freeholders.' *History and Directory of Northumberland* (Hexham Division), published by Bulmer, Manchester, and Beavis, Stewart, & Co., Newcastle, 1886.

finer on the admittance of an heir and on the alienation of a quarter of a farm. It will also be observed, from the wording of the admittances, that the new tenant still does fealty for his holding at the lord's court.⁶⁷

With regard to the *extent* of these customary holdings the following extract as to the township of High Buston made by Mr. J. C. Hodgson from Clarkson's Survey of 1567 is interesting as showing that each farm was looked upon as a living for a family, that no farm could be partitioned unless the farmer had acquired the freehold from his lord, and that even where freehold farms were sub-divided or sub-let the commonable rights of the partitioners were carefully restricted within the limits of those formerly enjoyed by the whole tenement :—

This towne was at the fyrst planted with xvi tenn^s as yett appeareth by the scites of there tenem^s and are nowe but viij tenn-s the cause of that there ys so little arable land and medowe grounde as also pasture moore grounde wh. will not well suffice for the living of so many tenn^s and for yt also they sholde the better lyve and be more able to do ther dewtyful servyce to their Ld and Mr. they were of xvj made but viij tenn^s.

The said Thomas Buston hath one lytle house there wherein dwelleth one tenn^t. to do him servyce wc ys agaynst the old ancyent ordre of this Lp ; for although he aledgeth that he or any other may upon his freholde sett such several buildinge upo ancyent scites as they shall think good, wherunto I must by leave agree, Never the lesse yf we consyder the premiss and for what cause the said towne was brought from xvi tenn^s to viij fermors as also the small quantity of the corne moare (?) And that every inhabyt wth in any towne must have suffeynt for the maintenance of him and his family and wher also suche staitte (extinte) of all things ys kept (as ys in the towne of Bustone) the will think it bothe lawe and reason that every tenn^t of lyke lande and like rent have lyke porcyon in all things upon the said como pasture. And sure (?) I would give order that the said Thos. Bustone should have not more pasture or other extinte or fewell (seeing he ys in all respects equal with every one of the said tenn^s) for him and his tenant both, than one of the said tenants have and that under great penalty yf he be found by the Jurye convicte thereof.

If we take the number of farms contained in each township, as mentioned in Appendix A, and divide the total acreage of the township by them, we shall find a varying number of acres assignable to each farm, and if we exclude the townships of Rochester and Troughend in the parish of Elsdon, which contain an unusual and extraordinary quantity of useless waste and mountainous land, we shall find that the five hundred farms which are left have an average of nearly 160 acres of township land assignable to each of them. This is of course inclusive of arable land, meadow, pasture, and waste.

⁶⁷ As to manor courts see *Proc. New. Soc. Antiq.* vol. 5, p. 161.

Section of an American Township divided into quarter section farms. Area of section 1 Sq. Mile - 640 acres. Area of quarter section - 160 acres. Lineal measurement on each side of section 8 furlongs. Lineal measurement on each side of quarter section farm - 4 furlongs.

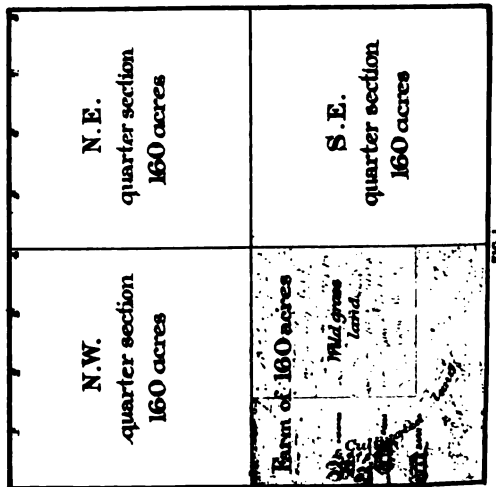


FIG. 1.

Area of a quarter section farm of 160 Acres (scale two-fold fig. 1) $\frac{1}{4}$ of area - 40 acres $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ area - 10 acres = 1 square furlong Lineal measurement of the side of each square furlong 1 furlong = 40 poles = 220 yds. $\frac{1}{4}$ of each square furlong = 1 normal common field acre 40 poles by 4 or 220 yards by 22.

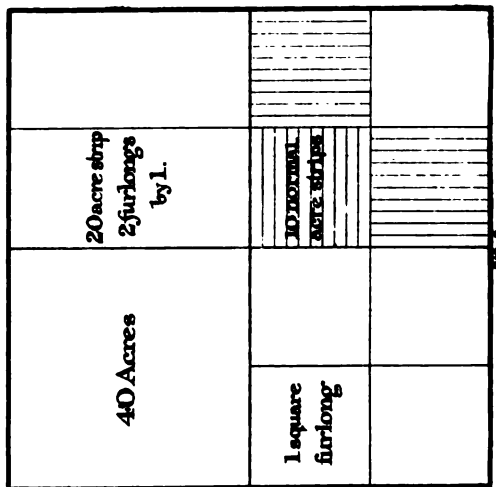


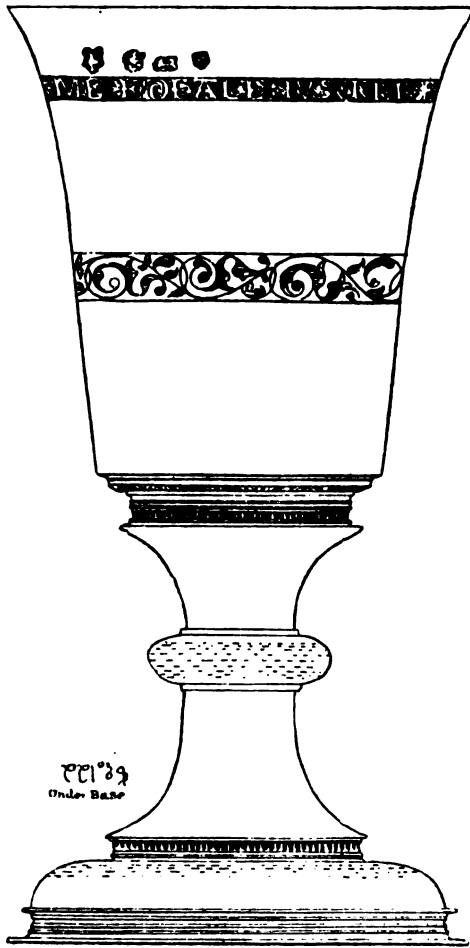
FIG. 2.



A. L. Stevenson, photo.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

HAMSTERLEY PATEN,
1519 — 20.
(Full Size.)



Elizabethan Communion Cup, Sherburn Hospital (see p. 254).

owing to want of either inscriptions or hall marks, cannot be more than approximately dated, we shall still have a far smaller proportion of Elizabethan as compared with more modern plate in Northumberland and Durham than in any other county at all. There are much more than a hundred Elizabethan specimens in Kent, and as many in proportion in almost any southern district; and in Northumberland it will be at once noticed that all the seven specimens are either of the year 1570 or 1571. This points to some stringent direction on the subject on the part of the diocesan, such as that which we find resulted in Kent in the exchange of chalices being chiefly effected in the course of the year 1562. Other parts of England often show groups of cups of a certain period, always between the limits of 1558 and 1580 mentioned above, many details regarding which have been noted in *Old English Plate*.

A word should be said here of a cup of somewhat exceptional type at Heworth, Durham, resembling in some of its features chalices of medieval workmanship. This is, however, probably of later date; corresponding more with vessels of the seventeenth century which were made for Roman Catholic use, and many examples of which are preserved; for instance there are two vessels similar in design to the chalice at Heworth in use at the Roman Catholic church at Glanton which are said to have come from Callaly castle.

Turning to the Elizabethan specimens themselves we find that, though few in number, they are very typical of their kind, giving a good illustration of the general fashion of the time they represent, and that the more special pieces show features of much interest.

Of the typical kind the cups with corresponding patens, dated 1571, at All Saints', Newcastle (see p. 251), are perhaps the best Northumberland illustration, whilst the not dissimilar cup and paten of the same year (see p. 258), at St. John's, Dinsdale, may represent the Elizabethan examples of the sister county. A little earlier vessel of 1564, at Sherburn hospital (see p. 253), with a secular cup of unusual type of 1571, at Bishopwearmouth (see p. 257), and a very interesting cup of 1596, at Stainton (see Plate XVI.), all these three being in Durham, are good illustrations of special types and forms.

The Sherburn hospital cup is normal in every respect, except the lettered band running round the top of the bowl, which clearly relates



M^r. Lriib, 1650.

Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

ELIZABETHAN CUP AT GREAT STANTON, CO. DURHAM.



Cambo Communion Cup (see p. 256).

to some matter of domestic interest. These letters are a good example of the bold Tudor capitals of the time. Its stem and foot give an illustration of the dotted ornament so often found in the earlier years of queen Elizabeth, and the lower part of the bowl shows the usual fillets, not interlacing however at intervals as is most usual, but containing between the parallel bands the ordinary waving line of simple woodbine foliage.

The Bishopwearmouth cup is quite special, and may or may not have been originally a secular cup. Its cover looks almost as if it had once had some knob or finish by way of handle. This piece again shows the dotted or hyphen-work of Elizabethan days, with leaves at the end of each rib of the very usual Elizabethan type.

With the Stainton-le-Street cup we come to a vessel of more undoubtedly secular origin, but a very good illustration of the work of its period. A large number of cups which, if not originally made for secular use, are at all events of the shapes commonly used in their day for drinking cups, are amongst the finest pieces of our present church plate.³ Good examples occur in Westmorland, at Holm Cultram, and at Appleby, as well as in other parts of England, no doubt representing the pious liberality of lay donors. In the Stainton example there is a head in profile with a hat and feathers, such a head being a common ornament of such pieces. The foot is of characteristic fashion, with its flower and fruit swaggs surmounted by scroll brackets which support the bowl, around the edge of which is a band of the ordinary Elizabethan type. It is by a maker whose mark is to be seen upon a great deal of fine plate, both church and secular, from the date of this example, 1596 to 1632, the date of the latest piece known to the writer on which it is found.

With this, we pass to the seventeenth century. The later we get the less interesting is the church plate from an archaeological and even from an art point of view. We pass through the usual stages from wine-glass-shaped cup at the commencement of the seventeenth century to huge shapeless vessels on rude massive stems resembling clumsy truncated cones, sometimes with and at other times without knobs, which distinguish its closing years. If there is anything which may be specially remarked about the north country vessels of this century, it

³ See Cambo Communion Cup as an example, p. 255.

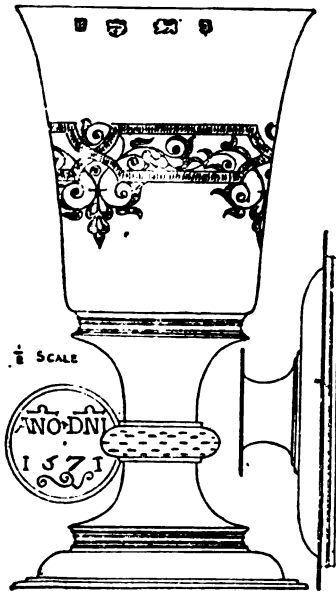


Elizabethan Communion Cup,
Bishopwearmouth Church (see p. 254).

is that a good deal of it was made at York, a city where the craft of goldsmiths flourished till it seems to have been displaced by the rising wealth and importance of Newcastle upon Tyne. The quantity of plate made in the latter city from about the year 1670 onwards is immense, and the activity of the trade there perhaps accounts not only for the quantity of modern church plate found of local make in the two counties, which are the subjects of this paper, but for the absence of the usual proportion of Elizabethan specimens.

Much that seemed old-fashioned to the eyes of Georgian times went into the melting pots of Newcastle to make way for what was thought no doubt more suitable or more tasteful, and this has deprived the writer of a great deal of the archaeological materials which the chronicler of the church plate in more southern counties has had the interesting task of describing.

The following lists indicate the date and origin of most of the more important pieces now remaining in Northumberland and Durham, and a reference to it will bear out the remarks which have here been made upon it.



Elizabethan Communion Cup, Dinsdale Church (see p. 254).

In conclusion, the writer hopes that, although of less interest, on the whole, from the above circumstances, enough has been said to induce all who are concerned with the care and custody, or the love of the old church plate of these counties (be it better or worse, it is at all events representative of the real piety and generosity of those who have preceded us), to preserve it for the future from reckless alteration or unauthorized alienation.













APPENDIX.

LIST OF OLD NORTHUMBERLAND CHURCH PLATE.









Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
I.—LONDON PLATE.		
(<i>Elizabethan.</i>)		
1570	Two cups and paten covers, each dated 1571 ¹ ...	All Saints, N'c.
1570	Cup	St. John, N'castle.
1571	Paten cover, dated 1571; maker, two crescents back to back	Bolam.
1571	Cup and paten cover, dated 1571, usual band. I F	Bothal.
1571	Cup and paten cover, dated 1571; usual band. H W; pellet above and below	Kirkhaugh.
1571	Cup; usual band	Longhorsley.
1571	Cup; usual band. H S, interlaced; for Henry Sutton (?)	Newbiggen.
(<i>Seventeenth Century.</i>)		
1616	Oviform cup, on baluster stem. T E, linked ...	Tweedmouth.
1622	Cup. A H	Chillingham.
	W W	
1625	Tall oviform cup on high stem. C B, linked ² ...	Cambo.
1632	Flagon. R S; mullet above and below	St. Nicholas, N'c.
1639	V-shaped cup on baluster stem	Lambley.
1640	Cup. I B; buckle below; probably J. Buckle ...	Simonburn.
1651	Plain cup, dated 1701. A F	Eglingham.
1674	Flagon, dated 1676. T M	Chatton.
1686	Cup and paten, dated 1686. B L	Stannington.
1689	Paten. I-I; probably John Jackson	Rothbury.
1693	Paten, dated 1694. G G; George Garthorne ...	Simonburn.
1696	Flagon, given 1703	Tynemouth.
1697	Flagon, given 1829	Eglingham.
(<i>Eighteenth Century.</i>)		
1703	Cup	Stamfordham.
1706	Cup given 1707. F L; William Fleming	Cornhill.
1709	Cup. P a; Humphrey Payne	Chatton.
1718	Paten, given 1829. G, A within; Fras. Garthorne	Whittingham.
1717	Alms dish, dated 1718. G, A within; Fras. Garthorne	All Saints, N'c.
1718	Paten, dated 1726. Ho; Edw. Holaday	Newburn.
1718	Salver on small feet	Ulgham.
1719	Cup	Bothal.
1723	Fluted porringer. I C; Joseph Clare	Alston.
1725	Paten. R B; Richard Bayley	Earsdon.
1726	Cup, dated 1726. R B; Richard Bayley	Netherwitton.
1750	Cup, given 1842	St. John, N'c.
1755	Cup (cover is of 1752). M F; Mordecai Fox ...	Horton.
1770	Cup given 1770	Beadnell.
1774	Cup. I Y O I; Jas. Young and Orlando Jackson ...	Kirkheaton.

¹ See page 251.² See page 255.

LIST OF OLD NORTHUMBERLAND CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
LONDON PLATE—(<i>Eighteenth Cent.</i>)— <i>Continued.</i>		
1777	Cup, dated 1781	Falstone.
1780	Flagon, dated 1793. G S ; probably Geo. Seatoun ...	Whalton.
1788	Cup, dated 1788. H C ; Henry Chawner ...	Alnham.
1793	Paten, dated 1793. R S ; probably Robert Sharp ...	Whalton.
1796	Plate	Rock.
1799	Flagon given 1840. I R ; John Robins ...	Alwinton.
1799	Flagon and cup, dated 1803 (paten is of 1803). RH ; R. & S. Hennell S H ; R. & S. Hennell	Ilderton.
II.—NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE PLATE.		
c. 1681	Cup and paten (the cup not marked).  for Wm. Ramsay	Corbridge.
17 cent.	Cup.  for W. Ramsay	Berwick.
Do.	Cup. W R, as in 1681, for W. Ramsay	Bellingham.
1684	Cup, with engraved band, dated 1684 ; probably Fras. Batty, senr.	Wallsend.
c. 1685	Two cups, with patens.  for Wm. Ramsay	St. Nicholas, N'c.
1686	Flagon and patens, dated 1686.  for Wm. Ramsay	St. Nicholas, N'c.
1687	Cup, dated 1687.  for Eli Bilton	Chollerton.
1688	Cup and paten, dated 1688. W R, as in 1686, for Wm. Ramsay	Howick.
1697	Flagon, dated 1697. Thos. Hewitson	All Saints, N'c.
1698	Flagon, dated 1698.  for Thos. Hewitson ...	All Saints, N'c.
1705	Cup, dated 1719. <i>Ba</i> for Francis Batty, senior	Allenheads.
1711	Cup.  for John Younghusband	Alwinton.
1712	Cup, dated 1679.  for Eli Bilton	Holy Island.
1712	Cup and paten, dated 1714. <i>Fr</i> for J. French ...	Norham.
1721	Cup and paten, dated 1721.  for Francis Batty, junior	Kirkharle.
1721	Cup and paten. F B (? re-made by Francis Batty)	Hexham.
1721	Cup, paten, and flagon, given 1722. Fras. Batty	St. John, N'c.
1721	Paten, dated 1722. Fras. Batty	Wooler.
1721-25	Cup, inscribed 1571	St. Andrew, N'c.
1722	Flagon. <i>FB</i> for Francis Batty, jun. (?)	Chillingham.
1724	Cup, given 1724	Bedlington.
1724	Paten. J C ; John Carnaby	St. Nicholas, N'c.
1728	Cup, dated 1730. 	St. Andrew, N'c.
1729	Cup, dated 1732.  for Isaac Cookson ...	Warden.
1730	Cup and plate, dated 1731.  Robt. Makepeace	Bolton.

LIST OF OLD NORTHUMBERLAND CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE PLATE.—<i>Continued.</i>		
1731	Cup, dated 1731	Knaresdale.
1731	Cup, dated 1732. Robt. Makepeace	Newbrough.
1731	Flagon, dated 1731.  Robt. Makepeace	Rothbury.
1732	Paten, dated 1734. Robt. Makepeace	Morpeth.
1737	Paten, dated 1788.  for Wm. Dalton	St. Andrew, N'c.
1738	Cup. I C, as in 1729, for Isaac Cookson	Allendale Town.
(?) 1738	Cup, dated 1758. Isaac Cookson	St. John Lee.
1740	Cup.  for Isaac Cookson	Halton.
1741	Tumbler-shaped cup.  for Wm. Partis	Henshaw.
1742	Paten (waiter with 3 claw feet). Isaac Cookson	Hartburn.
1743	Cup, dated 1743. Isaac Cookson	Birtley.
1743	Flagon, dated 1743. Isaac Cookson	Hartburn.
1744	Cup. Wm. Partis	Whittonstall.
1749	Cup, dated 1749. Isaac Cookson	Whalton.
1750	Alms dish and paten, given 1751. Isaac Cookson	Eglington.
1752	Paten. Isaac Cookson	Berwick.
1752	Cup and paten, dated 1753	Blanchland
1754	Paten, dated 1755. Langlands and Goodricke	Elsdon.
1754	Cup, paten, and 2 flagons, dated 1775. Wm. Partis	Ponteland.
1757	Cup and paten, dated 1762.  for J. Langlands	Blyth.
1757	Flagon and paten, dated 1763.  for John Kirkup	Long Benton.
1769	Cup.  for James Crawford	Ninebanks, West
1769	Two cups and paten, dated 1768. John Kirkup	Allendale.
1769	Flagon. John Langlands	St. Anne, N'c.
c. 1770	Small cup on low foot. John Langlands	Rothbury.
1770	Paten, dated 1770. John Langlands	Horton.
1773	Cup, given 1773. I C, as in 1769, for James	Belford.
1773	Cup, given 1773. John Langlands	Beadnell.
1774	Paten, dated 1776. John Langlands	Bothal.
1774	Paten, dated 1776. John Langlands	St. John Lee.
1774	Two flagons, dated 1776. John Langlands	St. Andrew, N'c.
1774	Cup and paten, dated 1774. John Langlands	Stamfordham.
1774	Cup, converted into flagon, dated 1774. W S, I M; William Stalker and John Mitchison	Kylloe.
1775	Paten. John Langlands	Newbiggen.
1778	Oviform cups, dated 1778. John Langlands	Berwick.
1784	Four alms dishes, dated 1785 (and wine strainer, no date letter).  for Langlands and Robertson	All Saints, N'c.
1784	Alms dish, dated 1784. Langlands and Robertson	St. Andrew, N'c.
1785	Alms dish, dated 1785. Pinkney and Scott	St. John, N'c.
c. 1785	Paten, given 1824. Langlands and Robertson	Meldon.

LIST OF OLD NORTHUMBERLAND CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.				
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE PLATE.—<i>Continued.</i>						
1787	Two alms plates and paten, dated 1788. Pinkney and Scott	St. Andrew, N'c.				
1788	Basin. <table border="1" data-bbox="380 396 429 428" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">R</td><td style="padding: 2px;">P</td></tr><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">S</td><td style="padding: 2px;">S</td></tr></table> for Pinkney and Scott	R	P	S	S	All Saints, N'c.
R	P					
S	S					
1788	Cup, paten, and flagon (cup dated 1790). Langlands and Robertson	Embleton.				
1788	Paten, dated 1789. Langlands and Robertson	Holy Island.				
1791	Cup, altered into flagon 1873	Ancroft.				
1792	Cup and paten, dated 1793. Langlands and Robertson	Doddington.				
N.D.	Cup. I K, as in 1757, for John Kirkup	Tweedmouth.				
N.D.	Cup. John Kirkup	Widdrington.				
III.—FOREIGN PLATE.						
	Cup. Angsburg <table border="1" data-bbox="472 711 514 753" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">I</td></tr><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">M A</td></tr></table>	I	M A	Ford.		
I						
M A						
IV.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCERTAIN.						
	Very ancient pewter coffin chalice	Hexham.				
1571	Cup, repaired later by John Langlands; no doubt of same date as its paten (see London plate)	Bolam.				
16 cent.	Old cup, apparently Elizabethan	Earsdon.				
1583	Cup and paten cover; usual band	Ilderton.				
16 cent.	Old cup, apparently Elizabethan	Morpeth.				
1612	Cup and cover, dated 1612	Edlingham,				
1618	Old cup, with cover, dated 1618	Elsdon.				
1628	Two cups. Engraved with arms; Elizabethan bands	All Saints, N'c.				
c. 1630	Cup of Elizabethan shape	Kirkwhelpington.				
1642	Cup, dated 1642	Wooler.				
1663	Cup, dated 1663	Hartburn.				
c. 1670	Deep straight-sided cup, on short stem	Haltwhistle.				
Do.	Cup like the last	Kirknewton.				
c. 1680	Paten	Hartburn.				
1699	Cup, dated 1699, but looks Elizabethan	Mitford.				
17 cent.	Cup, with large band	Longbenton.				
Do.	Old cup (see p. 368)	St. Nicholas, N'c.				
Do.	Cup	Newburn.				
Do.	Cup	Rothbury.				
Do.	Cup	Ryal.				
Do.	Tumbler-shaped cup; willow leaf band	Slaley.				
Do.	Salver, used as paten. I H, star above	Wallsend.				

LIST OF OLD DURHAM CHURCH PLATE.

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
I.—LONDON PLATE.		
<i>(Pre-Reformation.)</i>		
1514	Paten, with vernicle; usual Gothic type ³	Heworth.
1519	Paten, very similar to the last ⁴	Hamsterley.
<i>(Elizabethan.)</i>		
1564	Cup, with special engraved band. Maker, hand with cross-croset ⁵	Sherburn Hospital.
1570	Cup; usual engraved band. Maker, S H	Coniscliffe.
Do.	Cup, with paten cover	St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.
Do.	Cup, with paten cover. Maker, H W ...	Lanchester.
Do.	Cup; no paten. H W	Pittington.
Do.	Cup; dotted belt; given 1842	Spennithorne, Winlaton.
Do.	Paten cover, dated 1842. Maker, animal's head erased	Do. do.
Do.	Cup, with paten cover; usual type ...	Witton Gilbert.
1571	Secular cup of unusual type ⁶	Bishopwearmouth.
Do.	Cup, with paten cover; usual band; dated 1571 ⁷	St. John Dinsdale.
Do.	Cup, with paten cover, dated 1571; usual band; maker, pair of bellows	Greatham.
Do.	Cup; usual band. Maker, H W	Hart.
Do.	Cup; usual band. Maker, animal's head erased	Jarrow.
Do.	Cup, by same maker as the last	Monkwearmouth.
Do.	Cup; usual band	Longnewton.
1574	Paten cover	Bishopwearmouth.
1596	Secular cup, on stem with scroll supports; maker C B, linked ⁸	Stainton-le-Street.
<i>(Seventeenth Century.)</i>		
1606	Egg-shaped cup, on baluster stem. Maker, I A	Gainford.
1617	Cup. Maker, R B	Kirk Merrington.
c. 1619	Alms dish; repoussé with marine monsters. Maker, I G	St. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham.
1629	Pair of cups	Staindrop.
1632	Cup; maker, W B, fleur-de-lys below ...	Winston.
1638	Cup and cover, dated 1638. W W, linked	St. Giles, Durham.
1689	Wine-glass shaped cup, on baluster stem. Maker, G G	Stranton.
1647	Pair of patens. Maker, S A, linked ...	Staindrop.

³ See plate xiv.⁴ See plate xv.⁵ See page 253.⁶ See page 257.⁷ See page 258.⁸ See plate xvi.




LIST OF OLD DURHAM CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
LONDON PLATE.—<i>Continued.</i> <i>(Seventeenth Century.)</i>		
c. 1660	Plate and cover. Maker, W M	Durham Cathedral.
1660	Cup and cover, given 1660. T G	St. Mary, Gateshead.
1665	Cup and cover, given 1665. I R	St. Nicholas, Durham.
1670	Cup, given 1670. W G	Barnard Castle.
Do.	Cup and paten cover. M.	Greatham Hospital.
1675	Cup, with large band, and paten cover. R	St. Margaret, Durham.
1679	Tankard-shaped flagon. F.R.	Muggleswick.
1681	Cup and cover. I.M.	Sedgefield.
1684	Paten. G G; George Garthorne	Haughton-le-Skerne.
1685	Large cup, cover, and flagon, given 1686. I Y, animal between	St. Nicholas, Durham.
1688	Pair of patens, given 1689. Maker, F G; Fras. Garthorne	St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.
1689	Paten, dated 1720. Maker, T I; probably T. Issod	Church Kelloe.
1692	Paten, dated 1731. Maker, F G; Garthorne, as above	Whickham.
1694	Pair of patens, dated 1696. Maker, R T; Robt. Timbrell	Middleton-in-Teesdale.
1696	Pair of flagons, given 1703	St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.
<i>(Eighteenth Century.)</i>		
c. 1700	Cup. PL; Pierre Platel	Sedgefield.
1701	Alms dish. Ru; John Ruslen	St. Oswald, Durham.
1702	Paten, dated 1703. Tr; Benj. Traherne ...	Stockton.
1705	Paten; gilt. W E	Wolsingham.
1708	Flagons (pair), like Rothbury. Ba; R. Bayley	Sunderland.
1710	Paten, dated 1730. Pa; Humphrey Payne	Lanchester.
1711	Paten, given 1712. CH	Esh.
Do.	Paten. L O; Seth Lofthouse	Stockton.
1713	Large paten. R A; R. Raine	St. John, Weardale.
Do.	A similar one, dated 1720. Same maker ...	Stanhope.
1715	Paten, given 178-. G, A within; Fras. Garthorne	Bishop Auckland.
1718	Cup and cover, dated 1718. S L; G. Sleath	Bishopwearmouth.
1720	Cup, given by Bishop Lord Crewe, 1720. S H; probably Alice Sheene	Bishop Auckland.
1721	Cup, paten, and flagons. G, B within; Richard Greene	Whitworth.
1722	Tankard flagons. Ba; R. Bayley	Whickham.
1722	Paten. M L, tied; Matthew Lofthouse. Entered 1721	Auckland Castle.
1725	Cup. R P	Tanfield.
1726	Paten, given 1806. W A; W. Atkinson ...	St. John Dinsdale.
1727	Paten, dated 1727. C M	Aycliffe.

LIST OF OLD DURHAM CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
LONDON PLATE.—<i>Continued.</i> <i>(Eighteenth Century.)</i>		
1728	Flagons, one dated 1727. T F; Thos. Farrer	Stockton.
1732	Paten, given 1732. E V; Edw. Vincent	Sedgefield.
1733	Cup	Hunstanworth.
1735	Paten, dated 1740. R A; Robert Abercromby	Lamesley.
1737	Cup	Edmundbyers.
1743	Plates, dated 1743. H P; Humphrey Payne	Stockton.
Do.	Alms dish, dated 1744. J G; Thos. Gilpin	Do.
o. 1745	Perforated spoons. I C (no other mark); Isaac Callard	Durham Cathedral.
1747	Flagon. H B; Henry Brind	Hart.
1754	Salver, on three claw feet. W P; Wm. Peaston	Muggleswick.
1761	Flagon, dated 1761. M F; Mordecai Fox	Castle Eden.
1762	Plain tall cup	St. Cuthbert, Darl'gton.
1763	Flagon, given 1887. W G; W. Grundy	Lanchester.
1766	Large set of plate. F B; Francis Butty and Nicholas Dumee	Durham Cathedral.
1771	Tankard flagons, given 1772. W G; W. Grundy	St. Cuthbert, Darl'gton.
1773	Flagon. W T; Walter Tweedie	Witton Gilbert.
1783	Tall cup, paten, and flagon. D S; Smith and Sharp	Seaham.
1785	Alms dish. J A; perhaps Jonathan Alleine	Elwick Hall.
1785	Paten and alms dish. H B; Hester Bateman	St. Mary, Gateshead.
1790	Paten, given 1790. I H; John Harris	St. Helens Auckland.
II.—YORK PLATE.		
1570	Cup; band of dots or hyphens	Elton.
1637	Paten. I P; James Plummer	Wolveston.
Do.	Cup; usual Elizabethan band. Same maker	Billingham.
1641	Cup. T H; Thos. Harrington	Aycliffe.
1642	Paten. I T; John Thompson	Gainford.
1667	Cup and cover; Elizabethan band and shape. T M; Thos. Mangy	Elwick Hall.
1688	Pair of cups and covers; engraved bands, and dated 1689. I O; John Oliver	Stockton.
1818	Cup and flagon, dated 1818. J B; Barber and Whitwell	Heighington
Do.	Pair of Patens. Same makers	Bishop Middleham.
1819	Cup. Same makers	Do.

LIST OF OLD DURHAM CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
III.—NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE PLATE.		
1664	Tall plain cup, dated 1664.  for John Wilkinson	Ryton.
No date.	Wine-glass shaped cup, baluster stem. I W for same maker	Trimdon.
Do.	Paten, with marks like Wilkinson's	Whickham.
1672	Flagons, given 1772.  for J. Douthwayte	St. Mary, Gateshead.
Do.	Cup, dated 1672. Same maker	West Boldon.
No date.	Cup. Same maker	Haverton Hill.
1681	Paten, dated 1681. WR, as at Corbridge (p. 260) for W. Ramsey	West Boldon.
Do.	Cup and cover, dated 1681.  for same maker	Church Kelloe.
No date.	Cup. WR, as at Corbridge (p. 260), for same maker	Gainford.
c. 1684	Cup. WR, as at Church Kelloe, for same maker	Barnard Castle.
1687	Paten, dated 1687. WR, as at St. Nicholas (p. 260), for same maker	Haverton Hill.
No date.	Cups. E B, with crown above. Eli Bilton	Middleton-in-Teesdale.
1702	Cup and cover, given 1702. Bi; Eli Bilton	St. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham.
1703	Two cups, dated 1704. Same maker	Stanhope.
1705	Cup. Jonathan French	Sunderland.
1707	Cup, dated 1707. Eli Bilton	Castle Eden.
c. 1708	Paten. Eli Bilton	St. Giles, Durham.
1711	Flagon, dated 1702. Jonathan French	St. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham.
Do.	Cup, dated 1712. Same maker	Esh.
1712	Flagon and paten, dated 1712. Younghusband	Sherburn Hospital.
1722	Cup. Carnaby	St. Mary, Gateshead.
1723	Tumbler cup. Jonathan French	Bishop Auckland.
1724	Cup, given 1727	Monk Heselden.
Do.	Cup, dated 1725. Thos. Partis	St. John, Dinsdale.
Do.	Cup, dated 1726	Sunderland.
Do.	Alms-dish. Thomas Partis	Do.
Do.	Cup. T P; Thomas Partis	St. John's, Weardale.
1725	Jug-shaped flagons, given 1726. Robert Makepeace	Bishopwearmouth.
Do.	Alms-dish. Thos. Partis	Sunderland.
1727	Tumbler-shaped cup	St. Hilda, So. Shields.
Do.	Flagons, dated 1727. Thos. Partis... ..	Ryton.
1730	Flagon. IC (?), for Isaac Cookson	Stockton.
1732	Paten, given 1732	St. Mary, Gateshead.
Do.	Font, given 1825. Robt. Makepeace	Ryton.
1736	Collecting basin	St. Oswald, Durham.
1737	Paten. Isaac Cookson	St. Helen, Auckland.
1740	Flagon, dated 1740. Wm. Partis	West Boldon.
Do.	Ewer-shaped flagon. James Kirkup	Staindrop.

LIST OF OLD DURHAM CHURCH PLATE.—*Continued.*

Date.	Article and Maker's Mark.	Place.
III.—(<i>Contd.</i>).—NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE PLATE.		
1742	Cup. Isaac Cookson	Sockburn.
Do.	Ewer-shaped flagon. James Kirkup ...	Staindrop.
1744	Paten, dated 1744. Wm. Partis	Heighington.
1745	Salver, given 1746. Isaac Cookson ...	Barnard Castle.
Do.	Dish, dated 1745. Wm. Partis	West Boldon.
1748	Cup. W B, with gem ring above; William Beilby of Durham	St. Mary-le-Bow, Drhm.
1749	Paten, dated 1760	Castle Eden.
1750	Paten, dated 1750. Isaac Cookson ...	Ryton.
No date.	Paten, dated 1753. Isaac Cookson ...	St. Margaret, Dh. City.
1757	Flagon, dated 1760. John Langlands ...	St. Hilda, South Shields.
1759	Alms saucer, dated 1765. Same maker ...	Castle Eden.
c. 1770	Patens. Same maker	Sunderland.
1772	Flagon, given 1845. Same maker	St. Giles, Durham City.
Do.	Paten, dated 1772. Same maker	Heworth.
1773	Flagon, dated 1769. Same maker	Jarrow.
1774	Cup and cover, and two patens, given 1775. Same maker	St. Cuthbert, Darlington.
1780	Alms dish, given 1780. Langlands and Robertson	St. Mary, Gateshead.
1784	Flagon, given 1785. Pinkney and Scott ...	Do. do.
Do.	Alms dish and flagon, given 1785. Lang- lands and Robertson	Lamesley.
1795	Cup and paten, dated 1795	Chester-le-Street.
IV.—FOREIGN PLATE.		
.....	Flagon	Greatham Hospital.
V.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCERTAIN.		
1608	Cup and paten cover, dated 1608	Bishopwearmouth.
1622	Cup and paten cover, usual band, dated 1622	Whickham.
1680	Cup and cover, dated 1680	Bishopton.
1696	Cup, dated 1696	Lamesley.
1718	Tall cup, dated 1718	St. Hilda, South Shields.
17 cent.	Straight-sided cup on low foot	St. Helens Auckland.
Do.	Chalice-shaped cup	Heworth.
Do.	Cup. A F; mullet below, 4 times repeated	Medomsley.
Do.	Cup	St. Oswald, Dh. City.
Do.	Rude cup. N H, linked; 3 times repeated	Cockfield.
Do.	Paten. N H, linked, and 5 fleurs-de-lis ...	Houghton-le-Spring.

XVI.—A BULL OF ADRIAN IV. RELATING TO NEASHAM
PRIORY, CO. DURHAM.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN, K.C.M.G., F.S.A.

[Read on the 28th May, 1893.]

NEASHAM, a Benedictine nunnery, dedicated to the Virgin, was one of the two monasteries (St. Edmund's, Gateshead, being the other) within the palatinate that alone were independent of the church of Durham; it contained only eight female votaries, and appears to have been founded by an ancestor of Lord Dacre, one of the old barons of Greystoke.

Surtees says that the original charters of the house of Neasham have been preserved by the family of Lawson, to whom the monastery was granted at the Dissolution. The earliest is apparently a charter of Henry II. confirming the foundation.

The bull of Adrian IV. is dated 3rd February, 1156-57.¹ The charter of Henry II. is not dated. Henry came to the throne in October, 1154, and probably his charter may have been granted about 1164, when the Constitutions of Clarendon were passed by a general council of barons and prelates, and when various rules were made with reference to ecclesiastical property, one being that the churches belonging to the king's fee should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent. The charter is therefore probably of a later date than the bull.

In it he concedes and confirms, 'in perpetuam elemosinam,' to God and to St. Mary of 'Nesham,' and to the nuns there serving God, the site of the church, and the carucate of land given by Emma, called in the bull the daughter of Waldeof, but now described as de Teisa and as having given it with the consent of her son Ralph. He also confirms the grant made by Engelais, here called the sister of Emma, the gift of Alan, son of Torfin, of land in Toretona, and an additional gift not mentioned in the bull, of two oxgangs (*bovatas terre*) in Neasham, by Alan de Eggescliva. Ralph fitz Ralph confirms, in a later charter, the gifts of Emma, his mother. William fitz Ralph confirms the charter of his father Ralph and adds more land.

¹ 1157 according to our reckoning. Adrian was at Benevento from January to July, 1156; he was, however, at Rome in January and February, 1157, in which month several bulls were issued by him from the Lateran.

Then Ralph fitz William, lord of Neasham, again gives to the nuns the whole plot called the Milne hills of Kent, lying betwixt Kent and the nun's land in the village of Neasham, in breadth and length from le Croke, betwixt the said plot and Hurtheworth lands to Kent bridge. Seal (white-wax): *Barry, over all three chaplets for Greystoke.*

Up to the time of Henry VII. other gifts of land which are detailed in Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii., page 259, were made from time to time to the nuns. And in 1540 when dame Joan Lawson the last prioress surrendered the house to the king, 29th December, the revenues were reported as follows:—

Priory, orchard, garden with eight oxgangs of land in the manor of the prioress	... ..	...	...	xl ^s
Total rents, etc., in Durham...	... ..	...	...	xxiv ^l i ^s xi ^d
Do. do. Yorkshire	.. ..	...	...	vi ^s x ^d
				<hr/>
				xxvi ^l ix ^s ix ^d

The clear value after deductions being £20 17s. 7d.

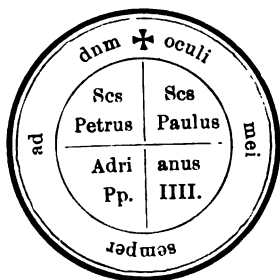
Not one stone of the old priory now remains upon another. James Lawson of Newcastle purchased the property for £227 5s. 0d., and the old charters connected with the priory are still in the possession of his descendant Sir John Lawson of Brough.

The bull, which is written in the ecclesiastical Latin of the period, is the property of Mr. Salvin and has been kindly lent by him. It is an excellent specimen of caligraphy. It is in a remarkably good state of preservation, and is signed by the pope and nineteen other cardinals and bishops. The leaden 'bulla' attached is also perfect. The following is an exact transcript of the text carefully collated with the original:—

Adrianus Episcopus Servus servorum Dei dilectis in Christo filiabus sanctimonialibus in Ecclesia Sancte Marie de Neshann Domino servientibus tam presentibus quam futuris regularam vitam professis in perpetuum.

Prudentibus virginibus que sub habitu religionis disposerunt Jesu Christo vero sponso lampadibus accensis occurrere. Tanto sunt a sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia ampliora beneficia conferenda quanto propensius in servitio domini comorari noscuntur, et ad nuptias eterni regis bonis operibus festinare. Ea propter dilecte in Christo filie vestris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, et prefatum monasterium in quo divino mancipate estis obsequio, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus. In primis siquidem statuentes ut ordo monasticus qui secundum Deum

et beati benedicti regulam in eodem loco dinoscitur institutus, perpetuis ibidem temporibus et inviolabiliter observetur. Preterea quascumque possessionis quecumque bona idem monasterium in presentiarum juste et canonice possedet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis justis modis per ante domino poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimiendi vocabulis. Locum in quo prefata ecclesia sita est, qui dicitur Mahaldecroft, quem dedit vobis Emma filia Waldef, unam carrucatum terre de dominico ejusdem Emme. In Neshann, cum medietate Offnamarum suarum, in culturis pratis et turbariis, communem pasturam totius terre sue. Culturam que vocatur Sadelfiat. Molendinum super Kent. Culturam que est inter molendinum et ecclesiam. Ex dono Engelais unam carrucatum terre. Omnes decimas vestras de dominico vestro in Neshaim, tam in blado quam in aliis. Ex dono halani filii Torphin unam carrucatum terre in phornetuna. Sane novalium vestrorum que propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis sive de nutrimentis vestrorum animalium, nullus a vobis decimas exigere presumat. Sepulturam quoque ipsius loci liberam esse concedimus ut eorum devotioni et extreme voluntati nullus obsistat qui se illic sepeliri deliberaverint nisi forte excommunicati vel interdicti sint. Salva tamen justitia matricis ecclesie. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatam ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut ejus possessiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuire, seu quibus libet vexationibus fatigare. Set illibata omnia et integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis futura. Salva sedis apostalice auctoritate, et diocesani episcopi canonica justitia. Siqua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere venire temptaverit. Secundo tertiove commonita, nisi presumptionem suam digna satisfactione correxerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine dei et domini redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districte ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua jura servantibus, sit pax domini nostri Jesu Christi. Quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant, et apud districtum judicem premia eterne pacis inveniant. Amen. Amen. Amen.²



Ego Adrianus Catholice Ecclesie
Episcopus. Bene Valcte.

² The legend on the bulla. 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum,' was one generally used by Adrian IV.

- ✠ Ego hubaldus pbr. card. titulo sce Praxedis.²
- ✠ Ego Manfredus pbr. card. tt. sce Sabine.³
- ✠ Ego bernardus pbr. card. tt. sce Clementis.⁴
- ✠ Ego octavianus pbr. card. tt. sce Cecilie.⁵
- ✠ Ego Imarus Tusculanus Episcopus.⁷
- ✠ Ego Cencius portuensis et sce Rufine episcopus.⁸
- ✠ Ego Gr[egorius] Sabinensis Episcopus.
- ✠ Ego oddo diac card. sci Georrii ad velum aureum.⁹
- ✠ Ego rodolfus diac card. sce Lucie in septa solis.¹⁰
- ✠ Ego guido diac card. Sce Marie in porticu.¹¹
- ✠ Ego Jacintus diac card. Sce Marie in cosmydyn.¹²
- ✠ Ego Johs sci Sergii et Bacchi diac card.¹³
- ✠ Ego odo diac card. sci Nicholai in carcere Tulliano.¹⁴
- ✠ Ego bonadies diac card. sci Angeli¹⁵
- ✠ Ego ardicio diac card. sci Theodori.
- ✠ Ego Astaldus pbr. card. tt. sce Prisce.¹⁶
- ✠ Ego Gerardus pbr. card. tt. sci. Stephani in celio monte.¹⁷

² Ubaldo Allucignuoli, afterwards pope Lucius III.; cardinal priest of St. Praxede, 1140-1158.—*Storia dei Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa*, by count Francesco Cristofori, Rome, 1888, *Cronotassi dei Cardinali*, vol. i. p. 61.

³ Manfred, cardinal priest of St. Sabina from 1144.—*Ibid.* p. 127.

⁴ Bernardo, a canon regular, cardinal priest of St. Clement, 1145-1176.—*Ibid.* p. 85.

⁵ Ottaviano da Monticello, cardinal priest of St. Cecilia from 1150.—*Ibid.* p. 67.

⁷ Icmaro, of the order of Cluny, bishop of Frascati (Tusculum) 1142(?)-1164. *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁸ Cencio, bishop of Porto and St. Rufina, 1159(?).—*Ibid.* p. 12. Judging from the present bull, the date should be 1156, or earlier.

⁹ Ottone da Cesena, cardinal deacon of St. George, in Velabro, from 1130.—*Ibid.* p. 241.

¹⁰ Rodolfo, cardinal deacon of St. Lucia, in Septisolio, from 1144.—*Ibid.* p. 230.

¹¹ Guido, cardinal deacon of St. Maria, in Porticu, from 1145.—*Ibid.* p. 217.

¹² Giacinto Bobone Orsini, cardinal deacon of St. Maria in Cosmedin, 1144-1191, afterwards pope Celestine III.—*Ibid.* p. 259.

¹³ Giovanni, cardinal deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus from 1145.—*Ibid.* p. 231. The only other cardinal deacon of the name of Giovanni at the time of the Neasham bull was Giovanni Pizzuto, who bore the title of St. Maria Nuova, 1155-1158.—*Ibid.* p. 223.

¹⁴ Ottone da Brescia, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas, in Carcere Tulliano, 1145-1150(?).—*Ibid.* p. 246. The Neasham bull adds six years for certain to this cardinal's life.

¹⁵ Bonadies de Bonadie, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, in Pescheria, from 1155.—*Ibid.* p. 249.

¹⁶ Astallo Astalli, cardinal priest of St. Prisca from 1145; from 1158, Actaldo(?).—*Ibid.* p. 107. The Neasham bull seems to rectify this last date, and render it probable that these names belong to one and the same cardinal.

¹⁷ Gerardo (Bernardo), cardinal priest of St. Stefano, on Monte Celio, from 1159.—*Ibid.* p. 118. The Neasham bull settles the name as Gerardo, and shows that he must have been created some three years earlier, unless these slight discrepancies are held to impugn its authenticity. They should hardly do so, since the authorities for the dates of these early cardinals appear to be very meagre.

✠ Ego Johs pbr. card. sanctorum Johannis et P(auli) et pagii (Pamachii).
 ✠ Ego Johs. pbr. card. tt. sanctorum Silvestri et martini.¹⁸

Datum Laterani manum Rolandi sancte Romane Ecclesie pbri Cardinalis et Cancellarii. iiii nones Febr. in dictione v. Incarnationis dominice Anno m c l. vi. Pontificatus vero domini Adriani pp iiii. anno iii.

The bulla has above the heads of Peter and Paul, s PA[ulus], s PE[trus], and on the reverse :—

ADRI
 ANUS
 pp iv

The following is a translation of the document :—

Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved daughters in Christ, the holy nuns now or in future serving the Lord in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Nesham, and professed in perpetuity to a regular life.

To the prudent virgins who in religious garb with lighted lamps have set themselves in order to go to meet Jesus Christ the true bridegroom. In so much as they are known to be more inclined to sojourn in the service of the Lord and to hasten through good works to the nuptials of the Eternal King, so the more benefits to be conferred upon them by the Holy Roman Church. Therefore, beloved daughters in Christ, we, of our clemency, assent to your just requests, and we take under the protection of Saint Peter and of ourselves the aforesaid monastery, of which by the Divine indulgence you are now possessed, and this we confirm by the authority of this present writing. Firstly, decreeing that inasmuch as the monastic order according to God and the rule of Saint Benedict is known to be established in the same place, that it be there observed inviolate in perpetuity. Further, whatever possessions, whatever goods the said monastery at present legally and canonically holds or may in future obtain possession of, by concession of Pontiffs, by liberality of Kings or Princes, by oblations of the faithful or by other methods legal before the Lord, they shall remain firmly secured and unimpaired to you and your successors. Amongst which we have expressly mentioned : The place in which the before-named church is situated, called Mahaldecroft,¹⁹ which Emma, the daughter of Waldef, gave to you ; one carucate of land of the lordship of the said Emma in Nesham, with a moiety of her *offnamarum*²⁰ in cultivated land in meadow and in turbary, and common pasture of all her land ; the cultivated ground which is called Sadelflat²¹ ; the mill upon the Kent ; the cultivated ground between the mill and the church. Of the gift of Engalais one carucate of land ; all your tithes of your lordship in Nesham whether in corn or otherwise. Of the gift of Halan, son of Torphin, one carucate of land in Phornetuna.²¹ No one shall presume to demand tithes

¹⁸ Giovanni da Mercone, cardinal priest of S. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti from 1145.—*Ibid.* p. 71.

¹⁹ In the grant to Lawson, 32 Henry VIII., there is mention of ' a close called Madencrofte,' also of ' a close called Saddelflat.'

²⁰ ' Offnamarum.' What is the meaning of this word ?

²¹ Meant for ' Thornetona.' See deed of Henry II. Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii., p. 238. and in Dugdale's account of the monastery mention is made of land in ' Thornton.'

from the land which you have brought under cultivation with your own hands or by hired labour, or of the food for your animals. We also concede free right of sepulture at the same place, so that no one shall make any opposition to the piety or last wishes of those who may have thought of being buried there, unless perchance they may be excommunicate or under interdict: Saving, however, the rights of the Mother Church.

We decree, therefore, that it is unlawful for any man to rashly disturb in any way the said church, either to take away its possessions or to retain them if taken, to diminish or harass it by any vexatious proceedings whatever; but all things shall be preserved whole and unimpaired of those for whose future government and sustentation they are conceded with use and enjoyment of all kinds. Saving the authority of the Apostolic See and the canonical rights of the bishop of the diocese.

If therefore, in future, any person, ecclesiastic or layman, being cognizant of this our written ordinance, be rashly tempted to act contrary to it with a second or third reminding, unless he make amends for his presumption by suitable satisfaction, he shall be deprived of his power, honour and dignity; he will know himself to be a criminal under divine judgment for perpetrated iniquity; he will be debarred from partaking of the most sacred body and blood of God and our Lord Redeemer Jesus Christ, and at the last judgment will be subject to the severest punishment.

But the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ will be with all in this same place who keep his laws, so that here they will be partakers of the fruit of good works, and when before the severe Judge will receive the rewards of eternal peace. Amen. Amen. Amen.



LEADEN *bullae* OF ADRIAN IV.

XVII.—FORGOTTEN BURYING GROUNDS OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (SECOND PAPER).

BY MABERLY PHILLIPS.

[Read on the 30th day of November, 1892.]

NORTH SHIELDS.

THE paper that I read before the Society in December last¹ recorded ‘Some forgotten burying grounds of the Society of Friends at Gateshead, Whickham, Boldon, and South Shields.’ This evening I propose to give some account of grounds that existed at North Shields high end and at Cullercoats. In the paper referred to I mentioned a meeting that was surprized in 1661 at the house of Robert Linton of South Shields when all present were taken prisoners by major Graham, the deputy-governor of Tynemouth castle, ‘and cast into nasty holes’ within the said castle where they lay a full month, and then were turned out as no charge was made against them. One of the persons so confined was George Linton of North Shields, who only survived his imprisonment a few months. One of the registers at Somerset House has the following interesting entry regarding him :—

1661. George Linton of North Shields dyed in North Shields & by the furry of-the tymes, was by relations & souldiers carryed away from friends and lyeth buried in the down end of Tinemouth kirk, the month & day not certain, but it was as fifteen thought, in the 11th or 12th month.

This interment is confirmed by the parish register, although there is a difference of two years in the date :—‘166 $\frac{3}{4}$ George Linton of North Shields buried excommunicate.’

I am indebted to Mr. Horatio A. Adamson for the extracts from the parish register, and he informs me that this is the only record there of an excommunicated person being buried.

Subsequently the Society of Friends appears to have opened a burial ground in North Shields. It was situated in Coach lane directly opposite Trinity church. It is still intact, separated from the public road by a high stone wall. For a great number of years no burials

¹ *Arch. Ael.* vol. xvi. p. 189.

have taken place there. It is now used for grazing purposes. I have only the record of a few interments, though doubtless the ground was extensively used :—

Year.	Day.	Mo.	
1711			Isabella Buston was buried in the burial-ground North Shields.
1714	18	1	Caleb Turner of North Shields Mercer buried Upper End North Shields.
1715	1	10	Johan Linton Wife of Robert Linton Upper End North Shields.
1716	15	12	Robert Linton of South Shields Upper End North Shields.
1716			Zechariah Tyzack of Tinmouth North Shields Aged 65.
1720	30	3	Abigail Wife of Caleb Turner Mercer Upper End North Shields.

From the cash books of the Society Mr. C. J. Spence has favoured me with the following extracts :—

1720	12 ^m .	16	To mending a spade for ye Graveyards use & other necessary charge Laid out	0	0	8
1721	5	9	To cutting y ^e Grass in the Burying Ground and making it into Hay and carrying it into y ^e Meeting-house Chamber paid	0	2	0
[This is an annual entry.]						
1727	4 ^m .	24 ⁿ .	To mending y ^e Grave-yards Lock : being oute of repare 4 ^d Dressing y ^e Water corse 8 ^d and Salt Pan Rubush to Lay upon y ^e Bank to hinder y ^e beasts coming into the Ditch 4 ^d = in all is	0	1	4
1759	29	5 ^m .	A legacy of £50 from Sarah Chapman of Whitby—in trust for repairing Y ^e Meeting house & walls of y ^e Burying place of y ^e People called Quakers scituate in North Shields aforesaid ... ..	.....	
1782	1	18	to the expense of making a New Door for the Grave Yard	1	12	9
1783	10	12	to the Expense of repairing Meet ^s House Grave Yard wall the Gutter &c	6	2	11
1789	11	11	D ^r to Henry Humprey for clearing Grave Yard Gutter one Year due this day	0	4	
1765	12	5	p ^d Jno Trench his bill on acct ^t of y ^e surrender of y ^e Graveyard	6	4	6
1765	10	1	paid for Graveyard Step 10 foot long a 8 ^d	6	8	
			Paid for clearing Graveyard Gutter	2	4	
[After this date the case of the gutter is an annual charge.]						

The payment in 1765 of £6 4s. 6d. to John Trench on account of the surrender of the graveyard would almost imply a change of ownership, but I have no further information on the matter.

CULLERCOATS.

George Fox, the great founder of the Society of Friends, paid his first visit to Newcastle in 1653. Very soon after that time some of

the residents of the then quiet villages of Whitley and Cullercoats must have entered the ranks of that Society, for only eight years after the date named we have a record of a burial in the ground belonging to them, 'On the 20 day of the 11 month 1661 Johanna, daughter of George Linton of North Shields was buried at Cole coates.' She was presumably a daughter of the George Linton who died excommunicated, and was buried 'at the down end of Tinemouth kirk.' From this time until 1739 the ground was regularly used.

It would appear to have originated in the following manner, in 1606 Ralph Delaval made confirmation or surrender of lands at Cullercoats to his brother Peter Delaval, in which was included Arnold's close (or Marden close). In 1618 John Delaval of Tynemouth, gentleman, made a grant in fee to Thomas Wrangham of Arnold's close, and in 1621 Thomas Wrangham and Catherine his wife sold the estate at Cullercoats called Arnold's close to Thomas Dove of Whitley and Cullercoats. The MS. from which I get this information states that 'The Doves were Quakers, and soon after the purchase at Cullercoats the above-named Thomas Dove enclosed a small portion of Arnold's close by a high wall which he intended for a burial-place for himself and family.' I incline to think that it would be some years after the purchase in 1621 before the ground was enclosed as Quakerism was hardly known at that date. The ground was most probably set apart for the purpose named by John Dove (son of the Thomas Dove previously named) who was himself buried there in 1679. When I first made enquiries of the villagers as to whether any of them could remember interments taking place, Thomas Armstrong informed me that about 1820, when he was a lad, he remembered a cab driving out from Shields, the coffin of a child taken from the same, and interred in that ground. All the other 'oldest inhabitants' contended that Armstrong was mistaken, and that no interment had taken place during the present century. When I inspected the register I found the following entry:—'Buried John Hewitt son of Robert Hewitt of North Shields, linen draper, 3 day 11 month 1818 aged 6 mo.,' showing that Armstrong's statement was correct. This appears to be the only burial after 1739. The ground is marked in the Ordnance plan. It was in existence some years after I first knew Cullercoats, and doubtless will be remembered by many of our mem-

bers. It was situated at the north-west corner of the field called Arnold's close, near to the Marden burn. The ground was maintained by the Friends at North Shields, as the following entry in their cash book testifies :—

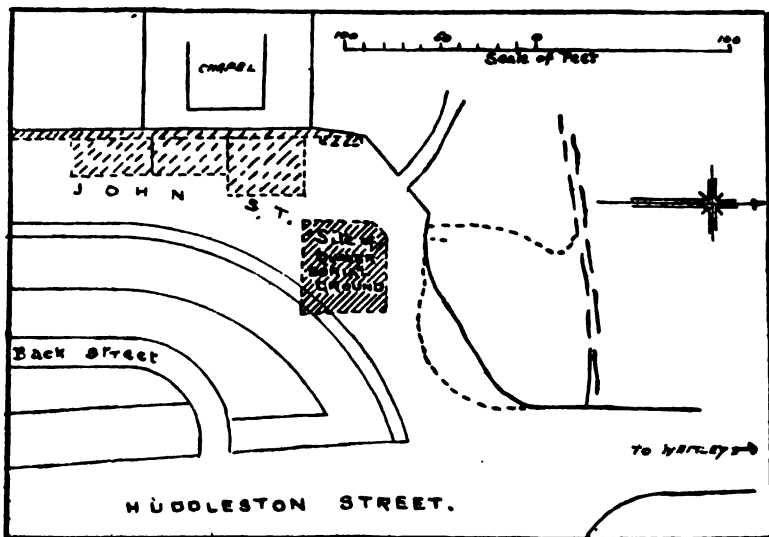
1819 Sep. 18. Received of the Society of Friends by the payment of Robert Spence the sum of thirteen pounds being the am^t agreed upon for rebuilding the Grave Yard Wall at Cullercoats.
HENRY AINSLEY.

There were many head-stones, and more than one table-stone, but in after years the enclosure became overgrown and dilapidated. It was a very favourite hiding-place for the youth of several generations wherein to secure themselves from the vigilance of the village pedagogue, 'Billy Moffat.'

In 1872 the corporation of Tynemouth desired to extend John street, Cullercoats, to Marden burn, where it would join Whitley lane. To accomplish this it was necessary to remove the ancient burying ground, and the sanction of the Society of Friends was obtained. For many years the key of the ground was kept by Mr. James Bailey of Cullercoats, whose wife's ancestors were buried therein. Mr. Bailey strongly opposed its demolition, so that forcible entry had to be made. It was arranged that all existing head-stones and what human remains could be found should be removed to Preston cemetery. I well remember the operations being carried out, and for several mornings the hedge bank was bedecked with the skulls and dried bones of members of the Society who had been interred some two centuries previously. The stones were placed against the south wall of the cemetery, where several of them may yet be seen, and considering their age and the vicissitudes they have been subjected to some of them are yet in excellent condition. Whether the stone has been particularly good or the purity of the air has aided their preservation I cannot tell, but it is exceptional to find stones in such a good state that have been exposed to the weather for over two hundred years. When they were removed to Preston the corporation undertook to be at the expense of affixing a suitable brass tablet to the wall of the cemetery explaining the cause of their removal. This I regret to say has never been attended to.

The site occupied by the burial ground may to-day be best described as on the road a little to the north of the Primitive Methodist chapel.

By the kindness of Mr. Smillie, borough surveyor, North Shields, I have been favoured with a tracing from the plan that was adopted when the alterations were made.



SITE OF QUAKER BURIAL GROUND, CULLERCOATS.

Would not the present be a suitable time to have the brass tablet fixed at Preston, and also (if permission could be gained) to have a stone inserted into the palisading of the chapel, denoting as nearly as possible the site of this interesting old ground ?

I give a copy of the stones now at Preston as far as I can decipher them, adding any information I have gathered of the families named :—

1.—[He]re lieth the body of
John Buston of North
Shields Skinner and
Glover who departed
November y^e 30th 1710(?)
Aged 58 years.
Elizabeth his daug. buried
1695—Aged 6 years.

2.—Here lyeth the Body
of John Willoby An
cor smith in North
Sheels who dep
ed this life the 5 day
of e An . Dom .
[1]689.

In 1684 John Willoughby of North Shields 'was committed to Morpeth gaol by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*.'

3.—Here Lyeth
The Body of
Martha the
Wife of Lawr
ance Haslam
Who Deceased
The 18(?) Day of
December 1703.
In the 42 year
of her age.

4.—Here lye
the body
Doratha th . .
Wife of John
Frost who
Deceased the
26 Day of
February
1694 In the
39 year of he . .
age.

Three and four are a double stone, the dexter side recording the death of the wife of Lawrence Haslam, the sinister the wife of John Frost. Lawrence Haslam was a ship captain. He was one of those taken prisoners at the house of Robert Linton at South Shields, and imprisoned in Tynemouth castle. A most interesting entry from the records of the Society of Friends shows what staunch advocates for peace they were even at this early date :—

Monthly Meeting. 10 day 11 month 1693.

Lawrence Haslam came to this meeting and friends had some discourse wth him about his having Guns in his ship, and tenderly admonished him of the evil consequences of it, and its inconsistency wth the principle of truth wth desire that he may dwell under the weighty consideration of the matter soe as to come into the unity of ffriends in his judgement and practice therein, and that ffriends who have the exercise of truth in this p'ticular upon them, may further deal wth Lawrence as in y^e wisdom of God they may see necessary and give account to this meeting.

Haslam was evidently interviewed, and soon after the following was recorded :—

12 day 1 month 1694. Jeremiah Hunter and Lawrence Weardale having spoke Laurence Haslam about carrying Guns does certifie this meeting that he gives them an acco^t that for the satisfaction of ffriends he hath sold his Guns & is to deliver them very shortly.

Such an entry may cause a smile at the present day, but we must admire the consistency of the man who for conscience sake could dispose of his guns when the northern seas must have been infested with pirates of all descriptions, and good guns must have often meant the saving of a good ship.

An entry in the register of the Society gives the marriage of Haslam's daughter :—

1698. John Tyzack son of Zachariah Tyzack of Lowfflatworth broad glass maker & Dorothy Haslam daughter of Laurance Haslam of No. Shields.

The other side of the same stone records the death of Doratha

Frost. In the register her husband is described as of North Shields, formerly of Burlington.

5.—Here lieth th . . .
 of Robert C . . .
 North Shiel
 Glouer who
 this life 20
 And his Daughter
 who departed this life
 the 16

It is curious to find this inscription confirmed by the register of Tynemouth parish church. Under date 1680, Oct. 8, we have :— ‘Robert Currey of Shields Skinner & Glover buried in Doves buriall place near Culoucoats, he was drowned in Mr. Lawsons sumpe.’

The daughter is probably the child referred to in another extract from the same parish register :— ‘Aug. 19. 1680. Robert Currey of Shields Skinner & Glover had a child buried I think at Doves buring place.’

6.—Here lyeth the bod . .
 . . . son Henry Atery
 . . . red November the 4
 . . . Dominie 167

7.—Here lyeth the body of Thomas
 Airey of North Shealds
 Intered . . . eober the 27
 Anno Dominie (?) 167(?)8.

Stones 6 and 7 record the death of members of the Airey family. The inscription upon No. 7 is confirmed by Tynemouth parish register :— ‘1675. Nov. 4. Thomas Airey buried (in Jo Doves burying place).’

A stone (8), much broken and defaced, belonged to the family of Selby. The Society register contains the following :— ‘In 1684 buried Hannah Selby Wife of Robert Selby (of Durham) formerly the wife of John Dove of Whitley.’

Stones 9, 10, 11, and 12 all refer to the Dove family. As lords of the manor they were undoubtedly the most influential people in the place. They are so interwoven with the history of the burying-place and of Cullercoats that I propose to add a short pedigree and account of them, and what particulars I have of ‘Sparrow Hall’—the mansion house that was erected by them.

9.—Hear · lyeth · the
 Body · of · Eliner ·
 Dove · Wife · William
 . . . of · Whitley · who
 . . . this · life . . .

10.—Here lyeth
 the body of
 Francis Dove
 Daughter of
 Thomas Dove
 Buried the
 Day of July 168(?)8

11.—Here lyeth
the body
of Ellenor (?)
Dove Wife
of Thomas
Dove who
Departed
this life
ye 2 Mch (?)
16 . . .

12.—Thomas Dove
.
departed
this life y^e
. . . of Aprill
. . . Anno . . .

Another stone (13), not now to be found, marked the tomb of Margaret Haddock, and was copied by Mr. David Richardson in 1856.

13.—April 5 · 1699
Here lyeth
the body of
Margaret
Haddock Daugh^r
.. f Zeph Haddock
. . . eased

The Haddocks married into the Dove family, and will come under review subsequently.

THE FAMILY OF DOVE, OF TYNEMOUTH, CULLERCOATS, AND WHITLEY.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries various members of the Dove family appear to have been considerable landowners, and to have generally held prominent positions in Tynemouth, Cullercoats, Whitley, and Monkseaton. Mr. Tomlinson in his account of Cullercoats says:—‘This little fishing village is said to derive its name from the Anglo-Saxon Culfre Cotes, *i.e.*, dove-cotes.’ (Is it possible that the surname Dove could have originated from some connection with these dove cotes?) The earliest record that I have obtained of the family is from a court holden at Tynemouth, 24th April, 1584, for our Lady the Queen, before Mr. Allen, deputy for the earl of Northumberland; Mr. Thomas Bailes, surveyor for the Queen’s Majesty’s lands in Northumberland; John Clark of Alnwick, clerk of the court; among the jurors were Robert Dove of the age of 48, Thomas Dove aged 63, and others.

My next information is from the will of Christopher Dove of Tynemouth, made in 1589.² He names his brothers Oswald and Robert of Monkseaton, also Robert, jún., son of Robert. He desires

² See Appendix 1.

to be buried in 'my parish church of Saint Oswin in Tinemouth.' His goods are 'prayed by four honest men,' and are valued at £16 16s. 4d. A Robert Dove, whom I take to be the nephew mentioned in the above will, duly makes his will in 1619.³ He describes himself 'of Whitley,' and desires to be buried in the parish church of Tynemouth. He leaves his 'new house in Tynemouth with the bark garth thereto belonging' to his son-in-law 'Gylbert Middleton and his wife.' To his wife Jane, lands in Tynemouth. To his son Thomas 'one great iron chimney in the Hall, a Buttery, a cupboard, and a lead,' etc. He makes his wife Jane and his son Thomas joint executors. The value of the goods amounts to £164. Thomas Dove, named in the will, appears to have been an only son. In 1621, two years after the death of his father, he purchased the manor of Arnold's close from Thomas Wrangham and Catherine his wife, who, a few years before, had acquired the same from John Delaval of Tynemouth, gentleman. The boundaries of the estate are given as 'On the lower Moss on the West [this is the level ground a little west of Marden House], and upon a beck called Marden on the North, and the Sea-banks towards the East, and upon a gutter or runny sworle towards the South-East.' This I take to be the little stream that now flows over the banks just south of the baths at Cullercoats. 'Most of the present town of Cullercoats therefore stands upon the land called Arnold's close, granted by different members of the family of Dove upon lease varying from 50 to 100 years, but now the land is all bought, and the whole of the township freehold.'

The MS., from which I get much of my information, says:—

The estate purchased at Cullercoats was simply called Arnold's Close, yet must not be supposed that what is called Arnold's Close—a field comprising 8 acres of land—constituted the whole of the estate. It is very evident from an examination of the old deeds of the estate that the land in the field in Tynemouth called Arnold's Close or Marden Close comprised the greater part, if not the whole, of the present Manor and Township of Cullercoats, for in the deeds the boundaries given of Arnold's Close are precisely the present bounds of the Township of Cullercoats, one of the smallest Manors probably in Northumberland, but still a Manor, the Lords of which were the Doves.

Thomas Dove died about 1666, and left three sons, John, Robert, and William. Robert the second son was of Tynemouth. In 'A

³ See Appendix II.

Terrier of lands in the Manor of Tinemouth and Preston in 1649,' a most interesting account of which is given in vol. xiii. of the *Archæologia Aeliana* by Horatio A. Adamson, Robert Dove appears as a considerable landowner. In 1674 he was one of the twenty-four of Tynemouth church. In 1677 he came to Cullercoats, and erected a house on land leased for 99 years from John and Thomas Dove for 10s. per annum. He died 13th March, 1693. The baptisms of six of his children are entered in Tynemouth parish register and shown upon the pedigree, but I have no further record regarding them. John, the eldest son of Thomas (born 1620) had extensive business transactions. In 1663 he was residing at Monkseaton, and paid £10 per annum for his house. In the same year he removed to Whitley, and paid a rental of £30.⁴ In 1673 Arthur, earl of Essex, and William Pierpoint, demise to John Dove for 21 years the collieries at Whitley. In 1677 John Dove with others grants a lease to John Carr of Newcastle, merchant, of a piece of land forming the pier at Cullercoats. Also

That parcel of ground containing 2 acres of land as the same is now dowed, Mark'd & set forth That is to say six butts or ridges of Land at the head of the Bank next the Pier or Key there lately erected & also all that parcel of ground containing 15 yards in breadth as the same is dowed, Marked, & set forth for a waggon way or ways in, thro, along the said Close from the upper Dam belonging to Tynemouth Mill, alias Marden Mill to the Pier head & Top of the bank.⁵

The waggon-way here mentioned is interesting, as it must have been one of the earliest in Northumberland. In 1600 waggons and waggon-ways had not been invented, but coals were brought down from the pits in wains.⁶

The earliest record of coals being delivered by waggon was in 1671 at Teams staiths only six years prior to the formation of the waggon-way at Cullercoats.⁷

The purpose of the waggon-way was to bring the coals from Whitley colliery to Cullercoats haven where they were shipped. Two wooden piers, the foundations of which may still be traced, formed a protection for small ships which were brought at high tide close up to the bank. The waggon-way came from Whitley colliery down by the

⁴ Hodgson, *Northd.* vol. i. part iii. p. 243. Rentals and rates for Northumberland with the proprietors.

⁵ See Appendix III.

⁶ Richardson, *Table Book*, vol. i. p. 237.

⁷ Richardson, *Table Book*, vol. i. p. 301.

south side of Marden burn, past the north wall of the old burial ground, and then at a point now occupied by Albert place (the north end of Brown's buildings) turned into the present main street of Cullercoats, continuing along the west side of the same until it reached the bank top, where the look-out house now stands. Here the coals would be shot over the bank in spouts to the vessels below.⁸

A few years ago when cellars were being excavated for the 'Newcastle Arms,' the rails and sleepers of the waggon-way were unearthed. In many old documents the boundaries of properties are given as on the east by the front street or waggon-way.⁹

I have previously stated that I think this John Dove was the founder of the burial ground. He was evidently an ardent member of the Society of Friends. He was one of those arrested at South Shields, and spent one month of the year 1661 a prisoner in Tyne-mouth castle. In 1675 his children appear to have caused some uneasiness to the members of the Society, as at the monthly meeting held 8 day 9 month several friends were desired 'to speak with John Dove touching his children, and give an account thereof at the next monthly meeting.' His first wife's name was Mary, she died 20·12·1672, and was buried at Cullercoats. He subsequently married Hannah, daughter of Francis Lascelles of Stank. She survived her husband, and afterwards married Robert Selby, physician, of the city of Durham.¹⁰ She was buried in the Cullercoats ground 14·11·1684 as Hannah Selby, wife of Robert Selby, formerly wife of John Dove of Whitley. The fragments of a stone are at Preston that recorded her interment. John Dove died of the flux 20·1·1679, and was interred at Cullercoats. His will is dated Feb. 22, 1678.¹¹

⁸ About thirty colliers of 230 tons each were freighted with coals, two and sometimes three being loaded at one tide. Mackenzie, in his *History of Northd.*, states that there was a colliery in Union street, North Shields, the owners of which not being permitted to load their coals at Shields, though the pit was within a few yards of the river, sent them in carts to Cullercoats, where they were shipped.

⁹ Extracts from the Will of Robert Southern, January 14, 1734.

All that my messuage & dwelling houses or tenements with their appurtenances situate in Coulercoats aforesaid and now in my own possession & adjoining unto a parcell of Ground belonging to Mrs. Gilpin on the west and on the street or waggon way upon the east.

¹⁰ Deed, February, 1684.

Appointment by Hannah Selby late Dove of her husband Robert Selby physician to be Tutor and Guardian of her daughter Sarah Dove in case of his death she appointed her brother M^r Daniel Lascelles of Stank.

¹¹ See Appendix IV.



South Front, 1880.



North Front.

'SPARROW HALL,' CULLERCOATS.

[The illustration of the North Front of 'Sparrow Hall' has been kindly lent by Mr. W. W. Tomlinson, author of *Historical Notes of Cullercoats, etc.*]

Thomas, his son by his first wife Mary, inherits Arnold's close. Much of his Whitley property goes to Sarah, the child of his second wife. Thomas Dove, like his father, entered into extensive business engagements. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shipton of Lythe, Yorkshire.

In 1686 he built a mansion house in Cullercoats, where he is said ever after to have resided. It was a house of goodly proportions. It faced the north overlooking the Marden burn, and would have a fine view seawards. At the rear were malt house, barn, stabling, gardens, etc. By the kindness of Mr. Knowles, I am able to produce a sketch of the north front as it appeared in 1853. On the apex of the east gable may still be seen a carving or casting bearing the initials T.D.E.D. and the form of a bird. There was also until recently a date upon the back-door lintel, and a representation of a bird. A dove, descriptive of the name of the builder, was evidently intended, but the local people took the bird for a sparrow, and for many years the house has been known as 'Sparrow hall.' It is sadly altered now. I shall have to refer to it again further on in my paper. A very interesting account of the old place may be found in the *Weekly Chronicle* for October 18th, 1883, by Mr. H. A. Adamson.

As lord of the manor, Thomas Dove grants a lease in 1682 to Richard Simpson of Lythe, Yorkshire, to get coal at Cullercoats, but I cannot find any information as to whether this project was ever carried out. Mr. Hudlestone in 1770 states that there is 'a good band of coal extending through the whole freehold for the working whereof the late Mr. Dove entered into partnership, but was prevented carrying it into execution by his death.' In 1690 he sold land at Cullercoats to John Atkinson of Cullercoats. In 1698 he grants a lease to Richard Brough and others to get freestone on the condition that they do not cart any waste or rubbish over the bank during the term of the said lease, but secure it on the shore, showing that the quarry must have been close to the sea. From inquiries made I am led to think that this quarry would be at the face of the cliff near the clock-house as from here the stones were wrought for the building of the present piers.¹² This Thomas Dove died in 1704, his will being

¹² Mason's Lease for the Quarry, commencing September 29th, 1698.

The said Thomas Dove for himself his heirs covenants grants & agrees with

dated April 15 of that year. He leaves three daughters and one son, John, (all under age). The manor of Arnold's close is left to his son—his wife is not named—and his loving brother Henry Hudson, formerly of Newbiggin, now of Whitley (who married his half-sister Sarah), is appointed executor. He evidently retained his connection with the Society of Friends. In 1682 he was one of those deputed 'to take care to bring in an account of what sufferings happened to each particular district meeting.' He was buried in the Cullercoats ground, a much-defaced stone at Preston most probably marked the resting place of himself and his wife. John Dove, son and heir of Thomas, is described as of Wapping, grocer. Two years after his father's death he, in conjunction with Henry Hudson, promotes a new industry in Cullercoats by letting a piece of ground '14 yds. in width, 30 yds. in length . . . extending from the rock where the gutter runs down under the banks nigh unto the Key, Pier, or Wharf to Thomas Fearon of South Shields for the erection of two Salt Pans, with liberty to load ships, etc., and also to erect above the bank Garners and Salters Houses.' The position named is close to the present baths in Cullercoats haven. The foundations of the salt pans were removed when the present foreshore was made for the boats.¹³ In the same year (1706) John Dove sold the mansion house at Cullercoats (built by his father and mother in 1686) to Zephaniah Haddock who had married his cousin Eleanor Dove. Presumably if he were residing at

the said Richard Brough William Metcalfe, John King & William Brough their Exors &c. that it shall & may be lawful for the said R B &c. to break and uncover what ground they may or shall have occasion to work in the said close now in the occupation of John Rogers & Partners concerned therein the Free Stone Quarry now is paying therefore Yearly and every year one Penny for every square yard of Land so broken . . . to continue for the term of nine years . . . the said R B &c. . . doth hereby oblige themselves their Exors &c. not to cart any waste or rubbish over the Bank during the said term but secure it on the shore.

¹³ Salt Pans at Cullercoats. Thomas Fearon's Settlement, 1706.

This indenture between Thomas Fearon of Cullercoats W. Dove of Whitley & Hy Hudson of Whitley &c. did let unto Thomas Fearon of South Shields in the County of Durham Salt Merchant, all that parcel of ground containing 14 yards in width and 30 yards in length lying and being in p^t of Arnold's Close Extending from the Rock where the gutter runs down under the banks nigh unto the Key, Pier or Wharf, for the erecting of two salt pans thereon together with free liberty at all times to load Ship send away & export from the s^d pier, all such quantities of Salt as the s^d Thomas Fearon should make in his s^d Salt Pans & also to erect & build above the Bank Garners & Salters House Also to lay Coals thereon to be used & spend in the s^d Salt pans not exceeding 6 yards in breadth & in length to the West hedge or Dyke on the top of the Bank or Dam.

Wapping he would not require the house in Cullercoats. In 1710 he married Mary, daughter of Enoch Hudson of Brunton, who was buried in the Quig's burying ground, Newcastle, 1715.

I have no record of John's death, but it was certainly prior to 1734. His wife survived him, and subsequently married B. Gilpin. In some 'Historic Memoranda concerning Cullercoats,' among the questions asked in 1770 by Mr. Hudleston regarding the land is the following:—'If the stone of the Quay &c. since the same was washed down were not sold or otherwise disposed of by M^{rs}. Gilpin for repairs and buildings of Houses in Cullercoats and what right of ownership she has revived since the death of her late husband John Dove.' The issue of the marriage of John Dove and Mary Hudson was one daughter, Eleanor, who married the rev. Curwin Hudleston of Whitehaven, second son of William Hudleston of Hutton John. By this marriage the manor of Arnold's close, bought by Thomas Dove in 1621, passed to the Hudlestons. The various lines of ownership down to the present day are shown upon the pedigree. In 1770 the rev. Curwin Hudleston opened up negotiations with the duke of Northumberland for the sale of the estate, when some interesting correspondence followed regarding the ownership of the pier.

I have traced the family and the property that descended from John Dove (who died in 1679) by his first wife Mary. I must now revert to Sarah, the child of his marriage with Hannah Lascelles. In her father's will she was left lands at Whitley. She married Henry Hudson, second son of Henry Hudson of Newbiggin. The issue of the marriage was one son, Henry. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Ellison of Otterburn. Henry Hudson owned and resided at Whitley hall. He died at Bath, May 15, 1789, aged 69, a tablet to his memory being erected in the abbey church at that place. Mrs. Hudson survived her husband many years. She died in 1815, aged 86, and was buried at Tynemouth.

Now we return to William Dove, the third son of Thomas, who purchased Arnold's close in 1621. He was born about 1629, and was one of those imprisoned in Tynemouth castle, 1661. In 1690 he is mentioned in the Quaker records. He was buried at Cullercoats in 1690, and left several daughters. Barbara married Thomas

Fearon, who in 1706 built salt pans in Cullercoats. Fearon was buried at Cullercoats in 1717, aged 39 years and 6 months. Eleanor, another daughter of William Dove, married Zephaniah Haddock, 24 day 7 month, 1696. The marriage is entered in the register of the Society. 'Eleanor Dove daughter of William Dove Yeoman of Whitley married Zephaniah Haddock of North Shields, County of Northumberland Shoemaker.' In another place he is styled cord-wainer. Ten years afterwards Haddock removed to Cullercoats, for in 1706 he purchased the mansion of John Dove. Mrs. Haddock died in 1717, and her husband in 1739; they were both buried at Cullercoats. Zephaniah left three daughters: Barbara, who married John Simpson; Patience, who married John Heddon; and Margaret, who married John Shipley. They appear each to have inherited some portion of the mansion house, Sparrow hall, and to have held in common the outbuildings and adjoining ground.

In 1763 an indenture is made dividing the outbuildings, etc.: Margaret Simpson takes the brew-house 'and that part of the curtain or waste ground on the north side of the said mansion house extending from the east side of the back door cheek to the east side of the north curtain gate, with all the rights,' etc.

Patience Heddon takes the east part of the malting, and waste ground on the south side thereof, the barn, and one full moiety of the west end of the curtain behind the mansion from the west side of the back door cheek to the west side of the curtain gate.

Margaret Shipley takes the west part of the malting, the waste ground on the south side thereof, the stable, and a moiety of the west end of the said curtain behind the said mansion house from the west side of the said back door cheek to the west side of the curtain gate. The garden with the passage through the said mansion and curtain behind, and a passage, 8 feet wide, from west to east on the front or south side of the malting was to be kept open for the common use. And it was agreed that in case the said Margaret Shipley should chuse to build in the curtain behind the said mansion house, where the old house then stood, it should be lawful for her to build to the height of one storey, with such a good and sufficient wall that the said John Heddon might build such conveniences thereon as he should think proper, and that they should

be at equal expense in covering the said building.' It can well be understood that such plurality of ownership would lead to many complications. From time to time gardens and outhouses have been disposed of and cottages built upon the ground, and the fine passage way that ran through the house has been converted into rooms.

But time laid his hand heavily upon the old building! In 1887 the roof fell in, and the property was eventually condemned as unfit for habitation. A local builder, Mr. George Lisle of Whitley, then purchased certain rights, and jointly with some of the other owners greatly repaired the place, but almost defacing its original design, the north front being now the back. Nevertheless, it is interesting to record that two of the present proprietors, though in humble life, are direct descendants of the Doves, Richard Simpson, who owns the east rooms both up and downstairs, and Mrs. Brunton, who owns the west room upstairs. The course of their descent will be seen upon the pedigree.¹⁴

There is one member of the Dove family whom I have failed to identify, namely, Lieutenant Dove. In the 'terrier of lands,' previously referred to, he is named as owning lands. By the kindness of Mr. C. J. Spence I am favoured with an interesting entry from Fox's MS. Journal:—'Autumn, 1657. From Newcastle we travelled through the countries having meetings and visiting Friends as we went in Northumberland and Bishoprick. A very good meeting we had at Lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching.'

LIST OF BURIALS IN THE FRIENDS' BURIAL GROUND AT
CULLERCOATS.

1661	20	11	Johanna D. George Linton of North Shields.
1672	20	7	Alice D. Wm. Dove & Eleanor his wife of Whitley.
1672	20	12	Mary Wife John Dove of Whitley.
1676			William S. Joseph Lisle of Whitley & Eliz th his Wife.
1676	12	9	Mary D. William Dove & Eleanor his wife.
1679	20	1	John Dove Whitley Died of flux aged 59.
1684	14	11	Hannah Selby Wife Robert Selby formerly Wife of John Dove of Whitley.
1685	18	5	Thomas Fearon of Colourcoats.
1686	18	12	Robert S. Robert & Isabel Curry.
1690	20	10	Jeremiah S John Peel Cullercoats & Ann his Wife.

¹⁴ See Appendix V.

1692	16	10	Jacob S. Robert Storey & Elleanor his Wife.
1692	28	10	Elleanor Wife Wm. Dove of Whitley.
1694	12	12	Abigail & Marg ^t Ds. of Caleb Tennant & Abigail.
1694	28	12	Elizabeth D. John Buston of No. Shields Skinner & Isabel his Wife.
1695	12	2	Temperance Wife of Thomas Buston of North Shields.
1696	1	12	Alice Wife of William Ingledeu late of Stockton.
1696	28	12	Dorothy Wife John Frost No. Shields formerly of Burlington.
1697	23	3	Benjamin S. Caleb Tennant & Abigail his Wife.
1699	11	2	Margaret D. Zephaniah Haddock.
1699	8	12	William S. Zephaniah Haddock.
1705	17	9	Thomas Sole of Linn Died at North Shields.
1706	7	5	Elinor D. Zephaniah Haddock & Eleanor his Wife Aged 3 mo.
1708	12	1	Thomas Richardson of North Shields.
1710	1	2	Israell Brown of South Shields.
1710	3	9	Joan Robinson Wife of Richard Robinson North Shields.
1710	30	9	John Buston.
1713	12	1	Ellenor Atkinson Wife William Atkinson Low Lights.
1714	8	5	William Dove of Whitley Aged about 85 years.
1716	5	9	Zephaniah S. Zephaniah Haddock & Eleanor his Wife.
1716	18	11	Barbara The Wife of Thomas Ffearon of Whitley.
1717	3	2	Thomas Ffearon of Whitley. 39 & 6 mo.
1717	17	2	Ellinor Haydock Wife of Zephaniah Haydock of Cullercoats. 45.)
1727		8	Shem Peirson Marriner.
1739	29	3	Zephaniah Haddock of Cullercoats.
1818	3	11	John Hewitt S. of Robert Hewitt Draper of North Shields.

BATHS AT CULLERCOATS.

Copy of letter from R. Robinson respecting the baths at Cullercoats:—

Boldon, April 22, 1808.

Sir / I have perf^d my promise in copying the lease and sending it to you. Please to ask M^r Huddleston if he gave any leave to M^r Richard Armstrong to Build Baths below the South Bank at Cullercoats: if not I think it necessary that he should be informed they are built and been in use last summer. Also that the sea banks have fallen in between W^m Shipleys house & one belonging to him wherein one Loff who keeps an Alehouse lives, but more in danger of M^r Shipleys owing chiefly to the poor inhabitants getting coal at a seam above the freestone in the Bank.

Your obt. servant

R. ROBINSON.

APPENDICES.

I

The VIIIth day of April 1589.

In Nomine Dei Amen, I Xpoper Dove of Tinemouth sick in body yet thank be god of good & perfect remembranc maketh this my last Will & Testament in manner and forme following. First. I give and bequeath my soule to Allmightie

god my onely maker sayvour and redeamer Jesus Christ by whose precious blood death and passion I trust to be saved and my bodie to be buried within my parish church of Saint Oswin in Tinemouth my debts legacies and mortuaries due and accustomed by lawe payed *Item* I give and bequyith to William Otwaye my Brother in law the boolez of Malt and he to pay forth of the same to Widlow Dove of Newcastle late wief of Oswald Dove my elder brother deceased 3/4 and to Agnes Hutcheson and Agnes Fyndeley between them 3/4 I give to Anne Otway Widow late wief of James Otway deceased 6/8 in money and one bushell of Ots which I have sowen with her and all the benefit growing and coming thereof. *Item* I give and bequyeth to Oswine Doves childer amongst them XX^s in money. *Item* I will give and bequyeth to 6 childer of William Otway amongst them every one 20^s/- (£6). *Item* I give and bequyeth to Robert Dove son to Robert Dove of Monkseaton my Brother three oxen and nag and the one half being my parte of all kind of corne and grayne sowen with my said Brother Robert Dove of his tenement in Monkseaton. I give to Robert Otway the younger sonne of William Otway of Tynemouth one foole. *Item* I give to my Brother Oswin Doves Daughter in Monckseaton 20^s/- . *Item* I give to Janet Dove my Brother Robert his Daughter 20^s/- . I give and bequyeth to Alyson Hall Dowghter of Robert Hall of Whitly 10£. All the residuee of my goods not legated & geven away my debtes and funerell expences payed. I give and bequyeth to Robert Dove my Brother and William Otway my brother-in-lawe whom I maik my Executor of this my last Will and Testament, and they to paye my debts and dispose the residue for my sowles health. Wytnesses of my sayd Will Richard Dawson, John Hindmers, Robert Hindmers, Robert Helme, Edmund Hutchinson with others

Debit p. defunct Debent.

Imprimus To M ^r James Vale for one Oxe	...	...	50 ^s /-
William Anderson	...	...	7 ^d
Robert Rey for one peck of pease	...	...	8 ^d
Lancelot Nicholson Maryner	...	...	3/4 ^d
Sum Totalis	...	...	54 ^s 7 ^d

Debit defunct Debent.

Imprimus Agnes Hodgson Widow ..	...	...	28 ^s /-
Robert Spearman	...	...	9 ^s /-
Mathew Gofton	...	...	20/-
Thomas Robinson alias Ember Thorne	...	...	4 ^s /-
the same Thomas for one boole of Oots	...	...	3/6
Thomas Smyth	..	..	3/4
George Yalaley	...	...	3/4
Widow Otway late wief of James Otway	...	...	40 ^s /-
Henry Smyth maryner	...	...	3/4
William Otway	...	...	11 ^l 10/-
Thomas Hall of Monkseaton	...	...	6 ^l 5/-
Thomas Atkinson of Preston	...	...	7 ^s /-
Sum totalis	...	...	23 ^l 15 ^s 6 ^d

An Inventory of all goods as well moveable as immoveable of Xpopper Dove late deceased prayed by four honest men that is to say, Richard Dawson, Thomas Dove of tynemouth Richard Mynes & Tho^r Pryour of Monkseaton.

Imprimus 4 oxen price	6 ^l 13 ^s 4 ^d
Item one horse and one mare	3 ^l 10 ^s 0 ^d
" " Stott	12 ^s 0 ^d
" " foole	13 ^s 4 ^d
" my Brasse Pottes price	4 ^s 0 ^d
" two chargers	1 ^s 8 ^d
Item two basins	2 ^s 0 ^d
" one Almery with a chest	20 ^s 0 ^d
" half the corne on the ground	4 ^l 10 ^s 0 ^d
Summ Totalis	16 ^l 16 ^s 4 ^d

II.—WILL OF ROBERT DOVE, 1619.

In the name of God, Amen. I Robert Dove of Whitley in the Coy of Northumberland, my bodie to be buried in the parish Church of Tynemouth I give and bequeath to my Daughter Barbary Dove fifteen pounds. *Item* my will is that my executors shall pay to my Daughter Katherin Grene 10^s/- yearly during her life natural. *Item* I give to my Daughter Jane Litster three pounds. *Item* I give to Elenor the Daughter of Gylbert Midleton ten pounds, if she live or else the said ten pounds to be put forth to the use of the rest of her Brothers or Sisters which shall then living. *Item* I give to Thomas Otway son of Richard Otway of Monkseaton forty shillings. *Item* I give to Katheren Taylor one Cowe. *Item* I give to my Daughter Margaret Otway one Cowe. *Item* I give to Jane Grene Daughter of William Grene of Morpeth one Whye. *Item* I give my new house in Tynmouth with the bark garth thereto belonging, to my son-in-law Gylbert Midleton and his wife and to the longer liver of them. *Item* I give to my wyfe Jane Dove my land in Tynmouth during her life natural and my son Thomas Dove to occupy the same or the one half. *Item* I give to my son Thomas Dove one great iron Chimney in the Hall, a Buttrey a cupboard and a lead with all my husbandrie geare also a table with a form and one feather bed with furniture; and all the rest of my goods moveable and moveable I give to my wife Jane and my son Thomas Dove whom I make joint Exors of this my last Wyll and Testament. Witnesses Gylbert Midleton Rychard Hodgsons, William Ottwane, Ralph Dove and William Robinson Clerk.

Amount of Inventory £164.

III.—LEASE OF WAGGON-WAY.

1677, July 30, 29 Chas. II.

A copy of the first lease for the cart way & Pier—99 years. Rent £5. This indenture made between John Dove of Whitley in the Co of Northumb^r Thomas Dove of Whitley Ralph Hedworth of Chester Deanery in the County of Durham on the one part & John Carr of the Town and County of N^rCastle Merchant on the other part Witnesseth that the said &c &c doth lease and let unto the said John Carr &c &c all that parcel of ground containing 2 Acres more or less as the same is now dowled Marked & set forth

That is to say six butts or ridges of Land at the head of the Bank next the Pier or Key there lately erected & also all that parcel of ground containing 15 yards in breadth as the same is dowed, marked, & set forth for a waggon way or ways in, thro, along the said close from the upper Dam belonging to Tyne-mouth Mill alias Marden Mill to the Pier head and Top of the bank & also all that parcel of waste ground below the Bank of the said Arnolds close as the same extended from the High Water Mark to the low water mark or so far as the sea doth ebb & flow to the utmost bounds whereon the said Key Pier, or Wharf is now erected & built. And also full & free liberty for him the said John Carr his Exors, &c., from time to time & at all times during the term herein after and by these presents granted to lay, place & fix within & through the s^d parcel of ground, Rails & Sleepers or other Wood Iron or timber for the making of a sufficient & convenient waggon way with power to employ horses and men for the said John Carr his Assigns &c to dig and cut gutter trenches in the said Arnolds close for the conveying away of water from the said way or ways.

IV.—WILL OF JOHN DOVE OF WHITLEY, GENT.

1678. Gives unto Shipton & Fearon all estate in 4th part of Colliery & Coal-mines at Whitley demised by Earl of Essex & William Pierpoint together with 4th part of gins &c.

Also one 4th part of Pier, Key, or Wharf, with house thereupon erected and also the whole salt pans built upon the Pier, and also the 4th part of Mordaunts Close alias Arnolds Close granted unto John Dove of N^o Castle Merchant in trust for him.

Upon trust to raise £500 for Mary Jekyl Widow Daughter Mary £30 Children of Robert M . . . £30.

To pay £100 borrowed of Rich^d Shipton.

To Wife Hannah Dove for life Remainder to Daughter Sarah Dove.

Mentions Children of said John Dove by Mary.

Lands to Daughter Sarah on decease of Wife Remainder to heirs of body of his said former Wife Mary.

In default to his own right heirs.

Unto his eldest Son Thomas all plows wains and Instruments of Husbandry.

Daughter Mary £10 besides £20.

Daughter Elizabeth £10 besides £20.

Son Henry £5.

Brother Williams 5 Children 20/- a piece.

Unto Sister Jane Lawrence.

Dear Wife Hannah Sole Extrix

V.—CULLERCOATS.

Indenture made between *John Headon* of Colourcoats [*sic*] Mariner 22 Oct., 1763 and *Patience* his wife of the 1st part *Margaret Simpson* of Colourcoats Widow of *John Simpson* of the same place Mariner dec^d who was Eldest Son & Heir of John Simpson late of Colourcoats Mariner & *Barbara* his wife both dec^d of the second part *Margaret Shipley* of Colourcoats afs^d Widow of John Shipley late of the same place Mariner dec^d which said *Barbara Patience** and *Margaret Shipley* were the Daughters of *Zephaniah Haddock* late of Colourcoats Cordwainer dec^d of the 3rd part & *Nicholas Armstrong* of Colourcoats aforesaid Gentleman of the 4th pt. Reciting that the s^d Margaret Simpson John Headon & Patience his wife & Margaret Shipley were seized of a *Malting Brewhouse Stable Barn*

Barbara Haddock must have married *John Simpson*

* So in deed.

Garden Waste Ground & premises with the appt^o therein after particularly ment^d (that was to say) of & in All that Malting Brewhouse Stable Barn & Garden with the waste ground thereunto adjoining situate standg lying & being in Colourcoats aforesaid and then in the possession tenure and occupation of them the said Marg^t Simpson John Headon & Patience his wife & Margaret Shipley or one of them all which said premises adjoin upon or near to the *Mansion House* in Colourcoats aforesaid which said *Mansion House* and all other the premises therein before par^v mentioned were late the Estate of the s^d *Zephaniah Haddock* And recit^s that the s^d Margaret Simpson & John Headon and Patience his wife and Margaret Shipley had agreed to make a partition and division of the premises It is witnessed & the before ment^d premises were conveyed.

Dove's mansion
house

1 As to the middle part or share the whole into 3 parts equally to be divided of the said Malting and Waste Ground on the South side thereof as the same was set off and divided together with the Brewhouse and that part of the Curtain or waste ground on the North side of the said *Mansion House* extending from the East side of the back door cheek to the East side of the North Curtain Gate with all the rights etc *To the use & behoof* of the s^d *Margaret Simpson her heirs & assigns for ever*.

Curtain

2 And as to All that East part or share of the Malting & Waste ground on the South side thereof as the same was set off & divided with the Barn and one full moiety of the West end of the Curtain behind the *Mansion* from the West side of the Back door Cheek to the West side of the Curtain gate with all the rights etc. To the use & behoof of the s^d John Headon & Patience his wife their heirs & assigns for ever.

Must be east

3 And as to the *West part* or share of the said Malt^s and Waste ground on the South side thereof as the same was set off & divided with Stable & a Moiety of the West end of the said Curtain behind the said *Mansion House* from the West side of the said back door Cheek to the West side of the Curtain Gate with all the rights etc. to the use and behoof of the said *Margaret Shipley* her heirs & ass^s for ever.

And as to the said Garden with the passage through the said *Mansion House* & Curtain behind the same & a passage of 8 feet wide from West to East on the front or South side of the said Malting it was agreed to be kept open & used for the benefit of all the parties And it was agreed that in case the s^d Margaret Shipley should *chuse* to build in the Curtain behind the said *Mansion House* where the old *House* then stood it should be lawful for her to build to the height of one story with such a good and sufficient Wall that the said John Headon might build such conveniences thereon as he sho^d think proper & that they should be at an equal expense in covering the said building.

The Deed was executed by

John Headon
Patience Headon
Margaret Simpson &
Margarett Shipley

[Sic]

& was attested by
Chris. Barker
Tho^s Richardson



J. C. Edwards, Photo.

GENERAL VIEW OF BLANCHLAND, FROM S. W.

XVIII.—BLANCHLAND.

BY THE REV. ANTHONY JOHNSON, VICAR OF HEALEY.

[Read on the 30th August, 1893.]

BLANCHLAND, like Slaley (which some of our members visited on Friday, the 16th of June, 1893), originally, and until the year 1724, formed part of the ancient and extensive parish of Bywell St. Andrew. On a fine summer's day few excursions can be pleasanter than a drive through Minsteracres park, then turning westward along the valley of the Derwent, or from Slaley over the Bolbeck common—high, wide, wild, and lonely—until you drop with a rapid descent and pleasant surprise into the lovely valley of the winding Derwent, and suddenly discover the charming little village of Blanchland spread out before you, like an oasis in the desert, with its rich and fertile meadows, and its massive square-towered church and many other remnants of monastic buildings, grey with age, a sight to delight the eye either of an antiquary or an ordinary visitor. In the village itself we see to-day in the bright, clean cottages every sign of comfort and prosperity, and we perceive that Blanchland is rightly named 'The Happy Village.' A hundred years ago it must have presented a very different appearance, for Hutchinson, who visited the place about A.D. 1776, gives but a doleful account of what he saw. 'By a disagreeable road,' he says, 'in a desolate country, we travelled to Blanchland, seated in a narrow deep vale, on the river Derwent; a few strips of meadow ground lay along the margin of the stream, and some cultivated lands skirt the feet of the hills, whose summits are covered with heath. This is a very different situation from others I have seen, chosen by the Religious for the foundation of their houses; the country around is barren and mountainous; the narrow vale in which the abbey is placed, seems in no-wise suited to the maintenance of its former inhabitants—poverty for ages past has reigned over the face of the adjacent country. The scites of religious houses are generally in well-sheltered and warm situations, where the retirements are surrounded with rich lands.

This place looks truly like the realm of mortification. . . . The west¹ end and tower of the church and the south² aisle of the cross remain; the latter neatly fitted up for parochial duty. . . . The towers on each hand converted into ale-houses; the buildings which are standing are now inhabited by poor people, who are perhaps employed in the leadworks; the distress and ragged appearance of the whole conventual buildings, being most deplorable; no one relique of church pomp remaining. To compensate for the disagreeable review of cells of poverty, we walked in the levels adjoining the church, when it happened to be the time of divine service; the psalm of the congregation, at our distance, had a degree of solemn harmony, which inspired serious though pleasing reflections; sentiments and ideas succeeded, which dignify the mind of man, and give him competition with angels.³

The abbey of Blanchland was founded in A.D. 1165 by Walter de Bolbeck, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, for twelve Premonstratensian canons, with liberty to add to their number. Bolbeck was the barony of John de Bolbeck in the reign of Henry III. In the first year of king Edward I. it was held by sir Hugh de Bolbeck, who, as Camden informs us, fetched his descent by his mother from the noble barons of Mon-Fitchet. Sir Hugh died without male issue, and it came to his four daughters, namely, *Margery*, who married Nicholas Corbet, and afterwards Ralph, son of William, lord Greystock; *Alice*, who married Walter de Huntercomb, baron of Wooler; *Philippa*, who married Roger de Lancaster; and *Maud*, who married Hugh, baron of Delaval. Alice and Maud having no issue, the whole barony was divided between Nicholas Corbet and Roger de Lancaster. We find a mediety of it in the possession of Robert de Harle of Kirk Harle, heir of Roger de Lancaster, 24 king Edward III., in which he was succeeded by sir Ralph de Hastings, his nephew, by his sister Margaret; the other mediety belonging to William, lord Greystock, by Margaret's second marriage. The barony was in the crown in the twelfth year of queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1569, when a survey was

¹ The east end and north transept were what he would see. He had evidently lost his bearings.

² What he thought to be the south aisle was really the chancel and part of the nave; 'the towers on either hand' being the present inn and the old gate tower.

³ Hutchinson, *Northd.* vol. i. pp. 118, 119.

taken in which it is stated that 'the Barony of Bulbeck extendeth into the Towns and Hamletts of Bromehaugh, Rydding, Helye, Shotley, Slaylye, and Mynstreares All which Towns and Hamletts are very well Inhabited with Men of good Service and have very good ffarms and able to keep much Cattle and get plenty of Corn and Hay were it not for the continual Robberies and Incursions of the Thieves of Tyndall which so continually assault them in the Night as they can keep no more Cattle than they can Lodge either in the House or in like safety in the Nights.'⁴ On the '21st of October, 38th Eliz. 1596, Henry Widderington held the Manor of Bolbeck as the 10th part of a knight's fee and the Manor of Haughton and appurtenances, and Humshaugh, certain lands in Burkley [Birtley], Bingfield, and Stonecroft, Stanely field and Whitingham of the Queen's Barony of Tindale as one knight's fee. He died 9th of March 40th Eliz. Henry Widderington son of Edward Widderington his son is heir.'⁵ The barony of Bolbeck came afterwards into the possession of the Bakers of Elemore hall, in the county of Durham. It was sold by George Baker to George Silvertop of Minsteracres, from whom it has descended to the present lord of the manor, H. T. Silvertop of Minsteracres.

When Walter de Bolbeck founded the abbey he gave to it the lordships, demesnes, and advowson of the church of Blanchland, the appropriations and advowsons of the churches of Harlow, Bywell, Styford, Shotley, and Apperley, dedicated to St. Andrew, the tithes of the village of Wulwardhope, and twelve fishes for their table out of his fishery at Styford, in lieu of tithe-fishes. Lands near Acton, on Bolbeck common, belonged to the abbey, and it had property also in the parishes of Wolsingham, Stanhope, and Bolam. The Nevilles were benefactors of the abbey; also John de Torrington and Peganus de Caducis, by deed of gift dated 1270, gave it nineteen acres of arable land on condition of prayer being offered daily at mass by the officiating priest for the souls of his family, deceased and living.⁶ King John, in the sixteenth year of his reign, A.D. 1215, confirmed all previous benefactions. The mitred abbot, for such was his dignity,

⁴ See a full copy of the survey, *Aroh. Ael.* vol. xiii. p. 110.

⁵ Spearman's *Notes*, from copy in possession of the Editor.

⁶ *Trans. Durham & North. Architectl. & Archaeol. Soc.* A.D. 1865, p. 136.

was summoned as a peer to parliament in the twenty-third year of king Edward I., A.D. 1295.

In 1322, on the 12th of May, Lewis Beaumont, bishop of Durham, wrote from Naburn, near York, to the archbishop, asking leave to bless the abbot-elect of Blanchland, and that permission, to perform an episcopal act in another diocese, was granted.⁷

In 1359 bishop Hatfield appropriated the church of Bolam to the abbey of Blanchland, which establishment, in their petition to the bishop for having its rectorial rights conferred upon them, represented their monastery as 'standing in a lonely desert which was rendered less productive than it had formerly been, by its inhabitants having migrated from it into more fertile parts of the country during the ravages of a recent plague. They also represented their rents and proceeds to have become so small and scanty by hostile incursions and incessant depredations as to be unequal to their own maintenance, the support of hospitality, and the discharge of other burdens with which they were encumbered. The deed of appropriation gives the advowson of the vicarage, the tithes of corn throughout the whole parish, the manse of the rectory, and other rents and proceeds not specially reserved to the vicar, to the abbot and convent and their successors, chargeable nevertheless with the repairs of the chancel; finding the books, robes, and other ornaments which had been supplied by preceding rectors; and with the payment of two-thirds of all ordinary and extraordinary burdens then or in future coming against the said church, the vicar for the time being having to pay the other one-third. The same deed also awards to the vicar a portion to enable him to live respectably, to pay his part of the episcopal rights, and to lodge and entertain wayfaring people, to do which it set off for him a competent house and buildings, to be awarded by

⁷ Willemus permissione divina Ebor. Archiepiscopus, Angliæ primus, Venerabili in Christo fratri domino Lodovico Dei gratia Dunolm. Episcopo, salutem, et fraternæ caritatis in Domino continuum incrementum. Petitioni et precibus vestris favorabiliter annuentes, ut fratri Johanni de Staynton, Canonico, monasterii de Alba-landa, vestræ Dunolm. diocesis, in abbatem ejusdem monasterii electo et confirmato, in aliqua ecclesia seu capella nostræ diocesis, quam ad hoc duxeritis eligendum, manus benedictionis impendere hac vice valeatis, de nostra speciali gratia, licentiam vobis concedimus per præsentem: jurisdictione, et jure diocesano, ac dignitate, et ecclesie nostræ Ebor. ac successorum nostrorum, nobis competentibus, nobis in omnibus et per omnia semper salvis. Valete. Data apud Thorp prope Ebor., ij idus Maii, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^{mo} xxij^o. Reg. Melton, 462a.

one honest man, and repaired and put up by the abbot and convent; also the tithe of hay through the whole parish, the tithe of lamb and wool, of dairies, mills, and fisheries; all mortuaries, obventions, and oblations: and the whole altarage of the church, and all small tithes then belonging to it and its rectors, either by law or custom; it also gives to the vicar all the glebe land belonging to the living; the cottages, houses, and rents in the town of Bolum, on the outside of the manse of the rectory; and a pension of 2 marks, payable half-yearly, by the said abbot and convent.⁸

At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries the number of the brethren at Blanchland was fourteen, and the annual revenue of the house, according to Dugdale, was £40 0s. 9d., according to Speed £44 9s. 1d.

The Premonstratensians, or white monks, under whom Blanchland rose, formed an order slightly modified from that of the Augustinians, based on the same rules, those of poverty and community of goods, slightly less strict than those of St. Benedict, and was founded by Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, in A.D. 1120.⁹ He was a courtier and favourite at the court of Henry V., but after a while became impressed with religious sentiments and the vanity and hollowness of worldly things, and leaving the court he retired to a monastery, clad himself in sheep skins, and, by the authority of pope Gelasius II., travelled the country as a reformer and apostle. He was naturally eloquent and persuasive in his style of oratory, and had a wonderful power of convincing his hearers of the truth of what he taught. Struck with the carelessness and irregularities of the priests and monks of his time, he resolved upon establishing an order that should consist of men selected for their devout zeal and eloquent speech, who should combine the functions of the two classes, living together under rule and in community, and going forth to preach to the people; and in 1120 obtained papal authority for carrying out his object. When pondering over the question as to where he should establish his house, it is said that an angel appeared to him in a vision, and pointed out a meadow, near Laon, a lonely spot in the forest of Coucy. Hence the name given to the place was Premonstré, or, in Latin, Premonstratus, *the foreshewn spot*, and the brethren were called Premonstratensians.

⁸ Hodgson, ii. i. 338, and iii. ii. 37.

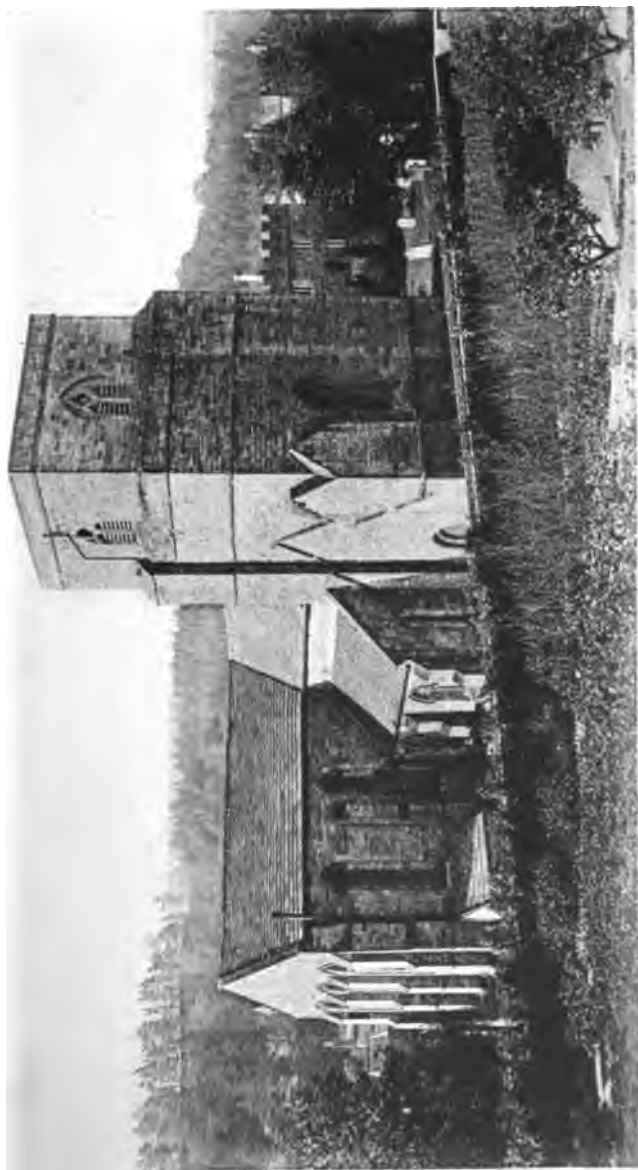
⁹ Ross, p. 133.

In 1127 Norbert became archbishop of Magdeburg, but he remained the supreme head of the order until his death in 1134. The order spread rapidly, especially in France, and was introduced into England in 1146, when Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, was founded. A second house was established at Alnwick in 1150. Dryburgh, in Scotland, was founded in 1152, and Blanchland followed in 1165. A description of the daily routine of duties of the Premonstratensians will furnish a tolerable idea of the mode of life within the walls of Blanchland. 'It consisted of religious exercises, the cultivation of the fields, and the performance of their household duties; going abroad to preach, teach, and visit the sick and dying; and reading and copying manuscripts. The religious services in the church occurred seven times in the day.¹⁰

The Premonstratensians were called white monks on account of their dress, which was white, that is of undyed wool. They wore a white cassock with a rochet over it, a long white cloak and a white cap. The rochet was a garment resembling a surplice, but with narrower sleeves. The strange appearance of those white-dressed monks might well have given rise to the name of the place, Blanchland or Whiteland, as is popularly supposed, but we are assured by the chronicler Froissart that it bore the name long before the industry of the monks converted that bleak and dreary desert into a little paradise, even as far back as the good old days of king Arthur and the Round Table.

Blanchland occupies such a secluded position among the moors that in former days when roads were few it must have been difficult to approach or discover. Tradition says that when Henry VIII's commissioners came down to dissolve the monastery they lost their way, and were unable to find the place. The monks, overjoyed at their escape, most indiscreetly began to ring their bells, and the sound, piercing through the still air in the hill country, reached the ears of the foes, who were still too near, and guided them to the spot. There may be some truth in the story, but it is more probable that the sounds heard by the commissioners were those of the bells calling the monks to prayer. To the lovers of folk-lore, however, it may be worthy of notice that the tradition appears in another form. Once, it is related, a party of Scotch freebooters paid an unwelcome visit to

¹⁰ See Ross, *Ruined Abbeys of England*, p. 133.



M. Atty, Photo.

BLANCHLAND CHURCH, FROM N. E.

the neighbourhood in search of plunder at the abbey, but, losing their way in a mist on the fells, were on the point of abandoning their adventure, when, on what is still called 'Dead Friars' Hill,' their ears were caught by the unusual sound of the sweet church bells ringing the monks to their evening prayer, and by these sounds they were guided to the abbey, where they murdered several of the monks and carried off all the valuables they could discover.

By the statute passed in 1536 for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, all congregations of religious persons under the number of twelve, or of a less annual value than £200, were granted to the crown absolutely. Henry VIII. was empowered by the statute to refund such houses as he thought fit. As a rule, he does not appear to have availed himself of the privilege, but in the case of Blanchland he made a rare exception. Probably the commissioners had given him a favourable report of the moral tone of the house and the good work done in a desolate neighbourhood by the monks of Blanchland. At all events, he professed to have such a knowledge of the abbey as induced him to spare it from the general plunder, and leave it unmolested in its privileges and in its works of piety and charity. This is proved by a Latin document in the treasury of the dean and chapter at Durham, entitled 'An Exemplification of King Henry VIIIth's Refoundation of the Abbey of Blanchland, Jan. 30th, 1536. Granted by Queen Elizabeth June 10, 1589, to Oswald Mitford Gent.'

Thus we see that Blanchland was spared in the first attack upon the monasteries, but in 1539 came the final dissolution, and Blanchland fell with the rest. '1546, June 4th. Henry 8th grants to John Belloe and John Broxholm the site of the late dissolved Monastery of Blanchland with its appurtenances to be held of the king in capt. as $\frac{1}{10}$ of a knight's fee payable yearly at Martinmas 18/3 $\frac{1}{2}$. The grant comprises one close called Westhough Easthough Middlehough Colefield East Park Ensbury Dogger Childer Wolcross Everyshaw and pasture in Blanchland.'¹¹ Before long the abbey lands were again attached to the crown, and, as shown by the endorsement of the above-mentioned document, were granted by queen Elizabeth to Oswald Mitford. After passing to the crown again they were sold to the Forsters, and remained in that family until they were purchased

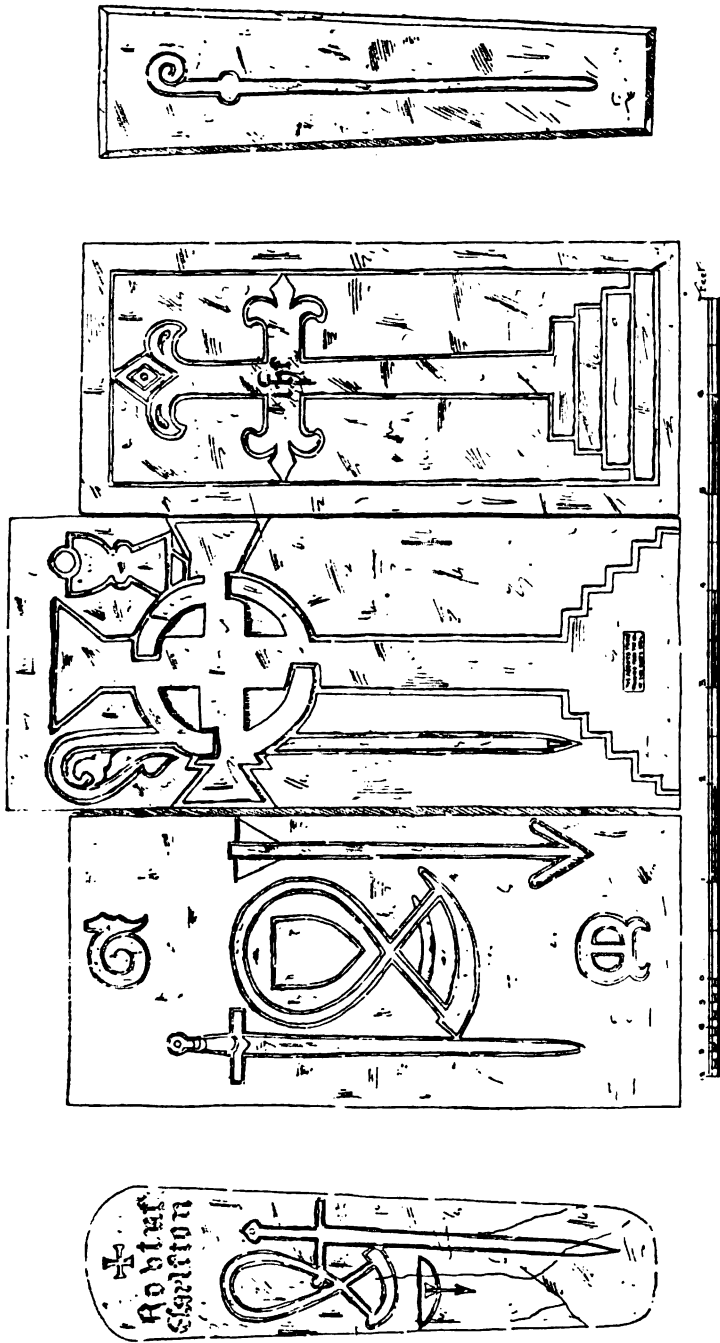
¹¹ Spearman's *Notes*, copy in possession of the Editor.

by lord Crewe, bishop of Durham, who left them in trust for charitable purposes. His trustees, now in possession, are lords of the manor, and patrons of the living of Blanchland.

In 1724 when Shotley was separated from the old mother-church of Bywell St. Andrew, Blanchland (or Shotley High Quarter) was constituted part of the new parish, and so remained until 1752, when it became a separate benefice, under the joint action of lord Crewe's trustees and the governors of queen Anne's bounty. At that time, however, the more distant township of Newbiggen was allowed to remain as part of Shotley parish, and it was not until 1891 that this omission was rectified. A commission, on which I had the honour of acting, had been appointed by the bishop to enquire into the boundaries of parishes in the rural deanery of Corbridge and suggest improvements. The result of our deliberations was (*inter alia*) 'The separation of the northern portion of the township of Newbiggen from the parish of Shotley, and the annexation of the same to the parish of Whitley. The separation of the southern portion of the township of Newbiggen from the parish of Shotley and the annexation of the same to the parish of Blanchland.'¹²

The Rev. J. O. Dunn, the present vicar of Blanchland, has kindly furnished me with the following dimensions and other details respecting the abbey church. 'It consists of a chancel, measuring 28 feet 2 inches by 27 feet, and a nave, measuring 34 feet by 27 feet—total length, 62 feet; and a transept running to the north, measuring 30 feet 6 inches by 23 feet, and terminating with a massive twelfth century or Early English tower, measuring 15 feet by 17 feet. A baptistery, built on the foundation of the chantry chapel, in which stands the ancient font, is on the east of the transept, and was erected in 1854, during the incumbency of the late Rev. O. Thorp. One could easily imagine that it was once a magnificent cruciform church, though we may be nearly certain that the present form is the original form, wanting only the remainder of the nave. After the suppression, during the reign of Henry VIII., it appears to have gradually become a ruin.' In 1752 lord Crewe's trustees repaired it, and again in 1815. The east end was rebuilt in 1884, during the incumbency of the late Rev. G. M. Gurley, when three lancet windows, with monolithic

¹² See *London Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1891.



MEDIEVAL GRAVE COVERS IN BLANCHLAND CHURCH.
[From drawings by Mr. G. T. Brown.]

columns, 11 feet 4 inches in length, the produce of a neighbouring quarry, took the place of the square window that had become dilapidated. At the same time also a ceiling of pitch-pine was placed over the chancel and nave. On both the north and south sides of the chancel there are two lancet windows, seemingly of some antiquity. The nave and chancel are otherwise severely plain in appearance. Looking towards the transept and tower two handsome and lofty arches meet the eye, and one does not often find a finer arch than that of the tower. The arches on the east side of the transept appear to belong to the same period as the tower. The windows in the lower portion of the tower, both outside and inside, are most worthy of attention. The tower was evidently a place of refuge, as its strength and solidity and the immense bolt spaces betoken.

There are traces of detached buildings on the east and west of the tower; that on the west existed and was occupied by an ancient dame, who is still remembered. There is a trace of a doorway in the south wall of the nave, which probably led into the refectory. The sedilia, of which but little remains, were restored with plaster some few years ago.

The east window on the left contains a remnant of stained glass, representing a Premonstratensian monk in the attitude of prayer; the words 'Sancta Maria' are inscribed on the scroll. The centre window has a small representation of the Crucifixion, surrounded by the sacred symbols of the Passion. There is another small figure of a saint, kneeling in prayer, in one of the lancet windows on the south.

The other minor points of interest in the interior are five ancient sepulchral slabs:—(1), in the baptistery, a stone with a crozier; (2), also in the baptistery, a forester's tomb, inscribed Robertus Eglston, with bow, arrow, horn, and sword; (3), another forester's tomb, with the initials "T.E.," possibly Thomas Eglston, and an arrow, bugle, and sword; (4), a cross; (5), the abbot's tomb, with chalice and crozier on either side of a large cross; the three latter are now arranged alongside in the transept. The Bible dates from the year 1727, and contains the following entries by lord Crewe's trustees on the fly-leaf:—

(1) A Bible, A Common Prayer Book, A Carpet for the Communion Table, A Linnen Cloth for the same, and a Napkin, with a Surplice, given to the Chappel at Blanchland by the Rev. S^r Jo. Dolben & Dr. Eden, Executors of the

Late Lord Crewe. Nov. 24, 1735. Durham. Nothing of these to be used at Shotley Church. Thos. Eden.

(2) A Bible and a Carpet for the Communion Table and a Linning Cloth and a Napkin, also a Common Prayer Book, and a Surplice given by Sir James Dolb^e and Dr. Eden for the use of Blanchland Chapple. The above not to be used at Shotley. Durham. Dec. 5th. 1748.

A handsome oak reredos and side panels have been lately erected by the Rev. B. G. R. Hale, in memory of the late vicar, the Rev. G. M. Gurley, his uncle. The churchyard lies to the west and east of the building, and is well planted with trees. In it is an ancient cross, about 7 feet high, of slender form, with open floriated head, which is worthy of notice.

There is a tradition which tells us that an underground passage runs from the bottom of the tower steps to the old fort, some quarter of a mile below the village on the bank of the river : no one, however, has yet verified this tradition, but probably, like many more, it has no foundation.

The church plate has been fully described by Mr. Blair in *Proceedings* (vol. iii. p. 267).

BLANCHLAND REGISTERS.

The registers begin in 1753, and are all in good condition. The first is on parchment, the rest are on good strong paper.

I. Contains baptisms from 1753 to 1801.

„ marriages „ 1753 „ 1804.
 „ burials „ 1753 „ 1801.
 „ banns „ 1753 „ 1804.

The first baptisms are :—

1753. March 4. Baptiz'd George Son of Tho^d. Beck & Hannah
 his Wife Blanch^d.
 „ March 14th. Baptiz'd John son of Tho. Ward of Coathouse.
 „ April 14th. Elizabeth daughter of Rich^d. Hutchinson of the
 Hope.

The first marriages are :—

1753. Apr^l 24th. Isaac Liddle and Hannah Maughan.
 „ Apr^l 27th. Joseph Watson and Bridget Thompson.
 „ Do. 29th. John Baron and Mary Bowman.

The first burials are :—

1753. Apr^l 29th. Buried Hannah daughter of Rob^t. Ward of Hill-
 house.
 „ May 19th. Joseph son of John Ward of Burnshield Haugh.
 „ Do. 20th. Edward son of Tho. Beck of Blanchland.



G. T. Brown. Photo.

CROSS IN BLANCHLAND CHURCHYARD.

II. Contains baptisms from 1802 to 1812.

„ marriages „ 1805 „ 1812.

„ burials „ 1802 „ 1812.

In this register the following entry is made :—

Londini Fecit 1754

Messrs Lister and Thompson

This Bell fell down on Sunday 25th of November 1877—Was recast by Thomas H. Watson, High Bridge Works Newcastle upon Tyne. Mounted again on Tuesday 19th day of February 1878. At the same time the floor of the Belfry was relayed with new Timber at the expense of My Lord Crewe's Trustees, making it all to be in good and substantial repair.

G. M. Gurley, Vicar.

William Taylor.

Thomas Hey.

When the fragments of the broken bell were recast an extra cwt. of metal was added to give a deeper and richer tone to the new one, which weighs 6 cwts.

There is a tradition that the pre-Reformation bells were carried off to Hexham at the time of the dissolution of Blanchland abbey.

Register II. also contains copies of a petition respecting four stints on the park pasture and of the 'Terrier describing House, Lands and other Premises belonging to the Living of Blanchland, extracted from the Registry of the Consistory Court of Durham, 1792.' For these two entries see Appendices II. and III.

III. Contains baptisms from 1813 to 1861.

IV. „ „ „ 1861 to present date.

V. „ banns and marriages from 1813 to 1837.

VI. „ burials from 1813 to present date.

VII. „ marriages from 1838 to present date.

VIII. „ duplicate of VII.

BLANCHLAND VICARS AND CURATES.

1753-1777. Thomas Hudson, perpetual curate. He was the first incumbent of Blanchland after it became a separate parish.

1777-1804. Hudson Barnett, curate.

1804-1827. Richard Wallis, curate. In the 'Ecclesiastical Directory' for 1822 he is named as curate of Blanchland, and stated to have been instituted

in 1804. He was also curate of South Shields.

Under him were sub-curates:—

1811–1813. Jonathan Jopling.

1814–1827. J. Ireland.

1827–1850. Robert Harrison, curate, under whom were sub-curates:—

1827–1829. John O. B. Hall.

1829–1831. E. H. Hopper.

1832–1835. John Greenwood.

1836–1840. James Boucher.

1840–1843. Samuel Payne.

1845–1846. F. T. Altree.

1846–1849. William Sawers.

1849–1850. George Hustler.

Near the abbot's tomb in Blanchland church lies a sepulchral slab to his memory, bearing the following inscription:—

Robert Harrison B.A.

Curate of Blanchland

Died at Lastingham, Yks. A.D. MDCCCL:

Aged LXXVII years.

1850–1855. Charles Thorp, curate or vicar

1855–1863. John Gibson, vicar.

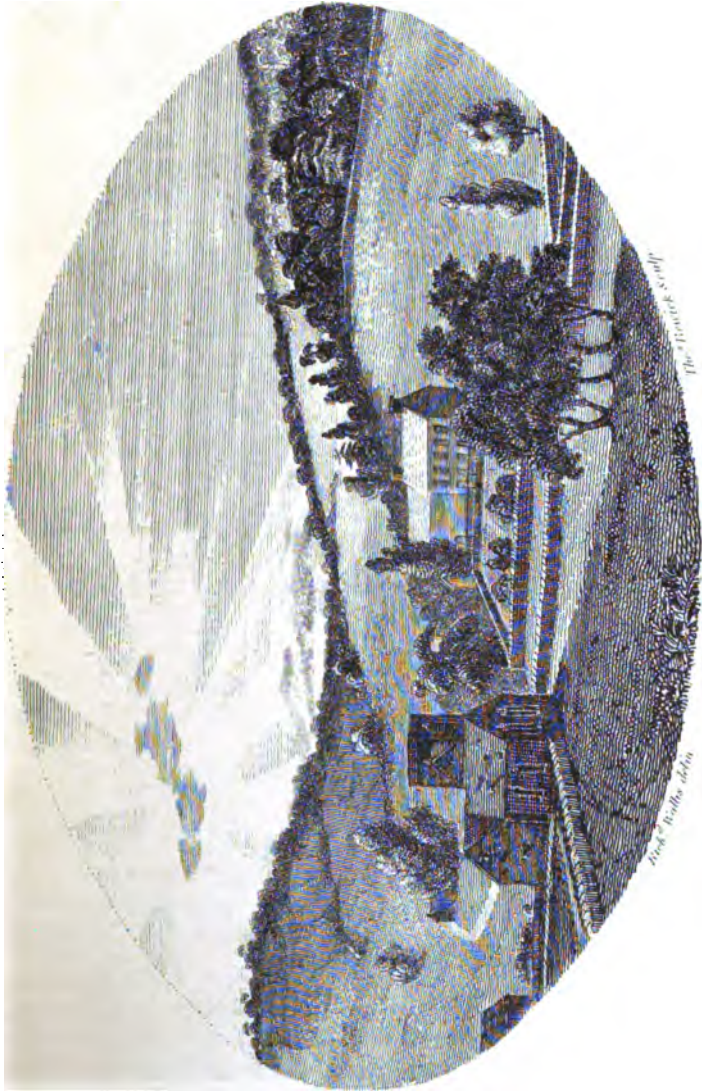
1863–1887. George Marshall-Gurley.

1887–present date. John Charles Dunn, B.A.

APPENDICES.

I.—An Exemplification of the Refoundation of the Abbey of Albalanda or Blanchland by Henry 8th King of England 30th Jan. A.D. 1536, granted to Oswald Mitford gentleman by lady Elizabeth Queen of England 13th June 1589.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen defender of the faith &c. TO ALL to whom the present writings shall come greeting. We have inspected a roll of certain letters Patent of lord Henry 8th late King of England our very dearly beloved father inrolled in his Rolls of Chancery and [inrolled] in our Rolls of Chancery remaining on record in these words THE KING to all to whom &c. greeting. Whereas by a certain act in our Parliament at London on the 3rd day of November in the 21st year of our reign begun and then adjourned to Westminster and by divers prorogations unto and into the 4th day of February last past continued and then held there (among other things) it stands enacted that we should have and enjoy for ourselves and our heirs for ever all and singular the monasteries Priories and other religious



BLANCHLAND CHURCH IN 1802.

Being the title page to "*The Happy Village*," by the Rev. Richard Wallis.

houses of monks canons and monials by whatsoever kinds or diversities of habit rules or orders called or known which had not lands tenements rents tithes portions and other hereditaments beyond the clear annual value of two hundred pounds the said clear annual value of the said monasteries and Priories to be taken and preserved according to the clear value certified in our Exchequer. And in similar manner that we should have and enjoy for ourselves and our heirs all and all manner of sites and circuits of the same religious houses. And all and singular manors Granges messuages lands tenements reversions rents services tithes pensions advowsons patronage of Churches Annuities of Chapelries rights entries conditions and other hereditaments whatsoever to the same monasteries Priories or religious houses not having as aforesaid lands tenements or hereditaments beyond the aforesaid annual value of two hundred pounds pertaining or accruing as fully and entirely as the abbots Priors Abbesses and other Governors of this kind of Monasteries Priories and other religious houses have hitherto had them or ought to have had them in right of their houses **TO HAVE AND TO HOLD** all and singular premises with all their rights benefits jurisdictions and commodities to us our heirs and successors for ever to be employed and used henceforth for our proper pleasure. **AND WHEREAS** however in the aforesaid Act it is provided that we at any and whatsoever time after the provision of that act may be able and may be empowered for our good pleasure to ordain constitute and declare by our letters Patent under our great Seal that these and such of this kind of aforesaid religious houses which we had wished to be suppressed and dissolved may exist persist stand continue and remain in their same bodies corporate and in their same essential state quality condition strength and effect as well in possessions as otherwise just as they were or would have been before the provision of the aforesaid act for the suppression or dissolution of the same or any part thereof on the ground and authority of the same act and that any such ordination or declaration of this kind by us thus to be made and ordained shall be good secure effectual to the Chapters Governors of this kind of religious houses which we might have wished to be suppressed and dissolved and to their successors next after them and according to the tenors and effects of letters Patent to be provided thereto any other thing or any other things in the aforesaid act contrary thereto notwithstanding just as in the aforesaid act (among other things) is more fully contained **BY VIRTUE** of which act however the Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland in the diocese of Durham in our county of Northumberland by reason that it hath not lands tenements rents tithes portions or hereditaments beyond the said clear annual value of two hundred pounds as certified in our said Exchequer and there plainly doth appear in our hands and at our disposal now the question arises whether it should be dissolved according to the form and effect of the aforesaid act or remain and continue in its pristine and essential state condition and quality just as it was before the provision of the aforesaid act. **WE WISHING** the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid for divers causes and considerations at present specially known to us to remain and continue in its pristine essential state body condition and quality just as it was before the provision of the aforesaid act and as it would be if that act had not passed **BE IT KNOWN**

THEREFORE that we for favour which we bear and have towards the Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid because it doth not extend in its lands tenements and other hereditaments to the annual value of two hundred pounds in the county aforesaid of the Premonstratensian order in the diocese of Durham. And that the abbot and religious persons of the same Monastery may the more devoutly attend to the celebration of divine worship there and the more copiously exercise Hospitality and other works of piety there, Of our special grace and exercised knowledge and our mere motion we have ordained constituted and declared and by these presents as far as in us lies do constitute and ordain and erect and renew that the Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid shall for ever continue stand and remain in its same body corporate and in its same essential state grade quality and condition as well in possessions as in all other things as well spiritual as temporal and mixed just as it was at the time of the provision of the aforesaid act or at any time before the provision of the aforesaid act without any suppression or dissolution of the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid or of any part or parcel thereof by virtue and authority of the aforesaid act. AND FURTHER of our more copious special grace we have granted and by these presents do grant that William Spragen professed of the Premonstratensian order may be henceforth Abbot of the said Monastery or Abbey of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid henceforth to be held reputed accepted in the same manner form quality grade condition dignity state and power as the same William was on the 4th day of February last past or before AND THAT THE AFORESAID WILLIAM and the religious persons aforesaid and all their successors may have and shall have in this manner also the same succession in all things and by all means just as before the said 4th day of February last past they had or ought to have had and just as they would have ought to have could have and would be able to have if the aforesaid Act had not been passed. And that the aforesaid William by the name of Abbot of the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid and his successors Abbots of the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid may be henceforth persons liable to implead and be impleaded in all pleas suits complaints actions petitions as well real as personal and mixed and others whatsoever in whatsoever courts and places and before whatsoever Judges or Justices as well temporal as spiritual albeit it may touch us and our heirs, and for the doing exercising and executing of all and singular other things whatsoever as Abbots of the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid just as they might have done and would have been able to do before the provision of the aforesaid act and just as they might have done and would have been able to do if the same act had by no means been passed and published. AND THAT THE AFORESAID WILLIAM and the religious persons aforesaid as Abbot and Convent of the Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid and their successors Abbots and Convent of that Monastery or Abbey may have enjoy and hold and may be able and empowered to have for ever all the aforesaid Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid likewise the church the belfries site cemetery ground surrounding precinct and

circuit of the same church and all and singular our Manors messuages lands tenements rents reversions services possessions perpetuities and hereditaments whatsoever Likewise commodities ornaments jewels goods and chattels and other things whatsoever as well spiritual as temporal to the same Monastery or Abbey in whatsoever manner accruing or pertaining in the same manner and form as they would have enjoy and hold and would have been able and empowered to have enjoy and hold if the aforesaid act had not been passed and published. AND FOR the greater security of and in the premises to be held by the aforesaid Abbot and Convent of the Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary aforesaid and their successors BE IT KNOWN MOREOVER that we of our more copious special grace have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant to the aforesaid Abbot of the said Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid and the Convent of the same place all the said of the Monastery or Abbey [*totum dictum Monasterii sive Abb'ie*] of the blessed Mary of Albalanda aforesaid and all and singular Manors messuages lands tenements woods underwoods rents reversions services Knights' fees Wards marriages reliefs escheats parks [or pounds] Warrens pools vinaries fisheries cottages rectories vicarages advowsons patronage of churches chapels and Chantries glebelands pensions portions tithes oblations court leets views of frank pledge liberties jurisdictions franchises and other rights possessions and hereditaments whatsoever and all goods and chatells belfries jewels ornaments and other things whatsoever to the same Monastery or Abbey accruing or pertaining And which the aforesaid Abbot and Convent on the 4th day of February last past or before or afterwards in right of that Monastery or Abbey had held or enjoyed, and which by reason and virtue of the aforesaid act came and ought to come into our hands as fully and entirely and in as ample manner and form as the said Abbot and Convent on the said 4th day of February last past and before the provision of the aforesaid act in right of the aforesaid Monastery or Abbey had held or enjoyed them and as fully and entirely and in as ample manner and form as they by reason virtue force and authority of the aforesaid act came and ought to come into our hands or now exist or ought to exist in our hands. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the aforesaid Monastery or Abbey of the blessed Mary of Albalanda or Blancheland aforesaid and all and singular other premises with all their rights appurtenances and commodities to the aforesaid William Abbot of that said Monastery or Abbey and the Convent of the same place and their successors in pure and perpetual alms of us our heirs and successors as of our foundation and not otherwise. Rents of lands and tenements and other premises and services therein to them and to whomsoever of them due and of customary right to be paid and done to the Chapter lords. PROVIDED always that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent with unanimous consent for themselves and their successors by these presents do grant to us and our heirs that the aforesaid Abbot and Convent and their successors for ever shall pay or cause to be paid to us our heirs and successors all tithes portions and first fruits as often as they shall have happened to fall due in the same manner and form as if the said Monastery or Abbey had never been suppressed dissolved or given to us by the aforesaid Act, and according to the force form and effect of a certain act of Parliament published and provided for tithes and first fruits. And the said Abbot and Convent

opportunity would be afforded him of shewing the result of much thought on Agricultural Improvement, whereby his present Colleagues might witness such a practical proof of the capability of rendering a barren subject fruitful, as might induce them to set to work with their own ; & at the same time, while it improved the value of the Living to his Successors, might infuse into the whole Tenantry of the Estate a spirit of Improvement, which would be at once creditable to themselves, and alike beneficial to their Country and their Landlords.

Your Memorialist cannot conclude, without acknowledging the deep sense of obligation he entertains for his Patrons former acts of kindness to him, and subscribing himself, with no common pleasure.

Their gratefully faithful Servant,

ROBT. HARRISON.

[This petition was granted.]

III.—The copy of the Terrier describing House, Lands, & other premises belonging to the Living of Blanchland.

Extracted from the Registry of the Consistory Court of Durham.

Blanchland Terrier.

1. The Parsonage House is built with stone & lime & covered with slate, contains eight rooms the Floors of the Parlour & upper Rooms are boarded the Rooms also are ceiled the Floors of the Kitchen & the other two low Rooms are stone the Kitchen only is ceiled there are adjoining the House on the west side a stable & cowhouse with a Hay loft above built with stone & lime & covered with slate 26 feet by 15 & 15 feet in height there are also a Brewhouse & Coalhouse built with stone & lime & covered with slate the one 13 feet by 10 the other 13 feet by 5.

2. There are two Meadow Fields adjoining the House on the east side containing in the whole near 9½ acres border upon the High road on the south there is a wood on the east & north sides & the west side joins the village these Fields have a right of 4 Stints in the east Pasture of Blanchland commonly called the Park pasture there are three gardens the Fences are walls & Quickset no Trees growing on the Churchyard. There are 30 ash & sycamore trees growing upon the glebe. There is a Farm called Blackburn in the Parish of Slaley belonging to this Curacy containing 93 acres. There are also proper Houses &c upon the Farm.

3. No Tythes due to the Minister.

4. The Trustees of the late L^d Crewe give the annual sum of thirty pounds to the Minister of this Curacy I do not know whether any Deed has been executed no Pension payable out of the Living : no stipend or allowance to the Minister of a Chapel no Custom established to the expence or charge of the Incumbent.

5. This Parish is subject to the Customary payment of four pence annually to the Minister for each Family commonly called Easter offerings ; the annual sum of thirty pounds is also paid to the Minister by the Trustees of L^d Crewe.

6. There is belonging to this Church a crimson coloured Cloth also a Table Cloth & Napkin for the Communion Table ; a crimson coloured cushion & Cloth for the pulpit, one Bell two silver plated Flaggons one silver Cup & plate ; (Blanchland 1753) is inscribed upon the Cup & plate no weight marked thereupon no Books have been left to this church or Parish.

7. No Lands or Money in stock for repair of the Church or Utensils.

8. The Parish is charged with the repair of the edifices & Churchyard Fence.

9. The Trustees of L^d Crewe give the Annual sum of £2 2s to the Clerk the remaining part of his & the Sexton's wages by Custom paid by the Parish & are appointed by the Minister.

This is a just & accurate account of everything required in the Terrier relative to the Curacy of Blanchland.

Witness our Hands this 14th day August 1792.

Hudson Barnett, Minister.

Christopher Forster } Churchwardens.
Rob^t Oliver }

William + Makepeace.

William Lowes.

John Lambert.

Ambrose Green.

Joshua Archer.

Edward Blenk.

Jo^s Makepeace.

Jonathan Lee.

Cuthbert Johnson.

Thomas Bell.

William Routledge.

Duly compared and examined with the original.

John Burrell,

Dep. Reg.

The above is a Faithful transcript of a Copy of the original taken this 20th day of March 1846.

William Oliver, Parish Clerk.

XIX.—ON THE ROMAN ALTAR TO THE GODDESS GARMANGABIS, FOUND AT LANCHESTER (CO. DURHAM), ON THE 15TH JULY, 1893.

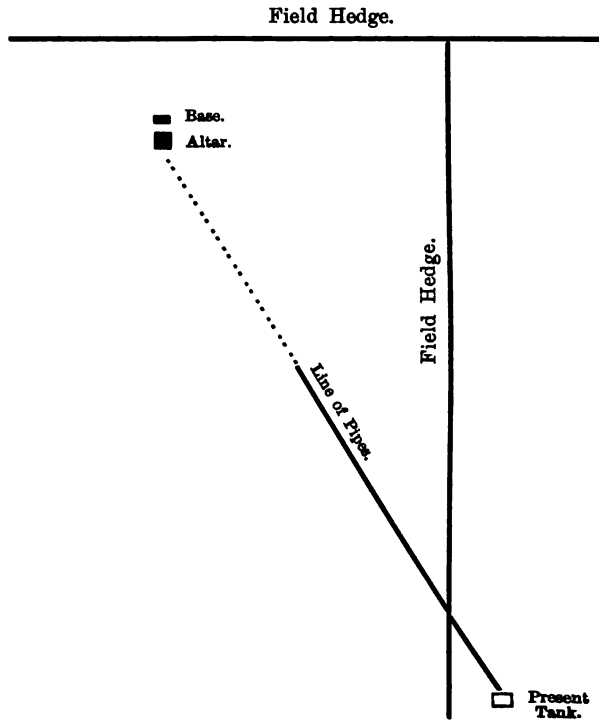
(A) BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D., D.C.L., RECTOR OF
BYERS GREEN.

[Read on the 30th day of August, 1893.]

ON Saturday, July 15th, 1893, Mr. Frederick Blackmur, one of the officials of the Lanchester union workhouse, made a most interesting discovery in a field about half a mile from the village of Lanchester, and somewhat less than that distance from the Roman Station, whose walls are still standing several feet in height on the high ground to the south-west of the present village. As the circumstances under which the discovery was made are calculated, in all probability, to throw light upon the nature and character of the find, I will briefly describe them.

The union workhouse at Lanchester is supplied with water from several springs, which rise on the hillside to the west of the village. From these the fluid is conveyed in pipes to tanks, situated at no great distance from the springs, and from the tanks the water flows in one stream to the workhouse. In the early part of July of this year the supply from some cause, possibly simply from the long continued drought, ran short, and the officials of the workhouse determined to investigate the state of the springs. I have drawn a rough sketch, shewn on the next page, of the position of the one with which we are most concerned. It is situated on the side of a sloping field near the top of the field. Above it runs a kind of level terrace, with a hedge beyond, and a field of greater elevation beyond the hedge. The pipes run up the hill in a slanting direction from the nearest tank, and end abruptly at a point about twenty-four yards from the hedge. Exactly in the line of the pipes was the discovery made. It consists of an exceedingly fine altar, dedicated to a Keltic goddess, whose name is new to us, and to the deities of the reigning emperor. It evidently originally stood upon a

base, for a socketed base was found behind it. The altar was found upon its face, sloping downhill, as though some unusual force had overturned it, where it was standing with its inscribed face fronting the valley. The distance of the spot on which the altar was found from the end of the present line of pipes is about seventeen yards. Its distance from the hedge behind it is about seven yards. Between the spot where the altar was found and the hedge behind it runs the terrace mentioned already, which appears certainly to have been made by man.



The circumstances detailed above remind us irresistibly of the well or fountain of Coventina, discovered by our late valued vice-president, Mr. John Clayton, at *Procolitia*, in 1876.¹ One wonders, too, whether a walled fountain like that at Carrawburgh does not exist at Lanchester, of which the wooden tank across the hedge a few yards down is the

¹ *Arch. Ael.* vol. viii. pp. 4-49 and 88-107.



ROMAN ALTAR, LANCHESTER.
(One eighth Scale.)

more modest modern representative. If so, what more likely than that it, too, may be filled with precious relics hidden in a moment of panic, and never returned for or recovered? Mr. Blackmur, after finding the altar, did probe the ground in the immediate vicinity of the spot, and came to the conclusion that there were hollow places there. If the owner of the land, Mr. Fawcett of the Temple, London, would order, or permit, further researches to be made, they might eventuate in additional discoveries being effected.

The altar is one of great size. With its base it is calculated that it weighs well nigh three-quarters of a ton. It is formed out of the stone of the neighbourhood, a compact gritty freestone. I am informed that there is a quarry of the same kind of stone not far from the spot where the altar was found, and that the railway bridges at Lanchester are built of similar material.

The height of the altar, standing on its base, is five feet three inches, of which the altar itself claims four feet five and a half inches, and the base nine and a half inches. The breadth of the base is two feet six inches; of the foot of the altar, one foot eleven inches; of the stem, one foot eight inches; and of the top one foot eleven and a half inches. The thickness of the base is one foot five inches; of the foot of the altar, one foot one inch; of the stem, ten and a half inches; and of the top, one foot.

The altar is richly sculptured on three sides. The back is plain, so that it was evidently intended to stand against a wall. It is singular, too, that there is no focus or elevated ridges at the top, which is rough like the back. The prevailing style of ornamentation is circular, with rays proceeding from the centre to the circumference. There are also what seem like foreshadowings of the later cable and dog-tooth mouldings, and some of the central rays seem to suggest the later nail-head ornament. On the left hand side to one facing the altar are represented the *culler* or sacrificial knife, and the *praefericulum* or jug, and on the right the *patra* or dish, and a circular object, very prettily filled with curved rays from the centre, which I take to be the 'mola salsa' or sacrificial cake.

We come now to the inscription, which is decidedly perplexing. There can be very little doubt as to the lettering, but it is the exact signification, which is puzzling. I will give my reading of it:—



ROMAN ALTAR, LANCHESTER (left hand side).



ROMAN ALTAR, LANCHESTER (right hand side).

D E Æ E G A R
 M A N G A B I
 E T N [G O R D I
 ANI] A V G N P R [°]
 S A L · V E X · S V E B °
 R V M · L ° N · G ° R · V °
 T · M S ° L V ° R V N T · M

I differ from others only in the first word. To me it appears to be certainly DEÆ, with the third and fourth letters ligatured. The next word then begins with another E, and is EGARMANGABI. Other decipherers make the first word DEAE, and the second word GARMANGABI. With this introductory explanation I will give the inscription as I have deciphered it. I have very carefully investigated the stops, and give them as they exist upon the stone.

Now, how is this to be expanded? There is very little difficulty down to the word SAL. All seem to be agreed that, most likely, the name erased was GORDIANI. Why Gordian's name should be deleted is puzzling. Still it appears it must be his. I would suggest that possibly the news of his death arrived before the stone was set up, and that the erectors of it were, in consequence, in a difficulty, and that they solved it, or attempted to solve it, by erasing his name, and making the inscription applicable to the succeeding occupant of the throne. That the erasure was determined on, and executed, in somewhat of a hurry, seems indicated by the fact that the eraser began to cancel also the N preceding the emperor's name, and the AVGN following it; but, either upon second thoughts, or upon revised orders from his employer or employers, he ultimately decided to allow them to remain.

So far, then, the inscription may be expanded thus:—*Deae Egarmangabi et Numinibus Gordiani Augusti Nostri Pro Salute*. In English:—‘To the Goddess Egarmangabis, and to the Protecting Deities of Gordian our Augustus, in gratitude for the health and safety of —.’

Now is the next to be *vexillationis Sueborum, vexilliariorum Sueborum*, or *vexillarii Sueborum*? And what are we to make of LON · GOR?

The Suebians or Suevians have not, I believe, been heard of before in Great Britain. But LON · GOR has; not at so great length, curt as the lettering is, but still sufficiently to enable us, I think, to affirm that it is not absolutely new.

In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham are two



ROMAN INSCRIBED SLABS, LANCHESTER.
 [See following page.]

extremely interesting and valuable inscribed slabs from Lanchester here given (see woodcuts on preceding page), on which are recorded the re-erection, during Gordian's reign, of several important buildings of the fortress there.² These works were carried out by Marcus Aurelius Quirinus. I will give the exact concluding words of the text :—

PR ↗ C·H ↗ I ↗ L ↗ GOR

There cannot be the slightest doubt about these letters, and the stops are all there, perfect and distinct. Doubtless the L ↗ GOR, of the first cohort, of which Quirinus was captain, and the LON · GOR · of our altar, are identical.

Who can be meant by the expression? It does not add to the simplicity of the matter that, in the one case, it seems to be intimated that they were a people furnishing several cohorts, or regiments, to the Roman army, and that, in the other case, they are mentioned without any limitation as to numbers or divisions.

The Suebians, or Suevians, were a people that inhabited ancient Germany. They are described as being the most ancient, great, and warlike people of all that country. Tacitus says they were divided into several tribes, amongst which he enumerates the Semnones, the Longobardi, the Angli, etc.

Can the abbreviations LON · GOR · on our altar stand for LONGOBARDORVM GORDIANORVM or LONGOBARDI GORDIANI?

There can be little doubt of the signification of the GOR. It means, it would seem certainly, a title derived from the emperor's name, assumed through affection and devotion to him, by the troops in question. The doubt is confined to the signification of the L · of the Durham inscriptions, and the LON · of ours.

Then what is the nominative to SOLVERVNT? Is it *vezillarū Sueborum Longobardorum Gordianorum*, 'The veterans of the Gordian Lombard Suevians,' as we should say, or is it *Longobardi Gordiani*, 'the Gordian Lombards.' Does *pro salute* stand alone without a genitive after it, or do the abbreviations VEX · SVEBORVM, tell specifically for whose health and safety the erectors of the altar expressed their gratitude?

² See *Lapid. Sept.* Nos. 699 and 700; and *C.I.L.* vol. vii. Nos. 445 and 446.

For my own part I do not remember to have seen the word *vezillatio* used in any Roman inscription found in Britain, except with the name of a legion following it. I, therefore, incline to think that VEX must stand for *vezillarii*, the veterans, those who were serving the last four years of their military life. In this Dr. Hübner agrees with me.

A friend has suggested that the final M stands for *milites*, 'the soldiers,' and indicates the nominative to the verb *solverunt*. Others think M is the usual abbreviation for the adverb *merito*, or the adjective *meritis*.

There was a *numerus Longovicariorum* at *Longovicus*. And it has been thought that our LON· here may be an abbreviation for *Longovicariorum*. But, if so, from the inscriptions at Durham it would seem that there must have been several cohorts of the *Longovicarii*, which hardly seems feasible.³

The monument is, undoubtedly, of the age of the emperor Gordian. He was slain in the East, by Philip, who succeeded him as emperor, in A.D. 244.

³ Unless, as there is a Lanchester and a Lancaster, there was in Roman times a *Longovicus* and a *Longovicium*, and two cohorts of *Longovicarii*, one at the eastern fortress and the other at the western.

(B) BY F. J. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read on the 27th day of September, 1893.]

THE Newcastle Society of Antiquaries is much to be congratulated on the discovery of yet another important Roman inscription. This is a fine altar, unearthed last July at Lanchester in the course of some digging connected with the Workhouse water supply, about two hundred yards north of the Roman fort, and close to the line of the Roman road. In size it is above five feet high (including a loose base) and two feet wide; the lettering is well preserved and large, the letters being three inches tall in the first line, two and seven-eighth inches in the second and third lines, and two and three quarter inches in the other lines. Besides the usual knife, dish, etc., on the sides, the altar is ornamented with an unusual profusion of that Roman geometrical ornament which sometimes reminds one of the later Norman work. Accounts of the discovery have appeared in the *New-*

castle *Daily Chronicle* (on July 24), in the *Academy* (by myself, August 19), in the *Proceedings* of this Society (by Mr. Blair, F.S.A., vi. 55-7), and elsewhere. I have myself examined the altar, which is now in the porch of Lanchester parish church; I have to thank Dr. Hooppell and Mr. Blair for photographs and information.

The reading of the stone is, I think, beyond doubt. Expanded and completed it is:—*Deae Garmangabi et n(uminibus) [G]o[r]di[ani] Aug(usti) n(ostr)i, pr[o] sal(ute) vex(illationis) or vex(illariorum) Sueborum Lon. Gor(dianorum), votum solverunt m(erito) or m(ilites).*

D E A E G A R
M A N G A B I
E T N | O | / / / / /
A N I A V G P R [o]
S A L · V E X · S V E B o
R V M · L o N · G o R · V o
T v M · S o L v e R V N T · M

With respect to the text I may remark that the first line certainly has DEAE, not DEEE; in the third and fourth lines the name *Gordiani* has been intentionally erased, but O and ANI can still be detected,

and in the sixth line there are distinct stops before and after GOR. In the fourth line there is a fracture after PR.

The interpretation of the stone involves several points of interest.

(1) The name of the goddess, *Garmangabis*, or whatever the nominative may be, seems wholly unknown. The second part of the name can be compared with two German titles, *Matronae Gabiae* and *dea Idban. Gabia*,¹ the latter mentioned on an altar found near Cologne, in both of which the syllable *gab* has been conjecturally connected with *geben* 'to give.' But the resemblance is not very close, and neither Dr. Stokes nor professor Napier can help me any further.

(2) The name erased in the third and fourth lines is that of Gordian III. (A.D. 238-244), a detail which dates the inscription, and is noteworthy for another reason. Emperors' names were not seldom erased on Roman inscriptions, but the erasures were limited to definite emperors, of whom Gordian was not one. Until the Lanchester altar was found, only one instance, I believe, was known in which his name had been deleted.² We must explain the present erasure as a result

¹ Ihm, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxiii. 28 and index; *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xxxv. 317. The etymology assigned to *Gabia* is, after all, little more than a guess.

² The instance is a milestone on the road from *Carnuntum* to Vienna (*C.I.L.* III. 4644). Two other instances are sometimes quoted, but both are due to error. One (*C. II.* 3406) is a slip in indexing; the other (*Lipid. Sept.* No. 22; *C. VII.*

of ignorance, such as caused the erasure of the names Pupienus and Balbinus on a Benwell inscription, but it is none the less extraordinary. It is proved however both by the traces of the lettering and by the GOR of line 6, which can only be *Gordianorum*.



INSCRIBED SLAB AT BENWELL (see note 2).

(3) The regiment or detachment which erected the altar is indicated in the words *pro salute vexillationis* (or *vexillariorum*) *Sueborum Lon. Gordianorum*. The terms *vexillatio*, *vexillarii*, are used very frequently in Roman literature (for instance, in Tacitus) and on inscriptions of the first two or three centuries, to denote troops, usually legionaries, sometimes veterans, occasionally auxiliaries, who had been detached from their proper organizations for some temporary purpose, and were

510) is the Benwell altar mentioned above. On it we have an *ala I. Hispanorum Asturum* . . . *Gordianae*; Prof. Hübner (who saw the stone) supplies the gap (a definite erasure of some seventeen letters) as *Severianae Alexandrianae* and says that *Gordianae* is in erasure. After examining the stone with my friend Mr. A. H. Smith, M.A., F.S.A., I have satisfied myself that *Gordianae* has never been erased, and the actual erasure is doubtless *Pupienae Balbinae*, as Mommsen suggested (*C. III. Suppl.* 6953), though no lettering can be discerned. Even on the Vienna milestone (which I have examined myself) the erasure is very half-hearted.

under a separate command and flag (*vezillum*). But in the second century another sense appears, which takes us somewhat deeper into the secrets of the Roman military system. That system, as set up by Augustus, consisted of a uniform series of legions, cohorts and *alae*, without much distinction of race. The auxiliaries bore tribal names, but the recruiting soon ceased to be tribal. In the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian this began to alter, and a fresh set of auxiliaries levied, armed and drilled on a tribal basis, began to arise beside the regular army. These new troops are generally called *numeri*; they become plentiful during the second and early third centuries, and with them the tribal name has full meaning. Instead of *numerus*, we get other terms used occasionally, and among them *cuneus* and *vezillatio*. Examples of *cuneus* will be cited lower down; for *vezillatio* we have such examples as

Ala et vezillatio equitum Illyricorum (Dacia, A.D. 129; *C.* iii. pp. 876, 1977).

Vezillatio militum Maurorum Caesariensium Gordianorum (Lambaesis in Africa, A.D. 255; *C.* viii. 2716).

Vex. equitum Maurorum in territorio Auziensi praetendentium = 'camping' (Auzia in Africa, A.D. 260; *C.* viii. 9045-7, and Cagnat *Armée d'Afrique*, pp. 253, 306).

Vex. Brit. (Holland, undated tiles; Brambach *C. I. Rh.* 4, 128, 139).

And so in Britain

Vex. Germa. u(triusque), Raetiae D(almatiae?); *Lapid. Sept.* 811, and *C.* vii. 303.

Vezil. Raetor(um) et Noricor(um); *C.* vii. 212.

We cannot, indeed, be quite certain that all these represent separate regiments. The national principle represented in the *numeri* seems to have, to some extent, invaded the regular forces, and we find at Birrens (*C.* vii. 1068) *Raeti militantes in cohorte II Tungrorum*, and at Carrawburgh (*Eph.* iii. 103) *Texandri et Sunicii vex. cohortis II Nerviorum*, very much like the *Germuni, cives Tuihanti*, serving in the *cuneus Frisiorum*, which erected the great Housesteads altars to Thingsus and the Alaisiagae.³ But we may be sure that in most of the cases, and probably on the Lanchester altar, separate troops are meant, and we may take *vezillatio* here to be hastening on from its classical sense to that which it acquired in the army of Diocletian and Constantine, that of a troop of horse in the field army.

(4) *Sueborum* affords a puzzle. In the first century A.D., as in

³ *Arch. Ael.* vol. x. pp. 148-172.

the last century B.C., we find the Suebi on the middle or lower Rhine fighting with Cæsar, Augustus (who transferred some to the west bank), and his successors, including Domitian. In the fourth and following centuries we find the Suebi, or other tribes with the same name, on the upper Rhine and in the Swabian land, which still bears their name, closely associated with the Alemanni and Burgundians.⁴ But the intervening period is a blank. We have, indeed, the mentions of Ptolemy and Tacitus, who use the name in a very vague and comprehensive way, and we have the statements that Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 165, and Aurelian, more than a century later, fought against Suebi, but neither notice can be relied on.⁵ Epigraphically we are little better off. An altar *Matribus Suebis* was erected at Deutz, the bridgehead of Cologne in A.D. 223,⁶ and a Suebe served in the 'Equites singulares' at a period which must be later than A.D. 120.⁷ Otherwise the Suebi, at least under this name, are alike unknown to Roman history and the Roman army, and their appearance on the Lanchester altar is notable. It is possible that they may have been recruited as a result of the wars with Germans waged shortly before Gordian's reign. The policy of setting an invader to catch an invader was, indeed, as yet but half known to the Romans, but Marcus Aurelius had despatched conquered Sarmatians to Britain, and they had formed a regiment there. However a recent suggestion due to prof. Zangemeister (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, iii. (1893) pp. 1-16) affords a more attractive solution. A tombstone found at Aubigny in France mentions a *cives Sueba Nicreti* who must undoubtedly have been a Roman subject, and prof. Zangemeister conjectures that the *civitas S.N.*, mentioned on several milestones found near Heidelberg, ought to be read in full *civitas*

⁴ The first mention is in the list appended to the provincial catalogue of A.D. 297, as Müllenhoff has pointed out (*Abhandlungen der k.k. Berliner Akademie*, 1862, 489 foll.), comparing Ammian xvi. 10. In the *Notitia, Suevi laeti et gentiles* appear as settled in France and seemingly used freely for army purposes (*Occid.* lxii. 34, Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxiv. 251), but this was not earlier than A.D. 296, and probably much later. See R. Much, *Deutsche Stammsitze* (Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, xvii.) Halle, 1892.

⁵ *M. Aureli Philosophi vita* Capitol. 22, Eutrop. viii. 13; *Aureliani vita* Vopisc. 18. It is difficult with these writers to tell the exact sense, traditional or other, in which the name is used.

⁶ Ihm, No. 289. Two other altars *Matribus Suebis* have been found at Cologne and Crefeld (Ihm, No. 273, *Westd. Correspondenz-blatt*, 1890, 147) but neither can be dated.

⁷ *Eph.* iv. 935. Mommsen refers this Suebe to the Mattiaci near Mainz (*Hermes*, xvi. 549, note). The meaning of *Subus* in *Eph.* iv. 892, 27, is unknown.

Sueborum Nicretum. In that case, we have material to prove that a community of Suebi, called Nicretes, existed on the Neckar near Heidelberg, during the whole of the second and a large part of the third centuries, and we may suppose that our Lanchester Suebes, as well as the *equus singularis* mentioned above, were recruited hence.

(5) *Lon · Gor* · give in abbreviated form the names of the station, and of the reigning emperor. *Lon* · may possibly belong to the *Longovicium*⁸ of the *Notitia* (*Occ.* xl. 30), but we do not know where that was, and on phonetic grounds it may as well have been at Lanchester as at Lanchester. I think Dr. Hübner was rash in putting the former down in the *Corpus* as the site of *Longovicium*, but I confess that I cannot even now see any convincing reason for deciding between the two places, and I must perforce remain like Buridan's ass between the two attractions. *Gor* is, of course, *Gordianorum*.⁹ It justifies our supplying *Gordiani* in the third and fourth lines, while the nomenclature, as a whole, justifies our regarding the Suebes as a separate regiment. This nomenclature, indeed, of tribal name, station, and emperor's name is common in the third century. I have quoted above two instances from Africa; there are others in Britain.

Cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philipp(ianorum) (Papcastle, A.D. 244-9; *Lapid. Sept.* 907, *C.I.L.* vii. 415 = *Eph.* iii. p. 130. I have satisfied myself, from squeezes sent me by Mr. J. M. Brydone, that this is the correct reading).¹⁰

N(umerus) explorator(um) Brem(eniensium) Gor(dianorum) (High Bchester; *Lapid. Sept.* 551, 552, *C.* vii. 1030, 1037.)

N(umerus) eq(uitum) Sar[matarum] Bremetenn(aeensium) Gordianus (Bchester, *C.* vii. 218).¹¹

⁸ It may be as well to add that the name *Longovicus*, which has been quoted in this context, is a wholly imaginary form.

⁹ *Vexillatio* . . . *Gordianorum* or *Gordiana* are equally possible and the difference is immaterial. For the first compare *Lapid. Sept.* 552, *C.I.L.* vii. 1030, viii. 2716; for the second, *Lapid. Sept.* 22, *C.I.L.* vii. 218, 510, *Eph.* v. 1047.

¹⁰ It follows that *Aballava* is Papcastle, an identification which suits well its frequent juxtaposition with *Uxellodunum* (Maryport). Seeck's idea that it is the *Galava* of *Iter x.* is impossible if the Itinerary distances are even remotely correct. The great difficulty with the *Notitia* may, I think, be best solved by supposing that, after *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald) several names of stations *per lineam valli* have dropped out and are now irretrievably lost. Chancellor Ferguson's idea (*Cumberland*, p. 55) is that the writer of the *Notitia* had the northern defences in two halves and begins the western half at the western instead of the eastern end. This is ingenious, and suits *Uxellodunum* and *Aballava*, but it does not in the least suit, e.g., *Bremetennacum*. A *lacuna* seems to me the best and simplest solution.

¹¹ It follows that *Bremetennacum* is Ribchester, and this suits the Itinerary quite as well as any other route (Watkin, *Lancashire*, p. 25). Dr. Hübner

It remains only to comment on the inscription as a whole. It is a curious fact, to which I have elsewhere alluded, that we have in Northern Britain no scarcity of inscriptions belonging to the second quarter of the third century, the reigns of Alexander and Gordian III. These were reigns of comparative order and organization, when, as historians tell us, statesmen looked after the frontiers, built fortresses, and provided, by landgrants and other means, for the strengthening of the frontier troops. They were, at least on the Continent, the last periods of peace before the deluge: in the middle of this third century the barbarians began finally to beat down the defences, and the local rule of the Thirty Tyrants arose. The inscriptions of Alexander and Gordian III. in Britain show that there, too, danger was apprehended; they shew us also that the defences were not based solely on the lines of Wall but on the fortified roads like Watling street that goes past Binchester, Lanchester, and Ebchester, to Risingham and High Rochester. Whether the Wall of Antonine was still occupied at this period is uncertain. It is, at least, significant that the Itinerary stops at High Rochester, and that this is the last point northwards where we find epigraphic traces of Roman occupation under Gordian. This striking correspondence between the inscriptions and the Itinerary can hardly be an accident, and is worth mentioning here as a further proof of the importance of the road at this period.¹²

(C. vii. p. 58) puts *Coccium* at Ribchester, but without and against evidence. The *Notitia* (Occ. xl. 54) gives *cuneus Sarmatarum Bremetennaco*; the inscriptions give *numerus* or *ala*, the latter used wrongly (like *ala exploratorum Pomariensium* in Africa, C. viii. 9906). The squadron was first formed out of Aurelius's conquered Sarmatae (Dio lxxi. 16) about A.D. 175.

¹² Postscript. Since writing the above, I have seen two articles by prof. Hübner (*Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, 1893, nro. 97) and Dr. Hooppell (*Illustrated Archaeologist*, i. p. 121). Dr. Hooppell's objection to the explanation given above of *Lon.* is based on other Lanchester inscriptions which mention a *Cohors I. L. Gor.*, but *L.* here (as another inscription shows) denotes *Lingones* and has nothing to do with our *Lon.* Dr. Hübner notes *das in der Luft schwebende pro salute*. I cannot help thinking that, if any part of the inscription is strictly ungrammatical, it is *soluerunt*, which has no nominative unless we expand the final M into *militēs*. But there are many epigraphic parallels for the absence of a nominative to a verb in such a case.

XX.—THE ROMAN BRIDGES ACROSS THE NORTH TYNE RIVER NEAR CHOLLERFORD.

BY SHERITON HOLMES.

[Read on the 26th May, 1886, but since rewritten and added to.]

At the present time when the question of the relative ages of the Roman Wall, the *vallum*, and other works which stretch across England from the river Tyne to the Solway, and in the reign of which of the Roman emperors these gigantic works were executed, is occupying afresh the attention of antiquaries, I have thought that a more careful study of the passage of the North Tyne river demands attention, and that an elucidation of the works erected there might be of advantage as forming a key to unlock the hitherto unsolved problem. With a view to this I have taken careful notes of what remains of the works, and have availed myself of the drawings of the bridge-pier plans accompanying Mr. Clayton's paper on the Roman bridge.¹

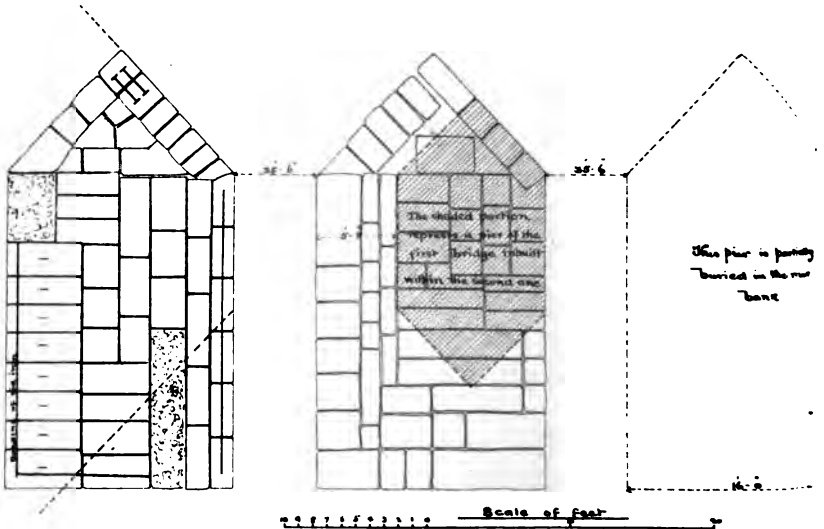
Until recently it seemed as though these questions had been definitely decided and set at rest upon the authority of such eminent writers as the rev. John Hodgson, Mr. John Clayton, and the rev. Dr. Bruce, but closer investigation into the facts has reopened the whole question and tends to upset many of the conclusions previously drawn.

Where the line of the Roman works crosses the North Tyne river there are the remains of two bridges, both of them evidently of Roman construction. The later one consisted of an abutment at each end and three water piers, thus giving four water bays or openings of thirty-five feet six inches span. The parallel faces of the abutment and the piers are twenty-one feet six inches long and the breadth across the piers sixteen feet. The piers are flat-ended on the down-stream side but have starlings or cut-waters on the upper side. The eastern abutment has had very long and massive wingwalls, the southern one having been lengthened considerably, doubtless to provide against a set of the current tending to carry away the river's bank at its

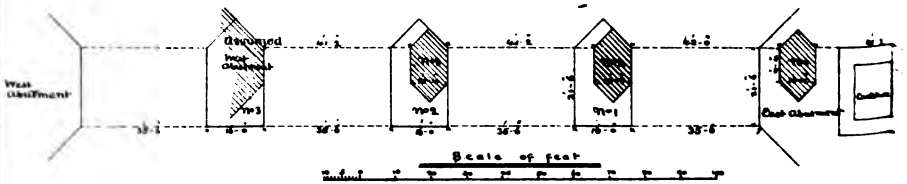
¹ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.) vol. vi, p. 80.

ROMAN BRIDGES - G

Drawing showing the plans of two



Plan showing the relative position of the two bridges



**PLAN OF ROMAN BRIDGE
No.**

previous termination. The river at this point has altered its course from time to time in a westerly direction, so that now the eastern abutment and a portion of the first pier are deeply buried in its bank, and the western abutment is in the bed of the stream.

But this action of the river had been in operation previous to the time when this bridge was built, for, embedded in its eastern abutment is a water pier of an earlier bridge which must have had at least one bay or opening to the east of it, so that between the times when the two bridges were built the river had altered its course to that extent westward.

The roadway along the earlier bridge had been much less in width than that along the later one, its pier faces being only nine feet four inches long with a width of ten feet four inches. The earlier bridge had starlings both up and down stream diverging from the pier faces at an angle of forty-five degrees. It is deserving of note, and unique in my knowledge of bridges, that these piers should be less in length than their breadth across, but as the bridge had doubtless a timber platform, the beams supporting it would require to be cantilevered by others underneath them to give rigidity, and the breadth of the pier would be necessary to afford a sufficient length of base for them. The lowness of the roadway would render angle strutting to the piers useless from the certainty of their being carried away during floods.

The spans of this bridge must have been abnormally long in comparison with the width of the roadway which could only have been about eight feet six inches, for a length from pier to pier of forty-one feet two inches or nearly in the proportion of five to one. If, however, the roadway platform had been projected beyond the longitudinal bearing timbers at each side, a greater width would be obtained.

The builders of the later bridge had taken full advantage of what remained of the former one, for not only had they inbuilt the water pier in their abutment, but had adopted and enlarged the other piers also, by adding a width of five feet eight inches to their western sides, and lengthening them southwards. This is apparent on applying a tracing of the embedded pier (the dimensions of which can be exactly defined) to the plan of the second pier, as given on the accompanying drawing, where the different character of the masonry clearly defines the earlier and more recent work.

The western abutment of the earlier bridge would most likely occupy the site of the third river pier of the later one, and if one bay be allowed to the east of the embedded pier the number of the openings in the two bridges would be equal, only the widths of these openings would be five feet eight inches more in the earlier than in the later one.

It seems pretty clear that the skill of the bridge builders had not improved as time went on, for the masonry of the later bridge, though substantial in character and composed of large ashlar stone throughout, is not nearly so well bonded by snecking and breaking joint with the stones as in the earlier one, though in the mechanical appliances of setting the stones they seem to have advanced, for the lewis had been adopted in place of the hand setting of the former work.

The stones in both bridges have been elaborately fastened together by iron cramps and ties run in with lead, but here again the earlier men seemed to be in advance of the later ones, for instead of the long iron-face straps with T-headed branches running in a sort of haphazard manner into the work, and the few dog cramps here and there of the later work, there are systematic double dove-tailed cramps of good form, neatly let into the stones.

Dr. Bruce inclines to think that the facing stones of the abutment of the later bridge might have been an addition by Severus to what he terms Hadrian's work, but I think that an examination of the plan will show that where these impinge on the embedded pier it could not have been so, and that this casing is an initial part of the second structure, and coeval with the added work of the piers where the same long iron clamps have been used.

The work generally of the later bridge is of a ruder character than that of the earlier one, and there are many make-shifts apparent, indicating that the workmen had not such intelligent overlookers. This is apparent in the way many of the upper faces of the stones had to be dressed down after being set to admit of the proper bedding of those above. And there is a piece of very unconstructive work where the southern wingwall had been lengthened.

In the beds of the stones forming the earlier pier there are at uncertain intervals wedge-shaped holes, the use of which is not clear. They could not have been used in lifting, and are not holes for joggles

to prevent the stones shifting on their beds. The likeliest use for them is to give point-hold to the crowbars used in forcing along the upper stones to their positions in the process of building.

The earlier bridge must have had at least one of its bays to the eastward of the embedded pier, and if only one, then the abutment belonging to it must have had its position underneath where is now the Roman Wall, and the roadway must have occupied the site of the north wall of the *castellum*. It thus seems clear that neither the *castellum* nor that portion of the Wall could have been coeval with the bridge.

A suggestion having been made that possibly the Wall had been lengthened when the later bridge was built so as to bring it forward to the bridge, Mr. Clayton gave permission to have the face of the Wall opened out eastwards, with the result that to a distance of sixty feet back from its junction with the *castellum* there is no break in the masonry, and the character of it is similar throughout, and very much like the exposed face on Limestone bank, the face stones running from about fourteen inches to nineteen inches in length, and from nine to twelve inches in depth. Writing in his *Wallet Book*, Dr. Bruce says of his portion of the Wall: 'It terminates in a square building or *castellum* formed of stones of the same character as those used in the Wall.' So far from this being the case the stones forming the Wall to the east of the bridge are larger, longer, and rougher than those in the *castellum*, these being nearly square on the face and very much smaller, and there is no true bonding between the two, the *castellum* having apparently been built on to the Wall end at a later time.

Mr. Clayton² says: 'There is an apartment twenty-four feet by twenty-three feet six inches under the platform of approach.' This in the hands of Dr. Bruce becomes a *castellum*, and as the walls are well faced all round it could never have been designed for an underground chamber.

Owing to the dribbling away of material from under the abutment, the central portion, especially towards the face, and the *castellum*, have subsided considerably, but the longitudinal iron bonding of the face stones has held them so well together that no set or crack is perceptible in the masonry. Dr. Bruce thought that this depression of the centre portion was by design and deemed it an element of strength, but I scarcely think that any engineer would coincide in such opinion.

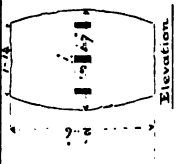
² *Arch. Ael.* vol. vi. (N.S.) p. 82.

The peculiar splaying back of the face courses in the northern wingwall seems to be a scientific idea for accommodating the face-line to the different rates of flow in the river, *i.e.* giving a larger area to the more rapid surface water than was required for the comparatively sluggish current nearer the bed of the river, and it seems strange that engineers who could act upon such scientific lines should have made their piers flat-ended on the down-stream side, thereby incurring the danger of having the material eaten away from their foundations and the stones displaced by the regurgitative action of the water, and this too, with the evidence of the earlier piers before their eyes. It was this action of the water which rendered the lengthening of the south wingwall necessary, and in doing which they further endeavoured to throw the current away from the wall-face by placing the lower courses angle-way to the line of the work. This addition to the wingwall had been built chiefly with stone got from the earlier bridge remains, as is evident from many of the holes for the dove-tailed cramps remaining in positions which, in their new places, are of no use whatever.

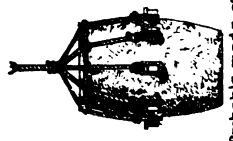
It is a question whether in building their large ashlar work the Romans used mortar in the joints, or built it dry as was the custom in Rome under the Republic. In their smaller stone work such as the Wall with its camps, etc., they did use mortar, if indeed it may be so termed. Here and there patches of mortar may be found in a well-set condition, but, generally speaking, in the North of England it had been of a very poor character, the face of the stones merely ipped by a pointing of better mortar, and the hearting filled in with a mixture of badly slaked lime in clot, and soil instead of sand as a matrix, a material more calculated to disrupt than to cement the stones together; for, as the lime became hydrated, it would swell and tend to rend the work asunder. It would appear as if the designers, accustomed to the pozzolanas of Southern Italy and the limes of Tivoli, had looked slightly on the comparatively inferior limes of the district and had not placed much reliance in their binding power, preferring, in their more important works, to trust rather to the more costly bonding of iron run in with lead.

From the evidence existing, pointing as it does to the later construction of the Wall, it may be taken that the earlier bridge was

Counterbalance Stone



Counterbalance Tub formerly used at the Collyer



Probable mode of slinging the stone



Section showing the method of fastening the method of fastening. Weight of stone 5600

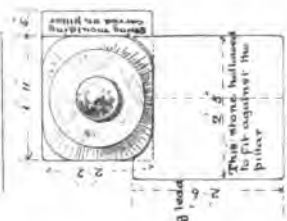
ROMAN BRIDGE AT CHOLLERFORD

DETAILS

Side view of pillar

Shewen 1873

View of Pillar from above



This stone hollowed to fit against the pillar

This stone hollowed to fit against the pillar

Quarry block of pillar with piece remaining



Front view of pillar

This stone grooved to receive the bar which piece forward pull against the cantilever

Scale of feet



antecedent to its erection, and the question arises what office was this earlier bridge designed to fulfil? It seems to be generally agreed that previous to the building of the Wall, Agricola had constructed a chain of forts across this isthmus, and as these would almost certainly be connected by a line of road, it is possible that this bridge might have been built in connection with such road, though as subsequently noted in this paper, I think the probability is against it. Then as to the date of erection of the later bridge, it seems unlikely that during the short period between Agricola and Hadrian (about forty years) the river had time to alter its course a distance of sixty feet from its former line, as it has taken 1,700 years since the departure of the Romans to perform an equal distance in the same direction. When Severus returned from his northern campaign, about 130 years after the time of Agricola, would appear to be a much more likely time for the river so to have changed its course and for the later bridge to have been built.

Amongst the *débris* of the bridge abutment there are certain peculiar shaped stones which have evidently been designed for some special use. One of them is a monolithic pillar, nine feet one inch in length, having a rectangular base, two feet two inches by one foot eleven inches, for a height of two feet two inches from the bottom; above this the angles are rounded off, until at the top it assumes the circular form with a diameter of one foot seven inches. The shaft of the column is six feet six and a half inches long and concentrically on its upper end, there is a curved conical boss, four and a half inches deep, with a scarcement all round it of five inches on the pillar top. On the longer face of the base the stone has been cut away to a depth of five inches, so as to leave projecting a face moulding, and as the shape of this moulding is similar to that upon other stones which have apparently formed an ornamental string course along the face of the abutment, the original position of the pillar stone is thereby determined as having been on the face of the abutment and in line with the string course. As another evidence of the position of the pillar stone, there remains one of the stones which had formed the parapet hollowed out to fit up against it.

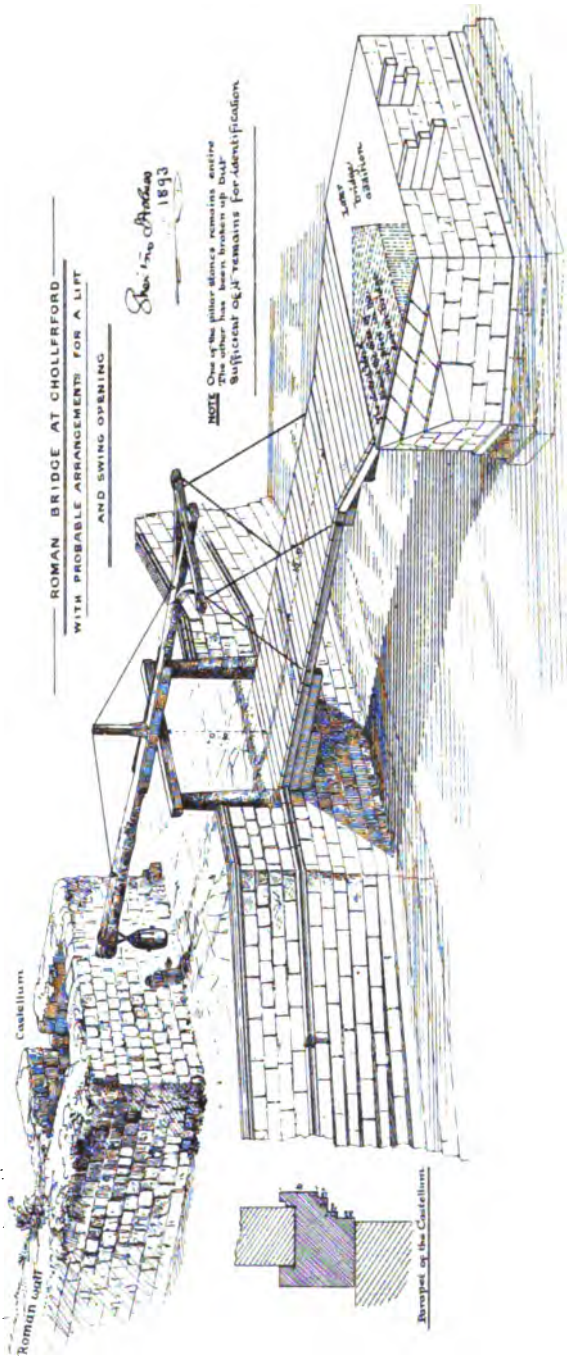
There are also portions of a similar column which had been broken up. The upper end of it is now on the abutment amongst the ruins,

and what appears to be a portion of the shaft, about four feet long, with a dowel hole cut in a similar manner to that in the entire column, is now placed in an angle of the building on the west side of the river.

A third stone demands particular attention. It is in the form of a barrel or the nave of a cart wheel without the axle-hole through it. This stone is two feet six inches long, one foot seven inches diameter at its centre, and one foot one and a quarter inches at its ends. Radiating from its centre are eight recesses cut to a depth of four and a half inches, which, at the face of the stone, form openings one inch wide by three inches long. The lower sides of these holes are cut deeper as they recede from the face, being half an inch deeper at the inner end than at the face, thus forming a tapered or half-dovetailed hole, similar to the lewis holes in the abutment stones. The weight of this stone is about five and a quarter hundredweights, and the most likely use I can imagine for it is in the nature of a balance-weight applied either over a pulley or at the end of a lever.

A reference to the detailed drawings of this stone will show how admirably it is adapted to being slung, for, if in the holes be placed half-dovetailed studs, tapering from two and a half to three inches, they would fall down half an inch from the upper side of the hole, and admit of a flat slip of that thickness being driven in above them, thus securely fastening them in position. Then the studs being left projecting beyond the face of the stone would form attachments for the ropes or rods used in slinging it. A very similar arrangement to this existed until lately at the smaller collieries in the northern counties, when the water was drawn from the pit in tubs by means of a whimsey worked by a horse. To balance the water-tub they had another filled with stone, through which, midway in its height, pieces of wood were put at equal angles, and the projections formed attachment studs in the same manner as those in the balance stone. This stone has, I think, an intimate connection with the pillar stones, and all three taken together may be considered as a permanent frame and balance for the lifting of some heavy structure. What that structure might have been, I will endeavour to set forth further on.

The conical boss on the top of the pillar seems designed to secure a beam placed across the top of the two pillars, which would have cups cut in it to fit the stone bosses.



ROMAN BRIDGE, NEAR CHOLLERFORD.
No. 3.

So far, we are on tolerably safe ground; but what had the mechanical arrangement of support and balance to perform? The ancient lever arrangement of the Egyptian shadoof, I think, now comes into play, so that if another beam be placed across the head beam and pivoted thereon, a means of lifting and swinging round a suspended weight would be accomplished.

Now, a permanent arrangement, such as I have sketched out, would not be for a temporary purpose, such as lifting the stones whilst building was in progress, but must have been for some continuous purpose, and I can see nothing more likely than that it was intended to lift and sling out of position a portion of the timber superstructure of the bridge so as to cut off communication along it.

This arrangement I have endeavoured to formulate in the drawing accompanying this paper.

The weight to be lifted would better accord with the narrow platform of the earlier bridge, but as the lewis principle had been used in the balance-weight stone in a similar manner to the setting of the stones in the later one, I think it most likely that the mechanical arrangement had belonged to it, and, if so, a counterweight became a necessity, for the distance between the face of the abutment and the *castellum* is too short to give sufficient pole balance otherwise.

In connection with the timber platform there are large flat-stones which have cut across them grooves three inches broad and three and a half inches deep, which had evidently been intended for the insertion of six inch by seven inch timbers, half let into the stone and half notched into the cantilever timbers to counteract their forward tendency and secure them in their positions. The parapet-coping, of which many face-moulded stones remain, had also a longitudinal groove for the insertion of a tie rod.

In the masonry of the south wingwall there is a hole, roughly circular, about thirteen inches diameter, which might have been for the insertion of a crane post during the erection of the work, as from this point a large area of the masonry could have been reached, and the employment of the lewis would almost carry with it that of the crane.

The utility of thus severing the connection along the bridge may be questioned, as at present the river is fordable at points both above and below, but at the time of the Roman occupation, when the country

was timbered, wet, and undrained, as described by Herodian, the rainfall would be greatly in excess of the present time, and the water would get much more slowly away, the river neither rising so high during rains nor shrinking to such small dimensions during dry weather, so that fording it would be found difficult at any time. The massive piers of the bridge would also obstruct the flow, and dam back the water for some distance above.

‘Where the Watling-street crossed the Reed, the bed of the river is paved with large stones; and when a part of the north bank was washed away by a flood a few years ago, two pillars were discovered, which it is supposed might have stood at the entrance to a bridge.’³ Might not this have been some similar arrangement for barring the passage across the Kede at a time when the wall having become ruinous or the number of soldiers remaining not sufficient to garrison it effectively, they had recourse to the rivers for protection against the invading Caledonians from the north and west.

The solution of the actual dates when the various works were constructed will probably have to await the unearthing of more direct evidence in the shape of sculptured stones as history has been unable to give more than an uncertain clue to it, but it is quite possible that the relative dates may hereafter be made out with some degree of certainty from investigations carried on in the works themselves, and it is with a view to this that I have been led to examine the bridges, etc., of the North Tyne river so that the initiation thus given may be carried forward at other points until some definite information shall be obtained.

The results of the investigations made, may, I think, be summed up thus:—

Firstly, the earliest line of works would appear to be the ‘Stane-gate’ and the camps on its line which were probably those instituted by Agricola about the year 78. On referring to the six inch to a mile Ordnance map it will be seen that this road is traced directly up to the North Tyne river near where lately stood Homer’s house, as though it had at that point crossed the river and continued on in an easterly direction without approaching the bridge.

³ *Rambles in Northumberland and on the Scottish Border*, by Stephen Oliver the younger [W. A. Chatto], p. 161.

Starting from this point westward it passes to the north of Fourstones and through Newbrough, and in a very direct course to Chesterholm, where is the important station of *Vindolana*, and hence along to a considerable camp which is seated on the eastern edge of the Haltwhistle burn. Crossing this it goes over the summit of the hill at Sunnyrig, being deflected from its direct course to gain this height. Then falling down it makes direct for Caerboran (*Magna*).

Immediately west of this there are half a dozen important camps which, with the Caerboran station, form an arc of a circle. These being situated on high ground and on the watershed of the country east and west would, I think, form a stronghold in connection with the Stanegate. From this point westward the name is continued on the Ordnance plan in connection with the military way by the side of the Wall and *vallum*, but as this road is evidently the continuation of the one traced by the Wall side from near *Procolitia*, I think the more probable route for the Stanegate from Caerboran to have been along by the line of camps to Naworth, keeping the river Irthing as a northern defence; thence to the north of the camp near Brampton (named 'Aballaba' on the one inch Ordnance map), and the camp near Watchclose, to Red Hills, from which point it is again traced as far as Parkbroom in the direction of Carlisle. The station of Caerboran, which is a little to the south of both Wall and *vallum* but on the line of the Stanegate, would favour this idea.

There appear to have been connecting roads between the Stanegate and the stations of *Cilurnum* and *Borcovicus*, the latter joining the Stanegate at Frenon hill. The Wall along by *Borcovicus* had its accompanying road between it and the *vallum* which would be well protected, whereas the Stanegate is at too great a distance off to have had protection from the Wall garrisons; also, as at the North Tyne river, the Stanegate seems to have had an independent crossing and not to have approached the bridges, the inference is that it was the pioneer work of the district.

Secondly, the Roman Wall would seem to have been a later work than the earlier of the two bridges, for the eastern abutment must (as previously explained) have occupied its site.

Thirdly, the *castellum* commanding the later bridge seems to be yet a later work than the Wall, and might have been added when the

second bridge was built, or even at a date later than that, when it became necessary to substitute for the Wall the line of defence afforded by the rivers Eden, Irthing, North Tyne, and Rede.

Then, fourthly, as to the inscrutable *vallum*, which seems to pursue a perfectly independent line across the river, and indeed to be independent of all around it. Seeming now to be defensive against the north, at other times equally so against the south, and also by its two aggers or ramparts affording as much cover for an enemy attacking as would be given to those defending, the question arises whether it was ever designed for a defensive work, or merely as marking a boundary possibly antecedent to Roman days. And this seems to be favoured by the finding in the recent excavation cut across it near Heddon-on-the-Wall of a bronze axe head and a flint scraper of circular form about one and three-eighths inch in diameter. Also where the *vallum* was recently excavated at Down hill the road in connection with the Wall was cut across in several places. In one of the sections it is found on the northern marginal mound of the *vallum fosse*, showing that when it had been formed the *vallum* works were in existence and, in all probability obsolete.



Against this view may be adduced the similarity of the two fosses, those of the Wall and *vallum*, at the summit of Limestone bank where they are cut through the columnar basalt and each of them left in a similar state of incompleteness; and it seems curious why, if not contemporary, there should have been two ditches cut so close together through such intractable material, and why, if the *vallum fosse* was existing, the

Wall builders did not adopt it and build their wall on its southern margin.

These and many other questions concerning the northern boundary works await solution, and it may be hoped that the investigations now being instituted may be the means of clearing away some of the difficulties which have hitherto delayed that result.

XXI.—SLALEY.

BY THE REV. A. JOHNSON, VICAR OF HEALEY.

[Read on the 30th August, 1893.]

THE ecclesiastical history of Slaley is somewhat peculiar. Originally it seems to have formed part of the parish of Bywell St. Andrew. Along with the rest of that ancient parish, it is mentioned, soon after the Conquest, as belonging to the barony of Bolbeck. In its more prosperous days, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we find it named as a separate parish, and holding the position of a rectory. In the time of Henry III., Gilbert de Slaley, who was living in A.D. 1239, gave to Hexham priory the church of Slaley, with one plow land of the endowment of the said church, and a common of pasture in the village for 260 sheep, and a common of pasture in Le Stele for the same number;¹ and by the great charter of *Inspeximus*, granted by Edward I. to the prior and convent of Hexham, these lands and possessions in Northumberland, after the burning of their house by the Scots, were confirmed to them.

The 'Black Book of Hexham,' giving the rental of the prior and convent of Hexham, says that they hold in Slaley divers tenements, and half a carucate of land, and certain other acres and pasturage for sheep, as in the charter of the convent are contained.² It was assessed as a rectory in pope Nicholas's taxation in 1292, and was again taxed as a church and distinct parish to the ninth in 1340. In the list of Procurations paid by the clergy of Northumberland in 1357 to

¹ Tenent etiam ecclesiam de Slaveley in proprios usus et unam carucatam terre de dote ejusdem ecclesie et communiam pasture in eadem villa ad ducentas et sexaginta oves et communiam pasture in le Stele ad ducentas et sexaginta oves in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam de dono Gilberti de Slaveleye et inde habuerant cartam et confirmationem domini episcopi et capituli Dunelmensis et tenuerunt a tempore regis Henrici patris Domini regis nunc. *Ex Rot. Cart.* 27 Edw. I. 23rd Nov. 1298. In the tower of London. Hodgson, pt. III. vol. ii. p. 164. In *Surtees Soc.* vol. 46, p. 112, Raine gives a copy of this from what is said to be an original in the possession of W. B. Beaumont, esq. Query, can Mr. Beaumont's be an original, or is it a copy of the document in the tower of London?

² SCLAVELEYE.—Tenent etiam in Sclaveley diversa tenementa et di carucatam terrae, et alias certas acras, ut in cartis Conventus, et pasturas ad certas oves, ut in cartis continetur. [Then follows an interesting list of the tenants, with their holdings, and quantity of land held by each in Sclaveleye, Prestplace, Lumbard's place, etc.] *Hexham Priory*, vol. ii. (*Surtees Soc.* vol. 46), pp. 27-28.

cardinal Talairand and his colleagues the rector of Slaley is stated to have paid his share :—

Rectoria de Slaveley non valet ultra iiiijli xvjd & solvit ijs.

From a survey of the estates of the priory of Hexham, made at the dissolution, we learn that Slaley was no longer a rectory. It appears simply as a chapel, and the officiating minister is styled chaplain : 'Et in pensione annuali exeunde de capella de Slevele soluta abbati et conv. de Abbyland, p.a. xxiijs. SALARIA CAPELLANORUM . . . et in salario unius capellani servientis curam animarum infra capellam de Slavele, p.a. iiiij li.'³

The period of the Reformation seems to have been a trying time for Slaley. When the priory of Hexham was dissolved the endowments of Slaley fell with it into improper (*alias* impropriator) hands, and in her impoverished condition, not being able to maintain her position of independence as a separate parish, the church of Slaley was obliged to return to the old maternal fold, and had to depend upon the mother-church of Bywell St. Andrew for maintenance for a time. Randal, in his *Survey of the Churches of Northumberland*, gives Slaley as a chapelry in the parish of Bywell St. Andrew, with a list of curates from 1501 to 1756. In the *Liber Regis*, compiled by order of Henry VIII., this living is valued at £15.

At the Archdeacon's Visitation, held at Corbridge in 1601, it was reported of the curate and churchwardens 'that they have had no sermon this last yeare, and that they use no perambulation in Rogation weeke, and that the Register Booke is in paper.' Two years later the presentment is 'that they have no Register book, nor new communion booke.'

John Shaftoe, vicar of Warden, bequeathed by will, 13th May, 1693, an augmentation of £10 for ever to the church of Slaley, to be paid out of the mortgaged lands and estate of John Heron, bart., then lately deceased, of Chipchase.

In 1719 Slaley again arose to the rank of a separate parish. In a letter (dated 12th February, 1887) the secretary of Queen Anne's Bounty informs me that Slaley was augmented by the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty in the year 1719, that the cure was, prior to that date, an 'Impropriate Curacy' or chapelry, and the effect of augmentation was to make such curacy or chapelry a perpetual curacy and

³ Surtees Soc. vol. 46, p. 169.

benefice (see 1 Geo. I. c. 10, s. 4). The benefice has (he says) been subsequently augmented several times.

A church was built at Slaley in 1312, and an indulgence of forty days was granted to those who contributed to the fabric.⁴ The present church was erected in 1832, and in the vestry is preserved the contract for the work, which is dated '24th April, 1832.' On May 25th, 1832, the foundation stone of the new church was laid by the rev. C. Bird, vicar of Chollerton, in the presence of the clergy of the neighbourhood, the principal inhabitants, and a large concourse of people. The old church had become little better than a mass of ruins, and totally unfit for the celebration of divine service. By the persevering exertions of the rev. Henry Armstrong, the curate, and other members of a committee selected for that purpose, sufficient funds were raised to rebuild and enlarge the structure, without having recourse to a parish rate. Previous to the ceremony, the rev. C. Bird delivered an appropriate address. The stone was then laid with the usual ceremonies. On the 4th of November, 1832, the new church was opened for divine service. It consists of chancel, nave, western bell turret, vestry on south of nave, with a gallery on the north side of the nave. It affords room for three hundred and fifty worshippers, whilst the old church had only ninety-four sittings.

Two bells were placed in a turret at the west end, when the church was rebuilt in 1832. They are both of that date, but bear no inscription. Registers begin in 1704. The old vicarage house, now a picturesque ruin covered with ivy, is worthy of note. The Shaftoe charity is said to have been spent in buying land and building this old house. The new vicarage was built by vicar Heslop. In the church there is a 'three-decker,' with a sounding-board over, and a curious font, a stone octagonal basin, ten inches in diameter, on a wooden octagonal stem, four feet high. On the west side of the south door is a tombstone bearing the inscription:—HERE LIETH | RICHARD TEAS | DALE OF SLALEY | GENTLEMAN | DIED THE FIRST | DAY OF MARCH | ANO DOMINI | 1635.

The communion plate has been described by Mr. Blair in the *Proceedings* of the Society.⁵

⁴ Memorandum.—Quod xxiiij^o die Novembris, anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} xij^o, concessit dominus xl dies indulgentiae omnibus conferentibus de bonis suis, ad fabricam ecclesiae de Slaveley, Dunelmensis diocesis. *Bp. Kellawe's Register*, I. p. 254.

⁵ Vol. iii. p. 272.

SLALEY VICARS AND CURATES.

- A.D. 1501, William Thompson.
- „ 1577, Jan. 25, Cuthbert Pattenson, Scotus. He had no letters of orders or licence. In Bishop Barnes's *Visitation* he was admonished to serve no longer till he be licenced.
- „ 1578, July 15, Edward Thompson.
- „ 1604, Peter Gillaspie.
- „ 1612, John Smith.
- „ 1662, Andrew Turner.
- „ 1671, Matthew Wrightson.
- „ 1710, John Sleigh.
- „ 1712, William Richardson.
- „ 1723, Feb. 2, John Topling, clerk, after death of Richardson.
- „ 1740, Matthew Robinson, A.M.
- „ 1756, William Wharton, clerk, after death of Robinson. Patron, Sir Walter Blackett, Bart. The burial register states:—'1774, Dec. 27th. Then was buried the Rev. W. Wharton.'
- In 1773, Thomas Martindale,
 Jonaⁿ. Jefferson,
 William Dalston,
 John Orton,
 A. Brown, P.C. of Whitley, } All sign the registers as curates.
- „ 1775-1792, Thomas Martindale, minister. He died March 24th, 1792, aged 76 years.
- „ 1792-1811, Richard Close, curate.
- „ 1811, Jn^o. Jopling, curate.
- „ 1812-1821, W. Harrison, curate.
- „ 1821-1823, G. Thompson, minister.
- „ 1823-1830, Jos. Smith, minister.
- „ 1831-1832, H. Armstrong, curate.
- „ 1832, Richard Heslop, P. curate. The present church and vicarage were built during his incumbency.
- „ 1850, Blythe Hurst, Ph.D., incumbent. A linguist of superior attainments.
- „ 1854, W^m. Sisson, the present vicar, who is also vicar of Whitley (or Hexhamshire).

SLALEY REGISTERS.

- I. Contains baptisms, marriages, and burials, beginning A.D. 1704. This consists of 9 pages on paper in poor condition.
- II. Contains baptisms, marriages, and burials, A.D. 1725 to 1752. 40 pages on parchment, good condition.
- III. Contains baptisms, marriages, and burials, also churchwardens' accounts, A.D. 1755 to 1769. 10 pages on paper, good condition.
- IV. Contains baptisms and burials, A.D. 1769 to A.D. 1812; also banns and marriages, A.D. 1754 to A.D. 1812. This and the following are on good strong paper and in good condition.
- V. Contains baptisms, A.D. 1813 to A.D. 1860.
- VI. Contains marriages, A.D. 1813 to A.D. 1837.
- VII. Contains burials, A.D. 1813 to present date.
- VIII. Contains baptisms, A.D. 1860 to present date.
- IX. Contains marriages (in duplicate), A.D. 1838 to present date.

The following are the earliest legible entries :—

BAPTISMS.

February y^e 29th, Anno Domini 1704.—Joseph Carr, son of William Carr, and Mary, his wife, were then Baptizd.

Septem^r y^e 12th, Anno Dom. 1703.—John Farbridge, son of John Farbridge, and Mary, his wife, was then baptizd.

Decem^r the 3^d, Anno Dom. 1705.—Leonard Farbridge, son of John Farbridge, & Mary, his Wife, was then Baptizd.

March y^e 5th, Anno Dom. 1705.—John Carr, son of William Carr, and Mary, his Wife, was then Baptizd.

MARRIAGES.

December the 28th, 1722.—Then was marryd by Publication Henry Carr, of this Parish, and Alice Milton, of St. Nicholas, in the City of Durham.

April y^e 23^d, An. Dom. 1723.—Then was Marryd by Publication Joseph Foster, in the Parish of Hexham, and Mary Linton, of y^e Parish of Slealey.

April y^e 24th, 1723.—Then was marry'd W^m Taylor, of this Parish, & Ann Spark, of y^e parish of Hexham, by Publication.

BURIALS.

26th [obliterated] [1720] An. Dom., Burials. . . . t Taylor was then buried.

. . . mber y^e 24th.—Gerrard Farbridge was then buried.

April y^e 12th, 1721.—M^r Tho. Teasdale was then buried.

April y^e 8th, 1725.—Then was buried a Strainger.

APPENDIX.

An Abstract of the title deeds of John Thornton, Esq. [of Netherwitton], to the Rectorys and tythes of Bywell St. Andrew and Slaveley in the County of Northumberland.

10 Oct. 5 Jac.—A Copy of a Grant from King James to Geo. Ward and Rob^t Morgan and their heirs (*inter alia*) of the Rectory and Church of Bywell St. Andrew, Count. Northumb., with its rights, members, and appurt^{es} of the yearly rent of 6li. 13s. 4d., late belonging to the Monastery of Blanchland in the s^d County, and also y^e Advowson, donation, free disposition, and right of patronage to the Vicarage Church of Bywell afores^d, with all the lands, tenements, tythes, meadows, pastures, feedings, court leets, view of frank Pledge, &c., to the said Rectory belonging, under the yearly rent of 6li. 13s. 4d., payable to his Maj^{ty}, his heirs, and successors. To be held of Mann^r of East Greenwich.

21 May, 6 Jac.—By bargain and sale inrolled in Chancery the said Geo. Ward and Rob^t Morgan grant and convey the said Rectory, advowson, Tythes, &c., of Bywell Andrew, as fully as his then Maj^{ty} granted the same to them (*inter alia*) by the Grant last above mentioned unto Cuthbert Radcliffe, of Blanchland, Esq., his heirs, and assigns, under the said Crown rent of 6li. 13s. 4d.

29 Oct. 9 Jac.—By Indenture reciting that Queen Elizabeth by her L'res Patents dat y^e 11 Apr', in the 21st year of her reign did grant to Sir Chr. Hatton, Kn^t, and his heirs (*inter alia*) all and all manner of tythes of what nature or kind soever of and in the town, fields, parish, and hamlet of Slaveley, in the s^d County of Northumberland, theretofore belonging to the late Monastery of Hexham, with all houses, buildings, barns, dovecoats, orchards, gardens, gleablands, meadows, pastures, Tythes as well greater as lesser, advowson, gift, free disposition, and right of patronage to the Vicarage of Slaveley aforesaid, as fully as her s^d Maj^{ty} held the same, reserving to her s^d Maj^{ty}, her heirs, and successors for the s^d prem'es the yearly rent of 6li. 13s. 4d. for the maintenance of a fit minister or Clerk in the Church or Chapel of Slaveley afores^d, which s^d Tythes and prem'es in Slaveley the s^d S^r Chr. Hatton by Indre of Bargain and sale inrolled in Chancery Dat. 12 of the s^d April in y^e s^d 21 of her s^d Maj^{ty}'s reign, did grant to S^r John Foster and his heirs, who conveyed the same to S^r John Fenwicke and his heirs. He the s^d S^r John Fenwicke grants and conveys the s^d Tythes, advowson, and prem'es in Slaveley afores^d to the abovenamed Cuthbert Radcliffe, Esq., and his heirs, renewing the yearly rent of 4li. towards payment of y^e yearly rent reserved by the s^d L'res Patents, for Slaveley, and also the s^d rent of 6li. 13s. 4d. for Ministers wages or Stipend.

(A Counterpart of this conveyance executed by Radcliffe.)

6 Oct. 11 Jac.—By Indenture reciting as in the last above-mentioned Indenture is recited the s^d Sir John Fenwicke grants and conveys the s^d Tythes, advowson, and prem'es in Slaveley afores^d to John Radcliffe, of Blanchland, Gent., and his heirs under y^e s^d rent of 4li., and the said rent for Ministers wages of 6li. 13s. 4d.

(A Counterpart of this deed signed by John Radcliffe.)

29 Oct. 9 Car.—The said John Radcliffe by his last will and testament gives to his brother Anthony his Rectory of Bywell Andrew and the Chappely of Slaveley, and to his brother William all his moyety of Corn Tythes in Chester [*i.e.*, Chester-le-Street], and makes his said brothers executors of his said will.

22 Oct. 1647.—A probate of the last will and testament of William Radcliffe, whereby he gives the Tythes of Slaveley Parish, and the Tythes or Rectory of Bywell Andrew to his sister, Jane Witham, and her heirs.

25 May, 1649.—By Indenture John Witham and the s^d Jane (his then wife) grant and convey unto John Thornton, of Netherwitton, Gent., and his heirs all their messuage or tenement called Hasewell, alias Hasiwell, in the County of Northumb^d, with a pasture there called Watefield, alias Watchman's Bogg, and all that Rectory and Church of Bywell Andrew, the free gift, and right of patronage of the Vicarage of Slaveley, one rent charge of 8li. per annum issuing out of West Calecoates, one other rent charge of 12li. out of the Mann^r of North Charlton, one other of 40li., out of Great Swinburne, West Swinburn, Cockwell, Whiteaide Law, and Holmes Haugh, one free rent or White rent of 40s. out of Great Framlington and Little Framlington, one other of 40s. out of Todburne

and Horseley, and one other of 39s. 11d. out of Riplington, and also the Moyety or one half of the Prebend, Rectory, and Vicarage of Chester in the Street afores^d. To hold to the s^d John Thornton and his heirs, to the use of John Witham and Jane, his wife, for the life of the s^d Jane, then to the use of the s^d John Thornton and his heirs, Provided the s^d John Thornton, after the death of the s^d Jane, did pay to his brother Henry Thornton and his heirs the yearly rent of 30li. per annum, if the s^d Henry did pay to Margaret Thornton, his sister, 100li., and the further sum of 200li. if the s^d Jane did appoint and declare the same by her last will and testament.

A Copy of the Capcōn of a fine of the s^d prem'es from the s^d Witham et Ux. to the s^d John Thornton.

1 Apr. 1653.—By Indenture the s^d John Thornton covenants to stand seized of the Rectory and Tythes of Bywell Andrew and Slaveley and the advowson thereof, and of one moyety of the Prebend Rectory and Vicarage of Chester to the use of himself for life, then to the use of Henry Thornton and the heirs of his body. In default of such to the use of William Thornton and the heirs of his body, and for default of such, to the right heirs of him the said John Thornton.

3 June, 1659.—A Copy of the said Jane Witham's will, whereby she constitutes her son, Henry Thornton, sole executor of all her estate, real and personal, provided that he pay to her daughter, Marg^t Thornton, sister to the s^d Henry, the sum of 300li. pursuant to the deed of the 25 of May, 1649, above-mentioned.

1 and 2 Oct. 36 Car. 2.—By Indentures of Lease and Release, the release being 3-partite and made between the s^d Henry Thornton of the first part, Edward Burdett and Anthony Anderson of the 2^d part, and Richard Pepper of y^e 3^d part, the s^d Henry Thornton grants and conveys the s^d Rectorys, Tythes, advowsons, and prem'es of and in Bywell and Slaveley, the s^d moyety of the Prebend, Rectory, and Vicarage of Chester, to the s^d Burdett and Anderson and their heirs to make them tenants of the freehold, in order to suffer a recovery thereof. The uses whereof is thereby declared to be to the use of such person and persons for such estates charged with such annual paym^{ts} and with such sums of money as the s^d Henry Thornton should by any writing or last will in writing direct or appoint, and subject thereunto To the use of the s^d Henry Thornton, his heirs, and assigns for ever.

Hil. Pro. 36 of 37 Car. 2.—An Exemplification of a recovery of the prem'es pursuant to the deed last abovement^{ed}, wherein Richard Pepper is demant. against the said Burdett and Anderson on Tenants and the said Henry Thornton le Vouchee..

14 Mar. 4 Jac. 2. 1687.—A Copy of the last will and testament of the s^d Henry Thornton, whereby he gives and devises the s^d moyety of the s^d Prebend, Rectory, and Tythes of Chester in the street, with the appurtenances, to his nephew, Nicholas Thornton, and his heirs, and gives to his cousin, Marg^t Sackville, an annuity of 10li. per annum for her life, chargeable on the Rectory

of Bywell Andrew and tythes of Bywell Andrew and Slaveley afores^d, payable half-yearly at Pent. and Martinmas ; and devises the s^d Rectory, advowson, Tythes, and prem'es of and in Bywell Andrew and Slaveley aforesaid to his sister, Marg^t Thornton, for her life. Then to her executors for 7 years from her death for payment of her debts, subject to the s^d 10li. per annum given to Sackville, and after the expiration thereof gives the s^d tythes and premises to his s^d nephew, Nicholas Thornton, and his heirs, subject to the s^d annual payment of 10li. above-mentioned, and further devises to his s^d sister Marg^t and her heirs an annual rent charge of 8li. issuing out of Shelley, one other of 6li. per annum out of one messuage or tenement in Kirkley, and out of all other the lands late of Sir Nicholas Thornton in Northumberland, and makes the said Margaret, his sister, executrix of his said will.

By memorandum the s^d Henry Thornton wills That his s^d sister Margaret enjoy Chester Tythes for her life, and in defect of such enjoyment gives a rent charge of 20li. chargeable on Bywell Andrew and Slaveley Tythes to the s^d Margaret and her heirs, But in case the s^d Margaret enjoy Chester Tythes for her life, then all his said tythes to come to his s^d nephew, Nicholas Thornton, and his heirs.—Hodgson's *MS. Materials*, M. p. 100 and S. p. 101.

John Thornton, whose name stands at the head of these abstracts, was son and heir of the above-named Nicholas. By the marriage of his grand-daughter, Margaret, to Walter Trevelyan, the Slaley tithes passed into the hands of the Trevelyans of Netherwitton. Two fields near the church, still known as Glebe Fields, belong to that family. The tithes, passed by sale into the hands of the Silvertops, and are at present held by Mr. Witham, of Lartington, who pays to the vicar of Slaley the annual sum of £6 13s. 4d., and provides wine for holy communion. The patronage of Slaley is now in the hands of Mr. W. B. Beaumont.

MERCHINGLEY OR MARCHINGLEY HERMITAGE IN THE PARISH OF SLALEY.

In the thirteenth century a hermitage existed at a place called Merchingley or Marchingley, in Northumberland, on land belonging to Walter de Bolbeck, and granted by him to two monks from Kelso, about the year 1280. From the names of places and the boundaries mentioned in the following charters I have come to the conclusion that the hermitage and church of St. Mary must have been situated within the parish of Slaley, and not far from the borders of the present parish of Healey, somewhere near the burn now called March burn, which forms the boundary. Unfortunately, the name Marchingley has entirely disappeared, and no traces of the hermitage or of the church now remain to mark the spot. It has been suggested

that Slaley church (of which the dedication is lost) may have been the church of St. Mary, mentioned in the charters. That could not have been the case, for the church of Slaley was given to the priory of Hexham by Gilbert de Slaveley, who was living in 1239, and Slaley was assessed as a rectory in 1292. Further investigation may throw light upon this subject, but at present the exact site of the hermitage is unknown.

The following is a summary of charters in the Kelso Register, *Liber de Calchou*, respecting Merchingley :—

No. 264. Walter de Bolbech, &c. I have conceded to God and St. Marie and brother William de Mercheleye and all his successors a certain hermitage [*heremitorium*] which is called Merchingleye, and formed 'de vasto meo,' out of my waste near Merchingburn, with the church of St. Marie there constructed, with all appurtenances, &c., in wood and in plain, in meadows, in waters, in dams and mills, and in common easements, & in all common pastures through the whole of my land and my forest, & free exit & entry to their men and their animals through the whole of my land from whatever of the aforesaid places they wish; and they shall receive beyond their marches of my green wood to build, & of dead to burn as much as they wish; and they shall be quit of punage, 'de dominicis forcis suis.' This hermitage he concedes for ever to the aforesaid brother William & to all the men of religion his successors, for his soul & that of his wife Sibille, & for the souls of his heirs, his ancestors, & successors, to be held as a free alms gift. Witnesses—Sibilla de Bolbech, Reginald de Kennebelle, Osbert the monk, Wdard the parson, Symund de Kent, Robert de Grej & others.

No. 265. Confirmation. Walter de Bolbech, son of Walter de Bolbech, at the petition & with the consent of Hugo de Bolbech his brother & heir, confirms for ever to God & St. Mary & William & Roger, monks of the Kelso order, a certain hermitage called Merchingleic, which is founded of the waste of my father & mine near Merchingburne, with the church of St. Marie built in the same place with all appurtenances; by these bounds, to wit: whatever is contained below their enclosures [*claustras suas*, it may be cloisters] on either side of Marchinburne by the circuit of the ford of the Potters [*per circuitum de vado figulorum*], as far as the ford where Stainesden-burne descends into Merchingburne, in wood & plain, &c., & in all common easements & liberties, & in common pastures everywhere through the circuit of the aforesaid hermitage, on either side of Marchinburne through my land & my forest, & wheresoever the said William or Roger had their animals in the time of my father, & of others [as if they had squatted here

before de Bolbeck's time], & in my time, & free exit & entry to them & their men through all my land & forest from whatever side of the aforesaid place they wish. If one of these monks die, the hermitage is granted to the other of them. After the decease of both monks, the aforesaid hermitage of Merchinglee, with the aforesaid church of St. Marie constructed there & its appurtenances, is to pass to one monk or two of the habit & order of Kelso, & of no order or habit of religion unless of the order of the church of Kelso, without subjection however to church of Kelso or of any other house of religion of another order. Witnesses: Sibilla de Bolbech, Hugo de Bolbech her son, Gilbert de lanal [Delaval], Robert de Insula, Reginald de Kennebelle, Robert Morell & others.

- No. 266. Confirmation, by the same Walter de Bolbech in somewhat similar terms, stipulating that two monks & no more shall always have the alms gift of Mercheleye. William de ffenwic appears as a witness along with some of the preceding.
- No. 267. Confirmation upon 26 acres of land near Heleychesters. Hugo de Balliol concedes to God & St. Mary & Roger the monk of Merchinglega & all the monks his successors in the place of Merchingleye, who are to serve God in perpetuity, 26 acres of land near Heleychestres, which Eustace, my father, gave to him in free, pure, & perpetual almsgift. This gift Hugo de Balliol now confirms, 'with all common easements & liberties to him & his men & animals everywhere upon my land, &c. Witness: Ingelram de Balliol, Bernard de Balliol, Henry de Vi-Guidone [*i.e.*, Guido] de fontibus, Hugo de Normanvilla, and many others.

The editor of the Kelso charters conjectures that the date of these is about A.D. 1280. Hugo de Bolbeck, as appears from the *Testa de Neville*, held 'the moiety of Bywell by five fees of ancient feofment.' The manor of Merchenley, 6 Edw. II., belonged to Walter de Huntercumbe and Alicia, his wife, daughter and heiress of Hugo de Bolbeck.⁷

Merthenley, in Northumberland [misprint for Merchingley], belonging to Kelso, valued at 58s. 10d., was in the reign of John Balliol confiscated to Edward I. (May 10th, 1296) and delivered to them again.⁸ On the Healey side of the March burn there are two

⁷ *Inq. p.m.* i. p. 250.

⁸ *Historical Documents, Scotland*, ii. p. 48. An extract from the Pipe Rolls. 29 Edw. I. In it the lands held by Scotchmen in Northumberland are set out. The name of the lands, the name of the hold, and the amount payable in respect of the holding only, are given in each case. The entry referred to in the text occurs in these terms:—'Merthenley (Abbatis de Kelsou) summa lviij. xd.' To this there is the following note:—'Idem redditu computum de liijs. xd. receptis de ij busselis frumenti j quart. multurae venditis antequam liberaret easdem terras abb. ti de Kelsou per breve regis de magno sigillo.' In a letter to the

houses, now called Hill Top and Rigg End. Formerly they were Wheat Hill and March's House.

The monks of Kelso were a reformed class of the Benedictine order, first established at Tiron, in France, in the year 1109, and hence called Tironenses. They were, in 1113, introduced by David I. to Selkirk, but that place being found unsuitable for such an establishment, the monastery was transferred to Kelso in 1128. Among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Selkirk there appears the name of Walter de Bolbec. This has led some of the Roxburgh topographers to believe that Hermitage in Liddesdale was Merchingley, and that all memory of it had been effaced. But neither de Bolbeck nor the Balliols had any land in Liddesdale. Besides, the charters show that the lands of these noblemen either surrounded the hermitage, or were in such contiguity, that common pasture for their animals was within reach. On the other hand, they both had possessions in the neighbourhood of Slaley and Healey, between which two parishes flows the dividing stream still known as the March burn [*i.e.*, boundary burn], and a small tributary which joins it a little below Slaley bears the name of Stoney burn. Here we have the more modern forms of the Marchinburne and Stainesden-burne mentioned in charter No. 265; and it is remarkable that a tradition still survives among the old inhabitants of Slaley that the neighbourhood was originally occupied by squatters. When we examine the names of places with which Merchingley was associated we find further proof that it was situated in this locality. In the list of manors of Hugh de Bolbeck it is placed thus:—'Ridinges maner', Merchenley maner', Bromhalle maner', etc.' The March burn enters the Tyne between the townships of Riding Mill and Broombaugh. The same may be gathered from a record of the damage done by the Scots under David Bruce, when they devastated this neighbourhood in 1346.

writer Dr. J. Anderson writes:—'I see that in the previous April there is a list of the names of those dwelling in the kingdom of Scotland who possess lands and tenements in Northumberland which have been confiscated, and are in the king's (Edward's) hands. In that list the abbot of Melrose is followed by the abbot of Kelso, and in the list of the lands which I have quoted (p. 348) the lands of Trolhope are given in the line before those of Merthenley thus: 'Trolhope (abbatis de Meuros) summa xiii. iiijz.,' and there is a note in similar terms of an accounting for the price of pasture sold before the said lands were freed to the abbot of Melrose by brief of the king under the great seal; so that I have no doubt that both abbots got back their lands.'

Bain's *Record Book*, vol. iii. No. 1501, August 14, 1347, gives it as follows :—

Inquisition [in virtue of two writs tested Redyng 8th June preceding] taken at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Tuesday the Eve of the Assumption of the B.M.V., 21 Edw. III., before Hugh de Sadelyngstanes and Adam de Walton, royal commissioners, to inquire into the damages of Robert de Herle and his tenants in Northumberland by 12 jurors, who find that the lands of said Robert and his tenants at Styford, Neubigging juxta la Blanchelaunde, Bromhalgh, Ryding, Merchenley, Shildeforde, and Shotteley, of which he owns half, and also the vill of Slaueley, of which he is sole lord, were totally destroyed and laid waste by David de Bruys, and other Scots enemies with a great host, riding over them on Sunday next before St. Luke Evangelist's day [15th October] 1346, the houses, crops, &c., burned, and the tenants plundered of 70 oxen, 83 cows, 143 bullocks and queys, 32 avers, 316 sheep and muttons, and other goods; the said Scots riding, burning, destroying, wasting and plundering the villa. [No seals.] —*Inq. ad quod damnum*, 21 Edw. III. No. 3.

Marchingley, in this document, is clearly placed *in Northumberland*, and in the possession of Robert de Herle. Kelso lost Marchingley in the reign of Edward I., but it was restored to them again. It would be finally annexed to England in the reign of Edward III. In the reign of Richard II. it was granted to John of Creswelle. 'The king in exoneration of his father's soul, and discharge of a debt of 340 "guineas," arrears of the annuity of 40 "guineas" due by him to the late John of Creswelle, who was in his service for life, in the Castle of Bordeaux, grants to John de Creswelle his son (*inter alia*) 10 acres of land in Marchenley and parcels of a toft, and 15 acres of land which were the abbot of Kelso's in Scotland, an annual rent of 2s. for an acre in Bamburgh, which was the prioress and nuns of Caldestreme's in Scotland. To be held for life, if the King or his heirs retain them, for a white greyhound yearly in full of all services. Westminster.'⁹

On the western borders of the Slayey parish, not far from Linnels Bridge, on the Devil's Water, is Nunsbrough, the site of an old convent. For a description of the place see Hutchinson's *Northd.* vol. i. p. 172.

⁹ *Patent*, 10 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 18.—*Cf.* Bain's *Record Book*, vol. iv. No. 361. Dec. 14, 1386, Ric. II.

XXII.—FLODDEN FIELD.

BY CADWALLADER J. BATES.

[Read on 28th December, 1892, and 22nd February, 1893.]

FOUGHT originally between James IV. of Scotland, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, on the 9th of September, 1513, the battle of Flodden, or as it should strictly be called, the battle of Brankston Moor, was fought over again in the middle of the present century by Robert White,¹ an eminent member of our society, and the Rev. Robert Jones, vicar of Brankston.² The second encounter was, I believe, distinguished by as great a deference to the rules of chivalrous combat as was the first, but the result was by no means so decisive. Mr. White's elaborate account of James IV.'s second campaign in Northumberland is one of the most valuable contributions that has ever been made to our *Archæologia*, though it labours under two very opposite defects, being neither what one would call exactly light reading, nor provided with references and quotations sufficient to enable one to judge of the historical evidence for statements generally correct in themselves. The local knowledge possessed by Mr. Jones, is of very great service, but does not guarantee the entire accuracy of his topography.

Quite recently the problems suggested by an attentive study of Flodden Field have again been brought out in high relief by our senior secretary,³ whose pen, we may congratulate ourselves, has at last been attracted to a Northumbrian theme, in which Milfield and the Till come in for some of that mature scholarship and graceful diction which have been so splendidly lavished on the plains of Châlons and the banks of the Frigidus. There are imaginations to

¹ Mr. White's paper read at Brankston 27th July, 1858, was printed in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iii. and published in pamphlet form at Newcastle in 1859. He also contributed a list of the Scots slain at Flodden to *Arch. Ael.* N.S. vi. p. 69. This list has now been admirably supplemented by the Death Roll of the Flodden Campaign in *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xiv. App. to preface p. clxii.

² *The Battle of Flodden*, read at the Chatton meeting of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 31st July, 1862, and printed in their *Proceedings*, iv. p. 365; published also by itself, 12° London, 1864, 16° Coldstream, 1869.

³ *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xvi. p. 1.

which history appeals more forcibly than does poetry : I confess that the very martial address delivered by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin in Brankston church awoke in my mind an interest in Flodden, deeper and truer than any derived from nine or ten perusals of *Marmion*. It is at Mr. Hodgkin's suggestion that I have now thrown together in an independent essay a collection of raw material that I should have preferred to have seen incorporated in his appendix.

Mr. Hodgkin has so ably dealt with the general history of the campaign and the portraiture of the chief personages engaged in it, that I can pass almost straight on to the battle itself. But please first remember that a battle, with its ever-shifting scenes, is one of the hardest things to describe or comment upon. No soldier nor spectator sees exactly the same incidents; no historian will make the same selections from the mass of reminiscences laid before him. I do not think you would recognise the Sedan of Mr. Forbes in the Sedan of M. Zola. My object is to illustrate not to controvert. I wish to give you a clear and plain narrative of the events that took place on and around Flodden on Friday, the 9th of September, 1513, based on the earliest evidences attainable, many of them still, I believe, unused, without eternally harping on the subject of my agreement or disagreement with the conclusions of previous writers.

In order not to needlessly break the thread of my story, I will, to begin with, call attention to some of what I regard as the prime authorities.

In treating of a battle the first thing we naturally turn to are the despatches of the victorious general. Surrey, we know, forwarded two despatches through queen Katharine to Henry VIII., then engaged in besieging Tournay, the first by Rouge Croix herald, the second by John Glyn.⁴ Neither of these is to be found and identified without a little trouble. The first, the *Gazette*, as it is called, exists in full only in a French form, *Articles envoyez aux Maistres des Postes du Roy d'Angleterre*, clearly stated to have been sent from Thomas

⁴ " My lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your grace, within one of mine, by the which ye shall see at length the great victory that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence.' Could not for haste send by Rouge Croix 'the piece of the king of Scots coat which John Glyn now bringeth.' Sends a bill found in a Scotchman's purse of the instigation used by France to induce James to invade England.'—Katharine of Aragon to Henry VIII., Woburn 16 Sept. 1513, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. p. 670, n° 4451.

Howard, the admiral;⁵ the second, of which there is an imperfect copy in the Record Office, is given in full in a Latin letter written from Rome to Cardinal Bainbridge, 17th November, 1513, and printed in a volume of the Roxburghe Club in 1825,⁶ while an abstract of it, of doubtful accuracy, taken from the Sforza archives at Milan, appears in our *Venetian State Papers*.⁷

Then, next in value to the official despatches, there is the popular news-letter, the precursor of our special correspondence, which has come down to us in the contemporary black-letter tract printed by Richard Fawkes, *The trewe encountre or batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande*,⁸ but of this the two inner leaves, giving the account of the very thick of the fray, were provokingly missing until a manuscript copy of them was providentially discovered by Dr. Laing in about 1865.⁹

Flodden was no sooner fought than it was seized on by the poets. The moment the details of the victory arrived at Rome an Italian broke out into a song of triumph, *La Rotta d'Scocesi*.¹⁰ This, too,

⁵ 'Signées au dessous des choses dessus d'Thomas Sr. de Howard Admiral d'Angleterre, qui estoit a la d'bataille avec le conte de Surrey son pere et menoit l'avantgard.'—Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, ii. pp. 456-458. The truncated English version is given in *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. part iv. p. 1, and an abstract of it in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. p. 667, n° 4441.

⁶ The despatch is identified by the fact that it contains the 'bille of such things as the Frenshe king sent to the saide King of Scotts to make warr,' referred to in the letter of Katharine of Aragon. It also mentions the piece of the king of Scots' coat (*paludimentum*) that Katharine could not send the first time 'for hastynesse.' There seems to be some error about the date of the letter to cardinal Bainbridge, which must have been written immediately the news of Flodden reached Rome.

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 134.

⁸ Reprinted in black-letter facsimile under the revise of Mr. Hazelwood, London, 1809.

⁹ *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. 1867, p. 141.

¹⁰ *Roxburghe Club Publications*, 1825. It there follows *La Rotta de Franciosi a Terraona novamente facte*—'Impressum Romæ per Magistrum Stephanum & Magistrum Herculem socios. Anno M.D. xiii. Die xii. Septembris,' four days, that is to say, after the arrival of the news of the battle of Terouenne; but in neither case is the name of the poet given. The poem on the battle of Flodden bears internal evidence of having been composed by the same author, but it has neither date, nor name of printer nor place of publication. Both were printed by the Roxburghe Club from a volume in the possession of Mr. B. Heywood Bright. It appears probable that they were the work of Andrea de Bernardi, as among the Salisbury MSS. is an 'Invocatio de inelyta invictissimi Regis nostri Henrici VIII. in Gallos et Scotos victoria, per Bernardum Andrée poetam regium'—*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on MSS. at Hatfield*, i. p. 4, and Mazzuchelli in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, i. p. 961, mentions that Andrea de Bernardi (1450-1522) 'con solenne cerimonia e applauso universale fu Laureato Poeta nel 1506.' The 'Invocatio' itself is in

was printed in the volume of the Roxburghe Club already mentioned, but as acute bibliomania restricted the issue to forty copies, it is exceedingly rare, and I venture to think much of the information derived from it both novel and interesting. But among all early materials the stately old ballad called *Scottish ffeilde*, written by Leigh of Baggaley Hall, a Cheshire squire, in about 1515, is that which deserves the most prominent place.¹¹ It is to be found in the folios of good bishop Percy, and though not so long, compares very favourably, as far as the poetry is concerned, with the better known ballad of *Floddon Field*, the production, it is said, of Richard Jackson, schoolmaster at Ingleton in Craven, in about 1560.¹² The contrast of feeling between the two is very remarkable; the Baggaley ballad is thoroughly medieval, the Ingleton ballad thoroughly *renaissant*.

On the Scottish side, until the recent publication of the valuable series of Exchequer Accounts,¹³ the only early notice of the battle was contained in a letter of the regency of James V. to the court of Denmark.¹⁴

The first historian who gives a lengthened account of Flodden is Paolo Giovio, the elder, bishop of Nocera, in the portion of the history of his own times presented by him to Leo X. in 1516.¹⁵

Without referring to minor documents or to the thumb-worn pages of later chroniclers, I will now proceed to insert some of the unused evidence to be drawn from the sources cited in an elementary sketch of the campaign as the best and shortest method of explaining its historical value :—

Latin and does not seem to resemble the poem in the Italian vernacular. The *Rotta de Scoceci* is largely founded on the Latin letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, but much of the information contained in it must have been derived from the Scottish side of the battle. It appears to be the earliest source of the accounts of the escape of the hare through the king's camp and of the remonstrance of Douglas. With respect to the minute details of the combat the poet may have used a free hand.

¹¹ Bishop Percy's *Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, 1867, i. p. 202. It is worthy of note that *A ballade of the scottyshe Kynge*, by John Skelton, commencing 'Kynge Jamy, Jomy your Joye is all go,' printed in black-letter, by Richard Fawkes, 1513, is said to be the earliest printed English ballad.

¹² *The Ballad of Floddon Field*, edited by Charles A. Federer, Manchester, 1884, p. 133; but Weber's edition, Edinburgh, 1806, is perhaps still the best.

¹³ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vols. xiii. and xiv. edited by Sheriff Mackay.

¹⁴ Instructions to Andrew Brownhill, 16 Jan. 1514, *Ep. Reg. Scot.* p. 187, quoted in Ridpath, *Border History*, page 492 n.

¹⁵ Pauli Jovii, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus (— secundus)*, Florentiæ, 1550-2.

James IV. crossed the Tweed near Coldstream on the 22nd August, 1513. The object he had in view was to assist the French by causing a diversion of the English forces then besieging Terouenne under Henry VIII. in person. A letter and ring he had received from the French queen, bidding him take three steps on English ground as her true knight had finally decided him on this course. Some French officers and men-at-arms under M. d'Aussi had landed at Dumbarton with several cannon and four thousand arquebusses and springalds.¹⁶

The English Border still exhibited traces of the ravages James had committed seventeen years previously when he had championed the cause of our false Richard IV. The castle of Heton and the towers of Brankston, Tilmouth, Twizel, Duddo, Shoreswood, Howtell, and Lanton still lay in ruins.¹⁷ Norham, thanks largely to the wise rule of bishop Fox, was the only stronghold capable of offering serious resistance, and Norham fell after a five days' siege on the 29th of August. Etal and Ford, and also Chillingham it seems,¹⁸ were speedily captured, and then having established a camp of observation on the heights of Flodden, James made Ford castle his headquarters for the inside of a week, quietly waiting till Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, king Henry's lieutenant in the North, should advance to attack him.

One reason for this inactivity was, no doubt, the very practical lesson as to the danger of advancing too far unsupported into an enemy's country which lord Home, the chamberlain of Scotland, had received about a fortnight before from sir William Bulmer at Broomhouse. Another was the certainty that if ever Highlanders were allowed too wide a field of plunder it would not be long before they went off with it to their own homes. Then, too, the whole object of declaring war was not, as was said to have been the case in 1496, the conquest and annexation of the seven northern 'sheriffdoms' of England, but the compelling Henry VIII. to conclude a peace with France. There is little or no reason to give credence to the old-wives tale that this

¹⁶ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 136. Aussi, who is curiously forgotten by the English chroniclers, is not to be confounded with the French envoy La Motte. I can find no account of either in books of French genealogy.

¹⁷ *Border Holds*, i. pp. 22, 329 n.

¹⁸ John Ainslie, captain of Norham, and Edward Gray, captain of Chillingham, were sent to Falkland for thirteen weeks as prisoners after those castles were cast down by James.—*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, XIV. xxxviii. 9.

inertion on the part of James was due to the fatal charms of dame Elizabeth Heron the châtelaine of Ford.¹⁹

James was soon disabused of the notion that in transporting his army to Flanders, king Henry had only left 'millers and mass-priests'²⁰ at home. At the first news of the invasion, Surrey had written to James Stanley, bishop of Ely, asking for the support of his powerful house. Sir Edward Stanley found 10,000 men already under arms on his arrival at Skipton, where he was joined by 4,000 of the bishop's tenants, with eagles' feet (the Stanley badge) and three crowns (the arms of the see of Ely) brodered in gold on their breasts. They brought with them the banner of St. Audrey, as St. Etheldreda, queen of Northumberland, and foundress of Ely, was then popularly called.²¹ A curious list of the Craven contingent, armed mostly with bills and bows, is preserved at Bolton abbey: large villages like Marton and Addingham each sent nine men 'horsed and harnessed at the town's cost.'²²

Surrey had summoned his levies to meet him at Newcastle, on the 1st of September. Two days later he marched on to Alnwick, whence he dispatched his pursuivant, Rouge Croix, to the king's headquarters at Ford. James called his council together. The rumour soon spread that Surrey's son, the admiral, had reached Alnwick with a thousand 'merry mariners' and a detachment of picked troops from before Terouenne. Many of the Scottish lords considered that they had already done enough for the French alliance, and were in favour of recrossing the Border, but their advice was overruled by the violent opposition of La Motte, the French ambassador. It seems to have been a foregone conclusion with James that if Surrey should attack the fortified camp on Flodden, it could only be by forcing a passage over Ford bridge. It is said that Robert Borthwick, his master-gunner, now offered to arrange for blowing up this bridge when only half the English army should have crossed, a treacherous proposal that not unnaturally excited the king's indignation.²³ The

¹⁹ *Border Holds*, i. pp. 305, 306, 308, 309.

²⁰ *Scottish feilde*, l. 109.

²¹ 'The standard of *Saint Towder*' (St. Tandere, Lyme MS.).—*Ibid.* l. 368. This has needlessly puzzled the editors of *Bishop Percy's Folios*, i. p. 226 n.

²² *Flodden Field*, ed. Federer, pp. 155, 156.

²³ Whether this legend given by Pitcottie be true or not, the bridge in question was evidently Ford bridge:—

'Dum ad Furdam ita desidetur, &c., &c. . . . nam cum Tillus amnis

term fixed for negotiations respecting the preservation of Ford castle expired bootlessly on that day, Monday, the 5th of September, at noon, and the Scots immediately set to work to dismantle it. Then, having planted a battery to openly command the bridge, king James moved his headquarters to the camp on Flodden.²⁴

Surrey meanwhile was marching on from Alnwick to Bolton, whence he sent a message promising to give the Scots battle 'by Friday next at the furthest.'²⁵ At Bolton, too, he divided his troops into two divisions. The centre of the vanguard, in which was the banner of St. Cuthbert, was commanded by his elder son, Thomas Howard, the lord admiral; the right wing by his younger surviving son, master Edmund Howard; the left by old sir Marmaduke Constable.²⁶ Surrey himself remained with the rear-guard, the right and left wings of which were entrusted respectively to lord Dacre and sir Edward Stanley. The strength of the two armies should be determined once for all by the clear contemporary statement that the English, though said to be 30,000, were really 40,000, while the Scots, said to be 80,000, were really 60,000.²⁷ The latter discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that 20,000 Scots deserted their king and made off home before the day of battle.²⁸

A jealous enmity prevailed between the Howards and the Stanleys. Surrey could scarcely have forgotten that it was the defection of

ripis præaltis, ac nusquam fere vadus nullum intra aliquot millia passuum, nisi per unum pontem, exercitui transitum daturus esset, paucos ibi tantæ multitudini posse obsistere: posse etiam, parte Anglorum transmissa, machinis commode locatis pontem interscindî.'—Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, ed. Elzevir, pp. 461, 462. That the 'machinæ' here referred to were not mere honourable cannon, we shall presently see from the fact that James did defend this one approach to Flodden by 'marvellous and great ordnance of guns,' as the English well knew.

²⁴ Buchanan, p. 464.

²⁵ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* i. p. 667, n° 4439.

²⁶ 'Marmaduke Cunstable of flaynbright knyght
At brankisto' feld wher the kyng of Scottys was slayne
He then beyng of the age of thre score and tene
With the gode duke of Northefolke yt iorney he hay tayn
And coragely avancid hy'self emo'g other there & then.'

—Monumental inscription on a brass plate in Flamborough church, copied by Ed. Peacock, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, i. p. 93.

²⁷ Brian Tuke to Richard Pace, Tournay 22 Sept. 1513.—*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, p. 134.

²⁸ 'They say that after the kyng of Scotts medelyd with Norham xxm' of hys men went away from hym.'—Letter of Bishop Ruthal to Wolsey, *Arch. Ael.* N.S. V. p. 779.

air Edward Stanley's father that caused his own father to be slain on the field of Bosworth. The Stanleys still remembered with pride how they had 'busked' their banner at the recovery of Berwick in 1482,²⁹ and their Cheshire tenants chafed at the hard fate that condemned them to serve in one of the three divisions led by Howards.³⁰

The English army, thus marshalled, proceeded to Wooler haugh, where they pitched their thousand tents. This is said to be within 'three miles' of the king of Scots; but these 'little miles' were no doubt the 'petits lieux' of the French, or two of our present miles.³¹ Every soldier on Wooler haugh 'might,' we are told, 'see how the king of Scots did lie with his army upon a high hill on the edge of Cheviot, . . . whereunto he had removed from Ford castle over the water of Till, and was enclosed in three parts with three great mountains so that there was no passage nor entry unto him but by one way, where was laid marvellous and great ordnance of guns.'³²

On the Wednesday afternoon, 7th September, the English lords, tired of waiting, drew up a formal challenge requesting that James 'of his noble courage would come down to the plain of Millfield where was convenient ground for the meeting of two armies, or to a ground (hard) by, called Flodden, or to any other indifferent ground for two battles to fight upon.'³³ Rouge Croix, who bore this challenge, was not admitted into the royal presence, but received his answer from a Scottish gentleman. This answer, which has an important bearing on the subsequent tactics, has been so distorted by the later chroniclers that it is necessary to quote it at length in its earliest form. 'The king, my master,' so the gentleman told Rouge Croix, 'wills that ye shall show to the earl of Surrey that it beseemeth him

²⁹ 'because th6 busked them at Barwicke: that bolds them the more.'—*Scottish feilde*, l. 364. Sir Edward Stanley is made to say:

'A scourge for Scots my father was;
He Barwick town from them did gain.'

—*Floddon Field*, 9th fit, v. 12, ed. Federer, p. 83.

³⁰ 'their chance was the worse;

because they knew not their Captains: their care was the more,
for they were wont att all warr: to waite uppon the Stanleys.'

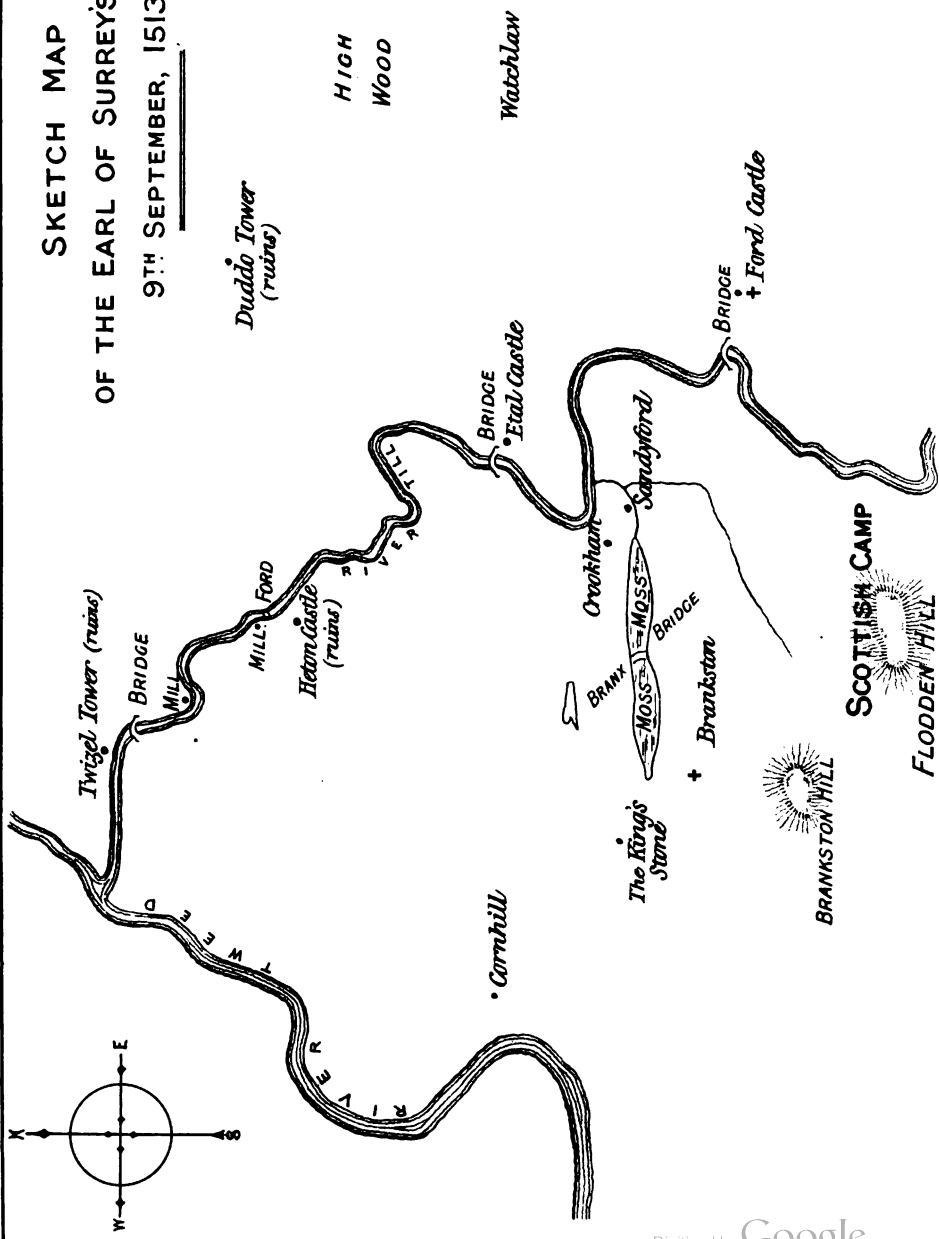
—*Scottish feilde*, ll. 265-267.

³¹ An English mile contains 1,000 geometrical paces, the French little league 2,000.—Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, 1781, vol. iii., *sub voce* League. This suggests that many of our English chronicles are translated from the French.

³² *Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. pp. 145, 146.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 146.

**SKETCH MAP
OF THE EARL OF SURREY'S MARCH.
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1513.**



not, being an earl, so largely to attempt a great prince. His grace will take and keep his ground and field at his own pleasure, and not at the saying of the earl of Surrey, whom the king, my master, supposeth to deal with some witchcraft or sorcery because he proueth to fight upon only the said ground.³⁴ Here is certainly no quixotic promise on James's part to place no dependence on any ground, and sorcery is only mentioned by way of taunting Surrey.

Surrey now perfectly well understood that James was not to be tempted to throw away the advantages of his position, he therefore advanced northwards on the Thursday in hopes of forcing the engagement he so eagerly desired. He crossed the Till no doubt at Doddington bridge, and 'continually all that day went with the whole army in array in the sight of the king of Scots.'³⁵ He encamped that night under a woodside called Barmoor wood. As this was at least four miles from Flodden, we can hardly understand the special advantage of there having been a hill between the two hosts 'for avoiding the danger of gun shot.'³⁶ The hill seems accurately described in a later chronicle 'as rising from the hither bank of Till water with an easy steepness, the height of a mile's space,' that is to say two of our miles, 'or thereabouts,' but we are still told that one camp was within culverin shot of the other.³⁷ The condition of the English on this their fourth night of encampment was pitiable in the extreme. During their whole march there had been scarce one hour of fine weather, and even at Wooler the men were so 'clemmed' with the cold and wet that they threatened to return home unless they were at once led into action.³⁸ Worse than all 'there was little or no wine, ale, nor beer for the people to be refreshed with but all the army for the most part were enforced and constrained of necessity to drink water, . . . without comfort or trust of any relief in that behalf.'³⁹ The Scottish camp on the contrary was well provisioned, the nobles reposed on 4,000 feather beds

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 147.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 147. It seems probable that Surrey's camp was at Woodside, in the township of Barmoor, about a mile farther from Flodden to the north-east than the hill of Watchlaw in Ford parish, from which the lord admiral may well have reconnoitered the Scottish position.

³⁷ Holinshed, *Chronicles of England*, ed. 1577, p. 1490.

³⁸ 'there company was clemmed : and much cold did suffer ;
water was a worthy drink : win it who might.'

—*Scottish ffeilde* ll. 258, 259.

³⁹ *Trove Encountre*, Laing MS. ; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* viii. p. 147.

and drank out of vessels of gold and silver, while the soldiery were supplied with most excellent beer.⁴⁰

James was perfectly well aware of Surrey's advance to Barmoor, and no doubt concluded that he was on his road to Berwick, which indeed would have formed a good base of operations.⁴¹ If we could believe Leslie, the king was actually marching forward to surprise the camp at Barmoor, on the morning of the battle when he found it had already been broken up.⁴²

According to Holinshed's *English Chronicle*, Surrey's march from Barmoor to Twizel had not been decided on when he left Wooler, but was the consequence of a reconnaissance of Flodden made by the lord admiral from a hill on the right bank of the Till on the evening before the battle:—'Thomas lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countrie on euerie side about him, declared to his father, that if he did eftsoons remooue his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in some place a little aboue, and by fetching a small compasse come and shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his enemies, the Scottish king should either be inforced to come downe fourth of his strength and give battell, or else be stopped from receiving vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.'

By noon the English vanguard and artillery had accomplished the passage of the Till at Twizel bridge, mentioned by Leland in 1538, as 'of stone one bow, but greate and stronge,' and Surrey proceeded to lead his rear-guard through a ford called in the inscription on his monument 'Twizell forth,'⁴³ but more generally 'Milford.' There are

⁴⁰ *Cal. of State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 148. Holinshed, *Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. 1677, p. 420, gives a curious view of the camp at Flodden with one of the soldiers swilling out of a very long glass, plenty of good cheer being roasted, and no absence of womankind. The castle in the distance is not much like either Ford or Etal.

⁴¹ Buchanan, ed. Elzevir, p. 494.

⁴² 'And qhen the day of the feild was cumin, and the king marchand forwart toward the place quhair his enemye did campt the nycht preceeding, quhair he had the avantage of grund, he was schortlie advertised of the craft of the Inglis men.'—Leslie, *History of Scotland*, p. 94.

⁴³ 'the next Morning toke his passage ouer the water of at Twisull forthe.'—Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 558. The only hint of Surrey's having crossed the Till by Etal bridge is to be found in Paolo Giovio, *Hist. sui temp.* i. p. 147.—'(Surreius) bipartito exercitu binisque pontibus uno tempore flumen transmittit.' But both with regard to the passage of the Till and that of Brankston bog it seems that the English army did not mind wading as long as the artillery was got safely across on the principle of keeping the powder dry.

many reasons for supposing that this was the ford near Heton mill. It is very improbable that he crossed the river by any of the fords in the neighbourhood of Etal which would have been dangerously near the Scots. Indeed had he not been afraid of being attacked by them before all his troops were on the left bank, he would never have been at the trouble of marching so far north as Twizel, and instead of any uncertain fords, would have preferred to make use of the stone bridge that seems to have been in existence at Etal at the time, since Leland found it there in 1538, and the account of it three years later as 'decayed and fallen down of late to the great trouble, hurte and annoyances of the inhabitants thereabouts whiche had allwaies redy passage when the said river is waxen greate and past rydinge up on horsebacke,'⁴⁴ points both to its having been no recent construction and to the impossibility of using the fords near it when the Till was so swollen as it was on the morning of Flodden. The Border Commissioners of 1541 proceed to express the opinion that 'much necessary it were to have it reedified again as well for the purpose aforesaid as for the conveying of ordnance and armies into Scotland over the same.' Though Surrey cannot well have crossed it during his advance, there is little doubt that the Scottish artillery captured at Flodden was brought over it to Etal castle that night.

Once safely over the Till, Surrey's strategy, it seems, consisted in leading James to suppose that he intended to carry the heights of Flodden by storm.⁴⁵ The whole English army probably marched up the left bank of the river. Three hundred years ago this district, in many parts rough and uneven, was in some places a mere rushy, swampy morass.⁴⁶ The movement of a large force with artillery in its van was necessarily very slow through such a country. A yet more formidable obstacle, though it was one that protected them from the Scots, lay before them in the great bog that then stretched towards the Till for about a mile and a half from just north of the village of Brankston.

⁴⁴ *Border Holds*, i. p. 38.

⁴⁵ James, we are told, considered that Surrey was bound in honour to attack him in his position at Flodden by noon that day, instead of which Surrey pretended to keep his word by crossing the Till before the hour settled for the commencement of the battle:—'(Jacobus) statariam pugnam expectat. Sed Angli dolis intenti, locum et horam belli statuto die detrectantes, pugnam dissimulant.'—*Epist. Reg. Scot.* p. 187, quoted in Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 492 n.

⁴⁶ Letter of Jones to White, *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iii. p. 233.

Near the centre of this swamp was a strip of rather firmer ground, where at the end of the last century there was 'a small narrow rude bridge, which went by the name of 'Brax bridge,' and which was always pointed out by the old people as the bridge over which part of the English army crossed when marching to Flodden Field.'⁴⁷ This tradition, so far as the swamp is concerned, is admirably substantiated by the earliest accounts of the battle. The English army was forced to wade through a certain marshy pass, leaving their artillery in their rear⁴⁸—*mons ita erat munitus et defensus tormentis bellicis ut exercitus Anglorum cogereetur indagare quandam viam paludosam relictis post se tormentis.*⁴⁹ The contemporary Italian poem also gives as the reason of this difficult passage of Brankston bog by the lord admiral, the necessity he was under of avoiding the extensive artillery of the enemy :—

'Vero e che per la molta artegliaria
nimica, ando per certa via fangoa
et convenne lassar la sua per via.'⁵⁰

The Scottish artillery had by this time no doubt been drawn up opposite Crookham to prevent the advance of the English on Flodden across the little burn.

'A brook of breadth a taylor's yerd,'⁵¹

that issued from the east end of the morass to soon join the Till near the hamlet of Sandysford. In the sixteenth century, this burn was called after the hamlet, which in its turn may have derived its name from a neighbouring ford over the Till.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when the Scots sighted the English vanguard (consisting of Edmund Howard's wing, 3,000 strong, followed by the lord admiral with from 12,000 to 14,000 men,

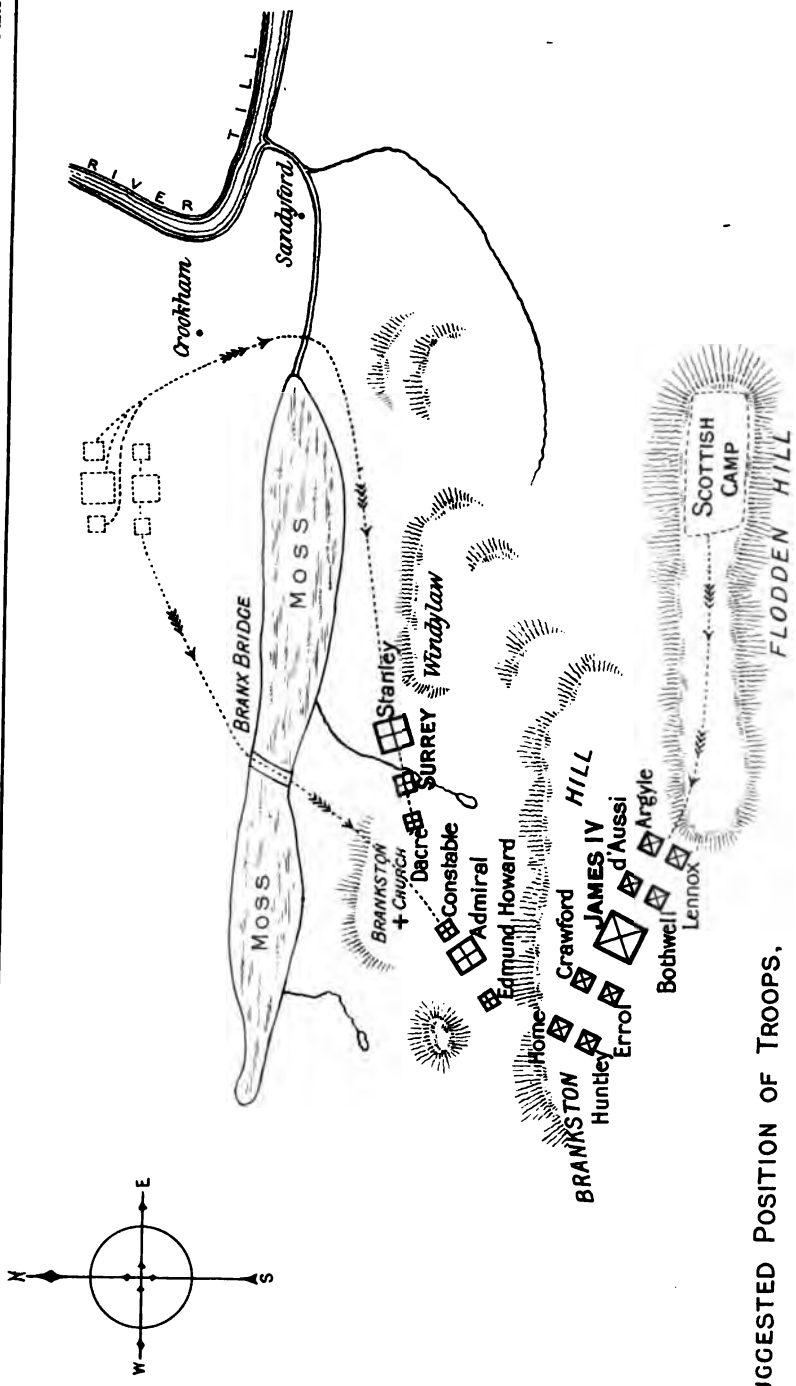
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 134.

⁴⁹ Letter to Card. Bainbridge, *Rotta de Soccesi*, App. p. 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 30.

⁵¹ *Flodden Field*, 7th fit, v. 47. On Surrey's monument the battle is said to have taken place 'on a hill besidis Bramston in Northumbrelond, very neer vnto Sandiford.'—Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 558. As 'Twisull forth' is mentioned in the same inscription as the place where Surrey crossed the Till, the two crossings were, it is evident, perfectly distinct, and should never have been confused as they have been through that most treacherous of all guides popular etymology. In the same way the burn has been dubbed 'Pallinsburn,' and the name connected with St. Paulinus, for which there is not a shred of historical authority or real tradition. 'Burn' in place-names is often a form of 'burh,' see *Border Holds*, i. p. 302 n., and the 'Pallin' in question was much more probably a former owner of the place like Paulane of Roddam, in king Athelstan's jingling charter, than the first missionary in the North.



SUGGESTED POSITION OF TROOPS,
 AT COMMENCEMENT OF
BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

including those in sir Marmaduke Constable's wing) turning inexplicably westwards along the north margin of this morass.⁵² Giles Musgrave, an Englishman, probably an outlaw, who happened to be in the Scottish camp, gave it as his opinion that his countrymen were about to cross the Tweed near Cornhill and ravage the Merse.⁵³ Still greater was the surprise of the Scots when they saw the English suddenly wading through the middle of the swamp that they had thought impassable. James at once rightly conjectured that the enemy were making for Brankston hill, the occupation of which, rising as it does to within a few feet of the altitude of Flodden, would have enabled them to cut his lines of communication with Scotland. With true military genius, he at once ordered the camp refuse on Flodden to be set on fire, and, taking advantage of the clouds of smoke with which a south-easterly wind enveloped the whole range, he transferred his forces and artillery to the summit of Brankston before the lord admiral, who had arrived at its foot, had the least idea of the sudden move he had made.

In marching from Flodden hill, James, we are told, arranged his forces in five lines composed of square pike-shaped battalions.⁵⁴ He himself, with the royal standard of Scotland being in the third line, was protected by two other lines on either side.⁵⁵ Each line, except that of the king which was larger than the others, and has been estimated as high as 20,000 men,⁵⁶ was, it would seem (judging from the fact that the names of the leaders of these lines occur in pairs, Home and Huntley, Crawford and Errol, Argyle and Lennox), composed of two brigaded battalions, each containing four French captains, and

⁵² '(Angli) sub vesperum loco undique marito et paludoso, se ostentant.'—*Ep. Reg. Scot.* p. 187; Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 492 n.

⁵³ *Flodden Field*, 8th fit, vv. 5-8.

⁵⁴ 'Omnes copias in quinque acies dispertit; ea ratione ut tertium agmen in quo signum regium erat, at omnes viri insignes militabant, duplici utrinque acie tanquam duobus cornibus clauderetur.'—Paolo Giovio, *Hist. sui temp.* p. 148.

⁵⁵ 'Exercitus Scotorum divisus fuit in quinque ordines et distributus in turmas quadrangulares: contorum (quos picas nunc vocant) similitudinem referentes: omnes ab exercitu Anglico aequali spatio distantes.'—Letter to Card. Bainbridge, *Rotta de Scocesi*, App. p. 4.

'Scocesi (como dissi) facte havieno
le lor acie quadrate: equale in punta
a la guise de piche se stendieno:
cinque eron, l'una da l'altra disgiunta.

—*Ibid.* p. 29.

⁵⁶ 'Bove twenty thousand men at least.'—*Flodden Field*, 8th fit, v. 64.

about 5,000 men.⁵⁷ The peculiar pike-shape of the battalions may have been adopted in deference to the latest theoretical rules of military science imported from beyond the seas, or, more apparent than real, may have been caused by the diagonal line of march from Flodden to Brankston.⁵⁸ In fact as it advanced on Brankston that fatal afternoon, the formation of the Scottish host must have borne, however strange and fanciful it may seem, a strong resemblance to the nine of diamonds, that 'curse of Scotland.' First came the foremost vanguard composed of the two battalions, the earl of Home's border horse, and the earl of Huntley's Gordon highlanders; then the battalions of the earls of Crawford and Errol; third, in the centre, the royal division, followed by one less clearly distinguished than the others but which appears to have been formed by the battalions of the Seigneur

⁵⁷ 'Nel primo corno overa il franco havvardo percossero, col conte de Arelia : quel de huntley ch'era tanto gagliardo et quello de Crafordia in compagnia : con octo sir Francciosi allo standardo : per che ordinato e che in ogni acie stia oltra li proprii lor conductori, octo Francciosi per gubernatori.

'Con cui mi par che dece millia fossero soldati, & se fur piu, non molti forono il camerer de Scotia e le suoi se mossero, che dece millia fur che 'l seguitorono, & furiosi nello altro percossero, nel qual Edmondo havvardo ritrovorono el conte de Linces con quel de Argillia : se mosser dopo con ben dece millia.

'Questi dove era Eduardo ferirono. dopo si mosse la bandera regia e il re, quindici millia lo seguirono.'

—*Rotta de Soocsi*, pp. 31, 32.

The letter to Cardinal Bainbridge mentions the forty French captains.—*Ibid.* app. p. 3.

⁵⁸ Through the kindness of the Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, I have examined the unique collection of early military books in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, in the hope of finding an ideal arrangement of troops like that adopted by James IV. and his French advisers, La Motte and Auesi, but though all sorts of singular shapes, such as wedges and shears, are recommended, I have found nothing exactly bearing on the point. I noted especially among these books, *The Arte of Warre*, 'written first in Italian by Nicholas Machiavell & set forthe in English by Peter Whitehorne, student at Graies Inn MDLX.,' which contains good plans of the battles of Guarigliano, 1503, and St. Quentin, 1557; *Instruction des Principes et Fondemens de la Cavallerie*, 'per Jean Jacques de Wallhausen, capitaine de la louable ville de Danzick. Francfort, MDCXVI;' and *Le Gouvernement de la Cavallerie Legere* 'par George Basta, Gouverneur General en Vngrie & Transilvanie pour feu l'Invictissime Empereur Rodolphe II. Rouen, 1627,' with diagrams of the 'exploits' at Driel, Ordingen, and Ingelmunster.

d'Aussi and the earl of Bothwell, while the Highland battalions of Argyle and Lennox brought up the rear. When the enemy halted and turned north to front the advancing English, the configuration of the ground was such that the fourth division, that of d'Aussi and Bothwell, found itself hidden from the view of the enemy in a small valley, and was thus able to act as an important reserve for assisting both the royal division and the farther rear-guard.⁵⁹

The king at once gave the command for the vanguard, that is to say his first and second divisions, to descend the hill in good order like Germans guarding perfect silence, so that when the smoke rolled away the admiral was alarmed to find the four battalions bearing down on him only a quarter of a mile away, and sent in all haste the *Agnus Dei* that hung at his breast to his father as a signal that he was to bring up the rear-guard with all speed to join his left wing commanded by Constable.⁶⁰

The removal of the Scottish artillery to Brankston hill had permitted the earl of Surrey to cross unchallenged the Sandyford burn near Crookham with the ordnance that the admiral had been forced to leave behind in wading through Brankston moss. Meanwhile, it would seem that the right wing of the rear-guard, about 3,000 strong,

⁵⁹ 'Il signor Dausi capitano Francese,
con quindici migliaia in un squadrone,
per refrescare le gente Scocesi
rimase alla riscossa in un burone.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ 'My Lorde Hawarde conceiving the great power of the Scottes, sent to my said [Lorde] of Surrey his fader and required hym to advaunce his rerewarde and to joine his right wyng with his left wyng, for the Scottes wer of that might that the vanwarde was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim, My saide lorde of Surrey perfetely vnderstanding this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came forwarde and joyned hym to the vanwarde as afor was required by my said Lord Hawarde, and was glad for necessite to make of two battalles on good battell to aventure of the said iiij battelles.'—*Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS. in *Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. p. 148. The English is provokingly vague; the Latin account says the admiral waited 'donec altera ala ultimi agminis conjungeretur extremæ parti agminis sui.'—Letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, *Rotta de Scocesi*, app. p. 4. This leaves no doubt that Surrey's right wing (Dacre) was to have joined the admiral's left (Constable), but in consequence of the violence of the Scottish attack on the admiral's right (Edmund Howard) it was ordered *chemin faisant* to hasten to the relief of this last. That Dacre did command a wing of Surrey's division is clear from his own letter to Henry VIII. (see note 63). The idea that he was stationed with an independent squadron to give assistance where necessary is a mistake of Paolo Giovio. The distance from the bottom to the top of the hill is clearly given as 500 paces—'cujus radices a cacumine quingentis passibus distabant.'—*Rotta de Scocesi*, *ibid.*

commanded by lord Dacre, instead of joining Constable, pushed forward as rapidly as ever possible to support Edmund Howard, whose division appears to have made more progress towards Brankston hill than the rest of the vanguard. At any rate Edmund's was the first to be engaged, receiving as it did at the extreme west of the field the shock of the charge of the battalion composed of Border horse led by lord Home the chamberlain of Scotland, linked with that of the earl of Huntley's Gordon highlanders. Sir Brian Tunstal, a knight of the same stainless character as his father, whose loyalty to the Red Rose had remained unshaken amid all the tergiversations of the civil wars, was the first Englishman 'to proffer stroke.'⁶¹ Swinging his halbert about him he brought sir Malcolm Keen and others staggering to the ground, then rushing into the midst of the descending host he was cut off from all succour, and sank overpowered by some twenty Scots. The battle had begun in good earnest. In the words of the ancient ballad, which with its stately metre has about it so much of the true ring of the glorious song of Brunanburh,

'there was gurdng forth of gunns : with many great stones,
Archers vttered out their arrowes ; and eagerlie they shotten,
they proched vs with speares : and put many over
that they blood out brast : at their broken harnish.
there was swinging out of swords : and swappng of headdis ;
we blanked them with bills : through all their bright armor
that all the dale dunned : of their derfe strokes.'⁶²

At the first boom of the Scottish cannon the men of Tynemouth and Bamburghshire in the wing of the rear-guard that lord Dacre was bringing up to support Edmund Howard, took to their heels. Edmund's Cheshire followers, already half-mutinuous at not being led by a Stanley, and cowed by the fall of the heroic Tunstal, immediately followed their example.⁶³ Some of the leaders manfully stood their

⁶¹ *Floddon Field*, 8th fit, v. 41.

⁶² *Scottish ffeilde*, ll. 324-329.

⁶³ 'At Branxton, that victorious field, as I was not of sufficient power of my country folks to be a wing of my Lord Treasurer's hoste, he assigned to me *Bamburghshire* and *Tynmouth*, to assiste me with there powers, *which at the first shot of the Scottish gonnyes fled* from me and tarried no longer.'—Raine, *North Durham*, introd. p. vi. So, too, the Baggaley ballad.

'in wing with these wees : was my Lord Dacres,
he fledd at the first bredd : and thé followed after.'

—*Scottish ffeilde* (Lyme MS.), ll. 331, 332.

It may be explained that 'wees' or 'wyes' mean 'men,' and 'bredd' or 'braid,' 'onset.'

ground: sir John Booth of Barton; sir William Warcop, a young Yorkshire knight;⁶⁴ sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, from beside Rotheram; Christopher Savage, and others, these

'wold neuer flee: for noe feare that cold happen,
but were killed lik Conquerors: in their King's service.'⁶⁵

Edmund Howard himself was thrice laid low, and was only saved by the timely arrival and unselfish devotion of John Heron.⁶⁶ Even then, as he was hurrying towards the main body of the vanguard, sir Edmund was in danger of being cut off by the troop of sir David Home, but at this moment a successful charge, delivered by lord Dacre with the levies of Gilsland and Alston moor, and

'The horsemen light from Esk and Leven.'⁶⁷

fifteen hundred in all, drove off the victorious borderers, and saved the discomfiture of the extreme right from spreading a panic through the other divisions of the English army.

The lord admiral in the centre of the vanguard had been attacked by the earls of Crawford and Errol, with whom was George Lesley, earl of Rothes.⁶⁸ At every step Howard called loudly for the king, saying, in reference to the alleged taunts of James as to his evasive policy on the high seas, 'Now I flee not at thy approach. Thou who boastedst of having sought me everywhere in vain, where art thou? Show thyself, and we will prove which has the greatest strength!'⁶⁹ Instead of the king, he encountered the earl of Crawford, and the two, armed with axes, fought undecidedly together for

⁶⁴ *Scotish ffeilde*, l. 341. He is called Sir Robert in the Craven ballad.

⁶⁵ *Scotish ffeilde*, ll. 349, 350.

⁶⁶ *Floddon Field*, 8th fit, vv. 51, 52.

⁶⁷ The text, manifestly corrupt, has 'Hexham Leven.'—*Floddon Field*, 5th fit, v. 54; ed. Federer, p. 51.

⁶⁸ 'Ne valse per che assai fussero forti
il conte de Crafordia & de Arelia:
ne per che quello de Huntlei conforti
con voce & facti la sua compagnia.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 39.

Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. p. 457, notices the mistake of Huntley for Lesley in the earliest list of the slain.

⁶⁹ 'eco non fuggo hor a te vegno,
tu che havermi cercato in ciascun passo
te vantì, ov sei? hor lassati vedere,
et provarem chi havra maggior potere.'—*Ibid.*

The admiral would give no quarter, not even to the king himself 'neminem quantumvis nobilem Scotum, etiam si esset rex ipse, captionem facere: sed occidere.'—Letter to Bainbridge, p. 4.

some time. At last, just at the right moment, Howard raised his axe and dealt the earl a blow under the left arm, where the arm-piece met the cuirass, and the wretched man fell dead at his feet. The earl of Rothes⁷⁰ was hastening to Crawford's assistance when he was met by William Percy, who, with his brother,⁷¹ was stationed to the admiral's left, and slain by a thrust in the thigh. Errol alone was now left to defend the colours. Upon Howard's advance the standard-bearer was thrown down, and victory definitely secured to the English in this part of the field. The eight French captains who had been appointed to the command of this Scottish division were slain, and the fugitives hotly pursued by the two Percies.

It was at the moment of this successful termination of his own engagement that the lord admiral heard of his brother Edmund's discomfiture. He accordingly refrained from joining in the pursuit of the routed Scots, and turned towards where Dacre was attacked by the chamberlain, doing his best to soothe Edmund's irritation. 'Like a furious lion amongst a herd of cattle, not content with blood but covetous of glory,'⁷² Edmund forced his way through the enemy's ranks till he reached their banner. Lord Home now found the pride of his earlier success abashed, and, leaving Dacre, fled with the rest.

On seeing the rout of Edmund Howard's division, king James could restrain himself no longer, and, without waiting for his rear-guard,⁷³ madly came down the hillside upon Surrey, who had brought a force of about 5,000 into line to the east of the admiral.⁷⁴ The English artillery had hitherto proved of little service owing to the uneven nature

⁷⁰ The poet says Huntley, p. 41; but as Huntley was one of the few Scottish survivors, it is evident that Lesley was meant. The whole of the details of the personal combats are to be taken subject to poetic license.

⁷¹ 'Guglielmo & Henrico,
giovani fratri & ciascun cavalliero
del sangue de Percy nobile, e anticho.'

— *Rotta de Scoocesi*, p. 38.

The second brother may have been Jocelyn, as Henry, the eldest brother, was earl of Northumberland, and was at Terouenne with Henry VIII.

⁷² 'che come Leon furibondo
tra gli armenti arivato, non si satia
del sangue loro, irato & sitibondo.'

— *Ibid.* p. 43.

⁷³ Leslie, *History of Scotland*, p. 95.

⁷⁴ *Trewe Encountre*, Laing MS.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii. p. 148.

of the ground it had been passing over,⁷⁵ but now William Blackenall, the master-gunner, got his guns into good position and sent his missiles like 'sowsing tennis balls'⁷⁶ into the midst of the royal division, causing it to come down faster still. Lord Sinclair, the master of the Scottish ordnance, was slain, and its misdirected fire practically silenced.⁷⁷ The king charged at full speed with his lance couched, and had already borne down five Englishmen when it broke. He then drew his sword, and, undeterred by the entreaties of the aged earl of Douglas,⁷⁸ rushed into the ranks of the enemy, striking all he met to the ground. His natural son, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, bravely followed him. Lord Herries and lord Maxwell pressed forward to the king's assistance,⁷⁹ and the combined forces of the Scots forced their way to Surrey's standard. The king was challenged by Guiscard Harbottle, a young man of great strength; the archbishop was met by Surrey himself, by whose side lord Darcy's son engaged Maxwell. The proud lord Latimer fought with Herries, lord Conyers with old earl Douglas. By this time the Scottish left had been entirely defeated by lord Dacre and the admiral, and the king, roused to fury, struck Guiscard Harbottle so heavy

⁷⁵ 'notwithstanding that othir (? otherwise) our artillery for warre coulde doe noe good nor advantage to our army because they wer continually goyng and advansing vp towarde the said hilles and mountaines.'—*Ibid.* p. 147.

⁷⁶ *Floddon Field*, 8th fit, v. 21.

⁷⁷ Hall says: 'The Master Gunner of the English slew the Master Gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their ordnance, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the king's battle and slew many.' Borthwick, however, is known to have been alive three years after the battle.—*Exchequer Accounts of Scotland*, xiii. preface, p. clxxv.

⁷⁸ 'Veniva appresso il signor Dalisse :
 quel vecchio che con lunga oratione
 lo dissuase da sta impresa, & disse
 che ella seria la sua destrutione :
 che era venuto como li promesse
 per monstrar de sua forza parangone
 e che non havea data quel consiglio,
 per tema alcuna de morte o periglio.'

—*Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 35.

The presence of old Archibald Bell-the-Cat taking part in the actual battle is a surprise when we recall the famous account in Buchanan of his quarrel with James at the council at Ford and his consequent return home. It should, however, be borne in mind that Buchanan's story does not agree with Pitcottie who represents the earl of Angus as one of the proposed leaders of the forces of the south of Scotland in the battle. On Douglas's advice previous to the invasion, see *Rotta de Scocesi*, p. 11. It seems very evident that the 'Dalisse' in the text is Douglas, and not Hales, earl of Bothwell, as suggested in the notes.

⁷⁹ 'El signor de Hercie, e quel de Maxuello.'—*Ibid.* p. 36.

a blow with both hands on the shoulder that it descended on his side and stretched him lifeless on the ground. James then gave orders for the rear-guard to be advanced, and lord Dacre, who was now coming round from the west, had only just time to form to receive them.⁸⁰ The only portion of the rear-guard then available, as will be presently seen, seems to have been that commanded by the earl of Bothwell, which probably formed the major part of d'Aussi's reserve.⁸¹ This last division of the Scottish force was much stronger than the other, we are told ; for the fugitives rallied, and all the troops still under discipline hastened bravely to the front,⁸² so that it might well be said

‘The victory in doubt did stand.’⁸³

All was to be changed by the advance of the English left under sir Edward Stanley,

‘The man . . . on whom the matter wholly hinges.’⁸⁴

Considering the very different issue that the engagement in this part of the field was to have, it seems in every way likely that Stanley's following was superior in number to the 10,000 Scots under the earls of Argyle and Lennox opposed to him, and 15,000 does not seem much too extravagant an estimate of it. ‘The lads of Lancashire,’⁸⁵ we are told

‘could hardly fast their feet,
But forced on hands and feet to creep,
.
At last the mountain top they wan.’⁸⁶

They thus turned the position of the Scots. Argyle fell at the first onset ; Lennox, pursued by Stanley along more than half the hillside, was slain at the foot of the banner, which was only rescued by 5,000 men of the division under the Seigneur d'Aussi, which had been

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 36, 44. There is a curious woodcut of all this combat on foot with spears and swords in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England*, ed. 1577, p. 1492.

⁸¹ ‘Adamus Heburnus cum propinquis & cætera Lothiana Nobilitate in subsidiis erat.’—Buchanan, p. 465.

⁸² ‘Questa ultima acie de Scoceffi grossa
era piu assai che l'altre : che la gente
fuggita a quella tutta se e riscossa.’

—*Rotta de Scoceffi*, p. 45.

⁸³ *Floddon Field*, 9th fit, v. 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 5th fit, v. 57.

⁸⁵ ‘Lancashire like Lyons : Laid them about.

All had been lost by our Lord : had not those leeds beene.’

—*Scottish ffoilde*, ll. 383, 384.

⁸⁶ *Floddon Field*, 9th fit, vv. 5, 7.

posted in a clough to give assistance where required.⁸⁷ This stand made by d'Aussi can have been of little avail. Stanley charged down the hill on the rear of the king's forces, while Dacre pressed in from the west. The fate of the battle was sealed by the death of king James beneath the banner of St. Audrey.⁸⁸ The Scots fled and were killed

'like Caitiues, in Clowes all about.

.
all the lords of their lande were left them behind,
beside brinston in a bryke : breatheless thé lyen,
gaping against the moone : their guests were away.⁸⁹

It is said that the iron gauntlets were still on the king's body when it was found;⁹⁰ and removed to the nearest church, which is the only faint reference we have to the church of Brankston, that would seem to have been so close to the battlefield.⁹¹ His rent surcoat was sent to Tournay, stained with blood and chequered in the English fashion.⁹² The fatal torquoise ring and his sword and dagger are shown at Herald's college. The sword bears on the blade the motto :

Espoir conforte le Cueval.

to be translated 'Hope encourages a leader,'⁹³ and it might almost seem that a contemporary writer alludes to this when he ascribes James's defeat to the fact that he had impiously placed all his hope in his French captains.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ 'sel signor de Ausy quella schiera rotta
non soccorrea, con cinque millia in frotta.'

—*Rotta de Soccasi*, p. 37.

⁸⁸ 'their King was downe knocked : & killed in there sight
vnder the banner of a Bishope : that was the bold standlye.'

—*Scottish feilde*, ll. 385, 386.

On the back of a list of 'ffranche prisoners taken at Turwine' is the note 'The Kyng of Scotts was fownd slayn by my lord Dakers in y^e fronte of his batayll & also y^e lord maxwill & his brother y^e lord harryes erle Crauford who is knowen. And y^e kyng of Scotts body is closed in lede & be kept till y^e kyngis plesure be knowen in Barwicke. And y^e were slayn xj^m scotts beside yem yet were slayn in ye chace, and ij bishops. And of English men but ij C psons slayn.'—Harl. MS. 369, p. 94 d.; quoted, but not correctly, in Galt, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 17.

⁸⁹ *Scottish feilde*, ll. 391, 400-403. 'Clowes' means 'cloughs,' or small valleys; 'bryke,' a 'brake' or thicket; 'guests,' 'gasts' or spirits.

⁹⁰ *State Papers, Venetian*, ii. p. 130.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 128.

⁹² 'Lacerata paludamenta Regis Scotorum huc missa fuerunt, tincta sanguine et variegatijs (sic) more nostro.' Brian Tuke, clerk of the signet to Richard Pace, secretary of the cardinal of England, Tournai, 22 Sept.—*Ibid.* p. 135, n. The 'variegatijs' seems to refer to the tartan, and the 'more nostro' to assert its English origin.

⁹³ *Archaeologia*, xxxiii. p. 335.

⁹⁴ 'Scotorum rex, qui majorem auxilii spem in gallicis praefectis (quorum XL numero habuit) quem in deo reposuit.'—Letter to Cardinal Bainbridge, *Rotta de Soccasi*, app. p. 3.

While the battle was going on, the good folks of the English marches are said to have taken the opportunity of plundering Surrey's camp.⁹⁵ They also appear to have laid their hands on the riderless horses. The Baggaley ballad complains

'many a wye wanted his horse : and wandred home a ffoote ;
all was long of the Marx men ; a Mischeefe them happen.'⁹⁶

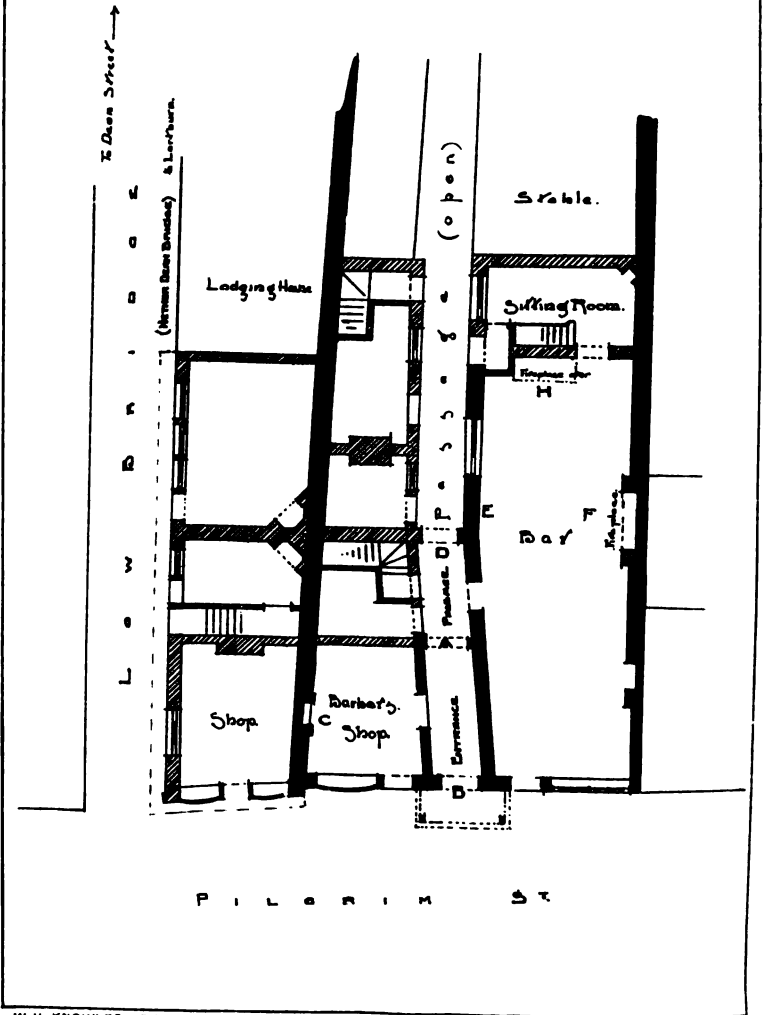
As some mitigation of this charge we have *The booke of the horses and mares takyn by the inhabitantes of Cumberland and Northumberland of the ffelde of Branxton the ix. day of September, the fyfthe yere of the reigne of our souverain lord King Henry the Eighth, being within the boundes and Auctorite of Thomas Lord Dacres, &c., of Graystok, Wardain of the Marchies.*⁹⁷ There were delivered by Dacre's officers in Cumberland before the 26th of November, 221 horses and mares to the claimants on their 'book-oath.' The list of these embraces the whole of the North of England, but the only notices relating to Northumberland are the recovery of a grey mare by Thomas Blyth of Rennington, of a bay gelding by Nicholas Ridley of 'Wollemontswyke,' of five horses and mares by Thomas Horsley for himself and neighbours, and of a horse by Ralph Widdrington. The inhabitants of Northumberland restored seventy-six horses and mares to their owners at Morpeth ; Leonard Thornton of Shilbottle is the only local claimant in the list.

⁹⁵ Letter of Bishop Ruthal, *Arch. Ael.* v. p. 179.

⁹⁶ *Scottish ffelde*, ll. 414, 415.

⁹⁷ P.B.O. *Chapter House Books*, B.

"THE FOX & LAMB", PILGRIM STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.



W. H. KNOWLES, DEL.

PHOTO LITHO SPRAGUE & CO LONDON

XXIII.—THE OLD 'FOX AND LAMB' PUBLIC HOUSE,
PILGRIM STREET, NEWCASTLE.

BY W. H. KNOWLES, F.R.I.B.A.

[Read on the 20th December, 1893.]

OF the building known as the 'Fox and Lamb,' now removed to provide premises for the National Telephone Company, unfortunately we have no records or even mention in any of our local histories, whilst search in other channels has yielded but meagre results.

Who erected or who resided within the ancient building previous to its bearing the sign of the 'Fox and Lamb,' or when this title was first used, we know not, excepting that in 1730¹ it is so called.

It would be difficult, and indeed unwise, to attempt to conjecture what the original structure was like, as the building just removed had at various times been much added to, altered, and mutilated.

In 1739 it is described as a messuage burghage or tenement and garden, including maltings, cornlofts, brewhouse, and mill to the same premises belonging, bounded on the north and south by other messuages, on the east by the king's highway called or known by the name of Pilgrim Street, and on the west by the Painters Heugh Dean, apparently the ravine through which the Lortburn ran, was at this point so called.

All that was really of an ancient character is shown in the accompanying drawings. Some portions were of the latter part of the fifteenth century, and were incorporated with those of the seventeenth century with which we are familiar. On the plan the parts attributed to the earlier date are shown coloured black, and comprise the gables on the north and south, walls in continuation thereof carried westward in the direction of Dean street (site of the Lortburn), and the lower portions of the front and passage walls. A pointed arch chamfered on both sides existed at the point A; and another arch, possibly of later date, much flatter chamfered on the outside and rebated within, at the point B. In the room over the barber's shop (C), there existed an arched stone recess, bearing no

¹ *Arch. Ael.* vol. iv. (N.S.) p. 248.

mouldings, but rebated on inside. The remainder of the old work was of the seventeenth century. (See the elevation and the portions hatched on plan.)



The square projecting oriel (of which now one other example only remains in Newcastle, that of Cosyns' house on the Quayside) was supported by stout uprights and cross-beam, the oaken floor joists resting on the latter, extended from the west wall above the arch A. An old-fashioned fireplace of ample dimensions existed in the bar. The roofs were all covered with pantiles. All the windows were fitted with solid wooden frames and casement sashes. The walls towards Pilgrim street were covered with a rough coat of plaster. The arch (D) and the gable surmounting it were of brick (see sketch).

On the first floor over the point E were the remains of chamfered stone window heads, sills, and mullions. In a room on the first floor (above H), over a fireplace, were two plaster panels, one of which bore the date 1651, with a rose and crown between two *fleurs-de-lis*,

whilst on the other panel a winged monster was represented.²

The staircase was of the simplest description, and with one slight exception, and that of very poor character, there existed no paneling of wood or plaster.

² It is the intention of the National Telephone Company to place these panels in the new building. They are depicted at page 132 of *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*.



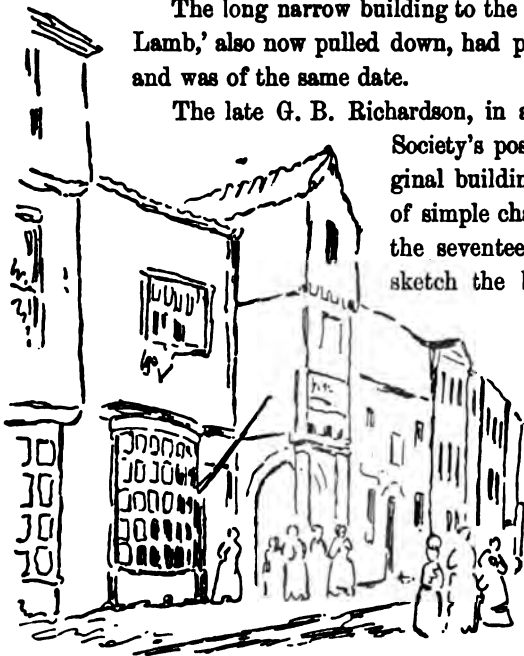
SKETCH ELEVATION OF THE FOX AND LAMB
FLORIAN STREET NEWCASTLE

W.H. Knowles, del.

PHOTO LITHO. SPENCE & CO. LONDON

The long narrow building to the south of the 'Fox and Lamb,' also now pulled down, had projecting upper stories and was of the same date.

The late G. B. Richardson, in a rough sketch in the Society's possession, shows the original building to the north. It is of simple character, and later than the seventeenth century. In this sketch the barber's shop with projecting pole is shown.



Rough sketch by G. B. Richardson
drawn in fac-simile by W. H. K.

From the deeds of the property we learn that, in 1727, it was owned by John Donkin, inn-keeper;³ and in 1739 occupied by his eldest son John Donkin, baker and brewer. In 1754 the occupants were: John Ramsey, innholder, and John Hays,⁴ barber.

In 1764 it was sold by John Donkin to John Huntley, upholsterer, and was then in the occupation of Richard Joblin and John Hays.

In a will dated 4th December, 1792, Richard Huntley⁵ leaves to his daughter Sarah (who afterwards married John Hodgson of Elswick house) all that, etc., known by the sign of the 'Fox and Lamb,' and in the occupation of Burdon⁶ and Rayne.

³ John Donkin had three sons, John, Ralph, and Bryan. In the poll books of the election of 1741, John and Ralph Donkin voted for Matthew Ridley, the candidates being Walter Blackett, Nicholas Fenwick, Matthew Bidley, and William Carre.

⁴ In the election of 1774, Bryan and John Donkin and John Hays voted for the successful candidates, sir W. Blackett and sir M. W. Ridley—Phipps and Delaval being the defeated ones.

⁵ In the election of 1780, Richard Huntley, barber surgeon, Hollin hill, and Bryan Donkin, baker and brewer, Walker, recorded their votes, the former for Bowes and the latter for Bowes and Delaval. The other candidate was sir M. W. Bidley.

⁶ Father of Thomas Burdon, brewer and knight, an enthusiastic volunteer officer, who also filled the chief municipal offices. Thomas Burdon married

In a will dated 2nd October, 1813, John Hodgson⁷ of Elswick house gave his property to his first son who should attain twenty-one years.

In 1828 it was purchased from John Hodgson⁸ (afterwards John Hodgson-Hinde) by James Harding, whose surviving trustee, John Dove, in 1862, sold it to John Johnson. The trustees of John Johnson (Francis Johnson and others), in 1883, disposed of it to Walter Scott, from whom, in 1892, it was obtained by the National Telephone Company.

Of further occupants, the following occur in the various directories :—In the year 1778, Rich. Jopling ; 1787–9, Rich. Jopling ; 1790, Thos. Wood ; 1811, Ralph Lowes ; 1824, Ralph Lowes ; 1827, Ralph Lowes ; 1839, William Elliott ; 1847, Jane Waters ; 1850, Jane Waters ; 1855, George West.

The 'Fox and Lamb' does not appear to have been used for coaching or posting purposes. Many carriers are, however, recorded as leaving it for neighbouring towns to the north and west of Newcastle. Amongst them one notices that Wm. Graham continues to make the journey to Alnwick, between the years 1778 and 1847 (probably being father and son), and that another, J. Forster, in 1839 'goes to Blaydon and Redhough four to six times each day.'

In his *Roderick Random*, Dr. Smollett describes a meeting of that hero with his old schoolfellow Hugh Strap,⁹ then filling the position

Jane, sister of William and John Scott, who afterwards became respectively lord Stowell and the earl of Eldon. Richard, son of sir Thomas Burdon, married the daughter and heir of sir James Sanderson, bart., and assumed the name of Richard Burdon Sanderson. He erected Jesmond towers, now occupied by Mr. Charles Mitchell, LL.D.—See R. Welford's *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed*.

⁷ Pulled down the old and erected the present Elswick house (Elswick park), his grandfather, John Hodgson, esq., linen draper, having purchased, about the year 1720, the lordship of Elswick from the last of the Jennisons.

⁸ John Hodgson-Hinde, magistrate, deputy-lieutenant, and high sheriff of Northumberland, seventeen years member of parliament for Newcastle, assumed the name of Hinde in 1836, was a vice-president of our Society, and well versed in all antiquarian matters, contributed largely to our transactions ; the following being also by him :—*The Pipe Rolls for Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, Fountains of British History Explored*, and the volume of the *History of Northumberland* 'which was intended to fill the place of the never-written first part of Hodgson's *History*.'—See biographical notice, *Arch. Acl.* vol. vii. p. 229.

⁹ Of the prototype of Hugh Strap we learn in an obituary notice in the *Newcastle Courant* of April 11, 1839, that on 'Sunday sen'night, in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London (died) Hugh Hewson, aged 85. He was the identical Hugh Strap whom Dr. Smollet has immortalized in *Roderick Random*.

of barber's assistant in Newcastle. Tradition has associated the shop under the roof of the 'Fox and Lamb' with the story. In this connection I may recall the fact that in 1754 John Hays, barber, occupied a portion of the premises, and that the daughter of the late H. P. Parker now possesses a chair given to her by her father, and obtained by him from an occupant of the shop, who alleged that it had been used by Smollett whilst staying at the 'Fox and Lamb.'

During the early part of this century the 'Fox and Lamb' seems to have been the rendezvous of local celebrities. It was here that H. P. Parker found material for his picture of the 'Eccentric Characters of Newcastle.' We also learn from the memoirs of Dr. Robert Blakey,¹⁰ a native of Morpeth, who appears to have been much in Newcastle during the early part of this century, whilst speaking of Bewick, that 'he [Bewick] was then an interesting-looking old man, of portly size, and of a good-humoured and social temperament. He frequented, on certain evenings, a sort of club-room at the "Fox and Lamb" at the foot of Pilgrim street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and many happy and pleasant hours he spent with a few select, intelligent, and jocular friends, who congregated here chiefly with a view to enjoy his company and conversation. He was fond of porter, and I have known him sit from seven o'clock in the evening till eleven, sipping his favourite beverage to the tune of five or six pints. It did not seem to produce any muddling or stupefying effect upon him whatever. He was always clear, collected, humorous, and pleasant. Custom, I have no doubt, had rendered this indulgence quite innocuous and harmless both to his body and mind.'

Dr. Robert Blakey contributed articles at this time to the *Newcastle Magazine*, *Durham Chronicle*, etc., and was intimate with Charles Larkin, Thomas Doubleday, and others. It may, I think, be fairly assumed 'that the sort of club' included these free lances of radicalism, doubtless the artist Parker, and others of a bohemian disposition, and that the sitting room at the end of the bar with

and had for many years kept a hairdresser's shop in the above parish. His shop was hung with latin quotations, and he would frequently point out to his customers and acquaintances the several scenes in *Roderick Random* pertaining to himself, which had their foundation, not in the Doctor's inventive faculty, but in truth and reality.'

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Dr. Robert Blakey, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast*, p. 35 Trübner & Co., London, 1879.

separate entrance from the passage was the room in which the 'select, intelligent, and jocular friends' met.

Let us now glance at the surroundings of the Fox and Lamb, the lane called the Low Bridge on the south (see plan) is, of course, the 'Nether Dean Bridge' of Bourne's time (1732). Proceeding down this lane, you would pass over the bridge spanning the Lort-burn, and so reach St. Nicholas's church. This was also the line of the Roman Wall.

Looking northward from the oriel over the porch we view, according to Bourne,¹¹ 'the most beautiful Part of the Street, the Houses on each Side of it being most of them very pretty, neat, and regular; such are the Houses of Mr. Edward Harl, Mr. Thos. Biggs, John Rogers, Esq., Thos. Clennell, Esq., Nicholas Fenwick, Esq., Nathaniel Clayton, Esq., Edward Collingwood, Esq., Mr. Perith, Mr. John White, John Ogle, Esq., Mr. Thos. Waters, Matthew White, Esq., &c. . . . On that Side of it, next the Town-Wall is a very agreeable Walk, generally frequented on a Summer's Evening by the Gentry of this part of the Town; The Prospect of the gardens, some of which are exceeding Curious, affording a good deal of Pleasure.'¹²

Mackenzie, speaking in 1827 of Bourne's reference, says, 'At present, scarcely any of the families above mentioned, retain their residences here; the greater part of the street having, of late years, been converted into offices, shops, and inns.'¹³

A century ago the scene hereabouts would frequently be a busy one, the arrival and departure of the many carriers to and from the numerous inns would cause much stir among the townfolk, whilst the wheat market,¹⁴ held on stated days of the week, would further add to the activity.

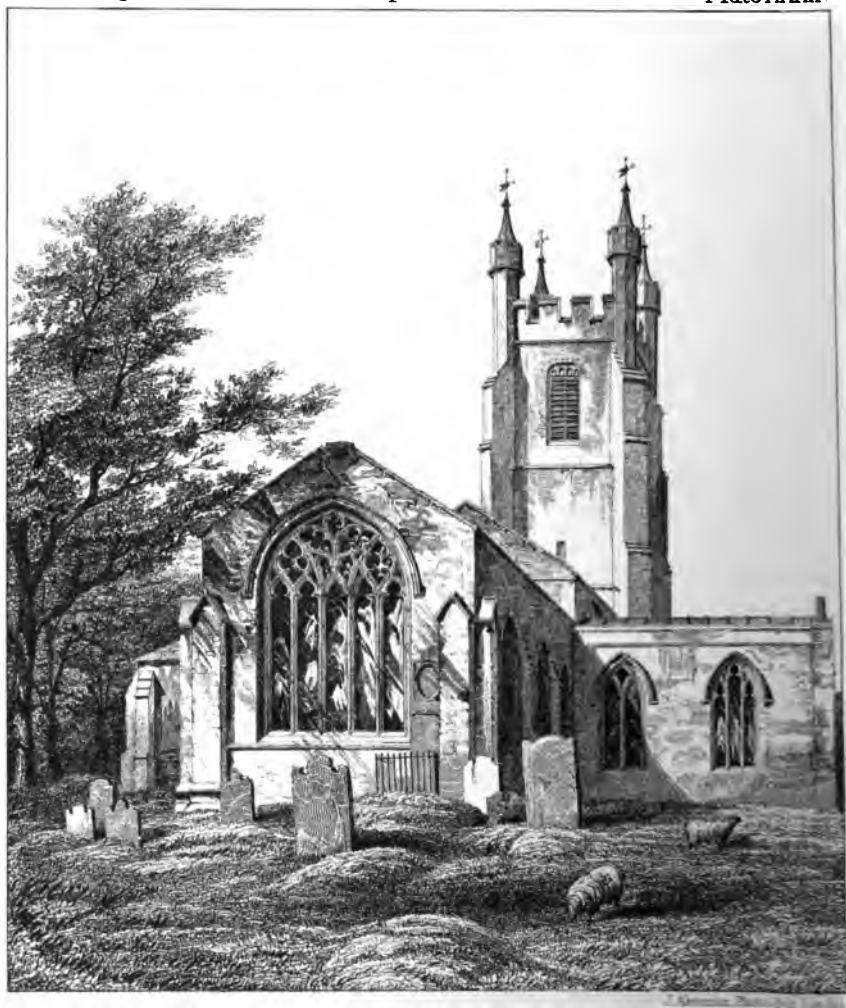
From Gray's time (1649), when Pilgrim street 'was the longest and fairest street in the town,' from Bourne's (1732), when many members of the aristocracy resided, from Mackenzie's (1827), when much commercial success was enjoyed, Low Pilgrim street has degenerated into an overcrowded district of miserable tenements.

¹¹ Bourne's *Newcastle*, p. 85.

¹² Bourne, p. 81.

¹³ Mackenzie's *History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, p. 178.

¹⁴ Gray, in his *Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne*, printed in 1649, speaking of Pilgrim Street, says:—'In it is a Market for Wheat and Rye every Tuesday and Saturday.'



SEDFIELD CHURCH, FROM THE N. E.

(Reduced from plate in Billings's 'Archæological Antiquities of the County of Durham')

XXIV.—SEDFIELD CHURCH.¹

BY CHARLES CLEMENT HODGES.

[Read at Sedgfield on the 27th August, 1892.]

SEDFIELD has always been a place of very considerable importance, and was one of the chief centres in the south part of the bishopric. Its name is, there can be little doubt, of topographical origin, and means the field or open place amidst swampy ground occupied by reeds or sedges.² The site is a wide swell of sandy gravel, on the highest point of which the church and village stand. Anciently the surroundings were a wide marsh, as is clearly shown by the condition of the low lying lands and the names of adjoining places, such as Red-marshall, formerly Redmereshill, or the hill in the middle of the red mere. Also the names of some old farms such as Green Knolls, Island Farm, the Lizards, etc.

Of the history of the place little is known. It seems to be the town mentioned by Symeon as having been purchased for the church by bishop Outheard, who came to the see in 900 during the time of its location at Chester-le-Street,³ and ruled it till 915.

In bishop Pudsey's great survey of the bishopric known as *Boldon Buks*, and made in 1183, we find Sedgfield recorded as a thriving and for those days a populous place. There were twenty tenants in villenage, twenty *firmary* or renters, a smith, a pounder, a carpenter, and five cottagers. The manor mill and that of Fishburn are also mentioned. Bishop Hatfield's survey (1345-1381) shows that an increase had taken place in the number of the various kinds of tenants and holders, as well as in the money value of their services. Under

¹ This paper was read at Sedgfield on the occasion of a Saturday afternoon meeting there on August 27th, 1892 (see *Proc.* v. p. 199). As the meeting was but thinly attended it has been thought desirable to print it with illustrations, as no complete description of this fine church is available.

² On the other hand the derivation may be a nominal one, and 'Ceddes field' looks like the field or place of one Cedd, a not uncommon Anglo-Saxon name. The great St. Chad had a brother of this name, the founder of the monastery of Lavington, who is often confounded with Chad.—Bede, *Ecol. Hist.* book I. preface, and book III. cap. xxiii.

³ 'Eodem tempore Cuthardus, episcopus fidelis, emit de pecunia Sancti Cuthberti villam quae vocatur Ceddesfeld, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, praeter quod tenebant tres homines, Aculf, Ethelbyriht, Frithlaf.'—*Historia de S. Cuthberto*, etc. 51 Surtees Society Publ. p. 146.

bishop Kellaw (1311-1316) Sedgfield was chartered for fairs and markets, and so came to rank as a market town.

The village is situated at a turning point in the main road between Durham and Stockton. The principal streets are at right angles to one another, one being on the Durham road, and the other on that which originally led to Hartlepool through Embleton, which is in Sedgfield parish, and possesses an ancient chapel. The other main road out of the village connects it with the great north road at Rushyford, passing the hamlet of Bradbury on the way. In the centre of the town is a large open space where the markets were once held, no doubt around a market cross of which there is not now even a tradition. To the east of this area stands the church and churchyard.

The church is dedicated to St. Edmund the bishop, a very rare dedication in the north.⁴

It is certain that a place of such importance as Sedgfield possessed a church from very early times. The absence of any good stone in the neighbourhood and the remoteness of the site from any Roman station, although near the line of a Roman road⁵ renders it very improbable that this early building would be anything but a timber construction. Whether such a church was ever superseded by a stone building before the time of the Norman conquest, or whether it survived until after that eventful period, and was then succeeded by a church in the Norman style, are questions which it is impossible to answer either in the affirmative or in the negative. Whatever was the nature of the predecessor or predecessors of the present church it is a remarkable fact that it, or they, have wholly disappeared, not a single fragment of masonry, either architectural or monumental, ever having been seen on the site, so far as can be ascertained, within recent times. That no part of an early church should have come down to our day is not altogether a matter of surprise, when we reflect that in a populous and thriving village the church was not likely to pass the great rebuilding periods of the early and later Gothic styles without being transformed,

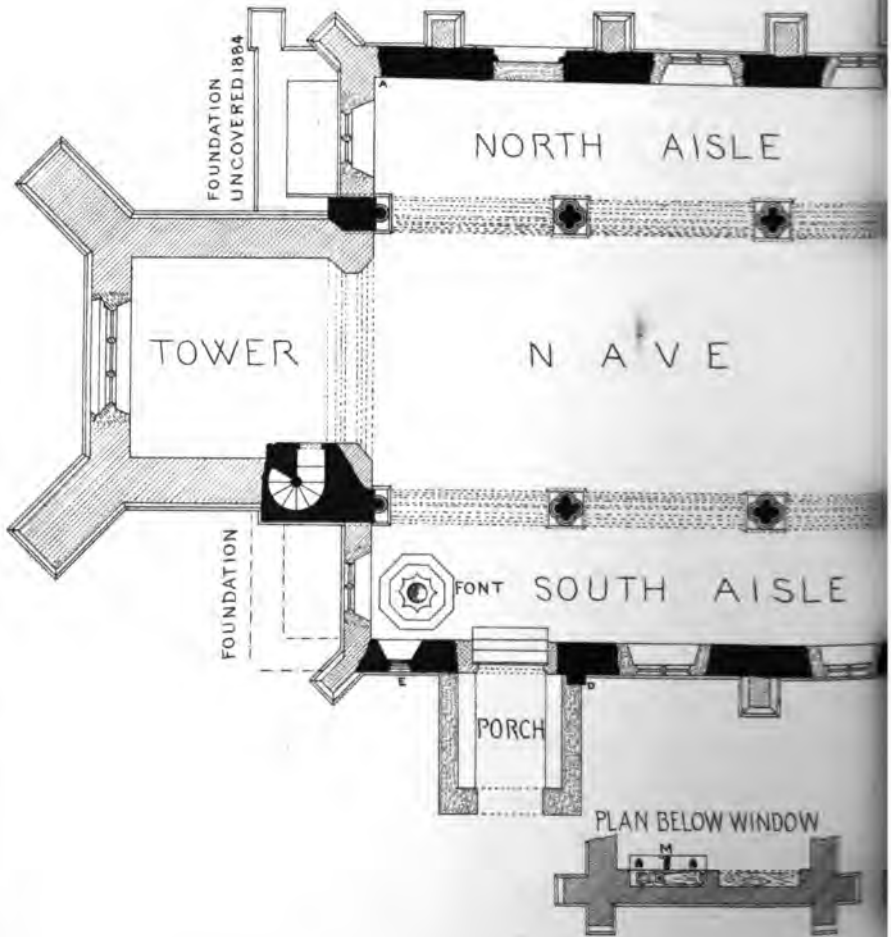
⁴ Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives St. Edmund the bishop; but, about 1300, the church seems to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as by the will of John Daudre he directed his body to be buried in '*Cimiterio Beatae Mariae de Seggfeld*,'—2 Surtees Soc. Publ. (1835, 2) p. 20.

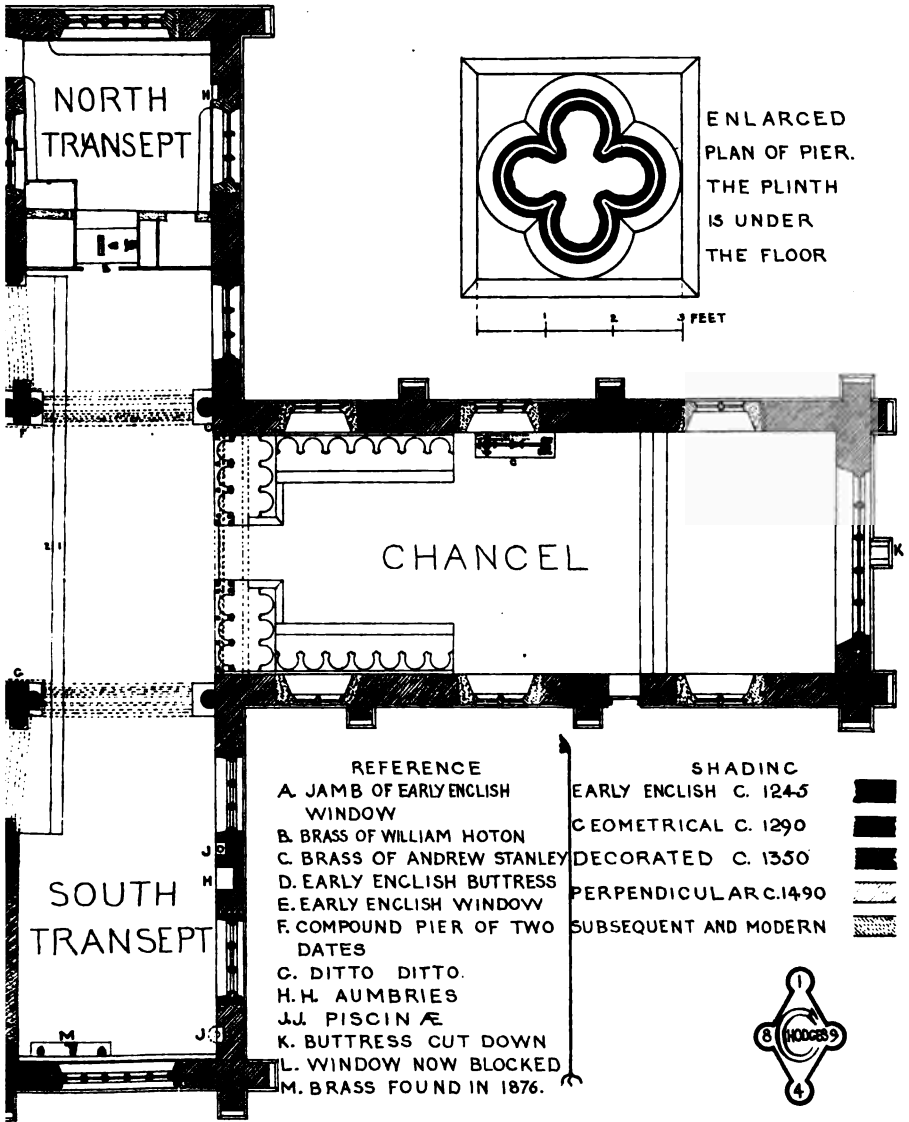
⁵ See *Durham before the Conquest*, by W. H. D. Longstaffe. *Archaeological Institute Proceedings, Newcastle*, vol. i.

SERGEANT'S CHURCH

GROUND PLAN

Scala





or completely rebuilt, as was the case here. But that no fragment of any early sepulchral memorial has survived is indeed a matter of wonderment, for we know from other cases, such as Aycliff, Gainford, or Sockburn, how numerous such monuments must have been about such a church as Sedgefield. The poor and perishable nature of the local stone, and the value of any large pieces for building purposes to a large extent accounts for this, and we may feel sure that the monuments raised during the Anglo-Saxon period by the men of Sedgefield have gone into the foundations and walls of the later church where they still remain hidden. At any time such may be brought to light either by digging in the churchyard or making alterations to or repairs of the structure.

The list of the early rectors is lamentably incomplete, but amongst those given by Surtees⁶ two are earlier than the date of the church. These are Ulchild, 1085, and Peter, 'clericus de Seggefeld,' 1168. In reading the names of these ancient priests one cannot help wondering what the church was like with which they were familiar, and which has as completely disappeared as if it had never existed.

The present church is of various dates. In plan it comprises a nave of three bays with aisles, north and south transepts and chancel, all three aisleless, a disengaged western tower, and a south porch.

The earliest remaining work is the nave, and this has been so far left unaltered as to show that the church of which it is a part was begun about the middle, or shortly before the middle, of the thirteenth century, and that this church consisted of a short and wide nave with aisles, a disengaged western tower, and a chancel. The plan was an entirely new one and does not seem to have in the least regarded, or been hampered by, any previous building on the site; it is not improbable therefore that the new building was begun near the old one, which was cleared away on its completion, for the lines are all square and regular, and we miss these ugly though interesting twists and deflections and numerous angles with which the plans of old churches usually abound. The design was that of a master-hand in the craft of architecture, and it is an interesting thing to be able once in a way to say without much fear of dispute that the name of the architect can be given, a rare thing it is to find that such a name has come

⁶ *History and Antiquities of Durham*, vol. iii. p. 32.

down to our own time in the case of a great cathedral or monastic church, but still more rare in the case of a village church.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the monks of Durham were, speaking architecturally, chiefly occupied with their grand scheme of adding the chapel of the Nine Altars to their church. The story of how this building came to be thought of, and whether such story be true or otherwise need not detain us now, it has often been told, and nowhere better than in a now well-known guide to the cathedral,⁷ but the architectural history of the scheme, so to speak, has not been dwelt upon, and as it has some bearing on the somewhat unusual plan of Sedgfield church it may be well to give it here.

There is only one other building in England that is anything like the Nine Altars at Durham, and that is the similar eastern termination, also called the Nine Altars, of the conventual church of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Fountains. Of the two the latter is earlier in date as it is cruder in conception than the Durham building. As this part of Fountains abbey has a direct bearing on the Nine Altars at Durham, and an indirect bearing on the design of the earliest remaining parts of Sedgfield church, a few remarks upon its history must be brought in here.

The old choir of Fountains was extended in the first half of the thirteenth century under three abbots of the same name, John of York (1203-1211), John of Ely (1211-1220), and John of Kent (1220-1247). The scheme included the building of a choir with aisles, five bays in length, and an eastern transept across the east front of the church, with a range of nine altars against its long east wall. There is tolerably clear evidence that this scheme was not all matured at once, and that it was modified as it progressed, as indeed was likely in so great a work which was so long in hand. Mr. Reeve has shown⁸ that the conception of the Nine Altars was due to abbot John of Kent, or of his architect, who it can be shown with tolerable certainty was a south country man. The exact date of the completion of the Nine

⁷ *Durham Cathedral*. An address by the Rev. Wm. Greenwell, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Durham, 1881.

⁸ *A Monograph on the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, by J. Arthur Reeve, Architect, 1892. A magnificent work, where all the architectural beauties of Fountains are shown, and the architectural history of the buildings is given with the learning and scrupulous care of a Willis and the instinctive insight of a Longstaffe.

Altars at Fountains is not known, but it was finally finished before the death of abbot John of Kent, which occurred in 1247, and as the Nine Altars at Durham was begun in 1242 it may be said that the one building was finished before the other was begun. A careful comparison of the two, and especially their plans, supports this view. Mr. Reeve has shown that the Fountains work failed owing to faulty construction and insufficient foundation, and its vault was removed and a wooden roof of low pitch substituted for it in the days of abbot John Dernton (1478-1494). The primary cause of this failure was the insufficient buttressing, especially on the east wall, to take the thrust of a lofty vault, there being no aisle over which flying buttresses could be stretched to carry such a thrust by easy stages to the ground. Although the plan of the two buildings is identical in the disposition of all the component parts, and the dimensions are the same in both to within a few inches, they are additions to two buildings planned on different scales. It is a significant fact that the vault at Durham is not only on a very different system to that at Fountains, but is most amply buttressed everywhere, and the walls are as much as two feet thicker. The central buttresses also on the east front in the same relative position as those at Fountains have nearly four times their area.⁹ At the two eastern angles we find the two angle buttresses at Fountains changed in the case of Durham to solid polygonal masses of masonry of enormous strength carrying heavy pinnacles or spires of stone. At the opposite angles, although the newel stairs for gaining access to the upper galleries are in the same relative positions in both buildings, at Durham they are placed in octagonal turrets appended to the main angle turrets, which arrangement leaves the full mass of the latter unbroken, whereas at Fountains these staircases placed in the polygonal angle buttresses themselves, thereby leaving them a mere shell, and having a strength which is more apparent than real. The result of all these precautions is that the massive and lofty vault of the Nine Altars at Durham has stood unshaken to this day, and the building which it encloses is still, as it was, unsurpassed and unsurpassable in its strength and beauty amongst the thirteenth century buildings in England.

⁹ Those at Fountains were more than doubled in their substance in abbot Dernton's time.

The only possible conclusion that we can arrive at from this most interesting comparison is that it was the architect of the Nine Altars at Fountains who planned and reared the similar building at Durham, and as we have seen, the one was finished before the other was begun, he had the opportunity not only of generally improving the design and detail, but of correcting its constructive weaknesses. The Fountains work was done under the Kentish abbot John, and the Durham 'new work' under bishop Nicholas de Farnham, another south country man. The two ecclesiastics would naturally become known to one another, and nothing was more likely than that both would engage the services of the same architect.

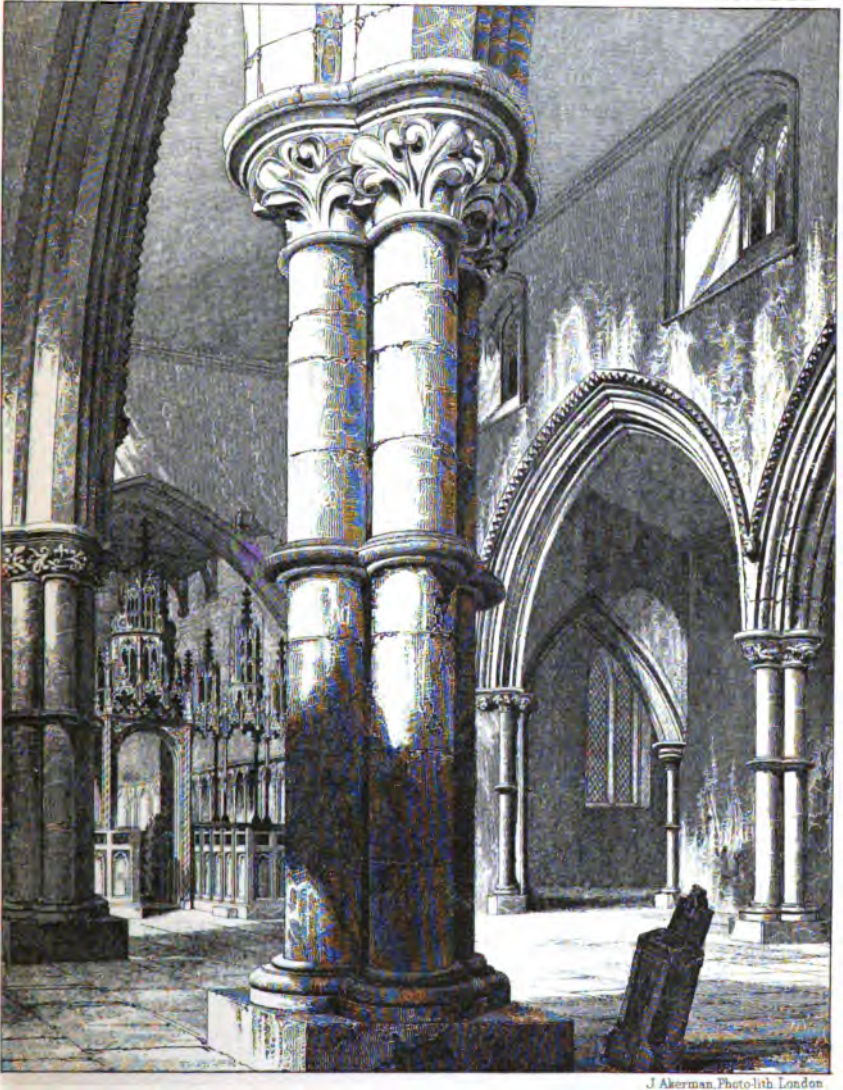
The work at Fountains, like all that carried out by the Cistercians, is remarkably plain in character, there being no carved ornament in it. At Durham a much freer hand was given, and the detail is rich throughout, without being overloaded with ornament. The beauty of the carved decoration culminates in the capitals to the main piers, and here we find conventional foliated forms full of nerve and spirit combined with clever adaptations of animal and bird forms in the utmost profusion. A moment's comparison of these with the capitals at Sedgfield is enough to show that both were designed and executed by the same man,¹⁰ they are so exactly alike and so different from the general run of work executed at the same period.

Having identified the work of the southern architect at Sedgfield by the carving, we may carry the investigation further to see if there are other indications of its not having been done by a local man. The plan and proportions of the building are not those of the local churches, the width is much greater in comparison with the length than is usual in the north,¹¹ and the whole feeling of the design has a lightness and delicacy about it which indicates the product of another mind than that which originated the designs of the majority of the ecclesiastical buildings in the county.

By a fortunate circumstance the name of the architect has been

¹⁰ It is not pretended that the architect did the carving with his own hands any more than he does now, but according to the custom of the time he would take a certain number of craftsmen from one building to another along with him.

¹¹ I am, of course, speaking here of the proportions of the church as originally built, not of what they are now with the later transepts, chancel, and tower added.



J. Akerman. Photo-lith. London.

INTERIOR OF SEDGEFIELD CHURCH, LOOKING S.E.

(Reduced from plate in Billings's 'Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham')

preserved. Canon Greenwell has found it as a witness to a deed in the treasury at Durham, which conveys land in the Bailey from Willelmus aurifaber to Thomas carnifex son of Lewinus, the witness being 'Magister Ricardus de Farinham tunc architector novae fabricae Dunelm.' This clearly identifies the architect as having been born at Farnham, notably the place of that name in Surrey,¹² and no doubt the same place from which bishop Farnham also came. It is so rarely that the name of a medieval architect or other craftsman can be identified with his work that this instance is one of special interest, and is made more so from the fact that an inscription cut on the plinth of one of the central buttresses of the Nine Altars at Durham gives us the name of the master mason also. It reads :

POSUIT HANC PETERAM THOMAS MOISES,

and is cut in good Lombardic letters. The name of this man also occurs in a Durham deed, dated 1240, only two years before the Nine Altars was begun.¹³

Having established the above facts, it is interesting to carry our investigation a little further and to find out if the southern architect did any more work in the north. We have seen that the plan of Sedgefield church is not that of the district, and having noted its peculiarities the same are easily recognised elsewhere. At the northern extremity of the county is another church with a very southern look about it, that of Ryton. In plan it has a nave of three bays as has Sedgefield with a curiously arranged engaged western tower, and a west front with long lancets and buttresses, which remind one more of the work in Kent and Surrey than that in Northumberland and Durham. The outline of the tower, with its leaden spire, is what one sees amongst the heaths of Surrey, the downs of Sussex, or the pretty leafy villages of Kent, rather than that of the sturdy pele-like towers of the northern moorland churches. It is impossible to believe that Ryton church was designed by a north countryman. Its nave capitals are unfortunately plain, as the work is generally, but where the spire rises from the tower is a corbel table, the corbels of which are carved with a variety of ornaments, and here we see the familiar Nine Altars details in the most unmistakable manner. There is the same fecundity of

¹² The other Farnhams are all in the southern counties.

¹³ Greenwell's *Durham Cathedral*, fourth edition, pp. 55-56.

invention, no repetition or monotony, all are different, like those ever-delightful details of the eastern parts at Durham, which always please and always reward renewed and continued study. Ryton church was built in the time of bishop Farnham, and is under the patronage of the see of Durham, there is therefore no difficulty in seeing how Richard of Farnham could have done the work there when a new church came to be built in the thirteenth century.

Carving of the character of that in the Nine Altars is so uncommon that when met with it is at once noted. In Kirkby Sigston church, near Northallerton, is a capital on the north side of the chancel. This is carved with the intertwined dragons and foliage forms so similar to those at Durham that we must assign the design to the same man, even if the carving looks like the work of another hand. Kirkby Sigston was also under the patronage of Durham.

The lesson learned at Fountains was not forgotten when Sedgfield was planned, and the thrust of the arcades was taken by making long responds at the east and west ends. Subsequent alterations have destroyed these, but the plan, forming plate xxxiii., indicates what they were at the west end, where the foundations of the west end of the old aisle has been found on the north side. The arcades are of fine proportions and have arches of two orders moulded towards the nave but chamfered towards the aisles. The hood mouldings of the nave arches and of the chancel arch are ornamented with the dentelle moulding, of which we have so many examples in this county. The arches opening into the transepts have plainly moulded hoods. The columns are of the quatrefoil plan, with well-moulded bases standing on square plinths. They are banded at mid-height with bands of a very fine and bold section. The detached shafts at the responds are also banded in the same way. The capitals are, including those of the responds, eight in number. They are all fully carved. In the respond variety is introduced by treating the capital of the detached shafts, in the case of the two southern responds, as isolated capitals, and springing the outer order of the arch from corbels carved as grotesque heads on either side of the capital. In the north arcade the capital is treated as a whole, the portion beneath the outer order being represented as if growing out of the central capital. The four isolated capitals are of great beauty. The two western ones



C. C. Hedges, photo.

CAPITALS OF COLUMNS, SEDGEMFIELD CHURCH.



C. C. Hodges, photo

CAPITALS OF COLUMNS, SETGEFIELD CHURCH

have conventional foliage only, the southern one being the richer of the two, but unfortunately its proximity to the south door has caused it to be considerably weathered away by the action of the draught from the open door. The design consists of trefoil-shaped leaves arranged in groups of fours all round the bells of the capitals, and underneath and between the leaves clusters of fruit. The opposite pillar has a much more boldly-designed capital, having two sprays of leaves to each cap instead of five in the other case. The two eastern capitals are still more elaborate, and contain birds and human heads and busts amongst the foliage. The plates illustrate the north-east capital, and show two opposite sides of it when viewed diagonally. The two laughing faces are on the south-western and look into the nave. The other view towards the aisle shows two dragons in combat, each bites the body of the other. On the north-western face are beautiful clusters of foliage and fruit and a bird pecking the leaves. The opposite capital to the south-eastern pillar has lacertine bird and animal forms devouring each other, amidst foliage a little more advanced towards natural forms than the others.

The other details of the original church that remain are soon enumerated. The old south doorway has wholly disappeared. It was no doubt of ornate character, but has been replaced by a perfectly plain one of later date. It is certain that there was no clerestory, and the only remaining window is one recently opened to the west of the south porch; this is a plain lancet. Opposite to it in the north aisle and close to the west end is the eastern jamb of another lancet of richer character, as it has a roll moulding and two quirks on the inner angle, which is all that can be seen of it. The north doorway still remains, though blocked up. It is of small size, with a roll moulding in the jambs and a chamfered inner order, moulded imposts and a segmental pointed arch into which the nail-head ornament is introduced.

That there was a tower of some kind at the west end of the original church is, I think, indicated by the fact that the lower part of the newel stair is of thirteenth century work. It was certainly of smaller dimensions than its successor and seems to have stood further to the west, clear of the line of the old west wall of the north aisle shown on the plan. Of the original chancel all that can be said is that it was of smaller dimensions than the present one.

We have now to consider the changes that were made in the plan of the church as time went on. The first of these was the addition of transepts, and the question naturally arises why were transepts wanted at all? They were not looked upon in the middle ages, as they are now, merely affording accommodation for a few dozen extra chairs and added to churches simply as architectural adjuncts without either rhyme or reason. They were there to supply a want which had arisen in the development of religion. A medieval catholic church was used in a very different manner from the modern protestant church in which services are only occasionally held and the church left vacant at other times. In the medieval church there were two kinds of worship, that by the priests and people together, which may be called the service for the living, and that by the priests alone in offering prayers and saying masses for the departed, which may be called the service for the dead. As places increased in wealth and importance and families of position become more firmly established the custom of founding chantries in churches became general. Although there were cases where more than one chantry was attached to an altar, it was usual on the foundation of a new chantry to provide an altar for it, and this necessitated space somewhere in the church for the accommodation of the altar. In a transeptless church the places for chantry altars were few. The high, or parish altar, was in the chancel; an altar could be placed at the east end of each aisle, and sometimes one was placed on either side of the rood screen door on the west side of the screen, and therefore within the nave. More than four altars could not easily be placed unless the aisles were taken up and screened off to form separate chapels. In a nave of only three bays in length this could not be done without great inconvenience, as one bay was required for the passage across the church between the north and south doors, and the east bay was taken up by the altars at the ends of the aisles. The only course was to throw out transepts, which could be divided from the nave by parclose screens, and subdivided into separate chapels, into which no one entered except the priests and the members of the family who had founded the chantry, and who often contributed the money expended on the fabric needed to accommodate the altar.

The prosperity of the town of Sedgfield in the thirteenth century is therefore indicated in the necessity which arose for extending the

parish church for the further accommodation of chantry altars. This was done by taking down the chancel arch and rebuilding it further east, transforming the eastern responds of the nave into compound piers with three attached, or detached shafts, as the case might be, carrying arches from these piers to the rebuilt chancel arch, and others at right angles to them, across the aisles to the junction of the west wall of the transepts with the aisle walls. The detail of this work shows that it was done about the year 1290, or about forty years after the church had been built. No windows of the time of the alteration remain, but the mouldings of the capitals, arches, and bands are of a very elaborate nature, and are good examples of mouldings of the geometrical period. There is no carving, the capitals being decorated with mouldings only. The arches spanning the east ends of the aisles and opening into the transepts are low segmental arches of somewhat ungainly form, and have chamfered inner orders, but have moulded outer orders and hoods towards the transepts. The transepts have late decorated windows. Each wing has two, of three lights each, in its eastern wall; there is a similar three-light window on the west side of the north transept, but none in the corresponding part of the south transept. The windows at either end are of the same design of five lights each. The date of these windows must be placed between the years 1340 and 1360 as the extreme limits. They cannot therefore have been executed when the transept arches were built. This is the chief difficulty in reading the architectural history of the church. A possible solution of it is that the transepts, as at first erected, were not so long as now, or, what seems more probable, that all the windows have been renewed since the walls were built. This is by no means hard to believe when we consider the very friable nature of the stone used in the earlier work, quite unfitted as it is for window tracery and mullions, which might well require renewal in a very few years. There may, however, be some other explanation of the difficulty, but without a search for old foundations beneath the floors it is one that cannot be satisfactorily solved. In the east wall of the south transept are two *piscinae* and an aumbry. There were formerly also two image brackets. These were cut away, and the *piscinae* and aumbries filled up and plastered over by order of the late rector of Sedgefield to make all smooth. The recesses have been reopened, but the image brackets cannot of course be recovered. A verbal description of them given to me seems to

show that they were of the date of the transept arches. The corresponding wall of the north transept is hidden by panelling but one aumbry can be seen. In the south wall under the window are two sepulchral recesses,¹⁴ these contain effigies, one a male the other a female. The former is so mutilated and decayed that its details are unrecognisable. That of the lady is in good condition. It shows the costume of the figure is of about the date of the windows. The head rests on two cushions crossed, it is wimpled and veiled, there is a loosely fitting robe and a cloak over the shoulders fastened in front by tasselled cords.

In front of this effigy is a brass with no inscription. It represents a kneeling female figure of diminutive size between two shields.¹⁵

We now come to the chancel. It is entered through a lofty arch of the date of the nave arcades, but taken down and reset when the transept arches were built. It is now of one order only, with a moulding of the same section as the outer order of the nave arches, and, like them, a hood with the dentelle ornament. The arch dies out into the jambs, which are quite plain and form a square angle with the east wall of the transept. It is clear, then, the chancel arch has lost its inner order. The condition of the soffit shows this distinctly. It seems that it was taken out when the seventeenth century screen was erected. It is not likely that it would be taken out when the arch was reset at the end of the thirteenth century, and as the screen completely fills the arch it could not stand under it if the inner order were in its place. This inner order was no doubt carried on detached shafts against the jambs, with carved capitals, like those to the responds in the nave. Over the arch are two large corbels which once supported the rood beam. What the original chancel was like we cannot know. The present one seems to be contemporary with the transept arches and part of the same extension. It is plastered and panelled inside, and the outside walls are also plastered over, the buttresses only showing their ashlar. It is therefore somewhat difficult to say what changes it has undergone. It is divided into three bays by two buttresses on each side. It has two angle buttresses at the eastern angles and a half buttress, cut off with a

¹⁴ The arches are, unfortunately, new, and the details of the piscina and aumbry are so slight and damaged that it is unsafe to infer much from them, but they seem to belong to the c. 1290 work, which goes to show that the transepts were not extended c. 1350, but only the windows renewed.

¹⁵ See *Arch. Ael.* vol. xv. p. 88.

sloping head, in the centre of the east wall under the window. The two pairs of angle buttresses have gabled heads, with a ridge moulding of trefoil section; the flanking buttresses have sloped heads with a plain roll moulding where they meet the walls. These details and the section of the string-course under the windows indicate a date corresponding with that of the transept arches. In the east bay on the south side is a small priest's door with plain chamfered jambs and heads. The side windows are of two lights and have bastard tracery; they date from the last century. The east window is a fine one of five lights with flowing tracery, designed on somewhat the same lines as the great west window of the nave of Durham cathedral, which was inserted under prior Fossour, *c.* 1350, and the east window at Houghton-le-Spring, though not so elaborate as either. It is clearly an insertion in an older wall, and is no doubt of the same date as the transept windows.

The next change made was at the west end. This was the building of a new tower on a grand scale. The older arrangements at the west end have already been alluded to, and it will be seen from the plan that the builders of the new tower destroyed the old west end and shortened the nave to the extent of seven and a half feet, and built the new west wall close up to the springing of the arches, by doing away with the long responds, which had been provided to take the thrust of the arcades. The great mass of the new tower provided sufficient abutment and rendered these unnecessary. We cannot help, however, regretting that this was done, as we have thereby lost all the details of the old west end.

The tower has been described as being 'by far the best and stateliest in the county.'¹⁶ It is of great size and height with thick walls and heavy diagonal buttresses. It rises in three stages, the walls being thinned at each stage by means of external set-offs. The lower stage is open to the church by a lofty pointed arch of two orders with hollow chamfers. The outer order dies into the jambs, the inner one is carried to the floor with no imposts or capitals to break the lines. In this stage is one window in the west wall which is a modern insertion, and is said not to resemble very closely the original one. The middle stage has small square-headed lights in each face.¹⁷ The third

¹⁶ Rev. J. F. Hodgson.

¹⁷ That on the east side is now hidden by the modern high roof.

stage is the belfry, and has a large window in each face. These were originally of two lights, subdivided into four in the heads. The tracery is now destroyed as are the mullions, and modern louvres are inserted. The heads of the tracery lights remain however, and show that they were finished with trefoil cusplings. The reveals of these windows are broad and deep casements which are carried round the arches quite plain. The arches are low elliptical ones. Above the belfry windows is a cornice, and then a battlemented parapet with broad merlons and high embrasures. The buttresses have five set-offs, and at the last one at the top they die into the angles of the tower by a long slope under the main cornice. From these slopes, and occupying the angles, are lofty octagonal turrets, which rise high above the battlements. These are finished with moulded cornices, battlements, and stone spirelets surmounted by iron vanes.

It is clear from the construction of this tower that it was intended to be crowned with a lantern on four flying arches like those at St. Nicholas's, Newcastle, St. Giles's, Edinburgh, and King's College chapel, Aberdeen. One of the bells bears the arms of Thornton and Rhodes, from which it has been inferred that this tower is due to a large extent to their munificence, which is by no means unlikely when we consider how closely it resembles in its outlines and details the work at the churches of St. Nicholas and All Saints in Newcastle with which the Rhodes and Thornton families were so intimately connected. The second Roger Thornton died in 1483,¹⁸ and it is not unlikely that it was in his time, or soon after, that this tower was erected, though the details show that it is much later than St. Nicholas's, Newcastle, and seem to carry it to the very end of the fifteenth, if not into the sixteenth, century.

To the same period as the tower belonged the clerestory of the nave. It is lamentable that one must speak in the past tense of this important feature. It was most foolishly destroyed in 1850, and a poorly constructed high pitched roof put up in place of the ancient one. One would have thought that a moment's reflection would have shown the destroyers how utterly absurd and illogical their action was. They thought that by destroying the clerestory, which was a late addition to the church, and putting up their poor modern roof, they were bringing back the church to its condition in the thirteenth

¹⁸ Boyle, *Vestiges of Old Newcastle*, p. 176.

century. The impossibility of doing this never occurred to them, and to make their position a logical one they should have also destroyed the tower and produced an imaginary copy of the thirteenth century west end. The result of the destruction is that the church is now in a worse condition than it ever was before. The nave is so dark that it has a disagreeably depressing effect from the continual gloom that reigns there. The builders of the tower knew that by removing the old west end with its windows they would rob the church of a great deal of necessary light. They therefore provided a clerestory to make up for what they took away. It is humiliating to think that what the wisdom of the fifteenth century provided the folly of the nineteenth century should destroy. The clerestory is shown in Billings's interior view of the church (plate xxxiv). It is there seen to have consisted of a range of three-light windows under obtusely pointed arches. At that time the nave retained its old plaster. This was also removed with the clerestory, leaving the rubble walls naked, as they were never intended to be seen, and robbing the interior of the benefit of the reflected light from their white surfaces. The period of the so-called 'Gothic Revival' was more truly a 'dark age' than any which had preceded it. The chancel and transepts still retain their plaster, and it is hoped that the man is not yet born who will venture to remove it and leave them in the condition of the nave.

Of the ancient furniture and fittings of the church there are no remains, but the chancel is stalled and panelled with oak and provided with an elaborate and handsome screen of the period of the 'Restoration.' This work was done under Dennis Granville, A.M., rector from 1667-1691, and a son-in-law of bishop Cosin, who carried out the furnishing of the choir of the cathedral, and that of Brancepeth church, which is similar, but inferior to the Sedgefield work. Mr. Hodgson thinks, and there seems no reason to doubt it, that all this work was executed by James Clements of Durham, who died in 1690.

There are now no remains of ancient stained glass, but there formerly existed some pieces in the windows of the south transept, on one of these was a portion of an inscription in black letter characters—
de Henlee Rector eccles. fecit . . . fenestram.

Below this was a fleur-de-lys and other ornaments. In another window of the south transept was 'a head with a coronet.'¹⁹ John de

¹⁹ Hutchinson's *Durham*.

Henlee was rector from 1361 to 1380, and in 1379 founded the chantry of St. Catherine in the north porch (transept). The other chantries mentioned were St. Thomas's in the south transept and St. Mary's.

The font is of the time of the Rev. Theophilus Pickering, S.T.P., who was rector from 1705 to 1711. It is evidently a copy in marble of one of the same period as the tower, for it resembles in form those at St. Nicholas's and St. John's in Newcastle, and other places in the district. The details are of Pickering's day, and his arms occur on one of the eight shields which adorn the bowl along with those of his contemporaries and others of a much earlier date, such as Thornton, Greystock, and Hoton, evidently taken from the older font.²⁰ Doctor Pickering also gave the organ, which was the work of Father Schmidt. He also provided the sixth bell, but as he did not leave money enough to pay for it, it was returned to the founders at York.²¹

Sedgefield church is not rich in monuments. The earliest, and one of the most interesting, is the matrix of the brass lying in the floor of the chancel, of the first master of Greatham hospital, Andrew de Stanley, who was appointed in 1271, and died before 1300. It is shown on one of the accompanying plates. The two effigies in the south transept have been mentioned already.

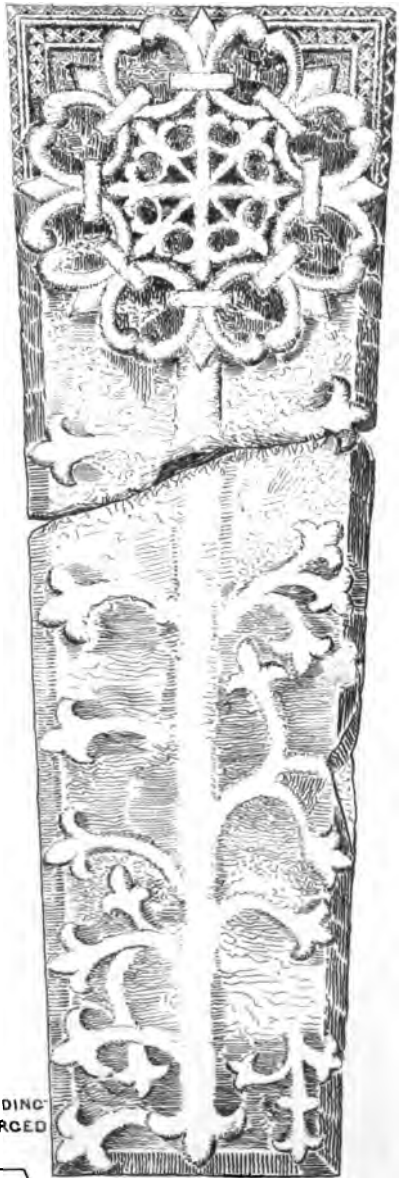
There are a number of brasses; two are in their stones still. That of a lady in the south transept was only found in 1876, when that part of the church underwent repair and alteration. The Hoton brass is under the gallery in the north transept. Two shrouded figures of the *memento mori* kind, and some inscriptions are detached. Two of those have been lost since Surtees wrote, but are said to be in private hands in Sedgefield.²² Some modern brasses and other monuments given in Surtees have also been destroyed at subsequent renovations.

The north transept was filled with a gallery about 1754, when John Burdon, esquire, built Hardwick hall. The gallery has a handsome front adorned with the arms of Burdon. Beneath it is the vestry, which is panelled with old oak wainscot, and contains some ancient furniture.

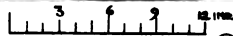
The plate and bells have already been fully described in the *Proceedings*.²³

²⁰ All the coats are given in Boyle's *Guide to Durham*, p. 642. ²¹ Randal.

²² The Sedgefield brasses have been described and illustrated in this series already, vol. xv. p. 87. ²³ Vol. iii. p. 424.



MOULDING ENLARGED



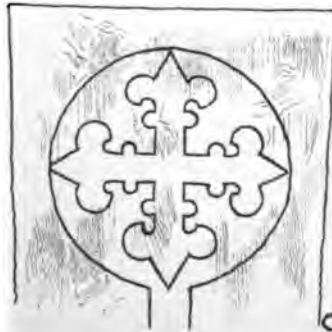
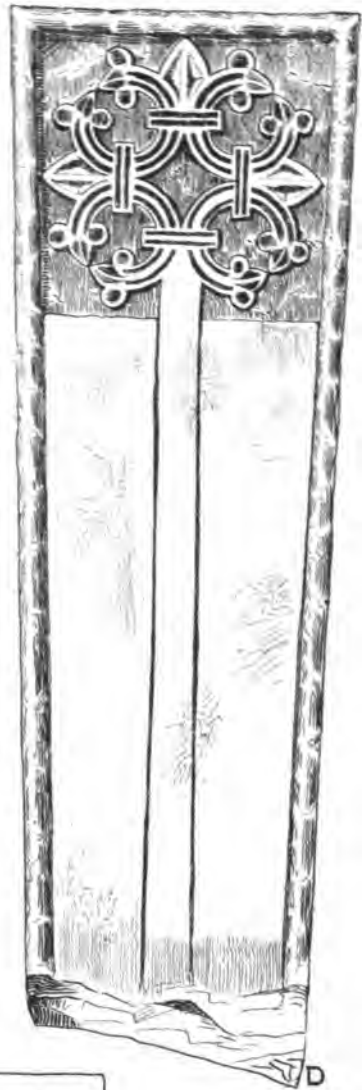
SCALE



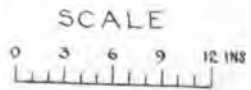
SEDFIELD CHURCH,
GRAVE - COVERS.



WALL LINE, BUILT IN.



A. B. C. ARE IN THE
TOWER SEDCEFIELD.
D. IS AT EMBLETON IN
SEDCEFIELD PARISH.



SEDCEFIELD CHURCH,
GRAVE - COVERS.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE XXXII.—VIEW OF THE EXTERIOR FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

This is a photo-lithographic reduction of Billings's engraving in *The Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham*. It shows the tower with the belfry windows robbed of their tracery, the low-pitched roof over the nave, and the head of one of the clerestory windows. The left hand window in the north transept had formerly tracery the same as the other, as shown by the 'mullion seats' on the sill. This was removed and the single mullion substituted sometime in the last century when the side windows of the chancel were put in.

PLATE XXXIII.—GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH.

This plan has been specially measured and drawn and corrected to date. It is shaded to show the dates of the different parts of the church. The foundations of the old west end of the north aisle were uncovered by Mr. Giles, of Sedgfield, in 1884. Similar foundations remain in part at the west end of the south aisle. There are two steps down from the nave to the transepts. The transepts and chancel are practically on the same level, except for a slight step of quite recent date, made when the chancel floor was laid with tiles. It is very unusual to find a chancel at a lower level than a nave, and as the site of Sedgfield church is practically level, an explanation of it here is difficult.

The jamb of the original window in the north aisle was found by Mr. Giles. It is difficult of access, as it is blocked by the organ which stands in the aisle. The female effigy and the brass in the south transept were concealed by pews and unknown till 1876. The two effigies may be taken to commemorate a man and his wife who were the chief means of the erection of this part of the church, as the wall beneath the window is thickened to contain the recesses. These recesses would be provided when the wall was built and the effigies added some time afterwards, as was often done. The fact of the costume being later in character than the date assigned to the transepts does not therefore militate against the above supposition.

The centre buttress under the east window seems to have been cut down when the present window was inserted. The font has been moved more than once in modern times.

PLATE XXXIV.—INTERIOR OF THE NAVE, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST.

This is also a reduction of one of Billings's plates. It shows the nave void of seats, and the details of the arcades, which are well drawn. In the foreground is an ancient almsbox, now gone. The lid is shown raised, and the box is seen to be hollowed out of a long piece of wood which was let into the floor. The clerestory windows are clearly seen. The two-light window in the south transept shows that these windows were altered like the one already alluded to in the north transept. In the distance are seen the Carolinian screen and panelling of the chancel, the chancel roof, and one of the two corbels above the chancel arch.

PLATE XXXV.—CARVED CAPITAL IN THE NAVE.

This is a view from the south-west of the capital seen on the extreme right of Plate XXXIV. It shows two well-cut heads, into which a good deal of humour is thrown. The woman's large square brooch is interesting. The carving is in excellent preservation, and the foliage is full of power and spirit.

PLATE XXXVI.—CARVED CAPITAL IN THE NAVE.

This shows the same capital from the north-east. Two long-necked dragons with feathered wings and bird's claws are biting each other, surrounded by foliage carved with extreme vigour.

PLATE XXXVII.—GRAVE-COVERS.

The left hand figure shows the grave-cover of Andrew Stanley in the floor of the chancel. It is really the matrix of a brass, with which metal the hollows and letters were filled. The Holy Lamb is seen bearing an exceedingly long floriated cross, representing perhaps a processional cross. It is not clear what object filled the hollow just below the head of the cross. A chalice was shown lying on the stem. The inscription is in old French.

The right hand figure shows what was, when perfect, a very beautiful grave-cover. It is very much weathered, and lies under a holly bush near the south wall of the chancel. Its date is about that of the nave, and it has the rare feature of a double row of dog-tooth ornament in the head. The double eight-rayed cross resembles some of the best examples at Gainford, Barnard Castle, and other places. It is, however, the only one in the county which has the whole surface of the stone ornamented with twining stems and foliage, in which respect it ranks amongst the best examples known, such as that of Gundrada, countess of Warren, at Lewes, and that of the princess Joanna, wife of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, at Margam, the grand one at Corwen, and a few others.

PLATE XXXVIII.—GRAVE-COVERS.

These are all in the tower. The richly ornamented one to the left of the plate was found by the writer within the past ten years buried under a mass of rubbish and used as a covering stone to the top of the staircase to the belfry, where it is out of sight, except from the top of the bell carriages. It dates from near the middle of the fourteenth century, when foliated ornament was shown in the most naturalistic manner. The cross moline on a shield, which again lies on a circular shield or plate, is of great interest. This charge was borne by the Fulthorps, who held land in the parish, and were buried at Grindon, where is a slab with a cross moline. It also appears as the arms of bishop Bek, and may be seen in stained glass in Howden collegiate church. Grave-covers of this elaborate character are very rare. An example with oak leaves and of similar design has recently been found at Redmarshall. At Corsenside, in Northumberland, is one in an advanced state of decay with fine natural foliage. The other two grave-covers on this plate are also in the tower.



Initial letter and arms on bell, Sedgfield church: Thornton (1) and Rodes (2).

XXV.—THE GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE.

BY J. R. BOYLE, F.S.A.

[Read on the 28th day of September, 1887.]

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE materials for a history of the goldsmiths of Newcastle-upon-Tyne are neither few nor difficult of access. Hitherto the only notice of them or their works of the slightest value is that given by Mr. Cripps in his *Old English Plate*. The increased attention which has of late been paid to church and other plate in the North of England renders the fullest information attainable about its makers desirable.

The records of the Plumbers' Company, with which the goldsmiths were incorporated till 1702, and associated, except during a few years, till 1716, commence in 1598, and are complete to the present time. The minute books of the goldsmiths commence with their independent incorporation in 1702, and are also complete to the present time. Their first assay book, however, begins in 1747, and ends in 1755. The next book which has been preserved begins in 1761, but from this date the series is complete down to the close of the office. Almost their most precious record, however, is the circular copper plate on which from shortly after 1702 the punches of the makers, whose plate was assayed at Newcastle were impressed. On this plate there are 287 different marks, most of which can be identified; the remainder can only be explained by the discovery of documents which are not now known to exist.

Hereafter this paper should be followed by a catalogue of plate assayed at Newcastle. I should rejoice to see such a list prepared either by my own hand or that of another. Something has already been done in describing and engraving the church plate of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and, in time, our *Proceedings* will contain lists of the whole. But with domestic plate scarcely

anything has been done. There are many collections of old plate in our northern counties, and if the owners of these would generously permit them to be examined, a catalogue would gradually be formed. Should these remarks come under the notice of any collector or inheritor of plate who possesses even a single piece bearing the Newcastle marks of one or three castles, I shall be obliged if he will inform the editor of the fact, and say whether he is willing to allow his treasure to be examined with a view to its being described in the projected catalogue.

I have to thank the stewards of the Plumbers' and Goldsmiths' Companies for the unrestricted access to their archives which they have afforded me, and I have especially to thank Mr. W. J. Cripps, C.B., of Cirencester, for much valuable help and information.

HISTORY OF THE COMPANY.

The earliest allusion to goldsmiths in Newcastle occurs in an injunction issued by Henry III. in the 33rd year of his reign, in which he commands the bailiffs and men of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that in full town-court they shall choose (by the oath of four and twenty good men), four persons of the most trusty and prudent of their town, for the office of moneyers in that town, and other four like persons for the keeping of the king's mints there, *and two fit and prudent goldsmiths to be assayers of the money to be made there*, and one fit and trusty clerk for the keeping of the exchange; and to send them to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to do there what by ancient custom and assize was to be done in that case.

In 1423 (2 Hen. VI. cap. 13) an act was passed fixing the standard of wrought silver, and a second act requiring all such silver made within the city of London to be assayed, 'and touched with the touch of the Leopard's head, if it may reasonably bear the same touch, and also with the mark or sign of the workman of the same.' In this act we have the following clause:—

'And also it is likewise ordained in the city of York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, Salisbury, and Coventry, that every one shall have divers touches, according to the ordinance of the mayors, bailiffs, or governors of the same towns.'

After this we have no reference to the goldsmiths of Newcastle till 1536. In that year they were incorporated together with freemen of other trades as a company of goldsmiths, plumbers, glaziers, pewterers, and painters. The original charter of incorporation, or 'ordinary' as it is usually styled, granted by the mayor, sheriff, and aldermen of Newcastle, still exists amongst the archives of the Plumbers' Company. It requires the brethren of the company 'yerly from hensforth amyably on the ffest and day of corpus Christi loovyngly [to] goo togedders in p'cession All in a leverey,' and 'maytaygne ther play of the thre kyngs of coleyn.' The company was to be governed by four wardens, viz., a goldsmith, a plumber, a glazier, and a pewterer or painter. No brother was to follow any trade except that to which he was apprenticed, on pain of a penalty of 3s. 4d. Any brother taking 'a Scots man borne in Scotland' as apprentice or workman was to be fined 40s., half of which went to the company, and the other half to 'the upholding the works of tyne Bridge.' Every apprentice on attaining his freedom was to pay 6s. 8d., 'and a pott of ale w^t thappurtenances.' If any brother defamed another by calling him 'a Scott, a morderer, a thefe,' and 'at sise or sessions was ffounde culpable' he was to be expelled from the company, and not received again till 'such tyme that he be clerely & duely purged & acquitted by dew order of the law.' If any members of the company at any meeting should 'by lye one an other, chyde or bralle with any malycias or slanderus words or draw a knyf or dagger or any other wapen in any malice' the brother so offending was required to pay a fine of 3s. 4d. The first stewards of the company were appointed by the charter itself, and were Thomas Cramer, goldsmith; John Chekyn, pewterer; Richard Bradforth, plumber; and Henry Cooke, glazier and painter.

Attached to this deed were nineteen seals, but except two fragments, on neither of which can any impression be discerned, all are destroyed. The names of the original members of the company are arranged in five columns at the foot of the charter. The first column is headed 'goldesmythes,' the second 'plumerz,' the third 'pewterers,' the fourth 'glaciers,' and the fifth 'paynterz.' Subsequently an additional column of names has been introduced between the glaziers and the painters. headed 'poticaries.' The names of the original members, apparently

twenty-one in number, are all written by one hand. Other members, on attaining their freedom, usually signed their names on the same document, though many only made their marks, and sometimes three or four names are found together again in one hand. Of the original members of the company five were goldsmiths, viz., Thomas Cramer, James Chawbre, Geoffrey Hall, Humphrey Coyll, and Nicholas Cramer. The trade of the goldsmith evidently flourished in Newcastle in the days of Henry the Eighth. From 1536 to 1650 only thirteen goldsmiths appear to have been admitted to the company. They were Valentine Baker, James Austold, Nicholas Brutte, John Harper, John Cramer, Francis Sose, Anthony Sympson, William Seaton, John Sympsoun, Oswald Carr, John Baker, James Wylson, and John Baynes. At the very bottom of the charter we have the almost obliterated signature of William Ramsey, certainly enough identifiable by the long tail of his R.

The hundred and twenty years of constant reference and hard usage which the original charter had suffered when William Ramsey took up his freedom in 1656, had impaired its legibility. About that time a transcript was made, wherein I find, on comparison with the original, blunders innumerable, not only in the text of the document, but in the names which are appended to it. I have been obliged, however, to adopt the readings of this transcript in those places where the original is either illegible or entirely worn away. Two other transcripts have since been made; one in the last century and the other a few years ago. The second transcript is far worse than the first, and the last is the worst of all. The goldsmiths who joined the company from 1656 to 1697 signed the first transcript. The column headed 'Gold-Smiths,' after a transcript of the names appended to the original bears the signatures of William Ramsey, John Wilkinson, William Robinson, John Dowthwaite, John Norris, Francis Batty, Albany Dodson, Eli Bilton, Francis Anderson, Cuthbert Ramsay, William Ramsay (junior), Abraham Hamer, Robert Shrive, and Thomas Hewitson. The last named attained his freedom in 1697.

One of these persons, Francis Anderson, was not a goldsmith, but a confectioner. In 1685 he addressed a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle setting forth that his grandfather, Henry

Anderson, was a free merchant of Newcastle, and that his father, Francis Anderson, then of Howdon Pans, had taken his freedom of the town, but not of the Merchants' Company, and praying that 'he might be admitted to his freedom in some society or other, and that he might take apprentices for management of his calling and employment of a confectioner.' Accordingly at a meeting of the Common Council held, 31st March, 1685, it was ordered 'that the said Francis Anderson have free liberty to admitt himself into what fellow^{pp} he thinks Convenient, either the Upholsterers, Tinsplateworkers and Stationers; or the Goldsmiths, Plumbers, and Glaziers, or what other society shall seem most meet.' On the 15th April, in the same year, he was admitted into the Goldsmiths' and Plumbers' Company 'as a Goldsmith,' and was required to enter bond that 'neither he nor any of his servants shall exercise any of the trades of this Company, but exercise the trade or art of a Confectioner only.'

In 1598 the company consisted, apparently of only 14 members, of whom three were goldsmiths, viz., Anthony Sympon, James Wilson, and John Baynes. On the 19th June, 1599, Baynes paid 40s. to the company for some 'agreementt' which 'shold have ben thre pound,' but 20s. were generously 'remitted for his wyffe.' On the 17th August in the same year he took one Thomas Royd, son of Thomas Royd, 'mylliner,' as apprentice; and on the 3rd February, 1599-1600, he took as apprentice one John Nicholson, son of George Nicholson. After this date I find no further reference to Baynes or his apprentices; but in 1613 occurs a list of 'names of bretheren,' then twenty in number, amongst whom is not a single goldsmith. Indeed, it is presumable that four years before that time the goldsmith's art had ceased to be practised in Newcastle, for on the 13th December, 1609, certain orders were adopted, which are signed in the minute book by 17 brethren, not one of whom was a goldsmith. From this time till the year 1656, in which William Ramsay joined the company, the society had no goldsmith amongst its members. There is indeed one person, William Robinson, described as a 'Goulsmith, late of Newcastle, deceased,' in the enrolment of his son's apprenticeship (20th Aug., 1657), and once elsewhere as an 'imbroduer,' who doubtless was a manufacturer of the gold and silver lace,

then so largely employed as an item of costume. This elder William Robinson's occupation led to the description of the company in one of their orders (11th June, 1623) as 'the whole Companye and fellowshipe of goldsmyths, plumers, pewterers, pannters and imbroduers.'

In 1620 the Mayor (Sir Peter Riddell) granted the Morden Tower to the Plumbers' Company for 'a meattinge hall.' The record of this grant is given in the Plumbers' books.

One of the privileges conferred upon the society by its charter is that of making 'reasonabell and gud orders ffor the coen welth of the hole ffeloshypp,' a right of which they have availed themselves most liberally. The 'orders' or regulations enacted by the Plumbers' Company before the final separation of the goldsmiths are amongst the papers, as are also later repetitions of these orders, in which only verbal changes are made. These documents, lengthy as they are, give a complete view of the interior life and history of one of the incorporated companies of Newcastle. A history of all the fraternities of our ancient borough will I trust be written hereafter by some one, and if my extracts serve to show how interesting is the material for such a work I shall not regret their length.

Ramsey's accession to the company was followed two years later by that of John Wilkinson. From this time to the end of the century the art of the goldsmith flourished in Newcastle. In 1698, however, an act was passed which fixed a new and higher standard for the manufacture of plate, and at the same time gave to the Goldsmiths' Company of London the sole right of assaying. This was a great hardship and inconvenience to all manufacturers in the provinces, who were compelled to undergo the risk, expense, and delay of sending their plate to London to be assayed. The goldsmiths of Exeter, Chester, and Norwich petitioned parliament to reestablish their assay offices, and in 1700 an act was passed establishing assays at York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich, but making no mention of Newcastle. The reason why Newcastle was not included in this act was probably because it was not one of the places wherein the mints had been established for recoining the silver money of the realm. On the 9th February, 1701-2, a petition was presented

to the House of Commons from Francis Batty and other goldsmiths in Newcastle, supported by another petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, and Common Council. The petitioners state the inconvenience they suffer in being compelled to send their plate to York to be assayed, whereby, they say, they are in 'danger of losing the greatest part of their trade, which chiefly consists of plate bespoke to be wrought up in a short time, and they cannot have it returned from York in less than a fortnight's time.' In consequence of these petitions a bill was prepared and passed, and received the royal assent on 30th March, 1702, reestablishing the assay office at Newcastle. This act sets forth that 'whereas in the town of Newcastle upon Tyne there is, and time out of mind hath been, an ancient company of goldsmiths, which, with their families, are like to be ruined' by the operation of the previous act, and their trade 'utterly lost in the said town; and whereas by the statute of the second of Henry the sixth, the town of Newcastle upon Tyne is one of the places appointed to have touches for wrought silver plate,' it was enacted that the town of Newcastle be appointed for the assaying and marking of wrought plate, to execute all 'the powers, authorities, and directions' conferred upon other towns and cities by the previous act, 'as fully and amply to all intents, constructions, and purposes as if the said town had been expressly named in the said act.' The same act provides that the goldsmiths, silversmiths, and platerworkers who have served apprenticeships to these trades and are freemen of Newcastle shall be incorporated, and known as the Company of Goldsmiths of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The act further provides for the election of two wardens annually, for the appointment of an assay master, and states the marks which were to be impressed upon all plate assayed here.

The marks required at this time were, first, the maker's mark, which consisted of the first two letters of his surname; second, the lion's head erased; third, 'the figure of a woman commonly called Britannia;' fourth, the arms of the city or town where the plate was assayed; and, lastly, a variable letter or mark to denote the year in which the assay was made.

It was during the interval between the suppression and reestablishment of the Newcastle assay that Morden Tower was partly

rebuilt. The more modern part of the structure is of brick. Bourne, however, describes it as 'a beautiful hall.' The total cost of the new portion was £98 3s. 11d., of which £20 10s. was raised by 41 of the members subscribing '10s. a man.' Amongst the subscribers are the following goldsmiths :—Francis Batty, Wm. Ramsay, jun., Thomas Hewitson, Eli Bilton, Robert Shrive, John Ramsay, Richard Hobbs, Thomas Leightley, Thomas Armstrong, and Roger West. The balance was raised by loan, which, however, was soon repaid out of the many fines which were being constantly imposed.

Although the Act of Parliament constituted the goldsmiths of Newcastle an independent corporation, they continued in association with the plumbers, pewterers, painters, and glaziers, with the exception of an interval from 1707 to 1711, till 1716, when they finally separated themselves. It must, however, be stated that during considerable portions of this period they held meetings independently of the rest of the company, formulated their own regulations, and kept their own minute books, which are perfectly complete from the establishment of the company in 1702 to the present time.

The cost of procuring the Act of Parliament amounted to £69 14s. 9d., of which £30 was paid by the Plumbers' Company, £2 10s. by a silversmith who gave up business about the time of the passing of the act, and £37 5s. in five subscriptions of £7 9s. each by silversmiths then in business. The £30 contributed by the old society was raised by a loan of £20 from Richard Heppell, butcher, and by two fines of £5 each, one received from Eli Bilton and the other from John Ramsey.

Although the charter of 1536 requires the appointment of four wardens of the Plumbers' Company, one of whom was to be a goldsmith, no goldsmith was appointed during a very considerable period. The first list of wardens appointed occurs in the year 1599, when four were elected, of whom 'John baynes' was one. The next list occurs in 1610, when only two were appointed; and though the usual practice was to elect three, after this date a goldsmith was not elected during the 17th century.

From 1702 till 1707, however, a goldsmith was regularly chosen one of the wardens of the old company. From June, 1707, till the

end of 1711 the goldsmiths held themselves aloof from the plumbers, but on the 6th December, 1711, they were re-admitted by a resolution of the latter body. There was one member to whom this re-admission involved a hardship. This was Francis Batty the younger, who was admitted to the freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company on the 29th November, 1708, and paid £4 for his freelege. When, however, three years later, the goldsmiths rejoined the plumbers, the latter would not recognize Batty's already acquired freedom, but demanded that he should take it up afresh amongst them. This cost him £4 15s. 9d. This, however, was not all. On 1st Sept., 1714, Batty took one 'Michael Jenkins, son of Henry Jenkins,' as apprentice. But no brother was allowed to take an apprentice till he had been three years free of the company. Batty had been nearly six years free of the goldsmiths, and wanted but three months to complete his three years amongst the plumbers. They, however, imposed their fine of £5, which he at first promised to pay, but deferred doing so from time to time, until, on the 6th Jan., 1715-16, the company ordered 'y^t the Stewards wth such other of the Company as they shall think fitt to call to their assistance do wth the Clerke of the Company attending them waite upon the Record^r John Cuthberts esq^r for his advice therein and do att the Companys charge take such immediate course for recovering of and compelling the s^d ffran: Batty to pay the same as shall be thought most adviseable.' On the 26th March the company commuted the penalty to £4, which Batty paid. The goldsmiths felt aggrieved, and not without reason. So availing themselves of the rights conferred upon them by their Act of Parliament, they left the plumbers finally. They thought, however, that they were still entitled to meet in the Morden Tower, and on the 9th September, 1717, they entered the following minute upon their records:—

'This day the p^rsent wardens were ordered to make a demand of the Stewards of the Plumbers & Glaziers company to make use of the Hall formerly built att the charge of the Goldsmiths in conjuncon wth the s^d trades, & a demand was accordingly made by M^r Shaw of Jacob Watson, & the same was p^posed to the s^d company, but they refused to suffer the Hall to be made use of unless this Company would joyn wth them as formerly.'

The plumbers seem to have submitted the case to the then recorder of Newcastle, and (8th November, 1717) 'upon reading and puseing the Record^{rs} opinion, Its ordered that the Goldsmiths shall not have any liberty or be pmitted to meet or assemble in the hall of this company.' 'The recorder's opinion' is amongst the loose papers of the Plumbers' Company,

From this time to the present the goldsmiths have gone on the even tenor of their way, with no more exciting event in their history than an occasional parliamentary enquiry which threatened the extinction of their assay.

In the early part of 1773 the goldsmiths of Sheffield and Birmingham petitioned parliament for the establishment of assay offices in their respective towns. This raised opposition from the Goldsmiths' Company of London, who suggested that great irregularities, if not frauds, were practised at the provincial halls. The Newcastle Company appealed to their representatives, Sir W. Blackett and M. Ridley, to watch and protect their interests. The replies of both members are preserved amongst the company's archives. Sir W. Blackett says :—'The gout hath prevented me from attending the house for the last six days, and I fear I may be prevented for very many more days ; but upon consultation with M^r Ridley we cannot apprehend that the petitions from Birmingham & Sheffield . . . can possibly be productive of an attack upon the assay office at Newcastle ; . . . but however it may happen, the Goldsmith's company of Newcastle may depend upon all the assistance in Mr. Ridley's power and mine, . . . not only on account of their own honour and interest, but the interest and convenience of the public in that part of the kingdom.' Mr. Ridley states that a separate committee had been appointed to enquire into the alleged malpractices of provincial offices, and suggests that 'perhaps the London Gent^{rs} may attempt to take away those assay offices already established.' He adds that a messenger from the House of Commons will be sent to Newcastle to serve the assay master, 'who I understand is Matt. Prior,' with a notice to attend the committee on the 22nd March. The committee ordered a return from each assay office giving the number and names of the members of its company, the names and trade of the wardens

and assessor, an account when and before whom the assayer had been sworn, the names and places of abode of all persons who sent plate to be assayed, and the weight of all gold and silver plate assayed and marked during the past seven years, and of that which had been broken and defaced.

Matthew Prior posted to London, and was examined by the committee on the 22nd March. The same day Ridley wrote Messrs. Langlands and Kirkup, giving an account of Prior's examination. I cannot resist the temptation to print his letter.

'Burlington Street, March 22^d 1773.

'Sirs,

'I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that this day we got through Mr Prior's examination, wherein he acquitted himself with great precision & judgement, and the Committee came to a Resolution, "That the Assay office at Newcastle upon Tyne had been conducted with Fidelity & Skill." Mr Prior was discharged from farther attendance, & will set forward on his return to Newcastle next Wednesday. I am very happy that we have got this matter well over, notwithstanding the most violent opposition of the Goldsmiths of London.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed^t servant,

M. RIDLEY.'

Mr. John Langlands

&

Mr. John Kirkup.'

Whilst before the committee Prior was asked if he knew whether his scales were good ones, and professed his conviction that they were remarkably true. 'What would cast them?' asked one of the committee. 'Why, sir, they would be cast by one of the hairs from the back of my hand,' was Prior's reply. The total cost of his journey was £17 2s., which was defrayed by the company. The following are the items as given in the year's accounts :—

To Cash paid for taking y ^e Fly Coach for London	...	£3	9	0	
To Do. to bear his [Prior's] Expences	...	...	10	10	0
To Do. more in London	...	...	3	3	0

So well satisfied, however, was the company with the result that they gave Prior an additional five guineas 'for his trouble in going to London on y^e Assay office business.'

Before 1785 gold had not been assayed at Newcastle, at least in the 18th century, and probably not at all. The company, however,

then determined to undertake the assaying of gold plate, and Mr. Fendall Rushforth, one of the assayers at Goldsmiths' Hall, London, procured and sent to Mr. Robertson, of the firm of Langlands and Robertson, the necessary implements. These cost £13 ls., and were sent to Newcastle by ship. The company manifested its gratitude by sending Mr. Rushforth a salmon which cost 7s. 6d., and the carriage of which to London cost 6s. The first gold plate was assayed for John Mitchison, of the Side, on the 11th March, 1785.

In 1844 an attempt was made by the Goldsmiths' Company of London to acquire a certain jurisdiction over all provincial offices. To effect this a bill was introduced into Parliament, one of the clauses of which gave the London company the right to sue the wardens and assayers of provincial halls whenever evidence should be produced that gold or silver below the standard had been passed by such wardens and assayers. This led to an extensive correspondence between the secretary of the Goldsmiths' Company at Newcastle (Mr. F. Sanderson) and Mr. W. Ord, then one of the representatives of Newcastle. Mr. Ord conducted the goldsmiths' case with energy and tact, and the result of his efforts was that the objectionable clause was so amended as to place all companies upon the same footing, and give provincial offices a right to sue the wardens and assayers of the London company itself, should they offend against the provisions of the act.

On the 10th March, 1848, the House of Commons ordered a return from all the assay offices in the kingdom of the amount of gold and silver stamped, and the amount of duty paid, during each of the preceding five years.

In 1854-5-6, another attempt was made to abolish some of the provincial assay offices, that of Newcastle amongst the rest. The effort originated with the London Goldsmiths' Company. On the 22nd June, 1855, the House of Commons ordered a return of certain papers, amongst which were a report of the Inspector-General of Stamps and Taxes on the assaying and marking of plate at Newcastle and other places, and a report on the same subject by Messrs. Garrard and Johnson, wardens of the London company. These reports are historic and afford data with which we cannot dispense. At the same time it is only fair that I should say that a mass of documents

which I have carefully examined convince me that the accusations and insinuations against the practices of the Newcastle office were entirely without foundation. I am strongly tempted to reproduce two articles on the subject which appeared at the time in the columns of the *Gateshead Observer*, and were written by our respected friend Mr. Clephan, but considerations of space deter me.

The business of the Newcastle office gradually declined. In 1853 the quantity of silver assayed here was 9,644 oz. In 1863 only 4,394 oz. were assayed. In 1873 the silver assay had decreased to 1,982 oz., whilst in 1883, the last complete year in which the office was open, it had fallen to 316 oz. At the annual meeting of the company in 1884 it was resolved to discontinue the Newcastle assay. On the 20th May in that year the stamps and dies, 21 in number, were delivered to Mr. Alfred Sheriff, the collector of Inland Revenue, and on the 18th June, the local dies, 11 in number, were effaced in the presence of Mr. Sheriff, Mr. James W. Wakinshaw and Mr. Thomas Arthur Reed, the wardens in 1883, and Mr. James Robson, the last assay master. The tenancy of the room in Dean Court, for which the company paid Messrs. Mather & Armstrong a rental of £11 per annum, terminated on the 1st May, 1885, since when the company has held its meetings at the Salutation Hotel, High Bridge. The last assay of silver was made of 30 teaspoons on the 22nd April, 1884, and the last assay of gold of 30 rings on the 2nd May. In both cases the property assayed belonged to Mr. R. M. Craig. The following inventory of the furniture of the assay office at the time of its close is entered in the company's minute book :

‘ 2 Tables.	1 Pair of Scales in glass case.
2 Arm chairs.	1 Furness gas.
12 Small chairs.	1 Furness charcoal.
1 Iron safe.	1 Screw stamping press.’

All these things were sold. There are now no relics of the Newcastle assay office except the books and papers, the round copper plate of makers' marks, a square plate on which, from 1864 to 1884 (when the office was closed), the date letter was impressed, and two old oaken boxes, in one of which the diet was formerly kept. These are now in the possession of the Society.

From the time of the separation of the goldsmiths from the plumbers in 1716 the annual meeting of the former has been regularly held on the 3rd May, except when that day has fallen on Saturday or Sunday, and then the meeting has been held on the Monday following. These head meeting days in the prosperous times of the company were occasions of great festivity. On the 3rd May, 1787, just a hundred years ago, the company dined together at the Black Boy in the Groat Market, then kept by Richard Swarley. Five members were present. The following is the innkeeper's bill :

' Goldsmiths Company, Dr. to Rich^d Swarley.

1787 May 3 ^d	To Dinners	...	...	...	£1 14 0
	Beer	...	...	...	0 4 0
	Wine	...	...	...	1 18 9
	Brandy	...	...	...	0 1 2
	Negus	...	...	...	1 13 0
	Punch	...	...	...	1 16 0
	Waiter	...	...	...	0 2 6
					£7 9 5'

That is, £1 9s. 10½d. for each member's dinner 'with the appurtenances,' as the old charter has it. In 1845 matters had somewhat improved, or deteriorated, just as you please. The cost per head on that day, when nine members of the company dined at the George, was only 15s. 10d.

At one of these dinners, that namely held in 1844, when a bill was before Parliament for the abolition of provincial assay offices, a song, composed for the occasion, was rendered by one of the company, to the tune of 'The Fine Old English Gentleman.' It is the only poetic effort preserved amongst the company's archives, and is by no means of a high order. I venture, however, to quote a few lines.

'The Goldsmiths of London they make a great fuss
On a bill that the nations about to discuss

Unlike the ancient goldsmiths all of the olden time.

Now with us in the north, we don't care a groat
We've always been just both in deed and in thought,

Like the good old English goldsmiths all of the olden time.
Our assayer you well know is a right trusty soul,
Tho' he winks at th' lasses' whilst he drinks off his bowl,
What a pity they do say that single he should stay
When many a bonny girl would make happy his day.

Oh ! why remain old bachelor all to the end of time ?

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE COMPANY OF
GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, MADE BY THE
EDITOR.

On fly leaf :

recto

THIS
BOOK BELONGS TO THE COMPANY
OF GOLDSMITHS.

verso

[Tho^s Hewison] mort
Richard Hobbs mort
Jona^s french mort
[John Younghusband] mort
[francis Batty] mort
Mark Grey Nicholson mort
James Kirkupp mort
Nathaniell Shaw mort
[Tho^s Gamull] mort
John Carnaby mort
Robert Makepeace mort
William Whitefield 2^d mort
W^m Dalton mort
Geo Bulman mort
Isaac Cookson mor
Thomas Makepeace mort
Edw^d Gill mort
M Anderson

(The names in square brackets are struck out.)

Att a meeting June 24th 1702 :

Wee whose names are hereunder written being the Company of Gold Smiths in the Town of Newcastle upon Tine Have Elected and Chosen M^r francis Batty to be our Afsay Master M^r Robert Shrives and M^r Thomas Armitrong Wardens of the fd Company for this Yeare ending June the Twenty fourth day one thousand feaven hundred and three w^{ch} said day is agreed on to be the Annuall or Yearly day to Elect afsay Mast^r and Wardens for the Use and Service of the said Company

March 25 1712
this order made
void; an essay
master &
Wardens to be
chose in head
meeting day as
formerly in
Plumbers Com-
pany whereof
wee were & to
wch we are
again united
Essay Mastr

Francis Batty
Eli: Bilton
Robt Shrivs
Richard Hobbs
Tho: Slightly
Alexander Campbell

Att a Meeting Octob. 27th 1702.

Confirmed and
to be inserted in
Company's book
with such addi-
tions or altera-
tions as shall be
thought expedi-
ent & reasonable

Assay master to
attend weekly

6d p. lib. allowed
him

6d private essay

4 Graines to
defray

to instruct
another free
Broer.

Wee the Company of Gold Smiths in the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tine doe hereby nominate and appointe that on the Tewesday and fryday in every Week our assay Master Shall attend and waite att the place appointed by the Said Company from Nine of the Clock in the florenoon till Twelve of the Clock of the same day, to receive all assays brought or to be brought to him and Wee doe order and agree y^t in considera'con of the Said assay Master's trouble and charge over & above what the law directs for every pound Troy Weight of wrought Plate y^t Shall be assayed he Shall have and receive the fume of sixpence p pound and soe in propor'con for a greater or lesfer Quantitie and alsoe for every private Efsay of Skellett or Engott of Silver The sume of sixpence for every parting Efsay of Gold or Silver Six pence and Shall alsoe stop onely four Grains p pound to defray Charges and Expences of the Company of all wrought Plate assayed and markt w^{ch} shall be kept in the Box of Diet by the Efsay Master and Wardens of the 1st Company and Shall be melted att the end of Every Yeaere begiense on the Twenty ffourth day of June one thousand seaven hundred & three, and assayed by whom the Company Shall think fitt and Convenient Provided always it be att the Tower of London Goldsmiths' Hall of the same place or in any other place appointed by Law And if att any time the said Efsay Master shall think fitt and Convenient not to Serve the said Company in manner aforesaid as he hath been instructed and taught the art of assayinge Gold and Silver att the Companies charge Wee the said Company of Gold Smiths doe require him to instruct such person as the Company Shall nominate and appointe for that Employ^{mt} always observeing the person Soe Elected and appointed be a free brother of the 1st Company and Inhabiteing in the Said Towne of Newcastle upon Tine

[Same signatures as before.]

Att a meeting October 27th 1702

to enter Shoppes
and essay goods

Its ordered by the Company of Gold Smiths That y^e Wardens for the time being shall have power and authority given and granted them by the Said Company to goe into all Shoppes and Workhouses att their times of workeing and ask and demand a Penny weight of Silver of the Masters Servants or agents of Such Shoppes and Workhouses from any Peice or Peices of Silver as to the Warden or Wardens of the Said Company for the time being shall think fitt and Conven^t in order to be assayed by the Assay Master appointed for the Company of Gold Smiths And if any Brother of the said Company Shall happen to be found workeing any Plate of Silver of worse finess then w^t is appointed to be wrought by Law, Then every Brother and Brothers of the said Company soe offending Shall be lyeable to Such fines and Penalties as the Majority of the said Company Shall lay upon them for Such Offence as afores^d And its further ordered and agreed by the 1st Company that every brother and brothers that is or shall be free of the Said Company before he or they Shall be admitted to have & receive any Benefit of his or their Plate to be assayed by the Assay Master appointed for the use of the said Company Shall pay and lay out towards the defrayeing all Such charges and Expences as the s^d Company of Gold Smiths have laid out and Expended for appointeing an assay Master att Newcastle upon Tine the sume of forty Shillings lawfull English money And Wee the Company of Gold Smiths aforesaid doe order and agree y^t the Wardens for the time being Shall have power and authority when and as often as there Shall be occasion to call and make Meeting and meetings for the use of y^e Company and that every

Error workeing
said silver to be
fined by company

40s on admit-
tance towards
assay.

brother or brothers that Shall or maybe absent att Such meeting or meetings haveing had Timely notice given or left att his or their Shopp or house and being within the Town of Newcastle att the time of Such notice Shall forfeite and pay for his or their absence as afores^d for the use of the Said Company the Summe of Twelve pence and for every Brother or Brothers being Short or not Comeing att the hour appointed the Summe of Sixpence And for every Absence or not Comeing to the Meeting house or place Appointed on the Headmeating day the sume of five Shillings and for every Short on the Said Headmeating day in every Yeare y^e Summe of Twelve pence w^{ch} said severall fines and sumes of money afores^onc^oned Shall be paid into the hands of the Wardens for the time being for the Vfe and behoofe of the said Company :

By meetings Is.
absence on notice

Short 6d

Headmeating
day absent 5s.
short Is.

Francis Batty
Eli Bilton
Rob^t Shrive
Richard Hobbs

Tho. Leightly
Alex. Campbell

March 13 : 1702

Memorand' That the whole Charge of the p'cureing the Act of parli^s for the affay master and provideing the Toolles & Instrum^t for the afsaying of plate as by the Acc^t now deliv^red in amounts to Sixty Nine pounds fourteen Shillings Nine pence in w^{ch} the charge of Instructing M^r Batty the affay Master is included, and the same was defrayed & paid as followeth 69 : 14 : 09

The Company of Glaziers pewterers plumbers & painters in w^{ch} the Goldsmiths is incorporated gaue & Contributed 20^s w^{ch} with Two fines due to the sd Company from Ely Bilton & Jno. Ramfay amounting to 10^s was in all 30 : 09 : 00
 By Tho. Armstrong before he gaue over Shopp 02 : 10 : 00
 By Ely Bilton 07 : 09 : 00
 By Rob^t Shrivess 07 : 09 : 00
 By Alex Campbell 07 : 09 : 00
 By Marg^t Ramsay 07 : 09 : 00
 By Eliz Ramfay 07 : 09 : 00
 69 : 14 : 00

Alexand^r Campbell Elected & chosen Warden in the room & place of Thomas Armstrong the late Warden removed Laft Saturday from this Town into the Countrey.

And its farther ordered and agreed that the said 39 : 14 : 09 fhall be repaid to the sd perfons aboue Named assoon as the said moneys come in.

And alsoe its ordered that all the Tools & implem^t provided att the Company's Charge be inventoried in the book and kept for the Companies vfe after the sd perfons are reimbursed the said 39 : 14 : 09 for till that time the said perfons haue an Interest & title in the sd Tools.

And Jts farther ordered That every Bro. that fhall Employ any person as a Journeyman that is not free of the Company [^a above the space of six weeks' interlined] fhall forfeit five pounds to be paid to the vfe of the Company vnlesse such forreign^r or pion not free of the Company Shall pay to the vfe of the Company towards the charge of the afsay the summe of forty Shillings And Shall forfeit the like summe of five pounds if they employ a freeman as a Journeyman [^a longer then aboves^onc^oned' interlined in another hand] vnlesse such freeman pay to the

Jorneyman
unfree to pay
towards assay

free journeyman
20s.

charge of the sd assay Twenty shillings and this order to Com'ence from & after Easter day next.

Eli Bilton
Rob' Shrive
Alexander Campbell

Void being
prided for by the
ancient ordr in
other book

5l fine for take-
ing apprentice
before three yrs
free

1st apprentice to
serve 3 yrs before
a 2d app 5l.

except 1st dye or
absent then to
pay 40s.

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths 13th Sep^r 1707

Itt is Ordered that noe Brother of this Company shall take an Apprentice to serve in the trade of a Goldsmith vnlse such Brother soe takeing an Apprentice shall have been free of the said Company before the time of takeing such apprentice for the space of Three years And in case any Brother shall Offend herein he shall forfeit & pay to the Wardens of the said Company for the use of the same the sum'e of five pounds lawfull money of Greate Brittain And itt is farther Ordered that noe Brother of this Company shall take a Second Apprentice vntill the first apprentice shall have Served the time & Space of three years att least nor shall be admitted or allowed to take any after Apprentice or Apprentices vnlse the p'ceeding or last before taken Apprentice shall have served three years att least On pain to forfeit and pay to the vse of the said Company the like sum'e of five pounds lawfull money but if any Apprentice before he shall have Served three years by Indenture shall happen to dye or shall absent or goe from any Brothers Service and not returne to the same for the Space of three Months That then and in every Such Case itt shall be lawfull for Such Brother whose Apprentice shall dye or shall soe absent himself as aforesaid to take another apprentice paying to the said Wardens for the vse of the said Company the sum'e of fferty Shillings like lawfull money

M^r Jonathan french Afsay Mast^r who was formerly appointed and sworne in the room of francis Batty dec'd Itt is ordered that the said Afsay Mast^r doe attend and wait att the place appointed by this Company on Wednesday in every week from Eight of the Clock in the forenoon till twelve of the Clock in the same day to receive all Afsayes brought or to be brought to him And itt is further ordered that if any person shall have Occac'on on any other working day to have his plate afsayed by the said Afsay Mast^r and thereof shall give or leave Notice to or for the said Afsay Mast^r the night before such Plate is intended to be afsayed that then and in Such case he the said Afsay Mast^r shall the Morning after Such Notice give his attendance att the place aforesaid by Nine of the Clock and there afsay the Plate of Such person or persons soe requiringe the same And in considerac'on of the said Afsay Mast^r's trouble Itt is ordered and appointed that the said Person who shall soe request his attendance as aforesaid shall pay and Satisfye vnto him the sum'e of two Shillings and Six pence tho' the Silver then afsayed doe not amount to five pounds Troy Weight And Itt is also ordered by this Company that the Wardens of the said Company or one of them shall on Wednesday in every week and on any other day on Notice given to them or one of them duely attend att the place aforesaid with the said Afsay Mast^r in afsaying of Plate from ten of the Clock in the forenoon to twelve of the Clock of the same day And in case the said Afsay Ma^r and one of the said Wardens shall not nor doe not give their attendance accordingly that then Such person Soe offending contrary to the true meaning hereof shall forfeit & pay for the vse of the said Company the sum'e of two shillings & sixpence for each Offence.

assays requested

Indres to be
drawn by clerke

M^r Lyonell Moore Is by this Company ordered and appointed Clerk of the said Company And itt is further ordered that if any Brother shall or doe employ any other person than the Clerk of this Company to make or draw the Indentures of Apprentishipp

that then every Brother soe doing shall pay the said Clerke his ffee as if he had drawne the same before such Indentures shall be inrolled in the Companies Bookes.

Itt is Ordered by the said Company of Goldsmiths in manner following (viz^t) that if any Brother of this Company shall att any meeting thereof fight or quarrell with another Brother or give or vfe any vnbrotherly words or misbehave himself in the same each Brother soe offending shall forfeit & pay the sum[m]e of Three Shillings & four pence

provided for in other book

unbrotherly words fine 3s. 4d.

Itm if any Apprentice shall marry before the Expirac'on of his Apprenticeship or shall beget a Childe or shall be reputed the ffather of a Childe dureing the terme of his Apprent'ipp he shall forfeite & pay for each offence the sum[m]e of five pounds lawfull money to be paid before he be admitted to the freedom of this Company

apprentice marrying 5l.

Itm that noe Brother of this Company shall continue or keep in his house or buisness any Servant or apprentice upon tryall above the Space of Two Months before such Servant or Apprentice be bound by Indentures on paine to forfeite for each Month after the aforesaid time the sum[m]e of forty shillings

tryall of app. not to exceed two months

All & every w^{ch} said fines & forfeitures shall be paid to the Wardens of the said Company for the Vfe of the said Company

And this Company doth farther order that if any Brother happen to dye leaving a Widow and that such Widow doe follow vfe & exercise her said dec'd hufbands trade & buisness Itt is Ordered that the appren' & apprentices of such Brother soe dyeing shall remaine & Continue with the Widow for & dureing such time & terme of yeares as the said Apprentice or Apprentices shall have to serve att his or their said Masters death and such Widow shall if the same may be thought necessary by this Company hire & employ an able Journey man to teach & instruct such Apprentice the said trade of a Goldsmith and Itt is further ordered that if the Widow of such Brother soe dyeing shall have occac'on for more apprentice or apprentices dureing her Widowhood for the carrying on & manageing of the trade that then & in such Cafe any brother of this Company shall in his name but for & on behalfe of the said Widow take an apprentice or Apprentices and cause the same to be turned over to serve the remainder of his terme with such Widow yett that every Widow for whom Such Apprentice shall be so taken doe pay & Satisfie all such fines & penalties as are or shall be imposed for takeing an Apprentice contrary to the Rules & Orders of this Company before such Appreutice be inrolled in the Companies Bookes.

free Brers Widows & apprentices

to be considered admittance fee 4ll

This Company doth also order that there shall be paid to the Wardens of this Company for the vfe thereof for the admittance of every brother hereafter in the said Company the sum[m]e of four pounds lawfull money att & before such Brother be admitted & Sworne a Member of this Company

Wm. Bilton
Richard Hobbs
Jonath. French
The Snordon
John young hys Brind
The: Loughly

Time for Head
meeting day &
quarter day

Head
Meeting day
absent 3s 4d
short 1s

Att a Meeting of the Company this 13 Nov^r 1707

Ordered by the Company of Goldsmiths that the head meeting day shall be held & kept on the third day of May yearly and not on the four & twentieth day of June any form^r ord^r to the contrary notwithstanding and if itt shall happen that the same shall fall on a Sunday then the Meeting to be held & kept on the Munday following and that on Such head Meeting day yearly the Wardens & Afsay Maft^r for the said Company shall be annually elected and chosen And itt is further ordered that the second day of Aug^r the Eleventh day of Nov^r and the Second day of february shall be and is hereby appointed Quarterly dayes of Meeting And in case any Brother shall be abfent on any of the s^d quarterly dayes of meeting he shall forfeit and pay to the Wardens of the Company for the vse thereof the sum[m]e of three shillings & four pence & every Brother who shall come shorte or after the hour appointed by the Wardens shall forfeit and pay the sum[m]e of one shilling And itt is also ordered (that to prevent disbutes (*sic*) touching what shall be deemed an abfent) every Brother who shall not come to the place or house appointed for meeting within the space or time of one hour after the time & hour appointed by the Wardens shall be deemed as abfent att the said Meeting.

Tho: Hewitson
Tho: Leightly
Tho Snowdon
John Younghusband

Moneys Rec^d by the Company an accounted by M^r Richard Hobbs & M^r John Younghusband Stewards this 3 May 1708

	*	*	*	*	li	s	d
by Money of M ^r Bilton for taking an apprentice con- trary to ord ^r ... ..	...	...	...	...	05	00	00
of M ^r Younghusband resting of the fforty shillings towards Afsay house ... ..	...	...	...	...	01	00	00
of M ^r Snawdon the like ... ..	...	...	...	...	01	00	00
Disburse ^{mt} till 3 May 1708							
M ^r french Afsay Maft ^r his Note about his Journey going to London ... ..	...	...	...	...	14	05	07
Lyonell Moore . . . his Salary till & with May day 1708 ... ..	...	...	...	...	01	00	00
for the Keys for the box... ..	...	...	...	...	00	05	00

Richard Hobbs
Jonat French
Thomas Snowdon
John Younghusband

Att a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths the said 3 May 1708 being head meeting day

Wardens or } M^r Richard Hobbs
Stewards } M^r Tho. Snawdon

Assay Master M^r Jona: french

Ordered that the sum[m]e of three & forty shillings be paid out of the Companies Moneys to the Afsay Master as a Gratuity to him for his trouble in his Journey to London

[Signed as above]

Att a Meeting the 29 Nov^r 1708

francis Batty Son of francis Batty a free Brothers	}	s
Son was this day admitted to his freedom in this Company and paid for the same		
paid as p ^r ord ^r towards the Afsay	}	2
more for takeing an Apprentice before free three yeares contrary to ord ^r		
		5
		11

Paid to M ^r Jonathan french according the ord ^r of	li	s	d
the third of May laft	2	3	0
Paid for a Bagg	0	0	4

Att a Meeting of the whole Company 2^d May 1709 being the day before their head meeting day

A Letter from M^r Duck Afsay Master at London having been this day read Itt is ordered by the Company that Mr. Jonathan french Afsay Master of the said Company shall take an Account of all such Silver Buckles and Silver Snuffe Boxes as any of the Brethren now have not agreable nor according to the Act of Parliam^t and that every Brother shall within fourteen dayes next after the date hereof melt down or difpose of Such buckles, and shall not for the future make or Sell any Buckles after the said time but Such as shall be agreable to the said Act & afsayed & stamped on paine to forfeit double the value for every pair of Buckles soe Sold contrary to the true meaning hereof And it is further ordered that all Such Silver Snuffe boxes as any of the Brethren now have shall be sold melted down or disposed of within one Month after and that none of the Brethren shall buy or Sell any Snuffe boxes after the said time but Such as are according to the said Act on the aforefaid penalty unlesse it be in ord^r to profecute such perfons as shall Sell contrary to the said Act.

Buckles

Snuffe boxes

Tho: Hewitson
Richard Hobbs
Jonathan French
Francis Batty

An Acc^t of the paym^{ts} of M^r Richard Hobbs & M^r John Younghusband Stewards for one yeare from 3 May 1708 to 3 May 1709. Disbursum^{ts}

	*	*	*	*	*	li	s	d
for a Bagg ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	00	00	04
building furnace in Afsay house, etc. ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	00	02	06
Lyonell Moores Sallery ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	02	00	00
▲ Bafon & Pens & Ink for Afsay house ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	00	00	11
Lres to London to Afsay Maft ^r ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	00	01	00
2 May 1709 Spent at Richardfon's & otherwife ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	00	12	00
Money in box ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	08	16	07½

Att a Meeting of the whole Company of Goldsmiths this 3 May 1709 being head meeting day

Thomas Snawdon for refusing to pay his fines is now	s	d
fined	3	4

Wardens	}	M ^r Jonathan french
or		
Stewards	}	M ^r francis Batty
Afsay		
Master	}	M ^r Jonath french

Att a Meeting of the whole Company this 15 June 1709

Ordered that a Lre be sent to M^r Duck of Londⁿ ab^t Hodshon of Durham Selling a tumbler & that the Clerk of the Company write in his name therein

Att a Meeting the 2 Aug^r 1709

The Letter sent to M^r Duck pursuant to the above ord^r but noe anfw^r yet Sent by him.

Att a Meeting 13 Sep^r 1709

francis Batty for having taken John Carnaby an appren-	} 11	5
tice before his other app ^r had served three years fined		
five pounds w ^{ch} five pounds is p ^d		
Ordered that twelve pence a quarter be paid to John Clark for		
sum[m]oning the Company & to com[m]ence at May day laft.		5
Paid to John Clark the first quart ^r at Lamas		1
Taken out to Spend p ^r ord ^r & confent		5

Att a Meeting of the whole Company this 2^d february 1709 [-10] being a Quarter day

Richard Hobbs ab ^t taken for this 1 ^r becaufe he was not in town but at a Christianing		
Money paid for a year rent for the Afsay house at	11	s d
Midsom ^r 1709	1	0 : 0

Att a Meeting of the whole Company this 3^d May 17010 (*sic*) being the head meeting day

* * * * *
Moneys rec'd

francis Batty for having taken Henry Martin Son of Mark Martin an apprentice before his other apprentice John Carnaby laft taken had Served three yeares contrary to ord ^r is fined five pounds w ^{ch} five pounds is now paid	} 11	s d
Paid to M ^r Francis Batty for the Tumbler bought of Hodgshon of Durham		

which said Tumbler is to be kept for the Company's use till further ord^r

An Acc^t of the Paym^{ts} of M^r Jonathan ffrench and M^r francis Batty Stewards for one yeare from the 3 May 1709 to 3^d May 1710

Disbursm^{ts}

Paid M ^r Batty for the Cup he had of Hodshon...	00	10	06
M ^r ffrench Afsay Master for what he difburfed for Pen, ink, Paper, Candles & for drinck & rolls for Jo ⁿ Clark	} 00	03	10½
for drinck paid to M ^r Richardson for the Afsay house to John			
Paid M ^r Douglas for the refineing ffurnace for two yeares & an half rent due at May day last	01	06	00
Given to M ^r Batty by ord ^r of the Company	00	06	00
Spent at Richardfons	00	15	00
Wardens { M ^r John Younghusband			
{ M ^r francis Batty			
Afsay { M ^r Jonath ffrench			
Master {			

Att a Meeting of the whole Company this third day of May 1711 being the head meeting day

An account of the Receipts & Paym^{ts} of John Younghusband & francis Batty Stewards for one one yeare ending this 3^d May 1711

Receipts:

By Silver recd from the Afsay Mafter h s d
01 : 07 : 0

Disburam^{ts}:

Paid W^m Richardson for a yeare & an half rent }
of the Afsay houfe from Midsom^r 1709 to 25 } 01 : 10 : 00
Dec^r 1710 }
Paid to M^r Douglas for a quarters rent for the }
refining houfe at Mart 1710 } 00 : 05 : 00
28 Aug^t 1710 given then to John the Bedle ... 00 : 01 : 00
M^r french for Ink pens & paper 00 : 01 : 02
Nineteen Quarts of Ale for the Afsay houfe this year 00 : 06 : 4

Wardens } M^r Richard Hobbs
or } M^r John Younghusband
Stewards }
Afsay } M^r Jona: French
Master }

Itt is this day ordered by and with the consent of the whole Company that all Such charges & expences as the Company now has or hereafter shall lay out in relac'on to the Companys affaires shall be borne paid & answered by the working Brethren of the Company & by & out of such moneys shall arise in the Company And that for the better answering thereof Itt is also ordered that every person who shall hereafter be admitted to their freedom in this Company shall pay the sum of twenty shillings towards answering Such Expences of the Company over & above the usuall Sums paid for admittance

May 31 1717 This order made void & vacated

quere

*The Hewison
Jn^r Younghusband
Francis Batty
Richard Hobbs
Jonat^h French*

The^o Heweson Goldsmith this day sworn in Essay Master for the Company of Goldsmiths &c in New Castle upon Tine before Mathew fetherstonhaugh Esq^{ro} May^r September 23 1712

Jn^o Younghusband } Wardens
Francis Batty }

N.B. The mark agreed to be sett on all Plate essayed for this next year is the letter M.

8^{br} 1712 rec^d of Mark Grey Nicholson towards essay ... 2 : 0 : 0
of him to answer contingent charges 1 : 0 : 0
7^{br} 23 1712 By 6^{oz} lefs 1^{dwt} of Silver att 5^s 4 p oz ... 01 : 11 : 09
To rent of the aysay office 1 : 10 : 0
To p^d Tom Davifon for seekin W Prestons K 0 : 0 : 6
8^{br} 2 To a Peck of Pott Clay 0 : 1 : 2
9 To Davifon for furnace 3^s his drinks 1^s ... 0 : 4 : 0
18 To 4 sacks of Charcole 10^s 9^{br} 15 2 more 5^s 0 : 15 : 0
To 9 more 10^s To cleannng Backside 0^s 4^d... 0 : 10 : 4

THE GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE :

Feb ^r 21	To Aynsley for the furnace	0 : 2 : 6½
May 1 st	Cleaning Backside	0 : 0 : 8
	To 4 sacks of cole	0 : 10 : 0

June 4th 1713 Headmeeting day

	Jonathan french } Stewards or Wardens	
	Rich ^d Hobbs }	
	Goldsmith Rec ^{ca} Jon ^{an} french Steward year ending 1 June 1713	
8 ^{br} 28 1713 rec ^d of James Kirkupp for his admittance		02 : 00 : 00
p ^d M ^r french		
x ^{br} 19 : By seven oz ^{ns} of Britan' Silver and 8 ^{dwt} att		
5 ^d 4 ^d p oz		01 : 19 : 01½
Disburse ^{mt} :		
To 10 Sacks of Charcole	1 : 5 : 00	
To Paper & Lead & Candles... ..	0 : 01 : 2	
paym ^{ts} by James Kirkupp [&c]		5 : 7 : 8
from the pix	1 : 11 : 0	Repts 1 : 4
by Collection	3 : 18 : 0	
	5 : 09 : 0	0 : 9 : 0
		[5 : 9 : 0]

Goldsmiths Rec ^{ca} M ^r Younghufband Steward year ending June 1715		
M ^r Younghufband Dr to Cash Rec ^d of M ^r Shaw for	li	s
his admittance	02	00 : 00
By Silver Rec ^d from the office... ..	02	00 : 00

Att a meeting Jann^{ry} 10th 1716

John french now entertained wth Jonaⁿ french agreed to be bound by Ind^{re} before next meeting, and the s^d M^r french to have such time given him att next meeting as the Company shall then think fit, to pay the fine in

Tho^s Ord now agreed and appointed Clerke of this Company shall next heed meeting day settle the same

Rec^d by James Kirkupp from the Picks 5 oz 16^{at} 5^d 4^d 01 : 11 : 00
By Collec^{on} of each Bro^r No. 6. 13^s each 3 : 18 : 0

Att the head meeting day May 3^d 1717

Memorandum Letter for the enfuing year P.

Wardens or Stewards for the year next enfuing } francis Batty
Nathan^l Shaw

[The following entry is struck out :—

‘Jonathⁿ french has taken J^{no} french as an appr the Indre to be sealed as soon as the Clerk comes home & to be entred & then to pay 20^s & 1st Aug^t next 20^s 11^o Nov^{br} next 20^s & 2^d feb next 20^s & 20^s more 3^o May next. Jona^s French’]

Note this money is all paid the last paym^t being made ano 1719 John Carnaby late Appr to francis Batty and nowe employed by him as a Journeyman Its ordered that unlesse he take his freedom of the Town & in the Company in twenty Days or otherwise francis Batty is to pay forty Shillings for the essay & unlesse he pay that fferty Shillings if he employ him att any time after that twenty days are expired to pay as a fine five pounds.

Thomas Ord appointed Clerk & to have Thirty Shillings p anna^r for his sallary.

Quarter day August 1st 1717 being Cowhill day mett July 31.

Rec^d of francis Batty towards Essay for Jn^o Carnaby 40^s p^d ff Batty

Rec^d by Mr Shaw Steward of John Longwith of York goldsmith for Essay for one year ending 1st Aug^t 1717 20^s p^d into y^e box

Joseph Buckle Goldsmith att York for the like p^d to Mr Shaw Stew^d 20^a

p^d M^{rs} Richardson one Years rent for the Essay due 24 June 1717 rec^d 20^a

Tho^a Gamull former apprentice to Abraham Hamer was this day admitted to his freedome and p^d for the same 4^u in box and formerly p^d 40^a towards the essay admittance Stamp 2^a 1^d rec.

This day the p^{esent} Wardens were ordered to make a demand of the Stewards of the Plumbers & Glaziers company to make use of the Hall formerly built att the charge of the Goldsmiths in conjunc^{on} wth the s^d trades and a demand was accordingly made by M^r Shaw of Jacob Watfon & and the same was p^{ossed} to the s^d company but they refused to suffer the Hall to be made use of unless this Company would joyn wth them as formerly.

November 28 1717.

Six of the Company p^{esent}, Tho^a Gamull & Mark Gray Nicholson att this meeting haveing offered their service as essay Master the Company have unanimously made choife of Mark Gray Nicholson to officiate in the busines of the essay and to attend to attend (*sic*) Tuesday & friday in every weeke and to repair wⁿ required by the stewards to be sworn, and to be instructed therein by M^r ffrench, and to have the usual p^{re}quisites for essaying, and in cafe of any complaint for non attendance to pay for every default two shillings & six pence to the use of the Company. Essay Master

Heed meeting day May 5th 1718

Letter for the ensuing year Q

Wardens for the year ensuing M^r Rich^d Hobbs M^r Jon^{as} ffrench Rec^{as} Francis Batty & Nat^l Shaw Stewards.

By Jn ^o Carnaby towards Essay	...	...	02 : 00 : 00
By Jn ^o Longwith of York for Esay due Lam ^a 1717	...	...	01 : 00 : 00
By Joseph Buckle of York Gold Smith for the like	...	...	01 : 00 : 00
By Tho ^a Gamul admittance	...	...	04 : 00 : 00

Disburfem^{ts}

To 12 Sacks of Charcole att 2 ^a 6 ^d 1 : 10 : 0 more	...	...	...
owing last year 10 ^a	...	...	02 : 00 : 00
for a Lock & Stoke 4 ^a 10 ^d &c.	...	...	00 : 18 : 04

Att a Meeting November 11th 1718

James Richards fined for working Journey work	} 02 : 00 : 00
with fran. Batty fined by vote of the major part	
of the Company according to order	

Note M^r Batty this day referred himselfe to the company on acc^t of the s^d fine & promised to pay whatsoever the Company shall require on that acc^t.

Mark Grey Nicholson was this day sworn assay-Master for the Company according to the act of parliam^t before William Ellison alderman: /

Richard Hobbs Warden of the Company fined by generall consent of the Company for not calling the Company together according to order on the first of August being a quarter day	00 : 10 : 00
---	-----	-----	--------------

Robert Makepeace late apprentice to ffancis Batty was this day admitted and paid for the same 4 ^u oath & stamp 3 ^a 1 ^d to clerk	04 : 00 : 00
--	-----	-----	--------------

By more towards the Esay of him	03 : 00 : 00
---------------------------------	-----	-----	--------------

To the man for warneing the Company 6^a

Memorand^m att this Meeting M^r Shaw acknowledged that he has 20^a in his hands of Joseph Buckles of York to be p^d to the Company for the Esay

To spent with Mr Makepeace on his being made free	00 : 10 : 00
---	-----	-----	--------------

Att a meeting December 18th 1718

fran Batty abs^t att M^r John Younghusbands funeral [in another hand:] taking Physick not Excused 1^o 0

M^r french att this meeting promised to pay the remaind^r of his money next quarter day.

rec^d 1^l in part of 3^l sett down below rests due 40^o

Jonathan french and James Kirkup for misbehaueing themselves & giving each other unbrotherly words fined each according to order 3^o 4^o rec^d 6^o 8^d

Quarter day febr'y 2^d 1718 [-9]

Rec^d of M^r french the further sum of 20^o in part of his money

The 5^o given to M^r Gamull by the Steward M^r Hobbs, in Charity allowed of and to be charged on his acc^{ts}.

Heed Meeting day May 4th 1719

John Langwith of Yorke for Efsay one year due Lamas 1718 20^o M^r Shaw to make good the same if not p^d

Rec^d of M^r Shaw Joseph Buckle's Essay money due Lamas 1718 20^o

This day M^r Batty paid James Richards fine according to order & his p^mise

M^r french to pay 40^o remainder of his money for takeing apprentice

Steward acc^{ts} Richard Hobbs Jonathan french Rec^{ts} of M^r Shaw

Buckle's money for Efsay rec^d 01 : 00 : 00

By Picks from the Efsay houfe this year 16 oz^{ms} att 5^o 6^d 04 : 08 : 00

Disbursem^{ts}

To twenty sacks of Charcole att 2^o 6^d p sack

To Clarks Salary $\begin{matrix} 11 & 8 \\ 1 & 10 \end{matrix}$: 0 to a Bagg 6^d & warning

Company 6^d 01 : 11 : 06

To M^r Battys Note layd out for Company for Muffles &c Letter D for anno 1719 01 : 08 : 09

Stewards or Wardens for the Year enfueing Jn^o Carnaby Steward Nat Shaw Warden & in Wardens Tho^o Ord clerk

Att a Quarter day August 1st 1719

francis Batty for employng of John Sharpling a Journeyman not free of the Company fined by vote according to order 40^o w^{ch} he p^mises to pay next quarter day.

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1720

Richard Hobbs } absent
Nath Shaw }

Stewards acc^{ts} Nath Shaw and John Carnaby Rec^{ts}.

March 7 : 1719/20 By M^r Langwiths Efsay mony for the year 1719 01 : 00 : 00

By M^r Buckles for the like of M^r Kirkup 01 : 00 : 00

Disbursements

To a hammer for the Efsay house 00 : 01 : 00

By John Carnaby for his Journeyman Rob^t abercromby 02 : 00 : 00

To Returned M^r Carnaby of this fine 00 : 10 : 00

To given John french appr^o to Jonaⁿ french out of his fine } 00 : 10 : 00

To M^r Nicholson for Lead & Paper 00 : 02 : 04

Mark Grey Nicholson Efsay Ma^r { James Kirkupp Steward } Jur^t
Letter E p^o anno 1720 { Rob^t Makepeace Warden }

Rob^t Makepeace at this meeting p^mises to pay the accustomed fine of 5^l for taking Tho Makepeace as as appr^o before being three years free :

Quarter day August 1st 1720

Head meeting day ordered y^t for the time to come the expence of an entertainm^t on y^t day day (*sic*) do not exceed the sume of one Guinea out of the Companys Box & w^t sume the ordinarys & extraordinarys att such entertainment exceed y^t same each Bro^r then p^resent to contribute equally att their owne xpence to discharge (*sic*) the same.

Att a Meeting october 10th 1720

William Whitfeild late apprentice to John Young-husbands dec^r was this day admitted and paid for the same 04 : 00 : 00
 More of him towards Efsay 02 : 00 : 00
 W^m Whitfeild desires to be entred as a 2^d man to wth the Company agreed.

It^s at this Meeting unanimously agreed upon by the Company & recommended to the Stewards to apply to the Clerk of the Company to draw up a Cafe of Tho: partis of Sunderlands exerciseing the buisinesf of a Goldsmith having not served his time to a Goldsmith neglecting to get his plate Efsayed and take the Recorders opinion in w^t method to p^rsecute him

Efsay p^r agreem^t rec^d of John Langwith 1st & D^e of M^r Tho^s Partis 40^s

Att a Meeting November 11th 1720

Md^m that this day M^r Batty p^rmifed to pay the Company five pounds for a fine for taking Isaac Cookson as an apprentice contrary to order and to be p^d next meeting

Headmeeting day May 3^d 1721

Stewards acc^t for p^recedding year, James Kirkupp & Rob^t Makepeice Stew^{ds}

Receipts

Aug st 1 st 1720 by rec ^d of Rob ^t Makepeice for takeing appr	...	...	...	...	05 : 00 : 00
Octo ^{br} 10 W ^m Whitfeilds admittance money 4 ^l Essay 2 ^l	...	...	...	...	06 : 00 : 00
Jn ^r Langwith of York one year Essay 20 ^s}	...	...	...	...	} 03 : 00 : 00
Th ^o Partis Sunderland entrance 20 ^s )	...	...	...	...
Efsay for one year due Xmas last 20 ^s) 40 ^s	...	...	...	...
Francis Battys fine for takeing Isaac Cook- ion app	...	...	...	...	05 : 00 : 00
Cash rec ^d for 3 oz. of Silver from the Essay this year	...	...	...	...	00 : 16 : 06

Disburfem^{ts}

To one Years Clerks Sallary now due	...	01 : 10 : 00
To him for cafe on Act for new duety and lres and cafe and fair Coppy ab ^t M ^r Partis Efsay...	...	} 00 : 15 : 06
To M ^r Mark Grey Nicholson for Nailes, Paper, Ink, &c.	...	
To John Carnaby for two stamps & 3 letters for Efsay	...	00 : 03 : 00
To John Carnaby for two stamps & 3 letters for Efsay	...	00 : 06 : 02

letter A p^r anno 1721 and Mark Grey Nicholson not being willing to continue and delivering upp Keys the Company agree to appoint W^m Pryor Efsay Master for the time to come and he to be Sworn to continue dureing the Companys pleasure.

Jonathan french for unbrotherly words giving a Bro^r the lye in company fine according to order 1st 8^d

Efsay Master to be obliged to attend Efsay Tuesday & fryday in every week without any further or other considera^{con} except the usuall allowance and also on request of any workeing Bro^r to attend on any other day for such recompence as such Bro^r so

requesting the same can agree wth the Efsay Master for, not exceeding the sum[m]e of 2^s 6^d and such Bro^r paying to the steward for the time being for the use of the Company the Sume of sixpence for every essay taken on any other day except Tuesday or fryday towards the charge of the charcole

ffrancis Batty Steward } Jur^r
John Carnaby Warden }

Att a meeting November 16 1721

Whereas Jonathan ffrench att last quarter day w^{as} he was p^{re}sent was complained of for that he had used and gone into severall underhand dealings wth John Hewett a foreign^r who trades in selling Plate in Gateshead & att Durham, and had of late comitted sever^{al} indirect practices in workeing up plate for the s^d John Hewett to the great prejudice of this Company, and that since the time of his the s^d Jonathan ffrenches keeping an open Shopp he had also patronized severall quantitys of wrought plate belonging to the s^d Hewett as well London wrought as other wrought, and sold such or the greatest part thereof att his s^d shopp, and afterwards returnd to the s^d Hewett such of the s^d Plate as was unsold, and that he could not or did not think fitt w^{as} he was so complained of or charged therewth to make it appear that such complaint or charge ag^t him was unjust or that he ought to continue so to do, Its therefor this day ordered that the s^d Jonathan ffrench for such his practices be fined the sume of five pounds

M ^r ffrench the ffine	05 : 00 : 00	ffran. Batty
ffine at last head meeting	00 : 01 : 08	Jn ^o Carnaby
for abs ^t Nov ^r 16 1721	00 : 01 : 00	James Kirkupp
The above difcharged		Nat ^l Shaw
		Rob ^t Makepeace

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1722

Receipts

By M ^r Kirkupp for pix	... ..	00 : 17 : 6
By the Company for 4 ^{os} 8 ^{dwt} Sterling	... ..	01 : 03 : 6
By M ^r Batty for 13 oz. of pix att 5 ^s 6 ^d p oz.	... ..	03 : 11 : 6

Disbursem^{ts}

To M ^r Kirkupp he p ^d for cleaning the Efsay Seales	00 : 11 : 06
James Kirkupp Steward Jr ^r	
Robert Makepeace Warden Jur ^r	

Letter B for the year 1722. William pryor appointed Efsay Mas^r

By M ^r Batty for his ffine for not attending the last Guild...	00 : 01 : 8
---	--------	-------------

Nathaniell Shaw allowed six weeks to pay his ffines amounting to 01 : 01 : 00 but this to be no precedent for the future May 3 1725 rec^d

Thomas partis. The Stewards to call upon him for 20^s due from him for his Efsay for a year due att Christmas last Rec^d

John Langwith of York. To be called upon for 20^s for a years Efsay due Lamas last

Joseph Buckles of the same. To be called upon for 20^s for a year then due.

Mark Grey Nicholson D ^r for so much lent him in 1719 as p acc ^t	02 : 00 : 00
---	--------	--------------

Jonathan ffrench having submitted the considerac^on of his ffine to the Company and they upon his withdrawing having determined to mitigate the same to 50^s & on paym^t thereof to enroll his apprentice, and he having refused to pay the same Its ordered that the s^d Indenture be inrolled upon his paying the said 50^s down, and that if he does not pay the same, that the said Indenture be not inrolled till he pay the whole fine of 5^l

By Jonathan french for the above & in full of all
 his fines 02 : 10 : 00
 Returned him again by consent of the Company... 01 : 01 : 00
 £01 : 09 : 00

Att a Quarterly Meeting November 14th 1722
 By M^r Batty for his Journeyman Tho. prow according
 to order... .. 02 : 00 : 00

Head meeting day May 3^d 1723

Receipts
 By M^r Batty his fine for not attending the Guild 00 : 01 : 08
 By 5 oz. of pix at 5 : 6 p oz. ... 01 : 07 : 6
 By 7 oz. of Sterling at 5 : 4 p oz. ... 01 : 17 : 4

Difburfemth
 To M^r Batty for bone ashes 00 : 02 : 30

November 11. 1720

Whereas of late severall inconveniencys have happen'd and much prejudice accrewed to the members of this Society and to the whole Company, by severall matters concerted and discourf of W^a the Society are together, being discovered & divulged, Its therefor ordered that all matters relateing to the a'airs of the Company w^{ch} shall att any time be discourf of in company, be for the future kept secrett, and in case any Bro^r or Bro^{rs} shall at any time hereafter give out in speeches or by any disacourse or otherwise divulge w^t pafseth or is discourf of in Company the w^{ch} by the Majority of the Company shall be adjudged ought to have been kept secrett shall for every such offence forfeit & pay to the use of the Company the Sume of five pounds to be taken & rec^d in full by the Stewards for the time being and to be mitigated or to be taken in full as the Majority of the Company shall thing (*sic*) fitt and adjudge according to the Nature of the offence, and on any Bro^r refuseing to pay down such fine or fines which the Company have fined him att every Head Meeting Day such Brother or Brothers so refuseing shall not thereafter be admitted to meet wth the rest of the Brethren of this Society and to be thence deprived of all benefit and advantage of this Company in takeing or entreing any apprentice or apprentices, and such apprentice or apprentices tho' bound to such Bro^r or Bro^{rs} so refuseing not to be admitted into this Company till such fine be p^d and satisfied to the Company by the s^d Bro^r or such his apprentice or one of them

Company's
 Secretis

3d May 1731 This
 order Interlin'd
 by Consent & crt
 Mattw Dawson
 &c

Robt. Makepeace Steward
James Kirkup
Nat. Shaw
Jonathan French
Francis Batty
Mark Grey & Nicholson
In: Carnaby

William Dalton
Geo: Bullman
Isaac Cookson
Thomas Makepeace
Edw^d Gill
Abr^m. Anderson

Att a Head Meeting day May 3^d 1722 : /

Guilds and Quarter days—Its ordered that the Stewards or one of them for the time being do in their respective years attend the severall Guilds on the pain of 5^l for every neglect and that the Company be sum'oned and do meet every Quarter att the usuall days and that when such days fall on a Sunday such Quarterly Meeting shall be kept on the day following and that if the Stewards for the time being shall neglect to warne the Company accordingly such Stewards shall forfeit & pay to the Company 5^l fine for every such neglect : /

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1723

It's this day ordered by the unanimous consent of all the Company p'esent that if at any time hereafter the profits and receipts of the Company arising by fines or otherwise shall fall short of & not be sufficient to pay of & defray the Companys outlays and expences, that then such sum & sums of money as will be sufficient to do the same shall from time to time be raised by Contributions of the Members of this Society and each Member of this Society shall pay his p'porc'on of such sum & sums of money so to be raised, on pain of being expelled the Company & deprived of all benefit and advantage thereof

Thomas Makepeace	Jonathan French
Edw ^d Gill	Fran : Batty
Abra ⁿ Anderson	James Kirkup
	Nat ^l Shaw
	Rob ^t Makepeace
	Jn ^o Carnaby
	William Dalton
	Geo : Bullman
	Isaac Cookson

Heedmeeting day held May 4, 1724 May y^o 3^d being Sunday

Rec^d April 24 1724 By the Essay house Sterling 10

ozⁿ att 5^s 4^d 02 : 13 : 04

By the Picks there of this year 5 ozⁿ att 5^s 6^d ... 01 : 07 : 06
Difburfem^{ts}

July 26 p^d W^m Henderson for two

sacks of Charcole 0 : 09 : 0

9^{br} 10 p^d Tho^s Thornton for Charcole ... 1 : 16 : 0

ffeb^r 29 p^d James Ruffell for D^o ... 0 : 10 : 0

March 6 p^d John Grice for D^o ... 0 : 12 : 0

April 26 p^d W^m Pryor p Note p. paper Lead, &c. 0 : 05 : 0

Let^t D for the year 1724

W^m Pryor appointed Essay Master francis Batty Steward
Rob^t Makepeace Warden
Tho^s Ord Clerk

Att a Quarterly Meeting August 10, 1724

Jonathan french complained of for employing John french an unfreeman as a Journeyman for upwards of six weeks contrary to order, fined according to order 5^l & to be called upon for it at next meeting.

Att a Meeting Aug^t 12 1724

Whereas W^m Whitfeld before last head Meeting was entred as a 2^a man but since that time is come to inhabit in or near the town & being sum[m]oned to appear both this & last meeting & not appearing Its ordered that he be no longer continued as a 2^a man but that he be fined as other brethren for every day he has been or shall be absent.

It is this day ordered that for the future no brother free or to be free of this Company shall work with or for any person or

persons not free of this Society using or exercising the trade or business of a Goldsmith in Gateshead or elsewhere within seven miles of the Town any plate or other thing whatsoever relating to the business of a Goldsmith and that every brother that shall offend herein shall pay for every offence the sum of five pounds for the use of the Company

[Signed by 'Jonathan French' & nine others]

W^m Whitfeild allowed a month from this day to work with Daniell Albert or any other but if he continue to work longer then to incur the penalty of the above order

At a meeting October 29 1724

By William Dalton late apprentice to James Kirkupp for his admittance money 4 ^l more towards Efsay 2 ^l	} 1 s d 06 : 00 : 00
...	

Att a Meeting April 6 1725

By M ^r ffran: Batty on acc ^t of Geo: Bulman towards the Efsay	2 : 0 : 0
--	-----------

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1725

Receipts. By M ^r Kirkupps fine for his Journeyman Ingles	02 : 00 : 00
By M ^r Makepeace for picks	03 : 12 : 11
By W ^m Dalton for his admittance money	04 : 00 : 00
By him towards Efsay	02 : 00 : 00
By M ^r Tho: Partis on account of Efsay	02 : 00 : 00
By M ^r Batty for his Journeyman Geo: Bulman... ..	02 : 00 : 00
Disbursem ^t p ^d towards the freemens plate	02 : 02 : 00
p ^d for Entertainm ^t last Head Meeting day to M ^r Hobbs	01 : 10 : 00
p ^d M ^r french towards freemens plate p ^r anno 1723	02 : 02 : 00
To M ^r Longstaffe towards this years plate	02 : 2 : 0

francis Batty Steward
James Kirkupp Warden

March 26 1725

Letter E for the year 1725

W^m Pryor appointed Efsay Master Tho: ord Clerk

At a meeting September 6 : 1725 :/

Whereas M^r Thompson of Durham hath offered plate to be afsayed, having not first entred his name place of aboad & mark as the Act of parliam^t directs It is ordred & agreed upon that he be p^rsecuted for the same at the Companys charge and Its further ordered that in cafe the s^d Thompson shall request to have his name place of aboad & mark entred that the Wardens shall enter the same & that his plate shall & may be afsayed and It is further ordered that the s^d Thompson shall be prosecuted at the Companys charge for exercising the trade of a Silver Smith or plaworker

[Signed by 'ffran. Batty' & nine others]

Sup^rvis
W^m Longman

Att a Meeting March 21 1725 [-6]

By Geo: Bulman late Apprentice to ffran: Batty for his Admitt ^o Money	} 04 : 00 : 00
Sup ^r vis' adhuc p ^r William Holly	

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1726

By Jonathan french for employing John french as a Journeyman for upwards of six weeks & not paying 40^s towards afsay contrary to order fined according to order 5^l which was p^d down,

THE GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE :

of which returned him 20^s and accepted 4ⁱ in full of his fine & of what John french should pay towards the assay. 1 s d

Difburien^{to} To p^d towards the freemens plate ... 02 : 02 : 00
 To M^r Spors for Entertainm^t on last head meeting 01 : 10 : 00
 To 10 Sacks of Charcoal at 2^s 6^d p' Sack & 2 @ 4^s 6^d 01 : 09 : 00
 To the Recorder & M^r Greys fees ab^t Thompson... 01 : 01 : 00
 To M^r Richardson for a years rent of the Efsay
 house... 01 : 00 : 00
 To p^d M^r pryor 1^s 8^d To M^r Spors boy 1^s ... 00 : 02 : 08
 William pryor to call upon Thomas partis for one years Efsay
 due at Christmas last being 20^s
 To Mark Grey Nicholsons wife in Charity p' M^r Batty 00 : 05 : 00
 To M^r Batty for his mans sumoning the Company
 for two years ... 00 : 02 : 00

Robert Makepeace }
 Geo : Bulman } Stewards & Wardens

Letter ff for the year 1726 Tho : ord Clerk
 W^m Pryor Efsay Master

At a Quarterly meeting nov^r 11 1726

Rob^t Makepeace agrees at this Meeting to pay the } 11 s d
 fine of forty shillings at next head meeting for } 02 : 00 : 00
 his Journeyman W^m Campbell ... }
 May 3^d 1727 rec^d then.

Head Meeting day May 3^d 1727 :

By Robert Makepeace for employing his brother Tho }
 Makepeace as a Journeyman to be returned when } 02 : 00 : 00
 he takes his freedom ... }
 [charges which occur every year for Charcoal, summoning
 company, freemens plate rent of Efsay house &c]

francis Batty }
 John Carnaby } Stewards & Wardens

Letter G for the year 1727 Thomas Ord Clerk

At a meeting May 9th 1727

To M^r Carnabys bill for dynner on head Meeting day 02 : 00 : 00

At a meeting Aug^t 1 : 1727

To p^d for Wine to entertain the Candidates with ... 00 : 16 : 10

At a Quarterly Meeting ffeb^r 2 : 1727 [-8]

Alexander Cutts Journeyman to M^r Kirkupp, for whom he
 agrees to pay 40^s at next head meeting.

At a meeting May 6 1728

Disburse^m To M^r Carnaby for last years Entirtainm^t 02 : 00 : 0
 To M^r Batteys note for Charcole, &c. ... 02 : 18 : 0
 To M^r Carnabys note for Charcole ... 01 : 00 : 0
 To M^r Pryors note for Leed, et.... 00 : 01 : 11^d
 To p^d for Wine to entertain the Candi-
 dates ... 00 : 16 : 10

Isaac Cookson }
 Rob^t Makepeace } Stewards & Wardens

Letter H for the year 1728 Tho : Ord Clerk

At a Meeting May 30th 1728

Geo. Hetherington apprentice to francis Batty dec^d appeared
 in Company and made choice of Geo : Bulman to serve the remain-
 der of his time with.

At a Meeting Nov^r 11 1728

Isaac Cookson to pay a fine of five pounds before next head
 Meeting for taking to apprentice Cha^s Stoddart before he was free
 three years

At a Meeting ffeb : 4th 1728 [-9]

M^r Cookson agrees to pay 40^s for Peter Johnson his Journeyman

At a Meeting May 2^d 1729

Tho ^s Makepeace late apprentice to M ^r Rob ^t Make-	} 1 s d	4 : 00 : 00
peace was this day admitted to his freedom & p ^d for		
the same		

Head Meeting May 5th 1729

By Isaac Cookson for his fine for taking an ap-	05 : 00 : 00
prentice	
By more of him for his Journeyman	02 : 00 : 00
By James Kirkup for the like for W ^m partis his	
Serv ^t	02 : 00 : 00
By Cha. Makepeaces admittance money	04 : 00 : 00
By M ^r Makepeace for 9 oz of picks at 5 ^s	02 : 06 : 06
By him for ditto 4 oz & $\frac{1}{2}$ at 5 : 6	01 : 04 : 9
Disbursements To M ^r Carnaby for last years entertain-	
ment	02 : 15 : 00
To M ^r Makepeaces note for Charcoal	00 : 17 : 00
To M ^r Cooksons note for the like, &c	02 : 00 : 06
To p ^d towards the freemens plate	02 : 02 : 00
To Gawin Wilkinson one years rent of Efsay House	
lands... ..	01 : 00 : 00
To a pair of Scales for the use of the Company	04 : 04 : 00
John Carnaby } Stewards	
Rob ^t Makepeace }	

Letter J for the year 1729 W^m Pryor, Efsay Master

At a Meeting May 9 1729

Matt^w Dawson Clerk, By the Majority of the Company

Att a Meeting 4th May 1730

Receipts By M^r Cookson 9 oz Pick att 5^s : 2 02 : 06 : 6

By more 5 oz of Efs att 5^s : 6^d 01 : 07 : 6

It is this Day ordered by the Company that for the future that the fine for a Brother being absent on a Head meeting day shall be five shillings & if short one shilling and If absent on a Quarter day shall be one shilling only or if Short Sixpence any order before made to the contrary notwithstanding And it is also ordered that to prevent disputes touching what shall be deem'd an absent Every Brother who shall not come to the House or place appointed for meeting within the space or time of One Hour after the time & Hour appointed by the Wardens shall be deemed as absent

Jona^t French
James Kirkup
Nat^l Shaw
Jn^o Carnaby
Rob^t Makepeace
W^m Dalton
Geo. Bullman
Isaac Cookson
Tho^s Makepeace
Edward Gill
Abraham Anderson

M^r Robert Makepeace } Stewards
M^r George Bullman }
W^m Pryor Efsay Master

Letter K ffor the year 1730 Matthew Dawson Clerk

1730 Att a meeting Nov : 11

John Goresuch Journiman to M^r Cookson for whom he agrees to pay 40^s att the next head meeting.

Att a Meeting the 2^d febr^y 1730 [-1]

M^r Makepeace & M^r Bullman having Sustain'd Great Losf & Damage By Luke Killingworth Potts & Robert Ainsley their apprentices By their s^d apprentice Imbezilling their s^d Masters Goods & Clandestinely selling the same to severall Persons unknown to their s^d Masters & they being now discharg'd ffrom their s^d Masters for such offences It is this day ordered that neither the s^d Luke Killingworth Potts Rob^t Aynsley or any other apprentice hereafter who shall be guilty of such Like Misdemeanour or Misdemeanours shall ever be Intituled or admitted to his freedom of this Company

[Signed by 'Jona^t French' & 10 others]

2^d february 1730 [-1]

W^m Dalton a Brother of this Company haveing Bought of Luke Killingworth Potts app^r to M^r Makepeace Brother of the s^d Company severall Gold Rings &c without acquainting M^r Makepeace with the same It is this Day ordered that the s^d W^m Dalton Pay unto the s^d Company next Head meeting Day the Sum of Three Pounds & return the s^d Rob^t Makepeace the s^d Gold Rings &c or the Value And that for the ffuture any Goldsmith Buying Gold or Silver old or new ffrom any Brothers apprentice without Immediately acquainting such apprentices Ma^r with the same shall ffor every Such offence fforfeit & pay for the use of the s^d Company of Goldsmiths to their Wardens the sum Ten Pounds

[Signed as before including 'W^m Dalton']

Att a Meeting the Third day of May 1731

Receipts for the year ending the 3^d May 1731

of Thomas Gladwell towards the Efsay of his plate	00 : 05 : 00
of M ^r Makepeace for Efsay 3 oz & 5 ^{dwt} att 5 ^o 6 ^d	01 : 08 : 10 ¹ / ₂
ffor Picks 10 : oz : 10 ^{dwt} att 5 ^o 2 ^d	02 : 14 : 03 : 0
Disbursements. [Items for charcoal, entertainment, rent of assay house, &c., as before]	
Paid towards freemans Plate which should have been Charg'd last year	02 : 02 : 0
p ^d to the freemans Plate this year	02 : 02 : 0
p ^d M ^r Carnaby ffor severall setts of Stamps	01 : 03 : 0

L^re L ffor this Year

Stewards this Day

M^r James Kirkup
M^r Tho^s Makepeace
M^r W^m Prior Efsay Mas^r
Matt^w Dawson Clk

Att a Meeting 3^d May, 1732

Receipts for the year ending the 3^d May 1732

Of M ^r Bulman for his apprentice Edw ^d Gill	05 : 00 : 00
Of M ^r Isaac Cookson for his app Stephen Buckles	05 : 00 : 00
Of M ^r James Kirkup for Picks 9 oz. 12 pennyw ^t att 5 ^o 2 ^d p oz.	02 : 09 : 07
Of D ^o ffor Efsays 3 oz. 14 pennyw ^t at 5 : 6	01 : 00 : 05

[Disbursements, same as before, for charcoal, Freeman's plate, rent, &c.]

Letter M ffor this year

Stewards this Year

M^r Jonathan french } Stewards
M^r George Bullman }
M^r W^m Fryor Efsay Master
Matt^w Dawson Clerk

Att a Meeting Aug^t 7th 1732

Archibald Patton Journeyman to Tho. Makepeace ffor w^{ch} he Agrees to pay to y^e Company next head meeting Day 40^e

Att a Meeting 2^d february 1732 [-3]

Jonathan French late Steward being now dec^d M^r Robert Makepeace was Elected in his Room til Head Meeting Day

1732 [-3] Feb 13 att a meeting

Edward French Son of W^m French of Newburn Late Apprentice to Jonathan French Gold Smith & makes choise of Isaack Cookson to Serve out his time.

New Castle upon Tyne att a Meeting of the Company the fourth Day of May 1733 being the Head Meeting.

Receipts for the year Ending the 3 May 1733

Of M ^r Thomas Makepeace for Employing Archibald Patten Journeyman	} 02 : 00 : 00
Of M ^r George Bullman ffor Efsays 3 ounces & $\frac{1}{2}$ at five Shillings & Six pence p ounce	} 00 : 19 : 03
Of him more for ten ounces of picts at five shillings & two pence... ..	} 02 : 11 : 08
Of M ^r Robert Makepeace ffor taking Thomas Blackett as an apprentice	} 05 : 00 : 00
Of M ^r George Bullman for his Journeyman John Mead... ..	} 02 : 00 : 00
Rec ^d of M ^r Bainbridge of Durham for Liberty & Charge of Efsaying his plate for the ensuing year	} 01 : 00 : 00

Disbursem^{ts}

p ^d M ^r George Bullman ffor Charcoal and Skellett holds 100 oz.	} 02 : 09 : 06
[other charges for Freeman's plate, charcoal, rent of assay house, &c.]	Stewards this year
Letter N ffor this year	M ^r James Kirkup M ^r Thomas Makepeace M ^r W ^m Pryor Efsay Master M ^r Matthew Dawson Clark

Inspected thus farr by me

W^m Holly

Att a meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths held here this Seventeenth day of July 1733.

It was this day thought fitt by the Company that the order made the 12th day of August 1724 declaring that no free Brother should work with or for any persons in the Trade of a Goldsmith in any place within Seven Miles of Newcastle should be repealed and it was Order'd accordingly by

Witnefs

Matthew Dawson

Att a Head Meeting Day held this 3^d day of May 1734

Receipts for the year Ending 3^d May 1734

Of M ^r Thomas Makepeace for the Picks 10 ounces	} 002 : 13 : 02
Sixpenny w ^t att 5 ^a 2 ^d p ^t ounce	
Efsays 3 ounces & 10 penny W ^t att 5 ^a 6 ^d p ^t ounce	} 000 : 19 : 03
Due from M ^r Partis ffor Efsay House	
Loft by five Broads... ..	0 : 10 : 0

Disbursements

for the Treat Last year	003 : 11 : 11
To the freemans plate	002 : 02 : 00
Charcoal	002 : 00 : 06
Treating the Members	000 : 12 : 00
for Acts of Parlam ^t	000 : 03 : 00

Letter O for this year.

M^r Isaac Cookson }
 M^r George Bullman }
 were this day Elected Stewards for the year ensuing
 M^r William Pryor Esqay Master {
 M^r Matthew Dawson Clark }

Att a Meeting Held the fifth day of May 1735

Letter P for this year.

M^r Robert Makepeace } were this day Elected Stewards
 and M^r Thomas Makepeace } for the year Ensuing.
 M^r William Pryor Esqay Master

It was this Day ordered that the Stewards for the time being shall be allowed them two shillings and sixpence Each Steward for Expences in attending the same.

Receipts

Of M ^r Isaac Cookson for Picks quantity nine } ounces 16 pennyweight ^{ht} att 5 ^s 2 ^d per ounce	08 : 05 : 7½
More for 2 ounces and 15 pennyweight of Essays } of M ^r William Partis	01 : 01 : 00

Money disbursed this day

To M ^r Carnaby for Last year's Entertainment ...	03 : 00 : 00
To the freemens plate	02 : 02 : 00
Charcoal Note and six Mufflers	02 : 08 : 00

Att a Meeting the 3 of May [1736] of the Company of Gold Smiths

Receipts

By Cash Rec ^d of M ^r Partis oz dwts	1 : 1 : 0
By Picks w ^t 06 : 00	1 : 11 : 0
By Affays 01 : 15	0 : 9 : 7½
By Caf ^h Rec ^d of Tho ^s Stodart to y ^e Afsay	2 : 0 : 0

Disbursements

To Cash for Charcoal	1 : 12 : 0
To Caf ^h p ^t y ^e 2 Stuards for Attending y ^e Guild... ..	0 : 2 : 0

Letter Q for this year

M^r George Bulman } Stuards
 M^r Isaac Cookson }
 M^r W^m Pryor, Afay Master

At a Meeting the 3 of May [1737] of the Company of Goldsmiths

Receipts By Picks 7 ^{oz} 3 ^{dwt} s at 5 ^s 2 ^d	£ 1 : 16 : 11
By Afsays 1 : 7 at 5/6	0 : 7 : 4½

Disbursements To Cash Pay'd for Charcole & to M ^r Dawson	1 : 9 : 6
--	-----------

To Cash Pay'd for Atending y ^e Guild	0 : 5 : 0
To Cash P ^d M ^r Thos Makepeace on ac ^t of a Journey } to Shield on ye Raffing acts	0 : 10 : 6

M^r James Kirkup } Stewards
 M^r Bob^t Makepeace }
 M^r W^m Pryor Afay Master

Letter R for this Year

Att a Meeting of the Company held the 27th January 1737 [-8]
 The Right Worshipfull William Carr Esquire of Saint Helen Auckland and now Mayor of the Town and County of New Castle upon Tyne att the request of this Company was admitted a free Brother and took the oath accordingly.

At a Meeting this 3^d of May 1738 of the Company of Goldsmiths

Rec ^d of M ^r W ^m Partis	£ 1 : 1 : 0
Rec ^d of M ^r Ja ^s Kirkup for 4 : 10 of Picks at 5 : 2	1 : 3 : 2
Rec ^d of Ditto for Afsays 15 ^{dwt} @ 5 : 6	0 : 4 : 1½

Disbursements for the Years 1737 & 8

P^d M^r Carnaby &c when W^m Carre Esq^r was made } 1 : 16 : 0
 free ... }
 Stuards—M^r Iac Cookson } Letter S
 Tho^s Makepeace }
 W^m Pryor Affay Master }

At a Meeting the 3 May 1739 of the Company of Goldsmiths

By Picks 8 oz. at 5/2 2 : 1 : 4
 By afsays 1 : 15 at 5/6 0 : 9 : 7½

Disbursements for the year 1788 & 9

P^d of Steward for Atending y^e Guild 0 : 5 : 0
 Letter T

Stewards—M^r Rob^t Makepeace
 M^r James Kirkup
 M^r W^m Pryor afsay master

The Head meeting Day held on Monday the 5th May 1740

Rec^d for the Picks 9^{oz} 10^{dwt} a 5^e 2^d } £3 : 14 : 10
 Rec^d for the Afsays 4 : 14 a 5 : 6 }
 M^r Isaac Cookson } Stewards
 M^r George Bullman }
 M^r W^m Pryor Afsay Master }

The Letter A

M^r George Bullman promi^d to pay to the Company upon Demand the Summ of forty shillings for employing M^r Miller

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths the 11 Aug^r 1740

Isaac Cookson agrees to pay a fine for Employing M^r Gillson of forty Shillings & also a fine for Employing M^r Blacket of fourty Shilling at the Head Meeting day

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths the 4 of May 1741

for Picks 9^{oz} 0 at 5/2 } 3 : 15 : 4½
 afsays 5 : 5 at 5/6 }
 By fine for Tho^s Blackett 2 : 0 : 0
 By do. for M^r Gilson 2 : 0 : 0
 By do. from M^r Partis affaying 1 : 1 : 0
 By do. from M^r Martin 0 : 3 : 10½
 By do. from M^r Beilby 1 : 1 : 0
 By M^r Bulmans fine for Employing M^r Miller ... 2 : 0 : 0
 M^r James Kirkup } Stewards
 M^r Rob^t Makepeace }
 W^m Pryor affay master }

Letter B

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths the 3 of May 1742

Rec^d for Picks 7^{oz} at 5/2 } £ 5 d
 Afsays 5 at 5/6... .. } 3 : 3 : 8
 from M^r Kirkup for Employing M^r Peat 2 : 0 : 0
 from M^r Bulman for Employing John Blacket ... 2 : 0 : 0
 from M^r Partis for Affaying 1 : 1 : 0
 To M^r Kirkup & M^r Makepeace for Atending the } 0 : 1 : 0
 Inspector }

Memorand. that M^r Edward Gill agrees to pay Two Shillings yearly for lief being alowed to Meet as he Pleases on the Quarter days.

Isaac Cookson agrees to pay forty shillings for Employing John Longlands the next Head meeting day

M^r George Bulman } Stewards
 M^r Isaac Cookson }
 M^r W^m Pryor Affay Master. Letter C

THE GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE :

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths the 3 of Aug^t 1742
Memorand. that M^r Abr. Anderson agrees to pay Two Shillings
yearly for his being allow'd to Meet as he Pleas'es on the Quarter days.

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths 3 May 1743

Rec ^d of M ^r Isaac Cookson for Employing M ^r Jn ^o	£	s	d
Langlands	2	0	0
Rec ^d for Picks 8 ^{ms} : 0 ^d	2	1	4
for affays 6 : 5	1	14	4½

Stewards for the year 1743

M^r James Kirkup }
M^r Rob^t Makepeace }
W^m Pryor Affay Master

Letter D

Inspect^d p. John Calthorpe 1743

Att a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths May the 2nd 1744

Rec ^d of M ^r Kirkup for 9 ^{ms} : 9 ^{dms} of Picks...	£	2	8	10
Rec ^d of Do. for Affays 6 :	£	1	3	0
Rec ^d of M ^r Cookson for John Goodrick	£	5	0	0

M^r Isaac Cookson } Stewards
M^r W^m Dalton }
M^r W^m Pryor Affay Master

Letter E.

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths May 3 : 1745

Rec ^d from M ^r Cookson 9 ^{ms} : 8 at 5/2	2	8	6
Do. for Affays 5 : 3 at 5/6	1	8	3
from M ^r Thompson of Durham	0	19	6

Disbursements for the Year

Memorand. p ^d out of the above [balance of 19 : 17 : 6 in box] to M ^r Mark Grey Nicholson on acc ^t of his being Burnt out of his house	0	10	6
P ^d to M ^{rs} Bulman now under Confinement in New- gate for	0	10	6

Inspected by B Bromhead

M^r Rob^t Makepeace agrees this day to pay two shillings yearly
for being Excused attending upon Quarter days

James Kirkup } Stewards
Isaac Cookson }
W^m Pryor Affay Master

Letter F

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths May 3 1746

Rec ^d for Picks 6 : 15 at 5/2	1	14	10½
For Affays 4 : 12 at 5/6	1	5	3

Disbursements for the year

p ^d for Pestall & Morter	0	8	0
p ^d Patrick Richardson for the Buriall of his wife	0	5	0

Steward for this year

James Kirkup
W^m Dalton
W^m Pryor Affay Master

Letter G.

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths 1 of Aug^t 1746

Memorandum It was agreed to take a Layers opinion In
Regard to the Affaying The Plate Belonging to those who are not
Inhabitants In this Corporation

Ja Kirkup
Rob^t Makepeace
W^m Dalton
Isaac Cookson

THE GOLDSMITHS OF NEWCASTLE :

Disbursements for the last year

M ^r Pryors note for Mufflers	1 : 2 : 0
M ^r & M ^{rs} Nicholson	1 : 10 : 0
Given M ^r Pryor for his Trouble In Collecting In the Notes due to the Assay house for sum Time past	} 1 : 1 : 0
Also Rec ^d for 16 ^{dwt} Affays	
Stewards { W ^m Dalton Isaac Cookson	} : 4 : 0
Afsay Master W ^m Pryor Letter M	

At a Meeting of the Co of Goldsmiths 4 May 1752

M ^r Wilkinson	1 : 3 : 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	} 2 : 9 : 0
M ^r Partifa	0 : 8 : 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	
M ^r Tho ^s Partifa	0 : 3 : 2	
M ^r Barrett	0 : 0 : 11	
M ^r Beilby	0 : 0 : 11	
M ^r Thompson	0 : 12 : 0	} 4 : 12 : 2
Picks	oz dwt 17 : 17 at 5 ^s /6 ^d	
Affays	3 : 8	0 : 18 : 8
Steward for the year		
M ^r James Kirkup		
M ^r Rob ^t Makepeace		
Afsay master M ^r W ^m Pryor		
Letter N		

It was this day agreed to admitt M^r Tho: Stodart to his freedom of the Co. he giving his Note of hand for 2 : 19^s payable at the Head meeting days at Three different payments.

May 4 1752

It was this day agreed to give five Ginies out of the Co. Stock Towards the Building the Infirmary now Erecting upon the fifth Bank

1752 Inspected p	Ja ^s Kirkup
Cha : Marshall	Rob ^t Makepeace
	W ^m Dalton
	Isaac Cookson
	Tho ^s Stodart

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths 3 May 1753

M ^r Wilkinson	5 : 2	} 2 : 17 : 0
M ^r Partifa	5 : 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
M ^r Barret	14 : 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	
M ^r Beilby	1 : 1	
M ^r Thompson	18 : 0	
J Thompson	12 : 3	} 4 : 3 : 8
Picks 16 : 6 ... ..	...
Affays 4 : ... ..	...	1 : 2 : 0
Rec ^d from I. Cookson for takeing his apprentice James Robinson ... ..	...	} 5 : 0 : 0
Rec ^d from M ^r John Kirkup for his admittance ... ..	...
Disbursements To the Infirmary ... ..	...	5 : 5 : 0
M ^r Pryor for 27 : Affays made of Barrets work	13 : 6	} 00 : 18 : 6
For Collecting the Co. Money	5 : 0	
Steward for the year	W ^m Dalton	} Isaac Cookson
Warden ... ..	...
Letter O		

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths 3 May 1754

M ^r Thompson for Affaying	00 : 14 : 3
M ^r Bartlet	00 : 4 : 6
M ^r W ^m Partis... ..	00 : 3 : 1
M ^r Beilby	00 : 00 : 10
Picks 16 : 7 at 5/2	4 : 11 : 5
Affays 4 : 5 at 5/6	1 : 3 : 4½

Disbursements

M ^r Wilkinsons Note at the Meeting of the Members } of Parliament	0 : 15 : 0
M ^r Pryors Horfe Hire	0 : 2 : 6

Letter P for the year Steward } for the year { Rob^t Makepeace
Warden } { John Kirkupp

At a Meeting of the Company of Goldsmiths Sep. 24 1754

Rec ^d from M ^r John Langlands four pounds for his admittance Two pounds being paid before to the Afsay	} 4 : 0 : 0
Rec ^d from M ^r John Goodrick four pounds for his Admittance Two pounds being paid before to the Afsay	

Goldsmiths Co.

Ac/s of John Mitchison

No^r 19th 1784

	£	s.	d.
To postage of a letter from Stamp Office	0	0	6½
Dec. 3 To a D ^r	0	0	6½
10 th To Chearers when we Chose M ^r Pryor	0	3	6
Feb ^r 21 To a Bason & Copper for Collecting Silver	0	0	10
June 5 th 4 Sacks Charcoal	0	16	0

1 1 5

2 nd July 1785 To 8 Sacks of Charcoal	1	8	0
Aug ^t 1 To Chearers	0	8	7½
23 To a Book for Hall	0	0	3
Nov ^r 12 To Chearers	0	0	0

1786

Jan ^y 26 To Fine Silver for the Hall... ..	0	6	4
31 To 5 Sacks of Charcoal	0	17	6
May 3 To Attending the Afsay Hall	0	10	0

At the back of the book there is the following list of apprentices :—

Leonard Hunter Son of Jeffrey Hunter of Kemb in the
County of Northumb^rland Gent & apprentice to John
Ramsay of the towne of Newcastle vpon Tyne Goldsmith } 1701
for seven years by Ind^res bearing Date 3 Dec^r 1701

[Book turned
round]

The Master being dead the said apprentice is turned over to
John Younghusband Goldsmith to Serve the Remaind^r of his terme
with him

Mark Grey Nicholson Son of George Nicholfon late of
Newcastle vpon Tyne Gent' dec'd apprentice vnto
Richard Hobbs of Newcastle vpon Tyne Goldsmith for
Seven years By Ind^res bearing date 6 July 1705 ... } 1705

Ely Bilton Son of Joshua Bilton of Newcastle vpon Tyne
Blockmaker dec'd apprentice to Ely Bilton Goldsmith
for Eight years from the fourteenth Aug^t 1704 By
Ind^res then Dated... .. } 1704

James Kircup Son of Thomas Kircup of Wnlington in
the County of Durham Smith Apprentice to Ely
Bilton of Newcastle vpon Tyne Goldsmith for Eight
yeres by Indentures Dated 20th Aug. 1705 } 1705

- Nathaniel Shaw Son of John Shaw of Denton in the County of Durham Clerk Apprentice to John Young-husband of Newcastle vpon Tyne Goldsmith for Seven years by Indentures Dated fifteenth Aprill 1707 ... } 1707
- 29 Nov^r 1708 Robert Makepeace Son of Thomas Makepeace of the towne & County of Newcastle vpon Tyne Gent^r apprentice to Francis Batty of the said towne & County Goldsmith for Seven yeares by Indentures Dated 2 february 1707 ... } 1707
- Att a Meeting 13 Sep^r 1709
John Carnaby Son of W^m Carnaby of the Town & County of Newcastle upon Tyne Gent^r apprentice to Francis Batty of the said Town and County Goldsmith for Seven years from the 24 June 1709 ... } 1709
- Att a Meeting 3 May 1710
Henry Martin Son of Mark Martin of the town & County of Newcastle upon Tyne Goldsmith apprentice to Francis Batty of the said Town Goldsmith for seven years from 25 March 1710 ... } 1710
- August 31 1717
John french son of Josuah french late of Leamington dec^d apprentice to Jonaⁿ french of New Castle upon Tine Goldsmith for seven years from 8th May 1717
- November 11 : 1717
William Dalton son of Roger Dalton Late of New Castle Baker deceased apprentice to James Kirkupp Goldsmith for seven years from 17th of 7ber 1717
- feb^r 3^d 1717 W^m Ramsay son of John Ramsay late a free Bro^r of this Company, this day enroled by his ffather in Law John Younghusband also a free Bro^r of this Company & p^d 1^a
- May 5 1718 Michael Jenkins Son of Henry Jenkins Master & Marr^r apprentice to Francis Batty Goldsmith for Seaven y^r from the first day of September 1714
- May 5 : 1718 George Bulman son of George apprentice to Francis Batty for seven years from the 25th day of feb^r 1717
- Dec^r 18 1718 William Whitfeild Son of John Whitfeild apprentice to John Younghusband for seven years from the 12th of Sep^r 1713
- Att a meeting Dec^r 18 : 1718 the s^d W^m Whitfeild came into full Company & made choice of Jonaⁿ french to serve the remain^r of his time with.
- May 3^d 1720 Thomas Makepeace Son of Tho^s Makepeace Gentl^r dec^d apprentice to Rob^t Makepeace for 7 years from feb 9 1719 apprentice fee twenty pounds.
- November 11 : 1720 Isaac Cookson son of William Cookson of penrith gentl^r apprentice to Francis Batty for seven years from the first day of october 1720 apprentice fee thirty five pounds.
- May 3^d 1722 George Hymers son of Geo. Hymers late of Newcastle Skinner apprentice to Jonathan french for seven years from the 30th of August 1721 : apprentice fee twenty five pounds.
- November 11 : 1723 : George Hetherington son of Nich^s Hetherington late of Brampton in Gilsland in the County of Cumberland yeom dec^d apprentice to fran: Batty for seven years from the 30th of October 1723 apprentice fee thirty pounds/
- feb^r : 2 : 1724 John Younghusband Son of John Younghusband late of Newcastle Goldsmith dec^d Apprentice to James Kirkupp for seven years from the 18th day of Nov^r 1724 apprentice fee twenty five pounds.

May 30 : 1726
chose C. Bulman
to serve the rem^r
of his time with

- Aug^t 1st 1727 Edward Son of William french apprentice to Jonathan french for seven years from 18th April 1727 apprentice fee twelve pounds twelve shillings
- May 6 1728 Rob^t Aynaley Son of W^m Aynaley Apprentice to George Bulman for eight years from 1st March 1727 Apprentice Twenty pounds.
- 2^d febr^y 1730 NB He Imbezill Several parcels of his Masters Goods & was discharg'd from his Service for the same & By an order made this Day is not to admitted to his freedom.
- May 6 1728 Luke Killingworth Potts son of Luke Potts apprentice to Rob^t Makepeace for seven years from the twenty fifth Day of March 1728 Apprentice fee forty pounds.
- 2^d febr^y 1730 NB He Imbezill'd Severall parcella of his Masters Goods & was discharg'd from his Masters service & not to be admitted as before.
- Novemb^r 11 1728 Hesilrigg Metcalfe son of Rich^d Metcalfe of Newcastle apprentice to James Kirkupp for seven years from the first day of aug^t 1728 apprentice fee thirty pounds.
- Eodm die Thomas Stoddart Son of John Stoddart of Newcastle apprentice to Isaac Cookson for seven years from the first of September 1728 apprentice fee thirty five pounds.
- 3 May 1732 George Lawes Son of Matthew Lawes of Willington in the parish of Ryton yeom' app' to George Bullman for Eight years from the 2^d day of March 1730
- Eodm die Edward Gill Son of John Gill of New Castle upon Tyne Smith app' to Geo Bullman Goldsmith for 7 years from the 19th May 1731
- Eodm die John Langlands Son of Reignold Langlands Langlands (*sic*) of New Castle upon Tyne app' to M^r Isaac Cookson for 10 years by Ind^{res} bearing date 2^d October 1731
- Eodm die Stephen Buckle Son of Joseph Buckle of the City of York Goldsmith app' to M^r Isaac Cookson for 7 years from 27th April 1732 /
- The Flecher Son of Tho Fletcher Brick-layer of the town & county of Newcastle upon Tyne Apprentice to M^r Rob^t Makepeace of y^e said town ffor 7 years May y^e 1 1731 Apprentice fee forty pounds
- 13th febr^y 1732 Jeremiah Peat Son of Tho^s peat of Hawksdale in the County of Cumberland apprentice to M^r James Kirkup of New Castle upon Tyne Goldsmith for 7 years from 12th october 1732
- 4th May 1733 Thomas Blackett son of Thomas Blackett of Sedgefield in the County of Durham yeom apprentice to M^r Robert Makepeace of New Castle upon Tyne, Goldsmith for seven years from 25th day of June 1732
- William Wilkinson son of William Wilkinson apprentice to Rob^t Makepeace for seven years from the first day of Jan^r 1732 apprentice fee twenty pounds
- Robert Peat Son of Thomas Peat of Hawxdale in the County of Cumberland Miller Apprentice to M^r James Kirkupp of the Town and County of New Castle upon Tyne Goldsmith for seven years from 25th Day of December in the year of our Lord 1733
- Charles Story Son of Rob^t Story Cord-Winder of New Castle upon Tyne Apprentice to M^r George Bulman of the Town and County of New Castle upon Tyne Gold Smith for tenn years from the 3 of Dec^r 1735
- John Laws Son of Mathew Laws of Swalwel aprentifs to George Bulman Goldsmith for seven year from y^e Twenty Third of April 1737 fee Thirty Pounds.

November 12 : 1740

Rob^t Scott son of Andrew Scott yeman aprentis to James Kirkup Goldsmith for seven years from the Twenty sixth day of Aprill 1740

Aug^t 8 1742.

Martin Hixon Son of John Hixon of Sedgefeild aprentis to Isaac Cookson Goldsmith for Seven years from the Twentyth March 1742

Feb^t 2 : 1742

Rob^t Sharp Son of Robert Sharp of Stanington Yeaman aprentis to George Bulman from y^e 29 May 1742

May y^e 2 : 1744 John Goodrick Son of Fran^s Goodrick of Clifton in the North Rideing of the County of York Gentleman apprentice to M^r Isaac Cookson from the 1st of April 1743

May 3^d 1745

Timothy Williamson Son of Dorothy Williams Aprentif to James Kirkup Goldsmith for seven years from 1st March 1744/5

May 3 : 1745

Rob^t Makepeace Son of Rob^t Makepeace Goldsmith Tho^s Makepeace son of Rob^t Makepeace were this day Enterd in the Companys Book.

May 3 : 1745

Tho^s Gill Son of Edward Gill Goldsmith was this day Enterd In the Company's Book.

John Bell Son of the late Christ Bell aprentis to Isaac Cookson Goldsmith for seven years from 1 Aug^t 1747 was Enterd In the Company Books.

W^m George Chalmers Son of the Rev^d M^r Chalmers of Kirkehaugh aprentice to Isaac Cookson for seven years 1 July 1751 was Enterd In the Co. Books.

W^m Curry Son of William Curry Smith aprentice to M^r Rob^t Makepeace for seven years 12 March 1752 was this day Enterd In the Co Books.

James Robinson Son of John Robinson of Watermelock aprentice to Isaac Cookson for seven years 1st day of November 1752 was Enter'd In the Companys Books.

Robert Mitchel son of Robert Mitchel of New Castle Aprentice to Jn^o Langlands for seven years 2 day of Octo. 1757 was Enterd In the Company.

Rob^t Scott Son of Rob^t Scott of Kirkoswald in the County of Cumberland Blacksmith aprentice to M^r John Langlands for Nine years from the 10th day of October 1760 was enter'd in y^e Company

Ralph Maddison son of the Rev^d M^r Tho^s Maddison of Gateshead in the County of Durham Clerk aprentice to M^r John Langlands for seven years from the 25th of March 1761 was enter'd in this Company.

Geo Dixon Son of Tho^s Dixon of Kirkoswell in the County of Cumberland Mill Wright aprentice to Jn^o Langlands for Eight Years from the 15 day of Octo 1763 was entered in this Company.

Deserted his Masters service on the 12th of Dec. 1767 so will be no way Intitled to his freedom

Jn^o Mitchinson Son of Jn^o Mitchinson of Gatifide in the County of Durham Skinner & Glover aprentice to Jn^o Kirkup for Eight Years from the 22 day of Sep^t 1763 was enterd in this Company

XXVI.—NOTE ON A FRAGMENT OF A ROMAN *LORICA*,
OR CUIRASS OF BRONZE SCALE-ARMOUR, FROM THE
WALL TURRET ON WALLTOWN CRAG.

BY THE REV. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A.

[Read on the 31st January, 1894.]

LAST summer, in the middle of July, when staying at Gilsland, I had the opportunity of again revisiting the important but now nearly obliterated Roman station of MAGNA (Caervoran), and the line of the Roman Wall along the picturesque 'Nine Nicks of Thirlwall.'

In the *Handbook of the Roman Wall* (3rd edition, page 185), it will be remembered that our late friend and venerated vice-president, Dr. Bruce, speaks of the interesting discovery, in the autumn of 1883, of a wall turret laid bare on the westernmost height of these great basaltic crags, not far from Caervoran. No trace of it, however, is now to be found, as it was soon after entirely demolished by the whinstone quarrymen. Dr. Bruce denounces in terms not too strong, we shall probably all admit, an act of vandalism which might easily have been avoided. 'As the quarry is an extensive one it was understood,' he writes, 'that the turret would be spared, and that other portions of the cliff would be submitted to the operations of the miner. Not so, however; this priceless memorial of our country's early history has been utterly destroyed. The discovery of this turret led to the enquiry as to whether there might not be some others to the east of it. Mr. Clayton sent his chief explorator Tailford to examine the cliff. He found two others. Seeing, however, the fate of this one, it will be well to let them enjoy the protection of the soil which now covers them, until England becomes an educated nation.'

At the monthly meeting of our Society in October, 1892, we had the pleasure of listening to our colleague Mr. J. P. Gibson's graphic and interesting lecture on his then recent excavation, under the auspices of our Society, of one of the turrets in question, and of the *muris* and *vallum* in its neighbourhood, excellently illustrated as it

was by a series of photographs. As it is presumed that the two wall turrets, one on the Walltown crag and the other on Mucklebank, the latter being the one excavated, were those which Tailford had found a few years earlier, we may hopefully conclude that the archaeological education of this northern portion at least of our country had considerably advanced in the interval. In passing along the rugged heights, crowned by well-preserved portions of the Roman Wall, as we were glad to see it on that lovely summer morning, we came to the turret a little distance westwards from the Walltown farmhouse. It was here, not on Mucklebank where the Roman centurial stone was discovered in the turret set like an eagle's eyrie on the almost inaccessible crag above 'King Arthur's Well,' that the rarely-found fragment of Roman scale-armour, which I now exhibit, was discovered. In the *débris* thrown out of the Wall turret by the quarrymen, in some *impromptu* diggings, on to the southern slope, it was only natural for a passing antiquary to search a little, especially as the winter frosts and rains had disintegrated the mass since the partial excavation had been effected in the previous summer. Of course, it was certain that hardly anything large or important could have escaped the vigilance of the self-appointed excavators;¹ but by the help of the only implement at hand, a walking-stick, a few small fragments of Roman pottery, 'smother-kiln' and other kinds (but no trace of Samian), soon appeared to view. Among these indications of ancient habitation and the use of *amphorae*, *mortaria*, and different fictile vessels, of which perhaps more and larger traces since taken away would be found in the year preceding, I noticed a tinge of green rust denoting the oxide of bronze. After a little careful manipulation three scales or plates of



(Full size.)

§

a Roman *lorica* or cuirass came to light.

As you will perceive, they are fastened together securely by fine but strong bronze wire; and the holes for attachment to the leathern or linen tunic or lining, two on each scale, the first still perfect, those on the second and third

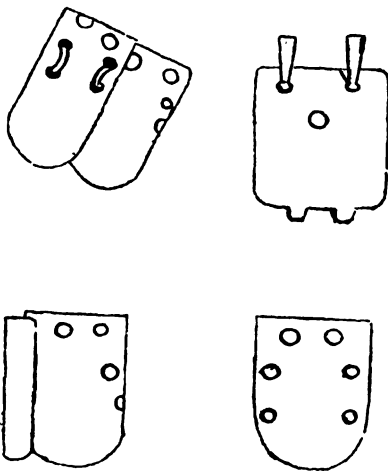
¹ I have not heard what they found here, if they indeed found anything which they would consider valuable. A careful excavation would probably be well rewarded.

broken at the top, are plainly visible. The thin plates of bronze or bell-metal slightly overlap as usual, and are of the normal size, seven-eighths of an inch in length and half an inch in width, each being rounded at the bottom.

It was only, I may here add, the colour of the bronze rust, the scales being small, which attracted my attention; in the same way as a tiny flake of the bronze-tipped sheath of a late Celtic (or perhaps early Saxon) long sword found in excavating an Ancient British circular dwelling in the Carry House camp, near Birtley, North Tynedale, many years since, led me to the discovery of the iron blade itself, lying broken in the hollow between the flagstones of the hut circle.²

A fortnight after the discovery of this fragment of Roman scale-mail I was able, being in London, to compare it with the two similar specimens in the British Museum. In the collection from the camp, called by Mr. Roach Smith 'a model of Roman castrametation,'³ at

Hodhill, near Blandford, Dorsetshire, four scales (detached) appear on a card (No. 242), on which two, on the left hand, which for ornament are tinned at the top, are nearly facsimiles of these from the Walltown Crag turret as to shape, size, and perforations. Near it, on the right, is a single plate, of squarer form, of similar length, but nearly double the width. Below these are two others, narrower than the last described, but with two holes at each side as well as at the top.



(All full size.)

The only other specimen in the British museum is a larger fragment from a camp at Ham Hill, or Hamdon Hill,⁴ Somersetshire.

² *Archaeologia*, xlv. p. 358. 'An Account of Ancient Circular Dwellings, near Birtley, Northumberland,' by the writer.

³ *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* vol. xxxii. p. 46.

⁴ In the *Index to the Archaeologia*, vols. 1-50, p. 324, we find 'Hamdon Hill, Somersetshire, antiquities found at, xxi. 39.'—Described by Sir Richard Colt Hoare.

Five of these scales only are there which are tinned alternately, and are very nearly of the same size as those exhibited here to-day. The original find consisted of two separate rows of bronze plates, the upper row not being as long as the attached lower row, the scales being eight and eighteen respectively in number, of which a photograph is shown in the same case. They were presented by Mr. Hugh Norris of South Petherton, local sec. Soc. Antiq. Lond., in 1886, to whose courtesy I am much indebted, and were described by him in the *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*,⁵ vol. xxxii. p. 82, the remaining portion being in the collection of Mr. W. W. Walter of Stoke-under-Ham.

Thus it appears that only two places, in the south and west of England, have furnished to our national museum examples of this kind; the proximity of the Devonshire and Cornish mines enabling the Romano-British or Roman armourer to add what must have been thought an additional ornament, not found in northern Britain as yet, so far as I am aware, to the cuirass, which would shine in its pristine brilliance with the silvery lustre of tin alternately with that of burnished bronze.

My attention has been further called by Mr. Blair to the few bronze links in the Black Gate museum from the Roman station at

⁵ Mr. Hugh Norris describes the Ham Hill camp as 'one of the largest, if not the very largest, in the country, its circumference being quite three miles, and its enclosed area comprising an extent of more than two hundred acres. He speaks of the 'numerous relics of the Pre-historic, old Celtic, and Romano-British inhabitants found here, bronze implements, and ancient British coins, etc.,' and adds:—'Whilst of a later [Roman] date have been exhumed some very perfect and beautifully preserved fibulae, and an elegant little lamp of great rarity; also the still rarer remains of a lorica or shirt of scale-armour, and portions of a British chariot, all of bronze.'



(One half linear.)

'Near Montacute, in Somerset, on 'Ham Hill,' where are the remains of a Roman camp within the larger circuit of a still older British, an urn was found in 1882 filled with [Roman] coins, and another filled with medals. The whole find is above a hundred weight.' *Roman Britain*, chap. xix. p. 184, by the late Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A.

South Shields, portions of a Roman cuirass of chain-mail, which I have examined with much interest, and, in another case in the same museum, to a great mass of iron chain-mail from the same place. These, however, are examples from the region of the mural barrier of the *lorica catena*, of links not scales.

Both were in contemporary use as necessary parts of the ordinary defensive armour of the Roman *hastati*, whose offensive weapons were strong, double-edged, sharp-pointed swords and heavy javelins, these being the heavy-armed infantry of the legion. 'The greater number of the *Hastati*,' it is said, 'wore in front of their breast a brass plate nine inches square, which was called the heart-preserver (*καρδιοψύλαξ*); but those whose fortune exceed 100,000 asses (probably something over £200) had complete cuirasses of chain-armour (*lorica*).'

When we consider the thinness of the bronze plates of the Roman cuirass, such as I have shown, it might be deemed only an indifferent defence; but neither this scale-armour nor the chain-mail, in the opinion of high authorities, could be easily pierced by a sword-thrust. We may hope that the owner of this particular *lorica* (perchance the brave soldier of Hadrian or Severus), who kept watch and ward on the turret set on the bleak summit of the Walltown crag, lost this fragment before us by a simple accident or from the effects of use merely, and that it does not denote the loss of his life, 'though in armour clad,' in one of the sudden and over-powering onslaughts of the fierce Britons, Picts, or Scots, from regions beyond the Wall. (Compare *Roman Wall*, 3rd edit. pp. 200, 201.)

It would not be desirable, and I have no intention, to trace the early history of the *lorica*; this, as is well known, can be adequately done by referring, among other authors of repute on this subject, to Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, and to its excellent accompanying plates.⁶ The cuirass went through various evolutionary stages, being first of quilted linen, useful for hunters and Homer's light-armed warriors. Then the stronger material of horn came into use, which was cut into small pieces, planed, and polished and fastened, like feathers, upon linen shirts. These preceded the metallic scale-armour, the scales being sometimes

⁶ See *Archaeologia*, xix. pp. 120, 336, etc.

of iron or gold, as among the Persians (Herodotus, vii. 61 and ix. 22); but they were more commonly of bronze, like those before us (Virg. *Aen.* xi. 487, 'Rutulum thoraca indutus aenis'), and occasionally consisted of thin plates of iron and hard leather (Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 79). 'The basis of the cuirass was sometimes a skin or a piece of strong linen to which the metallic scales, or 'feathers,' as they are also called, were sewed.' (Virg. *Aen.* xi. 770, 771, 'clothed in a skin, clasped with gold, plumed with brazen scales.')

It may be worthy of remark, in conclusion, that in that very full description of the panoply of an ancient warrior of the eleventh century before Christ, in 1 *Samuel* xvii. 5, is the earliest mention of the *lorica*. The Philistine giant, Goliath of Gath, is described as wearing the Hebrew *shîr-yôn*⁷ (rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek equivalent *θώραξ*, and in the Vulgate by the Latin *lorica*) a 'coat of mail,' literally a 'breastplate of scales,' being armour for defence, covering the body from the neck to the girdle or to the thighs in its fullest form. It is also an interesting fact that the ancient Roman *lorica* and the modern cuirass derive their name from the same material of which both were primarily made; the former of the twisted *lora* or cut thongs of leather, then of leather itself, forming a leathern corselet; the latter, cuirass, expressing its origin directly from the self-same source in the French *cuir*, leather, as in every other Romance language, all arising indirectly from the Latin word *corium*, meaning the skin or hide of animals.

It has been well remarked that the enumeration of the Roman soldier's panoply by St. Paul in *Ephesians* vi. (excepting only the spear) exactly coincides with the figures of the armed soldiers sculptured upon the arch of Septimius Severus at Rome. First, there is the body-armour, namely, the girdle, the breastplate or *lorica*, the Apostle gives its Christian significance as the 'breastplate of righteousness,'

⁷ This is the same as Sirion, the name given to Mount Hermon, in the north of Palestine, by the Sidonians (*Deut.* iii. 9), which appears to have been taken from its resemblance to a 'breastplate,' just like the Greek *θώραξ*, for the mountain, also called Sipylus in Magnesia, *i.e.* Lydia in Asia Minor (Gesenius's *Hebrew and Eng. Lexicon*, *sub voce*). Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 111, *Arms*; and *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2nd ed. p. 711, *Lorica*, where is given an illustration of an Asiatic cuirass of scale-armour taken from Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour* (plate ii.); and a figure of a Roman imperial soldier so armed from Bartoli's *Arous Triumphales*.

and the shoes; next, the defensive arms, the shield and the helmet; and lastly, the offensive weapon, the sword. This was the accoutrement which St. Paul had constantly before his eyes during his two years' (his first) imprisonment at Rome; when, though bound continually 'with a chain' to the soldier who kept him, a sentry who would often be relieved in his watch upon the prisoner, he was yet permitted to 'dwell in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him' (*Acts* xxviii. 16, 30).

XXVII.—A FORGOTTEN REFERENCE TO ROMAN MILE-CASTLES.

BY CADWALLADER J. BATES.

[Read on the 28th February, 1894.]

IN the very valuable but extremely complicated notes appended by the Rev. John Hodgson to the account of the Roman Wall in his *History of Northumberland*¹ is a passage said to be taken from a Treatise on the Art of War, written to Theodosius and his sons, which at first sight reminds us more of the line of mile-castles and turrets along the crags from Walltown to Sewingshields than does anything else to be found in classical literature.

'Among the advantages to the state,' it says, 'must be reckoned a care for frontiers on every side, whose security is best provided by a number of castles: so that they should be erected at the distance of every mile with a strong wall and stout towers, which fortifications the attention and care of the owners of the adjoining land will erect without charge to the public, keeping watch and ward of country people in them, that the repose of the provinces may remain secure within this circuit as it were of garrisons.'

It ought not perhaps to excite surprise that in the *cause célèbre* regarding the authorship of the Wall, the advocates of Hadrian and the advocates of Severus have not produced this passage in their more recent pleadings; but it is very strange that it should have been overlooked by the late Dean Merivale who so decidedly referred the construction of the Wall to the fourth century.

¹ II. iii. p. 278 n.; 1840.

One reason for this passage having been allowed to drop out of the series of stock quotations from the classics on the subject, appears to have been the difficulty writers experienced of finding where it actually came from.

Horsley, like Hodgson, is content to give Camden as his authority; but he begs the whole question in asserting that 'The walls (? castles) were built long before the reign of Theodosius, so that the builders of them could not properly follow the counsel of a writer of his time.' The passage is not to be found in the original edition of Camden's *Britannia*, but appears first in that of 1600.² Holland, in his translation (p. 793), quaintly renders it:—'Among the commodities of State & Weale publike, right behovefull is the care concerning the limits, which in all places doe guard & enclose the sides of the Empire: The defence whereof may bee best assured by certain castles built neare together, so that they be erected with a steedy wall & strong towres a mile asunder one from another: Which munitions verily the Landlords ought to arreare without the publicke charge, by a distribution of that care among themselves, for to keep watch and ward in them and in the field forefences, that the peace and quiet of the Provinces being guarded round about therewith, as with a girdle of defence, may rest safe and secure from hurt and harme.' Horsley and Hodgson have both followed the revised translation of Gibson (2nd ed. ii. p. 1049), which was copied by Gough. The latter, intending to give his authority for the passage, has placed a (x) after it in the text, but the foot-note to which this refers is left hopelessly blank.³

Hodgson was misled by the vague phraseology of Camden and his translators into attributing the passage to Ammianus Marcellinus, in the *Northumberland* he wrote for the *Beauties of England and Wales*.⁴ 'When,' he says, 'we add the advice Ammianus Marcellinus, a little before the building of this Wall, gave to the Emperor Theodosius, and his son, 'to build castles on the frontier of the empire, a mile asunder, and joined with a firm wall and strong towers, and that these fortresses be garrisoned by the landowners adjoining, . . . it seems

² It is introduced by the words 'Adeò vt conditores eius consiliū sequuti videātur, qui de *Rebus bellicis* ad Theodosium & eius filios scripsit, sic enim ille,' etc. etc.—*Britannia*, ed. 1600, p. 715; ed. 1607, p. 652.

³ *Britannia*, ed. Gough [2nd ed. 1806], vol. iii. p. 470.

⁴ Vol. xii. part i. p. 7; 1813.

past all doubt but that the Wall usually attributed to Severus, was built sometime about the seventh consulship of Theodosius the Younger.'

It was, however, neither Ammianus Marcellinus nor Vegetius Renatus who tendered this advice to Theodosius, but the unknown author of, as it seems, an almost unknown tract on military matters.

This tract seems to have formed part of the codex containing the *Notitia*, the list of the Roman provinces with their officials and troops which has proved so great a boon to pilgrims along the line of the Wall from Wallsend to Birdoswald, and it is therefore of some importance in confirming the date of that document.⁵ Both were printed by Andreas Alciatus at Basle in 1552, from a copy of the codex in the library of Spire.⁶ The tract appears also in the edition of Pancirolli's *Notitia* printed at Lyons in 1608,⁷ and in a collection of Latin military writers edited by Peter Scriverius and published that same year at Leyden; also in the Geneva edition of the *Notitia*, 1623.⁸ This is apparently the last edition of it; at any rate it is not mentioned in Engelmann's list of classics printed since the year 1700.

Although the names of the Augustus and two Augusti to whom the preface is addressed are not given,⁹ there is little reason to question the conclusion that they were Theodosius and his sons Honorius and Arcadius. The writer is extremely bitter against Constantine for having through his spoliation of the temples largely substituted gold for brass in the coinage;¹⁰ to gold he attributes all the existing misery with the fervour of a modern bi-metallist; the real Golden Age, he

⁵ 'NOTITIA VTRAQUE CVM ORIENTIS TVM OCCIDENTIS . . . SVB iungitur Notitijs vetustus liber DE REBVS BELLICIS ad Theodosium Aug. & filios eius Arcadium atq: Honorium ut uidetur, scriptus, incerto autore . . . BASILEAE, M D LII.'

⁶ 'NOTITIA VTRAQVE &C. NVNC NOVISSIME FRANCISCI RHVARDESII, I.V.D. præstantissimi Commentarijs illustratum . . . LVGDVNI, M.DC.VIII.'

⁷ 'V. INL. FL. VEGETII RENATI COMITIS, ALIORVMQVE ALIQVOT VETERVM De Re Militari LIBRI . . . *Omnia emendatijs, quædem nunc primum edita à PETRO SCRIVERIO . . . EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA RAPHÆLENGIJ. M.D.C.VIII.*'—p. 81, 'ANONYMI DE REBVS BELLICIS, &C. &C.'

⁸ 'NOTITIA DIGNITATVM &C. &C. GENEVAE, Excudebat Stephanus Gamo-netus. M.DC.XXIII.'

⁹ '*Prefatio. AD * * A. & * * AA. COELESTI semper instinctu, felicitis Reipublicæ vestræ commoditas, Sacratissimi Principes &c. &c.*'—ed. Scriverii, p. 83.

¹⁰ 'CONSTANTINI temporibus profusa largitio aurum pro ære, quod antea magni pretij habebatur, vilibus commercijs assignavit. &c. &c.'—*Ibid.* p. 86.

declares, was when gold was quite unknown.¹¹ He suggests a short-service system of five years, and a scheme of military colonisation on the frontiers as means of alleviating the burdens of a standing army. He describes and depicts various improvements in the apparatus of war. His four-wheeled 'balista' drawn by a pair of horses is one of the earliest prototypes of the Maxim gun. His 'Tichodifrus' for approaching and mounting the walls of a besieged city is less easily comprehended; it looks like a cross between a hay-tedder and a turnip-drill. Three varieties of the scythe-chariots, used in Eastern as well as in British warfare, are recommended. We are then shown a 'Thoracomachus,' or sort of woollen guernsey, for wearing under a cuirass or coat-of-mail, which has little remarkable about it, unless it be its resemblance (if the woodcut in the Basle edition is to be trusted) to the Holy Coat of Trêves. To the general reader the most interesting thing in the whole tract is the account of a *liburna* or swift frigate to be propelled by three sets of paddle-wheels, each worked by a pair of oxen going round in a 'gin' on the deck; this employment of wheels and oxen for ploughing the deep in pursuit of an enemy's ships was by its novelty, the writer thought, certain to ensure complete victory.¹²

The passage relating to frontier fortifications is the last paragraph in the tract except one, urging a thorough revision of the laws of the Empire, advice which was certainly acted upon by Theodosius. The Latin, of which Gibson's is an awkward and not altogether accurate translation, runs:—

De limitum munitionibus.

'Est præterea inter comoda Reipublicæ utilis limitum cura, ambientium ubique latus Imperii. Quorum tutelæ assidua meliùs castella prospicient: ita ut millenis interjecta passibus stabili muro et firmissimis turribus erigantur. Quas quidem munitiones possessorum distributa sollicitudo sine publico sumptu constituat, vigiliis in his et agrariis exercendis, ut provinciarum quies circumdata quodam præsidii cingulo inlæsa requiescat.'¹³

Although Britain is not mentioned in the tract, it is evident that it was in the mind of the writer, when he speaks of some of the bar-

¹¹ 'Certè aurea (tempora) nuncupamus, quæ aurum penitus non habebant.'—*Ibid.* p. 87.

¹² 'Quòd si nauali bello terras fugiens maria hostis obsideat, nouo celeritatis ingenio terrestri quodammodò ritu rotis & bubus subacta fluctibus Liburna transcurrrens restituet sine morâ victoriam.'—*Ibid.* p. 96. ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 101.

barians on the frontiers being sheltered by forests, supported by mountains, and protected by frosts, '*pruinis*,' this last word being specially coupled with Caledonia in the well-known squib written on the emperor Hadrian;¹⁴ or again, when he recommends that the soldiers marching in cold countries, '*per glaciales plagas*,' should be provided with the woollen '*thoracomachus*.'¹⁵

The emperor Severus Alexander, whose reign was a period of great activity along the line of the Wall, had already favoured the policy of planting military colonists along the frontiers; and when we remember the regularity with which the castles occur at the end of every Roman mile, in marked contrast to the ever-varying distances between station and station, the question suggests itself whether the guard of the actual Wall may not have been confided to bodies of soldiers distinct from the auxiliaries quartered in the stations.

It will be noticed that Gildas, in speaking of the Wall having been built 'at public and private expense,' reproduces the ideas of the writer of the tract;¹⁶ but it is not my intention this evening to do more than bring the passage I have quoted again prominently before the notice of the Society. For any final verdict on the history of the lines of earth-work, ditches, and masonry existing between the Tyne and the Solway, the evidence in our possession is too meagre and too contradictory. But if we remember the bronze celt found in the so-called *vallum*, and this advice given to Theodosius for the erection of mile-castles, we shall grasp the two most widely separated horns of this nest of dilemmas, and there will be little danger of our views becoming cramped and contracted.

¹⁴ '*De bellicarum machinarum utilitate*. INPRIMIS sciendum est quòd Imperium Romanum circumlatrantium vbique nationum perstringat insania, & omne latus limitum tecta naturalibus locis adpetat dolosa Barbaries. Nam plerumque memoratæ gentes aut silvis teguntur, aut extolluntur montibus, aut vindicantur pruinis, nonnullæ vagæ solitudinibus ac sole nimio proteguntur.'—*Ibid.* p. 89.

¹⁵ 'Conueniet tamen per glaciales euntem militem plagas et Thorocomacho muniri, et reliquis ad tutelam pertinentibus rebus, prout membrorum poscit vtilitas, armari: vt et frigoribus sufficiat, et telis possit occurrere minoribus sine clipeis assumptis: ne sit, quod vsu plerumque euenit, pro armorum latitudine silvarum densitas inaccessa, et amittatur armorum enormitate refugium.'—*Ibid.* p. 101. Claudian (viii. 26), it will be remembered, specially speaks of Theodosius having opposed castles to the Caledonian frosts—'Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra *pruinis*'—while he applies the epithet '*glacialis*' to Ireland.

¹⁶ 'Sumptu publico privatoque, adiunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis.'—*Historia Gildæ*, § 18, ed. Stevenson, p. 24.

XXVIII.—'THE OLD BANK' (BELL, COOKSON, CARR,
AND AIREY), NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

BY MABERLY PHILLIPS.

[Read on the 20th December, 1893.]

RALPH CARR, general merchant, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and afterwards of Dunston Hill, may justly be considered the father of all north-country bankers. For Newcastle I claim the honour (until documentary evidence can be shown to the contrary) of possessing the first provincial bank in England, subsequently known as the 'Old Bank.' Before giving an account of it, let us see how it originated.

After gaining a thorough knowledge of all local business, Ralph Carr travelled extensively on the continent until 1737, when he returned to Newcastle and commenced trading as a general merchant, and very soon after added bill-broking to his other engagements. In 1745 occurred the Rebellion, when the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, landed in Scotland, and Newcastle being one of the largest towns near the scene of action, became a centre for the operations of the royal army. Drafts on the paymaster in London, required to be cashed, and money had to be sent into Scotland to pay the troops. Ralph Carr readily availed himself of the business opportunities thus offered. Records are available to show that he forwarded to Scotland at various times, no less than £30,000 in coin, and that he cashed two orders, one for £500, and another for £200, drawn at Berwick on the 23rd of September, by Sir John Cope, upon the Hon. Thomas Wennington, paymaster-general. The drafts were drawn only two days after the disastrous battle at Preston Pans, where the Pretender gained such a signal victory, so that Mr. Carr must have had great confidence in the Government. The documents were made out in favour of Matthew Ridley, esq. On the 2nd of October a sum of £640 was paid for the subsistence of major-general Guise's regiment, and £200 to the earl of London, who was proceeding to Scotland.

Mr. Carr had an intimate friend in Edinburgh, John Coutts, and in a letter to him he thus refers to the victories gained by the



PORTRAIT OF JOHN COUTTS,
After a painting by Ramsay, in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

(This illustration has been kindly lent by Mr. Moberly Phillips.)

Pretender :—‘ You may be quite easy about your gold, for should the Highlanders come this length, it is easy to put it out of their way, but I apprehend they will not be allowed to cross the Firth, nor have any encouragement for so doing as so few are ready to join them. However, the sooner I am cleared of it the better.’ He remarks upon the Preston Pans calamity in a letter to Mr. Alexander Countts of London, September 24th, ‘ I forwarded you a packet by last post from Mr. John Countts, which was brought me by his servant from Allanbank. I hope it came safe to hand. I doubt not ere this you’ve heard of Sir John Cope’s defeat We are here in the greatest consternation, not knowing but they may march here, this makes London bills not to be had almost on any terms, the people would give a premium as every one is remitting away what they have.’

The duke of Cumberland, general of the royal forces, passed through Newcastle, Tuesday, January 28th, 1745-6. A legend has been handed down to the effect that on the evening of the day named, he dined with a number of leading citizens, and after dinner said, ‘ Gentlemen, which of you will lend me £30,000, for I and my army are in great straits for want of money.’ All present looked aghast at such a request, except one, who boldly said, ‘ You shall have it in cash to-morrow,’ this being Ralph Carr. ‘ Thank you kindly,’ said the duke, ‘ I do not want the money, but only wished to prove your loyalty.’ The real facts of the matter I have shown. The money was not all Mr. Carr’s own, but received by him as banker from others, and invested by him in these advances.

It is quite possible that the duke and Mr. Carr conversed upon the subject, for in a letter of February 4th, addressed to Messrs. Middleton, bankers, London, Mr. Carr acknowledges the receipt of their letter of the 30th ult., ‘ announcing the dispatch of £2,000 by carrier.’ At this time postal communication was by stage-waggon, which did not travel more than about four miles an hour, so that it took about four days for a letter to travel between London and Newcastle by post. It is therefore quite possible that Ralph Carr may have despatched a private messenger to Messrs. Middleton & Co., after an interview with the duke on the 28th, and that Messrs. Middleton’s letter of the 30th announcing the immediate despatch of £2,000, may have been their prompt response. The Government were obtaining all the gold they

could for Scotland, where their credit was bad. On December 13th Mr. Carr wrote again to his friend John Coutts of Edinburgh, 'Regarding the scarcity of specie for the payment of the troops, we are still in the same position. When Mr. Wade's army lay here they drained this place, and as trade is much at a stand, many of their bills still continue on hand. I have them myself for a considerable sum.' In another letter to the same friend (February 7th) he says, 'Mr. Calcraft parted with me . . . and is gone with some Dragoons to Hull and Leeds to bring cash.' Again, on March 7th, Mr. Carr writes to Mr. Coutts, 'the last £2,000 (last of the £30,000) is despatched. If our trade sets in briskly, cash will be more plentiful here, and now and then I may be able to furnish you with a £1,000.'

I have mentioned Mr. Carr corresponding with his London agents, Messrs. Middleton. It is necessary that I should give some little account of this firm, as they had much to do with the starting of the Newcastle bank. They were originally goldsmiths in St. Martin's lane, near St. Martin's church, and are first named in 1692, when George Middleton had a partner, John Campbell. George Middleton died prior to 1748, when George (or John) Campbell took his clerk, David Bruce, into partnership. In 1753, George Campbell was trading alone; he had a niece, Miss Polly Peagram, with whom James Coutts, a young Scotsman from Edinburgh, fell in love, and eventually they were married.¹ About this time Mr. Campbell took his nephew into partnership, the firm being Campbell & Coutts. The house of business was near Durham yard in the Strand. James Coutts was one of the sons of John Coutts, of Edinburgh, merchant (his portrait is in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts). He had four sons, John, James, Patrick, and Thomas.

With this knowledge of the London firm, we can now fully understand an account of the formation of the Newcastle bank, written by Ralph Carr some years later. He says, 'The Bank has also made many thous^d pounds by the interest of money in their hands, for I

¹ *Newcastle Journal*, May 10th to 17th, 1755 :—'*Edinburgh*, May 8th. On Saturday se'nnight was married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, London, Mr. James Coutts, of Jeffrey's Square, merchant, son to the decess'd John Coutts, esq., Lord Provost, of Edinburgh, to Miss Polly Peagram, of Knight's-Bridge, niece to Mr. Campbell, Banker in the Strand, an amiable young lady, with a fortune of £30,000, and that day the new-married couple set out for Bath.'

most absurdly charged them with no interest for a great many years, being my Hobby Horse, and solely begun by myself, on Mr. Campbell's recommending my beginning a bank in Newcastle, to take his nephew, the present rich Banker, James Coutts, as first my apprentice, and after three years as a partner, for their father, my worthy friend John Coutts, esq., had beg'd me to be a Father to his four sons, this accident gave me the first notion of a Bank, and it proved both advantageous to us and of the utmost service to the country till too many others started up.' We see, then, that the idea of a bank pure and simple for Newcastle originated with Mr. Campbell, who was an early partner in Coutts & Co., and that the Newcastle bank might have had for its first 'junior,' 'James Coutts, the present rich Banker.' Acting upon the suggestion of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Carr eventually entered into partnership with three other gentlemen of Newcastle, to carry on the business of 'Bankers & Dealers in Exchange.' The first partners were Matthew Bell, John Cookson, Ralph Carr, and Joseph Airey. The first known deed of partnership, which is still in existence, is for ten years from January 1st, 1756. The banking premises were to be at the residence of Mr. Joseph Airey, in Pilgrim street.² The paid up capital would be considered marvelously small in the present day, £500 for each partner, or £2,000 in all, but they were all men of considerable wealth and position. Unfortunately there is some little uncertainty about the time of their first opening. The date has hitherto been ascribed to 1755, but it is likely that it may have been earlier. The *Newcastle Courant*, for August 23rd, 1755, announces that 'Yesterday, Notes were issued from the Bank Established in this Town by a company of Gentlemen of Character and Fortune, which will be of infinite Advantage to this place.' And both the *Courant* and *Journal* of November 22nd and 29th, 1755, advertise the following:—'Notice is hereby given that the Newcastle Bank will be opened on Monday next, at the house late Mr. Robinson's, in Pilgrim Street, where all Busi-

² Miss J. P. Airey, of Bath, writes as follows, January 10th, 1894:—'I have re-read the will (at Durham) of my great-great-grandfather, Thomas Airey of Newcastle and Killingworth, the father of your Joseph Airey, the banker, and in it, dated 1770, he leaves his leasehold dwelling house with the appurtenances situate in Pilgrim Street, which he then inhabited, for the remainder of the term unexpired at his death, to my great grandfather, Henry Airey. There is no number or description of the house given by which it can be identified.'

ness in the Banking and Exchange Way will be transacted as in London.' This announcement has hitherto been held as proclaiming the opening of the first bank in Newcastle, but as it was recorded on August 23rd that the bank was then issuing notes, I think the announcement of November 22nd simply speaks of a change of premises, so that we are not yet certain of the precise time or place that saw the birth of the first bank in our town.

Assuming August, 1755, to be the date of opening, we claim this to have been the first provincial bank founded in the kingdom. Lawson, in his *History of Banking*, asserts that the notes of this date were the first ever issued by a country banker. The Woods of Gloucester, Smiths of Nottingham, and many others, were transacting business of a banking nature in conjunction with their other business, but the Newcastle bank had a fixed capital and a deed of partnership for banking business pure and simple.

In 1762 or 1763, Mr. Joseph Saint became a partner, and the firm was then Bell, Cookson, Carr, Airey, & Saint. Mr. Airey died near the end of the year 1770, and his place was taken by Mr. John Widdrington (a nephew of Mr. Carr's) on January 2nd, 1771: the firm then being Bell, Cookson, Carr, Widdrington, & Saint. The capital was divided into eighteen parts, the three old partners holding four shares each, and the two new partners three shares each. 'Messrs. Widdrington & Saint had to attend to the daily business of the bank without extra remuneration.'

In 1772 there occurred in the metropolis a terrible money panic, which was not long in spreading to the provinces. Only one other bank was in existence in Newcastle, and both required public support. On June 29th, a meeting was held and a resolution passed to accept the notes of the banks.

In 1775 another deed of partnership was entered into, under which Mr. Airey (probably son of the late partner) took Mr. Widdrington's place, the capital being divided into thirty-two shares: Messrs. Bell, Cookson, Carr, and Airey, each held seven, and Mr. Saint four, the latter to attend gratis to the business of the firm. In the directory of 1778, the bank is described as 'The Old Bank,' and occupying premises near the end of Silver street, probably the same that they moved to in 1755.

Mr. Cookson and Mr. Saint both died in 1783. On January 1st, 1784, a new partnership was entered into between Messrs. Bell, Carr, Cookson (Isaac, son of John, the late partner), Widdrington, James Wilkinson, and Thomas Gibson, Mr. Cookson taking the place of his father, Messrs. Wilkinson and Gibson being admitted in Mr. Saint's room. 'Each of the first three partners held four shares out of eighteen, Widdrington held three, while the two last named held three half shares each, and were bound to attend daily without remuneration. The style of the bank was to be Messrs. Bell, Carr, Cookson, Widdrington, & Co.'

Vol. X. of our *Archæologia Asiatica* contains a charming paper by the late James Clephan, entitled 'John Widdrington of the Old Bank, and Carlyle of Inveresk.' It gives an interesting account of the times, and shows how useful it was for the traveller to be on good terms with the few country bankers that then existed. The reverend doctor and three notable friends were returning from the south. Ere they reached Durham, says Mr. Clephan :—

They found their purse was failing, and that they must put themselves severely on short commons. 'I was sensible,' says Carlyle, (the appointed treasurer of the band,) 'that we should run out before we came to Newcastle.' It was expedient that they should push forward, and cross the Tyne early in the day to secure supplies. This they might have accomplished, 'had we not been seduced by a horse-race we met near Chester-le-Street, which we could not resist, as some of us had never seen John Bull at his favourite amusement. There was a great crowd, and the Mrs. and Misses Bull made a favourite part of the scene, their equipages being single and double horses, sometimes triple, and many of them ill-mounted;' the equestrian members of the illustrious family of Bull utterly unconscious that they were sitting for their portraits! The riders, well-mounted or ill, hastened on their headlong way, 'with a keenness, eagerness, violence of motion, and loudness of vociferation, that appeared like madness to us; for we thought them in extreme danger, by their crossing and jostling in all directions, at the full gallop; and yet none of them fell. Having tired our horses with this diversion (continues Carlyle) we were obliged to halt at an inn to give them a little corn, for we had been four hours on horse-back, and we had nine miles to Newcastle. Besides corn to four horses, and a bottle of Porter to our man Anthony, I had just two shillings remaining, but I could only spare one of them, for we had turnpikes to pay, and we called for a pint of port, which mixed with a quart of water, made a good drink for each of us. Our horses and their riders being both jaded, it was ten o'clock before we arrived in Newcastle. There we got an excellent supper, etc., and a good night's sleep. I sent for Jack Widdrington when at breakfast, who immediately gave us what we wanted; and we, who had been so penurious for three days, became suddenly extra-

gant. Adam bought a £20 horse, and the rest of us what trinkets we wanted : Robertson for his wife and children at Gladsmuir, and Home and I for the children at Polwarth manse.'

Mr. Carr retired from the bank on 31st December, 1787, but he has left letters and papers that afford a full and most interesting record of the bank's transactions.³

The balance sheets for the early years of their trading are still in existence, and from them it appears that at the end of the first year the note issue was £13,523 18s. 4d., 'the odd money may be from the cost of production being included.' The deposits exceeded £10,000, £11,502 2s. 7d. was in the hands of Messrs. Vere, Glyn, & Hallifax, London, and £505 with Coutts & Co.; cash in hand, £3,000; discounts, £13,000. There was one overdraft of about £1,000. The profit for the year was £1,017 19s. 7d. Lord Ravensworth, Robert Ellison, jun., the Newcastle Infirmary, and Marine Society were amongst the depositors. In the year 1758, the profit was £3,522, which constituted the first dividend. There was difficulty in employing the 'deposits profitably in genuine banking business in the neighbourhood,' and on April 18th the following resolution was passed :—

Whereas the sums advanced by us on notes and accepted bills are found insufficient to employ the cash in our hands, we have agreed that any sum or sums of money not exceeding £7,000 be lent out.

A letter of September 15th, 1767, to Mr. John Moses of Hull, shows how the note circulation was increased.

Our bank remits for many of the large estates in these counties at the two terms in bills at 40 days at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., which in fact is receiving and remitting their money for nothing, as it always happens in May, that bills are $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. premium, and we are then obliged to send many thousand pounds by land carriage to London. Our only advantage is, that the gentlemen in Northumberland order their tenants to take payment for their corn in our notes, but no trade of this kind is carry'd on in the county of Durham. Our Gentlemen have formerly suffered greatly by their agents taking bad bills.

The manner in which overdrafts were negotiated is shown by a letter (March 15th, 1768) to Messrs. Charles and Robert Falls, of Dunbar :—

³ From which much of my information is derived, and my best thanks are due for the courtesy I have received from the present representatives of the family.

Our bank at the closing of their books last year resolved to keep strictly to their original rates, which they find absolutely necessary, one of which was that all single Merchants or Houses having cash accounts sh^d give a bond to the bank with some other person as a security for the re-payment of all money that may be due to the extent agreed upon, and this is accordingly comply'd with by the first people in this country, and therefore no possibility that any can take it amiss being an established practice at all banks.

The balance sheet for 1771 gives a total of £141,340 ; discounts, £53,202 ; bills of exchange, £43,660 ; 20 overdrafts ; 42 depositors ; note issue, close on £82,000 ; profit, £3,705. During the year 1772 occurred a serious panic. In 1773 the business fell to £140,000 ; note issue, £102,000 ; and a profit of only £3,000 remained.

Business revived in the next year, the balance sheet showing £234,660 ; the capital had been increased to £8,000 ; and the note circulation had risen to £170,000.

In 1776 the turnover was £278,708 ; cash in the bank, £53,853 ; bills of exchange, £49,744 ; with Halifax, Mills, Glyn, & Co., £36,093 ; Castell, Whately, & Powell (bankers, London), £11,767 ; navy bills, £14,609 ; bank stock, £8,500 ; 3½ per cent. annuities, £1,799 ; at the Bank of England, £443 ; overdrafts, about £38,000 ; the note issue was £180,000 ; the capital, £8,000 ; 52 depositors, £85,000 in amount ; profit, £5,712. Amongst the names of the customers are Bigge, Riddell, Williamson, Collingwood, Askew, Isaacson, Ravensworth, Headlam, Loraine, Clennell, Ellison, Fawcett, Dockwray, and others.

In the next year there was a great falling off, probably from other banks starting ; total, £183,037 ; deposits were £48,000 less ; and notes less by £52,000. From a letter that was lost in the post, containing two bills, which were advertised for in the Newcastle paper, March, 1778, we find that one of the missing documents was drawn at thirty days after date upon Castell, Whately, & Powell, bankers, London (who failed about 1802). 'Signed for Bell, Cookson, Carr, Widdrington, and self, Jos. Saint.'

A meeting of country bankers was held at the 'York Tavern,' in York, on June 6th, 1783, 'to protest and agitate against a tax on bills of exchange, promissory notes, bank notes,' etc., for which Lord John Cavendish had carried a motion in the House of Commons. Twelve country bankers are named, and at the head of the list are Messrs. Bell, Cookson, Carr, and Widdrington.

Mr. Carr's reasons for quitting the bank are shown by the following accounts left by himself:—

Too often I have lost many thousand pounds by having large sums in their (the bank's) hands, and wanted to buy stocks or other advantageous purposes. They could not pay me on the peace with America of which I had early intelligence. This prevented my buying stock to the amount of 12 to £15,000, by which I evidently lost, as I showed to them *circa* £6,800, for, on examining their discounts then in 1785 with Mr. Gibson, we found discounts of near a hundred thousand pounds intirely locked up and they could not pay me and the same has repeatedly happen'd. I always had large sums in the bank, and Messrs. . . . and were generally greatly in debt to the bank, and were in fact the cause of my loss. I also lost by Mr. upwards of £5,000, for when I bought of him at £17,000, I ordered the bank to sell out £12,000 3 per cent. stock, then at 97 per cent., and they got the licences from the Bank of England for that purpose, and it is in their hands to this day, but Mr. could not make a title for me till 1793, when stock had fallen to £48, and I still have that stock to my great loss.

On December 31st, 1787, Mr. Carr writes:—

Having from this time quitted the bank, and turned over my share to Sir John Eden and Sir Mathew Ridley, for if I had continued a banker it should have been on such terms so as to have taken in no other Partners, nor were they necessary, as my fortune alone of near a Hundred Thousand Pounds, was a sufficient security to the Publick as not being under settlements. The annual settlements of our Banking Accounts are in Small Books to which I refer, as I always placed my Bank Profits out to Interest with other savings. I calculate I have at this day made more than Forty Thousand Pounds by my concern in the bank, but now that so many Banks are begun here and everywhere, the business is spoiled and must be attended with daily hazard, and their competitions disgraceful. I wish my nephew J. W. was clear of it.

We know that in 1787, there were three other banks in Newcastle, and as the population of the town was only about 15,000, and the commerce of the district insignificant in comparison with its present volume, the competition must indeed have been keen. Doubtless Messrs. Davison-Bland & Co. (now Lambton & Co.) was one of the banks referred to in the remark, 'so many banks are begun here,' as they were forming their establishment at this very date (December, 1787).

In 1786 Mr. Bell died, and the names of Sir John Eden and Sir Matthew White Ridley, barts., were added, they being trustees for Matthew Bell, grandson of the late partner. When Mr. Carr retired, the firm was Sir John Eden, Sir Matthew White Ridley, Cookson, Widdrington, & Co.

In May, 1784, street alterations were commenced, which ended in 1789, in the formation of Mosley and Dean streets, and by 1790, the bank was established at the south corner of Mosley and Pilgrim streets, and these premises have been used for banking purposes from then until the present time. Mr. Bell's eldest son came of age towards the end of 1791, when his name was added to the firm, also that of Sir Matthew White Ridley, bart., who now became a partner in his own right, the firm being Ridley, Cookson, Widdrington, Bell, & Co. Sir John Eden's name drops out, but as he had been only a partner as trustee for young Mr. Bell, who had attained his majority, the omission is accounted for.

We now come to the eventful year 1793. In April, the commencement of hostilities with France operated unfavourably upon public credit, and caused a serious run upon the provincial banks. On the 8th of the month, all the Newcastle banks had to suspend payment in specie. The same day a public meeting was held, and every effort made to restore public confidence. It was resolved that the banks 'were of unquestionable credit, and entitled to the confidence of the public in the fullest extent,' and that those present would readily accept their notes. A committee of sixteen gentlemen was appointed to investigate the affairs of the banks generally, and to report. On the same day, the following notice was issued by the bankers:—

Newcastle, 9th April, 1793.

Messrs. Ridley, Cookson, & Company, Surtees, Burdon, & Company, Baker, Hedley, & Company, R. J. Lambton & Company.

Finding that notwithstanding the liberal offer of support, made at the meeting yesterday, the public alarm still continues to occasion such considerable and unusual demands for gold, that those funds, which, a few days ago, were greatly superior to every probable exigency, are now found not adequate to the present immediate circumstances of the country, think it their duty to request the indulgence of the public for a short interval, for the purpose of supplying themselves with such additional funds, as the present extraordinary demands make necessary.

On the following day a guarantee was entered into by the merchants and townspeople, and it eventually rose to nearly half a million. Similar meetings were held in the neighbouring towns, public confidence was somewhat re-established, and cash payments resumed on Saturday, April 20th. In 1797 another panic occurred, which was met and tided over in a similar way.

Mr. Cookson retired in 1796, and Mr. Widdrington died in 1797. The firm then became Ridley, Bell, Wilkinson, and Gibson. Mr. Wilkinson died in 1800 (another account says 1802), and the firm became 'Ridley, Bell, and Gibson.' On January 1st, 1803, George Gibson, brother of Thomas, entered the firm. In June of this year, trouble again occurred in the Newcastle banks. On the 30th of this month, Messrs. Surtees, Burdon, & Co. were obliged to close their doors. On the same day a public meeting was held, and signatures solicited of those who would undertake to accept the notes of the remaining banks. The list sets forth the names of some four hundred firms and private individuals, who pledge themselves to accept the paper of Sir M. W. Ridley, Bell, & Co., Sir Wm. Loraine, Baker, & Co., R. J. Lambton & Co., and Messrs. Batson & Co.

I have been most fortunate in discovering the original sheets referring to this guarantee; they are in the possession of W. Boyd, esq., of Benton, who has most kindly allowed me to make *fac-similes* of them. They do not contain all the names that are upon the printed list, but doubtless, these are the first sheets signed at the meeting. Other names would be added in the course of the following days, and then the whole prepared for the press. Many of these signatures will be of deep interest to Novocastrians, none more so than that of Ralph Carr, the founder of the Old Bank, nearly half a century before.

Mr. George Gibson died in 1806, and in the following year, August 17th, Charles William Bigge of Eslington House, Northumberland, was admitted to the firm, Mr. Bell having retired. On October 3rd of the same year, Thomas Hanway Bigge of Benton (brother of Chas. Wm. Bigge), and William Boyd of Newcastle, were admitted into the partnership, the firm now being styled Ridley, Bigge, Gibson, & Co. In April, 1813, Sir M. W. Ridley died, and his son succeeded to the title and to his father's share in the bank. The younger Sir Matthew had only been a partner two years, when difficulties again arose in the banking world. On July 22, 1815, a meeting was held at Mr. Forster's long room, Pilgrim street, of several owners of land in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, John Carr of Dunston, esq., in the chair, when the notes of Ridley & Co., Loraine & Co., Lambton & Co., and Reed & Co. were once again agreed to be accepted. A few days after, a manifesto was issued by the 'merchants

and tradesmen,' stating that they have the most 'unlimited confidence in the solidity' of the banks just named. In the following year Messrs. Loraine retired from banking circles, and once again was it necessary to pledge the credit of the three existing banks. It would be at various times during these panics that squibs and skits regarding rag-money were issued.

The next break in the partnership was in December, 1824, when Mr. Thomas Hanway Bigge died. On January 1, 1825, Charles John Bigge, eldest son of Mr. Charles Wm. Bigge, was admitted a partner, and on January 1, 1827, Robert Boyd, son of Mr. William Boyd, was admitted to the firm.

The branch of the Bank of England was established in Newcastle in 1828. Messrs. Ridley & Co. soon opened an account with them. In February, 1829, the members of the firm were: Sir M. W. Ridley, Chas. Wm. Bigge, Thomas Gibson, William Boyd, Chas. John Bigge, and Robt. Boyd.

On the 3rd of September, 1832, Thomas Gibson departed this life, and his nephew, John Spedding, jun., was added to the firm, the style now being, Sir M. W. Ridley, bart., Chas. Wm. Bigge, & Co. The concluding account of the history of the bank I copy from the interesting MS. of Mr. William Boyd:—

On Friday the 15th of July, 1836, Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart., died of apoplexy, at Richmond in Surrey, to which place he had gone from his residence at Carlton Terrace, for change of air, and by an article in the partnership deeds of the firm, his son (now Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart.) succeeds to his father's interest and shares in the bank, and the business is carried on without any alteration in the style of the firm. This partnership by a special agreement was stipulated to be carried on for three years, viz., for 1837, 1838, and 1839, when it was to cease and determine; at the end of that time it was understood,—indeed it was the declared wish of Sir M. W. Ridley to disconnect himself with business, and retire from the bank, which for so many years had been a source of great profit to his father and grandfather. The other partners therefore took steps to remedy the chasm which would be made in the establishment by the retiring of Sir M. W. Ridley, and after several schemes and negotiations, it was determined to join a Joint Stock Bank which had been established some years in Newcastle, under the title of The Northumberland and Durham District Bank.

This was accomplished on the 20th March, 1839, The whole weight and influence of the Old Bank was thrown into the scale of the new establishment around which all the old friends and customers

of Ridley, Bigge, & Company rallied, which had the effect of making the District Bank the largest establishment in the north of England, Ridley & Co., transferring in money, bills of exchange, promissory notes, mortgages, and customers' accounts, to the extent of upwards of £800,000.

It has been stated that all the friends of Ridley & Co. rallied round the new establishment; to this there were three exceptions, all of whom had been under great obligations to Ridley & Co. One of them especially had an advance of nearly £19,000 granted during the panic of 1825-6. This house could not pay a shilling in liquidation of this enormous debt, and it was foolishly imagined that these men might have had some gratitude for favours received, but they were actuated by other feelings and removed their accounts to other houses; they certainly paid the debt after 1839, it having been considerably reduced previously to that time, but the Old Bank was still obliged to accommodate them and take their promissory notes, payable at distant periods, for the balance due in 1839.

Messrs. Bigge, Boyd, & Spedding became large shareholders in the District Bank; Mr. C. J. Bigge, Mr. Robert Boyd, and Mr. Spedding being appointed directors. Thus ended the career of this notable firm, the first provincial bank in the kingdom, which had successfully weathered the storms and gales of the banking world for 84 years.

The Old Bank had a very large note issue; after the amalgamation this paper was withdrawn and the circulation confined to the notes of the Bank of England.

I now give some miscellaneous items that I have gathered regarding the business of the Old Bank.

One of the early transactions of the newly-formed bank was the issue of lottery tickets, that most reprehensible system of gambling supported by the Government for so many years. The *Newcastle Journal*, September 8th, 1759, says:—'Any person wanting tickets in the present State Lottery may be supplied at the Newcastle Bank on the same terms as at London.' Some local speculator seems to have been fortunate, as in the balance sheet of 1774 one of the items is a lottery ticket for £10,000, it was probably lodged for collection.

The practice of opening subscription lists for various public purposes, at the banks, appears to have been of early origin. The *Courant* of September, 1759, announces:—

‘Whereas at this time of imminent danger the speedy recruiting of His Majesty’s forces seems most expedient for the public service.

‘Resolved unanimously “That a subscription be forthwith opened at the Newcastle Bank for an immediate voluntary contribution to be distributed in bounties. Each man to have £2 2s. over Government money.”’

In 1772, the question of maintaining the standard of gold coin was perplexing the Government in the early days of banking, as it has so often done since. The receivers of public revenue were empowered to cut and deface all unlawfully diminished coin that should be tendered to them in payment; and all gold coin under the weight specified was to be considered by them as unlawfully diminished. But for the accommodation of the holders of light money, the receivers were empowered to accept all such cut money in payment at the rate of £3 18s. per ounce, and the Bank of England would purchase cut money at the same rate. On July 31st, the Bank of England gave notice that any quantity of guineas, half-guineas, and quarter-guineas (cut and defaced agreeable to the act), not less than fifty guineas in a parcel, would be taken in on Monday, August 2nd, and every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, till further notice at the rate of £3 17s. 10½d. per ounce. By an act of Parliament made in king William’s reign, and still unrepealed, ‘whoever takes or pays away any milled money, not cut to pieces, for less than it passed current when first coined, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and suffer death accordingly.’

Arrangements were subsequently made with some of the provincial banks, to clear the country of the light money, the Newcastle bank, being one so engaged, as they announced on August 10th, 1774, ‘Messrs. Bell, Cookson, Carr, Widdrington, & Saint, give Notice that attendance will be given at the sign of the Black Bull, in Wooler, on Thursday next at nine o’clock in the morning, to exchange the light money according to His Majesty’s Proclamation and Appointment.’ Made July 29th, 1773. The confidence in their notes was such that within two years of their establishment it is announced, ‘We hear that the Collector of Excise for the County of Northumberland will take Newcastle Bank Notes in payment for duty or give cash for them when upon his collection.’

The following letter from Matthew Bell to Ralph Carr, who was

evidently in London, is interesting, as it shows the commencement of the £1 issue. It is dated February 6th, 1758 :—

I was desired [by the other members of the firm at their annual meeting] to send you the enclosed to have a plate cut for twenty shilling notes, one pound in the body of the note, and the twenty shillings at the bottom are both intended to be in the like hand that the sum is wrote in in the notes of the Bank of England, and a scrawl in the left hand. You will hear of the man who cut the plate for the other notes at Vere's, he lives in Wine License Court in Fleet Street, it wou'd be well you co'd bring it down with you, if you give the engraver a short day he will oblige you, if you indulge him, he will not be punctual, you must also provide a large quantity of a strong tough paper for these notes.

I have a copy of a note, which is doubtless from the plate referred to, as it is dated in the following month, and bears out the instructions given. It was probably the first one pound note issued in the provinces.

The old banks in their early days were subject to the forgery of their notes. Perhaps the earliest and most interesting instance occurs in 1765. Amongst the Carr papers still exists the following letter :—

Edinburgh, November 21st, 1765.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Cookson and I are called to this place on account of our having last week discovered a forgery of two of our five pound bank notes, and being informed that your bank as well as the Royal and British Linen Comp'a. are in the same situation, we wou'd request your informing me if you have got already any lights and what they are in this dark affair—how many notes you have detected, and whether you think it proper to pay them—it is thought here that the whole forgeries have been done in Ireland—if you have the names and descriptions of any of the accomplices please to fav' us with them directly to the care of John Forrest, Esq'.

We are now able to throw the light upon these forgeries that Mr. Carr so longed for when in Edinburgh. The forger was really a Newcastle man, and no less a personage than the principal engraver in the town, Thomas Jameson. A newspaper of the day says :—

Last Monday was committed to Newgate Thomas Jameson, an engraver in this town, who had a few days before been apprehended at Edinburgh, charged with counterfeiting about a dozen of five pound notes of the Newcastle Bank. But we hear the greater part of them are come in, and have been paid, so that 'tis hoped a total stop is put to this pernicious fraud.

It was shown that a woman, named Jean Grey, had been detected in uttering a forged note of the Newcastle bank, value £5. Upon her examination, she accused Jameson, an engraver, with whom she

lived, as the person from whom she got it, and said that she had seen him engrave and fill up notes, of which she made oath of the truth and signed her examination before a magistrate. Upon this evidence Jameson was committed to the assizes. By the time the trial came on there, Grey had relented. She knew that her evidence must convict her lover, and that his punishment would be death. She therefore

boldly denied what she previously made oath of, upon which the judge ordered an indictment to be drawn for perjury with intent to take away the life of a man who had been tried and found innocent. She was tried in an hour, found guilty, sentenced to be pilloried and transported seven years. On August 2, 1766, a temporary pillory was erected upon the Sandhill, Newcastle, and Jean Grey for the crime of perjury was *exalted* and stood therein one hour at midday, as an example of public shame, in the presence of many thousands of spectators who behaved towards her with great decency and humanity. Grey lived in the High Bridge, and was famous for making excellent mutton pies, to which she returned at the expiration of her banishment, and resumed the making of pies, for which she had a greater demand than before.

It would appear that Jameson resumed his business, as in the *Newcastle Directory* for 1788, under 'Engravers' we have Beilby and Bewick, south side of St. Nicholas's churchyard; Thomas Jameson, ditto. But in one of the lives of Bewick it is stated that Jameson's business fell off, which brought the other firm very rapidly to the front.

Another forgery was committed upon the bank in 1799, which might have proved of very great inconvenience, had it not been nipped in the bud by the prompt and energetic action of Mr. Boyd. He has left a most graphic account of the chase and capture of the forger, which I copy from the MS. in his own writing:—

ACCOUNT OF LOUGH THE FORGER.

On Wednesday the 23rd of October, 1799, between the hours of 10 and 11 in the forenoon, a decent, well-dressed young man entered the Newcastle Bank and presented nine twenty shilling notes to Mr. Geo. Gibson, the cashier. On looking them over he immediately knew eight of them to be forged, and carried them into the inner room to Mr. Wilkinson, one of the partners, who called Mr. Marshall and myself into the room where he was, and informed us of the circumstance. The person who presented them was then called for. On enquiring where he had got the notes then lying on Mr. Wilkinson's desk, he answered he could not tell of whom he had received them, and on further enquiry said his name was Lough, that he travelled for the house of Messrs. Cooperthwaite & Co., of London, and that at present he was upon his round, that he received the notes

in question in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and that having offered them with others at the house of Messrs. Toritus in Carlisle for the purpose of procuring a bill upon London to remit to his employers, Toritus told him that eight of the notes were forged, and that they could not take them, upon which he took a seat in the diligence and came to Newcastle to get value for them. Mr. Wilkinson informed him that he would not give cash for them, but desired him to call in a short time, and that he should have a final answer. Lough asked in how short a time, Mr. Wilkinson answered at any time before 3 o'clock in the afternoon at which time the bank closed. Three o'clock arrived, but Lough returned not. He was of course strongly suspected as being concerned in the forgery, and enquiry having been made for him at Sunderland's Inn where the Carlisle coach comes to, it was found he had not been there since the morning, and had left his bill unpaid, it was then determined that some person should be sent in pursuit of him, and as it was suspected that he had taken the Carlisle road which he had come the day before, after procuring a warrant to apprehend him I set off about six o'clock in a post chaise with Manners the county bailiff for the purpose of pursuing him. We made several enquiries on the road, but got no intelligence till we arrived at Heddon-on-the-Wall, when describing his dress and person to a woman who lives in a public house in that village she thought she remembered to have seen a person answering the description pass her house in the forenoon of that day. We then proceeded to Harlow Hill where we found that Lough had dined, and not being able to procure a post chaise had proceeded to Hexham on foot. We then resumed our journey, and arrived at Hexham at ten in the evening. On enquiring for Lough we found he had been there some time ago, and that he had enquired for a post chaise to take him forward towards Carlisle, but not being able to procure one he hired a horse to carry him to Glenwhelt. We found from the landlady of the Golden Lion at Hexham that he had lived there from the Friday preceding till the Tuesday, when he went in the diligence to Newcastle, and that before he had set off for Glenwhelt he had packed up a trunk and parcel, and had given them to the Alston carrier. We found the carrier in bed, and told him we had a warrant to apprehend the person who had left with him the trunk and parcel, and that he must deliver them to us. After some hesitation he complied, and we found them directed to 'Richard Thompson, Milmerby, to be left at Alston till called for, carriage paid.' These we committed to the charge of Mrs. Hutchinson at the Golden Lion till we returned. On enquiring of her whether Thompson (for he went by that name in Hexham) had discharged his bill, she said he had, and that he behaved very decently whilst in her house, but they wondered very much what his business could be, as he never stirred out of the house, and did not seem to be acquainted with any person; she said he paid his bill on Tuesday when he set out for Newcastle with a Scotch note, but that this afternoon he had given her a 20s. Newcastle note. I immediately requested to see this last note; Mrs. H. said she had it not, for not having silver sufficient to change it she had sent it to a neighbour for that purpose. The person was then sent to who returned the note by a servant of the inn, and I found it to be a forged note. We immediately proceeded in a chaise with four horses to Glenwhelt; the keeper of the turnpike gate remembered to have seen a man answering Lough's description pass through the gate on a brown horse and enquiring the road to Glenwhelt. At Haydon

Bridge he had passed unobserved; at Haltwhistle the landlord of the inn informed us that a person such as we described had called there on the preceding evening (it being now the morning of the 24th October) and had got a glass of spirit without alighting and enquired how far it was to Glenwhelt. To this place we proceeded, and learnt from the servant of the inn that the person we were in quest of was in the house and in bed. We ordered the landlord to be called, and on being made acquainted with our business readily granted us his assistance. We now proceeded to the bed room where Lough slept, and having entered the room found the object of our search. The bailiff immediately arrested him, his clothes being searched we found a red morocco pocket book and a parcel resembling a half bound octavo book wrapped in a handbill, and tied with a piece of string, the pocket book contained a variety of memorandums and a letter to Mr. Blair, White Lion Inn, Carlisle. On opening the parcel it was found to contain the engraved plate from which the notes had been struck, and about 200 notes ready for filling up (on being counted the parcel contained 196 notes). During our stay at Glenwhelt Lough avoided all conversation, and only gave evasive answers to all the questions put to him during our journey to Newcastle, where we arrived at one o'clock, p.m. On searching Lough's trunk 16 notes filled up and ready for circulating were found in a small book of the roads with the following letters on its back—R. L., 1799. After being examined by the magistrates he was fully committed to take his trial at the next assizes. Lough remained about three months in gaol, and contrived with three other prisoners to make a hole in the wall of the prison through which he and two others escaped. Lough's chains were found in the plantation at Fenham; he proceeded to Liverpool, took shipping for America, and was never after heard of.

W. BOYD.

A local paper tells how Lough and two other prisoners effected their escape: 'Wrenching a bar from the inside of the chimney of their cell, they forced their way up the chimney to the roof of the prison, whence, cutting their bed-clothes and knotting the pieces together which they tied to a sun-dial on the roof, they descended to the field adjoining Gallowgate. Another man attempted to escape at the same time, but being rather corpulent, he stuck fast in the chimney and could neither get out or back again till he was assisted down by the keeper.' Two of the men were recaptured, but Lough escaped.

From time to time various interesting advertisements appear regarding the loss of the notes of this bank.

January 22, 1757. A promissory note, No. 680, dated the 16th February, 1756, for £40 payable to Thomas Aubone or bearer, and issued by Matthew Bell, Esq., and Company, is lost, and a reward of five guineas offered for its recovery.

March 6, 1756. Lost, 'an old bank note for £100. As it is not yet restored, though ten guineas' reward has been offered, it's probable

the person who found it is resolved to keep it. That such dishonesty may be brought to light 'tis earnestly entreated that such as are possessed of an old hundred pounds note will send them to the bank office, where they will get other notes or money to the value, or if that be inconvenient, they will please to acquaint Mr. James Spencer, Secretary to the bank, of their names or places of abode, and the number and date of the notes they have.' Another announcement records the loss of a £20, 'late in the possession of William Smith, surgeon,' the owner does not know the number but offers a reward of five guineas to anyone who has lately paid him a £20, and can give such particulars as will lead to finding the number of the lost note—information to be given to Mr. Henry Aiskell, attorney, in the Middle street.

These early notes were all issued in the name of the first holder or bearer, and were afterwards freely circulated.

One of the firm, Mr. William Boyd, took a great interest in the various methods used to prevent forgery. A letter from him to Mr. Barnes dated May 10, 1822, has a long account regarding forged notes and paper and says, 'Mr. Bewick spent all one afternoon examining some paper you sent,' and adds, 'our notes have not been forged for twenty years,' and lays claim to general good workmanship and certain red flourishes which are very difficult to imitate.

INDEX.

- A.
- A F, silversmith's mark, 259; with mullet below, 267
- A H } silversmiths' marks, 259
- W W }
- A I, silversmith's initials, 263
- A S linked, silversmith's mark, 263
- Aballava* = Papcastle, 326
- Aberbrothick, abbey of, 177, 181, 183
- Abercromby, Robert, silversmith, 265
- Aberdeen, King's College chapel at, 392
- Acklington, ancient farms in, 154
- Acre, customary, 126
- Acta Sanctorum*, 82
- Acton, lands at, 297
- Adamson family, 173-175
- Adamson, Rev. C. E., on the manor of Haltwhistle, 162; on church of, 177
- Adamson, Horatio A., 274; account of 'Sparrow Hall,' Cullercoats, 285
- Adamson, John, 172
- Addingham, Yorkshire, 356
- Adrian IV., a bull of, 268
- Aesica*, 91
- 'Æhse' or 'Echse,' probably *Aesica*, 91
- Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages*, 124*n*
- Agriculture, township organization of, ascribed to Romans, 123
- Aidan, St., at Haltwhistle, 181, 185
- Aidan's well at Bamburgh, 185
- Ainslie, John, captain of Norham, 355*n*
- Airey family, the, 194
- Airey, John, 194; committed to gaol for refusing to take oath of allegiance, 194
- Airey, Henry, 280, 455
- Airey, Joseph, partner in Old Bank, 455; bank at the residence of, 455; died, 456
- Airey, Thomas, 280, 455
- Airey, Miss J. P., 455
- Aiskell, Henry, attorney, Middle street, Newcastle, 470
- Aletasters, 58; oath, 68
- Alfrid, king, 90
- Alleine, Jonathan, silversmith, 265
- Allendale, Rev. R. Patten priest of, 98
- Allendale town, communion plate of, 261
- Allenson, John, 194
- 'Allington' and 'Halleystone' parishes, list of papists in, in 1715, 111
- Aln, Twyford on, 88
- Alnham communion cup, 260
- Alnwick, Lord Surrey at, 7, 356
- Alnwick abbey founded, 300; abbot of, 116
- Alston communion vessel, 259
- Alwinton parish, ancient farms in, 153
- Alwinton communion cup and flagon, 260
- Amble, ancient farms in, 154
- Amsterdam, a Hanse town, 217
- Ancient Armour*, Meyrick, 445
- Ancient farms of Northumberland, 121
- Ancroft communion plate, 262
- Anderson, Abraham, Newcastle goldsmith, 425
- Anderson, Francis, of Howdon Pans, 401; a member of Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 400; a confectioner, 400; petition to mayor, 401
- Anecdote of duke of Cumberland and Ralph Carr, 453
- Angerton, High and Low, ancient farms in, 153; terrier, 153
- Angus left Scottish army before battle of Flodden, 5*n*
- Animal's head erased, silversmith mark, 263
- Anklam, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Annales Cambriae*, quoted, 86 *n*
- Anne of Brittany and James IV., 4
- Annual reports, i, xxi
- Antiquaries,' 'Death and the, 123*n*
- Apostolic emblems on medieval cross, 46
- Apperley, appropriation, etc., of church of, given to Blanchland, 297
- Appleby, Elizabethan cup at, 256
- Arbroath, abbey of, 177, 181, 183
- Archaeologia* referred to, 443*n*
- Archaeologia Aeliana*, 110, 297, 351*n*, 361*n*, 372*n*, 457
- Archaeologist, The Illustrated*, referred to, 327*n*
- Archaeological Journal*, 121*n*
- Archaic method of cultivating common fields, 139
- Argyle, earl of, at Flodden, 28; slain, 31, 370

- Arkle, Thomas, 133; affidavit of, as to ancient farms in Elsdon, 154
- Arms of Rhodes and Thornton on Sedgfield bell, 392; of Burdon, Sedgfield church, 394
- Armstrong, H., curate of Slaley, 342
- Arnheim, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Arnold's close, Cullercoats, 275, 282
- Arras, MS. life of St. Cuthbert at, 83
- '*Arte of Warre*,' the, 364*n*
- Arthur, King, and the round table, 300
- Ashley's *Economic History*, 122*n*, 123*n*
- Askew, 459
- Assay office, Newcastle, re-established, 403; attempts to abolish, 408; James Clephan on, 409; discontinuance of the, 409
- Astallo Astalli, cardinal priest of S. Prisca, 271
- Aston and Cote, Oxfordshire, manor of, fishing rights of tenants, 130
- Atkinson, John, of Cullercoats, 285
- Atkinson, William, silversmith, 264; of Lowlights, 290; Eleanor, wife of, 290
- Attorney-General v Trevelyan, 141
- Aubigny in France, Roman tombstone at, 325
- Aubone, Thomas, 469
- Auckland, Bishop (see Bishop Auckland); castle, communion cup, 264
- Auckland St. Helens, patens, 265, 266; cup, 267
- Augaburg, Ford communion cup of, 262
- 'Aula' of Romans, 125
- Aussi, M. d', landing at Dumbarton, 355, 364 *et seq.*
- Austold, James, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Austria, Catholics of Greek rite in, keep Easter according to Eastern calendar, 86*n*
- Aycliffe church, 387; communion cup, 265; paten, 264
- Aynsley, Robert, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; not admitted on account of embezzlement, 439
- B.
- B, C, silversmiths' initials, 263; linked, 269
- B, R, silversmiths' initials, 263
- B, W, with *fleur de lis* below, silversmiths' mark, 263
- B, W and I B, Newcastle silversmiths' marks, 260
- Backworth, ancient farms in, 152; number of farms in, 135
- Bacon's *Liber Regis*, 380*n*
- Bailes, Thomas, 281
- Bain's *Record Book*, 350
- Bainbridge, Cardinal, 353
- Bakers of Elemore hall, county Durham, held manor of Bolbeck, 297
- Baker, Hedley, & Co., 461
- Baker, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 400; Valentine, Newcastle goldsmiths, 400
- Balance sheets of 'Old Bank,' 458, 459
- Baldheim, Sibba's servant, cured by St. Cuthbert, 89
- 'Balista,' 460
- 'Balks' of unploughed turf, 125
- Ballad of Flodden Field*, *Tre*, 3, 354
- Baltic, attempt to close, against English, 235
- Bamburgh, 90; and Tynemouth, men of, fled from Flodden field, 26, 366
- Bank of England, 460; branch, established in Newcastle, 463
- Bank, first provincial, at Newcastle, 452
- Banks of Baker, Hedley, & Co., 461; Batson & Co., 462; Davison-Bland & Co., 460; Lambton & Co., 460, 461, 462; Lorraine, Baker, & Co., 462, 463; Reed & Co., 462; Surtees, Burdon, & Co., 461, 462
- Bank, Northumberland and Durham District, 463, 464
- 'Bank, Old,' 452; first partners in, 455; small capital of, 455; advertisements regarding, 455; issues notes, 455; change of premises, 455; in Silver street, 456; balance sheets of, 458, 459; note circulation of, 458; changes of partnership, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463; changes of title, 456, 457, 460, 461, 462, 463; joins Northumberland and Durham District, 463; transfers money, bills, etc., 464; note issue withdrawn, 464; circulation confined to notes of Bank of England, 464
- Bankers, country, meeting of, 459
- 'Bankers and dealers in exchange,' partners in 'Old Bank' were, 455, 456
- Banking, Lawson's History of, 456
- Banks, Newcastle, all suspend payment, 461
- Barber and Whitwell, York silversmiths, 265
- Barmoor, 18; and Twizell, distance between, 19*n*; wood, Surrey, encamped at, 359
- Barnard Castle communion plate, 264; cup, 266; salver, 267
- Barnes, Ambrose, 190 *et seq.*; Mrs., 470
- Barnett, Hudson, curate of Blanchland, 306

- Barrasford, ancient farms in, 154
 Barton, Andrew, a Scottish sailor, killed by Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, 4ⁿ, 15
 Bateman, Hester, silversmith, 265
 Bates, C. J., on names of persons, etc., in early lives of St. Cuthbert, 81; erected roadside cross between Haydon Bridge and Langley castle, 94; on Flodden field, 351; on a forgotten reference to Roman mile castles, 447
 Bateson, Edward, 'Notes of a journey from Oxford to Embleton and back in 1464,' 113
 Bath, 454, 455; Roman inscription *temp.* Severus Alexander, 160
 Batson & Co., 462
 Batty, Francis, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 400; and others, petition to Parliament from, 403
 Batty, Francis, the younger, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 405
 Bavington, Shaftos of, 99; John, 102
 Bayley, Richard, silversmith, 259, 264
 Baynes, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 400 *et seq.*
 Beadnell communion cups, 259, 261
 Beaumont, Lewis, bishop of Durham, 298
 Beckett, Thomas à, 181ⁿ
 Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, quoted 78ⁿ
 'Bedesfeld,' a settlement granted to nuns by St. Cuthbert, 90
 Bedlington communion cup, 260
 Bedrule, Roxburghshire, 90ⁿ
 Bedshield, foot of Lammermuirs, 90
 Beilby, William, a Durham goldsmith, 267
 Beilby and Bewick, engravers, 467
 Belford communion cup, 261
 'Bell the Cat,' 5ⁿ
 Bell, John, entered in Newcastle goldsmith company's books, 440
 Bell, Matthew, & Co., 469
 Bell, Matthew, I., partner in Old Bank, 455, 456, 457; died, 460; letter from, to Ralph Carr, 466
 Bell, Matthew, II., grandson of former, partner in Old Bank, 461; retired, 462
 Bell's *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, 110
 Bellingham, Mw. Robson of, 103
 Bellingham communion cup, 260
 Bellister, 162
 Bellows, a pair of, silversmith's mark, 263
 Beltingham chapel, 185
 Bek, Anthony, bishop of Durham, 163
 Benevento, 268ⁿ
 Benton, Long, communion plate, 261
 Benwell, fishings and mills, 130; 'Gore Flatt' at, 128; customary farms at, 142; Roman inscribed slab from, 323
 Bergen, vassal of Hanseatic League, 219
 Berkeley, Maurice, slain at Flodden, 34
 Berlin, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Bernardo, cardinal priest, 271
 Berrington, John Clavering of, 102
 Berwick, 452; body of Scottish king brought to, 34; recovery of by English in 1482, 358; communion plate of, 260, 261
 Berwick Naturalists' Club, *Proceedings* of, quoted, 1ⁿ
 Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, 190
 'Bessie wi' the braid apron,' 13
 Beverley, charter granted to, 213; gild of St. Elene at, 54ⁿ
 Bewick, Mr., 467, 470
 Bickers, Christopher, 194
 Bickerton, ancient farms in, 153
 Biddleston, Selbys of, 96
 Bielefeld, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Bigge, 459; Charles John, son of Charles William, joined bank, 463; appointed director of District Bank, and was a large shareholder, 464
 Bigge, Charles William, joined bank, 462; large shareholder in District Bank, 464
 Bigge, Thomas Hanway, brother of Charles Wm., joined bank, 462; died, 463
 Billingham communion cup, 265
 Billings *Durham Antiquities*, 395
 Billy Mill Moor, division of, 154
 Bilton, Eli, apprentice to Newcastle Goldsmiths' Company, 437; member of company, 260, 266, 400, *et seq.*
 Bird, Rev. Christopher, affidavit of as to ancient farms in Chollerton, 154
 Birdoswald, 80
 Birling, ancient farms in, 154
 Birmingham, London Goldsmiths' Company opposed establishment of assay office at, 406
 Birtley communion cup, 261
 Bishop Auckland communion cups, etc., 264, 266
 Bishop Middleham communion cup, etc., 265
 Bishopton communion cup and cover, 267
 Bishopwearmouth church, Elizabethan cup at, 254, 256; secular cup at, 263; communion cup, etc., 264; flagons, 266; cup and cover, 267
 Black Prince, The, mortgaged Cornwall tin mines, 232

- Blacketts, the, holders of great tithes at Haltwhistle, 184, 187
- Blackett, Thomas, of Sedgfield, apprentice to Newcastle Goldsmiths' Company, 439
- Blackett, Sir W., 406
- 'Black Bull' Inn, Rothbury, inscription on jamb of fireplace, 95
- Blackenall, W.m., English master gunner at Flodden, 369
- Black Gate museum, fragments of painted glass presented to, 48
- Blakey, Dr. Robert, of Morpeth, 377; *Memoirs of*, 377n
- Blanchland: by the rev. Anthony Johnson, 295; part of Bywell St. Andrew parish, 295; Hutchinson's description of, 295; founded by Walter de Bolbeck, 296; dedicated to Virgin, 296; Premonstratensian canons at, 296; appropriations, etc., of churches of Harlow, Bywell, Styford, Shotley, and Apperley given to, 297; tithes of Wulwardhope, 297; had property at Acton, Bolam, Stanhope, and Wolsingham, 297; Nevilles, benefactors, 297; John de Torrington and Paganus de Caducia, 297; king John confirms all benefactions, 297; abbot summoned to parliament, 298; church of Bolam appropriated to, 298; at dissolution of fourteen brethren, 299; dissolution and refoundation of, 301; granted to John Belloe and John Broxholm, 301; purchased by lord Crewe, 302; dimensions of church, 302; ancient painted glass in, 303; medieval grave covers, 303; register, extracts from, 304; churchyard cross, 304; communion plate of, 261, 304; bell, 305; vicars and curates, 305; memorial of Robert Harrison, 310; terrier of lands, etc., 311
- Blyth, co. Northumberland, communion plate, 261; co. Notts, 115
- Blyth, Thomas, of Rennington, 372
- Blythman, of Gateshead and Westoe, 175
- Blenkinsopp grave cover, 178
- Bolam communion plate, 259, 262; property belonging to Blanchland abbey at, 297
- Bolbeck: common, 295; barony of, 296; in crown, 1569, when survey made, 296; Henry Widderington holder, 297; Bakers of Elemore hall, 297; sold by George Baker to George Silvertop, 297; Bywell and, survey of baronies of, 144; Slaley belonged to barony of, 339
- Bolbeck, sir Hugh de, 296; daughters, Alice married Walter de Huntercomb, 296; Maud, Hugh, baron Delaval, 296; Margery, Nicholas Corbet, 296; secondly, Ralph, son of William, lord Greystock, 296; Philippa, Roger de Lancaster, 296; John de, 296; Walter de, 349
- Boldon Buke*, 127, 379
- Boldon, Quaker burial ground at, 189; burials in Christopher Trewhitt's orchard, 201; communion plate of, 266, 267; *villani* in, 127
- Boleyn, Ann, 11
- Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, 82
- Bolsward, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Bolton: abbey, 356; in Glendale, lord Surrey at, 15; his march to, 357; communion plate of, 260
- Bonadies de Bonadie, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, 271
- Bonner Jahrbücher* referred to, 322n
- Boon days, 136; rent paid by tenants of Tynemouth manor, 134; work, 145
- Boothe, sir John, 2, 367; slain at Flodden, 34
- Borders Holds* quoted, 145n, 356 & *seq.*
- Bornhoved, victory of, 214
- Borthwick, Robert, master gunner to James IV., 21, 22, 26, 356; cast gun 'The Seven Sisters,' 5
- Boston, a steelyard at, 223
- Bosworth, field of, 10, 358
- Bothal communion plate, 259, 261; parish, ancient farms in, 152
- Bothwell, earl of, at Flodden, 28, 365; Scottish reserve under, 32
- Bourne, 132
- Bovate, 127
- Bowen, lord justice, 144
- Bower, Hannah, 171; John, 172; Leonard, 171; Robert, 172, 173; *see* pedigree, 175
- Bowes and Ellerker, survey, 89n
- Boyd, Robert, son of William, joined bank, 463; appointed director of District bank, and was a large shareholder, 464
- Boyd, William, of Benton, 462; joined bank, 462; manuscript of, 463, 467; large shareholder in District bank, 464, 470
- Boyle, J. R., on the goldsmiths of Newcastle, 397; *Vestiges of Old Newcastle*, etc., 392n
- Brampton, camp near, 337
- Brancepeth church, 393
- Brand, historian of Newcastle, 131

- Brandenburg, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Brankston, 19; situation of, 24; church of, 27, 352, 371; vicarage, 28; moor, battle of, 351; hill, Scottish artillery removed to, 365
- Braux bridge, 24, 362
- Brasses, Sedgfield church, 390
- Branensberg, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Bread, weighing of, 57, 58
- Bremen, 216; one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Breslau, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.*, 10
- Bridges, Roman, across the North Tyne, 323; the Rede, 336
- Briel, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Brignall, Thomas, of Whickham, 197
- Brind, Henry, silversmith, 265
- Britannia*, Camden's, 448
- British, Ancient, objects discovered in the *vallum*, 338; camp, 442; sword, 442
- Brotherwick, ancient farms in, 154
- Brough, Richard, and others, lease to, to get freestone at Cullercoats, 285
- Broughton, John Murray of, 98
- Brown, justice Anthony, 133; A., curate of Slayle and perpetual curate of Whitley chapel, 342; Israel, of South Shields, 290
- Bruce, Rev. Dr., death of, i.; *Wallet Book*, 331
- Bruce, David, partner with George Campbell, 454
- Brunanburh, song of, 366
- Brunswick, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Brus, Robert de, 162, 181; Isabel his widow, 162, 181
- Brummell, Francis, of Morpeth, 133
- Brutte, Nicholas, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Buchanan, George, account of battle of Flodden, 3
- Buckle, J., of York, silversmith, 259; Stephen, son of Joseph of York, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
- Buda, siege of, 108
- Bullers Green, Morpeth, fair proclaimed at, 57
- Bullman, George, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; member, 425 *et seq.*
- Bulmer, sir Wm., 7; at Flodden, 27, 355; overtook Alexander Home, 9; sheriff of Durham, 12; commands troops of bishop and bears banner of St. Cuthbert, 12
- Burdett-Coutts, baroness, portrait in possession of, 454
- Burdon, arms of, 394
- Burdon, Thomas, 375*n*
- Burial grounds, Notes on some forgotten, 189
- Burradon (Alwinton), ancient farms in, 152, 153
- Burrell, Thomas, Ann, Mary, of Broom Park, 171
- Burton Agnes, Yorkshire, common fields of, 130
- 'Bushell, A Cockle Parke,' 191
- Busselborch, Dyrik, letter of, concerning Hansa, 225
- Buston, John, of North Shields, 290; gravestone of, 278; Isabel, his wife, 275, 290; Elizabeth, his daughter, 278, 290; Thomas, 148; of North Shields, 290; Temperance, wife of, 290
- Buston, High, 148; tenants of, 142; Demans and, ancient farms in, 154
- Buston, Low, 101; Spittle and, ancient farms in, 154
- 'Butts,' strips abutting on river, etc., 128
- Butty, Francis, and N. Dumée, silversmiths, 265
- Burtehude, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Bywell St. Andrew parish, Blanchland formerly part of, 295; appropriation, etc. of, given to Blanchland, 297
- Bywell and Bolbeck, survey of baronies of, 144; of 1569, 151

C.

- C B linked, silversmith's mark, 259, 263
- C M, silversmith's mark, 264
- Caducis, Paganus de, benefactor to Blanchland abbey, 297
- Calais, the earl of Warwick governor of, 235
- Calcraft, 454
- Calendar of State Papers*, 2, 6*n*, 28, 29*n*, 34 and *n*, 36
- Callaly, Claverings of, 96; papists at, in 1715, 112; castle, old chalice formerly at, 254
- Callard, Isaac, silversmith, 265
- Cambo, Elizabethan communion cup at, 256*n*, 259
- Camden's *Britannia*, 448
- Cammerlane, Robert and Richard, trading monopoly in steel granted to, 243
- Campbell, Alexander, Newcastle, goldsmith, 411
- Campbell & Coutts, 454

- Campbell, George, banker in London, 454; had partner, David Bruce, and afterwards James Coutts, 454; recommends Ralph Carr to begin a bank in Newcastle, 455
- Campbell, John, partner with George Middleton, London, 454
- Canterbury, Christ church chartulary, 146n
- Canute, 227
- Capital, small, of 'Old Bank,' Newcastle, 455
- Carlisle, Frederick, earl of, 54
- Carlisle, Luul old name of, 90n; church plate of diocese of, 249; St. Cuthbert at, 89
- Carlyle of Inveresk, 457
- Carnaby, John, 260, 266; apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; member, 425 *et seq.*
- Carneath, Ann, accused of using a 'Cockle parke bushell,' 191; Susannah, buried in garden, 191
- Carnwath, earl of, 104
- Carpenter, general, 104
- Carr, George, of South Shields, 202; James, 171; John, 171; of Dunston, 462; of Newcastle, land at Cullercoats forming pier, etc., demised to, 233; Oswald, Newcastle, goldsmith, 400
- Carr, Ralph, of Dunston Hill, general merchant, Newcastle, 452; provides money for troops, 452; anecdote of duke of Cumberland and, 453; correspondence of, with J. and A. Coutts, 453; Messrs. Middleton, 453; John Coutts, 454; George Campbell, 455; starts the Newcastle bank with three friends, 455; retires, 458, 459; reasons for quitting bank, 460; signs guarantee, 462, 465, 466; Thomas, of Etal, 39; of Hexham, 171
- Carr, William, of St. Helen Auckland, admitted to freedom of Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 432
- Carrawburgh, Roman inscription from, 324
- Carry house camp, Ancient British, Birtley, North Tyne, 443
- Carter Fell, 89
- Cartington, Widdringtons of, 96
- Cartmel, lands of, given to St. Cuthbert, 89
- Catholics, Records of English, of 1715,* 103n
- Castell, Whateley, & Powell, 459
- Castle Eden communion flagon, 265; cup, 266; paten, 267
- Castles, one or three, Newcastle plate mark, 399
- Cavendish, lord John, 459
- 'Cavils,' Corbridge strips known as the, 140
- Celt, 'maenor' or 'plas' of, 125
- Celtic Scotland,* 87n, 92n, 123n
- Celts, some ascribe township organization of agriculture to, 123
- Cencio, bishop of Porto, etc., 271
- Ch., silversmith's mark, 264
- Chalmers, William George, entered in Newcastle goldsmiths' company's books, 440
- Chancery suit relating to lands at Netherwitton, 131
- Chapman, Sarah, of Whitby, legacy to repair Quaker meeting house and graveyard at North Shields, 275
- Charlemagne, letter of, to Offa, king of Mercia, 226
- Charles II. and preaching licences, 206
- Charleton of the Bower, 102
- Charters, Select,* Stubbs's, 122n
- Charter, The Great, 163
- Chatton communion cup and flagon, 259
- Chawbre, James, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Chawner, Henry, silversmith, 260
- Cheshire and Lancashire, men of, at Flodden, 14, 366
- Chester-le-Street, 85, 379; communion cup and paten, 267
- Chesters, 80
- Chevington, East and West, ancient farms in, 154
- Chillingham castle captured by Scots, 355; Edward Gray captain of, 355 n; church, communion plate of, 259, 260
- Chirton, number of farms in, 135; East and West, ancient farms in, 154
- Chollerton parish and township, ancient farms in, 154; church, communion cup, 260
- Chorographia, The,* 95n, 378n
- Christ on the Cross, representation of, 45
- Christian II. of Denmark subdued Sweden, 223
- Chronicles of England,* Holinshed, 359n
- Church Kelloe communion plate, 264 cup, etc., 266
- Church plate, Old, in counties of Northumberland and Durham, 249; Carlisle, 249; melted, 250
- Churchyard cross, Blanchland, 304
- Cilurnum,* Roman bridges across the North Tyne near, 328
- Civil War, 37
- Clare, Joseph, silversmith, 259
- Clark, John, of Alnwick, 281
- Clarkson's *Survey,* 142, 148

- Claverings of Callaly, 96
 Clavering, John, of Berrington, 102;
 Mary, of Chopwell, 107
 Clay, Roger, tenant of High Buston,
 142
 Clennel, 459
 Clephan, James, paper on 'Widdrington
 and Carlyle,' 457; on Newcastle
 assay office, 409
 Clephan, Robert Coltman, on the
 Hanseatic confederation, 211
 Clifton field, Morpeth, 57
 Cloth, Hansa's export of, from England,
 238
 Close, Richard, curate of Slaley, 342
 Coatsworth, Michael, 205
 Coatyards, ancient farms in, 153
 Cockfield, communion cup, 267
 'Cockle parke bushell,' 191
 Coffin chalice of copper, 262
 Coke, lord, 133
 Coldingham, St. Cuthbert said to have
 walked into waves up to neck at,
 87
 Collingwood, 459; George of Elington,
 108
 'Cole coates,' 276
 Cologne, 217, 227; Roman altar found
 at, 325
 Commons, House of, 459
 Common fields, Hitchen, Hertfordshire;
 Burton Agnes, Yorkshire, 130
 Communities, ancient, study of customs
 of, commenced in Germany, 123; in
 England, 123; in France, 123; in
 Russia, 123; *Village, in east and
 west*, 123
Concilia, Wilkin's, 226
 Coniscliffe communion cup, 263
 Constable, sir Marmaduke, 7, 357;
 Flodden, 27, 30; monumental inscrip-
 tion in Flamborough church, 357
 Conyers, lord, 369
 Cookson, Isaac, 260, 261, 266, 267, 423,
et seq.; apprenticed to Mr. Batty, a
 Newcastle goldsmith, 423, 433
 Cookson, John, partner in Old Bank,
 455, 456; died, 457, 466; Isaac, son
 of John, partner in Old Bank, 457;
 retired, 462
 Cope, sir John, orders drawn by, 452;
 defeat of, 453
 Copenhagen taken and sacked by forces
 of the Bund, 217
 'Copyholder,' 142
 Coquetdale, Jacobite movement in
 Upper, 93; ward (west division),
 papists' houses in, 1714, 111
 Corbet, Nicholas, marries Margery de
 Bolbeck, 296
 Corbridge, butts at, 128; MS. map of
 common field strips, 130; enclosure
 award, 130; strips known as 'The
 Cavils,' 140 *n*.; church, communion
 cup and paten, 260
 Cornhill, communion cup, 259
 Cornwall, freeholds of many manors in
 hands of lord, 144; tin mines of,
 mortgaged to Easterlings, 232
Corpus Insc. Latin., quoted, 77*n*
 Cosen's lane, London, 243
 Cosin, John, bishop of Durham, 393
 Cote, Aston and, fishing rights of
 tenants of manor of, 130
 Cotes, Thomas, rector of Rothbury, 94;
 schoolmaster at Stanton, 94
 Cottagers holding in undivided town-
 ship, 140
 Cottingwood, race course at, 58
 Coulanges, *The Origin of Property in
 Land*, 122 *n*., 123
 Council and Officers for 1893, *v.*; for
 1894, *xxix*
 Country bankers, meeting of, 459
 Courts leet and baron, Morpeth,
 customs of, 52
 Coutts & Co., 455, 458
 Coutts, Alexander, letter to, 453
 Coutts, James, of Edinburgh, goes to
 London, 454; marries niece of George
 Campbell, 454; taken into partner-
 ship, 454; suggested as 'junior' for
 'Old Bank,' Newcastle, 455
 Coutts, John, banker in Edinburgh,
 452; letter to, 453; four sons of,
 454; lord provost, 454; portrait of,
 454, 455
 Coutts, Patrick, 454; Thomas, 454
Coutumes de Normandie, 125 *n*
 Cowper (lady), account of, 107;
Diary, 102*n et seq.*; *see* Mary
 Clavering of Chopwell, 107
 Coxon, Robert, affidavit of, relating to
 ancient farms in North Middleton, 153
 Coyll, Humphrey, Newcastle, gold-
 smith, 400
 Cracow, a Hanse town, 218
 Crail, church at, similar to church at
 Haltwhistle, 177
 Cramer, John, Newcastle goldsmith,
 400; Thomas, Newcastle goldsmith,
 400
 Cramond, near Edinburgh, fifth cohort
 of Gauls at, 158
 Craven contingent at Flodden, list of,
 356
 Crawford, earl of, at Flodden, 27, 367;
 slain, 30, 368; James, Newcastle
 goldsmith, 261
 Crey, 37

- Crefeld, Roman altar from, 325
 Creighton (canon), *The Northumbrian Border*, 121ⁿ
 Creswelle, John de, 350
 Cripps, Wilfred J., on Northumberland and Durham church plate, 249; *Old English Plate*, 397
 Cristofori's *Storia dei Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa*, quoted 271ⁿ
 Cross, medieval, at Low hall, Middleton St. George, 45
 'Croke, le,' 269
Cronotassi dei cardinali, quoted 271ⁿ
 Crookham, Scottish artillery drawn up opposite, 362
 'Curse of Scotland,' the, 364
 Crops, rotation of, 125
 Crossman, sir William, on a bull of Adrian IV. relating to Neasham priory, 268
 Croyland, abbey of, 150
 Crucifixion, representation of, on painted glass, 303
 Cucking stool, the, 216
 'Culfre Cotes' = dove-cotes, 281
 Cullercoats, 275; Quaker burial-ground at, 274; surrender of lands at, 276; Arnold's close at, 276; removal of remains in Quaker burial-ground at, to Preston cemetery, 277; land forming pier demised to John Carr, 283; 'Sparrow hall,' 285; leases to get coal at, 285; and freestone at, 285; salt pans at, 286; 'Historic memoranda concerning,' 287; ownership of pier at, 287; baths at, 290; lease of waggonway at, 292; deed relating to 'Sparrow hall,' 293
 Cultivation, two and three field system of, 122
 Cumberland, duke of, 453
Cuneus, examples of word on Roman inscriptions, 324
Curiosities of Literature, 215ⁿ
 Currey, Robert, of North Shields, drowned in Lawson's sumpe, 280; Isabel, wife of, 289; Robert, son of, 289
 Curry, William, entered in Newcastle goldsmiths' company's books, 440
 Customers of bank, 458, 459
 Customs of ancient communities, study of, commenced in Germany, 123; in England, 123; in France, 123; in Russia, 123
 Customs of Morpeth courts leet and baron, 52
Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia, 123ⁿ
 Cuthbertson, George, 171; Hannah, 171; Elizabeth, 171, 172; Anne, 172; Philadelphia, 172; see pedigree, 175
 Cutheard, bishop, 379
- D.
- Dacre, lord, 2, 357; chief leader of Cumberland men at Flodden, 13, 28; accused of secret leanings to Scottish side, 13; ancestor of 'Bessie wi' the braid apron,' 13; vigorous charge of, 30, 367; sent his *Agnus Dei* to Surrey, 30; discovered body of Scottish king stripped, 34; founded Neasham priory, 268
 Dale, James, of Ravensthorpe, 201
 Dalston, William, curate of Slaley, 342
 Dalton, 261; William, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
 Dand, Middleton Henry, of Hauxley, 133; affidavit of, as to ancient farms in Warkworth, 154
 Dantzie, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Darcy, lords, 175
 Darlington, St. Cuthbert's, communion cup and flagons, 265; cup and cover, 267
 'Dead Friar's hill,' 301
Death and the Antiquaries, 123
 Dees, R. R., 130
 Delaval, Hugh, baron of, marries Maud de Bolbeck, 296
 Delaval, John, of Tynemouth, 276; Peter, 276; Ralph, confirmation of lands at Cullercoats, 276
 Demans and High Buston, ancient farms in, 154
 Dendy, F. W., on the ancient farms of Northumberland, 121
 Denmark, letter anent Flodden to court of, 354
 Dernton, abbot John, of Fountains, 383
 Derwent, valley of, 295
 Derwentwater, St. Herbert, hermit of, 91
 'Derwentwater's lights,' 106
 Derwentwater, earl of, roadside cross to memory of, 94; and meeting at Greenrig, 99
 Deventer, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Dinsdale, communion cups at, 263, 266; peten, 264; Elizabethan cups, 254
 Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 215ⁿ
 District Bank, Northumberland and Durham, 463, 464
 Dixon, George, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440; deserted his master, 440

- Dixon, D. D., Jacobite movement in Upper Coquetdale, 93
 Dockwray, 459
 Documents, old, at Merton college, Oxford, 113
 Doddington bridge, Surrey crossed Till at, 359; church, communion plate, 262
 Dodds, Henry, of Peels, affidavit of as to ancient farms in Elsdon, 154
 Dodson, Albany, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
 Dodsworth, of Thornton Watlass, 175; rector of Gateshead, 175
Domesday Studies, 125n, 150
Domesday Survivals, Taylor, 130
 Doncaster, 115
 Donkin, John, brewer, 375
 Doran's *London in Jacobite Times*, 108n, 109n
 Dordrecht, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Dorpat, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Dortmund, 216; one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Doubleday, John, 194; Thomas, 377
 Douglas, earl of, 369
 Douthwayte, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 266, 400
 Dove, family of, of Tynemouth, Cullercoats, and Whitley, 281; Robert, 281; a considerable landowner, 283; one of 'twenty-four' of Tynemouth church, 283; will of, 292
 Dove, Barbara, married Thomas Fearon, 287
 Dove, John, 289; collieries at Whitley demised to, 283; grants lease to John Carr of land forming pier at Cullercoats, 283; will of, 293
 Dove, John, son of Thomas, of Wapping, 286; married Mary Hudson, 287; sells mansion at Cullercoats, 286; daughters Sarah, 287; Eleanor marries rev. Curwin Hudleston, 287
 Dove, Thomas, 285; married Elizabeth Shipton, 285; death of, 285
 Dove, Thomas, of Whitley and Cullercoats, sale of Arnold's close to, 276; lease to get coal by to Richard Simpson, 285; Christopher, 281; will of, 290; John, son of, 276, 280; Oswald, of Monkseaton, 281; Thomas, 280, 281; Ellenor, wife of, 281; Frances, daughter of, 280; William, 280, 290; Eliner, wife of, 280, 290; Alice, daughter of, 289; Mary, daughter of, 289
 Dove, Mary, wife of John, of Whitley, 284, 289
 Dove, lieutenant, 289
 Down hill, Northumberland, cuttings across *vallum* at, xxvi
 Dryburgh abbey founded, 300
 Dugdale's account of Neasham, 272n
 Duisberg, one of the Hanse towns, 217
 Dumbarton, landing of M. d'Aussi at, 355
 Dumée, N., and F. Batty, silversmiths, 265
 Dunbar, 458
 Dunbar, William, poems of, 8n
 Dunn, John Charles, vicar of Blanchland, 306
 Dunston Hill, 452
Durham before the Conquest, Longstaffe's, 380n
 Durham, co., church plate of, 249; no pre-Reformation chalice in, 250; Surtees's *History of*, referred to, 272n; a 'farm' or 'farmhold' in, 127
 Durham, Northumberland and, church plate of, 397
 Durham, men of bishopric of, at Flodden, 27; bishop Ruthall of, letters concerning Flodden, 36
 Durham, 115, 116; bishops of, 163, 183; Wessington, prior of, 86
 Durham abbey, lord Surrey hears mass in, 7
 Durham cathedral, communion plate, 264; large set of plate, 265; Nine Altars in, 382
 Durham Chapter library, pre-Reformation paten in, 252; Roman inscriptions in, 309
 Durham, St. Giles, communion cup and cover, 263; paten, 266; flagon, 267; St. Margaret, communion cup, 264; paten, 267; St. Mary in the South Bailey church, alms dish, 263; cup, etc., and flagon, 266; St. Mary-le-Bow, communion cup, 263; flagons and patens, 264; St. Nicholas, communion cup, etc., 264; St. Oswald's, alms dish, 264; collecting basin, 266; cup, 267
 Durham, Northumberland and, an archaeological map of, xxi; *Transactions of Archaeological Society of*, referred to, 297n
 Dyer, chief justice, 133
- E.
- E, T, linked silversmith's mark, 259
 Earsdon, ancient farms in, 152; number of farms in, 135; customary payment to vicar of, 152; communion cup and paten of church, 259, 262

- Easington, North Yorkshire, church of, dedicated by St. Cuthbert, 91
- Easterlings, the, 226; tin mines of Cornwall mortgaged to, 232
- East and west, village communities in, 123
- Easter, Roman practice of fixing, 86; act of civil power at Whitby, 86*n*; in Russia and Austria kept by Catholics of Latin rite according to eastern calendar, 86*n*
- Eata retired to banks of Tweed, 87; conformed to Roman way of keeping Easter, 86; appointed abbot over English monks at Lindisfarne, 86; bishop of Lindisfarne, 88
- Economic History*, Ashley's 122*n*
- Eden, sir John, 460, 461
- Edinburgh, 452, 454, 466; St. Giles's church, 392
- Edlingham communion plate, 262
- Edmundbyers communion cup, 265
- Edward I., 162, 296; abbot of Blanchland summoned as a peer to parliament, twenty-third year of, 228; charter of *Inspecimus*, 389
- Edward III., 183; and the Hansa league, 232
- Edward IV., 113; and the Hansa, 235
- Edward VI., church plate melted during reign of, 250
- Effigy, Sedgefield church, 390
- Effingham, lord Howard of, hero of the Armada, 11
- Egfrid, King, 88; gave lands of Cartmel to St. Cuthbert, 89; defeat and death of, 89
- Eggescliva, Alan de, gift to Neasham by, 268
- Eggs and poultry, rental paid in, 128
- Eglingham communion plate, 259, 261
- Egred, bishop, gave 'Gedweardes' to church of St. Cuthbert, 89
- Egton in Furness, 89
- Egyptian shadoof, lever arrangement of, 385
- Egyston, Robert, on grave cover, Blanchland, 303; Thomas, on grave cover, 303
- Eimbech, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Elbing, 215; one of the Hanse towns, 217
- Elfed, abbess of Whitby, 91
- Elizabeth, queen, and the Hansa, 241; church plate melted during reign of, 250; barony of Bolbeck in crown, 296
- Elizabethan communion cups, 252, 259, 262, 263
- Ellenborough, 80
- Ellison, 459; Elizabeth, wife of William Fenwick, of Stanton, 95*n*; Robert, of Otterburn, 287; Elizabeth, daughter of, married Henry Hudson, 287; Robert, junior, 458
- Elrington, town green of, 146; hall and demesnes, 146
- Elsdon parish, ancient farms in, 154; communion plate, 261, 262
- Elswick, 129; customary farms in, 142; 'butts' in common fields of, north and south, 128
- Elton, *Origins of English History*, 140
- Elton communion cup, 265
- Elwick hall communion cup and alms dish, 265
- Ely, bishop of, court at Littleport, 142; James Stanley, bishop of, 356; arms of, 356; queen Ethelreda, foundress of, 356
- Embleton, journey from Oxford to, and back in 1464, 113; living of, belongs to Merton college, Oxford, 113; communion plate, 262
- Embleton, near Sedgefield, ancient chapel at, 380
- Embleton, Dr., on black and brown rats, 97
- Emma, daughter of Waldeof, 268
- Emmerich, one of the Hanse towns, 217
- 'Emperor's people,' 227
- Engelais, grant to Neasham by, 268
- England, study of customs of ancient communities in, 123; villeinage in, 123*n*; Teutonic trade with, 213; cloth exported from, 238; Hansa privileges in, withdrawn, 242; operations of Hanseatic league forbidden, 224
- English, defeat of right of, at Flodden, 30; attempt to close Baltic to, 235; the 'hall' of the, 125; cloth, sale of, forbidden, 236; merchants to quit Germany, 243
- English at Flodden, alarm of the, 365
- Eric, king, 219
- Errington, Thomas, of Beaufront, 102
- Errol, earl of, 367 *et seq.*
- Esh communion paten, 264; cup, 266
- Esher, lord, 144
- 'Espoir conforte le Gueval,' motto on James IV.'s sword, 371
- Essex, Arthur, earl of, demise of collieries at Whitley to John Dove, 283
- Etal, 37; Thomas Carr of, 39; castle taken by Scots, 7, 355
- Etheldreda, St., queen of Northumberland, banner of, 356

- Etherstone, Thomas Forster, jun., of, 102
- Eubank, Richard, 192; cited in archdeacon's court for being a Quaker, 193; death of, 193
- Examford on Tweed, 89
- Exchequer accounts, 354
- F.
- F, A, silversmith's mark, 259; mullet below, 267
- F, I, silversmith's mark, 259
- F R, silversmith's mark, 264
- Fair at Haltwhistle, 162, 169, 176
- Falls, Charles, 458; Robert, 458
- Falstone communion cup, 260
- 'Farm,' meaning of word, 133, 155; or 'farmhold' in counties Northumberland and Durham, 127
- Farms, the ancient, of Northumberland, 121; church rates to be paid by, 134
- Farming, *Landmarks of*, 125n
- Farne Island, St. Cuthbert retired to, 88
- Farnelaw, ancient farms in, 153
- Farnham, Richard de, architect of Nine Altars Durham, 385; occurs in deed, 385
- Farnham, bishop Nicholas de, of Durham, 384
- Fawcett, 459
- Fawkes, Richard, account of Flodden, 353
- Featherstonhaugh, Alexander and Albany, 165
- Fearon, Thomas, of South Shields, salt merchant, 286 and n, 289; settlement, 286n; married Barbara Dove, 287; burial of, 290; of wife, 290
- Federer, C. A., edition of *Ballad of Flodden Field*, 4n
- Fenwick, Edward, of Stanton, 95; sir John of Wallington, 96; knife and fork of, 96; his horse 'Sorel,' 96; William, 194
- Ferry Shields, 169
- Field names, Blanchland, 301; at Haltwhistle, 166, 167, 173; at Sedgfield, 379
- Fields, Common*, Scrutton on, 122n
- Fishburn, manor mill of, 379
- Fisher, Moses, 194
- Fishing rights of manor tenants of Aston and Cote, Oxfordshire, 130; on Tyne, 130
- Fitzwilliam, Thomas, 367
- Flamborough church, inscription in, 357n
- Fleming, William, silversmith, 259
- Flesh- and fish-lookers, 58; oath of, 68
- Flight of men of Tynemouth and Bamborough at Flodden, 26
- Flodden, the battle of, 1, 351; or more strictly 'Brankston Moor,' 351; James IV. encamped on heights of, 16; order of the fight, 26; beginning of battle, 29; Dacre's charge, 30; defeat of English right, 30; battle in centre, 31; king of Scots standard bearer slain, 32; archbishop of St. Andrews slain, 33; estimate of number of slain, 33; effects of the battle, 37; flight of men of Tynemouth and Bamborough at Flodden, 26, 366; Robert Borthwick, master gunner, 26; account of battle of, in Record Office, 26n; commanders at, 26, 27; plan of battle facing 28; results of battle, 34n; bishop Ruthal's letters concerning, 36; about last engagement in which yew-tree bow used, 37; a 'soldier's battle,' 88; last border battle, 38; on identification of site of battle, 44; well of Sybil Grey, 44; Robert White on, 351; rev. A. Jones on, 351; ballads on, 354; letter to court of Denmark, 354; Paolo Giovio's account of, 354; list of Craven contingent at, 356; strength of armies at, 357; battle array of Scots at, 363; alarm of the English, 365; death of earl of Crawford, 367; pursuit of Scots, 368; route of Edmund Howard's division, 368; William Blackenall, English master gunner, 369
- Flodden Field*, The Ballads of, 3, 354; Weber's edition, 3n
- Flotterton, ancient farms in, 153
- Folklore*, Napier's, quoted, 57n
- Ford, 37; bridge, 356; castle taken and set on fire by the Scots, 7, 355; head-quarters of James IV., 7, 355; dame Elizabeth Heron, 356; request to Scottish king not to overthrow, 15; negotiations respecting preservation of, 357; dismantled, 42; church, communion cup, 262
- Forgery, by Jameson, 466; by Lough, 467, 470
- Forman, Adam, king of Scotland's standard bearer, 32
- Forster, Thomas, affidavit of, as to ancient farms in Netherwitton, 153; jun., of Etherstone, 102; William, of Burradon, 153; affidavit of, relating to ancient farms in Alwinton, 153
- Fossour, prior, 391

Fletcher, Thomas, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
 Fountains: abbey, choir of, 382; Nine Altars at, built by John of Kent, 382; abbots of, 382, 383; *A Monograph on the Abbey of*, 382
 Four days for a letter to travel between London and Newcastle by post, 463
 Four miles an hour, rate of travelling by stage-waggon, 453
 Fowler, rev. J. T., F.S.A., on mediæval cross at Middleton St. George, 45
 Foster, Joseph, of Low Buston, 101
 Fox, bishop of Durham, 355; George, founder of Quakers, 275; MS. journal of, 289; Mordecai, silver-smith, 259, 265
 'Fox and Lamb,' Newcastle, 373; drawing of by G. B. Richardson, 375; owners of, 375, 376; carriers from, 376
 France, study of customs of ancient communities, 123
 Frankfort, a Hanse town, 217
 Free communities, 122
 French, Edward, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
 French, Jonathan, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 266, 415, *et seq.*; John, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
 Frenon hill, 337
 Friends, forgotten burial grounds of Society of, 274
 Froissart, 300
 Frost, John, of North Shields, formerly of Burlington, 279; 'Doratha,' wife of, gravestone of, 279, 290
Funeral monuments, Weever's, 360n, 362n.
 Furlongs, *etc.*, 125

G.

G G, silversmith's mark, 263, 264
 G, T, silversmith's mark, 264
 G, W, silversmith's mark, 264
Gabiaz, Matronae, 322
 Gadebusch, 214
 Gainford church, 381; communion cups, 263, 266; paten, 265
 Gardelegen, a Hanse town, 218
 'Garmangabis,' Roman altar to goddess, 313
 Garrard and Johnson, wardens of London goldsmiths' company, 408
 Garthorne, Francis, silversmith, 259, 264; George, silversmith, 259

Gateshead, Quaker burial ground at, 189; early Quakerism in, 190; recusants, 194; St. Edmund's, 268; St. Mary's communion cups, *etc.*, 264, 266; paten, *etc.*, 265; flagons, 266; flagon, *etc.*, 267
 Gauls, the fifth cohort of, at South Shields, 157; in Pannonia, at Crumond, *etc.*, 158
Gazette of battle of Flodden, 2, 31, 33, 352
 Gelasius II., pope, 299
 Gerardo, cardinal priest of St. Stefano, 271
 Germany, the *Lines Imperis* in, xxii; study of customs of ancient communities started in, 123; common land in, divided by lot, 140; English merchants, notice to quit, 243
 Giacinto Bobone Orsini, cardinal deacon, 271
 Gibbon, George, brother of Thomas, joined bank, 462; died, 462; John, vicar of Blanchland, 306; Thomas, joined 'Old Bank,' 467; died, 463
 Gilbert, lord of Grindon, 162
 Gildas, and the Roman Wall, 451
 Gill, Edward, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmith company, 439; member, 425 *et seq.*; Thomas, son of, entered in Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440
 Gillaspie, Peter, vicar of Slaley, 342
 Gilpin, Thomas, silversmith, 265; B., 287; Mrs., 287
 Giovanni, cardinal deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, 271
 Giovanni da Mercone, cardinal priest of S. Silvestro, *etc.*, 272
 Giovio, Paolo, account of Flodden, 354, 360n
 Glanton, old chalice at Roman Catholic church at, 254
 Glass (painted), see painted glass
 Glyn, 458; John, 35, 352
 Göttingen, a Hanse town, 218
 Gold, light and defaced, received at the bank, 465
 Goldsmiths, bankers originally, 454
 Goldsmiths of Newcastle, the, 397; marks on plate, 397; assay books, 397; history of the company, 396; first allusion to, 398; original charter of incorporation, 399; manuscripts of, 400; names of members, 400 *et seq.*; Morden tower granted to, 402; first gold plate assayed, 408; 'un-brotherly words,' 416 *et seq.*; apprentices marrying, 415; head meeting days, 413 *et seq.*; assay office

Goldsmiths—*continued*.

- re-established, 403; attempt to abolish, 408; quantity of silver assayed, 409; discontinuance of the assay, 409; extracts from minute book, 411-440; apprentices, 415; list of, 437-440; plates bearing marks, 398, 409; claim to use hall of plumbers' company, 421; Mark Grey Nicholson appointed assay master, 421; penalty on stewards not attending guilds, 426; subscription to freeman's plate, 429 *et seq.*; William Carr of St. Helens Auckland admitted to company, 432; plate not belonging to freemen not to be assayed, 434; contribution towards infirmary, 436
- Gollnow, a Hanse town, 218
- Gomme's *Literature of Local Institutions*, 121*n*; *Village Communities*, 130
- Gordrick, John, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440; admitted, 437
- Gordian III., name of, erased from Roman altar, 322; also erased from milestone between Carnuntum and Vienna, 322*n*
- Gordon, Alexander, commander of Scottish left at Flodden, 26; general, and Khartoum, 35
- 'Gores,' tapered strips, 128
- Goslar, a Hanse town, 218
- Gower, sir John, 2; slain at Flodden, 34
- Grantchester, 114
- Graham, major, deputy-governor of Tynemouth castle, 274
- Grantham, 115
- Granville, Dennis, rector of Sedgefield, 393
- Gray, Cuthbert, 95; Edward, captain of Chillingham castle, 356*n*
- Greatham church, communion cup, 263; flagon, 267; hospital, Andrew de Stanley, master of, 394; communion plate of, 264
- 'Green knolls,' Sedgefield, 379
- Green, *Making of England*, 78*n*
- Greencastle, in Kenterdale, 90
- Greene, Richard, silversmith, 264
- Greenhead chapel, 186
- Greenrig, near Birtley, Northumberland, meeting of rebels at, 99
- Griefswald, 215; a Hanse town, 218
- Gresham, sir Thomas, 239
- Grey, Jean, accused Jameson of forgery, 466; 'exalted' to pillory, 467
- Greystock, arms of, 269; William, lord, 296; Ralph, son of, 296; marries Margery de Bolbeck, 296
- Grindon, Gilbert, lord of, 162; Hugh, lord of, 162
- Gröningen, 216; a Hanse town, 218
- Grundy, W., silversmith, 265
- Guarantee, original sheets, 462
- Gurley, George Marshall, vicar of Blanchland, 386
- Guido, cardinal deacon, 271
- Guilds, Morpeth, 52
- Guise, major-general, 452
- Gunnerton, ancient farms in, 154

H.

- H, A, and W W, silversmiths' mark, 259
- H, I, with star above, silversmith's mark, 262
- H, N, linked, silversmith's mark, 267; and with 5 *fleurs de lis*, 267
- H, S, silversmith's mark, 263
- H W, silversmith's mark, 259, 263
- Haddock, Zephaniah, 281; burial of, 290; Margaret, daughter of, 281, 290; married Eleanor Dove, 286; burial of, 290; bought mansion at Cullercoats, 286; William, son of, 290; Eleanor, daughter of, 290; Zephaniah, son of, 290
- Hadrian, squib on the emperor, 451
- Hadstone, ancient farms in, 154
- Hadwald, beatification of shepherd, 92
- Halberstadt, a Hanse town, 218
- 'Hall,' an English, 125
- Hall corn rent paid by tenants of Tynemouth manor, 134
- Hall, justice ('mad Jack Hall,') captured by rebels, 101; executed, 109
- Hall's account of battle of Flodden, quoted, 2, 16*n*, 25*n*, 27, 33; *Chronicle*, meeting of James IV. and lady Heron, 43
- Hall, Geoffrey, Newcastle goldsmith, 400; Rev. G. Rome, on the fragment of a Roman *lorica*, 441
- Halle, a Hanse town, 218
- Hallifax, Mills, Glyn, 458, 459
- Halton communion cup, 261
- Haltwhistle, manor, 162; tower, 163; common, 170, 173; rig and dale lands, 173; church, 177; communion plate, etc., of, 181; seventeenth century communion cup, 262; vicars: Stevenson, 164; Lowe, 177; Priestman, 180; Pykwell, Dyghton, 183; Merton, Rotherham, Hollingsworth, 184; Pate, 186; Wilson, Nauuey, Rotherham, 187, 188

- Hamburg, 215 ; a Hanse town, 218
 Hamden hill, Somerset, Roman *lorica* scales from, 443
 Hameln, a Hanse town, 218
 Hamer, Abraham, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
 Hamm, a Hanse town, 218
 Hammond, John, mayor of London, 229
 Hamsterley, pre-Reformation paten of, now in Durham chapter library, 252, 263
 Hand with cross-croset, silversmith's mark, 263
 Hannover, a Hanse tower, 218
 Hanse or Hansa, origin, meaning, etc., 212
 Hansa privileges in England withdrawn, 242
 Hansebrüder sworn to celibacy, 220
 Hanse towns, list of, 217
 Hanseatic confederation, the, its rise and progress, 211 ; end of, 247
 'Happy village,' the, 295
 Harbottle, sir Wynchard, slain at Flodden, 34 ; [Guiscard], king challenged by, 369 ; slain, 367
 Harbottle, Roger, 168
 Harderwyk, a Hanse town, 218
 Harding, James, 376
 Hardwick hall built in 1754, 394
 Harle, Robert de, of Kirk Harle, 296
 Harlow, appropriation, etc., of church of, given to Blanchland, 297
 Harper, John, Newcastle, goldsmith, 400
 Harrington, Thomas, York silversmith, 265
 Harris, John, 265
 Harrison, Robert, curate of Blanchland, 306 ; memorial of, to lord Crewe's trustees, 310 ; William, curate of Slaley, 342
 Hart communion flagon, 265
 Hartburn parish, ancient farms in, 153 ; church, communion plate of, 261, 262
 Hartlepool, sir Thomas Trewhitt, prior of, 201 ; ship of, under lord Lumley, 237
 Hartley, ancient farms in, 152
 Hartley burn, 169
 Harton, Westoe and, paid church rate by number of farms, 127
 Haslam, Lawrence, taken prisoner at R. Linton's house, 279 ; Martha, wife of, gravestone of, 279 ; Dorothy, daughter of, married to John Tyzack, 279
 Hasselt, a Hanse town, 218
 Hastings, sir Ralph de, 296
 Hatfield papers, 353a
 Hatfield, bishop, appropriated church of Bolam to Blanchland abbey, 298 ; survey of, 379
 Haughton-le-Skerne communion plate, 264
 Hauxley, ancient farms in, 154
 Haverfield, F. J., on Roman altar to Jupiter, 76 ; on a new Roman inscription at South Shields, 157 ; on a Roman altar at Lanchester, 321
 Haverton hill communion cup and paten, 266
 'Hay bounds,' cultivator had share of, 128
 Hay tithe, modus for, 136
 Haydon Bridge, roadside cross near, 94
 Headlam, 459
 Hays, John, barber, 375
 'Headlands,' or 'headriggs,' 125
 Heddon-on-the-Wall, discoveries in the *vallum* near, 338
 Heddon, John, 288 ; Patience (*née* Haddock), wife of, 288
 'Hedge bote,' 127
 Heidelberg, Roman milestones found near, 325
 Heighington communion cup, 265 ; paten, 267
 Helmstedt, a Hanse town, 218
 Hemma, *vicus* of, 90
 Henlee, John de, rector of Sedgfield, 394 ; founded chantry of St. Catherine, 394
 Hennell, R. and S., silversmiths, 260
 Henrik of Holstein, 217
 Henry I., in reign of, every burgess of Newcastle might have his own oven, 122
 Henry II., charter of, relating to Neasham, 268
 Henry III., 296 ; first allusion to Newcastle goldsmiths, in reign of, 398
 Henry V., 299
 Henry VI. and the Hanseatic league, 234 ; act of, for fixing silver standard, 398
 Henry VII. and the Hansa, 237
 Henry VIII., commissioners of, lost their way on journey to Blanchland, 300 ; exemplification of refoundation charter of Blanchland abbey, 301, 306 ; siege of Terouenne, 4 ; Brewer's *Reign of, 10a* ; and the Hansa, 238
 Henshaw communion cup, 261
 Hepburn, Adam, earl of Bothwell, 28
 Herald sent to James IV. by Surrey, 7, 15, 356 ; 'Islay' sent by James IV., 15

- Heralds' college, torquoise ring, sword, and dagger of James IV. at, 371
- Herford, a Hanse town, 218
- Heriot, 147
- Herle, Robert de, 350
- Hermou, mount, 446ⁿ
- Heron, the bastard, 17, 18; wounded at Flodden, 29
- Hérons of Ford, pedigree of, 39
- Heron, lady, James IV. and, 39, 43, 356; in *Marmion*, 39; Pitcottie on, 40; Elizabeth married Thomas Carr of Etal, 39; John, 367; of Chipchase, 172, 340; Ralph, Frances, and Charlotte, of Newcastle, 172, 173; see pedigree, 175; Thomas, of Heron's hill, Corbridge, 172; William, 15; prisoner in Scotland, 43
- Herries, lord, 369
- Heslop, R. O., 130; Richard, curate of Slaley, 342
- Hetherington, George, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; Lionel, 194
- Heton castle in ruins, 355; mill, ford near, 361
- Hewitt, John of North Shields, 276; Robert of North Shields, 276, 290; John, son of, 290
- Hewitson, Thomas, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 400
- Heworth, pre-Reformation paten at, 252, 263; early chalice at, 254; paten and cup, 267
- Hexham, St. Cuthbert, bishop of, 88; Slaley given to church of, 339; the Black Book of, 339; battle of, 113; copper coffin chalice, 262
- Hexham Spital, otherwise S. Gyles hospital, 169
- Hicks, W. S., on discoveries at Kirkwhelpington church, 47
- Hildemer, prefect of king Egfrid, 88
- Hildemer's town (? Ilderton), 88
- Hildesheim, a Hanse town, 218
- 'Historic memoranda concerning Cullercoats,' 287
- Hitchen, Hertfordshire, common fields of, 130
- Hixon, Robert, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440
- Hobbs, Richard, Newcastle goldsmith, 411 *et seq.*
- Hobby horse, the bank, Mr Carr's, 455
- Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., 'The battle of Flodden,' 1; on Ulflas, 213
- Hodgson, Aibiah, 194; George, tombstone of, 195; will of, 195, 207; Phillip of Sandhoe, 102; pedigree of, 196
- Hodgson, John, of Elswick house, Newcastle, 375; will of, 376
- Hodgson, J. Crawford, on customs of Morpeth courts leet and baron, 52; High Buston, 148
- Hodgson, rev. J. F., and Sedgfield church, 391
- Hodgson-Hinde, account of Ovington, 128
- Hodgson, *History of Northumberland* quoted 47, 49, 89ⁿ, 97ⁿ, 100ⁿ, *et seq.*, 283ⁿ
- Hodhill, near Blandford, Dorsetshire, *lorica* scales from, 443
- Holaday, Edward, silversmith, 259
- Holderness, men of, at Flodden, 27
- Holinshed, Raphael, quoted, 28ⁿ, 33; accounts of Flodden in *Chronicles and Historie of Scotland*, 2, 359ⁿ, 360
- Hollingsworth, 184
- Holm Cultram, standing cup at, 256
- Holmes, Sheriton, on the Roman bridges across the North Tyne, 328
- Holstein, Henrik of, 217
- Holy Island communion plate, 260, 262
- Holywell, ancient farms in, 152
- Home, lord, 355; chamberlain, 9ⁿ; overtaken by sir William Bulmer, 9; suspicious not loyal to Scottish king, 9; spelling of surname, 9ⁿ; commander of Scottish left at Flodden, 26; prisoner in England, 43
- Home, Davy, of Wedderburn, slain by sir Edmund Howard at Flodden, 29
- Honorary members, vi; xxx
- Honoratus, Julius*, 79
- Hooppell, rev. R. E., on Roman altar at Lanchester, 313
- Horses and mares taken by inhabitants of Northumberland, etc., after Flodden, 372
- Horsley, Thomas, 372
- Horton communion plate, 259, 261
- Hoton brass, Sedgfield church, 394
- Houghton-le-Spring, vestry book, 201; church, east window of, 391; communion paten, 267
- House bote, etc., 127
- Household book*, lord William Howard's, quoted, 73
- Howard pedigree, portion of, 11
- Howard, sir Edmund, 12, 357, 367; on English right at Flodden, 26; felled to earth thrice, 29; slew Davy Home, of Wedderburn, 29; rout of division at Flodden, 368
- Howard, Thomas, lord, 27
- Howard, sir Thomas, the admiral, 362; and sir Edward, 42

- Howard, Katharine, 11
 Howard, lord William ('Belted Will'), 11, 13, 164, 165, 166, 167; Thomas, 168; sir Charles, 167; Dorothy, 167; sir Richard, 167; William, esq., 167
 Howick communion flagon, 260
 Hudleston, rev. Curwin, of Hutton John, 287; marries Eleanor Hudson, 287
 Hudson, Enoch, of Bruntan, 287; Mary, daughter of, 287
 Hudson, Henry, of Whitley and Newbiggin, 286; Henry, son of, 287; marries Hannah Lascelles, 287; Henry, son of, married Elizabeth Ellison, 287; death of, 287
 Hudson, Thomas, curate of Blanchland, 305
 Hull, 454, 458; a steelyard at, 222
 'Hume, Alexander, of Hume, chamberlain,' 9n (see also Home)
 Hunstanworth communion cup, 265
 Hunter, Barbara, 194; Cuthbert, 194; Isabella, 194; Jeremiah, 279; John, of North Tyne, 99
 Huntercomb, Walter de, marries Alice de Bolbeck, 296, 348
 Huntingdon, 114
 Huntley, earl of, see Alexander Gordon
 Huntley, John, upholsterer, buys 'Fox and Lamb,' 375; Richard, will of, 375; Sarah, daughter of, 375
 Hurst, Blythe, incumbent of Slaley, 342
 'Hurthworth lands,' 269
 Hutton, Old, chalice of, 250
 Hutchinson's description of Blanchland and approach to it, 295; *Northumberland*, 296n
 Hymers, George, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
- I.
- I A, silversmith's mark, 263
 I F, silversmith's mark, 259
 I H, with star above, silversmith's mark, 262
 I M, silversmith's mark, 264
 I R, silversmith's mark, 264
 I Y, silversmith's mark, 264
 Icmaro, bishop of Frascati, 271
 Ilderton, 88; communion plate, 260, 262
Illustrated Archaeologist referred to, 327n
 Infirmary, Newcastle, 458; goldsmiths' company's subscription to, 436
 Ingledew, William, of Stockton, 290; Alice, his wife, 290
- Irminburg, queen, 90; St. Cuthbert received profession of, at Carlisle, 91
 Isaacson, 469
 'Island farm,' Sedgefield, 379
 Issod, Thomas, silversmith, 264
- J.
- Jackson, Richard, ballad of *Flodden Field*, 354
 Jacobite, origin of term, 93; movement in Upper Coquetdale, 93; league, 93; relics, 93; songs, 104, 105
Jacobite Times, London in, 108a, 109a
 Jackson, John, silversmith, 269; Orlando, James Young and, 259
 James II. of Scotland, 235; III. proclaimed king of England, 102
 James IV. and Anne of Brittany, 4; crosses Tweed, 355; besieges Norham castle, 6; takes it, 7; takes Wark, Etdal, and Ford, 7; at Ford, 7; herald from, 15; encamped on heights of Flodden, 16; council, 356; leaves high ground and marches to battle, 25; second campaign in Northumberland, 351; Robert Borthwick, master gunner of, 356; discovery by lord Dacre of body of, after Flodden, stripped, 34; brought to Berwick, 34; buried at Shene monastery, 35; bravery of, 369; challenged by Harbottle, 369; death of, 371; surcoat sent to Tournay, 371; sword and ring, 371; supposed not to be dead, but gone on pilgrimage to Holy Land, 35; and lady Heron, 39; dismantles Ford castle, 42
 James V., letter of regency of, to court of Denmark, 354
 Jameson, Thomas, engraver, forgery by, 466, 467
 Jarrow, church rate paid to, by number of farms, 127; communion plate, 267, 268
 Jed, South Dean on the, 89
 Jedburghs, given to church of St. Cuthbert, 89n
 Jeffersou, Jonathan, curate of Slaley, 342
 Jenkins, Michael, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
 Jesmond, butts in, 128; deed, a, 126a
 Jessopp, Dr., 122n
 Jesus college, Cambridge, 364n
 'Jockey of Norfolk,' 10
 John, king, 297
 John of Ely, abbot of Fountains, 382; of Kent, abbot of Fountains, 382; of York, abbot of Fountains, 382

Johnson, rev. Anthony, on Blanchland, 295; on Slaley, 339; Fewster; 146
 Johnstown, lord, prisoner in England, 43
 Joicey, Edward, 186
 Jones, Ambrose, rector of Rothbury, 94; rev. Robert, vicar of Brankston, description of Flodden, 1, 351
 Jopling, John, curate of Slaley, 342
Julius Honoratus, 79
 Jupiter, Roman altar to, 76

K.

Kampen, a Hanse town, 218
 Kansas, U.S.A., a farm in, 149
 Katharine, queen 2; sends lord Howard's letter to king describing Flodden victory. 35; sends Scottish king's coat, 36
 Keen, sir Malcolm, 366
 Kell, George, plumber of Hexham, 186
 Kelloe church (see Church Kelloe)
 Kelso, Book of, 347; monks of, reformed benedictines, 349
 Kemble, letter of, to Mr. Woodman, 132; *Saxons in England*, 132
 Kenmore, lord, leader of Scottish rebels, 104; beheaded on Tower Hill, 106
 Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*, 121n
 Kenswith, a widow who took into her house St. Cuthbert, 84
 Kent, Elizabethan communion cups in, 254
 Ker, sir Robert, warden of Marches slain, 17
 Khartoum, Gordon and, 35
 Kiel, 215, 218
 Killingworth, pedigree of, 196
 'King Arthur's Well,' 442
 Kirkby Sigston church, Yorkshire, 386
 Kirkcudbright, 87
 Kirk Harle, 296; communion plate, 260; halt of Jacobites at, 104
 Kirkhaugh communion plate, 259
 Kirkheaton communion cup, 259
 Kirkmerrington communion cup, 263
 Kirknewton seventeenth century communion cup, 262
 Kirkup, John, Newcastle goldsmith. 261, 262, 266, 267; James, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 437; member, 407 *et seq.*
 Kirkwhelpington church, discoveries at, 47; fragments of painted glass, 48; mediæval grave covers, 48; communion cup, 262; parish, ancient farms in, 152
 Knaresdale communion cup, 261
 Knights templars. 163; Robert de Ros a knight, 162, 163, 181

Knowles, W. H., on old 'Fox and Lamb' public-house, Newcastle, 373
 Koesfeld, a Hanse town, 218
 Kolberg, a Hanse town, 218
 Köln, a Hanse town, 218
 Köln-on-Spree, a Hanse town, 218
 Königsberg, a Hanse town, 218
Korrespondenzblatt, Westdeutsches, referred to, 327n
 Kovalesky and Ancient Communities, 123
 Kulm, a Hanse town, 218
 Kyloe communion plate, 261
 'Kyverdale, Manerium de,' 121n

L.

L, R, silversmith's mark, 259
 Lambe, Rev. R., *Flodden*, referred to, 3n, 4n
 Lambley communion cup, 259
 Lambton & Co., 460, 461, 462
 Lamesley paten, 265; cup, flagon, etc., 267
 Lammas meadow, a, 126
 Lancashire, men of Cheshire and, 14, 27, 28
 Lancaster. Roger de, marries Philippa de Bolbeck, 296
 Lanchester: Roman altar at, 313; well at, 314; slabs from, 318; *Lingovicium* of Romans, 326; church: communion cup, 263; paten, 264; flagon, 265
 Land, origin of property in, 123n; tenures in various countries, 123n
Landmarks, Prothero's, 122n; of *Farming*, 125n
Lanercost, Chronicon de, 87n; priory, 182
 Langlands, John, 261, 267; apprenticed to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; admitted, 437; and Goodricke, Newcastle goldsmiths, 261; and Robertson, Newcastle goldsmiths, 261, 262, 267
 Langley castle, roadside cross near, 94
 Laon, near Coucy, first abbey of White Monks, 299
Lapid. Sept. referred to, 320n, 322n
 Larkin, Charles, 377
 Lascelles, Francis, of Stank. 284; Hannah daughter of, married John Dove, 287; buried at Cullercoats, 284
 Latimer, bishop, 156; lord, 369
 Lauder, Berwickshire, custom of, 140n
 Lauderdale, St. Cuthbert shepherd boy of, 81
 Lawes, George, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439

- Laws, Cuthbert Umfreville, deputy steward of manor of Tynemouth, 135; and ancient farms in Northumberland, 134; affidavit of relating to do., 135, 154
- Laws, John, apprentice to goldsmiths' company of Newcastle, 439
- Lawson's *History of Banking*, 456
- Lawson: family, charters of Neasham with, 268; James, of Newcastle, 269; sir John, of Brough, 269; dame Joan, last prioress of Neasham, 269; Thomas, affidavit of, concerning farms in Kirkwhelpington, 152
- Layrewrite, 147
- Leadbitter, of Warden, 169n; Edward, steward of Tynemouth manor, 135
- Leader, banks of, and St. Cuthbert, 84
- League, the Jacobite, 93
- Leazes, 126
- Leeds, 454
- Leicester, lord, 242
- Leigh's ballad of *Scottish ffeilde*, 354
- Leightley, Thomas, Newcastle goldsmith, 411, *et seq.*
- Lenigo, a Hanse town, 218
- Lennox, Stuart, earl of, 28; slain, 31
- Leo the great, pope, 354; and mode of keeping Easter, 86
- 'Le Stele,' 339
- Lesley, George, earl of Rothes, 367
- Letters from Mr. Campbell, 455; Miss Airey, 455; Matthew Bell, 465; Ralph Carr, 466; to John Coutts, 452; Alexander Coutts, 453; Messrs. Middleton, 454; Mr. Coutts, 454; Mr. John Moses, 458; Messrs. C. and N. Falls, 458
- Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 123n
- Liburna*, a, 450
- Liber de Calchou*, 347
- Liber Regis*, 340, 380n
- Lilburn, George, 198
- Lincoln guild of the holy cross, 54n
- Liudisfarne, St. Colman withdrew from see of, 86
- Lindsay, Robert, of Pitscottie, account of battle of Flodden, 3
- Lingones, 4th cohort of, altar dedicated by, 76
- Linskills of North Shields, 209
- Linton, George, of South Shields, 202; North Shields, 274, 289; buried, 274
- Linton, Robert, of North Shields, 202, 275; Johan, wife of, 202, 275; Johanna, daughter of George, 276, 289
- Lippstadt, a Hanse town, 218
- Lisle, Joseph, of Whitley, 289; William, son of, 289
- List of members, etc., vi-xiv, xxxi-xxxviii; of societies exchanging publications, xiv, xxxix
- Literature of Local Institutions*, by Gomme, 121n
- Littleport, a 'full land' in, 127; bishop of Ely, court at, 142
- Littleton quoted, 143
- 'Living,' a, in Dorsetshire, the holding of a family, 127
- Lizards, the, Sedgefield, 379
- Lofthouse, Matthew, silversmith, 264; Seth, silversmith, 264
- London, earl of, 452
- London goldsmiths' company opposed establishment of provincial assay offices, 406; attempt to abolish provincial assay offices, 408; Garrard and Johnson, wardens, 408
- London, 453, 454, 456; guildhall, the, 245; merchant adventurers, 213; plate, 259, 263
- Longbenton communion cup, 262
- Longovicium* = Lanchester, 326
- Longhirst, ancient farms in, 152
- Longhorsley communion plate, 259
- Longnewton communion cup, 263
- Longstaffe, W. H. D., *Durham before the Conquest*, 380n
- Lorraine, 459; Baker & Co., 462
- Lorica*, fragment of a Roman, 441
- Lorimers or Loriners, 53n
- Lortburn, the, 378
- Lot meadow, a, 126
- Lothian, nobility of, at 'Flodden,' 28
- Lottery tickets. State, issued, 464
- Lough the forger, account of, from Mr. Boyd's MS., 467, 468, 469
- Low bridge, Newcastle, 378
- Lowther, sir Richard, 164
- Lowther church, monument in, 164
- Lucius III., pope, 271n
- Lübeck, head of Hansa bund, 213, 218; Johan Wittenberg, burgomaster of, 217; a fleet defeated in Sound, 219; Wullenwewer, burgomaster of, 224
- 'Lübische Recht,' 214
- 'Luck penny,' 57
- Luel = Carlisle, 90
- Lumley, lord, despoiled Lübeck vessels, 237
- Lüneburg, a Hanse town, 218
- Luther, Martin, 223
- Lydgate, John, poem of, 234
- Lynn, a steelyard at, 222

- M.
 M, on silver, 264
 M, C, silversmith's initials, 264
 M, I, silversmith's initials, 264
 M, T, silversmith's mark, 259
 M, W. silversmith's mark, 264
 Mackay, sheriff, *Preface to Scottish Exchequer Accounts*, 5*n*, 8*n*; on results of battle of Flodden, 34*n*
 Mackenzie, *Northumberland*, 284*n*
Macmillan's Magazine, 121*n*
 'Madencrofte,' 272
 Maddison, Ralph, entered in Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440
 'Maenor' of Celt, 125
 Magdeburg, a Hanse town, 218;
 Norbert, archbishop of, founder of White Monks, 299
 Magnus of Norway, 217
 Maine, sir Henry, study of customs of ancient communities in England by, 123; *Village Communities*, 140*n*, 149
 Maitland, Professor, 142, 145*n*
 Makepeace, Robert, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 261, 266, 425, *et seq.*; Robert, the younger, entered, 440; Thomas, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; entered, 440; member, 425, *et seq.*
 Malmesbury, William of, 227
 Manfred, cardinal priest, 271
 Mangy, Thomas, York silversmith, 265
 'Manoir' of Normans, 125
 Manors, origin of, 121
 Manor courts, 143*n*; and township descended from village community, 121
 Mar, earl of, and rebellion of 1715, 98
 Marcellinus, Ammianus, 448
 Marden close, 282; mill, 283
 Margaret's dowry, disputes concerning queen, 4
 Marie of Gueldres, princess, 235
 Marine society, 458
Marius Valerianus, 157
Marmion, 8, 352; lady Heron described in, 39
 Martin's, St., church, 454; lane, 454
 Martin, Henry, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
 Martindale, Thomas, curate of Slaley, 342
 Marton, Yorkshire, 356
 'Marts,' killing of, 56
 Maryport, *Uxellodunum* Roman name of, 326
 Marston, the lord Philip of, 146
 Mary, queen, and the Hansa, 241; queen of Scots, 12
Matribus Suebis, 325
Matronas Gaviae, 322
 Maurer and Nasse, and study of customs of ancient communities, 123
 Maxwell, lord, 369
 Meadow, a lot or lammas, 126
 Medieval cross at Middleton St. George, 45; grave covers, 48, 303; painted glass, 48
 Medomsley, St. Cuthbert passed through, 91; plague at, 91; communion cup of, 267
 Meetings to support banks, 456, 461, 462, 463
 Meldon communion paten, 261
 Melrose, St. Cuthbert at, 86; prior of, 86
 Members, lists of, vi, xxx
 Merchant adventurers, London and Muscovy, 224; of London, 213, 226
 Merchant tailors' books, extracts from, 54, 55*n*
 Mercheleye, William de, 347
 Merchet, 147
 Merchingley hermitage, 346; charters relating to, 347
 Mercians, Wiglaf king of the, 150
 Mercone, Giovanni da, 272
 Merivale, dean, and date of Roman Wall, 447
 Merrington, Kirk (see Kirkmerrington)
 Merse, the, 363
 Merton, Walter de, 184
 Merton college, Oxford, 113; livings of Embleton and Ponteland belong to, 113
 Metcalfe, Hesilrigg, apprentice, Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
 Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, 445
Middle Ages, England's Social Organization at close of, 123*n*; Nasse's *Agricultural Communities of the*, 124*n*
 Middleton - in - Teesdale, communion plate, 264; cup, 266
 Middleton, North, enclosed, 138, 140; ancient farms in, 153
 Middleton St. George, medieval cross in garden of Low hall at, 45
 Middleton, Gylbert, and his wife, 232
 Middleton, George, banker in London, 454; Lawrence, 166
 Middleton, Messrs., agents for Ralph Carr, 454; in St. Martin's lane, 454; originally goldsmiths, 454
 Mill and bakehouse, township, 122
 Milbourne, Ralph, 204; will of, 209
 Milburn, Swinburne v., 144
 Millford, 23*n*, 360
 Milne hills of Kent, 269
 Milton (Cambridge) terriers, 125*n*; four common fields at, 125*n*
 Minden, a Hanse town, 213
 'Minshynys,' 117

- Minsteracres park, 295
 Mitchell, Robert, entered in the Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440
 Mithison, John, entered in the Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440; first gold-plate assayed for, 408; William Stalker, and Newcastle goldsmiths, 261
 Mitford communion cup, 262
 Mitford, Oswald, 301
 Moises, Thomas, master mason, of Nine Altars, Durham, 385; inscription of, on buttress, 385
 Money to pay troops sent by Ralph Carr, 452
 Moneylaws, 26
 Money panic, 456, 461, 462, 463
 Mon-Fitchet, barons of, 296
 Monk Heselden communion cup, 266
 Monkridge, ancient farms in, 154
 Monkseaton, ancient farms in, 154; number of farms in, 135
 Monkwearmouth communion cup, 263
 Monteagle, lord, 36*n*; sir Edward Stanley created, 36
 Montrose, earl of, at Flodden, 27; slain, 30
Mon. Hist. Brit. quoted, 86*n*
 Mooney, Robert, 194
 Morden tower, Newcastle, granted to goldsmiths, 402; rebuilding of, 404
 Moor, John, affidavit of, concerning farms in Earsdon, 152
 Morier, sir R., description of German communities, 123*n*
 Morpeth, account of customs of court leet, etc., 52; proclamation of fair at, 56; court of *pie'd poudre*, 57; killing of marts, 56; duties of bailiff, 57; 'luck-penny,' 57; race-course at Cottingwood, 58; flesh and fish-lookers, 58; order for election of bailiffs, etc., 58; customs of courts, 59; manor of, 60; manor of castle of, 60; bailiff's oath, 67; foreman's oath, 60; freeman's oath, 61; court rolls of 1632, 62, 70
 Morpeth church, communion plate of, 261, 262; grammar school, suit by, to recover lands, 131
 Morwick, ancient farms in, 154
 Moses, John, 458
 Motte, La, French ambassador, 356
 Movement (Jacobite) in Upper Coquetdale, 93
 Mowbray, John, 171
 Mucklebank Roman wall turret, 412
 Moggleswick communion tankard, 264; salver, 265
 Münster, 216; a Hanse town, 218
 Murray, John, of Broughton, secretary to prince Charles Edward, 98
 Murton, number of farms in, 135; ancient farms in, 154
 Musgrave, 163; Edward, 164; sir Giles, 25; an English outlaw in Scottish camp at Flodden, 363; R., 184; Simon, 164; William, 163
 N.
 N H, linked silversmith's mark, 267; and with five *fleurs-de-lis*, 267
 Nasse, *Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages*, 124*n*
 Nairn, lord, 104; released from prison, 108
 Naworth castle, 13
 Neasham priory, county Durham, a bull relating to, 268; founded by lord Dacre, 268; charter of Henry II., 268; gift from Alan de Eggescliva, 368; dame Joan Lawson, last prioress of, 269; Dugdale's account of, 272*n*
 Neasham, village of, 269
 Nechtansmere, slaughter of, 81; death of Egfrid at, 89
 Nether Cramond, 80
 'Nether Dean bridge,' Newcastle, 378
 Nether Kellet, 89
 Netherwitton, John Thornton of, 102; lands belonging to chantry of, 131; ancient farms in, 153; church, communion cup of, 259
 Nevilles, the, benefactors of abbey of, Blanchland, 297
 Neville of Chevet, 184
 Newark, 115
 Newbiggin communion plate, 259, 261
 Newburgh, near Coxwold, 'namely the new borough where Saint Saviour is,' 116
 Newburn communion paten, 259; cup, 262
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 115; lord Surrey leaves York for, 7; Surrey met levies at, 356; each burgess of, might have his own oven, 122; Ralph Carr, general merchant at, 452; first provincial bank at, 452; duke of Cumberland at, 453; Wade's army at, 454; in 1787 four banks at, 460; population of, 460; branch of the bank of England established at, 463; castle leases, 131; eccentric characters of, Parker's picture of, 377; 'Fox and Lamb,' public house, 373; Quigs' burying ground, 287; Stones fair, 55; Morden tower rebuilt, 404; contribution of goldsmiths' company to build infirmary, 436

- Newcastle bank (afterwards called the 'Old Bank'), 454, 455, 456, 464, 465, 466
- Newcastle churches: All Saints', communion plate of, 254, 259, 260, 262; St. Andrew's, communion plate of, 260, 261, 262; St. Ann's, 261; St. John's, communion plate of, 259, 260; St. Nicholas's, 392; communion plate of, 259, 260, 262
- Newcastle, the goldsmiths of, 397-440; the plumbers' company of, 397 *et seq.*
- Newcastle and the Hansa, 221; despatch in archives of Stralsund from mayor of, 221; sir Peter Scott mayor of, 221n; steelyard, 222; trade with, 222
- Newcastle papers, extracts from, 454, 455, 464, 465, 466, 467, 469, 470
- Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 130n, 285
- Newham, ancient farms in, 154
- Newhouse, Lincolnshire, founded, 300
- Newsham township, ancient farms in, 152
- Newspapers, Newcastle, extracts from, 454, 455, 464, 465, 466, 467, 469, 470
- Nicholas's, pope, taxation, 339
- Nicholson, Mark Grey, apprentice to goldsmiths' company, 437; appointed Newcastle assay master, 421
- Nine Altars, Durham cathedral, 382; Fountains abbey, 382
- Ninebanks communion cup, 261
- Nineteenth Century, The*, 122n
- Nithsdale Picts, country of, 87
- Nithsdale, earl of, 104
- Nocera, bishop of, 354
- Non-parochial registers*, Sims on, 189
- Nordheim, a Hanse town, 218
- Norfolk, duke of, the earl of Surrey created, 36
- Norham castle, 355; sieges of, by James IV., 6; bishop Ruthal's letters concerning, 36; taken, 7; John Ainslie, captain of, 355n
- Norham church, communion cup of, 260
- Normans, 'manoir' of, 125
- Normandie, Coutumes de*, 125n
- Norris, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Northallerton, 115
- North Shields; see Shields, North.
- Northumberland, a 'farm' or 'farmhold' in, 127; ancient farms of, 113; extracts from sessions records of, 111; church plate of, 249; list of, 259; no pre-Reformation plate in, 250; *Rambles in*, 386
- Northumberland, a new county history of, i. xxi; Hodgson's *History of*, quoted, 47, 89n, 97n, 109n, 283n, 447; Hutchinson's *History of*, 296n; Mackenzie's *History*, 284
- Northumberland and Durham, an archaeological map of, xxi; church plate of, 397
- Northumbrian Border, The*, by canon Creighton, 121n; Witenagemot condemned ancient mode of keeping Easter, 86
- Norway, a Danish province, 223; Magnus of, 217
- Norwich Tailors' Guild, 54n
- Note issue commenced, 455; particulars of, 458, 459; withdrawn, 464 promissory, lost, 469
- Notes on a journey from Oxford to Embleton and back in 1464, 113
- Notitia Dignitatum*, 76
- Numerus* in Roman inscriptions, 326
- Nunsbrough on Devil Water, 350
- Nymwegen, a Hanse town, 218

O

- Offa, king of Mercia, letter from Charlemagne to, 226
- 'Offnamarum' ? 272
- Ogle, ancient farms in, 154
- 'Old bank,' the, Newcastle, 452 (see banks)
- Oliver, John, York silversmith, 265; Stephen, *Rambles in Northumberland*, quoted 336
- 'Order of the White Rose,' 93
- Origin of Property in Land, The*, 122n
- Origins of English History*, 140
- Orsini, Giacinto Bobone, cardinal deacon, 271
- Orton, John, curate of Slaley, 342
- Oschersleben, a Hanse town, 218
- Osnabrück, a Hanse town 218
- Osterburg, a Hanse town, 218
- Ottaviano da Monticella, cardinal priest, 271
- Otterburn, justice Hall of, 101; ancient farms in, 154
- Ottone da Brescia, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas, 271
- Ottone da Cesena, cardinal deacon, 27
- Ovington, homesteads of, 128
- Oxclose, Ovington, 129
- Oxford, oak leaf worn at, 97; to Embleton and back in 1464, 113; documents at Merton college, 113
- Oxgang, 127

P.

- P, R, silversmith's initials, 264
- Paderborn, a Hanse town, 218
- Panic, money, 456, 461, 462, 463

- Painted glass at Blanchland, 303; from Kirkwhelpington church, 43; Sedgfield, 393
- Pallinsburn, 362*n*; mansion of, 23
- Papcastle, Aballava, Roman name of, 326
- Papers left by Mr. Carr, 453; by Mr. Boyd, 463
- Papists, list of, in Rothbury, Alwinton, and Holystone parishes, 111; and houses in Coquetdale ward, 111, 112
- Parish registers, xxi; Blanchland, 303; Slaley, 342; extracts from Tyne-mouth, 274
- Parker, H. P., the artist, 377
- Parochial Antiquities*, Kennet's, 121*n*
- Partis, pedigree of, 196; Thos., of Sunderland, silversmith, 423; William, Newcastle goldsmith, 261, 266, 267
- 'Passes,' soldiers' widows and children having, 67
- Paston letters, the, 156
- Patens, pre-Reformation, 252; in county Durham, 252
- Patten, Robert, priest of Allendale, 98; *History of Rebellion of 1715*, 98; taken prisoner at Preston, 98
- Pattenson, Cuthbert, 342
- Paul, parson, executed, 109
- Paymaster-general sir Thomas Wennington, 452
- Payne, Humphrey, silversmith, 259, 264, 265
- Peagram, Miss Polly, niece of George Campbell, 454; marriage of, to James Counts, 454
- Pearson, of Hexham and Haltwhistle, George, 169; John, 169; Margaret, 169; William, 169, 170*n*
- Peaston, William, silversmith, 265
- Peat, Jeremiah, of Hawksdale, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; Robert, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
- 'Pebersvende,' in Scandinavia, a bachelor over forty, 220
- Peirson, Shem, 290
- Peel, John, of Cullercoats, 289; Ann, his wife, 289; Jeremiah, son of, 289
- Pennant quoted, 243
- Percy, bishop, 354; William, 27, 368
- Pernan, a Hanse town, 218
- Peter, 'clericus de Seggefeld,' 381
- Peter and Paul, heads of, on papal bull, 272
- Peterborough (bishop of), see Creighton (canon)
- Pfarrer, Thomas, silversmith, 265
- Phillips, Maberly, 'On some forgotten burying grounds of Society of Friends,' 189, 274; 'On the "Old Bank," Newcastle,' 452
- Phornetuna = Thornetona (?), 272 and *n*
- Pickering, Theophilus, rector of Sedgfield, 394
- Pied poudre*, hearing of cases in court of, 57
- Pierpoint, William, demises collieries at Whitley, 233
- Pilgrim street, Newcastle, 455, 461; 'fairest street in town,' 378
- Pinkney and Scott, Newcastle goldsmiths, 261, 262, 267
- 'Pipers bill,' 25, 27, 29, 45
- Piscinae*, Sedgfield, 389
- Pitcottie, 7*n*
- Plainfield moor, on Coquet, meeting at, in 1715, 99, 100; standard of rebellion, first unfurled at, 100
- Plainmellor, 163, 163, 169
- 'Plas' of Celt, 125
- Plate, church, in Northumberland and Durham, etc. (see church plate); *Old English*, 397
- Platel, Pierre, silversmith, 264
- Plough bote, 127; gates, farms in Whalton termed, 154
- Plumbers' company of Newcastle, the, 397
- Plummer, James, York silversmith, 265
- Poitiers, 37
- Ponteland, living of, belongs to Merton college, Oxford, 113; church, communion plate of, 261
- Pope Gelasius II., 299; Leo X. and burial of Scottish king, 35
- Potts, Luke Killingworth, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; embezzled goods, 439; Michael of Sharperton, 96
- Poultry, eggs and, rental paid in, 123
- Preaching licences, 205
- Precaria*, 145
- Premonstratensians, why so called, 300; canons at Blanchland, 296
- Pre-Reformation church plate, none in Northumberland, 250; patens, 252, 263; north country examples, 252
- Preston, Lancashire, rebels penetrated to, 105; defeat of, at, 98, 105
- Preston, Northumberland, number of farms in, 135; ancient farms in, 154; Tinemouth and, terrier of lands in, 283
- Preston Pans, battle of, 452, 453

- Pretender, the young, prince Charles Edward, landed in Scotland, 452; gains battle of Preston Pans, 452, 453
 Priestman, Robert, vicar of Haltwhistle, 1676, 180
 Prince Charles Edward, 98, 452
 Prior, Matthew, Newcastle assay master, 406
Proc. Berw. Nat. Club, vol. iv., 351*n*
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland, 353*n*
Prooolitia, 337
 Procurations, list of, 339
 Prothero's *Landmarks*, 225*n*
 Pryor, William, appointed Newcastle assay master, 426
 Purefoy, Philip, 169
- Q.
- Quakers' burial grounds, Notes on some forgotten, 189, 274; Besse's *Sufferings of the*, 190; society, extracts from cash books of, 275
Quakerism, Early, in Gateshead, 190
 Quedlinburg, a Hanse town, 218
 Quigs' burying ground, Newcastle, 287
 'Quintinie, Mademoiselle de,' 125*n*
- R.
- R on silver, 264
 R B, silversmith's initials, 263; R, F, 264; R, I, 264; R I, 259; R P, 264; R.S., mullet above and below, silversmith's mark, 259
 Raine, R., silversmith, 264
 Raine, *North Durham*, 366*n*
 Ramsay, Cuthbert, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
 Ramsey, John, innholder, 375; William, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 266, 400, *et seq.*; William, jun., apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; member, 400 *et seq.*
 Randal, *Survey of Churches*, 340
 Ratcliff, William ('laird Ratcliff'), of Thropton, 110
 Ravensworth, lord, 458, 459
Rebellions of 1715, History of, 98; 1745, 452; great northern, 144
 Recusants in Gateshead, 194
 Redmarshall, origin of name, 379
 Reed & Co., 462
 Reeve, J. A., on Fountains abbey, 382
 Registers, parish (see parish registers); non-parochial, 189
Reign of Henry VIII., 10
 Replington, ancient farms in, 154
 Reports, annual, i, xxi
 Beval, a Hanse town, 218
- Rhodes, arms of, on Sedgefield bell, 392
Rhymes of Northern Bards, Bell's, 110
 Richardson's terrier of survey of South Shields, 203
 Richardson, *Tuple Book*, 283*n*
 Richardson, G. B., drawing of old 'Fox and Lamb,' Newcastle, 375; Thomas, of North Shields, 290; William, vicar of Slaley, 342
 Riddell, 459
 Ridley grave cover, 179
 Ridley, Matthew, 406 *et seq.*; documents made out in favour of, 452
 Ridley, sir Matthew White, I., 460; partner in Old Bank, 461; died, 462
 Ridley, sir M. W., II., joined bank, 462; died, 463
 Ridley, sir M. W., III., joined bank, 463
 Ridley, Cuthbert, 187; Hugh, 166; John, 164, 165, 166, 179; Nicholas, 168, 179, 184; of Willimoteswyke, 372
 Ridley, Bell, & Co., 462; Bigge, & Co., 463, 464; Bigge, Gibson, & Co., 462; Cookson & Co., 461
 Ridpath, *Border History*, 354*n*
 Riga, 216; a Hanse town, 218
 'Rig and dale' lands at Haltwhistle, 173
 Rigs, 125
 Ripon, St. Cuthbert hosteller at, 85
 Rising of 1715, 97; of 1745, 98
 Robins, John, silversmith, 260
 Robinson's, late Mr., house, 455
 Robinson, James, entered in books of Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440; R., letter of, relating to baths at Cullercoats, 290; Richard, of North Shields, 290; Joan, wife of, 290; William, Newcastle goldsmith, 400 *et seq.*
 Robson, James, of Thropton, 110; affidavit of, as to ancient farms in Whalton parish, 154; Matthew, of Bellingham, horse of, taken possession of by rebels, 103
 Rochester, township of, 148; ancient farms in, 154
 Roddam, 88
Roderick Random, 376
 Rodolfo, cardinal deacon, 271
 Roermonde, a Hanse town, 218
 Roman altars at Lanchester, 313; Wallsend, 76
 Roman bridges across the North Tyne, 328; Mr. Holmes on, 328; Mr. Clayton on, 328; across the river Rede, 336
 Roman camps, fund for excavation of, i
Roman Britain, by Scarth, 444*n*

Roman inscription, a new, from South Shields, 157; mortar, 332
 Roman mile castles, a forgotten reference to, 447
 Roman Wall, visit of general von Sarwey to, xxii.; report of excavation committee, xxvi.; *Wallet Book*, 331; date of, construction of, ascribed by dean Merivale to fourth century, 447; Gildas and the, 451
 Roman Wall turret, destruction of, a, 441; found by William Tailford, 441
 Romans, 'aula' of, 125
 Romans, township organization of agriculture ascribed to, 123
 Ros or Roos, pedigree, 174; Alexander, 162; Isabella, 181; Margaret, 163; Robert, 162, 163, 181; William, 163, 182
 'Rose, White, Order of the,' 93
 Roses, Wars of the, 233
 Rostock, a Hanse town, 218
 Rotations of crops, 125
 Rothes, earl of, 367 *et seq.*
 Rothbury: ancient farms in, 153; rebels of 1715 at, 99; James III. proclaimed king, 102; list of papists in, 111; inns: 'Black Bull,' 95, 102; 'Three Half-Moons,' 102; parish books, 94; rectors of: Thomas Cotes, 94; Ambrose Jones, 94; Dr. John Thomlinson, 101, 147*n*.; parish registers, extracts from, 109, 110; communion plate of, 259, 262
 Rotherham, John, 184, 188; Thomas, 184, 188; William, 184
 Rotta, *La, d' Scocesi*, 353
 Rouge Croix, bearer of challenge to Scottish king, 358
 Rough castle, 81
Royal History Review, 145*n*
Rozburghe Club Publications, 353*n*
 Rügenwalde, a Hanse town, 218
 Ruslen, John, silversmith, 264
Russia, Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of, 123*n*
 Russia, Catholics of Latin rite in, allowed to follow eastern calendar regarding keeping of Easter, 86*n*.; study of customs of ancient communities in, 123; Wallace's, 147*n*
 Ruthal's, bishop of Durham, 2; letters to Wolsey concerning Norham and Flodden, 36
 'Rutlingham,' 87, 88 is it Roddam, ? 84
 Ryal communion cup, 262
 Ryton church, 385; communion cup and flagons, 266; paten, 267

S.

S, A, linked, silversmith's mark, 263
 S H, silversmith's mark, 263
 S, R, mullet above and below, silversmith's mark, 259
 'Saddelflat,' 272
 Sadelyngstanes, Hugh de, 350
 St. Aidan, 84
 St. Aidan's soul, St. Cuthbert's vision of, assumption of, 85
 St. Andrews, Alexander Stuart, archbishop of, 8; slain at Flodden, 33, 369; and lady Heron's daughter, 40
 St. Audrey, banner of, 356
 St. Bartholomew, church of, Kirkwhelpington, 47
 St. Boswell, St. Cuthbert favourite disciple of, 85; died of the plague, 86; Tweedmouth church dedicated to, 86
 St. Colman withdrew from Lindisfarne, 86
 St. Cuthbert, banner at Flodden, 7, 27, 30, 36, 357; names of persons and places mentioned in early lives of, 81; rev. J. L. Low on, 81; MS. lives of, 83; North Shields first spot identified with, 83; in house of widow Kenwith, 84, 87; vision of assumption of St. Aidan's soul, 85; favourite disciple of St. Boswell, 85; 'hosteller' at Ripon, 85; retired to banks of Tweed, 86; conformed to Roman way of keeping Easter, 86; prior of Melrose, 86; walked into waves at Coldingham, 87; sailed down Solway with Tydi and another monk, 87; on Farne island, 88; elected bishop of Hexham, 88; crossed Tweed at Examford, 89; cured Balhelm, 89; lands of Cartmel given to, 89; consecrated at York, 89; at Carlisle, 89; grants settlement at 'Bedesfeld' to some nuns, 90; receives profession of queen Irminburg, 91; dedicates church at Easington, North Yorkshire, 91; beatification of shepherd Hadwald, 91; passed through Medomsley, 91; received welcome at South Shields from abbess Verca, 92; retires to Farne, 92; 'Gedwardes' given to church of, 89*n*.; met St. Herbert, 91
St. Cuthbert, Metrical Life of, 78*n*
S. Cuthberto, Historia de, 379*n*
 'St. Elene,' gild of, 54*n*
 St. Helens Auckland, see Auckland St. Helens
 St. Herbert, hermit of Derwentwater, 91

- St. Hilds chapel, 84
 St. John, representation of, 45
 St. John Lee communion cup and paten, 261
 St. John's, Weardale (see Weardale St. Johns)
 St. Katharine, Stamford gild of, 55n
 'Saint Loys gyld and light,' Morpeth church, 53n
 S. Mary, representation of, on cross, 45
 'Sancta Maria,' inscription on painted glass, Blanchland, 303
 Saint, Joseph, partner in Old Bank, 456; died, 457
 'St. Oswin in Tinemouth,' 282
 Salt pans, erection of, at Cullercoats, 286
 Salzwedel, a Hanse town, 218
 Sand, George, *Mademoiselle de Quintinie*, 125n
 Sanderson, Richard Burdon, 376n
 Sandhoe, Phillip Hodgson, of 102
 Sandyford, 362
 Sarwey, general von, visit of, to Roman Wall, xxii
Satyr upon Women, 110
Saxons in England, 182
 Scarbrough, earl of, 103
 Scarth, *Roman Britain*, 444n
Scocesi, la Rotta de, 353
Scottish ffeilde, ballad of, 354
 Scotland: kings of, Alexander III., 163; John de Balliol, 162, 163; William the Lion, 162, 163, 181; the curse of, 364; Pretender landed in, 462; money sent to, 452, 454.
 Scotland, Celtic, 123n; Pinkerton's *History of*, 353n; Tytler's *History of*, 9n
 Scots, battle array of, at Flodden, 363; pursuit of, 369
 Scott, sir Peter, mayor of Newcastle, 221n; Robert, entered in Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 444; sir Walter, and battle of Flodden, 31; on lady Heron, 39; Walter, of Newcastle, 376
 Scottish camp at Flodden plundered by the English, 372; troops at Flodden, number of, exaggerated, 4; *Erchequer Accounts, Preface to*, by Sheriff Mackay, 5n
 Scoop, Henry, lord, 164
 Scrutton *On Common Fields*, 122n
 Scupstol, the, 216
 Scythe-chariots in East, 450
 Seaham communion cup, etc., 265
 Seaton Delaval, 145; ancient farms in, 152
 Seaton, North, ancient farms in, 153
 Seaton, William, Newcastle, goldsmith, 400
 Seaton, George, silversmith, 260
 Sedan, 352
 Sedgfield: church, 379; erected by same man as Nine Altars, Durham, 384; dedicated to St. Edmund the bishop, formerly to Virgin, 380; tower, 'stateliest in county,' 391; intended to be crowned with lantern, 392; ground plan, 395; transepts, 389; chantries, 394; chantry altars, 389; carved capitals of nave, 386; early rectors of, 381, 393; aumbries, 389; bells, 392, 394, 396; brasses, 390; cups, communion, 264; effigies, 390; fairs and markets, 380; font, 394; furniture, ancient, etc., 393; glass, painted, 393; grave covers, 396; manor mill of, 379; paten, 265; *piscinae*, 389; rood beam, 390
 Seebolm, *The Village Community*, 122, 130; *Villeinage in England*, 123n
 Seehausen, a Hanse town, 218
 Seghill, ancient farms in, 152
 Selbys of Biddleston, 96
 Selby, Robert, of Durham, a physician, 280, 284; Hannah (*née* Lascelles), his wife, 280, 284, 289
 Selden, 121n
 Sellions, 125
 Selwyn, sir George, 54
 Session, records of Northumberland, extracts from, 111
 'Seven Sisters, The,' 5, 24
 Severus, Alexander, 157, 451; Roman inscriptions of reign of, 160
 Sforza archives, 353
 Shadwell, vice chancellor, 134
 Shaftoe, Edward, 102; John, bequest to Slaley, 340; captain John, 99, 102; William, 102
 Shares, proportion of, held by partners in Old Bank, Newcastle, 456, 457
 Sharp, archdeacon, 187; Robert, silversmith, 260; apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 440
 Sharperton, ancient farms in, 154
 Shaw, Nathaniel, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438; member, 425 *et seq.*
 Sheffield, London goldsmiths' company opposed establishment of assay office at, 406
 Sherburn hospital, Elizabethan communion cup with lettered band at, 254, 263; flagon and paten, 266
 Shieldfield rigs, 126n
 Sheene, Alice, silversmith, 264
 'Shem,' male christian name, 290
 Shene, Surrey, body of king James IV. buried in monastery of, 35

- Sheppard's *Trouchatone*, 127
- Shields, North, extracts from cash books of Society of Friends of, 275; quaker burial ground at high end, 274; first spot identified with St. Cuthbert, 83
- Shields, South, 178*n*; a new Roman inscription, 157; and bronze links of Roman armour from, 444; abbess Verca welcomed St. Cuthbert at, 92; St. Hilda's church communion cups, etc., 266, 267; quaker burial ground at, 202; surprise of quaker meeting at, 202; Robert Linton of, 274.
- Shipley, John, 288; Margaret (*née* Haddock), wife of, 288
- Shipton, Richard, of Lythe, Yorkshire, 285; Elizabeth, daughter of, 285
- Shipwrecked goods, 215
- Shire rent of manor of Tynemouth, 135
- Shotley, appropriation, etc., of church of, given to Blanchland, 297
- Silvertop, George, of Minsteracres, bought Bolbeck manor, 297; H. T., 297
- 'Shots,' 125
- Shrewsbury, duchess of, interceded for rebels, 109
- Shrive, Robert, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Sibba, 89; servant of, cured by St. Cuthbert, 89
- Signatures to Bank guarantee, 462
- Silver, act fixing standard of, 398
- Silver Street, Newcastle, 'Old Bank' in, 456
- Simmel's (Lambert) insurrection, 10
- Simonburn communion cup and paten, 259
- Simpson, John, 288; Barbara (*née* Haddock), wife of, 288; Richard, of Lythe, Yorkshire, lease to get coal at Cullercoats, 285
- Sim's *Non-parochial Registers*, 189
- Sinclair, lord, master of Scottish ordnance, death of, 369
- Sipylos in Magnesia, 446*n*
- Sirion = mount Hermon, 446*n*
- Sisson, William, vicar of Slaley, 342
- Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 87*n*, 92*n*, 123*n*
- Snitter, ancient farms in, 153
- Slaley, ecclesiastical history of, by the rev. Anthony Johnson, 339; church built, 340; bells and communion plate, 341; tombstone at, 341; vicar and curates, 342; registers, 342; communion cup, 262; abstract of title of John Thornton to tithes of, 343
- Slaley, Gilbert de, gave Slaley to church of Hexham, 339
- Slenth, G., silversmith, 264
- Sleigh, John, vicar of Slaley, 342
- Smiths of Nottingham, 456
- Smith, John, vicar of Slaley, 342; Joseph, minister of Slaley, 342; William, surgeon, 470
- Smith, D., and R. Sharp, silversmiths, 265
- Smolensk, prince of, 216
- Snowdon, Thomas, Newcastle goldsmith, 415 *et seq.*
- Societies exchanging publications, lists of, xiv, xxxix
- Sockburn church, 381; communion cup, 267
- Soden, rev. C. W., presents fragments of painted glass to Black Gate museum, 48
- Soest, a Hanse town, 216, 218
- Sole, Thomas, of 'Linn,' 290
- Soltbomel, a Hanse town, 218
- 'Sorel,' sir John Fenwick's horse, 96; threw William of Orange, 96; poem concerning, 96
- Sose, Francis, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
- Sound, Lübeck fleet defeated in, 219; dues instituted by Eric, 223
- South dean on the Jed, 89
- South Shields (see Shields, South)
- Southern, Robert, extracts from will of, 284*n*
- 'Sparrow hall,' Cullercoats, 285; account of, 235; conveyance relating to, 293
- Spearman's *Notes*, 297*n*
- Spedding, John, jun., nephew of Thomas Gibson, joined bank, 463; large shareholder in district bank, and appointed a director, 464
- Spen colliery communion plate, 263
- Spence, C. J., 205, 275, 289
- Spencer, James, secretary to the bank, 470
- Spitting, a defence from magic, 57*n*
- Spittle and Low Buston, ancient farms in, 154
- 'Squares,' 125
- Stade, a Hanse town, 218
- Staindrop communion cups and patens, 263; flagons, 266, 267
- Stainton, Great, county Durham, Elizabethan secular cup at church, 254, 256, 263
- Stalker, William, and John Mitchison, Newcastle goldsmiths, 261
- Stamford, Guild of St. Katherine, 55*n*
- Stamfordham, leases for lives in, 144; church, communion cup, etc., at, 269, 261
- 'Stanegate, The,' 336

- Stanhope, property belonging to Blanchland abbey at, 297; church, communion cup, 266; paten, 294
 Stanley, badge of, 356; Andrew de, master of Greattham hospital, brass of, 394; James, bishop of Ely, 356
 Stanley, sir Edward, 14, 356, 370; commander of Cheshire and Lancashire men at Flodden, 28; pressed up central ridge, 31; created lord Monteagle, 36
 Stannington communion cup, etc., 259
 Stanton, Thomas Cotes, schoolmaster at 94
 Stargard, a Hanse town, 218
 Statutes of the society, xvi, xxviii
 Stavoren, a Hanse town, 218
 Steelyard, some statutes and regulations of the, 234
 'Steelyards,' 222
 Steen, Tidemand, commander of Lübeck fleet, 219
 'Steeple house,' the, 208
 Stendal, a Hanse town, 218
 Stettin, a Hanse town, 218
 Stillington, 115
 'Stitches,' half-acre strips known as, in south, 125
 Stockton communion plate, 264; cups, flagons, plates, etc., 265
 Stoddart, Thomas, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; admitted, 436
 Stolpe, a Hanse town, 218
 Storey, James, of Rothbury, affidavit of, as to ancient farms in Snitter, etc., 153
Storia dei Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa, quoted, 271ⁿ
 Story, Charles, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439; Robert, 290; Eleanor, wife of, 290; Jacob, son of, 290
 Stralund, a Hanse town, 218; peace of in 1370, 217; despatch in archives of, from mayor of Newcastle to the Rath of, 221
 Stranton, wine-glass shaped communion cup, 263
 Stuart exhibition, 1889, 93
 Stubbs's *Select Charters*, 122ⁿ
 Sturton Grange, ancient farms in, 154
 Styford, appropriation of church of and fishery at, given to Blanchland, 297
 Subscription lists, early, opened at banks, 464
 Suebians, a vexillation of, the, named on Lanchester altar, 378
Suebis matribus, an altar to, 326
Sueborum, a puzzle, 324; *Nicrotum, civitas*, 326
 Sunderland, Quaker meeting at, 198; church, almshouses and cups, 266; flagons, 264; patens, 267
 Surrey, Henry, earl of, the poet, 11; beheaded on Tower hill, 12
 Surrey, earl of, 2, 9; released from Tower and made lord lieutenant, etc., 10; escorted Margaret Tudor across border, 10; despatches of, 352; hears mass in Durham abbey, 7; receives banner of St. Cuthbert, 7; at Newcastle, 7, 356; at Alnwick, 7, 356; sends 'Rouge Croix' to James IV., 7, 35; wages of retinue of, 14ⁿ; at Bolton in Glendale, 15, 357; at Wooler haugh, 16; flank march, 17; Till crossed by, at Doddington bridge, 359; encamped at Barmoor wood, 359; strategy of, 361; sent *Agnus Dei* to his father, 365; Scots force their way to standard of, 369; at Flodden, 27; retreat ordered by, 33; confers knighthood on thirty gentlemen, 36; created duke of Norfolk, 36
 Surtees, Burdon, & Co., 461, 462
 Surtees's *Durham*, referred to, 272ⁿ
 Survey of 1541 of Bowes and Ellerker, 89ⁿ; Clarkson's, 142
 'Suth-gedlint,' is it South Dean on the Jed? 89
 Sutton, Henry, silversmith, 259
 Swan, John, affidavit of, relating to ancient farms in Woodhorn, 153; Robert, of Bedlington, affidavit of as to ancient farms in Bedlington, 154
 Sympson, Anthony, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
 Sympsoun, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 400
 Sweden subdued by Christian II. of Denmark, 223; Gustavus Vasa, king of, 223
 Swinburne v. Milburn, 144
 Sword, British, from North Tyne, 443

T.

- T E linked, silversmith's mark, 259
 T G, silversmith's initials, 264; M, 259
 Tacitus quoted, concerning trade of London, 226
 Tailford, William, finder of two wall turrets, 441
 Talairand, cardinal, 340
 Talbot, John, of Cartington, made his escape, 103
 Tandere, St., 356ⁿ
 Tanfield communion cup, 264
 Tangermünde, a Hanse town, 218

- Tanners' company, Morpeth, extracts from books of, 55n
 Taylor's *Domesday Survivals*, 130
 Teasdale, John, of Slaley, tombstone of, 341
 'Temperance,' a feminine Christian name, 290
 Tennant, Caleb, 290; Abigail, his wife, 290; Abigail and Margaret, daughters, 290; Benjamin, son of, 290
 Tenures, land, in various countries, 123n
 'Tenants by the verge,' 142
Tenures, Gilbert on, 143n
 Terouenne, siege of, 4, 355
 Terrier of lands in manor of Tinemouth and Preston in 1649, 283
 'Teageta,' 87
Teutonic Mythology, Grimm's, quoted, 57n
 Theodosius, the younger, Roman Wall ascribed by some to time of, 449
 Thiel, a Hanse town, 218
 Thirlwall grave cover, 178
 Thomlinson, Dr. John, rector of Rothbury, 101, 147n
 Thompson, Edward, vicar of Slaley, 342; George, minister of Slaley, 342; John, York silversmith, 265; William, 342
 Thorn, a Hanse town, 218
 Thornton: Jane, 132; John, abstract of title deeds of, relating to the rectories and tithes of Bywell St. Andrew and Slaley, 343; of Netherwitton, 102; Leonard, of Shilbottle, 372; Nicholas, suit against, to set aside lease, 131; arms of, on Sedgfield bell, 392
 Thorp, Charles, curate of Blanchland, 306
 'Three field' system of cultivation, 122
 Till, passage of, by Surrey before Flodden fight, 23, 359; fords on, 23n
 Timbrell, Robert, silversmith, 264
 Tinmouth, convent of, 183; chartulary of, 145 (see also Tynemouth)
 Tinemouth and Preston, terrier of lands in, in 1649, 283
 Tittory, Benjamin, buried in his garden, 192
 Tivoli, the limes of, 332
 Tizacke, Peregrine, buried, 192; Abigail, buried, 192; tombstone of, 192 (see also Tyzack)
 Togstone, ancient farms in, 154
 Tomlinson's *Cullercoats*, 281
 Topling, John, 342
 Torrington, John de, benefactor of Blanchland, 297
Touchstone, Sheppard's, 127, 133
 Tournay, siege of, 352; surcoat of James IV. sent to, 371
 'Towder, Saint,' 356n
 Township, characteristics of, 125
 Traherne, Benjamin, silversmith, 264
 Treasurer's balance sheets and reports, ii-iv, xxiii
 Trench, John, 275
 Trevelyan, Raleigh, 132; Walter, 132
 Trèves, MS. life of St. Cuthbert at, 83; holy coat of, 450
Trewe Encountre, 358n et seq
 Trehitt, Christopher, 198; Cuthbert, of Houghton-le-Spring, will of, 208; George and Joseph, recusants, 199; sir Thomas, prior of Hartlepool, 201; William, confined in Tynemouth castle, 200; will of, 200
 Trimdon communion cup, 266
 Trinity Monday, meeting day of Morpeth tanners' company, 54
 Troughend, township of, 148; ancient farms in, 154
 Tumbrel, the, 216
 Tunstall, sir Bryan, 'the stainless knight,' 18, 27, 366; slain, 29, 34, 366
 Turner, Andrew, vicar of Slaley, 342; Caleb, of North Shields, 275; Abigail, wife of, 275
 Tuxford, 115
 Tweddall, Robert, tombstone of, 180
 Tweed, St. Cuthbert and Eata retired to banks of, 86; Examford on, 89
 Tweedie, Walter, silversmith, 265
 Tweedmouth church dedicated to St. Boswell, 86; communion plate, 259, 262
 Twizel bridge, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26n; passage of, by English vanguard, 360; bridge described by Leland, 360
 'Twizell forth,' 36
 Twizell, Barmoor and, distance between, 19n
 Two field system of cultivation, 122
 Twyford on Aln, synod at, 88
 Tydi, St. Cuthbert with, sailed down Solway, 87
 Tyne, fishings on the, 180; North, Roman bridges across, 328
 Tynedale, thieves of, 151
 Tynemouth, statement that Roman tiles found at, a mistake, 158n; castle, major Graham, deputy-governor of, 274; parish church, extracts from register, 274, 280, 283; communion flagon, 259; manor of, meaning of farm in, 134; mill, 283; hall corn rent still paid by tenants, 134; Edward Leadbitter, steward of, 135; parish, ancient farms in, 154; customs, etc., of men of, 145 (see also Tinmouth); and Bamberghshire men take to flight, 28, 366

Tytler's *History of Scotland*, 9n
 Tyszack, Zechariah, of Tinmouth, 275 ;
 John, son of, 279 (see also Tizack)

U.

Ubaldo Allucignoli, cardinal priest, 271
 Uelzen, a Hanse town, 218
 Ulchild, rector of Sedgefield, 381
Uellodunum = Maryport, 326
 Ulfilas, 213
 Ugham communion plate, 259
 Unna, a Hanse town, 218
Utopia, More's, 156
 Utrecht, a Hanse town, 218 ; treaty of,
 236

V.

Valerianus, Marinus, 157
Vallum, Romanum, the, xxvi ; objects
 discovered in, 338
Venetian State Papers, 353, 355n, et
 seq.
 Venlo, a Hanse town, 218
 Verca, abbess, welcomed St. Cuthbert,
 92
 Vere, Glyn, & Halifax, bankers, 458, 466
 'Verge, tenants by the,' 142
Vestiges of Old Newcastle, etc., 392n
Vexillatio, in Roman inscriptions, 324
 Victor, pope, 86
 Village community, manor and town-
 ship from the, 121
Village Community, The, Seebohm's,
 122, 123, et seq., 130 ; Gomme's, 130n ;
 Maine's, 140n
Village, The Happy, 295
Villeinage in England, 123n
 Vincent, Edward, silversmith, 265
 Vinogradoff, 125, 145n ; and customs
 of ancient communities, 123n ; strips
 in arable fields, 139
 Virgin Mary, Blanchland abbey dedi-
 cated to, 296

W.

W B, with fleur de lis below, 263,
 silversmith's mark ; and I B, New-
 castle silversmiths' marks, 260
 W G, silversmith's mark, 264
 W H, silversmith's mark, 259, 263
 W M, silversmith's initials, 264
 W W, linked, silversmith's mark, 263 ;
 A H and, silversmith's mark, 269
 Wade, gen., army of, 454
 Wages of earl of Surrey's retinue, 14n
 Walbey, Thomas, of Lark hall, affidavit
 of, as to ancient farms in Burradon
 (Alwinton), 153
 Waldemar III., 217
 Waldeof, Emma, daughter of, 268

Wales, Ancient Laws of, 123n, 140
 Walkmill, ancient farm in, 154
 Wall dues, 231
Wallace's Russia, 147n
Wallet Book to the Roman Wall, 331
 Wallis, Richard, curate of Blanchland,
 305
 Wallsend, Roman altar discovered at,
 76 ; church communion cups, 260 ;
 repoussé salver, 262
 Walltown crag, fragment of a Roman
torica from Roman wall turret at, 441
 Walton, Adam de, 350
 Warburg, a Hanse town, 218
 Warcop, sir William, 367
 Wardell, Robert, 201
 Warden communion cup, 260
 Wark, 47 ; on Tweed, 89 ; castle taken
 by the Scots, 7
 Warkman, Henry, of Earsdon, affidavit
 of, relating to ancient farms in
 Earsdon, 152
 Warkworth, march of rebels of 1715
 to, 99, 100 ; vicar compelled to read
 prayers for, 102 ; parish, ancient
 farms in, 154 ; church books, 154
 Warwick, earl of, governor of Calais, 235
 Waterfalls hill, 99
 Watershagen, a Hanse town, 218
 Waugh, Thomas, 166, 170
 WE, silversmith's mark, 264
 Wealleans, Robert, 100
 Weardale St. John's communion paten,
 264 ; cup, 266
 Weardale, Lawrence, 279
 Weber's *Flooden*, 3n
 Week-work, 145
Weever Funeral Monuments, 360n, 362n
 Welford, Richard, 195 ; on Cuthbert
 Gray, 95n
 Wendish towns, laws of, 214, 215
 Wennington, Hon. Thomas, paymaster-
 general, 452
 Wentbridge, 115
 Wesel, a Hanse town, 218
 Wessington, prior of Durham, 86
 Westgate, 'eight butts' in, 128
 Westmorland, Charles, earl of, 144
 Westoe manor court rolls, extract
 from, 203
 Westoe and Harton, paid church rate
 by number of farms, 127
 Westphalia, league of cities of, 218
 Wetherby, 115
 Wetwary (? Wetwang), Francis, 197
 Whalton, parish and township, ancient
 farms in, 154 ; terrier, 154 ; farms
 in, termed ploughgates, 154 ; church
 communion plate, 260, 261
 Wharton, William, vicar of Slaley, 342

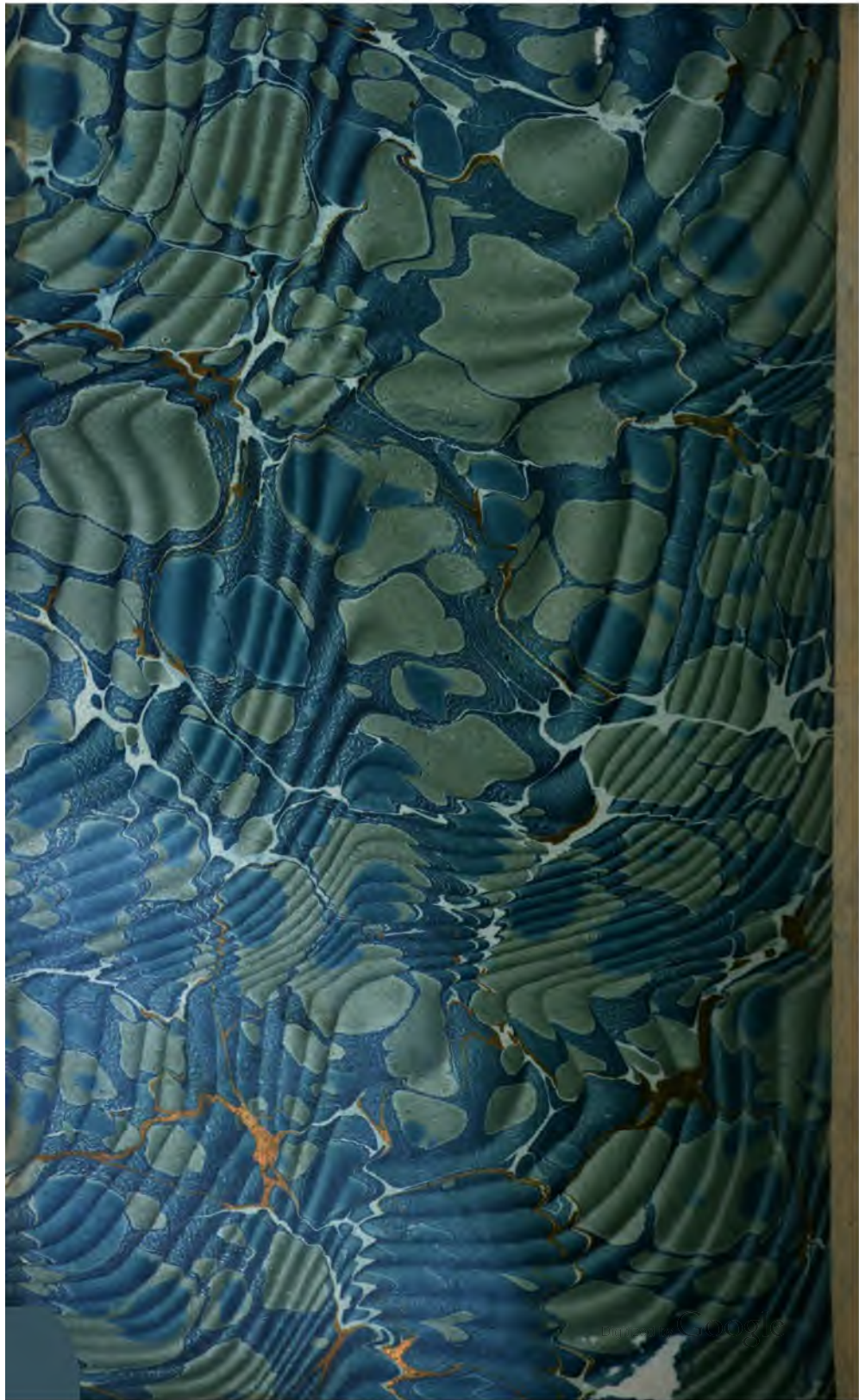
- Whickham, quaker burial-ground at, 196; *villani* in, 127; church: communion flagons and plate, 264; paten, 266; cup and cover, 267
- Whipping, punishment of, 215
- Whitby, Witenagemot at, regarding keeping of Easter, 86
- Whig, origin of term, 98
- White, Robert, *Battle of Flodden*, 1, 351
- Whitechapel, in Haltwhistle parish, 181
- White Rose, Order of, the, 98
- Whitfeild, William, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438
- Whitley, ancient farms in, 154; number of, in, 135; collieries at, demised to John Dove, 283
- Whittingham communion paten, 259
- Whitton, 147*n*; ancient farms in, 153
- Whittonstall communion cup, 261
- Whitwell, Barber and, York silver-smiths, 265
- Whitworth communion plate, 264
- Widdrington communion cup, 262
- Widdringtons of Cartington, 96
- Widdrington, lord, 100; trial and defence of, 106; Charles, 101, 106; Dorothy, married William Howard, 167; Henry, held manor of Bolbeck, 297; Peregrine, 101, 106; Ralph, 372; William, 106
- Widdrington, John, partner in Old Bank, 456, 457; Carlyle and, 457; died, 462
- Wigenhall, Norfolk, Byelaws, 55*n*
- Wiglaf, king of the Mercians, 150
- Wilfrid, return of, from Rome, 86
- Wilfrid der Aeltere*, referred to, 91*n*
- Wilkinson, James, joined bank, 457; died, 462; John, Newcastle goldsmith, 266, 400, *et seq.*; William, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
- William, prince of Orange, thrown by horse 'Sorel,' 96; effigy burnt, 97
- Williamson, 459
- Willoby, John, gravestone of, 278
- Willowford, 23*n*
- Wilson, Richard, 207
- Winston communion cup, 263
- Wintoun, earl of, 104
- Wisby, a Hanse town, 218; Gothic city of, 216; sack of, in 1361, 217
- Wismar, a Hanse town, 218
- 'Wista,' a, in Kent and Essex, 127
- Wittenberg, Johan, burgomaster of Lübeck, 217
- Witton Gilbert communion plate, 263; flagons, 265
- Wolsey, cardinal, bishop of Durham's letter to, concerning siege of Norham and Flodden fight, 86
- Wolsingham, property belonging to Blanchland abbey at, 297; church communion plate, 264
- Wolviston, communion paten, 265
- Woodhorn parish, ancient farms in, 153
- Woods of Gloucester, 456
- Woodman, William, revived chancery suit relating to charity lands at Netherwitton, 131
- 'Woodman collection,' extracts from the, 52, 121
- Woodside, ancient farms in, 154
- Wooler, Walter de Huutercomb, baron of, 296; Kenterdale valley at back of, 90; Haugh, English army at, 16, 353; church: paten, 250; seventeenth century, communion cup of, 262
- Woolf, Grace, 204
- Woolfe, Henry, of 'Lay Yett,' near South Shields, will of, 210
- Women, Satyr upon*, 110
- Wrangham, Thomas, of Arnold's close, 276; Catherine, his wife, 276
- Wreigh Hill Pike, 100
- Wrightson, Matthew, vicar of Slaley, 342
- Wrottesley v. Adams, meaning of word 'farm,' 133
- Wullenwewer, Jurgen, burgomaster of Lübeck, 224; death of, 224
- Wulwardhope, tithes of village of, given to Blanchland, 297
- Wilson, James, Newcastle goldsmith, 400 *et seq.*

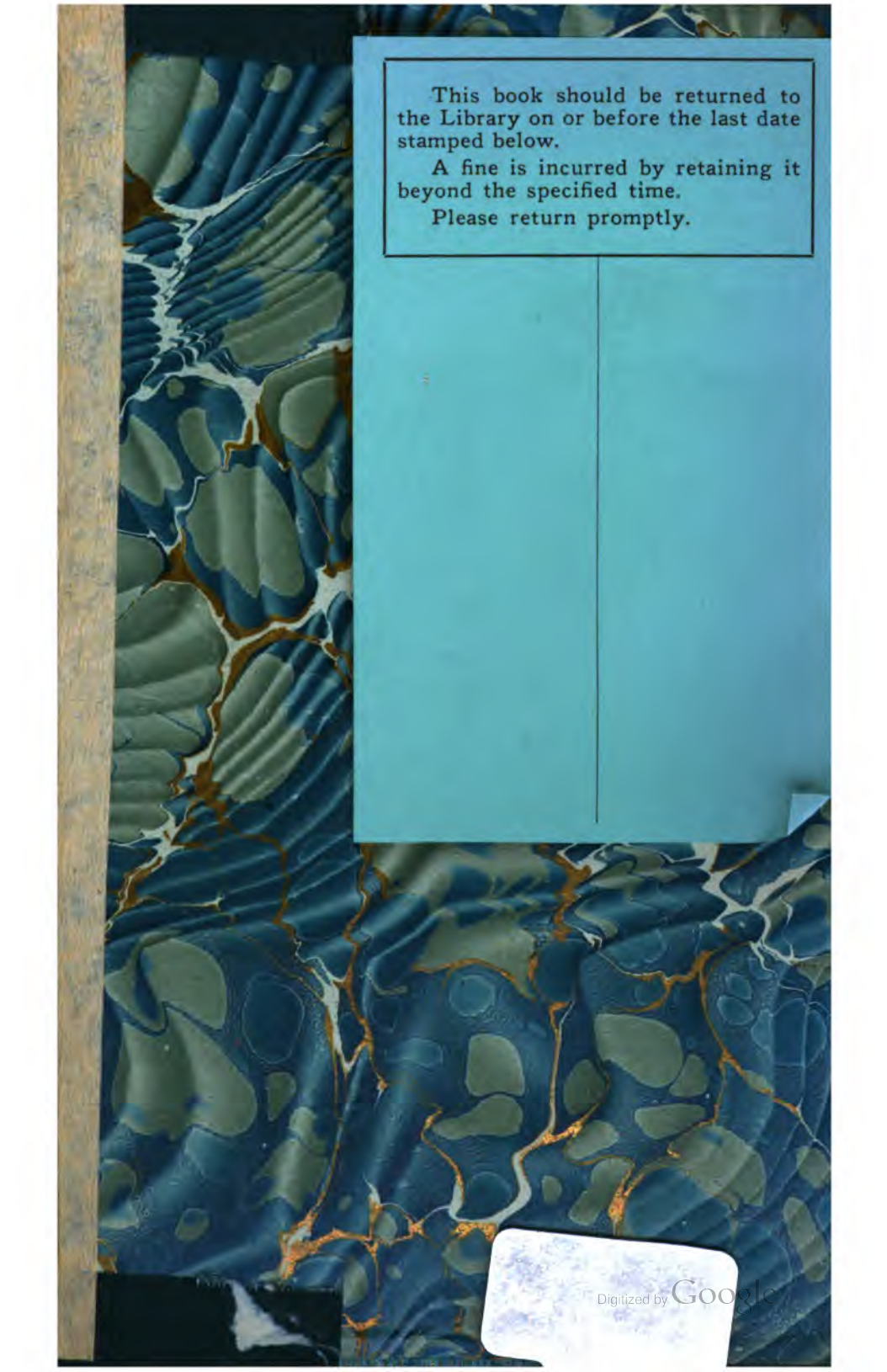
Y.

- Y, I, silversmith's initials, 264
- Yardland, a, full number of strips in open fields, 127
- Yolton, 162, 163, 174
- York, St. Cuthbert consecrated at, 89; lord Surrey leaves, 7; a steelyard at, 222; plata, 265; Stephen Buckle of, apprenticed to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 439
- Young, James, and Orlando Jackson, silversmiths, 259
- Youngusband, John, Newcastle goldsmith, 260, 266, 415; John, the younger, apprentice to Newcastle goldsmiths' company, 438

Z.

- Zangemeister, Prof., 325
- Zierizee, a Hanse town, 218
- Zola, M., 352
- Zutphen, a Hanse town, 218
- Zwolle, a Hanse town, 218





This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it
beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

Widener Library



3 2044 090 372 715