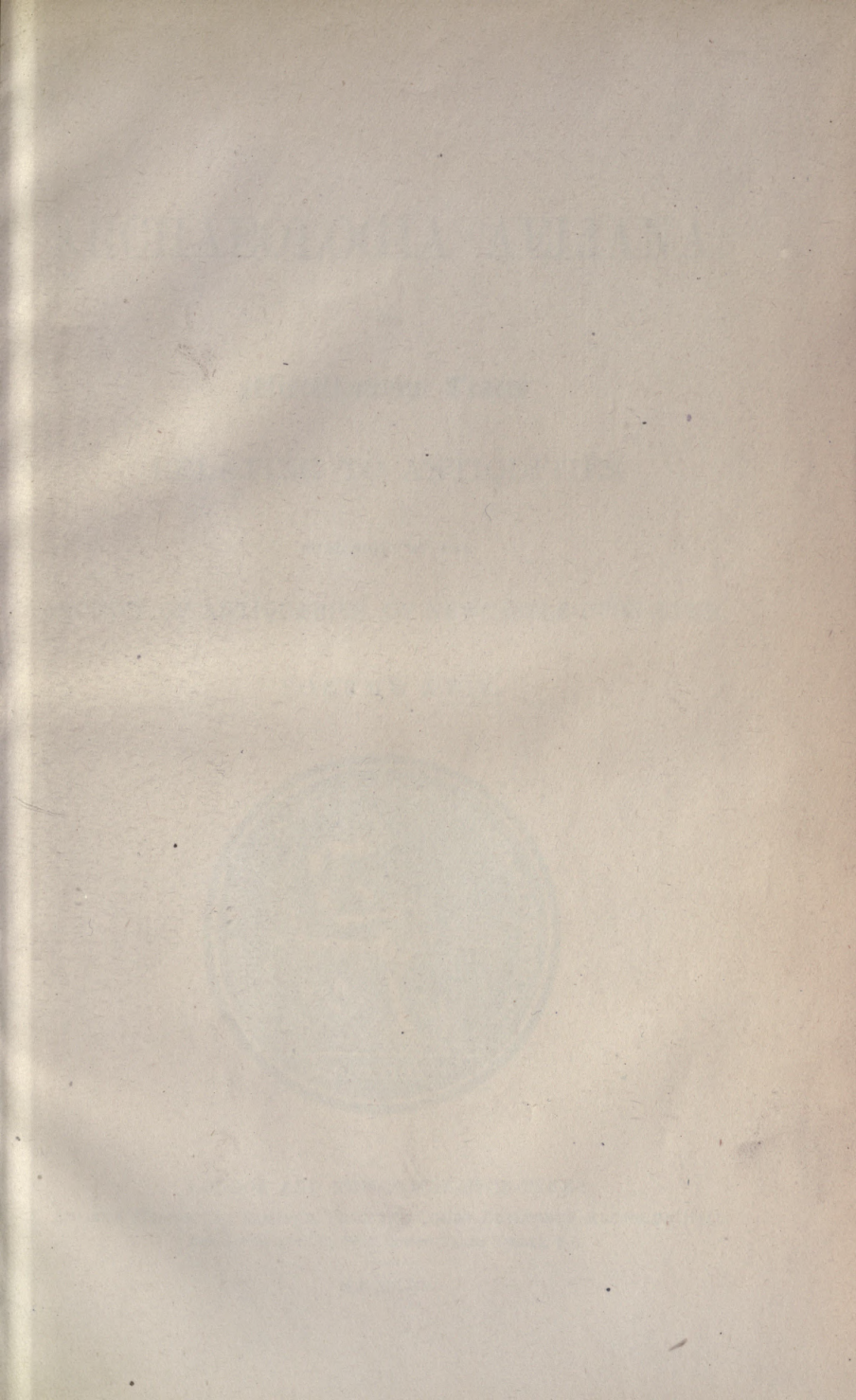
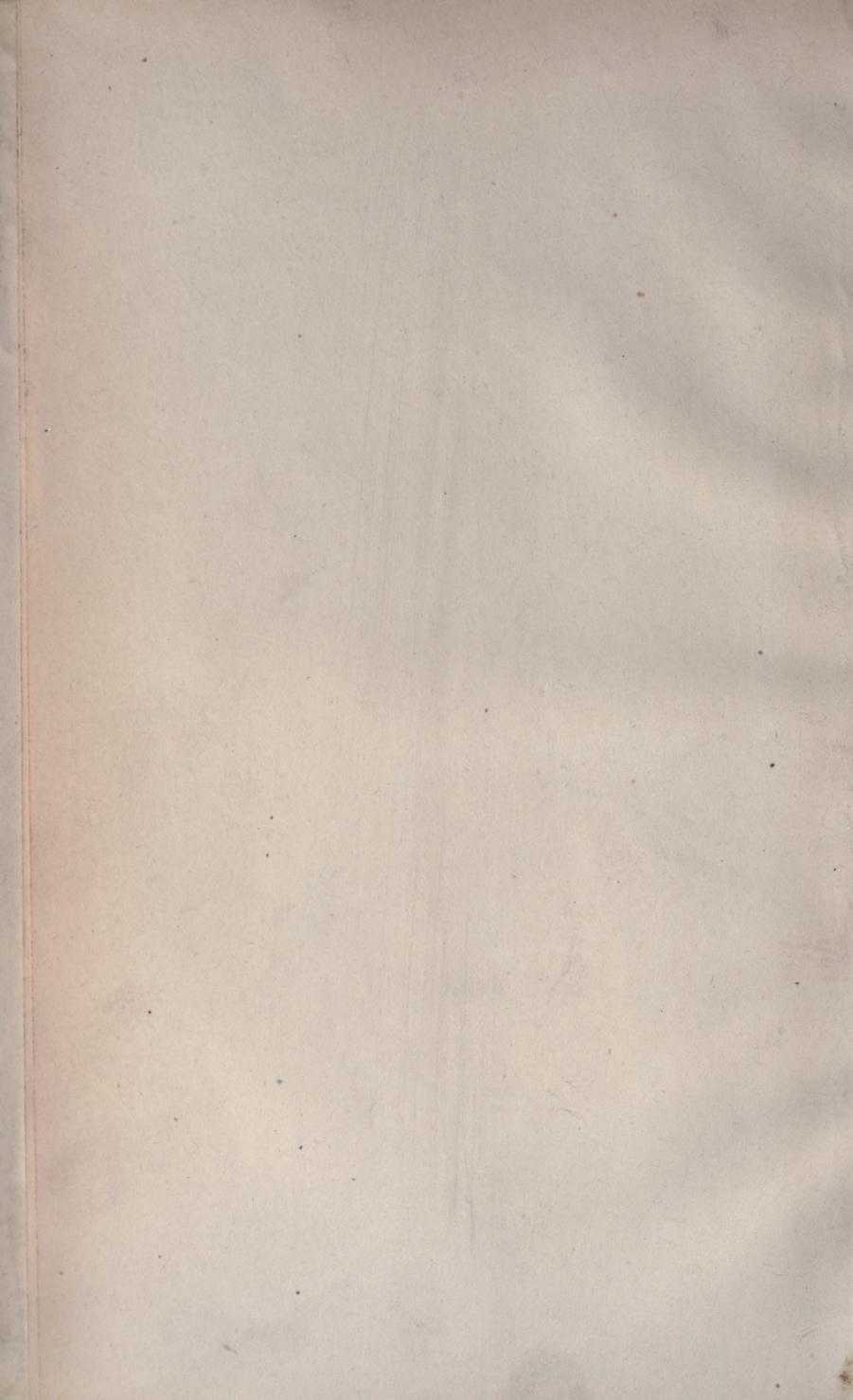


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ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOLUME XVII.



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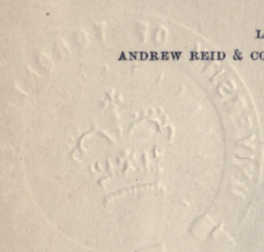
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CONTRIBUTIONS OF PHOTOGRAPHS, DRAWINGS, ETC.

- Charlton, W. L. : drawing of Hazel-Gill Runic Inscription, p. 55.
- Dand, Middleton, for photograph of Chibburn Preceptory from the south-east, plate XVII.
- Ferguson, R. S. : loan of block of Carlisle Milestone, p. 282.
- Hicks, W. S. : for pen and ink drawings of details of Easington Church, pp. 288, 289, and 290, and for plan of same, plate XX.
- Hodgson, Rev. J. F. : drawing of South Door and Arcade of Witton-le-Wear Church, pp. 59 and 61, and of sections of Darlington Church Capitals, etc., facing p. 200.
- Holmes, Sheriton : plan and details of Roman Camp of *Aesica*, plates 01 and 02.
- Ingledeu, Alfred E. : plan of Percy Street and of 'Quigs' Burial Place there, pp. 84 and 89.
- Petree, John, Jun. : for photograph of Easington Church from the south-east, plate XVIII.
- Pritchett, J. P. : for plan and details of Darlington Church, facing pp. 148, 154, 158, 160-161, 168, 170, 175, and 219.
- Raine, Rev. Canon : for permission to use block of Pudsey's Seal, p. 145.
- Reliquary*, Publisher of : for permission to use blocks, pp. 205 and 206.
- Royal Archaeological Institute : for loan of woodcuts of Chibburn Preceptory, pp. 264-267.
- Spence, Charles James : photographs and drawings of objects from *Aesica*, pp. xxviii.-xxx., and plates 03 and 04 ; and gift of blocks, pp. xxviii., xxix., and xxx.
- Steavenson, A. L. : photographs of Church of Witton-le-Wear, plate I., and of South Doorway of Croxdale Church, plate II.
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 69, foot note, for 'Wien' read 'Wren.'

Page 71, line 4, and page 73, line 1. In Elmes's *Life of Sir Christopher Wren* it is stated that his (Sir Christopher Wren's) family was of Danish origin and settled at Binchester, near Bishop Auckland.

Page 81. The 'Read Hodgson' who signs the parish book was a colliery owner. He was the author of *The Honest Man's Companion*, which was printed for him in 1736 and sold by Martin Bryson.

Page 269, line 12, for 'friars' read 'brothers.'

Pages 279, line 12, and 280, line 16, for 'Fentun' read 'Fenh'm.'

Page 279, line 28, for 'Rookedale' read 'Kookedale.'

St. Cuthbert's Church, Darlington, from the north-east, facing p. 145, and the interior of the same Church, facing p. 167; St. Hild's Church, Hartlepool, from the south-west, facing p. 201, and interior of same from Chancel, facing p. 224, are from photographs by Mr. W. McLeish, of Darlington.

Chibburn Preceptory from the south-east is from a photograph by Mr. George Waters of Amble.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—THE ANCIENT FARMS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

BY THE EARL PERCY, F.S.A.

[Read on the 25th July, 1894.]

WHEN the Royal Archaeological Institute paid its last visit to Newcastle in 1884, canon Creighton read a paper on the Northumbrian Border in which, among other topics, he discussed at some length the meaning of the word 'farm' as employed in former times in this county. In 1892 Mr. Dendy read a paper before this Society dealing largely with the same subject. In both these papers great stress was laid on the evidence brought forward on the occasion of the suit of the Attorney-General *v.* Trevelyan, revived in the year 1832 by Mr. Woodman in the Court of Chancery. I will venture to quote so much of Mr. Dendy's description of the points at issue as is material for my present purpose.

This suit was instituted 'to set aside an improvident lease which had been granted by the bailiffs and burgesses of Morpeth in 1685 At the time the lease was granted the lands of Netherwitton had been neither divided nor enclosed, and the portions' in question '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 destroyed all traces of the boundaries and enclosed and brought into cultivation the ancient arable lands, the meadow, and large portions of the waste and woodlands.'

It was 'found from the ancient grants and leases, dating from the time the land was parted with, and from 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 19½ farms, and

that of those $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms formed' the estate it was sought to recover. The object was to 'show that those $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms formed an aliquot portion 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' the suitor 'was therefore entitled, in respect of his $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms, to exactly $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ of the total value of the entire township.'

An immense amount of evidence was adduced in support of this contention, but the suit was eventually compromised by the payment to the claimants of an agreed lump sum before the final decision of the court had been given, as to either the amount to which the claimants were entitled, or the basis upon which it should be calculated.

It will be seen, to put it shortly, that the argument relied on was as follows:—A 'farm' in the sixteenth century, and under the common field system, was an aliquot part of the value of a township. There were $19\frac{1}{2}$ farms in Netherwitton, of which $5\frac{1}{2}$ were let in 1685. Therefore the value of the farms let was to the value of the whole township as $5\frac{1}{2}$ is to $19\frac{1}{2}$.

The force of this contention will manifestly depend upon whether, in what sense, and to what extent an ancient 'farm' can be said to have been an aliquot part of the value of a township. I propose in the following pages to bring together a few facts bearing on this point, and also on another, viz., were these farms identical with the husbandlands which formed the basis of the agricultural system under the 'common field' method of husbandry?

For the extracts from the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Lesbury I am indebted to the vicar, the revd. A. A. Edmundson, who kindly afforded me facilities for examining the originals. Mr. J. C. Hodgson has been so good as to enable me to make extracts from the parish clerks' books of other localities. To Sir William Crossman I am indebted for the particulars of the division of Cheswick. The remaining facts are all gathered from MSS. in the possession of the duke of Northumberland.

THE TOWNSHIP OF BIRLING.

The following entry appears in the books of the parish clerk of Warkworth in the year 1826. It seems to have been made for the purposes of a rate of 1s. 6d. per farm for his salary:—

BIRLING. 10 FARMS.

Mr. Thomas Laidler	...	...	...	...	...	3 $\frac{3}{8}$
Miss Watson	...	...	...	...	...	1
Mr. John Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
Mr. Matthew Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	1
Mr. Robert Wormphrey	...	...	...	...	...	1 $\frac{9}{10}$
Borough Greve, Warkworth, Pattison's Close...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{10}$

The divided farms, Birling, formerly possessed by Henry Cramlington 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ farm, viz. :—

	Rent.	Payable.
	£	d.
The revd. J. C. Winscom	50	5
Henry Cramlington, esq.	50	5
Mr. Joseph Castles	26	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mr. John Garrett	10	1
Mr. Joseph Purvis	10	1
Mr. George Coward	10	1
Mr. Thomas Marshall	10	1
Mr. William Elliot	9	1
Mr. John Dickson	8	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mr. Mark Moor	8	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mr. Dickson	8	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mr. William Taylor	8	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mr. Thomas Turnbull	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	...	1s. 9d.

Below, in a tabular form, is the information furnished with regard to this township by a survey of about the year 1567 :—

Tenants.	Messages and Crofts.	Cottages.	Land.	Rent.	Fine.
	Acres.		Acres.	s. d.	£ s. d.
Hugh Finch	3	0	33	29 2	2 18 4
Cuthbert Dobson	2	1	33	29 2	2 19 2
Thomas Arnolde, senr.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	33	28 1	1 4 8
Thomas Arnold, junr.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	33	29 2	4 7 6
Robert Browne	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	33	28 1	5 12 4
William Wharrier	—	0	33	29 1	4 7 3
William Elder	1	0	33	29 2	4 7 6
William Harper	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	33	29 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 7 3
Cuthbert Elder	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	33	29 1	4 7 3
Thomas Earingtone	3r. 20p.	1	33	29 2	5 16 8

Here we have a state of things which seems to bear out the theory advanced in the Netherwitton suit. There are ten holdings, answering to the ten farms in the parish clerk's books; the acreage of each

is the same ; the rents are almost identical, and the variations between them may be accounted for by the fact that some of the crofts attached to the holdings were larger than others, and that the condition of some of the houses or 'messuages' upon them may have been better than others. The fines were very unequal, but they may have been determined rather by what the tenant could afford to pay, than by the value of his tenure.

The extent of the holdings in this survey are expressly stated to have been arrived at by 'estimacion.' A terrier made about the year 1616, in which the land had been carefully measured, even down to the sixteenth part of a perch, gives :—

	Acres.	Roods.	Perches.
John Huntley	49	0	25 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hugh Elder	45	0	37
William Wharrier	46	0	39 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{16}$
Jane Elder, widow	46	0	43 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{3}{16}$
Ralphe Robinson	47	0	33 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{16}$
William Davie	49	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{8}$
John Barker	48	1	27 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Robert Arnoll	43	2	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
Henry Finch	47	0	17 $\frac{1}{4}$
Robert Finch	49	1	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{16}$
Total	471	3	36 $\frac{1}{16}$

Here again are the same ten holdings, but there is a difference of nearly six acres, or about thirteen per cent., between the largest and the smallest. The estimated equality of the respective areas seems therefore to have been somewhat fictitious.

And here let me remark that though at the present day equality of acreage by no means implies identity of value, it did so within the limits of the same township under the common field system in vogue at this period. Each man's holding consisted of a great number of small strips lying scattered among those of his neighbours throughout the whole of the cultivated area of the township, and thus the good land and the bad was practically evenly divided between all the occupiers. It was this which gave vitality to the system; and, in spite of its many disadvantages, any attempt to break through it led to discontent. Thus at Longhoughton, a very large township, when, about the middle of the sixteenth century, it was divided into two parts, one allotted to the tenants who lived at the south end of the village, and

the other to those who inhabited the north end, although, within each, common husbandry was carried on as before, yet after a few years there was much grumbling, each party imagining that they had come off worst in the allotment of their respective portions.

Although it appears from this survey that the land was not so uniformly apportioned at Birling as the earlier account would indicate, and although the rents are not mentioned, another element of uniformity is recorded, for it is stated that the dry moulter paid to the lord was the same for all, viz., twenty-two bushels of bland malt.

THE TOWNSHIP OF BUSTON.

There were two townships of this name; High Buston, or Over Buston, often, as here, called simply Buston, and Low, or Nether Buston. The parish clerk's book has the following entry regarding the former:—

	Farms.	Amount of Cess.	
		s.	d.
Thomas Buston, esq. including the late T. Embleton	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mr. Robert Embleton	3	4	6
John Wilkinson, esq.	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—
Ditto, late Thomas Embleton	$\frac{2}{8}$	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mr. Robert Common	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
W. Mills and T. Stephenson	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

'The late Thomas Embleton's $1\frac{1}{4}$ farm is taken into that of T. Buston, esq., and J. Wilkinson, esq.'

In 1567, or thereabouts (for these surveys took several years to compile), the occupiers of Buston are given thus:—

Tenants.	Husband-lands.	Area.			Rent.		Fine.		Remarks.	
		A.	R.	P.	s.	d.	£	s.		d.
Robert Buston ...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Counted as free, as he had a burgage in Warkworth. His subtenant paid 5s. yearly to the Greve of Buston.	
William Earsdon...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Freehold.	
Thomas Byers ...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Freehold.	
Thomas Buston ...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Freehold.	
Thomas Wilson ...	2	33	2	0	1	6	4	0	0	Copyhold. ¹
Roger Wilson ...	2	29	0	0	1	6	3	12	0	Copyhold. ¹
John Wilson ...	2	28	2	0	1	6	3	0	0	
John Wilson, jun.	2	32	2	0	1	6	—	—	—	

¹ Throughout this essay the word 'copyhold' is employed to denote a tenure neither freehold nor leasehold. This is not the place to discuss the exact posi-

To this account there is a note :—

This towne was at the fyrste planted wth xvi tennts as yett appeareth by the scites of there tenem^{ts} and are nowe but viii tennts the cause ys that there ys so little arable lande and meadowe grounde as also pasture moore grounde w^o will not well suffice for the livinge of so many tennts and for that also they sholde the better lyve and be more able to doo ther dewtyfull servyce to ther L. and M^r they wer of xvi made but viii tennts.

Thus, instead of there being eight holdings, as the parish clerk's books might have led us to expect, there were really sixteen, of whom eight were freeholders, and eight copy or leaseholders. In another otherwise complete survey, made about 1586, only the last eight tenements are mentioned, the freeholders being omitted.

Why, when these sixteen tenants were reduced to eight, was not the number of holdings reduced to eight also? There is here no gradual absorption of several small holdings into a few hands, but a deliberate reduction of the number of occupiers for a specific purpose. It was essential in the then troubled state of the country that the tenants on a manor should be men of sufficient substance to provide means for the defence of their property from attack, and that they should be, if possible, 'hable men,' capable of joining with horse and armour in any operation of either a defensive or offensive character against the enemy. And according to our ideas it would have been simpler and more natural to increase the size of their holdings by throwing them together, rather than by keeping them distinct. But our ancestors did not think so, and it is probable that they had some good reason for what they did.

The survey of 1616 gives for Buston :—

tion of these tenants, or to determine how far they were 'copyholders' in the modern sense of the term. They are frequently mentioned as holding by copy of Court Roll, and yet in the early part of the seventeenth century, when their title came before the courts of law, they failed to prove it good. The bias of the judges at this epoch was strongly in favour of customary tenants, or, as Lord Coke puts it, 'time' had 'dealt very favourably with copyholders in divers respects.' The Prince of Wales, who had, at his father's instigation, attempted to seize the customary holdings on the Crown manors in Westmoreland and Cumberland, was defeated, and when the tenants of other lords, who had copied the prince's example, were brought before the Star Chamber for resisting the attack upon their property, the judges to whom the matter was referred decided in their favour. (See Elton's *Custom and Tenant Right*, 1882.) It is evident therefore that some serious defect must have existed in the title of those who could not sustain it even before favourable judges. Mr. Dendy has pointed out that where copyholds had been originally held of the church they still survive.

	Acres.	Roods.	Perches.
Freeholders—Thomas Carre, 3 tenements ...	104	3	28 $\frac{3}{4}$
Roger Buston, a messuage ...	37	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total freehold	142	2	31 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tenants —John Wilson, senr., 1 tenement	37	2	33
John Wilkinson	38	0	4 $\frac{1}{16}$
John Wilson, junr.	40	0	25 $\frac{3}{16}$
Robert Wilson	38	0	38 $\frac{11}{16}$
Total tenement land	154	0	29 $\frac{3}{16}$

THE TOWNSHIP OF BROTHERICK.

The parish clerk's book has here '3 farms. John Tate, esq., 3 farms.' But in the survey of 1567 four tenements are enumerated.

Tenants.	Area.			Rent.		Fine.			Remarks.
	A.	R.	P.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
John Turpin ...	16	2	0	16	8	3	6	8	'There is the scite of a old mansion house in old tyme.' Copyhold. Rent paid to the 'firmar' of Bamburgh, 8s. Nothing paid to the lord, because it is held 'in elemosina,' being part of the possessions of the church of Bamburgh. Freehold.
Thomas Hodgeson	7	3	20	—	—	—	—	—	
William Bednell ...	12	0	0	10	0	—	—	—	Freehold.
Thomas Hodgeson	15	1	0	16	8	—	—	—	—

Of these four tenants two were freeholders, whose acreage varied considerably, and two were copyholders or leaseholders, the amount of whose holdings was more nearly identical, and who paid the same rent.

In the survey of 1586, as at Buston, the copyholders are alone mentioned, but in 1616 a very different state of things existed:—

Launcelot Ogle gent. holdeth freely of His Ma^{tie} part of the village or towne of Brothericke and part as Tenant to his Lo^p whoe hath converted all the arable ground into pasture and denieth to distinguish his Lo^p's lands from his owne freehold, to the end, as it seemeth, to confound the one with the other, which if they should not be severed whilst some, (especially one man that knoweth the

ground best,) is living it will be impossible, (as it is thought) to divide them after: the particulars as they are enclosed and divided by hedges and ditches follow, viz. :—

	Acres. Roods. Perches.		
Two houses and garths lying together, said to be freehold	1	1	10
Two other tenements and garths holden of his Lordship...	1	1	15
	Acres. Roods. Perches.		
Meadows, viz., North field ...	50	2	28
South field ...	34	0	34
Total ...	84	3	22
Pasture, 61 a. 0 r. 38½ p. Common and waste, 32 a. 0 r. 24½ p.			

It seems from this that the freeholds were the king's, one of them having evidently fallen into his hands at the dissolution of the monasteries. We have here a problem not very dissimilar to that which the parties to the Trevelyan suit sought to solve. The earl of Northumberland's surveyor knew that two of these tenements belonged to his employer, and he wanted to ascertain what amount of land appertained to them. If these tenements had been 'aliquot parts of the value' of the whole township, nothing would have been easier for him than to claim half of the soil or of its value for the lord. He does nothing of the kind however, but falls back on the time-honoured custom of appealing to the recollection of the oldest inhabitant.

THE TOWNSHIP OF ACKLINGTON.

So far, the townships we have considered have been small. This is considerably larger. The number of farms in Acklington are stated by canon Creighton to have been eighteen. They appear in the parish clerk's accounts as follows :—

‘The township of Acklington. 18 Farms.				Farms.
Mr. William Harper	...	...	...	4
Mr. Henry Grey	...	...	...	3
Mr. Thomas Appleby	...	...	...	2
Mr. John Humphrey	...	...	...	1½
Mrs. Grumble	...	...	...	1
Mr. John Henderson	...	...	...	1
Mr. George Robinson	...	...	...	1
Mr. Thomas Anderson	...	...	...	1
Mr. Henry Horsley...	...	...	...	1
Mr. John Appleby	...	...	...	1
Coatlands	...	...	...	½
Field-house	...	...	...	1
				—
				18'

The survey of 1567 runs thus : ' Ther is a mencion of a mansion howse like as it hath ben the scite of the manor nowe in the tenure of Edward Smales, and demysed by the name of a cotadge of y^e yerly rent of 8^s 9^d.'

Tenants.	Close.	Holding.	Rent.		Fine.			Remarks.
			s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Robert Robinson...	A. 3	A. 30	20	4	2	0	8	Copyhold.
William Robinson	3	30	20	7	4	1	4	"
Roger Simpson ...	2	30	20	4	3	12	0	"
Robert James ...	4	30	21	4	4	5	4	"
Thomas Wimpray	2	30	20	4	4	1	4	"
John Urpethe ...	4	30	20	4	4	1	4	"
John Claye ...	4	30	20	4	4	14	4	—
John Patersone ...	4	30	20	4	4	1	4	"
John Robinson ...	2	30	20	4	3	1	0	Copyhold.
Robert Johnstone...	2	30	20	4	3	1	0	"
Robert Lawe ...	4	30	20	4	3	1	0	"
John Smithe ...	5	30	20	4	3	1	4	"
William Pawtersone	3	30	20	4	3	1	0	"
John Brewster ...	4	30	20	4	3	1	0	"
Thomas Andersone	2	30	20	4	2	1	0	—
Humphrey Harper	1	15	10	2	1	0	4	"
Thomas Simpson...	2	30	20	4	3	1	0	Copyhold.
John Wright ...	2	30	20	4	3	1	0	"

Here are eighteen holdings, seventeen with an area of thirty acres each, and paying the same rent, but there is one only half the size of the others, and paying only half the rent. Robert James had a cottage attached to his husbandland, with two acres, for which he paid 12^d rent. Roger Simpson had another with two acres, and Robert Lawe a third. The fines again vary very much.

Compare this 'estimated' condition of things with that revealed by actual measurement in 1616 :—

Tenants.	Acreage.	Cot-tages.	Tenants.	Acreage.	Cot-tages.
Humphrey Barker	A. R. P. 45 0 23 ³ / ₄	2	Thomas Anderson	A. R. P. 42 3 31 ¹ / ₈	1
William Clay	40 3 13 ¹ / ₄ ¹ / ₁₆	0	Thomas Wright	43 2 19 ³ / ₈	1
Martin Smart	35 3 6 ¹ / ₄	0	Thomas Horsley	41 2 16	0
John James ...	44 0 38 ¹ / ₂	0	Thomas Harper	24 3 29 ¹ / ₈	0
Lawrence Rishforth	42 2 36 ¹ / ₂	0	Henry Johnson	42 2 17 ¹ / ₄ ¹ / ₁₆	1
John Smith ...	42 3 14 ³ / ₄	0	Robert James	41 2 17 ¹ / ₄ ¹ / ₁₆	1
Robert Robinson	39 1 26 ³ / ₄	0	John Robinson	39 1 22 ³ / ₄ ³ / ₁₆	1
John Robinson	42 1 23 ¹ / ₄	0			
William Lee	43 0 7 ¹ / ₈	1			
Robert Womperly	44 0 24 ¹ / ₂	1			
George Hunter	63 3 7 ¹ / ₂ ¹ / ₁₆	1			
			Total	... 764 1 21 ³ / ₈	10

This shows that the difference in the size of the holdings was much greater than it was, or was imagined to be, when the survey was made only by the eye. One tenant holds sixty-three acres, while another holds only twenty-four. Instead of there being but three cottages in the hands of the larger occupiers, there are ten.

But there was also in this township another element, which did not exist in those above-mentioned, viz. : a body of independent cottagers, holding directly of the lord. These appear in the survey of 1567 thus :—

Cottagers.	Acreage.			Rent.		Fine.		Remarks.
	A.	R.	P.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Thomas Lawsons	1	0	0	2	0	8	0	Copyhold.
Richard Hardinge	2	0	0	—	—	—	—	—
William Wright	1	3	0	6	8	—	—	Copyhold.
Robert Robinson	1	0	0	4	0	12	0	—
William Simpsons	3	1	0	8	0	23	0	Copyhold.
Roger & William Simpsons	6	0	0	6	8	20	0	„
George Thewe	0	1	0	3	0	9	0	„
Edward Smales	2	0	0	8	9	30	5	„
Total	17	1	0	—	—	—	—	

And thus about 1616 :—

	A.	R.	P.
Roger Taylor	7	1	16
John Wand	6	3	20 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Greeves	7	0	28 $\frac{1}{8}$
John Smales	9	0	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Robinson	11	3	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Roger Womperly	0	0	22
George Thew	1	1	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	43	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

At this latter date therefore over five per cent. of the cultivated land of the township, an area equal to the size of an average husband-land, was in the hands of cottagers.

All these townships had one peculiarity. Although every manor had its demesne land,² it did not lie in every township. There was

² The word 'demesne' is used in two different senses: first to denote the land originally occupied by the lord himself, and cultivated for his immediate advantage; and, second, as applied not only to this, but also to all the copyholds and to the waste. It is in the first of these significations that it is invariably employed in the surveys here referred to and in this essay.

none in the above. It is not necessary to assume for this reason that there had never been any within their limits. The gradual absorption and disappearance of the demesnes is a very noticeable feature in the manorial history of this period. No doubt many of the freeholds had been carved out of them. But they had also been largely eaten up by, and included in the copyholds, owing partly to the carelessness of land agents and surveyors, and partly to the encroachments of the tenants. The fields were cut up into very small divisions, and much of the demesnes lay in strips intermingled with those of the tenants. Under such a state of things carelessness on the one part and pilfering on the other had the result naturally to be expected, and the writings of the time abound in allusions to 'concealed' land. At Bilton, early in the seventeenth century, a suit was instituted to ascertain and recover the demesnes appropriated by some of the tenants. At Rennington 'there was diverse demayne lands belonging to this manor as by ancient recordes appeareth, but they have bene of so long tyme occupied and demised together with the tenement landes that now noe man hath knowledg trully to separate them one from the other, and were of the auncient yearely value of six^s v^d or thereabouts.' At South Charlton there were 'noe demayne landes belonging to the said manor which can be found out, onely there is a parcell of ground called Chirnesidewich is reputed as parcell of the demaynes heretofore belonging to the same.'

Let us now turn to a township containing not only freeholders and cottagers, but also a certain quantity of demesne.

THE TOWNSHIP OF LESBURY.

The same tale is told here : 'In this Towne there hath been the scite of a Mannor or Capitall Mesuage, and certen Demayne lands used therewth, but nowe the house is utterly decayed, and scarce any mencion where it stood, and the Demayne lands have been confusedly mixed with the tenements, and soe of long tyme demised, so that nowe they cannot be distinguished, saving some fewe parcells which yet doe retayne the name of Demayne lands.' But the township is an interesting one, for these 'fewe parcells' introduce a fresh element for consideration, and the records extend to an earlier date than is

commonly the case. It will be convenient to take these older records first, leaving, in this instance, the more recent evidence to follow in chronological order.

In 1500 the husbandlands of Lesbury were as follows:—

Tenants.	Rent.		Remarks.
	s.	d.	
The abböt of Alnwick ...	—		Freehold.
John Sedman	35	0	Copyhold.
Thomas Fyffe	42	0	"
" "	40	2	"
Robert Fyffe	40	2	"
Edmund Legh	16	0	"
Thomas Page	41	0	"
Robert Berop	42	0	"
Robert Smyth	42	1	"
Edmund Milner	32	0	"
John Fyffe	24	0	"
" "	46	8	"
William Legh	40	2	"
John Simson	40	2	"
John Sleg	39	0	"
John Clege (? Slege) ...	29	4	"
John Wilkinson	40	2	"
William Mantell	44	8	"
Thomas Sedman	39	4	"
The vicar of Lesbury ...	42	0	"
William Wright	42	0	"
John Todd	40	2	"
Robert Robinson	44	8	"

There were therefore at this time twenty-three husbandlands. Even so early as this the rents paid by the tenants varied considerably, but the acreage is not recorded in this survey.

Let us now pass to that of 1567 (see table on opposite page).

This shows that not only did the fines and the rents vary, but the acreage of the arable and the meadow land did so also, even by 'estimacion.' The portentous rent of 206s. may be a clerical error, though it is very distinctly entered in the original. But there can be no doubt about the other variations.

At first sight there would seem to be twenty-five farms, but the two tenants whose names are bracketed held half a farm each. This is the farm set down in the roll of 1500 under Edmund Legh's name, and for which he paid only 16s.

Tenants.	Acreage.			Rent.	Fines.	Remarks.
	Arable.	Meadow.	Pasture.			
William Herrison ...	A.	A.	A.	s. d.	£ s. d.	Freehold.
" " ...	36	3	4	40 0	6 0 0	Copyhold.
" " ...	36	6	4	41 10	4 3 8	"
{ John Carr ...	6	—	2	—	—	Leasehold.
" " ...	36	3	4	40 0	—	"
Edward Slegge ...	36	3	4	39 4	5 18 0	Copyhold.
Robert Sharpe ...	38	3	4	42 10	6 9 9	"
John Page ...	—	—	—	40 0	6 0 0	"
John Rimpethe ...	36	3	4	40 0	—	"
Edward Smyth ...	29	3	4	41 10	6 7 6	"
Thomas Ladyman ...	30	1r.	4	32 0	4 16 0	"
Thomas Elder ...	39	3	4	44 0	8 16 0	"
George Tomling ...	39	3	4	41 0	6 5 6	"
Robert Christine ...	40	3	4	42 6	7 8 4	"
James Rennieke ...	33	3	4	36 0	5 7 6	"
George Wilkinson ...	36	3	4	206 0	6 4 6	"
Robert Mantell ...	39	3	4	44 6	6 13 6	"
Thomas Sedman ...	36	3	4	39 4	5 18 0	"
John Falkener ...	40	3	4	42 0	7 8 6	"
William Milne ...	36	3	4	10 0	6 0 0	"
Thomas Taylor ...	36	3	4	40 0	8 0 0	"
Robert Wilkinson ...	36	3	4	40 0	6 0 0	"
John Fyffe ...	36	3	4	39 4	5 18 0	"
Thomas Slegge ...	26	1r.	4	23 0	3 12 0	"

Another survey of 1586 differs in no important particular from the above, yet there are slight alterations in the rental and the acreage, sufficient to show that it was not held that these were, even theoretically, constant quantities.

We now come to the more detailed and elaborate survey of 1616.

Hitherto these holdings have been entered as 'husbandlands.' Here for the first time they are called 'farms.' The freehold, formerly the property of the abbot of Alnwick, and which had now passed through the hands of Herrison to the Fenwicks, is a 'freehold ferme,' and is included in the following table in the 'collection of the fermes' of Lesbury. Even as early as 1500 some of the tenants held more than one farm, but now the practice had become more common, and in these cases the acreage of each farm is not given separately:—

Tenants.	Number of Holdings.	Garths and Crofts.			Arable.			Meadow.			Pasture.			Total.		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
John Carre ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	2	35 $\frac{3}{4}$	114	1	0 $\frac{11}{16}$	6	2	26	22	1	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	151	0	13 $\frac{11}{16}$
Robert Fenwick	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	1	33 $\frac{1}{16}$	86	0	26 $\frac{13}{16}$	3	0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	15	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	114	0	30 $\frac{19}{16}$
Roger Carre ...	2	2	3	11	66	3	30 $\frac{9}{16}$	4	1	25 $\frac{10}{16}$	13	3	10	87	3	37
George Salkeld ...	2	1	0	25 $\frac{1}{4}$	68	1	26 $\frac{11}{16}$	4	1	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	3	10	87	3	18 $\frac{7}{16}$
George Freswell	2	2	3	39 $\frac{1}{4}$	66	1	21 $\frac{9}{16}$	4	1	9	13	3	10	87	1	39 $\frac{13}{16}$
Francis Freswell	1	0	3	30	38	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	3	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	3	25	49	1	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Edward Shepherd	1	1	0	1	38	0	9 $\frac{1}{16}$	2	0	34 $\frac{10}{16}$	6	3	25	48	0	30 $\frac{3}{8}$
William Wilkinson	1	1	1	29 $\frac{4}{16}$	36	0	10 $\frac{6}{16}$	2	1	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	6	3	25	46	2	30 $\frac{3}{4}$
Alexander Reveley	1	0	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	36	0	23 $\frac{9}{16}$	2	1	7 $\frac{0}{8}$	6	3	25	45	2	23 $\frac{13}{16}$
William Armorer	1	0	2	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	36	0	10 $\frac{3}{16}$	1	3	26 $\frac{11}{16}$	6	3	25	45	2	3 $\frac{2}{16}$
Roger Simson ...	1	1	1	27	34	2	12	2	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	3	25	44	3	26 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Hempzell ...	1	1	0	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	34	0	25 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	3	25	43	3	31 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Milne ...	1	0	3	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	33	3	4 $\frac{7}{16}$	2	0	5	6	3	25	43	1	38 $\frac{3}{16}$
George Taylor ...	1	0	3	12	32	3	8 $\frac{9}{16}$	2	1	11 $\frac{3}{8}$	6	3	25	42	3	17 $\frac{6}{16}$
John Wilkinson ...	1	1	0	27	32	1	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	1	12 $\frac{4}{16}$	6	3	25	42	2	27 $\frac{2}{16}$
George Shepherd	1	0	2	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	1	1 $\frac{1}{16}$	2	1	22	6	3	25	42	0	22 $\frac{9}{16}$
James Sleg ...	1	1	2	3	22	3	35 $\frac{14}{16}$	1	3	38 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	3	25	33	1	22 $\frac{2}{16}$

Some of these tenements, which at an earlier date had been copyholds, had now been converted into leaseholds at an increased rent, thus making the inequality between them even greater than before.

The 'drie Moulter' which was paid by every tenant of a husbandland, and even, in some cases, by cottage holders, 'in respect of such malt as the tenants doe sell in the marketts, and to forreyne inhabitants, not ground at the lord's milne,' was also not identical. In 1567, eighteen of the husbandlands paid three bushels; two, three bushels and six pecks; one, four kennings; one, three kennings; and one nothing. In 1586, twenty paid three bushels; one three bushels and six pecks; one six pecks; and one four kennings. In 1616, twenty-one paid three bushels; one, a boll; and one three kennings.

The cottages were held, as in the other townships already mentioned, partly by the tenants of the husbandlands, and partly directly of the lord. In 1500 these stood thus:—

Held with the husbandlands.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
The vicar ...	5	0	Thomas Fyffe ...	2	9
" ...	2	6	" ...	1	3
John Wilkinson ...	1	0	Robert Smyth ...	1	0
Edmund Legh ...	1	3	Edmund Milner ...	6	9
John Todd ...	8	0	Robert Fyffe ...	1	0
John Fyffe ...	2	9			

Held directly of the lord.

				s. d.					s. d.
Robert Todd	...	...	1	3	William Legh	...	...	1	3
Thomas Stephenson	...	...	2	9	William Stephenson	...	...	1	3
William Bamburgh	...	...	5	0	William Wilson	...	...	7	0
Robert Henry Capell	...	...	4	0	Edward Robinson	...	...	1	0
Robert Dyconson	...	...	2	4	John Milne	...	...	1	0
William Elder	...	...	1	3	Thomas Smyth	...	...	1	0

Here the rents are given, but not the acreage. In 1616 we get the acreage, but not the rents.

Held with the farms.

Tenants.	Cot-tages.	Acreage.			Remarks.
		A.	R.	P.	
John Carre	...	2	—	—	Freehold.
"	...	1	0	0 36	
"	...	3	0	2 21½	
"	...	1	0	3 20	
Roger Carre	...	1	—	—	
Robert Fenwick	...	1	0	0 29¼	
"	...	5	0	3 39½	
Francis Freswell	...	1	—	—	
George Freswell	...	2	0	1 33½	
John Hempell	...	1	0	0 25½	
George Salkeld	...	2	0	0 35½	
Roger Simson	...	1	0	0 6	
John Wilkinson	...	1	0	0 32¼	
William Wilkinson	...	1	—	—	
Total	...	23	3	3 38¼	

Held directly of the lord.

Tenants.	Cot-tages.	Acreage.		
		A.	R.	P.
John Dunne	...	2	5	0 17¾
Thomas Dand	...	1	3	0 20¼
John Harrison	...	2	2	2 15½
William Clarke	...	1	1	0 29
Thomas Douglas	...	1	0	2 32½
William Milne	...	1	0	2 9
George Bonner	...	1	0	2 6
John Taylor	...	1	0	1 32¼
Total	...	10	14	1 1¼

Of the cottages held with the farms, five were freehold; the rest copy or leasehold. The acreage is, in some instances included in that of the farms, and cannot therefore be given. The total area is consequently understated, but the deficit is included above under the husbandlands.

In addition to these husbandlands and cottage lands there was a great variety of property in this township. There were seven freeholders including the vicar, holding land composed partly of strips in the common fields, and partly of larger plots, some of these plots being over seventeen acres in extent. These were not 'husbandlands' or 'farms' like Fenwick's freehold farm, but stood in a category by themselves.

There was the mill, a most valuable asset, paying a rent varying from £8 in 1500 to £30 in 1609; what remained of the demesne lands, part held on lease, and part at will; a 'house' occupied by William Clarke in addition to his cottage, about which there is some obscurity; the common pinder's house and close; certain common meadows which apparently are not included in the totals for the husbandlands; and a small bit of land held by lease or copy by one John Stamp, who was not even an inhabitant of the township. And finally there were the hedges and dykes, the 'towne gaites' and 'laynes,' the common balks and wastes, and the great common.

Nature of Property.	Rent.			Acreage.		
	£	s.	d.	A.	R.	P.
Husbandlands or farms; copyhold, leasehold & freehold ...	44	2	1	1,057	1	11
Freeholds, not husbandlands	0	12	3	57	1	39 $\frac{9}{16}$
The mill	28	0	0	0	0	8
Demesnes	0	13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	1	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cottages held directly from the lord	1	17	9	14	1	1 $\frac{9}{16}$
John Stamp's land	—	—	—	2	0	16 $\frac{1}{16}$
Common pinder	0	0	8	0	0	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
Common meadows	—	—	—	0	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hedges and dykes	—	—	—	0	3	33 $\frac{3}{4}$
Towne gaites, and laynes	—	—	—	22	3	11
Common balks and wastes	—	—	—	64	3	22
Common	—	—	—	384	3	34 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total	75	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,618	0	181 $\frac{3}{8}$

The above table gives a fairly correct idea of the extent and

value of these several items, though as the rentals and the acreage respectively are gathered from two different surveys compiled at an interval of thirty years, they do not form a basis for mutual comparison. In particular the number of cottages varied much from time to time. The demesne lands too are probably rather under the mark, but the error cannot be considerable. As regards the rental it must be remembered that no account is here taken of the fines which were levied on leaseholds and copyholds alike. As they fell due at uncertain periods it is impossible to include them in a statement of this description.

It is evident that the husbandlands furnished only fifty-eight and a half per cent. of the rental, and covered a little over ninety-two per cent. of the cultivated and occupied area of the township.

The churchwardens' accounts for the parish at the latter half of the last century unfortunately do not specifically state the number of farms the township contained. But on September 28th, 1783, there is an entry:—'Agreed on by the Minister, Churchwardens and Four and Twenty that a cess of one shilling per farm, and three farthings per Coatland be laid on and collected throughout the parish of Lesbury or the defraying of the expenses of the church.'

This shows that the rate was divided into sixteenths, three farthings being that proportion of a shilling, and that the farms were not the only basis of rating. The details of the amount raised on this occasion have not been preserved. We are therefore compelled to rely on an account of later date. 'Dr. Ralph March and Robert Swan, Church-wardens, for cash received from June 3rd 1791 to June 7th 1793 at £1 1^s. per farm, for repairing the east front of the north Isle and Vestry of Lesbury Church.'

'Cash received of the undermentioned persons.'

In the following table (see page 18) the first and second columns are taken from this account; the third, fourth, and fifth are compiled from other sources.

Is it possible to discover the number of ancient farms from this schedule? We have seen that the rate for 1783 was divided into sixteenths. Here, in eleven instances, the payments divide evenly by sixteen, with the results shown in the sixth column, giving a total of twenty-three and ten-sixteenths, or within six-sixteenths of twenty-

four; the number of farms we know to have existed two hundred years before, and to have been identical with the old husbandlands.

TABLE.

Name of Occupier.	Rate.	Nature of Holding.	Rent.	Acreage.	Farms.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	A. R. P.	
John Swan ...	5 10 3	Hungerup farm ...	200 0 0	239 1 16	} 5¼
William March ...	4 5 3½	Lesbury farm ...	65 0 0	142 1 6	
David Baird...	3 13 6	Field House farm	240 0 0	268 0 11	4 1/16
		Foxton Hall farm } Cottage and land }	190 0 0	163 1 30	3½
Robert Gardner ...	2 15 1½	Waterside farm } Holme farm }	135 0 0	153 3 1	2 8/16
William Hay ...	3 8 3	Hipsburne farm ...	220 0 0	216 2 22	3¼
	0 2 10¼	Mill and land ...	52 10 0	7 1 30	—
Lawrence Gibson ...	3 5 7½	Townhead farm ...	190 0 0	232 0 6	3 1/16
Thomas Richardson	0 9 8½	Bridge Haugh ...	—	—	—
William Coulter ...	1 6 3	Freehold farm ...	—	65 3 37	1¼
Henry Davison, for Coatland and Fisher's Close ..	0 5 3	—	—	—	¼
Robert Bell ...	0 3 7¼	Cottage and garden	2 0 0	0 1 22	—
Thomas Annett ...	0 2 7½	—	—	—	1/16
William Fleming ...	0 0 10½	—	—	—	—
Ralph Bell ...	0 1 3½	—	—	—	1/16
William Bell ...	0 1 9	Cottage and garden	4 0 0	1 0 0	—
John Bell ...	0 1 9	Cottage and land...	4 0 0	2 3 12	—
Henry & Robert Bell	0 2 7½	Public house, black- smith's shop, and land ...	7 0 0	4 3 32	1/16
Robert Bell ...	0 1 0¼	Cottage and garden	6 0 0	2 3 11	—
John Lough...	0 0 11	Cottage and land ..	0 1 0	—	—
William Dixon ...	0 3 6½	Public house and land ...	8 0 0	4 1 26	—
William Grey ...	0 0 2¾	Cottage and garth	0 10 0	—	—
					231 9/16

Four of these six-sixteenths can be readily accounted for. It is a curious fact that some time ago, whilst engaged in tracing the history of the farms or husbandlands at Lesbury for a totally different purpose, and approaching the subject from an entirely distinct point of view, I came to the conclusion that at some period during the latter half of the seventeenth century a quarter of one of the farms had been lost. The missing quarter belongs to William Coulter, who, it will be seen, is credited by the calculation just made with one farm and a quarter, but who should properly be responsible for one

and a half. It would swell this paper to an inordinate length to give all the details which have led to this conclusion, and I must therefore be content with recording my conviction that it is so.

The loss of the other two sixteenths I am unable to explain, except by pointing out that the account is of 'cash received,' and that it is possible that some inhabitant of the township had not paid the rate demanded. But the close approximation of these eleven payments to the number of the husbandlands of bygone days is very remarkable.

The other ten payments in the account will not divide equally by sixteen, and the basis of rating is evidently different. Let us, for the sake of convenience, call the payments which divide by sixteen 'normal' payments, and those which do not 'abnormal.'

It is plain that though the churchwardens professed to take the farms as the basis of their assessment, there was, in reality, another basis which applied to property outside these farms: cottages, public houses, the mill, etc. What it was there is nothing to show, but it manifestly existed.

We are now in a position to approach the question propounded at the outset of this paper, viz., were the farms which formed the basis of local rating in the last century identical with the ancient husbandlands? Canon Creighton has attempted to ascertain the extent of the ancient farms by dividing the area of each township by the number of them it contained. Mr. Dendy, proceeding apparently on the same principle, although he considers the farm to be the same as the husbandland, finds that five hundred farms, of which he has given a list, 'have an average of nearly one hundred and sixty acres of township land assignable to each of them.' If this be so it is certain that the 'farm' was *not* the same as the 'husbandland,' for it would be difficult to find in any of the Northumbrian surveys a husbandland that amounted to even eighty acres.

But a considerable portion of every township consisted of common or waste, and this was the lord's, and not the tenants'. The law on the point at the present day is distinct on this head. 'The soil of the waste land of the manor is always vested in the lord of the manor, notwithstanding the rights which the commoners may have on it. The lord therefore, as owner of the soil, has the same rights as other

owners, except so far as the existence of the right of the commoners may prevent him from exercising these rights.' (Williams on Commons, p. 150.) The rights of the commoners are limited, in the absence of any grant, or title of prescription (which supposes a now forgotten grant) to a right of 'common appendant,' and to estovers; the former being defined as a privilege belonging to the owners or occupiers of arable land to put upon its wastes their commonable beasts, viz., horses, kine, or sheep, being such as either plough or manure the soil; in other words, from which the arable land derives some benefit. The other common rights, of 'common appurtenant' (or the right of feeding beasts not generally commonable, such as swine, geese, or goats), common of vicinage, in gross, turbary, etc., must, in order to be held good, be determined by grant or prescription. The lord's position in this respect has been recognised for the last hundred and fifty years at least by his being assigned in the first place, and before any other claims are considered, a sixteenth part of the whole common on a division, and he is moreover entitled to compensation for any growing timber on the waste, to the minerals below the surface, and to any surplus of the waste which may remain after the claims of the commoners have been satisfied, such claims being limited to as much land as is equivalent to the right of depasturing as many cattle, sheep, etc., in summer as the ground each commoner occupies within the township or manor will enable him properly to maintain in winter.

The surveys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in complete accord with these principles. They prove that the land, in the minds of the compilers, was divided into three classes, each demanding its own proper treatment. In the first class came all the garths, closes, and arable and meadow land,³ except the 'common meadows.' These were accurately measured, or at the least estimated with what precision was possible. Each man had a perfect knowledge of what plot, parcel, or strip of ground belonged to him, and as absolute and exclusive a right to it as any modern tenant farmer has to his holding, subject always to the rights of the lord and to the

³ The distinction between meadow and pasture is not very accurately observed by some modern writers, but it is very marked in the surveys. The latter was used solely for grazing; the former furnished the hay crops, and was only thrown open for grazing when they had been carried.

custom of the manor,⁴ and subject also to the restrictions imposed upon him by the exigencies of the system of common cultivation. The pastures formed another class. Each husbandland was credited with a certain number of acres in them, corresponding to a certain number of 'gaites.' Thus at Lesbury each husbandland claimed eight gaites, or 6 a. 3 r. 25 p. of the common pasture, except the smallest husbandland, to which only four gaites, or 3 a. 1 r. 32½ p. were allotted. But no man could put his foot down on a particular spot of these common pastures and say 'this is mine.' It was held strictly in common. The third class comprised all the common, wastes, roads, common balks, and common hedges. All these were 'no man's land' (as indeed portions of them were sometimes called) except the lord's, and he held them subject to the rights of the commoners, which varied in every manor and township, but which included a right to a certain number of 'stints,' affording the agriculturist 'sufficient common of pasture.'⁵

The working of the system is well illustrated by one of the witnesses in the suit of the Attorney-General *v.* Trevelyan in 1847. He states that at that time the township of Sharperton consisted of 11¼ farms, and that there 'is in the said township of Sharperton a tract of common and unenclosed ground, which belongs to the owners of the enclosed lands in the said township, and is stinted by the occupiers of the said enclosed lands according to the number of ancient reputed farms which each occupier holds, one stint being depastured on the said common for each reputed farm, so that I depasture thereon one stint, the said William Sproat two stints, the said James Nicholson depas-

⁴ In making this statement I have not overlooked the evidence relating to the existence of the runrig system, or something similar to it in the county. There are several notices of exchanges of land in the surveys, invariably mentioned however as having taken place at a time then past, which may refer to such a custom. I have not met with any instance in which it can be said that it is clear that more is meant than a single transaction, such as might be carried out in the present day between owners or occupiers. The strongest case is that of North Middleton, but even here it seems possible to understand the account as a description, not very well expressed, of the ordinary common field system, at a time when its incidents had ceased to be familiar. But however this may be, it seems certain that in the sixteenth century runrig only existed exceptionally, if at all, and that it had entirely disappeared in townships for which terriers similar to those here quoted had been made.

⁵ It is important to distinguish between a right to the 'common pasture,' and a right to 'common of pasture.' The former referred to the pasture land, the latter to the common or waste.

tured thereon five stints and a quarter of a stint; a six year old ox is half a stint, which the occupier may put on every other year as a quarter of a stint,' etc.

This exactly describes the condition of things before the common fields were divided and the commons enclosed, except that the former having disappeared, the owners occupy the position formerly held by the lord of the manor. The occupiers' interest in the common consists of stints, not land, and the amount of these stints is not estimated by acres, but by the right which they confer to pasture cattle on the waste. A stint entitles the holder to pasturage for two beasts, half a stint for one beast, while the holder of a quarter of a stint can only put his ox upon the common in alternate years.

If therefore, I repeat, these ancient farms embraced the whole township, averaging nearly one hundred and sixty acres apiece, they are certainly not the same as the 'husbandlands,' but were something else of which we know nothing, and to which, so far as I am aware, there is not the most remote allusion in any document.

But when we reflect how often the number of husbandlands is the same as that of the more modern farms; how, in many cases (as at Buston, where although there were only eight 'farms' in 1826, as against sixteen in 1567, yet these more ancient farms divide themselves naturally into eight freeholds and eight leaseholds), there are indications pointing to a relation between them, though at this stage of the enquiry not a very explicable one; how nearly the number of farms at Lesbury, at the end of the last century, ascertained indirectly, agrees with what we know of the past history of the place, it appears highly probable that they were identical. This view may be supported by other evidence, not in itself conclusive, but tending in the same direction.

In the churchwardens' accounts for Lesbury for 1791-3 the payment for Hawkhill is put down as a lump sum of £10 10s. This, at a guinea per farm, represents ten farms. In a Manor Court Roll of the 15th December in the fourth year of King James I. is this entry:—'We find by the oath of William Alnewick of Wolden, sometime of Hawkle, of the age of 53, and also by the oath of &c that there is ten tenements and a half in Hawkle, out of which there is due ten bowles and a bushel of barley malt, to wit every tenement a

bushel,⁶ which they have known during all the time of their remembrance to be paid.' Here half a farm seems to have been lost, just as a quarter of one disappeared at Lesbury, but the approximation is close.

In Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* there is a list of the rates laid on the townships of the county, apparently for the purposes of what we should call imperial taxation, and levied on the lords of the manors, and the freeholders, and not on the other tenants. These rates are therefore probably governed by other considerations than the number of husbandlands. But that this had something to do with it the table below proves. In the first two columns are the payments made for each of the townships we have been concerned with, according to 'the old book of rates,' dating at least as far back as the seventeenth century. The third gives the number of farms in each, and the fourth the sums arrived at by dividing the rate by the number of farms :—

Township.	Rate.			Farms.	Share per Farm.	
	£	s.	d.		s.	d.
Lesbury... ..	1	12	6	24	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Birlington ...	0	14	0	10	1	4 $\frac{4}{5}$
Brotherick ...	0	4	0	3	1	4
Buston, Upper... ..	0	11	0	8	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Acklington ...	1	3	4	18	1	3 $\frac{5}{8}$

The result is that each township is rated at about 1s. 4d. per farm, or the tenth part of a mark.

There is a feature in the more detailed and accurate surveys which is worth observing in this connection. In modern days when a farmer undertakes to cultivate two contiguous farms, they are either kept entirely distinct, so that they may at any time be separated without inconvenience; or they are united, the acres which compose them are thrown together, one farm house is converted into the steward's house, or into cottages, one set of farm buildings becomes merely a steading, and the whole is treated in every way as one farm. The former is the common practice at the present day; the latter was that pursued sixty or seventy years ago, and is the method by which most of our large tenancies have been created.

⁶ ? Bowle.

Our ancestors did neither. When a man held two farms the fact that he had two 'messuages' or two 'tenements' was duly recorded; the strips in the fields were carefully measured, even down to the sixteenth of a perch, and labelled (so to speak) as his; but there is nothing to show to which of the two farms each strip belonged. An extract from a survey of a parcel in the common fields of Lesbury will illustrate this:—

'LONG SEA HEUGHE BEGINNING AT THE NORTH SIDE.

	A.	R.	P.
John Hempzell, one land	0	1	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
Roger Carre, two lands	0	2	35
John Carre, one land	0	1	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Hempzell, one land	0	1	15 $\frac{1}{8}$
Roger Carre, two lands	0	2	28 $\frac{3}{4}$
John Carre, one land	0	1	13 $\frac{3}{4}$
George Shepherd, one land	0	1	12 $\frac{2}{16}$
Robert Fenwick, one land	0	1	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
George Sawkeld, one land	0	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
George Taylor, one land... ..	0	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
George Fressel, one land	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{8}$
John Carre, one land	0	1	10
George Fressell, one land	0	1	9 $\frac{6}{16}$
Francis Fressell, one land	0	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
John Carre, one land	0	1	8 $\frac{2}{16}$
John Milne, one land	0	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Roger Sympson, one land	0	1	6 $\frac{1}{8}$
Alexander Reveley, one land	0	1	5 $\frac{1}{8}$
John Wilkinson, one land	0	1	5
Robert Fenwick, two lands, late Acton's	0	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
William Armorer, two lands	0	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Carre, three lands... ..	0	2	35 $\frac{5}{16}$
Francis Fresswell, one land	0	0	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Milne, three lands... ..	0	2	25
William Armorer, one land	0	0	33 $\frac{3}{8}$
John Hempzell	0	0	32 $\frac{3}{8}$
Roger Carre, three lands	0	1	23 $\frac{3}{4}$
John Carre, one land	0	0	31 $\frac{1}{8}$

Some of acres of Long Sea Heugh 10 2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ '

Of the tenants whose names are given here, John Carre held three and a half farms, Robert Fenwick two and a half, Roger Carre, George Sawkeld, and George Fresswell two each. Yet there is nothing to show to which of these farms the strips belonged. The extreme pains and minuteness with which each bundle of strips is measured and laid

down, with the utter disregard of the exact holding to which its component parts appertained is very striking. The two farms were evidently regarded as indivisible for agricultural purposes, and there must therefore have been some other object in keeping the fact that they were *two* messuages and *two* husbandlands so carefully on record.

There is no doubt about the reason for keeping count of the messuages. 'Every tenant, Cotinger and Cotterell doe pay yerely to the Lord of Alnwick one henn called a rent henne in winter tyme, except the Lord's Reave of the Towne for that yeare.' There are many returns of these rent hens extant, showing that each man paid according to the number of houses he had, whatever his status or the character of his dwelling might be. It was in truth a house tax, and a very valuable asset. At Prudhoe in 1607 the rent hens were considered 'worth to be demised' for 5s. 4d.

If the record of the messuages was kept for a fiscal purpose it seems natural to suppose that of the husbandlands to have been preserved with a similar object, and unless it was that they might form the basis of local taxation it is not easy to see what it could be.

But if the ancient farms be the same as the husbandlands, nothing can be more certain than that they were not aliquot parts of the whole township, of which they covered but a portion. The table below proves that in three of the five townships mentioned in this paper the husbandlands did not cover one half, and in one instance little more than a fourth of the township in which they were situated:—

Townships.			Husbandlands.			Percentage of the Township covered by the Husbandlands.	
Name.	Area.		Area.				
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	
Birling	789	1	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	471	3	35 $\frac{1}{16}$	60
Brotherwick	181	0	0 $\frac{7}{8}$	87	2	7	48
Buston	728	0	1 $\frac{7}{16}$	296	3	21 $\frac{7}{16}$	41
Acklington	2,691	2	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	764	1	21 $\frac{7}{8}$	28
Lesbury	1,618	2	29 $\frac{7}{16}$	1,057	2	1 $\frac{9}{16}$	65

They did not even include in many cases the whole of the land under cultivation, for in addition to them there were frequently freeholds, leaseholds, cottage lands, etc. Nor were they equal *inter se*, at

any rate in the sixteenth century, for the evidence I have adduced proves that they differed in acreage, in rental, in the number of cottages held with them, in the amount of moulter paid to the mill; in short in every particular incident to an agricultural holding.

It would seem then that our ancestors were contented to regard as equal bases of assessment items which were not only relatively unequal, but which, in many cases, covered only a comparatively small portion of the area on behalf of which the rate was levied. According to our modern notions equality of assessment is so indissolubly connected, *a priori*, with equality of value that to many persons such a state of things may appear incredible. But there is no more fertile source of error in antiquarian researches than a proneness to import the ideas of our own time into the history of the past. In early days it is probable that the imposts arising under this system were not onerous. It was not the rates, but the fines and the services which were the cause of complaint. The difficulties attending the rearrangement of areas under the common field system may have been very great. The inhabitants may have preferred to endure a state of things, however anomalous, to which they were accustomed rather than to embark in a local revolution, which might have led to unforeseen results. It is more extraordinary that, long after the common fields had disappeared, the same system should have been tolerated, and yet the evidence taken in the suit so often quoted proves abundantly that, though the want of correspondence between the actual and supposed value of the holdings was fully recognised, and the more serious demands of the land tax and poor rate had been added to the lord's rent, church rate and parish clerk's fees, the same method of assessment, with certain minor modifications, survived until a comparatively recent date.

The arrangement cannot always have been anomalous. It must have been originally created to meet the actual requirements of the time. If the system assumes the equality of the farms, the presumption is very strong that they were once actually equal. If these farms covered only a portion of the township, there must have been some reason why they alone were considered the basis of taxation.

In the absence of direct evidence on this point we may fairly fall back upon the principle which underlies so many of the received 'laws' of physical science, and assume that a theory which accounts for all

the facts is good until a better can be formulated, or until it is contradicted by some further discovery. The theory I venture to propose is as follows:—

At the date, probably very remote, when the plan of rating by farms was inaugurated, whatever the nature, variety or complexity of the tenures under which the land was held might be, a sharp line was drawn between that portion of the township which was composed of demesne land, and that portion which was not. The latter alone was rateable.⁷

This would be entirely in accord with the spirit of the manorial system when the rights and interests of the lord were predominant. In the light of this supposition the history of these farms may be traced as follows:—

Originally that portion of a township which was not demesne, that is to say which did not form a part of what has been sometimes described as the home farm of the lord, was divided into husbandlands of equal area, paying an equal 'ferme.'⁸ It has been already pointed out that, under the common field system, areas of equal extent of the same kind of land (arable, meadow, or pasture as the case might be) must necessarily have been practically of equal value. And we have seen that the older and ruder the record the more the equality of the husbandlands or farms seems to have been assumed.

Within this rateable area there might or might not be a certain number of 'Cotingers and Cotterels,' holding directly of the lord. There is some reason to think that they were more numerous in early days than subsequently. A survey of the middle of the sixteenth century says:—

⁷ Mr. J. C. Hodgson informs me that the parish clerk of Warkworth's book contains no assessment for Acklington Park. It appears that attempts had been made to levy a rate; *e.g.*, in 1830 Mr. Reid's representative refused to pay 1s. 6d. This corroborates the above theory, for Acklington Park was undoubtedly demesne land, being one of the parks attached to the castle of Warkworth, and it shows that so late as 1830 some land was exempt from rating, though the reason of the exemption had probably been forgotten.

⁸ It has been shown that at Acklington and Lesbury, though in the earlier surveys the bulk of the husbandlands were nearly, if not quite equal, there was *one* which fell very much below the others. This is a feature of such common occurrence in the larger townships that it appears to be indicative of something in the ancient manorial economy demanding further enquiry. That it represents something connected with the original constitution of the manor seems probable when we reflect that while it is easy to imagine causes which might tend to increase the area of a husbandland, it is more difficult to account for a decrease. But this does not materially affect the main argument.

In ancyent tyme the L. nor his officers dyd not pmytt one tennt of any of his L. townes to enjoy twoo sevall tents and farmeholdes neyther to adjoine tent and cotage together but evie tennt to have one tent and to evie cotinger one cotage whiche nowe yn this my L. tyme ys lytell regarded to y^e great impovishment of all y^e reste of y^e said tennts where any suche thing is. And also no lytell hurte and hindrance to svce to his L. then pjudice to the comone welthe wherfor I could wyshe the same were orderlye reformed and y^t wth out any exclamacon.

So far back as the year 1500 there were several cottages at Lesbury in the hands of the farmers, so that the abuse, as it seems to have been regarded, was of long standing, but the comment of the surveyor evidently refers to a time when all or nearly all the cottagers held their land, like the other tenants, directly of the lord. Whether they were rated or not we cannot tell. It is possible that the rate imposed upon them at Lesbury in 1783 was a survival of an ancient charge, and it will be remembered that half a farm at Acklington in 1826 is called the 'coatland,' though if this really represents the body of cottagers of the middle ages it has taken the place of half a husbandland. But be this as it may, the main part of the burden indubitably fell on the husbandlands.

In course of years parts of the demesnes were granted to freeholders or leaseholders, but these, having once been demense, remained exempt from local taxation. Thus at Buston eight of the sixteen husbandlands had been doubtless demesne, and so escaped taxation. This was the reason why, although the number of tenants was reduced from sixteen to eight, there continued to be sixteen husbandlands. The same was the case with one of the holdings at Brotherick.

Similarly, as time went on, some of the land which was not demense fell into the hands of the lord by escheat, forfeiture, failure of heirs, etc., and might be granted by him to freeholders or leaseholders, but having been part of the rateable area it continued to be subject to that liability. Hence the leasehold and freehold farms we find at Lesbury in the sixteenth century.

Probably from the very commencement of this plan of rating the husbandlands had constantly tended to become more and more unequal, and thus to deviate from the theory of their existence. From time to time some of the more enterprising of the inhabitants would break up small portions of the moor, with or without the

consent of the authorities. They annexed, more or less intentionally, portions of the demesnes to their holdings, and again exchanged these strips with those of other tenants, so that there was a constant accretion on the part of some, and an increasing discrepancy between the size of the various farms. It is easy to conceive many other ways in which this would come about. Although this did not apparently altogether escape the notice of the surveyors, they were content to acquiesce in it, rather than to raise a host of disputed questions which might lead to no final issue, and, as far as the glaring facts of the case would allow, they clung to the fiction that the farms were equal long after this had ceased to be really the case. A minute survey like that of 1616 proved the reverse.

By this time the meaning of the word 'farm' had undergone an important modification. It had ceased to be applied to the payment incident to the holding, and had become applicable to the holding itself. The change in the use of the word notoriously took place about the commencement of the sixteenth century throughout England generally.

At length the day arrived when there was a very general conversion of copyholds into leaseholds. The process was not popular, but the practical change which it introduced into the economy of the manor may be easily overrated. It is a mistake to suppose that statements to the effect that A or B has 'yielded his copy' implies that he has been turned out of his holding. At Lesbury, for instance, numbers of the old tenants and their descendants continued for very many years to occupy the same holdings after they had accepted leases.

The tenants who already had land in the township were very ready to take up any farms that might fall vacant. This tendency had shown itself freely long before the extinction of the copyholds, and it gradually led to a larger number of farms being held together than before.

But now a much more important and radical change took place than was involved in the conversion of copyholds into leaseholds, viz., the abolition of the common fields, and the inauguration of the modern system of several husbandry. It is of the first importance in seeking to interpret the consequences which flowed from it, that we should have an adequate conception of the state of things existing before it, and the methods by which it was carried out. These differed to some extent in cases where the land of a township was the property of one

individual, and in those where it was in the hands of several proprietors. Let us take the former case first.

Let us suppose a township consisting partly of leasehold farms, partly of demesne lands, partly of cottage holdings, and partly of common or waste. The leasehold farms were practically the old husbandlands. The demesnes had become almost entirely merged in them. When the copyholds had finally disappeared there was no object in keeping up the distinction between the demesnes and the husbandlands, and, as the same individuals held both, all trace of the former tended rapidly to disappear. But the land of which the husbandlands originally consisted, as well as large portions of that which had been demesne, lay scattered over the whole township. A held 200 acres in $5\frac{1}{2}$ farms, B 120 acres in $3\frac{1}{2}$ farms, C 120 acres in $3\frac{1}{4}$ farms, and so on.

The first difficulty that would arise would be found in the varying character of the land of the district. The 120 acres which B would receive in severalty might be the worst land in the township, while the same amount allotted to C might be the best. The arbitrator would therefore be obliged in fairness to add a few acres to B, or to deduct a few from C. Thus there would be a further inroad into the small amount of equality which may still have existed between the farms.

Either now or at a later date the common would be divided. Though, as a rule, the complete division of the waste was subsequent to the breaking up of the common fields, the allotment of the cultivated land in severalty was often seized upon as an opportunity for a partial division of the common also. How was the arbitrator to allot this common? A with his five and a half farms of 200 acres would have as much land as he could conveniently manage, while B and C on the contrary might be glad to take a little more. And thus the actual extent of a holding would, after the division, bear no relation whatever to the number of 'farms' at which it was assessed. This explains why, in the accounts of the churchwardens of Lesbury in 1791, William Hay, with Hipsburne farm of 216 a. 2r. 22p. and a rental of £220 pays £3 8s. 3d., equal to $3\frac{1}{4}$ farms, while David Baird, with Foxton Hall of 163 a. 1r. 30p., and a rental of £190, is mulcted £3 13s. 6d., equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ farms. This method of allotment would be pursued whenever more common was enclosed, until the whole had

disappeared. It would go to increase the size of the holdings in proportion to the ability of the tenant to cultivate it, not with relation to the number of 'farms' he held, and thus gradually the 'farms' would extend, in some cases, over the whole township. In such instances there would be no difficulty in rating the township by farms, but it was a different matter where there were cottage holdings, and leaseholds, not liable, under the ancient system, to a rate. Sometimes also there were small parts of the demesnes which had not been merged in the farms. One of these was the lord's mill. If these hitherto unrated portions of the township were few, it seems that they were ignored, upon the principle 'de minimis non curat lex.' But where they collectively embraced a considerable area, as they did at Lesbury and at Acklington, it would be felt to be unfair that they should contribute nothing to the rate, while there would be no ancient precedent to fall back upon for the purpose. The course pursued in these cases was probably different in different places, and at different times in the same place. At Acklington, as has been already pointed out, the cottage lands may have been thrown together and treated as half a farm called 'Coatlands.' At Lesbury they seem to have been assessed at a sixteenth of a husbandland each, and the remaining hitherto unrated lands on some other basis, resulting in what I have called the abnormal payments in the account. That this is the true interpretation of these abnormal payments is rendered probable by the fact that William Hay's contribution for the mill is one of them, the mill being reckoned as part of the demesnes. His payment is clearly not determined by the rent or the acreage, for he pays less on the mill than Robert Bell for his cottage. At Longhoughton it is said that four, and at Rennington three cottages were accounted equal to one farm.

In those instances in which a township comprised freeholds in the hands of divers persons another element had to be considered in making an award. The question was not only how to divide the land so that it could be conveniently cultivated by occupiers, but also how to allot it consistently with the claims of owners. Where an adequate terrier existed there could be no difficulty. This, however, was rarely the case. The trouble and expense of measuring the land, as in the extract given above from the terrier of Lesbury, and of compiling the record, must have been enormous, and was probably but rarely adopted. Some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking may be formed when

it is remembered that there were in the township of Lesbury alone 3,270 strips, besides the land held in severalty by freeholders, closes, garths, etc.⁹ When no terrier was available the award must have depended on the number of the farms rather than on their extent.

That this was not the sole consideration, however, the facts connected with the division of the township of Cheswick tend to prove. There were eighteen farms in this township, besides a plot of land called the 'Priory Ground,' valued at £3 a year. The 'several shares and parts of these farms . . . lay promiscuously, and intermixed one part with another,' and the moor lay undivided, and had been enjoyed in common.

In an award of 1719 the arbitrators state that having caused the arable, meadow, and pasture ground, and the waste and common, to be surveyed and measured, and having found them to contain 1,907a. 2r. 37p., they had viewed the same, and had 'seriously and deliberately weighed and considered the nature, soil, and quality thereof, and the conveniences and inconveniences incident thereto.' They order that 325 acres of the common shall still continue common and undivided, and the parties are 'to have and keep thereupon such rateable and proportionable number of stints according to their respective interests in Cheswick aforesaid as the same will conveniently depasture, feed and bear thereupon.' Nevertheless of this common they gave Sir Carnaby Haggerston 6a. 2r. 36p. in respect of the 'Priory Ground.' The remainder of the township they allotted as follows:—

	A.	R.	P.
Edward Haggerston, 4 farms	371	1	10
Robert Wilkie, 8½ farms	747	2	6
Christopher Strangways, 3½ farms	289	0	0
Christopher Sibbitt, 2 farms	174	3	21
Total	1,582	2	37

A plan attached to this award gives somewhat different figures as the result of the operation. On it it is stated that the 'content of Mr. Edward Haggerston's with the Priory Land' was 371a. 1r. 10p., and it appears that the actual number of acres which came into the possession of each individual in right of their farms was—

⁹ The twenty-four husbandlands were divided into 3,219 strips, covering 1,057 acres. This gives an average of rather more than 1r. 12p. for each strip. If, as has been supposed, the original size of a strip in the common fields was an acre or half an acre, the departure from this had, in the course of years, become considerable, and must have had an influence upon the size of the farms.

	A.	R.	P.
Edward Haggerston	364	2	14
Robert Wilkie	747	2	13
Christopher Strangways	287	3	27
Christopher Sibbitt	172	2	21
Total	1,572	2	35

The total acreage of the township is stated on the plan to be 1,949a. 1r. 24p.¹⁰

In 1724 a further division was carried out by agreement. 'It is agreed by and between all the parties to these presents that nothing herein contained shall be construed or taken to discharge or acquit any of the said parties of the payment of the rents payable out of their lands to Sir Carnaby Haggerston as lord of the manor of Norham castle, or otherwise prejudice his manor on any account whatever.' Sir Carnaby Haggerston received 10 acres, Francis Smith a 'small croft south of the house he dwells in' and 13 acres, and

	A.	R.	P.
Edward Haggerston	48	0	0
Robert Wilkie	144	2	0
Christopher Strangways	42	2	0
Christopher Sibbitt	22	0	0
Total	257	0	0

The result of the two divisions allotted the land between the owners of the farms as follows :—

	A.	R.	P.
Edward Haggerston	412	2	14
Robert Wilkie	892	0	13
Christopher Strangways	330	1	27
Christopher Sibbitt	194	2	29
Total	1,829	2	35

That the total number of farms was the leading idea that governed the transaction is proved by the fisheries on the coast having been allotted in the following proportions :—To the Haggerston estate $4\frac{2}{8}$ eighteenths, to Robert Wilkie $8\frac{3}{8}$ eighteenths, to Strangways and Sibbitt conjoined $5\frac{3}{8}$ eighteenths. But that this was not the only consideration so far as the land was concerned, a calculation of what each proprietor would have received had the allotment been made entirely with a view to the number of farms clearly shows.

¹⁰ The acreage in the Ordnance Survey of 1861 is 1,963a. 2r. 11p.

ACREAGE DIVIDED IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF FARMS.

Owner.	Number of Farms.	1719.		1724.	4. Proportion of Total Area Actually Received in both Divisions (Cols. 2 and 3).
		1. Of Area of 1,582a. 2r. 37p. as Allotted by Deed.	2. Of Area of 1,572a. 2r. 35p. as actually Received.	3. Of Area of 257a. 0r. 0p. Allotted and Received.	
E. Haggerston ...	4	A. R. P. 351 2 29	A. R. P. 349 1 39	A. R. P. 57 0 17	A. R. P. 406 2 16
R. Wilkie ...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	747 1 16	742 2 28	121 1 18	864 0 6
C. Strangways ...	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	307 3 2	305 3 9	49 3 35	355 3 4
C. Sibbitt ...	2	175 3 30	174 2 39	28 2 10	203 1 9
Total ...	18	1,582 2 37	1,572 2 35	257 0 0	1,829 2 35

The net results of the division as actually carried out are shown below :—

Owner.	1719.		1724.		Total.	
	In Excess.	Deficient.	In Excess.	Deficient.	In Excess.	Deficient.
E. Haggerston ...	A. R. P. 15 0 15	A. R. P. —	A. R. P. —	A. R. P. 9 0 17	A. R. P. 5 3 38	A. R. P. —
Robert Wilkie ...	4 3 25	—	23 0 22	—	28 0 7	—
C. Strangways ...	—	17 3 22	—	7 1 35	—	25 1 17
C. Sibbitt ...	—	2 0 18	—	6 2 10	—	8 2 28
Total ...	20 0 0	20 0 0	23 0 22	23 0 22	34 0 5	34 0 5

Although, therefore, the number of farms in the township was evidently the main guide to the arbitrators in making this division, yet the result was to consign 34a. 0r. 5p. more to two of the proprietors than was allotted to the other two, and to hand over a small croft and 29a. 2r. 36p. to be held in severalty outside the limits of the farms altogether.

Instances of this kind enable us to estimate at their true value the statements so frequently made by different witnesses in the course of the Netherwitton suit, to the effect that townships consisted of a certain number of farms and no more ; that these farms were areas of equal value, and that their number was the sole consideration which guided the arbitrators. Such statements are only roughly accurate, and it must not be forgotten that those who tendered this evidence referred to transactions which in general had been carried out long before their time, or at any rate in which they had not themselves taken an active part.

Let us turn again to the account given by the parish clerks of the townships mentioned in the earlier pages of this paper.

At Birling and Acklington the farms did indeed cover the whole extent of the township so soon as all the common had been divided. At Buston the eight husbandlands, which in old days had alone been rateable, had fallen into the hands of the owners of those which had been exempt, or of some of them, and the unrateable character of eight of the farms, and indeed their very existence, was unrecorded. Every owner or occupier in the township was rated, and collectively the township consisted of eight farms, and this was all that it concerned the parish clerk to know or to remember. Very much the same may be said of Brotherick. At Lesbury there is nothing in the resolution passed by the vestry to indicate that any basis of taxation existed besides that of the farms, except the fact that the Coatlands were to be rated at three farthings. It is not till we come to the details of the actual sum raised that we find any trace of the lands resulting in the 'abnormal' payments, and those who have hitherto considered the subject do not appear to have turned their attention to accounts of this description. If more of these could be brought to light it is probable that they would afford a great deal of information.

So far as the data at present in our possession go they seem to point to the following conclusions:—1st, that the farms which formed the basis of assessment at the end of the last and the commencement of the present century are the descendants and representatives of the ancient husbandlands; 2nd, that it is highly probable, if not certain, that originally these husbandlands were, generally speaking, of equal value within the limits of the same township; 3rd, that they constantly tended to lose this equality, and that in the sixteenth century, if not long before, their inequality had become very marked; 4th, that, notwithstanding, they continued to be regarded as equal bases of assessment; 5th, that they were never conterminous with the township, save in cases like that of Birling, in which the lord of the manor was the sole proprietor, and the husbandlands contained the only cultivated land within it. In this event they would indeed cover the whole area after the common had been divided, but even then the proportion of common added to each holding depended on other considerations than those of mere equality of value.

There is another conceivable state of things in which, even if

there were more than one owner, the farms would include the whole of the township after the division of the common; viz., where there was no demesne, no cottage land, etc., and where the lord of the manor accepted a rent charge in lieu of his claim on the waste. This substitution of a rent charge for a portion of the land of the waste was not formally recognised by Act of Parliament until the year 1846, but it is possible that it may have been adopted in some instances by agreement at an earlier period, though I am not aware of any evidence to that effect.

Since this paper was begun Mr. Woodman has very kindly afforded me the advantage of examining the evidence tendered in the Netherwiton suit. This extensive and most valuable record of the antique customs connected with the tenure of land in Northumberland must ever be an invaluable field for the researches of the antiquary, and would furnish materials for many a paper. I may, however, be permitted to say a few words with regard to it, so far as it bears immediately upon the subject in hand.

The land originally granted by king Edward VI., which formed the subject of the suit, is thus described at the time:—

Terra et tenementa pertinentibus dictae nuper cantaria Sancti Egidii.	}	Nuper cantaria Sancti Egidii fundata in ca- pella de Wyt- ton in parochia de Hartborne.	}	In comitatu Northumbriae.		
		Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Netherweton predicta in tenura Johannis Smythe per annum,		}	} lxiii ^s .	
		Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Netherweton predicta in tenura Thomae Potts per annum,				xiii ^s
		Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Netherweton in tenura Alexandri Ansone per annum,				xiii ^s
		Firma unius tenementi ibidem cum pertinenti- bus in tenura Johannis Rogerson per annum,				xii ^s
		Firma unius vastae ibidem cum pertinentibus in tenura Richardi Snaw- done per annum,				x ^s

Here there are five holdings at various rents; four of them being described as tenements, and one as a waste. It will be observed also that 'firma' here means money and not land.

The next evidence bearing on our subject is given more than a hundred and fifty years after, in 1710, when some witnesses deposed that the lands in question were 'about one third part in value' of the township, and others that there were 'nineteen farmes and one half farme' in Netherwitton, and that the property to which the suit referred were 'computed and reckoned to be five farmes and one-half farme,' or, as one witness puts it, 'there were computed and reckoned to be nineteen farmes and one half farme of lands and no more in and belonging to Netherwitton.'

It is not clear whether this implies that there were no more farms in Netherwitton than nineteen and a half, or that there was no land which was not included in these farms. But at any rate it would seem in this instance that the reverse had happened to that which took place at Lesbury and Hawkhill, for instead of a part of the farms being lost, five farms in Edward VI. time had come to be reckoned as five and a half in 1710. It is somewhat remarkable that at this date, when the common field system was still to be found in very many, probably in the majority of townships, there is nothing said (unless I have overlooked it), about these farms being equal or being deemed to be so.

After this we have another break of more than one hundred and fifty years, and we then come upon a great body of evidence brought from many parts of the county as to the practice of rating by farms, which may be summarized for present purposes as follows:—

1st, that most, if not all the local taxation had been, and to some extent continued up to very recent times to be raised according to the number of farms in each township over a very large part of Northumberland, and that for this object the farms were regarded as equal; 2nd, that this imaginary equality had long ceased to have any real existence; 3rd, that in many cases where a division had been carried out these farms had been the only available means of deciding the respective shares of the claimants; 4th, that in the opinion of the deponents these farms had originally been of equal value.

With regard to the first and second of these heads there can be no

dispute. The third may be accepted with certain modifications which have been already noticed. As to the fourth it is no disrespect to the witnesses to say that it rests on no better ground than the obvious probability that things deemed to be equal must have been so at one time or another. They do not profess to put it any higher, and it may readily be admitted that they are justified in coming to that conclusion. But they do not, and they could not, state that this equality existed in the sixteenth century, and the original grant seems to show the reverse, for it is surely more probable that five holdings, three of which are rented at 14s., one at 12s., and one at 10s., four of which were 'tenements' and one a 'waste,' were of different values than that five equal husbandlands were held on different terms and described in different language.

In conclusion, I must express my obligations to Sir William Crossman, Mr. Dendy, Mr. J. C. Hodgson, Mr. Bateson, and other gentlemen who, while not committing themselves in any degree to the theories I have advanced in this essay, have rendered me invaluable assistance by the information they have furnished to me, of which I have ventured to avail myself more than once without acknowledgment, and by their criticisms and advice.

NOTE.

If the views advanced in this paper of the origin of the Northumbrian farms be correct, it may possibly throw some light on the much vexed question of the antiquity of the manorial system with its overlord. It is repeatedly stated in the evidence given in the Netherwitton suit that the farms were also called 'ploughs' or 'plough gates.' It seems clear that originally the word 'farm' implied a rent, either in kind or money, and not the thing let. The 'plough' or 'plough gate' is evidently the proper title of that for the use or enjoyment of which the 'farm' was paid. This recalls forcibly the time when the lord furnished the villein, but not the free tenant, with the stock and implements necessary for his holding, and resumed them on the conclusion of the tenancy. It is a different system from that described by Mr. Seebohm, in his work on the village community, where one tenant supplied the plough, another an ox, another two oxen, etc., to make

up the team. Here each tenant has a plough, and although this seems excessive for the cultivation of a holding so small as most of the husbandlands were, we must recollect that the villeins were under an obligation to plough the demesnes, which were often of considerable size, and that this duty was probably imposed on every villein in the manor, whether the particular township in which he resided contained demesne land or not. The liability to assessment would thus depend upon whether the lord had or had not supplied the plough, and the 'plough' became synonymous with a villein holding, or base tenure.

Hence if the 'farms' of Northumberland can be traced to Saxon times, as some have supposed, it appears to necessitate the existence also of a Saxon overlord, and a system presenting many of the attributes and incidents which are commonly referred to a Norman source.

Mr. F. York Powell tells us that 'the German theory formerly generally accepted, that free village communities were the rule among the English, seems to have little direct evidence to support it. The English conqueror found estates cultivated by British *servi* and *liberti* and *coloni*, according to certain rules and customs for the profit of the *dominus* and *patronus* and their own living. He stepped into the Roman patron's, or even the earlier Celtic chief's, place, exacted his dues, and farmed more or less after his fashion.'¹¹

¹¹ *Social England*, 1893, vol. i. p. 125.

II.—TEMPLE THORNTON FARM ACCOUNTS, 1308.

(EXTRACTED FROM MR. WOODMAN'S COLLECTION.)

BY J. CRAWFORD HODGSON.

[Read on the 25th July, 1894.]

INTRODUCTION.

SEVEN miles west of Morpeth, in the parish of Hartburn, are the townships of West and East Thornton. The former stands on a high ridge, commanding a wide and extensive view to the east, south, and west. 'It formerly had a chapel in it, and extensive grass-grown lines of houses, remains of strong masonry in the stackyard walls, and great quantities of hewn stone in the fences about it, prove that it was once a considerable village. A field to the east of it has had a strong wall around it. The older of the two cottages has no hewn stones in it, and has plainly been built before the chapel and old manorial house, with its accompaniment of barmkin and park walls, began to be pulled down.' So wrote the rev. John Hodgson in 1827.¹ One of the farms yet bears the name of Temple Thornton, and so keeps alive the memory of the local association of these fair lands with the great order of the Templars, whose once they were.

The zeal, which in our day compels the devout Mohammedan of every nation to make the Hadj, may illustrate the feeling or fashion of the eleventh and twelfth century Christendom to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. To protect these defenceless pilgrims, especially between the seaports and the holy city, from the attack and plunder of the Bedouin, was the object of the Knights Templars or 'Poor Fellow Soldiers of Jesus Christ.'

The order was founded immediately after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099. It united a brotherhood-in-arms with the religious profession of chastity, obedience, and poverty. The latter condition, however, only forbade the possession of property by the individual, and permitted the holding of wealth by the order. In 1118, for its good service, Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, granted

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, part ii. vol. i. p. 311.

it that habitation within the temple enclosure on mount Moriah which thenceforward gave it the distinctive name of 'The Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon,' and to the superior of the order his title of 'The Master of the Temple.'

The knights now assumed the duty of defending the holy places and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Their rule, revised by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, was confirmed by papal bull; their distinctive garb was a white garment or mantle, with a red cross on the left breast. Subsequently the members were graded as knights, priests, and serving brethren.

The story of romantic enthusiasm which led the kings of England and France to serve with the Templars in the Holy Land, is too well known to need to be recapitulated; men of high rank and family sought admission to, and prince and subject, by gift or bequest, identified themselves with, the order. For the management of the lands so granted, members of the order were detached from the parent house, and as 'residents' were appointed to represent it in the different countries of the west. These procurators were styled 'Priors of the Temple,' and the duties of each in his province was to remit its revenues to Jerusalem, to admit members, arrange for their transport, and to generally represent the Master.

The companion order of the Hospital of St. John founded for the succour of pilgrims, also had its home in Jerusalem and its legations throughout Christendom.

Gibbon says, 'the flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross and profess the vows of these respectable orders, their spirit and discipline were immortal, and the speedy donation of 28,000 farms or manors enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine.'

The immunities, ecclesiastical and civil, bestowed upon the Templars alienated the secular clergy, and the wealth so rapidly acquired had the usual twofold consequence, luxury and unguardedness on the one hand, and jealous, watchful scrutiny on the other. The knights were accused of having traded on their privileges in extending them to lay brothers or associates, in return for gifts of money or other consideration, especially during the extended or restricted interdicts, which by the ecclesiastical policy of the age were

laid upon nations or districts for the stiff-neckedness of rulers or individuals.

After the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem the headquarters of the order were removed to Europe. There was doubtless felt amongst all western Christians a feeling of soreness and disappointment at the loss of Jerusalem, a loss of which the order was made the scapegoat. Philip, king of France, 'not from motives of avarice but inflamed with zeal for the orthodox faith,' in 1307 preferred scandalous charges against the Templars. The reigning pope, Clement V., who owed his elevation to the papacy to French influence, lent an ear to the accusations. All members of the order were arrested and imprisoned and articles of accusation, numerous and ridiculous, exhibited against them. Torture, excessive, frightful, was used to wring confessions of guilt from, to be subsequently retracted and withdrawn by, the sufferers.

One sufferer said, 'they held me so long before a fierce fire that the flesh was burnt off my heels, two pieces of the bone came away which I present to you;' another victim in retracting his confession declared that four of his teeth had been drawn out and that he had confessed himself guilty, to save the remainder. King Edward II. avowed his disbelief in the truth of the charges, but after the pope had issued his condemnation, by order in council on the 20th December, 1307, ordered the arrest of the Templars in his dominion, and the seizure of their property² simultaneously on 8th January, 1308. The sheriffs were directed to take inventories of the goods and chattels, and to make provision for the sowing and tilling of the lands during the sequestration. They accounted annually to the Court of Exchequer.

Professor Thorold Rogers tells us that 'in the fourteenth century the stock on a well tilled farm, and every landowner tilled his land, and on the whole tilled it according to the best knowledge of the time, was worth at least three times that of the fee simple.'³ The following account rendered by the sheriff gives us the fullest particulars of the stock of a Northumbrian farm of that period, the admirable way

² The English province was founded by the first Master of the Temple, Hugh de Payens, who came hither for that purpose in 1128; it was divided into bailiwicks and subdivided into preceptories.

³ *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 63

in which the income and expenditure of the estate is set forth, is equalled by the detailed and exact statement of the stocktaking. It gives us the nature of the produce of the estate, and the relative proportion of the kinds of stock kept. The roll was found some year ago by Mr. Woodman at the Public Record Office, where he obtained a translation.

SHERIFFS' ACCOUNTS.

The account of Guychard Charon late sheriff of the county of Northumberland, of the issues, lands, and tenements, of the Master and Brethren of the Knights Templars in England, in the same county, from Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, to wit, the 16th day of November, in the 2nd year⁴ of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, to the feast of St. Michael next following. And from the same feast of St. Michael, to the Sunday next before the feast of St. Cuthbert next following, in the 3rd year: on which day he delivered the lands and tenements aforesaid, to Richard de Horsleye, then sheriff of Northumberland, to keep so long as the King shall please, to answer to the King for the issues thereof arising. By the King's writ and indenture between them made.

THORNTON WITH ITS MEMBERS. The same renders account of 63s. 4d. of the rent of assize⁵ of divers tenants, holding divers tenements, of the aforesaid Master and Brethren, of the manor of Thornton, and in divers villis, adjacent to the same manor, to wit, Wotton, Mitford, Morpeth, Newbiggin, Warkesworth, at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas, as contained in the roll of particulars, which he delivered into the Treasury, and on the extent of the aforesaid manor, made by Adam de Eglesfield, and returned into the Exchequer.

And of £11 14s. 10½d. of rent of assize, of freeholders and customary tenants, in the villis of Heylee, Corbrigge, Trepwoode, Newcastle upon Tyne, Fenham, Rynton, Jesemuth and Redewoode at the same terms.

And of 60s. 1½d. of the like rent of assize, of divers tenants in the villis of Mildrom,⁶ Shottone, Heddon,⁷ Pakkeston,⁸ Kyllun, Langeton,⁹ Littleburn,¹⁰ Welloure, Alnewyk and Baumburgh, at the same terms.

And of £10 18s. 3d. of rent of assize, of divers tenants, holding divers tenements, in Foxden,¹¹ Besshopeston, Coton,¹² the town of Barnard Castle, Somerhous¹³ and Pelton, in the bishopric of Durham, at the same terms, as contained in the roll and extent aforesaid.

And of 10s. and five quarters of oats of rent of assize, in the vill of Foxden at the same terms.¹⁴

And of 40s. of certain demesne lands, of the said manor, let to farm this year, in Fenham with certain works at the same terms.

⁴ 1308-9. ⁵ Fixed or certain rents. ⁶ Mindrum.

⁷ Heddon among the hills near the Beaumont water no longer exists. *Dr. Hardy.* ⁸ Paston. ⁹ Lanton. ¹⁰ Lilburn.

¹¹ Foxton near Sedgfield. ¹² Coatham.

¹³ Summerhouse near Brafferton.

¹⁴ Here the rent is paid partly in kind.

And of 100s. of the farm of the mill of Thornton, at the same terms, so demised to farm by the year.

And of 18s. of the farm of the mill of Heylee, for the same time.

And of 10s. of the rent of the brewery, in the vills of Thornteton and Heylee, at the feast of St. Michael.

And of 2s. 5d. of 580 eggs of rent of assize, on Thornton, Heylee, and Fenham, at the feast of Easter, sold.

And of 5s. 11d. of 68 summer and autumn works, sold.

And of 3s. of the farm of the dovecot at Thornton, from the feast of Easter to the feast of St. Michael, for half a year.

And of 3s. from the turbary sold there, for the same time.

And of 5s. 11d. of 71 hens of rent of assize, in the vills of Thornton, Fenham, and Heylee, at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord.

And of £24 15s. 0d. for 24 quarters of corn,¹⁵ 6 quarters of rye and maslin, 14 quarters of barley, 8 quarters of barley and oats mixed, 86 quarters of oats, received from Robert de Faudon,¹⁶ by indenture, and so immediately sold on account of the fear of the coming of the Scots.¹⁷

And of 12s. for two stock¹⁸ oxen sold.

And of 76s. 8d. for three cows, and three calves their issue, and of six barren cows, sold about the 'gules' of August, by command of the lord the King.

And of 27s. for three steers of the same stock, and by the same mandate so sold.

And of 15s. for three heifers of the same stock, by the same mandate sold.¹⁹

And of 6s. for two bull calves of the same stock, by the same mandate sold.

And of 13s. 6d. for 3 stirks, more than one year old, and three calves, of the same stock, by the same mandate sold.

And of 10s. for one bull²⁰ of the same stock, by the same mandate sold.

And of £11 13s. 0d. for 107 sheep-ewes, 108 muttons, 17 hogs, remanents of the preceding account received by indenture.

¹⁵ Corn = wheat.

¹⁶ The sheriff of preceding year.

¹⁷ A truce was agreed between Edward II., king of England, and Robert Brus, king of Scotland, in the spring of 1309, the latter had immediately before 'made great havoc in Northumberland.' Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 235 n.

¹⁸ Working or draught oxen.

¹⁹ In 1314 the prices of provisions as fixed by royal mandate and Act of Parliament were as follows:—

A stalled or corn fed ox	...	...	...	...	...	£1	4	0
A grass fed ox	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
A fat stalled cow	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
An ordinary cow	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
A fat mutton, unshorn	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
A fat mutton, shorn	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
A fat goose	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2½
A fat capon	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
A fat hen	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
24 eggs for	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1

The prices were so low that people would not bring their things to market until the regulation was rescinded. Bishop Fleetwood, *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 71.

²⁰ There was no attempt to improve the breeds of cattle: the proof is the low price of bulls: a collateral proof is the low price of cows. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 78.

And of 36s. 8d. for 88 lambs²¹ of issue sold.
 And of 6s. 8d. from 8 kids²² sold before the Nativity of the Lord.
 And of 28s. from 21 hogs sold.
 And of 18d. for 6 geese sold.
 And of 8s. from four bad skins of oxen which died by the murrain.
 And of 14d. from the skins of two oxen which died of the murrain.
 And of 49s. 8d. from 69 fleeces of sheep-ewes, muttons and shear-hogs, which died in the murrain, sold.
 And of £4 5s. 5d. from 184 fleeces, weighing 17 stone 1 lb., sold.
 And of 2s. 6d. received for three bushels of corn, sold upon account.

Sum total of the receipts £94 2s. 7d.

The same accounts in 9 quarters 2 bushels of corn, 50 quarters
EXPENSES. 6 bushels of oats bought to sow, £9 8s. 6d. to wit for each quarter of corn 6s. 8d. and for each quarter of oats 2s. 6d.

And in 22½ quarters of rye, 13 quarters 2¼ bushels of maslin, bought for the use of the servants, £11 12s. 1d. The price of the quarter 6s. 8d.

And in 4 quarters of oats, bought for meal for porridge for the servants 10s.

And in 6½ quarters of oats, bought by estimation, in sheaves for the sustenance of the oxen and cows 16s. 3d.

And in 5 quarters of oats, bought for the provender of the oxen, and expended in their provender at seed time 12s. 6d.

And he renders in mending ploughs and harrows²³ at different times, 12s.

And in turf, dug to burn in the winter 3s.

And in ointment bought to anoint sheep with, at different times 3s.²⁴

And in wages of a man, keeping four score and eight lambs of this issue from the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, to the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross next following, for 90 days taking daily a half penny, 3s. 9d.

And in milk, for the sustenance of the said lambs, and for washing and shearing nine score and 12 muttons 3s. 11¼d.

And in weeding 37 acres of corn, and 101 and a half acres of oats, price of each acre a half penny 5s. 9d.

And in cutting, spreading, and carrying 21 acres of hay, as well in the close of the court as in the fields 13s. 1d.

And in mowing, collecting, and binding 37 acres of corn, and 101 and a

²¹ Average 5d.

²² Not generally kept in the south of England: in 1291 kids were sold at 1s. 1d.

²³ The peasant farmer even in the sixteenth century could not afford an iron harrow: the teeth of this implement were oaken pins carefully dried and hardened at the fire. *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 61.

In 1407 a new plough cost	0	0	10
A dung cart and all that belonged to it ...	0	1	2
A pair of cart wheels	0	3	2

Compotus relating to priory of Burcester. *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 79.

²⁴ The sheep, from the latter part of the thirteenth century, was liable to a new disease, the scab. We can almost define the year (1280) in which this disease first appeared by the simultaneous record of the medicines employed for its cure. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 81.

half acres of oats, 61s. 10½d.; to wit for each acre of corn 7d.²⁵ and for each acre of oats 6d.

And in wages of one man, beside the reapers, in autumn, to wit, for 30 days, taking 2d. a day 5s.

And in wages of six carters, one cowherd, one shepherd, and one man keeping the manor, and making the porridge of the servants for the entire year, 40s.

And in wages of one swineherd for 16 weeks 12d.

And in wages of two men, going to harrow at seed time, for 31 days as well in winter seed time, as in Lent seed time 5s. 2d.

And in two bushels of salt bought for the porridge of the servants 10d.

And in mending the walls of the Grange 3s.

And in threshing and winnowing 21 quarters of corn, rye, and maslin, 8 quarters of barley and 44 quarters of oats 8s. 6d.²⁶

And in the wages of one servant keeping the manor for the time, computed as above, 39s. 4½d., taking a penny half penny a day.

EXPENCES OF
TEMPLARS.

And in the expences of brother Michael de Soureby, brother Walter de Gaddesby, brother Geoffrey de Wilton and brother Robert de Caumvill, of the order of the Knights Templars being in the custody of the said Gwycharde in the castle of Newcastle upon Tyne from the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin in the 2nd year of the reign of King Edward, to the feast of St. Michael next following in the third year of the reign of King Edward, to wit, for 315 days, each taking 4d. a day, £21.²⁷

²⁵ In the thirteenth century, wheat was reaped at a fraction over 5d. per acre, barley at 5½d., oats and rye at 4½d. Estimated on the price of wheat, the reaper of the thirteenth century received about one-twelfth of a quarter for his labour. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 174.

²⁶ 'Our ancestors always cut their corn high on the stalk. By cutting high they avoided cutting weeds with their wheat, and they could reap and carry their produce in nearly all weathers and could dry it with comparative ease. They cut the stubble at their leisure, and the straw, unbruised by threshing, was used for thatching and fodder.' A moderate amount of stormy weather after the reaping and before the carrying of the corn aided the process of threshing, and in Northumberland, perhaps elsewhere, was spoken of as the 'barnman's benison.' 'The labour of threshing the three principal kinds of corn-growing grasses differs with the difficulty of separating the seed from the husk, and the graduated rate of payment expresses the difficulty with exactness. It is 3d. for wheat, 2d. for barley, 1d. for oats. Winnowing was performed by the women at about a farthing the quarter. When estimating the position of the medieval labourer by the side of his descendants in the eighteenth century [I reckon] that the former received for the labour of threshing rather more than one-eighteenth of the wheat he threshed, rather more than one twenty-second part of barley, and rather less than one-fourteenth part of oats, taking the rate of wages and the price of grain as the factors in the calculation. In the eighteenth century the peasant got one twenty-fourth part of barley and wheat, and one-twentieth part of the oats he threshed.' See *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 56, and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, pp. 171, 172, 173.

²⁷ The King allowed to those of the Knights Templars committed to monasteries 4^d per day, which would seem to have been their usual allowance. To W^m de la More the Grand Master was allowed 2^s. To the chaplains the King allowed (as the knights did formerly) 3^d per day for their diet and xx^s for their stipend. *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 122.

And in expences of the said 4 brethren, 8 horsemen and 10 footmen, sent with the said brethren between Newcastle upon Tyne and York, for safety, and securely conducting them thither, for three days, by the King's writ and by his special mandate, and in staying there before they were delivered to the sheriff of York and constable of the castle there 40s.

Sum of expences £56 : 10 : 7 $\frac{3}{4}$.

And he owes 37 : 11 : 11 $\frac{1}{4}$.

And he renders as follows :—

CORN.²⁸ The same renders account of 9 quarters 2 bushels of corn bought as above. And the whole account in seed upon 37 acres, to wit, 2 bushels on an acre.

OATS. The same renders account of 54 quarters 6 bushels of oats bought as above, for seed and for the porridge of the servants. And of 5 quarters of oats received by purchase for the provender of the horses in seed time. Sum 59 quarters 6 bushels, of which in seed, upon 101 and an half acres, 50 quarters 6 bushels; and in provender for horses at seed time, as above 5 quarters; and in porridge of the servants, 4 quarters. And the account balances.

MASLIN FOR DELIVERY TO THE SERVANTS. The same renders account of 22 quarters and a half of rye, 13 quarters 2 bushels and a half of maslin, bought to be delivered to the servants. Sum 35 quarters 6 bushels and a half, of which in delivery to 5 carters for 45 weeks, to wit, for the whole time of the account, 22 quarters and a half. And in delivery to one shepherd and one cowherd from the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, to Saturday the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula²⁹ next, for 36 weeks and 5 days, taking a quarter for twelve weeks, 5 quarters 3 bushels and a half.

And in delivery to one swineherd, keeping swine³⁰ for 16 weeks, within the time aforesaid, one quarter; and in delivery to one man keeping the court, and making the porridge of the servants, for 45 weeks 2 quarters 6 bushels.

And in delivery to one carter, going to cart with the horses of the manor, and with the horses of the said Guychard, after the death of the horses of the manor, from the aforesaid Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, to Monday next after the feast of St. Michael next following, for 45 weeks taking a quarter for 12 weeks, 3 quarters and 6 bushels. Sum 35 quarters 3 bushels and a half, and on sale, upon the account, as appears above 3 bushels. And the account balances.

OXEN. The same renders account, of 3 oxen received of Robert de Fawden, by indenture, of which 2 died in the murrain and one remains.

²⁸ = Wheat.

²⁹ 1st August, Lammas-day.

³⁰ The pigs were turned into the cornfields after the crop was carried and into the woods to gather mast and acorus . . . The whole of the parish stock was put under the charge of a single swineherd, who receiving a payment from the owner of every pig under his charge, had a smaller wage from the lord of the manor to whom he was also a servant. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 82.

BULLOCKS.	The same renders account of 25 bullocks received of the same, by the same indenture, of which 4 died in the murrain, 2 were sold and 19 remain.
COWS.	The same renders account of 9 cows received of the same, by the same indenture, and sold as above. And the account balances.
STEERS.	The same renders account of 5 steers 3 stirks received of the same, by the same indenture, and sold all as above. And the account balances.
HEIFERS.	The same renders account of 3 heifers received of the same, by the same indenture, and sold all as above. And the account balances.
CALVES.	The same renders account of 3 calves, issue of this year, and sold as above. And the account balances.
BULL.	The same renders account of one bull received of the same, by the same indenture, and sold as above. And the account balances.
SHEEP.	The same renders account of 9 score ewes received of the same, by the same indenture; of which 73 died in the murrain, ³¹ 107 were sold. And the account balances.
MUTTONS.	The above renders account of 7 score and 8 muttons received of the same, by the same indenture; of which 24 died in the murrain, 108 were sold. And the account balances.
SHEAR HOGS.	The same renders account of 69 shear hogs received of the same, by the same indenture; of which 52 died in the murrain, and 17 were sold. And the account balances.
LAMBS.	The same renders account of four score and 8 lambs, issue of this year, and sold as above. And the account balances.
KIDS.	The same renders account of 8 kids received by the same indenture, and sold as above. And the account balances.
SWINE.	The same renders account of 24 hogs received of the same, by indenture; of which 3 died in the murrain, and 21 were sold. And the account balances.
GEESE.	The same renders account of 6 geese received of the same, by indenture, and sold as above. And the account balances.
SKINS.	The same renders account of 149 skins of sheep that died of the murrain before shearing, and sold as above. And the account balances.

³¹ From calculations made by Professor Thorold Rogers from the records of eight sheep-breeding estates of this period, the losses on sheep stock averaged close upon 20 per cent. Our forefathers, who comprehended all cattle diseases under the generic name of murrain, were well aware of the risks they ran from rot, and give the symptoms with the precision of a modern farmer. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 80.

WOOL. The same renders account of 17 stone and one pound of wool, coming from 180 fleeces, and sold as above.³² And the account balances.

HIDES. The same renders account of two hides of the oxen that died in the murrain, and four hides of bullocks, that died in the murrain, and sold as above.³³ And the account balances.

COCKS, HENS, AND EGGS. The same renders account of 71 cocks and hens, and 580 eggs of rent, and sold as above. And the account balances.

DEAD STOCK. The same answers for 3 ploughs with all their gear received of the same, by indenture, price of each 18d.; 2 waggons, price 3s.; 2 leaden cisterns, price one mark; 1 large tub with 2 barrels, price 5s.; 1 washing tub, with a small brass pot; hay for the sustenance of the cattle of the said manor; 1 iron shod cart,³⁴ price 14s.; 4 chests; 2 smaller barrels; with all charters, deeds, and muniments; under the seal of brother Michael, late keeper of the said manor.

ORNAMENTS OF THE CHAPEL. Memorandum concerning one chalice, one black vestment, one missal, one gradual, one legend, found in the manor aforesaid. And these remain in the hands of Robert de Fawdon, who stills retains them and refuses to give them up to the said Guichard.

The account of the same Guichard, of the same lands, from the feast of St. Michael in the 3rd year, to Sunday next before the feast of St. Cuthbert next following, on which day he delivered the aforesaid lands, and tenements, to Richard de Horsley, now keeper of the same, by the King's writ, and indenture between them made.

The same renders account of 5s. 11d., of 71 hens of rent, at the term of Christmas.

And of 4s. 7d. of hides of two oxen, and one bullock, that died in the murrain, sold.

And of £1 : 10 : 5, of four quarters and a half and one bushel of corn sold, price of the quarter 6s. 8d.

And of 15s. 3½d., of 6 quarters and one bushel of oats, sold on account.

And of 14s., of one iron shod cart, sold on account.

Sum of receipts, £3 : 10 : 2½.

³² The fourteenth-century wool was coarse and full of hairs. . . . The fleece, too, was light, an average from many entries which I have made giving 1 lb. 7¼ ozs. to the fleece. . . . Hence the animal must have been small, and I think I may certainly say that a wether in good condition weighed a good deal less than 40 lbs.—*Ibid.* p. 80.

³³ The ox, quit of skin, head, and offal, did not weigh on an average more than 400 pounds, and was worth about 11s. to sell. The hide of an ox was worth at least 2s., and the head and offal amply repaid the services of the butcher.—*Ibid.* pages 77, 78.

³⁴ The cart was generally supplied with solid wheels, cut out of a tree trunk, for iron was too dear for tires. I have found such wheels well into the sixteenth century when iron was half the price at which it was purchased in the fourteenth. *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 61.

EXPENCES. The same, accounts in wages of one servant keeping the manor aforesaid, from Sunday the feast of St. Michael in the year abovesaid to Sunday next before the feast of St. Cuthbert next following, 165 days taking 1½d. a day £1. 0. 7½; and in wages of two men going to harrow, in winter seed time, and in Lent seed time, for 31 days, 2s. 7d. taking a 1d. a day. And in threshing, and winnowing, 10 quarters of corn, 30 quarters of oats, 3s. 2d., to wit, for a quarter of corn 2d., and for a quarter of oats, 1d. And in wages of a smith mending the iron-work of the carts during the time of the account, according to an agreement made with him, for half a year, 5s.

Sum of expences £1 : 12 : 4½.

And he owes £1 : 17 : 10.

And he owes of the remainder of the preceding account, £37 : 11 : 11¼.

Sum which is owed £39 : 9 : 9¼.

Conjoint sum which is owed £39 : 9 : 9¼.

But he answers in the sixth roll of Northumberland.

GRANGE. The same, renders account of 17 quarters one bushel of corn; of which, in seed upon 22 acres of land, 5 quarters and a half. And two quarters sold as above, and 7 quarters delivered to Richard de Horsleye. And 4 quarters 5 bushels, sold as above.

Sum 17 quarters 1 bushel.

OATS. The same renders account of 85 quarters of oats, the produce of the Grange, of which in seed upon 22 acres, 11 quarters and a half, to wit, half a quarter on an acre. And in delivery of 4 carters, from the feast of St. Michael to Sunday next after the feast of St. Cuthbert next following, for 24 weeks, taking a quarter for 16 weeks, 16 quarters. And to one maid servant, keeping the court, and making the porridge of the servants, for the said time, 3 quarters, taking a quarter for 8 weeks. And in the sustenance of 9 oxen by estimation in the sheaf 6 quarters.

And in meal made or the porridge of the servants, for the time of the account, one quarter.

And in delivery made to Richard de Horsleye, by indenture, 41 quarters 3 bushels. Sum 78 quarters 7 bushels.

And sold on account, as appears above 6 quarters 1 bushel.

STOCK OX. The same renders account of 1 ox, remaining from the last account. And it died in the murrain this year. And nothing remains.

BULLOCKS. The same renders account of 19 bullocks which remained; of which two died in the murrain. And in the delivery made to Richard de Horsleye having custody of the lands and tenements by the King's writ, and by indenture made between him and the said Guychard, 17 bullocks. And the account balances.

DEAD STOCK. The same answers for three ploughs, with all their gear, remaining from the last account, price of each 18d., two waggons, price 2s., two leaden cisterns, price 1 mark; one large tub with two barrels price 5s.; 1 washing tub, with a small brass pot;

hay for the sustenance of the cattle of the said manor; 3 chests; two smaller barrels; with all the charters deeds and muniments under the seal of brother Michael, late keeper of the said manor, and delivered to the aforesaid Richard de Horsleye by indenture, between him and the aforesaid Guychard, thereof made.

And memorandum that the said Guychard, delivered to the aforesaid Richard de Horsleye, 10 waggon loads of hay, by indenture, for which he has to answer in his account.

In 1313 a papal decree was issued to vest the property of the dissolved order of the Templars in the brethren of the Hospital of St. John. Naturally it was disclaimed both by prince and subject, the former, however, in part yielded, and in November of the same year ordered that the lands which had not been already disposed of by the Crown should forthwith be yielded up to the Hospitallers.

Some fifty or sixty years ago there was discovered in a plastered-over closet in Malta an 'extent' or survey of the English possessions of the order in 1338. This document, edited by the rev. L. B. Larking with an introduction by Mr. Kemble, was printed by the Camden Society in 1857 (vol. 65). That portion which relates to Thornton³⁵ (p. 133) may be translated as follows:—

THORNTON

Thornton. There is there one messuage rebuilt by brother Leonard lately prior; because, after the abolition of the Templars, all the houses were uprooted and taken away by the lords of the fees; the herbage of which is worth yearly x^s

And ecc acres, which are worth in time of peace vij^{li} x^s the price of the acre vj^d; and now on account of the war the acre is scarcely worth ij^d. Total lxxv^s

³⁵ EXTENTA BONORUM QUONDAM TEMPLI.

THORNTON, super Marchiam Scocie, in Comitatu Northumbrie.

Thornton. Est ibidem unum mesuagium reedificatum per fratrem Leonardum nuper Priorem; quia post adnullationem Templariorum omnes domus abradicate fuerunt et abducte per dominos feodorum; cujus herbagium valet per annum x^s

Et ecc. acre que valet tempore pacis vij^{li} x^s, pretium acre vj^d; et nunc, propter guerram, vix valet acra ij^d Summa lxxv^s

Item de redditu assiso, tempore Templariorum, valebat xxx^{li}, et nunc, hiis diebus, non possunt levari nisi xij^{li}

§ Summa totalis recepti et proficui xxiiij marce v^s

Reprise.

Inde in stipendio j. capellani non ad mensam, per annum ... lxiij^s

In vadiis ballivi iij. quarteria ij. busselli bladi, que valet ... x^s vj^d

In vadiis j. wodewardi x^s vj^d

Et in stipendiis eorum per annum xiiij^s iij^d

In oleo, vino, et cera. pro capella ij^s

In emendatione domorum xx^s

In adventu preceptoris ibidem per annum ij marce

§ Summa omnium expensarum et solutionum vij^{li} v^s

Summa Valoris. Et sic remanent ad solvendum ad

Thesaurarium pro oneribus supportandis xiiij marce vj^s. viij^d

Tamen nil in presenti propter guerram Scocie

Item, rents of assize, in the time of the Templars were worth xxx^{li}, and now, in these days, there can only be raised xij^{li}
 Sum total of receipt and profit xxiiij marks v^s

Reprises.

Thence in stipend of 1 chaplain, whose board is not included,
 yearly²⁵ lxij^s
 In wages of a bailiff, iiij quarters, ij bushels of wheat, which
 are worth x^s vj^d
 In wages of a forester x^s vj^d
 And in their stipends, yearly xiiij^s iiij^d
 In oil, wine, and wax to the chapel ij^s
 In repairing houses xx^s
 At the coming of the preceptor there, yearly... .. ii marks
 Sum total of all expenses and payments viij^{li} v^s
 Sum total of the valuation. And so there remains for payment to the
 treasurer to meet liabilities xiiij marks vj^s viij^d
 However nothing at present on account of the Scottish war.

This view of the farming of the past may be closed with a glimpse of the farmer:—

The Plowman plucked vp his plowe
 Whan Midsomer Moone was comen in,
 And saied his bestes shuld eate inowe,
 And lige in the Grasse vp to the chin.
 Thei been feble bothe Oxe and Cowe,
 Of hem nis left but bone and skinne,
 He shoke of her shere and couler ofdrowe,
 And honged his harnis on a pinne.
 He toke his tabarde and his staffe eke,
 And on his hedde he set his hat,
 And saied he would saint Thomas seke,
 On pilgremage he goth forth plat.
 In scrippe he bare bothe bread and lekes,
 He was forswonke and all forswat;
 Men might haue sen through both his chekes,
 And euery wang-toth and where it sat.
 * * * * *
 Our hoste him axed 'what man art thou?'
 'Sir' (quod he) 'I am an hine;
 For I am wont to go to the plow,
 And earne my meate er that I dine.' ²⁷

²⁵ In 1348 the great Pestilence had swept away so many priests, among other people, that a chaplain could hardly be gotten to serve a church, under x marks, or x pounds per annum, whereas before they might be had at v or iv marks, nay at ii, together with their diet. As the priests were not content with reasonable stipends the parliament of 39 Edw. III. enacted 'If any secular man in the realm pay more than v marks, to any priest yearly, in money, or in other things, to the value; or if he pay to such priest retained to abide at his table, above two marks for his gown, and his other necessaries, (his table accounted to 40 shillings) and thereby be attainted, he shall pay to the king fully as much as he paid to the said priest. *Chronicon Preciosum*, pp. 109, 111.

²⁷ Prologue to 'The Ploughman's Tale.' *Early English Text Society*.

III.—RUNIC INSCRIPTION ON HAZEL-GILL CRAGS, NEAR BEWCASTLE.

BY W. L. CHARLTON.

[Read on the 28th November, 1894.]

SOME three years ago the writer had occasion to ride over the fells from the Tyne into Bewcastle. The road, for the greater part of the way, is mostly a mere track, hardly to be distinguished from a sheep-track. At most seasons of the year it is characterised in the language of the country as being 'saft.' Nevertheless there are many things to see and note upon on the way, not the least of them the hospitality invariably extended 'outbye,' and the pressure with which one is bidden 'in' at the few houses to be met with. On this occasion we accepted the hospitality of Mr. Dodd, the tenant of Paddaburn, a farm formerly part of the Hesleyside estate, and situated on the banks of the Irthing. Our host, a man of advanced years, and, we regret to say, since deceased, kindly acted as guide the next morning, and rode with us into Bewcastle. Our errand took the nature of a foray, for we both intended to 'lift' some cattle ere our return; but times have altered, and in these degenerate days such commodities have, alas! to be paid for in base cash.

Mr. Dodd enlivened the journey by many a tale of past days and people, chief amongst which, we may mention, was the account of his own wedding at Gretna Green many years before. He had given the worthy who officiated on that occasion to understand that he was but a tinker, lest he should be charged a fee on a higher scale as a farmer. Happening to mention the visit of the late Dr. Charlton, in 1865, to Baranspike, to inspect the Runic inscription there, he remarked that he had 'set' the doctor over into Bewcastle on that occasion. As time would not allow of our going out of our way to visit that place, Mr. Dodd suggested we should turn off a few hundred yards and see the inscription at Hazel-Gill Crag. These crags, by no means bold or extensive, lie about three miles to the north-east of Bewcastle church, and are on the High Grains farm, the property of

the earl of Carlisle. We made a rough sketch of the letters on the rock and journeyed on. No thought existed in our mind but that we should find an account, probably in the *Archaeologia*, of these Runes. The matter remained forgotten until some months ago, when, in sorting some papers, the sketch we have mentioned turned up. An enquiry to the rev. Wm. Greenwell elicited the fact that the Hazel-Gill inscription was unknown to other antiquaries. This was confirmed by a letter from professor Stephens of Copenhagen. It is, therefore, with great pleasure, not unalloyed with a shade of fear at the presumption of one who is but a very young student in this particular cult, that we lay before you a measured drawing of the Runes, and an attempt to grasp their meaning.

Our second visit to the crags was made quite recently. It had been our intention to procure a squeeze, or even a rubbing, but a gale of wind and a cold driving mist made such an utter impracticability. We were fain to content ourselves with a critical inspection and measurement of the lettering. The inscription, which is very much shorter than that on Baranspike, and with fewer compound letters, is cut on the upright face of a rock some eight feet long by two feet high, and about fifteen feet above the surface of the ground below, and at a corresponding slope with the upper surface of the stone. It is not at first very easy to find, on account of there being but a distance of about two feet between it and the next rock, making, therefore, a sort of defile.

There are altogether twenty-three letters: their height about two and a half inches, the depth still about one-eighth of an inch in the deepest part, the breadth but a line, and the total length two feet one and a half inches. The reading of the whole appears to be:—*ASKR HRADD HESIELKIL HIMTHIKÆ* (see illustration on opposite page). The Runes are of the later order, and in old Norse and purely Scandinavian.

The first word *askr*, asg or ash, a common enough Scando-Anglia man's name, and still retained in Askerton castle, a fortified farmhouse of some interest not above five or six miles off, represents, doubtless, the name of the writer or carver of the Runes. *Hradd* we take to be a local variation of *hrodd*—bold, quick; the interchanges of a and o, we are told, being very common, as in hand, hond, land,

HAZEL-GILL CRAG
RUNIC INSCRIPTION

A S K . R H R A D D H E S I L E K I L H I M T H I K Æ

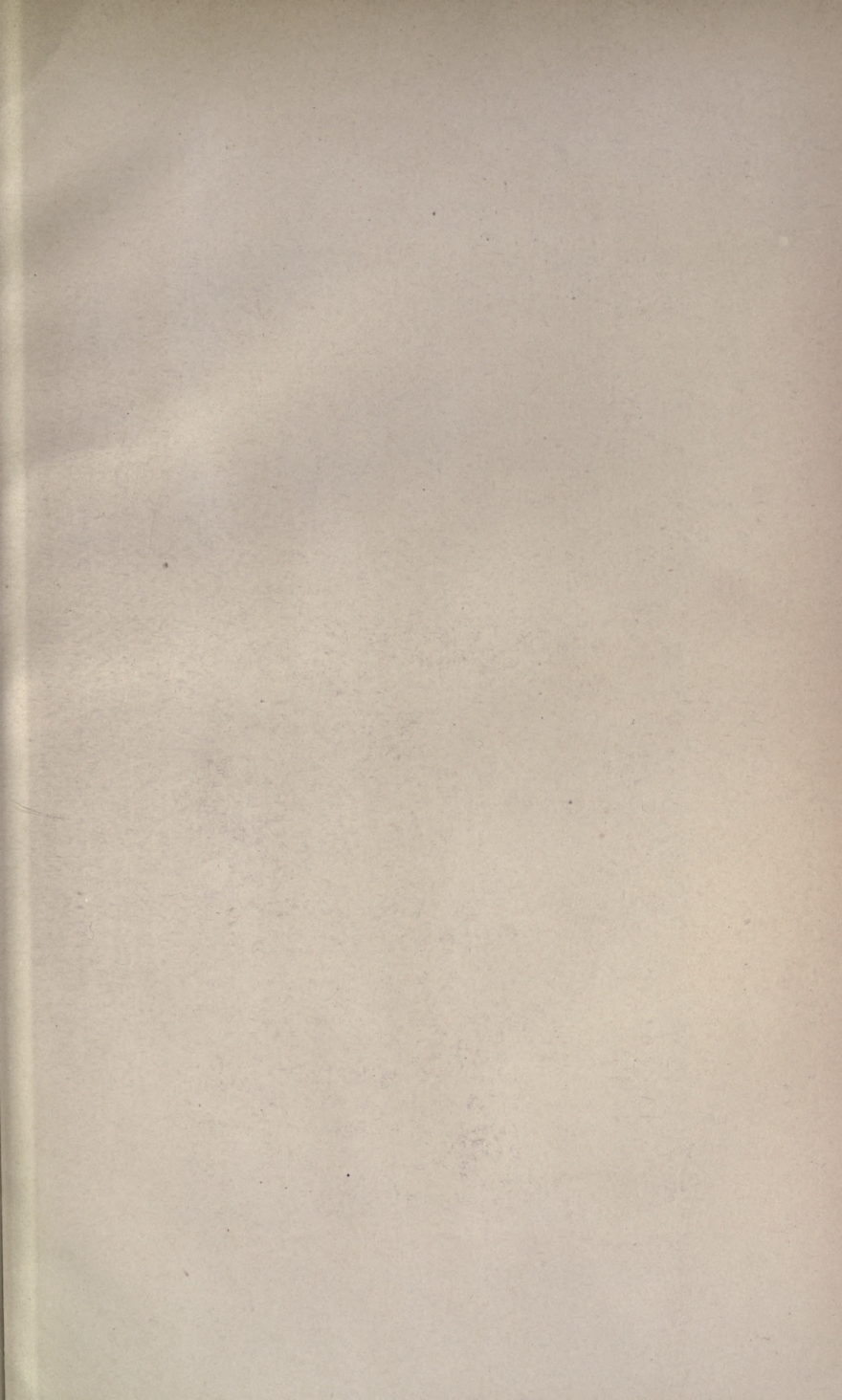
lond, etc. In the next word we have, curiously enough, the very name by which the rocks are known to this day, *Hesiellkil*—Hazel-Gill. In Dr. Charlton's notes on Baranspike, he remarks upon the singularity of that crag bearing the name of the writer, 'Baranr.' The last word, HIMTHIKÆ, we think, must be a form of heimthigi, a house carl, lodger, home taker, as given in Cleasby's *Great Icelandic-English Lexicon*, page 252. Thus we have the whole reading: Asker, the bold, at Hazel-Gill to his house carl. Professor Stephens suggests as a probable date the period between 950 and 1000 A.D. This makes the inscription younger, by some three or four hundred years, than the beautiful monument in St. Cuthbert's churchyard in Bewcastle, but slightly older than its neighbour Baranspike.

We can offer no conjecture as to the reasons which influenced the carver to execute his work in such a spot, remote from human habitation. There this simple record of a man's work remains, after numerous centuries, defying sunshine and snowstorm, another small monument to remind us of the past history and inhabitants of the country around.

Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, have left traces behind them, less perishable than themselves, in the neighbourhood, of their works and the times in which they lived. We trust that it may be our luck in time to come to find other inscriptions, if such exist as yet undiscovered, and to submit them to the members of this society.

NOTE.

Since the reading of the above paper it has been brought to our notice that an article on the Hazel-Gill inscription appears in vol. i. *Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions* (p. 318), written by the Rev. John Maughan, then (1873) rector of Bewcastle.





THE CHURCH OF WITTON-LE-WEAR, FROM THE S. W.

(from a photograph by Mr A. L. Steavenson, of Holywell Hall, Durham).

IV.—WITTON-LE-WEAR CHURCH.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON, vicar.

[Read at Witton on the 27th August, 1894.]

IN visiting a strange place, one of the first points, from an archaeological point of view, if not indeed the very first, is to enquire into the meaning and derivation of its name; the etymology of which, though oftentimes seemingly obvious enough, will nevertheless be found, on enquiry, to be something wholly different. Such is the case, not only here at Witton, but as regards the mother church and parish of Auckland; and, to take but one other instance from the county of Durham, that which the railway people, whose schoolmaster would seem to have been very much abroad, have within quite recent years converted into the lofty and romantically sounding 'Eaglescliffe.' Till then, it was known as Eggescliffe, a name which might, by some, perhaps, be thought to have reference to the church or *ecclesia* which dominates the height, but which an appeal to history—in this case, *pace* the late Cardinal Manning, neither 'heresy nor treason'—shows to have as little connection with a church as with eagles, but to have been really and originally Eggesclive—the cliff, that is, belonging to, and occupied by, Egge or Eggi.

Again, with respect to Auckland. Nothing could seem plainer, perhaps, superficially, than that the word meant Oakland. Yet, though the real meaning still remains altogether doubtful and obscure, it certainly does not mean *that*. Both syllables, though of comparatively ancient introduction, are, notwithstanding, distinct corruptions. In 1085, the name was written Alcleat; in 1129, Aclet; soon after 1200, Aclent; and not till 1259, Aucland.

And then as to Witton. What could seem simpler, or more self-evident than that it meant, as various ancient whitened cottages still remain to testify, the White-ton, or village? A practical objection to such a derivation might, no doubt, lie in the fact that, as all ancient villages were more or less whitened, there was no reason why this one should be distinguished from the rest by such a special

appellation. But a sufficient answer might be found in the fact of its peculiar position which, unlike that of most others of its class, was not on the ordinary level of the countryside, where, embowered among trees, it would speedily become inconspicuous; but perched at mid-height on the slope of a broad and deep valley, where, backed above, beneath, and on every side, by hanging woods and fields, it lay a bright white patch, visible in almost all directions, for miles around. Yet, for all that, the answer would be quite wrong; for though 'ton,' of course, means town or habitation, 'Wit' does not mean white but wood; Symeon, who first mentions the place, describing it as 'Wudutun,' the ton, not merely situated in, but probably also built of, wood.

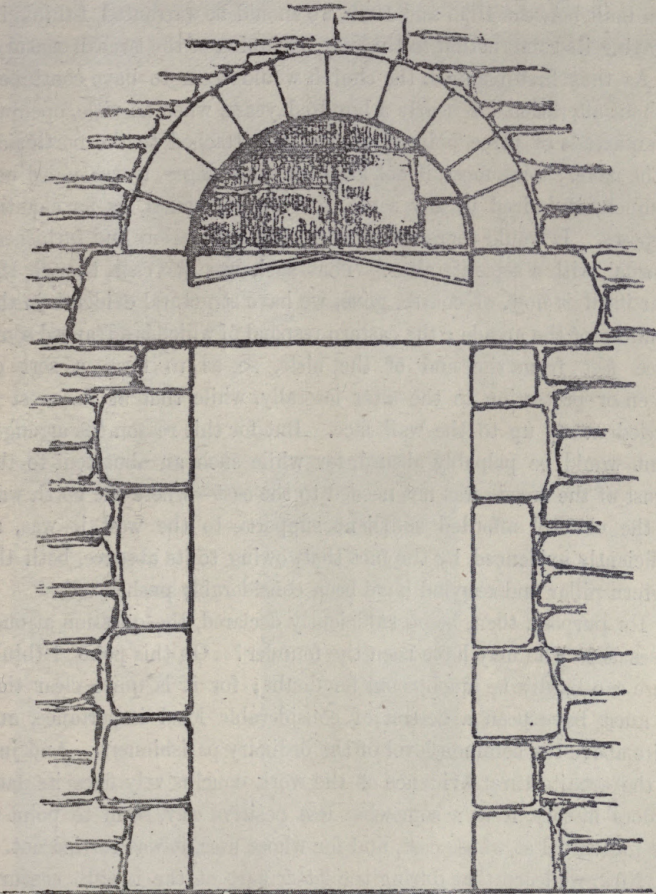
In an inquisition taken in the 24th of Bishop Hatfield (1368-9), we find the name assuming the intermediate form of Wotton. When, where, or by whom its present designation was bestowed, I cannot say; but in the first year of Elizabeth (1558), when the Church Register commences, it is styled 'Wytton upon Wyere,' and the same suffix continued certainly to as late a date as 1735, when Thomas Lamb, the then curate, notifies that he came to reside at Witton upon Wear on the ninth day of June in that year.

In 1787, however, as another memorandum, referring to the rebuilding of the Grammar school at Auckland, shows, the name would seem to have settled down into its present form of Witton-le-Wear.

Of the primitive Saxon church, or its adjuncts, we have at present no visible remains whatever. The existing building, which immediately succeeded it, and which is under the somewhat unusual invocation of S. Philip and S. James, is one of the humblest class. It has, on that account, unfortunately, received but the scantiest notice from Hutchinson, who speaks of it merely as 'a neat edifice, prebendal to Auckland college.' The omission of further particulars is the more regrettable, seeing that nearly all such ancient features as remained up to his time (1794) have, in the interim, been radically destroyed.

Very small and plain, even to baldness, and consisting, in the first instance, simply of an aisleless nave and chancel, it must, I think, have been among the very earliest buildings of its class erected after the Conquest. Indeed, so far as existing evidence serves to show, it

might, perhaps, lay claim to be the very earliest, for though but a single distinct and original feature, the south doorway, is now left, it carries us further back, apparently, than the like remains at either



J.F.H. mens. et del.

SOUTH DOORWAY OF WITTON-LE-WEAR CHURCH.

Croxdale, Haughton, Heighington, or S. Giles's, Durham, the last of which we know to have been finished in 1112. In all these cases, save that of Croxdale, which, though of the same type, is later and

more ornate, the jambs are provided with nook shafts, while here, where there is but a single severely simple order, there is none. From its close agreement, amounting to practical identity of design with those in the transepts of the cathedral, and which are recorded to have been built between 1095 and 1099, we should be warranted, I think, in referring its construction to the very beginning of the twelfth century.

As thus first planned, the church would seem to have continued without alteration for nearly a hundred years, when an aisle, opening by an arcade of three pointed arches, was attached to the north side of the nave. Like most, if not all, such appendages, it was added not so much, if indeed in any sense, for congregational, as for chantry purposes. It would therefore be of private foundation, and furnished, as usual, with a separate altar. That such was the case, though the altar itself is now, of course, gone, we have structural evidence in the planning of the arcade; the eastern respond of which is advanced some three feet from the end of the aisle, so as to form a sort of screen or protection to the altar laterally, while that at the west is carried nearly up to the wall face. But for this reason the arrangement would be palpably absurd, for while such an abutment to the thrust of the arcade was not needed to the east—where the north wall of the chancel afforded sufficient support—to the west it was, as sufficiently evidenced by the fact that, owing to its absence, both the western pillar and respond have been considerably pushed out.

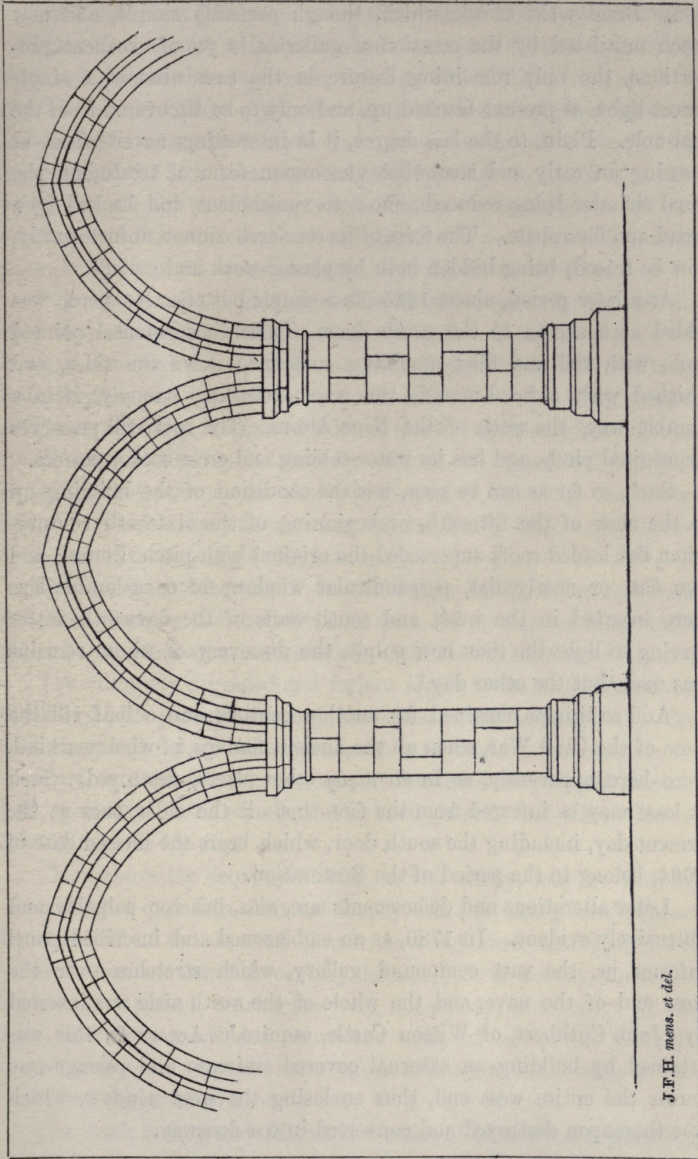
Its purpose, then, being sufficiently declared, the question at once arises as to who may have been the founder? On this point, I think, there can hardly be much room for doubt; for it is quite clear that he must have been a person of considerable local importance, and quite above the common level of the ordinary parishioners. And just as the architectural evidence of the work conclusively fixes its date, so does history, if in a somewhat less positive way, seem to point to the individual at whose cost, and for whose uses, it was carried out.

Now, we learn that during the latter part of the twelfth century, king Henry II. sold to Henry de Pudsey or Puteaco, the then royal manor of Witton, for the sum of 2,000 marks, the price of which was paid by his father, the bishop. To him, therefore, as lord of the place at the time (*circa* 1195-1200), and in absence of other competitors of at all comparable likelihood, we may, I think, fairly assign its founda-



SOUTH DOOR OF CROXDALÉ CHURCH

(from a photograph by M^r A. L. Steavenson).



J.F.H. mens. et del.

THE NAVE ARCADE OF WITTON-LE-WEAR CHURCH.

tion. Besides the arcade which, though perfectly simple, and now much mutilated by the erection of galleries, is yet of excellent proportions, the only remaining feature is the east window, a single lancet light, at present blocked up, and only to be discovered from the coal-hole. Plain, to the last degree, it is interesting, nevertheless, as showing an early and somewhat uncommon form of treatment, the usual chamfer being reduced almost to vanishment, and backed by a broad and flat rebate. The form of its rear-arch cannot, unfortunately, now be traced, being hidden both by plaster-work and gallery.

At a later period, about 1245-50, a simple but effective porch was added as a shelter to the south door. It has a segmental pointed arch, with roll and fillet moulding continued down the sides, and finished with a hood-mould, the whole recalling strongly, if in a humble way, the work of the Nine Altars. The roof still preserves its original pitch, and has its water-tabling and cross socket perfect.

Such, so far as can be seen, was the condition of the building up to the close of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century, when flat leaded roofs superseded the original high-pitched ones ; and two flat, or nearly flat, perpendicular windows of considerable size were inserted in the west, and south walls of the nave—the latter serving to light the then new pulpit, the discovery of whose remains was made but the other day.¹

And so things remained for another century and a half, till the time of the Civil War, when all the ancient fittings, of whatever kind, were here, apparently, as in so many other places, destroyed. Such at least may be inferred from the fact that all the older ones at the present day, including the south door, which bears the incised date of 1664, belong to the period of the Restoration.

Later alterations and defacements are, alas, but too palpably and obtrusively evident. In 1780, as an emblazoned and inscribed panel informs us, the vast compound gallery, which stretches over the west end of the nave, and the whole of the north aisle was inserted by 'John Cuthbert, of Witton Castle, esquire.' Access to this was attained by building an external covered staircase and passage-way across the entire west end, thus enclosing the west window, which was thereupon destroyed and converted into a doorway.

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. 203.

At a still later date, and during the present century, the original Norman chancel arch with its responds was pulled down and utterly destroyed by the then lay rector, the late Sir William Chaytor, M.P. for Durham, to allow space for the construction of two enormous pews, which so encroach upon the surface as to reduce the rightful approach to the altar to a mere exiguous passage-way. At the same time, the old oak roof being taken off, was replaced by one of deal, masked by a flat, white-washed ceiling, similar to others which either then, or thereabouts, were continued over the nave and aisle.

The lowest depths of degradation in the long-suffering and disfigured fane were, however, not yet sounded. About 1850 a hideous window of village-mason origin, and filled, if possible, with still more hideous glass, was inserted to the south-east of the chancel in memory of Thomas Hendry Hopper of Witton castle, esquire; while another, in all respects similar, but happily without the glass, took the place of the fifteenth century one similarly situated in the nave; two others, less objectionable, only because less in size, being broken out further west, one of them to light the gallery.

Finally, the north wall of the nave aisle having fallen into ruin, has been reset in the meanest and most brutal manner conceivable, and without the least pretence to any architectural character whatever.

The miserably degraded and forlorn aspect of the much maltreated building at the present time may, therefore, readily be imagined. Yet, even now, it is not without some features of more or less interest.

First, in point of antiquity, may be instanced the rude old Norman font, perfectly plain, circular, and churn-shaped, and which batters greatly towards the top.

Then, above the doorway leading to the vestry, may be seen the remains of a quondam funeral trophy, the projecting iron support for the staff of an armorial banner, now vanished, and which still carries a real seventeenth century helmet (not a wooden dummy as sometimes happens), bearing the crest, apparently, of a lamb. It was once, doubtless, suspended above the tomb of one of the D'Arcys, then, and for many years both before and afterwards, lords of the castle and manor of Witton.

The much cut up and dislocated remains of some wooden panelling of the same, or perhaps somewhat earlier period, and which there can

be little doubt originally formed part of the seats or pews of the same family, may also be observed worked up in two others of more recent date. The designs of the upper horizontal members or friezes—for there are parts of two distinct patterns—are effective enough; that of the richer one, composed of heraldic fleur-de-lys and oak leaves, especially so. As to the rest of the seating, part of which may possibly be of seventeenth century date, the singular fact may be noted that instead of being level, as usual, it rises very perceptibly from south to north, the result of the church being built on the hill side, and its floor-line following the surface of the ground.

But little else remains, I think, worth mentioning. In the midst of the chancel floor, however, may be found beneath the matting an ancient altar slab of Frosterley marble, retaining remains of its five crosses. Its dimensions are very small, only four feet three inches in length, by two feet seven and a half inches in width;² it may, perhaps, have been taken from the chantry. Immediately west of it lies also another slab of the same material, which, though no crosses are now discernible on it, seems pretty certainly to have been devoted to the same uses. It is of very similar size, though somewhat longer, measuring four feet eight and a half inches in length, by two feet six inches in width. One of its corners has, however, unfortunately been largely broken off.

Southwards of, and immediately adjoining, the first of these two slabs, is a large blue Tees marble stone, with the Latin inscription:—

Sub hoc Marmore
depositæ sunt Exuviæ
JOHANNIS HODSHON
hujus Villæ Armiger. Ob:
5^o Die Maij. An^o Salutis
nostræ 1731: Annoq:
Ætat. suæ 62.

Also

*Here lies his dear Wife Mary
Hodgson who departed this Life April
the 18th 1760 aged 81.*

² Though of unusually small dimensions, these two altar slabs are yet considerably larger than some discovered during the restoration of S. David's cathedral, about 20 years ago. One of these is remarkably small, only 14½ inches by 9 inches. It is marked by the usual five crosses, and had been let into a larger slab of a different kind of stone. But even of this, the length is only 2 feet 10½ inches: the width is 2 feet 3 inches, but a slip 2½ inches wide has been cut away. Another, of precisely the same dimensions as this larger slab, was also discovered at the same time. Both are now carefully preserved at the back of the high altar.

It is cracked in two, and would seem, from its moulded edges, levelled up to the line of the floor with cement, to have once probably formed part of an altar tomb ; at any rate, to have been certainly filched from somewhere else.

Another Tees marble slab of large dimensions, measuring nearly eight feet long by four wide, occurs also in the passage-way of the nave eastwards : it bears neither matrix nor inscription.

Of later date, but far greater interest than these, however, are two mural monuments in the chancel which should not be passed by. They are those of two former incumbents of the place—men highly esteemed and famous in their day, and whose lives have conferred on it whatever of local fame it may formerly have possessed. Both are good and modest examples of their respective styles, and occupy central, and nearly opposite positions. That towards the south, which is of white marble, shows a tall classic urn with cloth thrown over it, and standing on a broad gradated base displaying beams of light. Before it, and in reference to his dual calling of pastor and pedagogue, appear the shepherd's crook and cane, or stick, in saltire ; while in front of them are thrown a scroll and open book. On the scroll is inscribed :—

*Sumat ante omnia Parentis
erga Discipulos suos animum,
ac succedere se in eorum locum,
à quibus sibi liberi traduntur,
existimet. Ipse nec habeat vitia,
nec ferat. Non austeritas ejus
tristis, non dissoluta sit comitas :
ne inde odium, hinc contemptus
oriatur. Plurimus ei de honesto
ac bono sit sermo. Nam quo sæpius
monuerit, hoc rarius castigabit.
Minime iracundus, nec, tamen
eorum, quæ emendanda erunt
dissimulator : Simplex in docendo,
patiens laboris, assiduus potius
quam immodicus.*

—Quintilian, lib. ii. Ca. . . .

On the two leaves of the book :—

—“ a good Minister of Jesus
Christ, nourished up in the Words
of Faith and of good Doctrine—

an Example of the Believers, in
Word, in Conversation, in Charity,
in Spirit, in Faith, in Purity.”

Below, on a square tablet :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
 THE REVEREND JOHN FARRER
 MINISTER OF THIS PARISH
 AND MASTER OF THE SCHOOL OF THIS VILLAGE.
 HAVING FAITHFULLY DISCHARGED THESE IMPORTANT DUTIES
 FOR XXXIII. YEARS
 HE RESIGNED HIS SCHOOL A.D. MDCCXCIV.
 ON BEING APPOINTED TO THE RECTORY OF SUNDERLAND NEAR THE SEA
 FROM WHICH HE REMOVED IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR
 TO THE VICARAGE OF STANWIX NEAR CARLISLE :
 WHERE FIRM IN FAITH AND FULL OF HOPE
 HE CLOSED A PIOUS AND BENEFICENT LIFE
 NOV. XXIII. A.D. MDCCCVIII., AGED LXXIII. YEARS.
 ON THIS HALLOWED GROUND
 DISTINGUISHED BY HIS ACTIVE SERVICES
 IN ILLUSTRATING AND IMPRESSING THE SOLEMN TRUTHS OF THE GOSPEL
 HIS PUPILS HAVE RAISED THIS MONUMENT
 AS A TESTIMONY OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION
 FOR HIS TRULY PARENTAL CARE AND DILIGENCE
 IN TEACHING THEM THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERAL AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE
 AND IN TRAINING THEM UP IN THE PATHS OF RELIGION AND VIRTUE.

J. BACON, JUN^R., LONDON.

The northern monument, of fine grained stone, consists of a well designed crocketed and pinnaced niche, on the field of which is cut in black letter :—

The Revd George Hewby
 Master of Witton School
 xxviii. Years.
 Died May viiith A.D. mdcccxvi.

✠ That his Memory might not
 pass away with the Generation of
 those who had learned of him and loved
 him, a Scholarship has been founded in
 the University of Durham and this
 Tablet erected by some of his Friends
 and Pupils. ✠

Within the altar rails there lies, moreover, a blue Tees marble slab
 on which, beneath a sunk coat of arms, appears the following :—

In this Vault lie the Remains
 of J. T. H. HOPPER, Esq^r,
 of WITTON CASTLE,
 Who died the 30th of October, 1812.
 Aged 40.

Several small square stones, it may be added, having mere initials rudely hacked with a pick, appear too in the pavement towards the west end. A reference to the register shows them to be those of quite common people of the humblest sort who, during the last, and more especially the previous century, were, for no apparent reason whatever, buried '*in templo*.'

In this same register, which commences in the first year of Elizabeth, 1558, may also be found many entries relating to the families of Eure and Darcy, former lords of the castle and manor, as well as others to those of Lumley, Coniers, Hutton, and Garth.

The altar plate³ is wholly uninteresting and modern, as is also the bell.

Externally, attention may be pointed to the ancient bell-cot which, notwithstanding the destruction of the original roofs in the fifteenth century, was allowed to retain its place on the but slightly lowered gable. This singular arrangement has led many, viewing the church from a distance, and unacquainted with the fact, to imagine that it had no roof at all. It is worth noticing too—for the fact is, I think, absolutely without parallel among our Durham churches—that this bell-cot is still surmounted by its original small cross.

One other, and, so far as I remember, unique feature about this small and humble sanctuary is, that it possesses still *in situ*, and fixed upon its square massive base, the lower part of the shaft of its cemetery cross. It stands at about five yards distance from the walls, and just in a line with the chancel arch.

Finally, ere we take our leave, the well-nigh vanished sentence of a dial above the priest's door, reminds us of the melancholy truth that—'*Ut hora sic vita*.'

Looking back, instinctively, for a last parting view, we can scarce fail to note how, amid all the neglect, decay, and disfigurement that have befallen it, the situation of this old church—lying centrally on the steep hill side above the village, and enthroned amidst noble trees—is perfect; dominating both it and the conventicles at its feet supremely, and proclaiming itself unmistakably as the *ecclesia*, both of the place and parish.

³ The communion cup, which was stolen in 1832, was of Elizabethan date. The other communion plate, is described in the *Proceedings* of the Society, vol. iii. p. 444. See also vol. v. p. 195, and vol. vi. p. 230.

THE REGISTERS.

The title page of the oldest volume, which consists of 97 parchment leaves $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in., bears this inscription :—UUYTTON UPON | UUYERE THE REGIS | TER BOOKE FOR THE | CHURCHE | *folia hoc infunt octoginta Libro* ^a . 1558.

On the third page the register proper begins with this introduction :—

This booke of Christnings, weddings, and burialls, Made the xxiiij dale of June, 1558. In the firfte yeare of The Reigne of our most gracious Sou'igne Lady Elyzabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith Supreme heade aswell Ecclesiasticall as temporall. Raphe Pickell & Edwarde Tefdell, churchwardens Robert Melmarby preist.⁴

The following are records of former owners of Witton castle, Eures, Conyers, and Darcys :—

- 1561 May 25. M^garett Euere, baptized.
- 1562 Mai 7. Charles Euere, bapt.
- 1562[3] March 18. Charles Euere, buried.
- 1563 June 4. frauncis Euere, baptized.
- 1565[6] Jenuar 21. Willm Euere, bapt.
- 1568 M^{ch} 13. Martha Euere, bapt.
- 1586 Feb^r 21. Raphe Eure, Esq., buried.

- 1567 October 18. George Conyers miles, buried.
- 1575[6] March 18. George Conyers, sonne of M^r. John Conyers, bapt.
- 1611[2] ffebruar 9. Robert Harrington and Mary Conyers, married.
- 1613 Deceber 16. Willm Conyers, sonn of S^r George Conyers, knight, baptized.
- 1614 Aprill 18. Jhon Conyers, sonn of S^r George Conyers, knight, buried.

- 1637[8] Januar 21. Thomas, sonne of Willm Darcy, Esquier, bapt.
- 1638[9] Ja. 20. John, son of Willm Darcy, Esquier, bap.
- 1642 May 22. Mary, Daughter of S^r Willm Darcy, knight, baptized.
- 1645 July 15. Edward, sonne of S^r William Darcy, Kn^t, baptized.
- 1646 May 1. Edward, sonne of S^r Willm Darcy, buried.
- 1651 Maij 1^o. Arthur, sonne of S^r Willm Darcy, k^t, Bapt.
Sept. 2. Dorothy, daughter of S^r Willm Darcy, Kn^t, buried.
- 1653 March 29. Metcaff Robinson, Esq^r., and Margaret Darcy, Married.

In the following miscellaneous extracts from the Registers the year beginning on the 1st January, according to our mode of reckoning, is given, while in the book itself it begins on the 25th March; and

⁴ Robert Melmarby, curate of Witten, 1558.

therefore, for instance, '1588 Jenuar 11' below appears in the book under 1587.⁵ For four years to 1561 there were no weddings.

- 1562 April 20. John Popelie, buried.
 1563 Julij 29. Willm Lomlay, buried.
 Octob 21. Elizabeth blackett, bapt.
 1565 August 3. George Blackett, bapt.
 1567 April 10. John Huton, buried.
 1577 May 5. John Claiton and Jane ffrysell, married.
 May 26. Willm Emerson, fili' illic' John Emerson, bapt.
 August 17. Robert Wilkinson Clarke and Margaret Danyell, married.
 1585 Sept. 21. Oswoulde Thomson and Isabell Staindroppe, married.
 1588 Jenuar 11. A poore olde man named ffoster borne at hadden bridge, buried.
 1590 March 29. Isabell Hedworth, daugh. of M^rmaduke hedwoth, buried.
 August 10. John Barnes, a poore servant traviler, buried.
 Sept. 7. A poore Woman, a straunge^r, named herself M^rgarett Ewbanck, burd.
 1592 May 27. John Raunthat, a poore traveler, buried.
 1593 Novemb 26. Nicholas Heron and Adylyne Huton, married.
 1594 August 11. Elizabeth Brabande, wife of Henry Brabande, buried.
 1597 April 23. A poore man travelinge for his releife & dyed in the streat, buried.
 1600 August 13. Willm Shaftay, sonne of Percevell Shaftay, baptized.
 August 15. Willm Shaftay, sonn to Percevell Shaftay, buried.
 1602 februar 9. Henry Rames and Elizabeth Huton, maryed.
 December 21. Willm Hearon and Katheren Shaftay, maryed.
 1603 Deceber 4. Raphe Huton, sonn of Willm Huton, bapt.

In 1604, 'Rob. Wylkynson, curat, Cuthbert Vasey, Willm Tailer, churchwardens,' sign the book.

- 1605 Noueb. 19. George Dowens and Isabell Lampton, maryed.
 1606 March 10. Margaret Wilkinson, wife of Robert Wilkinson, buried.
 December 7. Lampton Dowens, sonn of George Dowens, baptized.
 1607 Noueb. 15. John Huton, sonn of Willm Huton, baptized.
 1610 April 29. John Ile, sonn of Xpofer Ile, from hunwicke, baptized.
 It appeareth by an acquittance signed by henry bailes of Byshopp Auckland, that he had received the 24 day of June Ano Regni Jacobi Regis 4. &c. of hugh hodgson of maknele the sume of iij^{li}. viij^s. xi^d. granted in benevolence by thinhabitants of the chappelrie of witton vpon weere towarde ye erectio' of a free gramar Schole in byshopp aucklande aforesaid.—Testes : Rob. Wylkynson, clar., Robert ffawdon,
 1611 Jenuar 6. Henry Huton, sonn of Willm Huton, baptized.
 Dec. 8. Will^m Barnes, sonn of Thomas Barnes, bapt.
 1612 Nouemb 25. Thomas Bridges, msus in iter, buried.

⁵ Many of the names of Carlisle, Hodgson, Wien, Tailor, Dobinson, Hutchinson, Crawe, Dixon, Diconson, Pattenson, Barnes, Mawer, Grene.

- 1614 Januar 2. Lancelote Bucke, buried.
 februarie 27. John Garth, sonn of John Garth, baptized.⁶
 Julij 10. Daud Watson and fridema Thomson, married.
 August 28. Ma'garett Huton, daughter of Willm Huton, baptized.
- 1615 Februar. 6. Petrivall Harrington, daughter of Rob't Harrington, bapt.
 Noueber 26. Robert Jackson, Maister of arts, sonn of Henry Jackson,
 buried.
- 1617 April 5. William Bucke, buried.
 June 15. Bryan Downes, buried.
- 1618 October 25. Agnes Huton, daughter of Willm Hutton, baptized.
- 1619 April 24. Thomas Boothe, buryd.
 Maij 7. Katheren illic' filia vt mater ait Thomæ Hutchinson, bapt.
 Maij 15. Was M^r Robart Wilkinson, Curate De Witton, buried.
 Octob. 17. Thomas Parkinson, sonn of Lawranc Parkinson, bapt.
 October 24. Isabell Downes, wife of George Downes, buried.
- 1620 March 26. Robert Carre, a poore man lueinge by almes buried.
 June 12. Was Georg Browne, base sonn of John Browne, baptized.⁷
 Decemb^r j. Was francis Greene buried, qui seipsum susp :
- 1621 Janu. 9. Was Elizabethe Downes, wedowe, late Wyfe to Bryiame
 Downes, gent. nonogenaria, buried.

In 1621, 'Ra. Greene, curate,⁸ Thomas Roase, George Rippon,
 churchwardens,' sign the book.

- 1621 Nove'br 25. Was Johne Wentlocke, a cutter of Wood for Charcoal,
 buried.
 Decemb^r. 23. Was Willyam Chapman, son of Thomas Chapman,
 baptized.
 Decemb. 23. Was Anthonye Chapman, his Twynn brother, baptized.
- 1622 March 28. Was Raphe Taler Beadman, buried.
- 1623 Mch. 21. A man found dead in the river was buried.
 July 3. Leonard Tod, the com'on Smyth, was buried.
 Aug. 24. A poore youth found deed, buried.
 14 or 15 Apr. Was a manchilde of Willm Childes borne, not yet
 baptized.
 Octo. 2. W^m. Hutton, gen'., was interred nocte p. papistas.

In 1623, 'Robt. Thomson, curate;⁹ John Grindall, Antho. Barnes,
 churchwardens,' sign the book.

- 1624 March 19. Grace, wife of Anthony Riddin, sepulta sine sacerdote
 nocte.

In 1625, 'Robt. Thomson, curat ; Ra. Green, Wm. Dikkeson,
 churchwardens,' occur.

⁶ A large number of instances in which a child baptised one day is buried the next.

⁷ A new form. Not a page almost without two or more baptisms of illegitimate children, and so continued. The page immediately preceding this contains two such.

⁸ Curate 1620-22.

⁹ Curate 1622-39.

- 1626 Ja. 15. An Hutton, spinster, interred nocte.
 Janu. 30. Georg Marshall, found dead, was buried.
 febr. 17. Christopher Wilburne, interred die.
- 1626 March 22. Thomas, son of Thomas Wren, bap. spurius (aspuendo).¹¹
 June 4. A child of John Nicholsons baptized.
 4. An other the same day baptized, both by Mi. of Sandropp.
 Noue'br 2. Jane Jackson, an old wife, buried.
 Dece. 19. W^m. Byerley, a papist, interred paup'.
- 1627 March 18. Hen. Jacksons wife laboured child not xtened.
 July 8. John Carlile, an old man, buried.
 No. 6. Willm., son of Robt. Wilson, buryed and crowned, being
 drown'd.
 No. 20. Elizabeth Natrice, a poore widowe, buried.
- 1628 Ja. 10. Thomas Rest buryd, who fell into a pitt and so dyed.
 April 27. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Sickerwham, bap. illegit.¹¹
 July 13. Wm., son of Tho. Byarley, bap., for who Wm. Dobbison is
 bound by word not to charg y^e pish.
 18. Peter Hodson buried, killed with his own knife.
- 1630 May 9th. Thomas, son of Mary Basset, baptized vidua nup'
 relicta.
 Mary Bassetts son, called Thomas, bap ide' p'dca.
 Nou. 16. Wm. Wascoe, buried in cymiterio.
- 1631¹⁰ febr. 20. William Chyld, buried in templo.
 21. Dorrothie Law, buried in templo.
 Octobr 19. Tho. Diconson, buried by M^r. Kidd.
- 1632 febr. 22. ffrauncs, a woman child, nursed at the fforge, buried.¹¹
- 1632 8ber 28. Gaskoyne, son of George Downes, baptized.
- 1633 April 8. Thomas, sonne of Joseph Cradocke, Clerke, bap.,; natus 3^o
 die circiter horam primam ante meridiem.
 Dece. 16. Dame Maddison, a poore widow, buried.
- 1634 March 24. Robert ffawdon, parish clerke, buried.
 July 10. William Dixon, a poore old man, bur.
 Septeber 22. William, son of Christopher Heron (by bond), baptized
 wife.
 No. 8. Margery Crathorne, exco'. an old gent interred.
- 1635 febr. 14. An daughter of Joseph Cradocke, Clerke, baptized.
 febr. 21. old widow Jackeson, buryd, fees (this time buried in the
 church).
 March 27. Richard Benson, an old man (drowned then) buried.
 28. ffrances Draycot, excom a poore man interred.
 May 3. An daughter of John Lumley, baptized.
 June 6. ffrances Jackeson, buried in templo.
 July 25. Tobie Jackeson, a yong man, buried in templo.

¹⁰ In 1631 several baptisms entered without the name of the child—'a child of,' 'a daughter of.'

¹¹ Different forms of this class of entry.

- 1636 May 21. Mr. Gerard Bankes, buried in y^e church.
 March 15. John, son of Henrie ffornice, bur. sine f.
- 1637 May 17. Elizabeth Dixon, paup., buried (the number of paupers is now very remarkable).
 June 11. Georg Tayler, parish clarke, buried.
 July 30. Mr. Robt. Browne, a schoolm^r, buried.
 Aug. 17. Thomas Rippon, buried intestate.
 Jan. 22. Margret, daughter of John Miller, buried sine (the three following entries have the same ending).
- 1638 7 ber 16. Arther, sonne of Edward Dalbie, gent^r, (baptized).
- 1639¹² July 5. 2 men children of Richard Vaisies, unbapt., buried.
 8ber 23. Willam Acroid of the Toft hill, alias Haughton house, within the parish of St. Hellen Aucland, being a convicted recusant was interred in the Churchyard of Witton vpon the Weare.
- 1640 Ja. 26. Tho. Talbot, a poore man, bur.
 June 7. John Cuming and Margaret Barnes, married.
 Decem. 5. William Blacket, a poore Prentice, buried.
- 1642 Julij 15. An, daughter of Anthony Coming, buryd.
 Aug. 12. Edward, sonne of Robert Scogaine, minister,¹³ buried.
- 1643 August 6. Reanold, sonne of Anthony Coming, baptized.
- 1644 ffebru. i6. Elyzabeth, wife of Joseph Cradock, Clerke, bur.
 Dece'ber 31. Dyna, daughter of Robt. Scogaine Clarke, bapt.
- 1646 March 31. John Brabant & Jane Best, married.
- 1649 January 28. Gartrued, illigittimate daughter of Edward Jackson, baptized.¹¹
- 1649 Janu. 29. Margaret Buck, buryed.
- 1651 Nov. 23. George Brabant, buryed.
- 1652 June 8. George Buck and Elizabeth Booth, marryed.
 Augu. 23. John Jerome, gentleman, buried.
 Septe. 28. Richard Buck and Grace ffaudon, marryed.
- 1653 Janu. 6. Dorothy Hutton, widdow, buryed.
 June 5. Margaret, daughter of George Buck, bapt.
- About this time there are many baptisms from Hamsterley.
 Dece. 25. Willm., sonne of Metcaff Robinson, Esqr., bapt.
- 1654 Jenu. 12. M^{rs}. Ellin ffeilding, buryed.
 Octo. 29. Mary, daughter of Richard Buck, bapti.
 Dece. 30. Barbary, daughter of George Buck, bapti.
- 1656 June 8. Elizabeth, daughter of George Buck, bapti.

The name of 'Stephen Cocken' occurs here in large letters in the margin; probably that of the intruded minister.

Septr. 7. Ann, daughter of Richard Buck, bapt.

¹² In twelve consecutive burials in this year no fewer than five, and those quite common people, would seem to have been buried in the church, the letter 't' or 'te' being inserted at the end of each entry.

¹³ Curate 1641-44.

1659 March 2. Peregrina, daughter of Charles Wren, Gent.

The number of still-born children for several years past is very striking.

1659 March 27. Margaret, daughter of Richard Buck, bapti.

1660 Decem. i. Francis, a sonne of a poore traueelling woman, bapti.

1661 July 28. Lancelot, sonne of George Buck, baptized.

Decem. 24. Thomas, sonne of Quintine Gill, bapti.

1662 febru. 16. Bartholomew Bee, buried.

1663 Janu. 23. Lancelot, son of George Buck, buried.

Aprill 4. Blanch, a poore old woman, buried.

1664 Aprill i. Lidda Lard, buried.

In 1665, 'Stephen Windle, curat, John Carlisle, Ralph Goland, churchwardens,' sign the book.¹⁴

1666 Janu: 15. Francis, daughter of Stephen Windle, curate, bapti.

1667 Novem. 7. Henry Young, senior, gent., buried.

30. Quintine Gill and Jane Vauxe, married.

23. Robert, sonne of Francis Ourd, clerk, buried.

1668 Janua. 28. Frances, daughter of Francis Ourd, clerk, bapt.

In 1668, 'Francis Ourd, curate,¹⁵ Ralph Hodgson, John Miller, churchwardens,' sign the book.

1668 Octo. 30. Eppa Beat, buried.

1669 January 2. Francis. sonne of Francis Ourd, Clark, bapti.

25. John, sonne of John Garth, bapti.

1670 Janu. 17. Anthony, sonn of John Garth, bapti.

febru. 20. Henry, sonn of Mr. Tho. Brabant, bapti.

20. Henry, sonn of Mr. Tho. Brabant, buried.

July 19. Willm. Mostcroft & Dorothy Hutton, married.

1671 Janu. 14. Willm., sonne of John Garth, bapti.

Januarij 18. Henry Warde, gent., buried.

febru. 27. John, sonne of Francis Ourd, Clarke, bapti.

1673 febru. 28. A childe of a poore travelling man, bury.

March 25. Ann, daughter of John Garth, bapti.

Decem. 2. Michael, sonne of Francis Ourd, clark, bapti.

1674 March 17, Ellin, daughter of John Garth, bapti.

March 30. Merioll Garth, buried.

Aprill 3. Christopher Dixon, a poore man, buried.

June 16. Ann Simson, a poore woman, buried.

1675 febru. 21. Robt. Duckett (being killed in a pit crowned then), buried

Aprill 20. Katherine Renoldson, a young woman, buried.

May 9. Elizabeth Carlile, a young woman, buried.

Octo. 29. A child of a poore travelling womans, bury.

Noue. 3. Margaret, daughter of Toby Bowes, illigi, bapti.

¹⁴ Stephen Windle, curate 1644-1667.

¹⁵ Francis Orde was curate from 1667 to 1674.

In 1675, 'John Stackhouse, minister;¹⁶ Willm How, Christo. Addeson, churchwardens,' sign the book.

- 1676 Janu. 4. Barbary, daughter of Mr. Willm Witham, interred.
23. [blank] of John Garth, bapti.
- 1677 March 20. Anthony, son of John Garth, buried.
April 19. Thomas, son of John Stackhouse, minister, baptized.
24. George, son of John Garth, bapti.
- 1678 April 20. Thomas, son of John Stackhouse, minister, buried.
Julij 14. Anthony, son of John Garth, bapti.
- 1679 february 8. Thomas waskoe, a young man, bury.
March 3^d. Francis Tayler, gent., bury.
June 23. Ann, daughter of John Stackhouse, minister, bapti.
Octo. 14. Jane, daughter of Eure Markendell, bapti.
- 1680 March 21. Elizabeth, daughter of John Garth, bapti.
- 1681 Jany. Mary, wife of John Garth, buried.
- 1683 Sept. 14. A child of John Garths, buried.
- 1685 March 14. Ann, wife of Mr. Hugh Hutchinson, buried.
- 1686 March 16. Elizabeth, wife of John Garth, buried.
August 25. John, son of Mr. John Stachouse, curate, buried.
Nouemb. 2. Ann, wife of Mr. John Stachouse, buried.
- 1687 May 3i. John, y^e sonne of Katherine Patteson, sepult.
- 1689 March 23. Marie, y^e daughter of Mr. Christo Croft, sepult.
- 1689 Decber. y^e 1st. Anne Burleson, daughter of Ann Burleso', illegit., bap.¹⁷
y^e 29. Marie, daughter of Mr. John Stackhouse, cleric, bap.
- 1691 October 27. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Jo. Stackhonse, minister, bap.
Nove. y^e 7th. Mary Hutchinson, illegitimate, bap.¹⁸
- 1692 May y^e 17th. Anthony, sonne of John Garth, sepult.
- 1693 No^{br}. the 7. Joanna, daughter of Mr. John Stackhouse, clr., bap.
- 1694 March y^e 21th. Mr. William Witham, sepult.
June y^e 22^d. Thomas Gomlin, a stranger's child, sepult.
July the 23. Anne, daughter of Mr. John Markendale, bap.
September y^e 5th. Jane, the daughter of Mr. John Hodsho'.
- 1696 February y^e 4th. John, sonne of Mr. John Hodsho', bap.
Quyntine Gill, sepult.

Memorand^m. That on ffriday the 30th of Aprill, A^o Dni, 1697; The Hon^{ble}. Robert Boothe Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Durham, wth the Rev^d. Ham'ond Beaumont officiall visitted this Church p'sonally, & then admonished the Churchw^{ds}. to certify, the repair of y^e Chancell, & the Erecting Railes before the Comunion Table at the next Michaelmas Visitation.

CUTH. SMITH, Register.

¹⁶ John Stackhouse, minister, 1674-95. We commenced with 'priest,' and after that had 'curate' and 'clark,' now for the first time it is 'minister.'

¹⁷ This is the first time in which an illegitimate child is registered under the name of the mother. In all preceding cases—and they are legion—the father's name only is given.

¹⁸ Still another form of entry of illegitimate births, the name of neither parent being given.

- 1698 June 12th. Jo., so'ne of Jo. Davis, a vagabond beggar, sepult.
- 1701 febru. 17th. William Garth & Marie Moses, of Northbedbourn Township, nupt.
 July 30th. Grace Buck, of Witton, sepult.
- 1702 May 5th. Thomas Wright, of y^e South Church Parish, & Eliza Dickeson, of Northbedbourn, in this Parish, nupt.
- 1703 Sep. 16. A poore vagrant Scotchman, sepult.¹⁹
- 1702 Octobr. 13th. Elizabeth, daughter of William Garth, of Northbedbourn, bap.
- 1704 Aprill 23. Georg Gibson, of y^e Parish of Howton, cleric, & Jane Croft. of y^e Chappelrie of Witton upon Weare, nupt.
 June 8. Thomas Miller & Jane Chayter, of Northbedbourn Township, nupt.
 July y^e 6th. Elizabeth, daughter of Eliza Moorca, a stranger at Witton Razis, baptized.
- 1705 februarie y^e 12th. Marie, y^e daughter of William, son of William Garth, of Northbedbourn, vill bap.
- 1707 Jan^{ry} 22th. Edmond, sonne of James Watson, cleric, baptized.
 March 21th. William, sonne of William Garth, of North vill, bap.
- 1708 September 12th. Richard, sonne of a stranger, bap. eod. die.
- 1709 Oc^{br} 20th. Barbery, daughter of M^r. Lancelott Sissons, cleric' born 8^{'ber} y^e 19th about 2 a clock in y^e morning, bap.
- 1708 Aug. 13th. John, son of Lanc^t Sisson, cleric' sepult.
- 1714 November 14th. Mary, daughter of Mrs. Jane Gibson, of Witto, sepult.
- 1715 October 16. William Dobinso' of Witto, sepult in ecclesia.²⁰
- 1717 March y^e 5. Marie, daughter of Joⁿ Dobinso', of Witto Castle, baptized.
- 1717 Sep^{er} 22th. Mary, wife of William Garth, of Harpelie, sepult.
- 1717 March 24. Isabell, daughter of M^{rs}. Jane Gibso', sepult in ecclesia.
- 1720 July 26th. Anne Buck of Witton, spinster, sepult.
- 1721 John, sonne of William Garth, baptized y^e 27th of December.
- 1720 January y^e 1st. Thomas Forrester, drowned & buried y^e 9th of y^e same month.
- 1721 March 3ith. John, son of Johu Fewler of Wito vill, s^e.
 Sep^{br} 29th. Mary Buck of Witton, sepult.
- 1722 Ap^{ril} 12th. John Garth of low Widdefield, sepult.
- 1724 Arll. 7th Margaret, daughter of Will. Garth, Northbedburn, baptised.
- 1725 March the 12. Will. Garth of Harperlie, sepult' in eccles.
- 1726 August 4. William, son of M^r. Reed Hodshon of Witto' Hall, bap.
- 1728 Dec. 10. Hannah, daughter of Parsevels Rogers, of Witton Castle in Witto' vill, baptized.
- 1729 Catherine, y^e daughter of M^r. Henry Blackett of low Bitchbourne, born y^e 29th of March, 1729.

¹⁹ A large number of names entered as 'poor' at this time and a little previously, nine out of nineteen being so described on the single page from which this item is taken.

²⁰ All sorts of common people about this time buried 'in Ecclesia.'

1730 April 14. Debora, y^e daughter of Mr. Henry Blackett of low Bitchbourn, born.

May y^e 5th. Henry Bainbridge of Wolsingham and Elizabeth Garth of Witto' chapplerie, nup.

1731 May y^e 6. Mr. John Hodsho' of Witto' hall, sepult in ecclesia.

1732 Ap^rl 14. Mr. Thomas Hodsho' of Greenfield, sepult in ecclesia.

Memorandum That I, Thomas Lamb Clark, came to reside at Witton upon Wear the ninth day of June, Anno Dmⁱ, 1735.

1734 Nov^r. 5. Parc. Rogers of Witton Castle, sepult.

1736 November 15. Simon Taylor, kill'd by his mare of Blakely, buried.

1737 Feb. 13. Mary, daughter to John Hodgson, of Harperley, baptized.²¹

1738 March 5. Barbara, daughter to W^m. Greenwell of Harperley, baptized.

1739 July 27. Stephen Cockey Clark of Witton, buried.

1740 febr^y. 13. Phebe, daugh^{tr} of John Taylor Clark, baptisd.

1741 October 13. John, son of W^m. Greenwell of Harperley Hall [bapt].

In 1741, 'Steph. Teasdale, minister,²² Thos. Baker, Cuthb^t. Hodgson, churchwardens,' sign the book.

1742 feby. 18. Francis Wilkinson of Witton Castle, buried.

1744 July 8th. Will^m., S. of Ann Garthwaite, spurious, filiated upon Jno. Coats, baptized.

October 14. Ann, daughter of John Taylor Clark, baptized.

May y^e 15. Mr. Daltery of Staindrop, a superanuated Exciseman, buried.

Decemb^r. y^e 1st. Henry Blacket, an Anabaptist, buried.

Jan^{'ry} 14. Mr. Hunter, a Papist, buried.

1750 Nov^r. 15. Ann Garth [bur].

1753 May 27. Ralph Keeling, Esq^r., of Witton Castle [buried].

1757 May 7. Ann Brown of Bp. Auckland, an adult Quaker [bapt].

Nov. 11. Johnson, son of Mr. Greenwell, Witton Castle [bap].

1759 July 28th. Cookson, S. of Jno. Stevenson, schoolmaster [bap].

1760 September y^e 26. M^{rs}. Dobinson, wife of Mr. Jno. Dobinson²³ [bur].

Memdm., Feby. y^e 2^d., 1761.—That Mr. John Dobinson of Witton Castle gave me four shillings & eightpence acknowledgement for erecting a tombstone over his wife. As witness, Steph. Teasdale, curate.

1761 Isabella, D. of Mr. Nicholas Greenwell, [bap].²⁴

1762 Aug^t. 22^d. John Taylor Clark, [buried].

1763 Feby y^e 8th. John Pattison, y^e Sexton.²⁵

1764 April 27th. Thomas Brown, an adult Quaker, of Bp. Auckland, [baptised].

1765 May 12th. Elizabeth Hymers, an adult Anabaptist, [baptised].

'John Farrer, Minister,' occurs here.

²¹ There are many other entries of Hodgsons. ²² Minister, 1740-1765.

²³ There are entries of other Dobinsons. ²⁴ Other entries of Greenwell follow

²⁵ The first occurrence of this officer.

- 1766 Mar. 30th. Dorothy, daug^r of Jos. Scarth, an Anabap., [bapt].
 June 22^d. Ann, daug^r of Tho^s. Smith, an adult Anab., [bapt].
 1766 July 5th. Thomas Dickinson, } drowned together }
 7th. John Whitfield, } on June the 30th, } Witton, [bur].
 Augst 17th. George Thompson, an adult Anab., [bapt.]

In 1767 the names of both parents are, for the first time, entered in the baptismal registers.

- 1769 Mar. 30th. Tho^s. Watson & Alice Teasdale, adult Anabaptists, [bap].
 1770 Mar. 18. Henrietta Douglas, of Witton hall, [bur].
 1771 Apr. 29. John Hodgson, who laid violent hands on himself. The coroner's inquest brought it in an act of lunacy.
 1773 June 13th. Grace, illegitimate daug^r of Marg^t Graydon & Jos. Brownbridge, putative Father, [bap].
 Aug. 29th. Henry Broadley Douglas, son of Charles Joseph and Henrietta Douglas, Witton hall,¹¹ [bap].
 1774 Apr. 4th. Hildred Smurthwaite, widow, aged 94 [bur].
 1775 May 14th. William Smith, an adult Anabaptist, [bap].
 Dec^r 28th. George Proud & Mary Humble, [mar].
 1777 Feb^{ry} 1st. William, illegitimate son of Eliz. Forster & W^m. Brass, of Whorlton, [bap].
 1777 N.B.—Six persons in this year made 491 years. Their respective ages are, 81, 85, 70, 91, 83, and 81. Only eight persons were buried in this year.
 1779 May 18th. William Garth, of Low Widdifield, aged 72.
 1781 Sepb^r. 28th. Joseph, son of Marmaduke Cradock, Esq., of Harperley, [bap].
 1782 Nov^r. 20th. John Turnbull in his way to his Settlement [bur].
 1783 Mar 20th. William Weston, a poor boy belonging to the Poor House at Wolsingham, drown'd in the Wear [bur].
 1784 June 17th. Jane Blackett, an adult Anabaptist.
 Sepb^r. 1st. Matthew Law crush'd to death in a coal pit [bur].
 Dec^r. 18th. William Crosby, of Darlington P., who perished in the snow on Dec^r. the 7th, thro' the inclemency of the weather [bur].
 1785 Oct^r. 2^d. Harriett, daug^r of Marmaduke Cradock, Esq., of Harperley.
 1786 Jan^{ry} 23^d. M^{rs}. Sarah Cradock, of Harperley, aged 75 [bur].
 Feb^{ry} 20th. Mrs. Isabel Hodgson, formerly of Witton hall, aged 84 [buried].
 Apr. 12 David Wharton, of Bp. Aukland, drown'd in passing the river in a boat [bur].

Memorandum.—That the Grammar School in Witton-le-Wear was rebuilt from the very Foundation in the Year of our Lord 1787. John Cuthbert, Esq^{re}. of Witton Castle having by one or more Codicils left an hundred Pounds in Trust to the Rev^d. John Farrer, Minister and Schoolmaster, and M^r. Nicholas Greenwell,

Steward at Witton Castle, for the express purpose of enlarging the said School. The Sum of £97 4s. 1d. was receiv'd, the rest defray'd the Law Expenses in a Chancery Suit.

N.B.—The sum expended in rebuilding the School was £134.

	£	s.	d.	
Rec ^d . of Mr. Cuthbert's Legacy	97	4	1	
Rais'd by Mr. Farrer & his Frds	36	15	11	.. £134

Trustees for money left to teach 10 Boys in 1788 :—

Henry Attrick Reay, Esq^r., of Hunwick.

Robert Hopper Williamson, Esq^r., of Whickham.

1794 Aug^t. 14th. Mr. Nicholas Greenwell, Witton castle, aged 78 [buried].

1795 William Rawes, Curate [bur].

Mar. 12th. Rosetta Anne, daughter of John Thomas Hendry & Anne Hopper, Witton castle, [bap].

1796 October 18th. Elizabeth Jane, daughter of George Pearson, Esq^{ro}., of Harperly Park, and Betty, his wife, late Betty Chaytor, born the 14th September last.

1797 Feb. 4th. Mary Garth, low Widowfield, 97 [bur].

1798 Mary Anne Hopper, June 9th, 2nd daughter of John Tho^s. Hendry Hopper, Esquire, native of Middleham, by his wife, Anne Sparling, native of Walton, Lancashire. Born Nov^r. 9th, 1796 [bapt].

Eliz. Isabella Hopper [bapt. same day].

1799 Martha Shirley Rawes, February 24th, 1st daughter of William Rawes, Clerk, native of Shap, Westmorland, by his wife, Anne Cantwell, native of S^t. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, London. [bap].

John Bowness, March 3rd, 1st son of Rev^d. Geo. Bowness, Curate of Hamsterley, a native of Kirk Andrews, Cumberland, by his wife, Catherine Jackson, native of Escomb. [bap].

1800 George Bowness, Curate [bur].

1806 Mark Newby, July 26th, first son of George Newby, native of Barningham, by his wife Margaret, late Crawford, native of Staindrop [bur].

1798 George Pearson, Esquire, Harperley park, Clerk of the Peace for the county of Durham, native of Ryton parish, 54 years, [bur].

1810 George Wright, North Bedburn, farmer, 100 [bur].

1811 John Thomas Hendry Hopper, Esq^r., Witton castle, 40 [bur].

1816 April 15th. Calverly Bewicke Bewicke, Esq^r., & Elizabeth Philadelphia Wilkinson [mar].

1817 Sept. 16th. George Hutton Wilkinson, Esq^r., & Elizabeth Jane Pearson [mar].

Memoranda of the Answers to the questions contained in the schedule to an Act 1^o Geo^l 4th intitaled an Act for taking an account of the population of Great Britain & of the increase or diminution thereof.

June 4th, 1821. What was the number of baptisms & burials in your parish in the several years 1811, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 & 20, distinguishing males from females?

Answer—116 males, 113 females. Total bap^d 234.

49 do., 47 do. Total buried 96.

What has been the number of marriages in your parish in the s^d time?

Answer—52.

N.B.—The number of illegitimate children is 22 : This lamentable increase of vice must in part be attributed to lax discipline, and to the manner in which relief is granted to paupers of this description.

This year, 1821, the best wheat in Darlington market has been sold at six shillings and sixpence per bushel ; which, contrasted with the high prices during the war (viz., 18s. and 19s. per bushel) affords some idea of the fluctuation of prices to which in the space of a few years we have been subjected.

Butcher's meat 4d., 5d., and 6d. per pound.

Day labourer's wages per week, 10s., 12s., and 14s.

Geo^e Newby, Curate.

William Gill, Churchwarden.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

The following are extracts from the Churchwardens' accounts :—

Hic liber mercatus erat p' utu Parochiæ de witton super Weare Anno Dni 1690.

Aprill y^e 26th Anno Dni 169i ;

Rec^d. of Ralph Potts 4^s : 8^d intereft money due upon the bond for y^e wham

It. rec^d of Robert Stobbert sen. 6^s : 10^d due for intereft money upon ye bond

January y^e 10th Anno Dni 1692

Memrd' Asefs laid on by y^e Minifter and twelve of this Parish of 4^d p' shilling for y^e necefarie repairs of y^e Church ; witness our hands

John Stackhoufe Minister²⁶

April 22th 1690 Difbursed p^d to M^{es} Holmes for wine for Commu-

nions (vift) whitfuntide Michaelm & Christmafs ... 00 14 00

p^d for a belope 00 01 09

p^d for a ffox head 00 0i 00

p^d for 4 foolmart heads 00 0i 04

Septem^{br} y^e 20th Anno Dni 169i Disbursd

It' for mending y^e Longsettle 00 00 02 00

It' for Ale 00 00 06 00

It' for 8 foomert heads 00 02 08 00

It' for 2 Raven heads 00 01 00 00

It' for 2 Badger heads 00 01 00 00

It' for a skeep for y^e Minifter to knell 00 00 04 00

It' for wafhing y^e Linnen 00 02 08 00

It' for keeping out the dogs 00 04 00 00

Aprill 25th Ao Dni 1692, Debitor Inp^{rs} for a Lairftall ... 00 03 04 00

Disbursd It' for mending y^e Bier 00 00 03 00

It' for besoms... ..	00	00	06	00
It' for 6 foomert heads	00	02	00	00
It' for one foomert head	00	00	04	00

[Payments for washing linen, keeping dogs out of church, for visitations, glazing church windows, etc., occur annually.]

May y^e 14th Ao. Dni. 1693 : Disbursd for year 1692

	l	s	d
Inp ^{rs} for a Bell rope	00	02	00
It' to Briscoe Mires for a foomert head	00	00	04
It' to Cuthbert Vasie for 4 Raven heads	00	00	08
It' to Richard Kilbourn for a foomert head	00	00	04
It' to Robert ffawdo ⁿ for whipping the dogs	00	04	00

April y^e 21st Ao Dni 1694 : Disbursd for year 1693

It' at one Comunio' for a gallo' of Wine	00	07	00
It' for 3 foomard heads	00	01	00

May y^e 12th Ao Dni 1695 : Disbursd for year 1694

It' for mending y ^e Churchgate	00	01	8
It' for 5 foomert heads	00	01	8
It' for laying y ^e stons in y ^e Church & mending y ^e stile	00	01	0

[Every year charges for 'foomert' heads occur.]

The names of the Twelve cholen men for regulatng the affairs in y^e Parifh of Witton

M ^r John Hodgson	John Carlile
Nicolas Taylor	Christopher Hodgshon
Rob ^t Taylor	Tho: Todd
John Taylor	Richard Marfhall
M ^r Chris: Croft	Will: Braidly
John Richardson	John Gray

Chofsen Decemb^r 21, 1695.

Geo: Gibson, Ministr²⁷

Memorand' The Churchward^{ns} from May y^e 1st 1719 are by cosent to have 6^s allowed for their Charges for the whole yeare.

May y ^e 31 th 1696 It' for a Badgers head	00	00	4	0
April 30 th 1697 It' for flagging plaifstring & whiteing Church	09	19	0	0
It' for 38 Bowles of Lime	00	19	0	0
It' for 6 Bushells of Hare & ffetching	00	04	0	6
May 11 th Ao Dni 1698 It' to widdow Turner for 2 Plates	00	02	0	0
It' at Whitsuntide 5 Quarts of Wine	00	08	4	0
It' at Xmas. 5 Quarts & a halph	00	09	2	0
It' for repairing the seats in publick	00	04	0	0
May 15 th Ao Dni 1699 It' for mending y ^e Bell	00	06	08	
It' for mending y ^e stile & y ^e Bier	00	00	8	
It' for y ^e Porch Gates... ..	00	19	0	
Ap ^{rl} . 21 th Ao: Dni: 1700 It' for a Cirpeloath	02	10	0	
It. for a start in y ^e Bell	00	00	4	0
May 18 th Ao. Dni. 1701 It' for a Cloath to y ^e Alter Table	00	15	06	
It' for Two poore Travellers	00	01	0	0
It' for 2 Boxes to gather Almes in	00	01	04	
May 1 st Ao: Dni. 1702 ; It' for repaireing & hanging y ^e Bell...	00	03	8	0

²⁷ Curate 1695-1707.

	It' paid for ale when Meeting was about y ^e poore	...	00	02	0	6
	It' for 3 Brock heads	... ..	00	01	0	0
Ap ^{ri} 5 th Ao	Dni 1703 It' for bringing a praier Book	... ..	00	00	6	0
	It' for a stile & spade	... ..	00	05	0	0
May y ^e 4 th Ao:	Dni: 1704 It' for wood & workmanship about Churchyard & Pindfold Doors	... ..	00	10	0	0
Ap ^{ri} 18 th Ao:	Dni 1706 It' for Leather to hang y ^e Belle tounge in	...	00	00	06	0
	It' for a Raven head	... ..	00	00	02	0
May 14 th 1710	for 2 shifts for Jennet Wright	... ..	00	05	0	
	For y ^e Caufie at the low end of Clemie Lonning	...	00	04	0	
1711 p ^d	for mending y ^e dyall	... ..	00	00	6	
1714 To Ro.	Taylor for a hack shaft a shovel & hanging the Bell Tongue	... ..	00	01	0	0
1718	for a new Bel Rope	... ..	00	2	0	
1719	for 4 pate heads	... ..	00	02	00	
	Given to John Tinsly of pilling in the County of Lancaster for y ^e sea breaking in	... ..	00	04	00	

The names of the twelve chosen men for regulating the affairs of the Parish of Witton

Read Hodgson	Tho Carlile
Jo ⁿ Dobinson	Chris: Hodgshon
Robert Taylor	William Garth
Simon Taylor	Jo ⁿ Snaith
James Croft	W ^m Bradly
George Craggs	George Simpson
Thomas Gills	Ezra Emerfon Minist ^r ²⁸

Chofen May The 3^d 1719

1721	for shifting the old Bell	... ..	00	01	00
	paid to Will Wascoe for hanging y ^e bells	... ..	00	09	00

Nov^{br} 23^d 1723

Whereas there has been an antient Custom upon any Persons being buried in the Body of the Church that the Execut^{rs} or Relations of such Person always paid ten Groats for having such Liberty into the Hands of the Church Wardens then in being who imploy'd the s^d Moneys as they see fit having at the same time the Consent of the twelve of the s^d Parish for such Disposal 'Tis therefore order'd and agreed by and with the Consent of the Minister and twelve that no Person from the Date hereof shall have Liberty of being buried in the Body of the Church except they pay the Su^m of ten Groats to the Church Wardens then for the time being before they be admitted into the Church or take up any Stones in the Body of the s^d Church in Order for such Burial.

[Signed by 'Ezra Emerson Minist^r' and six others, including 'Stephen Corkey Paroc' Cleric'.]

1722	Paid to the Perfon for the poor man	... ..	0	2	0
	for a Badgers Head	... ..	0	0	6
1727	For y ^e Bishops Ire	... ..	0	1	0
	For mending y ^e Punfold wall	... ..	0	1	9
	For putting y ^e Parchment into Regifter	... ..	0	0	6
	For mending y ^e Surpleth	... ..	0	0	3

²⁸ Curate 1714-1735

	for Natts	0	0	4
	Church dial	0	5	0
173i	Inp ^{rs} 14 yards of hollin at 3 ^s a yard	2	2	
	To Robert Tayler for mending y ^e Pues... ..	0	7	0
	for 10 ffurdailes & half at 18 ^d a piece	0	15	9
1732 & 1733	for binding y ^e Bible	00	08	00
	Exchanging a Plate	00	00	06
1735	Makeing a new Stile	0	3	0
	By repairing the Punfold Wall	0	0	6
	By a new Bell Rope	0	0	8
1736	By a New Table Cloth	0	16	0
	By a New Flagon	0	5	6
1737	By a pair of New Stocks & a Lock	00	05	00
1743	N.B. This year y ^e following Contributions were given by y ^e Gentlemen whose names are below for procuring Queen Ann's Bounty.			
	The Hon ^{ble} & right Rev ^d y ^e Bp. of Durham	50	0	0
	The patron John Cuthbert Esq ^{ro}	63	0	0
	Robert Shafto Esquire	21	0	0
	Lord Crew's Trustees	20	0	0
	The Rev ^d M ^r Teasdale y ^e present Curate	50	0	0
		204	0	0
	& some time after M ^{rs} Douglas of Witton Hall gave which defray'd y ^e Charges of a purchase made at Wolsingham ...	6	6	0
1755	N.B. The Rails at y ^e altar were erected this year			
	M ^{rs} Cuthbert gave y ^e Altar Cloth & M ^{rs} Douglas y ^e Velvet pulpit Cushion.			
1762	Vestrymen chosen Janry y ^e 19 th			
	M ^r Jn ^o . Dobinson of Witton Castle			
	M ^r Nicholas Greenwell of Witton Castle			
	Peter Jones			
	Robert Taylor of Witton			
	George Snaith of Marshal Green			
	& George Craggs of Allandale			
	The other Township			
	M ^r Anthony Atkinson of Widowfield			
	William Garth of Low Widdowfield			
	Thomas Briggs of y ^e Fold			
	Thomas Hodgson of Sandy Bank			
	John Jackson of Old Wadlow			
	& John Atkinson Jun ^r of Harperley			
	Witness Steph. Teasdale Minister			
1763	To drawing Sentences in the Church	2	11	0
	To taking glass out of Church Window	0	0	2
	To Fomett Heads	0	1	0
1764	To drawing the ten Comandm ^{ts}	4	10	0
	To 4 Foulmarts Heads	1	4	
1771	By a Form of Prayer	1		
	By a Pitch-pipe	5		
	By a Foulmart's Head			4
1773	By a Dial 5 ^s and Whitning the Ch £1.7.	1	12	
	By a Bell rope	1	6	

1775	By mending Pews & 3 Matts	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	8
	By a new Ladder	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	0
	By a Rope for letting down Corpse...	...	...	...	...	...	...		6
	By a Fox's Head	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
	By 5 Foulmart's Heads	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
1779	By 17 Foulmarts & 1 Otter's H ^d	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	8
1780	By Fox & 12 Foulmarts	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
1783	By Licence for registering without stamps	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0
	By binding Book of Offices	...	...	...	...	...	...		9
	By 7 Foulmart's Heads & Almanac...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
1793	By a Cover for Font & Seat for Sexton	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	
	By 5 Foulmart's Heads	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
1795	Stocks & Lock	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	6
1797	By whitewashing & clean ^s Church	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1 0
	By Looking Glafs	...	...	...	...	...	...		2 6
1803	By a Pitch pipe	...	...	...	...	...	...		6
1806	By Geo. Ramshaw's Bill	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	13 3
	By Cleaning the Gravel Walk	...	...	...	...	...	...		2 6
1808	By Foulmarts heads	...	...	...	...	...	...		2 4
1811	By a Foulmart's head ²⁹	...	...	...	...	...	...		1
1812	By Wine & porter in the time of the Fever	...	...	...	...	...	...		12 6
	By Carriag for Iron Chest	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4
1813	By Iron Chest...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
1816	By Grave Straps	...	...	...	...	...	...		4
1820	Ornaments for pulpit...	...	...	...	...	...	...		12 8
	Given to a man in distress	...	...	...	...	...	...		3 6
1821	Window Curtains	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6 9½
1822	Briefs 2/-, Candles 5/6...	...	...	...	...	...	...		7 6
	Green cloth for Door	...	...	...	...	...	...		15
[A sum from Mr. Sheppardson or incumbent of St. Mary le Bow in lieu of 2 bottles of wine, of 7s. occurs regularly from 1823 to 1842, when the book ends.]									
1825	Registering Briefs	...	...	...	...	...	...		2
1827	Flaggon	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
1832	repairing roads in C ^h Garth	...	...	...	...	...	...		6
1833	Postage of a Letter	...	...	...	...	...	...		5
1834	Cash from Sir W ^m Chaytor Bart being a moiety of the expence of the repair of the chancel	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	19 8¼
	To Cash from G. H. Wilkinson Esq ^r being other moiety of expence for the repair of the Chancel	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	19 8¼
1836	March 26 M ^r P. Fair's Bill for a New Bible	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4 6
	from voluntary donations toward a New Bell	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	10 3
	sold the old Bell	...	...	...	...	...	...		7 0 3
1838	Aug ^t 6 Paid Carrier for the carriage of 2 Bells to Newcastle	...	...	...	...	...	...		10 6
	To a Bell Rope	...	...	...	...	...	...		6 8
	M ^r Abbot's Bill for a new Bell	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	5 4
1842	To two plans of the pews in the church including frame and glass	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7 0

²⁹ The last entry for 'vermin' occurs this year.

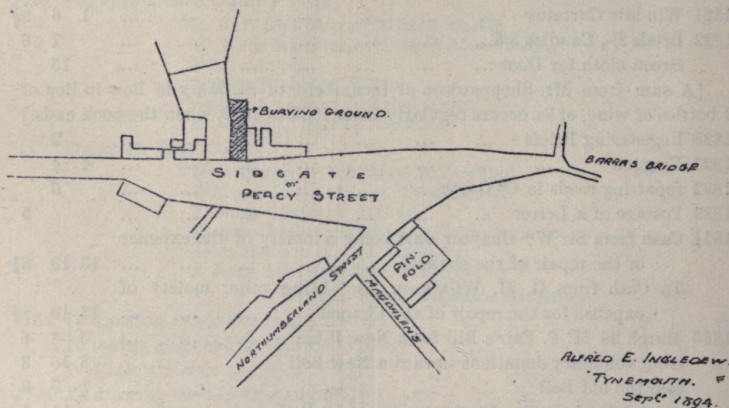
V.—THE 'QUIGS BURING PLAS IN SIDGATT,' NEWCASTLE, THE SWIRLE, AND THE LORT BURN.

BY DENNIS EMBLETON, M.D.

[Read on the 28th day of November, 1894.]

At the request of Mr. Maberly Phillips, author of the paper on the above subject in a former volume of the *Archaeologia Aeliana*,¹ I visited, on August 23rd last, the excavations being carried on at the above place, the site of the once celebrated school of the Bruces, father and son, and quite recently of a public laundry. The history of this ground, so far as it could be recovered, was exhaustively related by Mr. Phillips in the above mentioned volume on November 28th, 1888. With this history it is far from my intention to interfere, it is my wish only to supplement it.

From 1683 to 1790 the site had been, in common with 'the Ballast Hills' at the east end of the town, the burial ground of ministers, and of members and their families, of certain dissenting communities of Newcastle who worshipped at the Castle Garth and other meeting houses.



Mr. Alfred E. Ingledeu, of Messrs. Oliver and Leeson, architects, has kindly sent me a tracing from Hutton's map of Newcastle of 1775, showing the exact position of the graveyard with regard to

¹ Vol. xiii. pp. 234-251.

Sidgate or Percy street, and a sketch on a larger scale with dimensions and other interesting details.² The dimensions are :—Length, one hundred and ninety-four feet six inches ; width at lower end, forty feet six inches ; width at upper end, sixty-six feet three inches.

It lies parallel and close to the lowest part of St. Thomas's street at its east side, and is bounded on its east side by Mr. Sanderson's Hotspur brewery, at the north end by Mr. Slater's property, and at the south end by Sidgate or Percy street.

The ground consists of from three and a half feet to four and a half feet depth of ordinary soil, resting on a rather thin layer of yellow clay, below which is a thick bed of blue clay.

During the examination of the upper part of the ground an ancient watercourse was discovered called the Swirle, which had evidently been a long time diverted from its original course through the ground to a culvert constructed, most likely, about 1786, when the plot was being levelled and walled in, to carry the water away from the burials ; it was led along the west side of the ground down to Percy street, where it is supposed to have ended in a street sewer. The culvert was constructed of remarkably large and peculiarly formed stones, which must have belonged to some ancient ecclesiastical building. These will be more particularly noticed further on.

It is of some little interest first to trace the Swirle and its connection with the Lort burn.

The water of the Swirle came from somewhere about the middle of the Leazes underground to the top of the Quigs' burial place, and was there conveyed into the culvert above noticed, and so it went down Percy street and under the town wall at a short distance to the east of the old Newgate.

At the present time that water, I suppose, is made to issue continuously, *pro bono publico*, from a small stone pant which has been erected near to the south border of the Leazes, at a few yards above and to the west of the top of St. Thomas's street.

When, why, and from whom this little stream, and that also which exists at the end of Sandgate, received the name of *Swirle* does not appear, but it must be clear that they had never been connected with each other when the levels of the land between them are considered.

² p. 89.

In some of the old maps of Newcastle this Swirle is erroneously laid down as the head water of the Lort burn. Thus in Speed's, 1610, the Lort burn is represented as starting from the north side of Sidgate, running down Sidgate to the town wall under which it passes a little to the east of the Newgate, thence curving a little to the east it traverses the grounds of the 'New House,' and after passing under two separate rows of houses comes to the position of the High bridge at about the top of the old Butcher Market, under which it passes to the Dean, the lower part of the Side, and the east portion of the Sandhill to the Tyne.

In the map of 'Ralph Gardner, gent.' of 1654, engraved by Hollar, the Lort burn is shown as springing from the Leazes at some distance above St. Thomas's street, passing through the site of the future 'Quigs' Buring Plas,' then down Sidgate to and under the town wall somewhat nearer to Newgate than in Speed, then down Newgate street as far as the east end of Darn Crook, where it makes a sharp turn to the east, and is continued in the same course as in Speed to the river. In Hollar's map of the same date as Gardner's, the Swirle is represented as the Lort burn.

The real Lort burn, however, arises from the Nuns moor, beyond and to the west of the barracks, and probably from the long deserted coal works there, runs down the Barrack road into Gallowgate and Darn Crook as a considerable stream compared with the Swirle, which it receives as a small tributary at the point where the Swirle is represented as curving to the east, in Gardner's map, at the foot of Darn Crook in Newgate street, thence the Lort burn, running under the 'Chancellor's Head' public house, takes the course marked in the above maps as that of the Lort down to the Tyne.

Originally head stones or slabs had been placed over some of the bodies interred in this burial ground; these had subsequently been removed and placed against the side walls; later on they had been removed and dispersed, and later still some of them were discovered among very unsuitable surroundings.

Two of these stones are known to exist at present, one in the Unitarian church in New Bridge street, the other in the chapel of the castle. For record of the former see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xiii. p. 235. A few human bones had been found in the soil of

the graveyard before excavation was begun, and also outside of the boundaries of the ground.

The excavation of the burial ground was begun at the lower or south end and continued gradually up to the north end until the whole of the soil and part of the clay were dug out and carted away, the bones found being collected and placed aside ; the lowest part was quite dry, having been covered by the school buildings ; the upper part was open and exposed to rainfall, and possibly also to leakage from the culvert, and the water being retained more or less in the soil by the clay, the ground was very wet, and decomposition of the bodies and the coffins had thus been greatly favoured.

Interments had been more frequent at the lower than at the upper part of the ground, but the greatest number was found at the east side about the middle. The number of graves indicated on the accompanying plan (p. 89) does not mean that they were the only interments found, for there were many others that had been made without coffins. The earliest deposited were the farthest gone in decomposition.

No grave, except one at the upper east side of the ground, was found at a greater depth than five feet six inches, but several had been placed within two feet of the surface, the exceptional case being that which lay quite in the clay bed, another was found inclosed in a case of lime, possibly that of some person who had died of a malignant fever, another case was that of a large skeleton lying directly over another smaller, possibly husband and wife. All the bodies were laid with their heads to the north. An unusually large coffin was met with, Mr. Ingledeu reports that the length of it was six feet eight inches, its greatest width two feet four inches, its head fourteen inches broad, its foot nine inches by six inches ; its sides were made of two thicknesses of oak, and rounded towards the bottom like the sides of a boat, leaving a width of four inches on the flat. The bones within had not been specially noticed on exhumation, but among the collected bones I saw none of greater size than the femur noticed below as measuring nineteen and a half inches in length.

Over fifty skeletons in all were disinterred, but none quite entire, for the smaller bones of the hands and feet could scarcely be recognised, and only a few pelvic bones could be collected. The ends of the long bones buried in the seventeenth century were much

decayed away, or had become detached during the excavation. A piece of marble engraved with a crest was discovered in the excavation. There were skulls and other bones of women, but the great majority were those of men ; none of children was obtained.

I produced at a previous meeting one of the most recent and best preserved skulls and lower jaw of the same, and one of the thigh bones of the same skeleton, which was the biggest I had noticed. These were well and strongly made, but the jaws had lost during life several of their molar teeth. It was not possible to examine the skull with care before the meeting ; afterwards it and the femur were stolen by one of the labourers to whom they were entrusted to be carried back to the other bones, and the man was not to be found next day and has not been seen since. The femur measured nineteen and a half inches in length, which indicates a person of the stature of five feet nine inches or five feet ten inches. The average length of the human adult femur is eighteen inches. A second femur measured fourteen and three-quarter inches in length, and a third thirteen and a half inches, both probably those of women. The skull may have been that of a strong minister of mature or over middle age. The exhumed bones were collected, placed in three coffin-like boxes, which were interred near the position of the graveyard (see plan next page).

Mr. Alfred E. Ingledeu, who has obligingly given me parts of the preceding information, has also afforded me the following :—

'There were also exhumed several wrought iron handles of coffins. They had all been fixed on the *ends*, not the sides, of these ; they were beautifully turned and flanged, tapering to points, and fastened to the wood by double-tailed nails at the inside, where they were kept in position by a small square plate ; in one instance, on the head of the coffin, was found a very large handle in position, and a portion of what had been the plate, but on attempting to clear off the soil from it it was destroyed, though the marks were still visible ; below and at the lower end of this plate were two small shields, but so defaced that nothing could be distinguished on their surfaces. Around the whole of these ornaments were two circles, each of about one-eighth of an inch broad, cut in the wood, which was oak, and certain numerals were observed, of which only "14" was plainly to be seen, the rest could not be made out owing to the rough usage of the part by one of the labourers.'

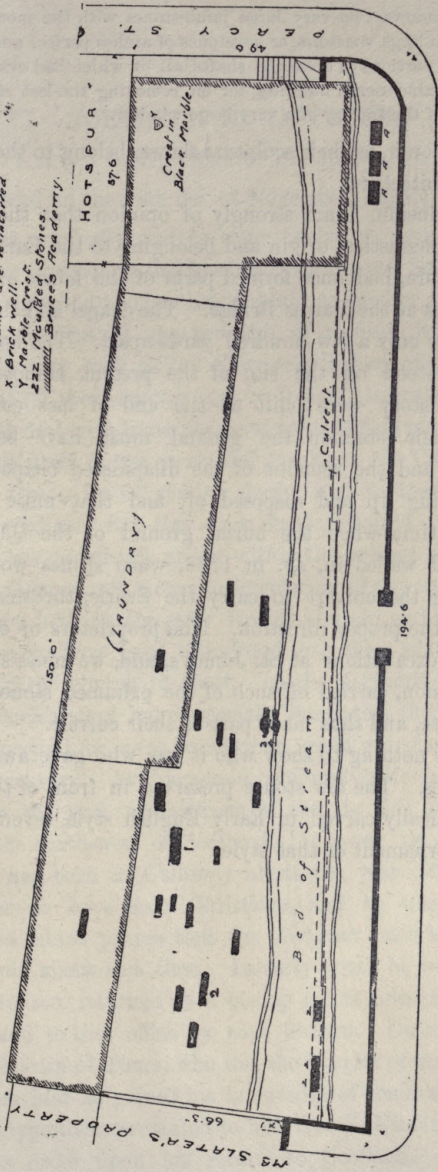
'Whilst the culvert above noticed was being taken up, many very interesting stones were brought to light. It was a two feet square drain, the walls of which were formed of stones beautifully moulded, for instance, heads and sills of door-

"QUIG'S BURIAL PLAS"

POSITIONS OF COFFINS ETC. FOUND

NOTES.

- 1 Largest coffin found.
- 2 Body encased in lime.
- 3 Bodies not buried in coffins
- 4 16" below surface.
- AAA. Exact positions where remains are reinterred
- X Brick well.
- Y Marble Cist.
- ZZ Marble Slabs.
- BBB. Brass's Remains.



ST. THOMAS STREET.

ALF. E. INGLEDEW,

TYNEMOUTH, 1894.

Scale of hundred Feet

ways and windows, two very large jamb-stones with the mouldings in perfect condition, two large voussours, or keystones of arches perfect and beautifully cut, mullions and portions of detached shafts, all of which had evidently come from some considerable sacred building, for on removing the last stone it turned out to be a part of the tracery of a very large window.

These stones, as their sculpture shows, belong to the Early English style of architecture.

In conclusion, I am strongly of opinion that the above stones, being of ecclesiastical origin and belonging to the Early English style of architecture, had once formed parts of the fabric of the old chapel of St. James at the Barras Bridge. The chapel and the Quigs' burial ground were only a few hundred yards apart. The houses that a few years ago stood on the site of the present Hancock museum of Natural History were built at the end of last century; at the time of their erection the ground must have been completely broken up and the remains of the dilapidated chapel of St. James would be dug up and disposed of, and that must have occurred about the time when the burial ground of the Quigs was being levelled and walled in, *i.e.* in 1786, when stones would be wanted for forming the culvert to carry the Swirle, threatening the burial place, into the proper direction. The proprietors of that place hearing of the excavations at St. James's, and, we must suppose, having had permission, carried off such of the exhumed stones as best suited their purpose, and thus made part of their culvert.

There is nothing to show who it was who gave away those consecrated stones. The few stones preserved in front of the museum are characteristically carved in Early English style, several showing the dog-tooth ornament of that style.

VI.—NORTHERN MONASTICISM.

BY THE REV. ALFRED BOOT, VICAR OF ST. JOHN'S, DARLINGTON.

[Read on the 28th day of November, 1894.]

THIS paper was originally written some twelve months ago for the purpose of being read before the South Shields Clerical Society, and at the time I certainly had no idea that it would go further. I therefore feel somewhat diffident at the prospect of reading it before the members of a society such as the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, and I trust that all shortcomings may be treated leniently.

I purpose to deal with some phases of monasticism more especially as it manifested itself in the work and results of the Celtic mission, to give some reason for its sudden decay, and to touch upon the somewhat extraordinary fact that since the building of the abbey at Durham there has practically arisen within the present boundaries of the county no independent monastic foundation of any account.

Monasticism, both in the early British church, and in the Celtic church, appears to have been introduced into these islands through the influence of the church in Gaul. In the northern parts of the island, with which we are more especially interested, there appears to be some firm ground for us to stand upon, when we come to the end of the fourth century. At this period community life (and throughout this paper the term monasticism is used in this general sense) appeared in the south-west of Scotland. It owed its origin to S. Ninian, who was born in Galloway about the year 360 A.D. His parents appear to have been Christians, and he was baptized in infancy, a fact which proves that the Christian faith had gained a fairly good hold about this time. In early youth he went to Rome, and about 386 A.D. returned as a bishop to his own people, having been consecrated to that office by pope Siricius. On his way home he visited S. Martin of Tours, who was the founder of monasticism in Gaul, and from him he gained his knowledge of community life. It was upon the type there presented to him that S. Ninian founded his own religious order upon his return to Scotland. He built at

Whithorn in Galloway (by the aid of French masons) a stone church, long known as 'Candida Casa,' which rapidly became the centre of a most important monastic community. It was a missionary and educational centre, in which the younger laity, together with the candidates for Holy Orders, were trained and instructed. Its influence was felt far beyond its immediate neighbourhood, and communication was established between Whithorn and Ulster, resulting in the founding of other communities in the sister isle. The main characteristic which distinguished the monasteries of the early period, and which separates them somewhat from the monasticism of a later age, was this, it was mainly practical and not contemplative. They were mission centres where the brethren lived in community life under the rule of the bishop; from these they went forth to their work and to them they returned. They were also educational centres both for clergy and laity. S. Ninian died *circa* 430 A.D.

The next point where we find ourselves able to speak with some amount of historical evidence is with regard to the mission of S. Patrick. It is possible that in him we find one of the results of the work of the mission founded by S. Ninian, though at some little distance. He is said to have been born at Dumbarton, and to have been carried off to Ireland when about 16; to have returned again to Scotland, where he was ordained priest, and then again to have journeyed back again. He was consecrated bishop when about 45, and died about 493 A.D.

S. Patrick's followers were what are known as the 'First Order of Irish Saints,' and his form of community life had special features which distinguished it both from that which preceded it and that which followed.

The proportion of bishops to presbyters was abnormally large. S. Patrick established a kind of tribal episcopacy, and every tribe, clan, and small chieftain had a special bishop. Some of the episcopate lived as recluses, some lived together in monasteries, some established schools. So great was the number of bishops in Ireland, even at a later date, that a stream of them was continually arriving in the dioceses of territorial bishops, who, at least in England, passed canons against them and the 'Orders' which they conferred. S. Patrick also founded episcopal communities, with groups of seven

bishops in each community, generally members of the same family, or of the same tribe. He died about 493 A.D.

The successor to the church of S. Patrick, at a distance of half a century, was the church of S. Columba, and with it came a change in monastic life. The number of bishops has lessened, the number of presbyters has increased. The bishops in many cases are subject to the abbots in the matter of jurisdiction, though they still rank as a superior spiritual order, with special powers. In the Columban monasteries all offshoots remain under the control of the parent foundation and under the jurisdiction of its abbot. (The abbots of Lindisfarne were appointed for some thirty years from Iona.) The election of the abbot in the head monastery followed to some extent an hereditary principle, inasmuch as it remained always in the family of the founder, as in the case of Iona, where the first nine abbots, as far as and including Adamnan, were blood relations of S. Columba.

The Columban church was entirely monastic, though there is no trace of any definite rule under which the monks lived, such as that which distinguished the Benedictine and other orders of later times, who succeeded to their place and power. Discipline remained entirely with the abbot, and the keeping of fasts and festivals was ordered by him. It is probable that the canonical hours were kept by the monks, but the personal discipline seems not to have been modelled upon any fixed rule.

This was the type of community life introduced into Iona by S. Columba, and into Lindisfarne by Aidan. It is the type of Christianity exhibited by men who are known as the 'Second Order of Irish Saints,' and it retained its place in Northumbria and other parts, until the founding of Wearmouth and Jarrow by Benedict Biscop with the Benedictine rule. In a debased form it was the rule of the community which first founded the abbey of Durham in 995, and was finally dispossessed by the Benedictines under the Norman bishop Carilef about 1083 A.D.

It is this Celtic mission under Aidan and his successors to which we of the north owe our own Christianity. It was in the summer of 635 A.D., that bishop Aidan at the invitation of the king (Oswald) came to Northumbria and settled at Lindisfarne. His home was within the monastery, and although he was bishop, and by far the

most important man of the community, yet there was a governing abbot within the monastery after the custom of the Columban foundations.

The work of this mission is one of the most brilliant in the annals of the Christian church. It possessed a vigorous life, and its development was simply marvellous in its rapidity and extent. Within fifty years foundations like Lindisfarne, Melrose, Hexham, Coldingham, Tynemouth, Whitby, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, Ripon, Lastingham, and others sprang into full life, and were important ecclesiastical centres. But if the life was vigorous it was of short duration, and after this period, with the exception of one very great life, St. Cuthbert's, there seems to have been a gradual falling away, until the great invasion of the Danes in the eighth and ninth centuries.

MONASTERIES.—Some idea of the rapid growth of Christianity may be obtained from a glance at the dates of the following foundations :—

Lindisfarne (635)	} between 635-652.
Melrose	
Gateshead (641)	
Hartlepool (641)	
Coldingham	
Whitby.	
Wearmouth, 673.	
Jarrow, 682.	
Hexham, 674.	

There are two points in connection with Celtic monasticism which are worthy of note.

1. It has been a question with some people as to whether the rule observed by the Columban monks was in any way connected with the 'Culdee' rule, whether they were in fact Culdee monks.

There does not seem to be any justification for assuming this, the Culdees being, I believe, the 'Third Order of Irish Saints.' They do not seem to have had any existence before the eighth century, and to have arisen as a protest against the decaying discipline of the Columban monks. The name seems to be of Irish origin *Ceile Dé*, afterwards 'Colidei,' meaning 'Servants of God.' They were ascetics and anchorites, living at first in separate cells, but in one community.

The strictness of their rule gradually relaxed, and in two or three centuries they became a secularised ecclesiastical caste. Marriage obtained a footing among them, and their offices became hereditary. They were eventually displaced by the regular bodies of canons and monks, Augustinian and Benedictine. They left no literature and were never missionary or aggressive in their work.

2. The other point of interest in the Columban church is the establishment of double monasteries, institutions which contained both monks and nuns in separate wings of the same building, living under the same rule and governed by one head—an abbess. The origin of these foundations is doubtful. Something of the kind existed in early days among the Egyptian recluses, but here the Nile separated the two bodies, as the Tyne is said to have done, the monks and nuns living under the same head at Tynemouth and South Shields.¹ They were almost characteristic of Celtic missions. They existed in Gaul, Belgium, and Germany, and in the seventh century there was one in Rome itself, but they were more popular in Ireland than elsewhere, and sprang up spontaneously with the first beginnings of Christianity. S. Patrick framed certain rules for the avoidance of scandal. In his days these institutions were ruled by an abbot or a bishop, but the Columban clergy declined the responsibility, and in all their ecclesiastical colonies these communities were placed under the rule of an abbess. They were brought into Britain by Saxon princesses from Gaul, whither they had been sent to be trained for the cloister. Whitby, Ely, Wimborne, and Coldingham, are prominent examples, and Montalembert states¹ that there was a double monastery at Tynemouth and Shields (ruled over by the abbess Verca). Archbishop Theodore forbade these foundations, but the order was not carried out, and they flourished until the Danish invasion of the ninth century, after which there is no trace of them, there being no provision made for them in the efforts of king Alfred and of Dunstan to revive the monastic life.

It is satisfactory to find that Coldingham is the only community of this kind which is open to a charge of depraved life. In some of them the chronicles relate that a liking for dress developed among the nuns, and that they wore hoods and cuffs trimmed with silk, and arranged their veils so as to form an ornament.

¹ Montalembert, vol. iv. p. 413 note.

We come now to the sudden collapse of the enormous work done by the Celtic mission. It was founded by Aidan in 635 A.D., and in 687 A.D. St. Cuthbert died, and with him the distinctive glory of the work. I cannot but think that the decision of the Council of Whitby, with its overthrow of purely Celtic customs, struck a severe blow at the spirit of the Celtic mission. Its bishop (Colman) as we know, refused to assent to the decision, and retired with some thirty of his monks to Iona. With the exception of the one life, the old enthusiasm seems to have gone with them, and the after record can tell us of nothing so great as the work of the first forty years. Simeon indeed states that the misgovernment and the dissension in the north was the cause of the decline of the Northumbrian church, and doubtless this is very largely true; but I cannot help thinking that the previous reason was the first and possibly the severest blow. Be that as it may, at the end of the eighth century the Danes made their first descent upon the north, and their coming meant almost total destruction not only to the civil government, but also to the religious life of the whole of England.

Nearly every great monastery which had been built through the exertions of the Scottish missionaries was pillaged and destroyed; the discipline of the religious life was neglected, the monks became a secularised body, and Christianity was almost swept from the land. Monasticism fell to such a low ebb that when king Alfred, after the troubles with the Danes were over, founded a monastery in Mercia, he was unable to find any one who would consent to occupy it, so weak had the religious feeling of the country become. With the nunneries he had more success. In the north, however, the Danish invasion was the death blow of monasticism. The congregation of S. Cuthbert held together indeed for two hundred years (including the period at Chester-le-Street), retaining the body of the saint with them, but with relaxed discipline and morals; and bishop Aldhune who founded the see of Durham was a married man, and his clergy, to all intents and purposes, secular priests. Simeon of Durham states that so terrible and devastating were the effects of the Danish invasion that for two hundred years before bishop Aldhune settled in Durham no church in Northumbria was either built or restored, but with regard to Jarrow, at least, this seems not to be quite accurate. Still, so terrible was the

onslaught of the Danes, that their invasion was the deathblow to monasticism in its ancient homes of the north. In this invasion, Lindisfarne, Coldingham, Melrose, Tynemouth, Hexham, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, and Whitby fell. Jarrow was probably not a ruin for any great period of time. It was attacked in 794 and again in 866; it was in existence as a religious house in 1020, and in 1075 bishop Walcher gave it to some Benedictine monks who eight years afterwards were removed to Durham by Carilef. After this it became a cell to or dependent house on the great abbey at Durham, and so continued until the dissolution. Wearmouth was destroyed with Jarrow in 866, was rebuilt in 1075, and followed the fortunes of Jarrow, its monks being removed to Durham at the same time, and itself being until the dissolution a dependent house. These two, though founded by a Northumbrian member of the Celtic church, Benedict Biscop, were the first examples in the north of monks under the Benedictine rule.

NORMAN BISHOPS.

With the Norman bishop Carilef, the builder of the present cathedral, who came to Durham in 1083, a new era in monasticism began, but it had special features, or, perhaps it ought to be said, *one* special feature, viz., that so far at least as the present county is concerned, it was confined almost entirely to one centre, Durham, which rose to a position of the very greatest importance. But it is a very striking thing that from the year 995, in which the first church of Durham was commenced, there is no single instance (with two very minor exceptions) of the founding of any monastic institution within the county. The exceptions are the abbey at Finchale, which was really an extension of Durham, and even so was founded as a compromise, and a small Benedictine nunnery founded by Emma de Teisa at Neasham, near Darlington, at the end of the twelfth century. There is a seal and a deed of incorporation existing of the abbey of Baxtenford, near Neville's Cross, but it appears doubtful if the buildings were ever commenced. I shall have occasion to give the reason later. I have not seen any explanation of this sudden cessation, or perhaps centralisation, with regard to monastic life, but I venture to give the following reasons as possible explanations:—

1. The unique fame of S. Cuthbert.
2. The existence of the palatinate, and the enormous possessions of the bishopric.
3. A development of religious zeal, not very great, in other directions.
4. The power and jealousy of the Benedictine foundation at Durham.
5. The incursions of the Scots.

1. The great sanctity attaching to the name of S. Cuthbert drew to the congregation of the saint, and to the see connected with his name, large benefactions. Bishopwearmouth, Westoe, Silksworth, Ryhope, and Seaton were given, at one time, to the see by king Athelstan when at Chester-le-Street. Styr gave Darlington, Coniscliffe, Aycliffe, etc., and Canute gave the lands between Staindrop and Evenwood on the occasion of the building of the abbey at Durham, and many large and valuable gifts came into the possession of the see. The natural result of this was that benefactions which might have been used for founding separate communities went to swell the power and influence of the bishopric and the abbey.

2. In close connection with this point, the extreme wealth of the bishopric must be considered. The possession of so much land by the occupants of the see left less room for private benevolence, and whether the bishops, or such of them as gave benefactions, preferred to exercise their charity in other directions, to be mentioned hereafter ; whether they objected to found institutions which, to some extent, might become independent, and sources of considerable trouble to themselves ; whether they objected to increase the power of the abbey by founding branch establishments of the same order, or, on the other hand, were unwilling to rouse its enmity by introducing 'Orders' other than the Benedictine ; whether any or all of these reasons influenced their conduct, one thing is certain, that possessing enormous power they did not exercise it in the direction of developing monasticism.

3. Though there were no monastic institutions founded after the establishment of the see at Durham (with the exception mentioned), and though that period includes that in which the valleys of Yorkshire and the Lowlands of Scotland were filled with them, yet there is

a not unimportant development in other directions which may partly account for it, viz., the foundation of the collegiate churches and hospitals of the county. Bishop Auckland, Darlington, Norton, and Eekington, all became collegiate centres in 1083 under bishop Carilef and were instituted by him to provide maintenance for the secularised monks whom he ejected from the abbey at Durham. Chester-le-Street and Lanchester became collegiate churches under bishop Bek in 1286 and 1283 respectively, and Barnard Castle and Staindrop, the one founded by Guy Baliol in the fourteenth century, and the other by the Nevilles in the fifteenth (1408) complete the list. All these were dissolved by Henry VIII. There were also three hospitals, Kepier, Sherburn, and Greatham, the last two still existing, the other dissolved at the dissolution. They were built respectively by bishops Flambard, in 1112, Pudsey in 1181, and Robert de Stichel in 1272. This may account in some part for a lack of monastic foundations.

4. But the power and jealousy of the abbey at Durham was a much more serious impediment in the way. It possessed enormous property and wielded immense power. Up to the time of bishop Carilef the congregation of S. Cuthbert had been ruled by the bishop, and there was one common estate. Bishop Carilef altered this. He endowed the abbey with a separate estate out of the lands of the congregation, reserving episcopal rights to himself, and henceforth the monastery assumed a position of unique importance. That they guarded this position and their rights with extreme care, and that their tenacity resulted in keeping out other religious orders, is shown by the attempt to found an Augustinian abbey at Baxtenford, on the Browney at Durham, near Neville's Cross. Henry de Pudsey, son of the bishop, had brought from Guisborough some canons of this order, and placed them on his own estate at Haswell. Wishing to remove them he transferred them to an estate at the place above mentioned, the transfer being confirmed by the bishop. But the Benedictines of Durham objected, and after the bishop's death they succeeded in making his son express penitence for his presumption, and ask forgiveness of the prior and convent for bringing the alien 'Order' so near. Further, the following terms were arranged. The chapter presented Henry de Pudsey with the priory at Finchale, then merely an oratory with lodgings for pilgrims. He on his part

endowed Finchale with all the lands and possessions he had given to Baxtenford and presented the whole back again to the abbey, by which means the Augustinians were driven out of the county. They obtained some compensation in lands near Guisborough. With the wealth, power, and possessions of the abbey at Durham, it proved almost impossible for a rival order to find a resting place in the county, and one cannot suppose that it would have been allowed within the limits of the estates over which they ruled.

5. I come now to the last of the reasons given, viz., the incursions of the Scots, and I must confess that I have not been able to look up sufficiently the history of the time to form an opinion of the extent to which this influence prevailed. I should like also to know something of the state of monasticism in Northumberland as we know it, which insomuch as it lay as a buffer between Scotland and Durham, would be a determining factor in coming to a conclusion. Still it had an influence. In 1138 the Scots visited Finchale and nearly put an end to S. Godric; in 1306 they burned Keping hospital; in 1296 Hexham; in 1314 they plundered Bearpark, and in 1346 they burned it. They destroyed also a Tyneside residence of the abbot of Durham, and in 1313 Durham itself was burned. Religious houses received no consideration at their hands; on the contrary, the possessions of the inmates attracted them, and it doubtless rendered monasticism difficult, but I am still inclined to think that the greatness of S. Cuthbert's name, the existence of the Palatinate, the wealth of the see, and the power and jealousy of the abbey at Durham, were the great reasons which rendered the county so comparatively destitute of religious foundations. I have, however, as I stated, been unable to find the point discussed, and as I have been forced to alter my conclusions on several matters as information came to hand, so, I doubt not that further knowledge may modify or enlarge the opinions here expressed.

VII.—THE WINSTON (CO. DURHAM) CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, A.D. 1632-1695.

[Transcribed by MISS EDLESTON, of Gainford, and communicated to the Society on the 29th day of August, 1894.]

THE earliest Winston parish accounts, kept with the registers in a safe at the rectory, are written on forty-six leaves of paper, loosely stitched together, without a cover. They contain the yearly accounts of the overseers from 1632 to 1643—the amounts collected monthly for the poor, with the names of the recipients, lists of the inhabitants as they were rated from time to time, and the names of those to whom the 'Poor Stock' was lent. There are no entries from 1643 to 1647, and from that date to 1662 the names only of the churchwardens, overseers for the poor, and highways, and the holders of the poor stock, are recorded. The rest of the book contains churchwardens' accounts beginning in 1662, overseers' accounts and rates to 1667, with names of parish officers to 1679, and accounts of the poor stock to 1698. On April 2nd, 1678, it was agreed that the parish clerk should have 12d. a year for writing the churchwardens' accounts in a book to be provided for that purpose. A book, the first three leaves of which are lost, contains churchwardens', overseers', and constables' accounts from 1677 to 1729.

The plague which broke out at Osmoncroft and Winston in 1636 is alluded to here. The churchwardens and overseers agreed to lend John Newcome 40s. to bind his son apprentice, but before all the money was paid five of his children died of the plague, so his son learnt his father's trade. In 1635, an order was made that the poor stock was to be paid in on Easter tuesday in the chancel, but in 1641 the vestry is named. There is now no vestry at Winston church. In 1677 and later, the rector, Peter Lancaster, records that he claimed his privilege of choosing one of the churchwardens, but waived it for 'this present year,' and on April 22nd, 1679, the rector and parishioners agreed, for the better management of the parish affairs, to choose six men to join with the churchwardens.

During the earlier years of these accounts, there seem to have been communions five times a year, at Christmas, Palm Sunday, Easter, Whitsuntide, and about Michaelmas, but after the Restoration at Christmas and Easter only. In 1662-3 there are payments for the surplice, hood, and font, and in 1664-5 several expences connected with the bishop's and archdeacon's visitations, for books, plastering the church, and writing the sentences. In 1666 the churchwardens received 1s. 8d. for a 'lairestone.' The rectors during the period covered by these accounts were Richard Thursby, inducted 12th Aug., 1631, died 7th, buried 8th July, 1651; Cuthbert Marley, 165., buried 18th Feb., 1674-5; and Peter Lancaster, 1675, died 5th September, 1706, who has a monument in the chancel. The present rector, the Rev. F. E. Sadgrove, has most kindly lent these accounts to be copied.

The accounts of the ouerfeers of the parish of Winstone. Richard Soarby,
John Darnton, Ouerfeers. 1632.

Money collected.

Inprimis collected in May	...	...	...	...	viijs	iijd
Item collected att the Commu' att Whitfuntide	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	
Item collected June 3 ^d	...	...	...	...	viijs	ix ^d
Item collected July 3 ^d	...	...	...	...	viijs	ix ^d
Item collected August 3 ^d	...	...	...	...	viijs	ix ^d
Item collected Septemb: 9 th	...	...	...	...	viijs	ix ^d
Item collected att the Commu' att Michaelmas	...	...	...	...		xxijd
Item more w ^{ch} was not fett down	...	...	...	...	iiij ^s	ij ^d
Item in Octob: 7 th	...	...	...	...	viijs	ix ^d
Item collected Nouemb: 4 th according to a new taxat'	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	vjd
Item collected collected Decemb: second	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected att the Commu' on Christmafs day	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	iiijd
Item collected Decemb. 30	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected att the Comm' on the ffeast of the Epiph:	...	...	...	...		xv ^d
Item collected January 27 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected ffebr. 24 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected March 24 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected att the Comm' on Palme-Sunday	...	...	...	...	o.	xix ^d
Item collected April 21 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Item collected att y ^e Commu' Apr: 22 being East ^r day	...	...	...	...		xviijs
						Sum. vj ^l xij ^s iijd

The names of thofe that haue the almes monethly May: 2^d: 1632:

Widow Hewetfon	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s ij ^d
..... Browne	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s 2

...ildren of Tho: ffarrow	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d —4 ^s 4
...abell Fewlor	...	...	...	...	...	xiij ^d 2...
Widow Bawcock	...	...	...	...	...	xiij ^d 6...
Eleanor Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	xiij ^d 6
..... Prowd	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
..... Turner	...	...	...	...	...	viiij ^d 2 vj ^d
...grett Parkin	...	...	...	...	...	xiij ^d 4 2
	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d 2 vj ^d

Sum : tota : x^s iiij^d viij^s x^d.

The names of the inhabitants of the parish of Winston as they were assested by the Ouerfeers of the poore of the same parish: May 3^d: 1632.

Inprimis Ri: Thursby Clerke Rector there	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Item M ^r George Bunny	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Item M ^r Ber: Dowthwait	..	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Ite' Henry Swainston	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ite' Peter Bainbrigg	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ambrose Clement	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
John Francklin	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
Widow Francklin	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
Will' Wilfon..	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
Ri. Soarby	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
Tho. Miller	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
John Darnton	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
John Ouington of Ofmoncroft	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
John Ouington of Stubbufs	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
Robert Greaues	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
Barforth Demefne	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d
Henry Newcome	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
John Manne	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d

Sum : tota : viij^s ix^d

Money lent out.

Inprimis lent to Thomas Farrow	...	...	...	...	...	xl ^s
Item lent to James Browne	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s
Item lent to John Newcome	...	...	...	...	...	xl ^s
Item lent to John Kitchin	...	...	...	...	...	x ^s
Item lent more to John Kitchin	...	...	...	...	...	x ^s
Item lent to Richard Farrow	...	...	...	...	...	x ^s
his fuerty Christofer Farrow.						
Item to John Farrow	...	...	...	...	...	xx x ^s
Item to Henry Bawcock	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s
Item to Henry Fowler	...	...	...	...	...	x ^s
Item to Matthew Hudfon	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s

The same parties had the money lent againe and did p'mife to bring in the same fureties.

Ouerfeers for the high-ways, Thomas Wilfon, John Franckland.

Dayes appointed for mending the high-ways.

1 May 17.	Ambrofe Clemett	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
2 May 19 th .	Willia' Richards'	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
3 May 24.	John francklin	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
	John Ouinton	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d
	Ambrofe Clemett and Will: Richardson	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
	franklin	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
	John Manne	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiij ^d
	Edward Browne,	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiij ^d
	Nich. Haddock	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
	Tho: Herrifon.	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
	Sum tota:	ix ^s	iiij ^d	viiij ^s	x ^d .			

Ouerfeers for the high-ways, Richard Soarby, John Darnton.

The dayes appointed are the three fridayer next before Whitfuntide.

Money giuen to the poore May 5th: 1632.

Inprimis giu' to the poore May 6 th	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	iiij ^d
Item giuen to widow Bawcock being fick	...	...	...	...	o—	vj ^d
Item giuen June 10 th	...	...	...	...	vj ^s	vj ^d
Item giuen to Eleone ^r Wharton June 10 th	...	...	...	...	o—	xij ^d
Item giuen July 7 th	...	...	...	...	vj ^s	o.
Item giuen August 12 th	...	...	...	...	v ^s	vj ^d
Item giuen Septemb: 9 th	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	ix ^d
Item more the same day	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	vij ^d
Item giuen to the poore Octob: 7 th	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	x ^d
Item giuen to Isabell Fowler	...	...	...	...	o—	xviiij ^d
Item giuen to the poore Nouemb: 4 th	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	vj ^d
Item more the same day	...	...	...	...	o—	iiij ^d
Item more to John Newecombe of y ^e money w ^{ch} collected at y ^e Comm'	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^s
Item to John Newecome being fick the next weeke Nouemb. 30	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Item giuen to the poore Decemb: 2 ^d	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	vj ^d
Item more giuen to the poore	...	...	...	...	...	viiij ^d
Item more to John Newecome	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Item Decemb: 30 th...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item giuen January 27	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item giuen to Widow Hewettfon	...	...	...	...	o.	ij ^d
Item giuen to the poore ffebru: 24 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item giuen to the poore March 24 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item giuen to Eleoner Wharton	...	...	...	...	o.	xiiij ^d
Item giuen to the poore April 21 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Sum:	vj ^l	vj ^s	x ^d .			

To be payd to the Ouerfeers for this yeere 1633, v^s v^d.

The names of the poore of the parish of Winston w^{ch} haue monethly
Contributi': 1633:

Widow Hewetfon euery moneth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Eleoner Browne	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Tho: Farrow for his children	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d
Widow Bawcock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Eleoner Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Anne Prowd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Bryan Turner	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Margrett Parkin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d

Sum: viij^s x^d.

An: Dom' 1635.

Matthewe Hudson euery moneth	...	xij ^d...	...	...	...	...	...	xvij ^d
Eleoner Browne the daughter of James Browne	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Thomas Farrow for his children	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d
Widow Bawcock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
John Newcome	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Eleoner Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xij^d
Anne Prowd	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiij ^s	vj ^d
Bryan Turner	...	...	...	...	...	...	Septe:	xij ^d
Margrett Parkin	...	...	...	...	...	...	Octo:	vj ^d
Christofer Ouington	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Robert Langhorne	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d

Sum: 1635: Janu: 17: viij^s x^d.

payd Noueb: 30: 3^s 11^d.

Receiued of Geo: Viccars—v^s iiij^d

due to me—xvj^d / remaineth iiij^s.

payd out of this to James Browne iiij^s xx^d.

now in mine ha[n]d ij^s iiij^d a[n]d xvj^d / more ij^s.

giuen to Bryan Turn' for 4 m'ths in Jan: iiij^s. remaineth xxj^d xii^d to Mat Huds'.

Bryan Turn' oweth me iiij^s j^d py^d j^s.

I had 9^d a[n]d xiiij^d.

Money collected by the Ouerfeers. An: Domin. 1633.

Inprimis received of the old Ouerfeers	...	...	...	...	...	v ^s	v ^d
Item collected May the nineteenth	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att the Com' on Whitfunday	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	ij ^d
Item collected June 16	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected July 14	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected Aug. 18	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected Septemb: 15	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected Octo: 13	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att the Commu' Nouemb. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	xv ^d

Item collected Nouemb: 17	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Item collected att y ^e Comm' Decemb: 25	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	v ^d
Ite' collected Decemb: 22	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Ite' collected Janu: 12	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Item collected ffebr: 16	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Item collected March: 16	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Item collected att y ^e Commu' on Palme-Sunday	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	ij ^d
Item collected at the Commu' on Easter day	...	...	...	...		xvi ^d
Item collected April 10 th	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	ii ^d
Sum—vj ^l v ^s xj ^d .						

Money giuen to y^e poore May 19th, 1633.

Inprimis May 19 th	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item June 16 th	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item July 14 th	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item Aug: 18	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Ite' to Eleo ^r Wharton being fick	...	...	...	...		xvii ^j ^d
Item giuen Septemb. 15	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item gi' Octob: 13	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item giu' Nouemb: 17	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item collected att y^e Comm' att Michaelmas	...	...	...	...		xx^v^d
Ite' Decemb: 22	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item January 12	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item ffebruary 16	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item March 16	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item payd and giuen to a poore woman a trauailer	...	...	...	...		iiij ^d
Item giuen to the poore April 13 th	...	...	...	...	vii ^j ^s	x ^d
Item Will. Clibburne had in his hands	...	...	...	...	ii ^j ^s	v ^d
Sum: v ^l xj ^s iiij ^d :						

There remaineth to be giuen to the ouerfeers for the next

yeere xiiij^s vij^d

The names of thofe that haue the stock of the poore.

Inprimis lent to Henry Fowler ten shillings x^s
his furety

John Francklin

Henry ffowle^r

his —| marke.

his $\frac{|}{|}$ m^{ke}.

Item to Richard ffarrow ten shillings x^s

Richard ffarrowe

his furety.

Item lent to Thomas ffarrow fourty shillings xl^s

Ite' to John Newcome fourty shillings xl^s

Ite to John Kitchin tw' shillings xx^s

Ite' to John ffarrow twenty xx^s

Ite' to Jams Browne twenty xx^s

Ite' to Henry Bawcock twenty xx^s

Ite to Matthew Hudfon twenty xx^s

This money is to be payd to the Ouerfeers on Teufday in Easter weeke.

An: Domi' 1634:

Ouerfeers for the highwayes in the parifh of Winston 1634.

The dayes appointed.

Inprimis April the 18th being friday.

Ite' ~~April 22~~ being teufday.

Item May 2^d being friday. .

Item May 16 friday.

The dayes appointed for the high-wayes in the parifh of Winston 1635.

April 17 being friday.

May 12th being ~~Mon~~ Tueday.

June 2^d being Tueday.

Money collected by the ouerfeers of the poore of the parifh of Winston
for the yeare 1634.

Inpr: receiued of the Ouerfeers	... ..	xiiij ^s	vij ^d
Item collected May 18	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected June 15	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected July 13	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' collected Aug: 17	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att ye Commu' on Whitfunday	... ..		xxiiij ^d
Ite' collected Septemb: 17	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att the Com' Octob: 19	... ..		xvij ^d
Ite' collected Octob: 20	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected Nouemb ^r 23	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' Decemb. 24	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' Collected att ye Com' on Christmafs day	... ..	ij ^s	vij ^d
Item collected January 28	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item ffebr. 13	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' March 15	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att y ^e Commu' on Palme-Sunday	... ..	ij ^s	ob
Item collected att y ^e Com' on Easter day	... ..		xxj ^d
Item collected April: 19	... ..	ix ^s	iiij ^d

Sum: vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d ob.

Money difburfed: 1634.

Inpr: giuen to the poore May 18 th	... ..	viiij ^s	x ^d
Item giuen to the poore June 5	... ..	viiij ^s	x ^d
Item giuen to the poore July 13	... ..	viiij ^s	x ^d
Item giuen Aug: 17	... ..	viiij ^s	x ^d
Item giuen Septemb ^r 17	... ..	viiij ^s	x ^d
Ite giu' Octob. 19	... ..		viiij ^s

Ite giu' Nouemb: 23	...	...	...	...	...	viijs	x ^d
Item giu' Decemb 24	...	...	...	...	...	viijs	x ^d
Item giuen January 28 th	...	...	...	...	...	viijs	x ^d
Item february 18	...	...	...	...	...	viijs	x ^d
Ite March 15	...	...	...	...	...	viijs	x ^d
Item giuen to Christofer Ouington euery moneth v ^d w ^{ch} is						}	v ^s	
in all for this yeere			
Item giuen to Phillis Hewettson being fick	...	...	...	...	...	ijs	vjd
Item g' to the poore in April	...	...	...	...	...	ix ^s	iijd
Sum: v ^{li} xiijs xjd.								

Thomas Herrison was to pay 4^s.

Will: Clibburne had 2^s 6^d in his hand when he went away fifteene shillings is to be payd by Robert Pearson two pence

The names of the Ouerfeers of the poore of the parifh of Winston for the yeere 1634 being elected April 8th: Thomas Miller, William Richardson. Robert Pearson was content to ferue for Thomas Miller.

Ouerfeers of the poore: 1635. Will: Dowthwait, Tho: Smithson.

Collected and received

Inprimis received of the Ouerfeers for y^e last yeere j^l iiij^s x^d
~~Item~~ Collected April 12 ix^s iiij^d
 Ouerfeers of the poore: 1635. John Ouington, John Francklin, those two were appointed by the Justices.

Collected and received.

Inprimis received of the Ouerfeers of the poore for y^e last yeere xv^s iiijd
 Item collected att the Comm' at Whitfuntide o. xxiijd
 Item collected in May viijs x^d
 Item collected in June 19th viijs x^d
 Ite collected in July 20th viijs x^d
 Ite' collected in August 23 viijs x^d
 Item collected in Septemb. 20 viijs x^d
 Item collected att the Commu' Octo. 4th ijs jd
 Item collected Octo: 18 viijs x^d
 Ite' collected Nouemb: 22th viijs x^d
 Item collected Decemb. 20th viijs x^d
 Item collected att the Commu' on Christmafs day ijs vjd
 Item collected Jan. 17 viijs x^d
 Item collected Febru: 22 viijs x^d
 Item collected March 20 viijs x^d
 Item collected on Palme funday att the Com' xxijd
 Item collected on Easter day att the Com' x^d
 Ite' collected April 20 viij x^d
 Sum: total: vj^l x^s vij^d.

Thomas Miller and Will Richardson received tenne pounds w^{ch} is the stock of the poore of the parish of Winston, w^{ch} money is to be payd by . . . to the Ouerfeers, the next yeere vppon Easter Tuedday in the chancell. This money was lent to the p^{ns} whose names are underwritten.

Ri : ffarrow

Inprimis to Richard ffarrow x^s his 2 marke
Ite' to Henry fflower x^s.

Jo : ffrancklin
his x m'ke

Henry fflower
his 2 marke

Tho : ffarrow fortyr shillings—Jo : Douthwait
John Newecom fortyr shillgs—Geo : Newecom
Hen : Bawcock—twenty shillgs—Jo. Ouington
James Browne twenty shillgs—Will : Wilson
John ffarrow twenty shillgs—Am : Clemett
Matth : Hudson twenty shillgs—Joh : Spooner
John Kitchin, twenty shillgs—M^r Greaues.

Money deliv'd to the ouerfeers of the poore 1635. March 31. w^{ch} was lent to the p^{ns} whose names are underwritten.

Henry fflower x^s

Ri : ffarrow xs Hen : fflower Jo : ffrancklin
Ri : ffarrow his 2 m'ke his + m'ke
his 2 m'ke Margrett Edwards and Margrett Newton—x^s
Christofer Farrow his furety. George Proud—xs.

George Viccars his furety.

Item lent to Tho : Smithson May 22th 1636 xx^s more to him xx^s.

The stock of the poore of the parish of Winston—xij^s iij^s j^d

It was agreed vppon by the Ouerfeers of the poore of this parish and the churchwardens that John Newecome shall haue xl^s to binde his sonne apprentice : whereof xxx^s to be payd now and x^s the next yeere w^{ch} will be 1637.

When this money was to be payd fiue of his children dyed of y^e plague fo his sonne learned his father's trade.

Money giuen to the poore 1635.

Inprimis giuen to widow Hewettson being sicke iij^s vj^d
Item giuen to the poore April 12th ix^s iij^d
Inprimis giuen to the poore May 31 viij^s x^d
Item giuen June 20th viij^s x^d
Item July 22 viij^s x^d
Item August 23 viij^s x^d
Item Septemb. 20 viij^s x^d
Item Octob; 18th viij^s x^d

Ite' Nouemb. 22 th	viijs	x ^d
Item Decemb. 20 th	viijs	x ^d
Item January 17	viijs	x ^d
Item Febru' 22	viijs	x ^d
Item March 20	viijs	x ^d
Ite' giuen to Widow Bawcock being fick		vjd
Ite' April 20 th	viijs	x ^d

Sum : v^l vjs vjd.

Remaineth to be payd to the Ouerfeers j^l iiij^s jd.

Ouerfeers of the poore : 1636. Willia' Dowthwait : Thomas Smithson.

Money received and collected 1636.

Inpr : received of the Ouerfeers the last yeere	j ^l iiij ^s	jd
Ite' collected in May	viijs	viijd
Item collected att y ^e Com' on Whit-sunday		xxiijd
Ite' collected in June	viijs	viijd
Ite' collected att y ^e Com' att Michaelmas		xiiij ^d
Ite' July 30	viijs	x ^d
Ite' Aug	iijs	xjd
Ite' Sept.	iijs	xjd
Ite' Octob. 30	viijs	viijd
Ite' Noub. 30	viijs	viijd
Ite' collected att Christmase att y ^e Com'	o	xviijd
Ite' more in December	v ^s	vjd
Ite' Janu. 29	vjs	ijd
Ite' february 26	v ^s	xjd
Item collected March 29	v ^s	xjd
Ite' collected att the Comu' on Palmefunday		xijd
Ite' collected on Easter day		xxiijd

Money sent to John Newcombe by Will: and John Dowthwait ijs

w^{ch} was difburfed and sent to him.

July 16: 1636.

A note of money difburfed for the use of the poore.

Inprimis for bread for the poore of y ^e towne	iiij ^s	
Item more for John Newecom—Juli : 16 th		xiiij ^d
Ite' July 18 more July	ijs	
Ite' July 18 to the poore in the towne	xij ^s	
Item more July 20	iiij ^s	viijd
Item more the fame day	xj ^s	viijd
Item more	iiij ^s	vjd
Item more sep 28		vjd
Ite' Aug. 15	j ^s	
Item another time	ijs	vjd
Item another time Aug. 15	3 ^s	
Ite	v ^s	

The Justices gave money w^{ch} was distributed to y^e poore ... ij^s

Money distributed to the poore, 1636.

Inprimi in May 20 th	viiij ^s	viiij ^d
Item Jun 18	viiij ^s	viiij ^d
Item giuen to John Newceom being sick July 16	xiij ^d	
Item July 17	viiij ^s	viiij ^d
Item giuen Octob. 30	v ^s	x ^d
Item in Nouemb ^r	iiij ^s	xj ^d
Ite' att Christmafs	iiij ^s	vj ^d
Item Jay 29	v ^s	vj ^d
Item Febru: 26	v ^s	vj ^d
Ite' March 27	v ^s	vj ^d

The names of the poore of y^e parish of Winston that haue the monethly contributi' January: first, 1636.

Inprimis James Browne euery moneth	ij ^s	
Hen. Wharton	ij ^s	
Item Bryan Turner	xiij ^d	viiij ^d
Item Richard Farrow		xij ^d
Item Matthew Hudson		viiij ^d
Item Widow Prowd	viiij ^d	xij ^d
Item Christofer Ouington	viiij ^d	xij ^d
Item Margrett Parkin	viiij ^d	xij ^d
Item Robert Langhorne	viiij ^d	xij ^d
Widow Bawcock	viiij ^d	xij ^d
Jane Clemett	iiij ^d	vj ^d
Margrett Edwards	iiij ^d	vj ^d
— —	x ^s	x ^s vj ^d
Item Will Siggs child left here		x ^s viij ^d

Su' xj^s iiij^d

Money lent to those whose names are vnderwritten to paye the next yeere to the ouerfeers the next yeere on Easter tuesday.

- Will Langhton 6^d Jhon Willfon
- Margrett Edwards and Margrett Neweton—x^s theire furety
- Henry Fowler x^s his furety John ffranckl.
- Richard Farrow x^s his furety +
- George Proud—xxx^s Geor. Bunny his furety +
- Henry Bawcock—xx^s for one yeere—John Ouington of Ofmoncroft.
- Thomas Farrow xxx^s Jo: Dowthwait his furety
- John ffarrow—xx^s Ambrose Clemett his furety.
- John Kitchin xx^s his furety Ro: Greaues.
- Tho: Smithson xl^s his furety Will ffrancklin
- James Browne xxs Will: Wilson his furety
- Matthew Hudson xxs Jo: Spoon^r his furety.

John Newcom xl^s Sam Bynion his furety Robert Pearson x^s
 It was agreed upon that George Proud should haue xxx^s giuen with
 John Hudson to teach him to be a weauer, and to haue xl^s lent for
 two yeeres. April xjth 1637.

The names of the inhabitants of the parifh of Winston as they were taxed
 to pay to the poore of the fayd parifh monethly. April 12th 1637.

Inprimis M ^r George Bunny	... ..	xxx ^d	xij ^d
Item Richard Thursby Clerke Rector there	... ..	ij ^s	xxx ^d
Ite' M ^r John Dowthwait	... ..	ij ^s	xxx ^d
Peter Bainbrigg	... ..		vj ^d
Margrett Swainston	... ..		vj ^d
Ambrofe Clemett	... ..	v ^d	iiij ^d
John Francklin	iiij ^d Pete ^r Brown iiij ^d		vij ^d v ^d
Willia' John Wilson	... ..		ij ^d 4 ^d
John Darneton	... ..		iiij ^d
Widow Francklin	... ..		ij ^d j
M ^r Greaves Heigley Hall	... ..	ij ^d	ij ^d
John Ouington of Ofmoncroft	... ..	vj ^d	viiij ^d
John Ouington of Stubbufe	... ..		vj ^d
Thomas Miller	... ..		ij ^d
Willia' Richardson	... ..		ij ^d
Barforth	... ..		xxvj ^d
this towne 4 ^s 1 ^d 5 ^s 9 ^d 19 ^s 11 ^d	... ..	xxj ^s	x ^d iiij ^d
Ouerfeers of the high-ways	It. Jo. Kiplin	iiij ^d	
Peter Bainbrigg	It W: Crawford	iiij ^d	
George Viccars	Sum xj ^s	iiij ^d	

April 14th Mr Bunny Mr Dowthwait

that day 21th day. John Ouington and John francklin.

that day 29th day. George Swainston. Pe Ba

William Dowthwait	Received in the towne	iiij ^s	j ^d
Thomas Wilson	In the parifh	v ^s	viiij ^d
		ix ^s	ix ^d
Received of M ^r Hutton	xxiiij ^s Winston and Heigh	ij ^s	v ^d
lent to Richard Farrow	xx ^s Rect ^r		xx ^d
	Sum. iiij ^s	j ^d	
		9 ^s	9 ^d .

Ouerfeers of the poore for this yeere. April: xjth 1637.

M^r John Dowthwait, George Swainston.

Collected and received for the poore.

Inprimis of the ouerfeers for the last yeere	... ..	xxxj ^s	vij ^d
w ^{ch} was lent to the poore.			
Item collected April 30 th	... ..	x ^s	vj ^d
Ite' May 31	... ..	xj ^s	iiij ^d
Item collected att the Commu' att Whitfuntide	... ..	ij ^s	viiij ^d

Item Collected att the Commu' att Michaelmas	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Item collected att the Com' att Christmas	...	...	...	...	...	xxj ^d
Item collected att the Com' on Palm funday	...	...	...	...	...	xvij ^d
Ite' collected on Easter day	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
John Kiplin	...	...	j ^d	Ro: Earle	...	j ^d
Will: Dowthwait	...	xj ^d	iiij ^d	Sim. Wrangham	ij ^d —Barforth	xiij ^d
Tho: Wilson	...	...	ij ^d			
Ro: Clibburne	...	iiij ^d	ij ^d			
Jo: Phillip: Will: Vrr:	...	ij ^d —xvj ^d				
Ed. Crawforth	...	...	j ^d			ob.
Jo: Kiplin	...	...	j ^d	Whetston	...	ob
Ri: Darneton	...	...	iiij ^d			
Jo: Darneton	...	...	iiij ^d	Su' total:	...	ix ^s x ^d
Geo: Viccars	...	...	iiij ^d	difburfed	...	x ^s ij ^d

4^d much.

Ouerfeers of the poore: John Wilson, Rowland Clibburne.

Ouerfeers of the highways: Tho: Smithson, Will: Dowthwait.

The first day the 3^d day of Aprill: the second that day foartnight.

Money distributed to the poore.

Inprimis April 30 th	...	...	...	...	...	x ^s vj ^d
Item collected att y ^e Commu' on Whitfunday	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s viiiij ^d
Ite' May 31 th.	...	...	...	...	...	xj ^s iiij ^d
Ite June.						
Ite July.						
Ite' August.						
Ite' Septeb ^r .						
Ite' Octob.						
Ite' giu' to Willia' Langhorne Octob. 30	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Ite' giu' to Margrett Neweton being fick	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Item giuen to Jane Fowler being fick	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Item to Will: Langhorne Noub. 20	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Ite' to Tho: Robinson being fick	...	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Item giuen to Willia' Langhorne Decemb. 18 th	...	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Item giuen to Mathewe Hudson to buy his fonne apparrel	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^s

The names of such as have the stock of the poore: 1638: Ge: Swainston.

Margrett Edwards and Margrett Neweton—x^s. Gibson.

Henry Fowler x^s his fuerty Jo: Francklin.

Robert Pearson x^s his fuerty Jo: Dowthwait, more to him x^s.

George Prowd xl^s his fuerty Ge: Bunny.

Tho. Farrow xxx^s his fuerty Jo: Dowthwait 50^s.

The John Farrow xx^s his fuerty Am: Clemett 50^s.

James Browne xx^s his fuerty Willia' Wilson xj^s payd April: 16th:

Mathewe Hudson xx^s his fuerty: Ed. Jo: Spooner.

John Newecome xl^s his fuerty Sam. Bynion. Jo. Ouington. Ofmon.

John Kitchin is to pay xx^s this yeere, but refufeth to pay.

John Robinson xx^s his furety Ge: Swainston.

Tho: Smithson xl^s + to be payd now + +

Henry Bawcock ~~xx^s~~ to be payd now xl^s his furety Jo. Ouington. Osm.

Ri: Farrow xx^s his furety Chr: Farrow.

To Thomas Farrow more lent June 14th 1640. ~~xx^s~~.

Item lent to John Johnson xxx^s his furerety John Clemett.

Ouerfeers of the poore March: 27: 1638:

Rowland Clibburne, John Wilson.

Money collected.

Inpr: att the Com' on Whitsunday	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	viiij ^d
Item att the Commu' att Michaelmas	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	j ^d
Ite' att the Com' att Christmas	...	...	...	...		xx ^d
Item received of M ^r Matthew Hutton Janu: 25 th	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
Ite' collected at an oth ^r time	...	...	...	...		xx ^d
Item collected on Palme Sunday and Easter day	...	...	...	...	iiij ^s	xj ^d
Item received more of M ^r Hutton	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
Sum: lij ^s						

Ouerfeers of the high-wayes 1639.

John Ouington of Stubbus, William Francklin.

The first day April 26: being friday.

The second day April 30: being tuesday.

The 3^d the 14th day of May being tuesday.

1640. Ouerfeers of the high-wayes.

John Darneton, Roger Wilfon.

The first day April 30th The second day May 7th The third May 15.

Money distributed to the poore 1638.

Inprimis giuen to a lame man a poore trauailer	...	...	...	...	iiiij ^d
Item giuen to John Farrow for the dyett of Will' Siggs } fonne for a weeke	...	...	...	...	xij ^d
Ite' to Willia' Langhorne	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ite' to the poore in April	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Ite' to the poore in May	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Ite' for two shirts to Will: Sigg	...	...	...	...	xxij ^d
Ite' to Will: Langhorne June 22 th	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ite' to the poore in June	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Item to Henry Wharton being fick	...	...	...	...	ij ^s
Item to the poore in July	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Item giuen to Margrett Neweton being fick Aug: 16	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ite' Aug.	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Ite' Septeemb ^r	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Item to Will: Langhorne in Septeb ^r	...	...	...	...	vj ^d
Ite' to the poore in Octob ^r	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Item to the poore in Nouemb ^r	...	...	...	...	xj ^d
Ite' to Will: Langhorne	...	...	...	...	vj ^d

Ite' to Hen: Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Ite' to the poore in Decemb ^r	...	...	...	...	...		xj ^d
Ite' to Willia' Langhorne in Decemb ^r	...	...	...	...	...		vj ^d
Item to Henry Wharton in Decemb ^r	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Item to the poore in January	...	...	...	...	...		xj ^d
Item to Will: Langhorne in Janu'	...	...	...	...	...		vj ^d
Ite' to Henry Wharton in Janu'	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Item for skins for making a dublet for Will: Sigg	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' for a yarde of cloth for breachs	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	
Ite' for making his fuite	...	...	...	...	...		xij ^d
Ite' for a paire of shooes	...	...	...	...	...		xiiij ^d
Ite' for a yarde of harden	...	...	...	...	...		vij ^d
Ite' bought by Will: Dowthwait for Will: Sig one paire of shooes and a yard of cloth	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Item to Will' Langhorne Fe'	...	...	...	...	...		vj ^d
Ite' Henry Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Item to the poore in Februy	...	...	...	...	...		xj ^d
Ite' to the poore in March 31	...	...	...	...	...		xj ^d
Item to Henry Wharton	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d
Ite' to Will Langhorne	...	...	...	...	...		vj ^d
Item difburfed more by Rowland Cliburne	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	
Sum. ij ^s iiij ^s viij ^d							

John Ouington of : St :
William Francklin.

Querseers of the poore
April : 16 : 1639.

Money collected.

Inprimis in the poore mans boxe left by the Ouerfeers	...	...	...	...	...	vij ^s	iiij ^d
Item more in the boxe w ^{ch} was giu' att feveral times	...	...	...	...	...	vij ^s	
Item collected att Whitfuntide	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Ite' collected att Michis :	...	...	...	...	...		xx ^d
Ite' collected att Christmās	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	v ^d
Ite' more put into the poore mans boxe Decb. ...	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
Sum : xl ^s ix ^d							

John Darneton

Ouerfeers of the poore

~~William Francklin~~

April : 7th 1640.

Roger Wilfon

Money collected.

Inpr : in the poore man's boxe	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	viiij ^d
Item more giu' by others	...	...	...	...	...		xvj ^d
Item collected on Palme-Sunday...	...	...	...	...	...		xiiij ^d
Ite' on Easter-day	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	xj ^d
Ite' on Whitfunday.	...	...	...	...	...
Ite' more payd by M ^r Hutton June 21	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
w ^{ch} was lent to Tho : ffarow	...	...	...	...	...
Ite' put into the boxe July Last.	...	...	...	...	...
Ite' lent to Henry Bawcock July 8	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
Ite' put into the box July 26	...	...	...	...	...		ix ^d
Ite' receiued of M ^r Hutton Nou : 21 ^o	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s	
Ite' att Chrifms	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	vj ^d

giuen to the poore, 1639. April 28.

Inprimis payd May April	...	...	...	...	ix ^d
Item May to Tho: Robinson and Will. Langhorne	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Item 8 June...	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Ite' July	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Item August 25	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Item Septeb 29	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Ite' Octob. 30	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Ite' for Will: Siggs clothes	...	...	...	...	xx ^d
Item Nouemb. Last	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Item Decemb. Last...	...	...	...	...	xv ^d
Item January	...	...	...	...	ix ^d
Item for coales and cloathes to Hen: Wharton	..	...	...	...	iiij ^s
Item ffebruary	...	...	...	...	ix ^d
Item March 29: for coales...	...	...	...	...	ij ^d

Sum: xviiij^s jd

vjd ~~iiij~~^d euery moneth giuen to the poore to be taken out of the poor mans box. April: 7th, 1641.

Inprimis giuen to Robert Langhorne and his wife being fick	...	...	...	...	ix ^d
It to Will: Langhorne being fick	...	...	...	...	iiij ^d
Item for coales to Christof ^r Ovington 4 Loads	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d
It to Wid: Parkin for coales and for keeping Hen. Wharton	...	...	...	...	} xviiij ^d
April May and June	...	...	...	...
Ite' to Wid: Bawcock April May and June	...	...	...	...	} xviiij ^d
Item more difburfed for Henry Wharton [w^{ch} was] and giu to Rob: Langhorne and Will Langhorne and to Wid. Parkin	...	...	...	...

Sum: v^s v^d this was taken out of the poore mans box July: 13: 1640

May: 2: 1641 The names of the poore

In: James Browne	...	...	xij ^d	Wid: Parkin	...	...	xij ^d
Ite' Wid. Bawcock	...	...	xij ^d	Bryan Turner	...	...	viiij ^d
Richard ffarrow	...	...	xij ^d	Margrett Neweton	...	...	vj ^d
Rob: Langhorne	...	...	viiij ^d	Mar: Edwards...	...	...	iiij ^d
Mer: Langhorne	...	...	vj ^d	Wid: Clemett	...	...	iiij ^d
Sum—vij ^s							

Money collected April 1641.

Inprimis att the Com' at Whit ^t ide	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^s
It giuen by M ^r Hutton	...	...	...	...	...
w ^{ch} was lent to John Johnfon.						

The names of the poore of the parish of Winston with the allowance w^{ch} they haue monethly. April: 7: 1640.

Inprimis James Browne	...	...	...	...	xij ^d	ij ^s
It Henry Wharton	...	...	...	...	ij ^s	
It Ri: ffarrow	...	...	...	...	xij ^d	xij ^d

It Wid: Bawcock	xij ^d
It Robert Langhorne	viiij ^d xij ^d
It' Wid: Parkin	xij ^d
It Wi: Prowd	viiij ^d
It Bryan Turn ^r	viiij ^d
It Will: Langhorne	vj ^d
It Mar: Edwards	iiij ^d
It Wid: Clemett	iiij ^d
v ^s viij ^d Sum: x ^s ij ^d iiij ^s viij ^d	
More to Widow Parkin for keeping Henry Wharton	ij ^d
Sum—x ^s iiij ^d viij ^s —ij ^d	
Receiued every moneth	ix ^s x ^d
payd out of the poore mans box every moneth	vj ^d
Henry Wharton dyed June 19	xx ^d
To be put into the poores boxe every moneth	xxviij ^d ix ^d

Money diiburshed to the poor.

Inpr: to Eliz: Scarr being sick	xij ^d
It' to Will: Langhorne	vj ^d
It' to Marg: Neweton being sick	vj ^d
It'e' to Jo: Sanderfon	vj ^d
Barforth April ... xvj ^d ob	Will: Richardfon ... ij ^d
Ge: Ree... .. 3 ^d	Jo: Wilfon ... vij ^d
Joh: ffrancklin ... ij ^d	

May fuch as did not pay.

Inpr: Barforth ... xvj ^d ob	Jo: ffrancklin ... ij ^d
Jo: Wilfon ... ij ^d	Pe: Bainbrig ... vij ^d

No collection in June.

July.

Inpr: Barforth	xvj ^d ob
It' M ^r Bunny and M ^r Dowthwait	3 ^s iiij ^d
It' Winston all except the Rect ^r : wid. Swain Ambrose Clemett and P. Bru'— and Will: ffrancklin.	

April: 27: 1641.

Memorandu' that it was agreed vpon by the parishioners of the parish of Winston that all those of that parish w^{ch} have any of the stock of the poore shall come in yeerely on Easter Tuedlay and pay the money in the vestry there and bring in a bond to be sealed before they receiue the money againe and if any either refuse or neglect to pay it then they shall not haue any more of the stock but there bond shall be put into suite, and that money to be lent to some other.

Ouerfeers of the poore 1641, John Ovington, John Clemett.

Money collected in April.

Receiued of M^r Hutton xx^s

Nouemb: 28, 1641.

Inprimis giuen to the poore in Octob:	iiijs	x ^d
Ite' Noub: 28	iiijs	x ^d
To Ri: ffarrow James Browne Mar' Parkin, Widow Bawcock, } euery of thofe		xij ^d
to Rob. Langhorne vij ^d Bryan Turn ^r		iiijs ^d
for euery moneth.		
Item more James Browne for Decemb and January ...	ij ^s	
Item to Margrett Newton for two Mont.		iiijs ^d
Item more in December to the fame partys	v ^s	
Item to the poore in January	v ^s	
Sum: total: for 4 moneths xx ^s		

Ouerfeers for this yere April: 12th 1642: John Ouington of Stubbufe,
Will: francklin.

ffor the highways. Inpr April 21 being Thrfday
for the next Thursday being 28 of April.

payd to James Browne June: 19th 3^s

Ite' to Widow Bawcock		
and Widow Parkin Aug. 1642. ij ^s more to Widow Parkin.	xij ^d	
and to Jas Brown		Nov. xj th
Margrett Newton Novb. iiijs ^d		

1642

Money giu' to the poor.

Inpr. April 12 th for March	v ^s	viijs ^d
Item more for April and May	xj ^s	iiijs ^d
Item June 29 th	v ^s	viijs ^d
Item July	v ^s	viijs ^d
Item August		
It' Septeb' and Octob ^r		
It' Nouemb. 24	v ^s	viijs ^d
It' Decemb. 20	v ^s	viijs ^d
Item Janu. 29	v ^s	viijs ^d
Item ffebruary 28	v ^s	viijs ^d
Sum. lj ^s		

The names of the poore for there monethly Cefse. April 12. 1642.

Inpr: James Browne		xij ^d
Widow Parkin		xij ^d
Wid: Bawcock Clemett	vj ⁿ	xij ^d
Ri: ffarrow		xij ^d
Rob: Langhorne and the widow		xij ^d
Bryan Turner		iiijs ^d
Mar: Newton		iiijs ^d
Widow Prowd		vj ^d
Sum. v ^s viijs ^d		

The names of those that haue the stock of the poor. 1642.

Inprimis Tho. ffarrow 50^s his furety M^r Dowthwait
 John Newecome 40^s his furety Jo: Ovington Stubbufe
 Hen: Bawcock 40^s his furety the fame pfon Jo: Ovington. Ofm.
 Joh. Johnson 30^s his furety John D 10^s 5^s
 Joh. Robinfon 20^s his furety Sam: Byn'
 Joh. Kitchin 20^s his furety Jo. Ovington. Stub:
 Geo: Prowd 40^s his furety M^r Bunny
 Matth. Hudfon 20^s Jo: Spoon^r
 Ri: ffarrow 20^s his furety his sonne
 Hen: ffowl^r 10^s M^r
 Robert Pearfon 20^s
 Margrett Newton 5^s and Margrett Edwds 10^s theire furety
 John ffarrow 20^s his furety Ambr: Clemett Georg. Swainston
 John Saunderfon 5s Tho. Harker 25^s

Money collected for the poore for two moneths April and
 May { ix^s viij^d
 Receiued of M^r Hutton June: 20th xx^s
 More of M^r Hutton Nou: 10 xx^s
 July: 30: 1643
 Receiued of M^r Hutton xx^s

Money giuen to the poore 1643.

Inprimis March 31th v^s viij^d
 Item April 30 v^s viij^d
 It May and June xj^s 4^d
 of M^r Huttons money
 It July 30 v^s viij^d
 Item Augt 30 v^s viij^d
 Item Septb: 28 v^s viij^d
 It Octob: 29 v^s viij^d

Ouerfeers of the poore 1643. Thomas Wilson, Thomas Francklin.

Ouerfeers of the poore 1647. Rowland Clibburne, Peter Browne.

Money collected.

Barforth xvj ^d	for Heighly xij ^d
M ^{rs} Bunny xvij ^d	Willia' Wilfons farme iiij ^d
M ^r Dowthwait xvij ^d	ffrancklins farme iij ^d
M ^r Thursby xvij ^d	Ofmondcroft vj ^d
for Winston Holme xij ^d	Stubbufs vj ^d
Sum: 9 ^s 5 ^d	
Widow Langhorne ij ^s	Bryan Turner vj ^d
Margrett Edward xij ^d	Richard Farrow xij ^d
Margrett Newton vj ^d	James Browne xij ^d

Money receiued and collected for the poore 1649.

Inprimis giuen by M ^r Matthew Hutton	...	...	...	...	xx ^s
Receiued at Raby	...	...	...	...	49 ^s
More att Barforth	...	...	...	...	xx ^s

Money distributed to the poore June 10th 1649.

Inprimis to Richard Farrow	xij ^d 1 ^s	Marg. Clemett	...	...	6 ^d
It to Meri: Langhorne	... xij ^d	Ber. Scarre	...	...	6 ^d
to James Brown	... xij ^d	John Sanderfon	...	...	6 ^d
Margrett Neweton	... xij ^d	Anne Hugh	...	...	6 ^d
Tho: Harker	... xij ^d	John Kitchin	...	...	6 ^d
Bryan Turner	... xij ^d	Margery Hudfon	6 ^d
Marg. Johnfon	... 6 ^d				

More giuen

Inpr: to Bryan Turner	6 ^d
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More to the fame perfons June: 28th:

Item to Tho. Langstraffe wife for her child	6 ^d
---	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

Sum total: this moneth—xx^s

To Bryan Turner for cloath July 4 th	...	...	...	...	v ^s
more for making his dublett	...	...	...	...	j ^s
more distributed July 29	...	...	...	...	10 ^s
More distributed to the poore Aug: 29	...	...	...	...	9 ^s
More distributed Septemb. 30 th to the poore	...	...	...	...	9 ^s
October the 27 th More	...	...	...	...	9 ^s
November 20	...	...	...	...	9 ^s
December 20	...	...	...	...	9 ^s
To Bryan Turner for a doublet	...	...	...	...	3 ^s
To Matt: Hudfon	...	...	...	...	5 ^s

Money lent to the poore May: 1: 1647

Inprimis to Thomas Farrow 50 ^s his fuerty M ^r Dowthwait
Item to Thomas Harker—25 ^s his furety Peter Browne
Item to John Neweco'—40 ^s his fuerty Jo: Ouington of Stubbs.

Memorand' that Katherin Dowthwait and Henry Bawcock borrowed forty shillings of the stock of the poore Mar. 31. 1651. they are to pay five shillings yeerely for the space of 8 yeeres till the sume of 40^s be payd.

1653. Memorandu' that Elliner Brumell hath twentie Shillings of the peeres money for w^{ch} George Swainfton hath giuen his word that shee shall repay five Shillings every yeere upon Easter tuesday untill it be payd: w^{ch} was giuen to her by Richard Darlington.

1653. Memorandu' that Katherin Douthwaite hath paid in 10^s, 5^s more of the fortie: whereof w^{ch} John Robinfon: hath: john Kitchin: payd fower shillings according to his bond w^{ch} joh Robinfon hath:

1654. Memorandu' that Elliner Brumell hath payd fve shillings according to her ingagement wch John Robinfon hath:

1656 Memorandu' that Elliner brumell hath payd fve shillings so that their is tenne beside

1657 Memorandu' that Willia' Shaw did pay to john Newcome nine fhillings w^{ch} he is to difpofe on accordinge to his office, and to giue an account.

1658 Memorandu': that Elliner Brumell fhall haue hir fve fhillings another yeere.

Memorandu' that Katherine Dowthwaite fhall haue hir fve shillings another yeere

1659: Memorandu' that Elliner Brumell came in accordinge to hir bond, and offered hir fve shillings: but it was ordered by the parifhoners that fhe fhout haue it another yeere.

Likewise Katherine Dowthwaite fhout haue appeared but fhe neglected to appear: and it was ordered to be Recorded

1660. Tobias Hodgefon did pay in 3 shillings and fower pence w^{ch} was due for the buriall of Raiph Hodgefon in the church w^{ch} money was deliuered to the churchwardens to be difpofed on according to the neceffities of the church.

Churchwardens elected April: 27: 1641. John Ouington of Stubbufe.
William ffrancklin

Churchwardens elected April: 12: 1642. Thomas Wilfon. Thomas
Francklin

Collected by John Ouington 1641 xj^s viij^d
Collect. Thomas Wilfon vij^s ij^d

Churchwardens elected April: 4th: 1643: Rowland Clibburne, John
Francklin.

Churchwardens elected May 9th 1647: Ralphe Hodghfon, John Simpfon.
Septe'ber 18th Anno Do 1653

Collected in the parifh church of Winston for the towne of Malborough: the fu' of twentie shillings and a penny

Cuth: Marley, pafte: Churchwardens: Thomas Smithfon john Phillipe.

Churchwardens 1648: Ambrofe Parkin Henry Bawcock

Ouerfeers: Ralphe Hodgfion John Simpfon

Churchwardens elected 1649: Henry Bawcock and Ofwald Swainston

Ouerfeers of the poor: Reginold Browne and Henry Bawcock.

Churchwardens elected 1650: John Ouington and John Clemett

Ouerfeers of the poore: Henry Bawcock and Ofwald Swainston.

1651.

April the 6th the fame Churchwardens and ouerfeers were elected again, and they were content to ferue this yeere.

Churchwardens elected: William Newcome and William Browne

Ouerfeers of the poore: John Ouington and John Clemett.

Ouerfeers of the high-ways: Henry Bawcock and Ofwald Swainston.

1652: Richard Darlington: thomas Warcopp: Churchwardens:
 Willia' Browne: Willia' Newcome ouerseers of the poore
 john Ouington of Ofmoncroft john Clemett ouerfeers of the highwayes.

1653: John Phillipp Churchwardens:
 Willia' ffawell:
 Richard Darlington Ouerseers of the poore
 Thomas Warcopp
 Willia' Browne Ouerfeers for the highwayes.
 Willia' Newcome

1654 Richard: Garforth: Churchwardens
 Thomas: Barnes:
 john: Phillip Ouerfeers for the poore
 thomas: Smithfon:
 Thomas: Warcop: Ouerfeers for the high wayes
 Richard Darlington:

1655 Thomas: Barnes. } Churchwardens
 Willia: Shaw: }
 Richard Garfoote } ouerfeers: for the poore
 francis Bunny: }
 Thomas Smithfon: } ouerseers for the highwayes
 John Phillip. }

1656 the names of the Churchwardens: Willia' Viccars: John Newcome:

Thomas: Barnes: }
 Willia' Shaw: } ouerfeers for the poore:
 M' ffancis Bunny: }
 Richard: Garfoote } ouerfeers for the highwayes.

1657 Willia': ffawell: } Churchwardens.
 Willia': Waite }
 Willia': Vicars } Ouerfeers for the poore
 John: Newcome }
 Willia': Shaw: } Ouerfeers for the highwayes.
 Thomas: Barnes: }

March the 31th Anno Do': 1657

Memerandu', it was agreed upon by the major parte of those who meete att the Church the day aboue specefied that an order for chuseinge the churchwardens beinge made aprill the 19th 1636. Should be invallid and for the future it Should proceede in the parish in this manner that is to say att Westholme tow yeeres together att Ofmancrofte one yeere att Stubhouse tow yeeres, att Barfoote of the Moore fower yeeres: att Newfam fower yeeres, if in these Seuerall places there be soe many Sufficent able men to discharge that office the abelitie of Such men beinge lefte to the judgement of those who shall meet upon Easter twefday; for the electinge of Church officers, and likewyes it was agreed upon, upon the

Same day that the inhabitantes of the towne of Winston shall Serue as in order they dwell if they haue those w^{ch} are conceiued Sufficient by those w^{ch} are meete together upon Easter twefday for the Electinge of Church officers in confirmation of w^{ch} we haue sett to our handes

Cuth: Marley minis: George Bunny Francis Bunny W^m Willfon
Richard Garfott Williame Shawe

1658: john Ouington: Samuell Bynion: Churchwardens.

Willia': Waite: Willia': ffawell. ouerfeers for the poore

Willia': Vicars John: Newcome ouerfeers for the highways

1659: M^r Marley brought in the fue shillings w^{ch} Margrett Newton had of the poores stocke and it was deliuered to Thomas Newcome to be disposed to those that had need of it

Thomas: Newcome	}	Churchwardens
ffrancis Clemett:		
john: Ouington.	}	ouerfeers for the poore
Samuell: Bynion.		
Willia': ffawell:	}	ouerfeers for the high wayes.
Willia': Waite:		
1660. Willia' Browne	}	Churchwardens:
john: Simpson.		
thomas Newcome	}	ouerfeers for y ^e poore
ffrancis Clemett		
john: Ouington:	}	ouerfeers for y ^e high wayes
Samuell: Bynion		
1661. Thomas: Warcopp	}	Churchwardens.
john ffrankeland:		
john Simpson:	}	ouerseers. for y ^e poor:
Willia' Browne:		
Thomas: Newcome	}	ouerseers for y ^e highwayes:
ffrancis Clemett		
1662 Thomas Wilfon	}	Churchwardens.
Barnard ffrankeland		
Thomas: Warcopp	}	ouerfeers for y ^e poore
john ffrankeland		
Thomas Sudell:		ouerfeer for y ^e highwayes.

An affesment of tenn shillings p pound laid by y^e consent of y^e Parson, y^e churchw. and y^e parishoners for things necessary for y^e church also an affesment of 6^s and eightpence p pound for things necessary for y^e church.

1663: john: Compton:	Churchwardens
Ambrose Clemett.	
Thomas: Wilfon	ouerseers for y ^e poore
Barnard ffrankeland	
Thomas Warcop	ouerseers for y ^e highwayes
john ffrankeland jun ^r	

Auguft: y^e 23^d An afefment of five fhillings p pound laid by y^e confent of Minifter and churchwardens and y^e parifhoners for, repairing ye church leads

Aprill y^e 12: 1664:

Memorandu' y^t: thomas Langftraffe and john ffarrow, according to their bond did bring in tenne fhillings w^{ch} money was giuen to y^e overfeers for y^e poore: to be diftributed to thofe w^{ch} had need of it giueing fufficient bond for it john Compton Ambrofe Clemett being ouerfeers for y^e poore.

Memorandu' y^t none of thofe w^{ch} had y^e money w^{ch} belongeth to y^e poore people, came in according to their ingagements but thofe immediately above written.

1664 M^r: Bunny Willia': Richardfon Churchwardens

john Compton Ambrofe Clemett ouerfeers for y^e poore

Thomas: Wilfon Barnard ffrankeland ouerfeers for y^e highways:

Auguft y^e 14: 1664

An afefment of five fhillings p pound was laid by y^e confent of y^e Minifter and churchwardens for mending y^e highways.

7ber. y^e: 25th: 1664

An afefment of five fhillings p pound was laid by y^e confent of y^e Minifter and parifhoners of Winton for things belonging to y^e church.

March y^e: 10th:

An afefment of fower fhillings p pound laid by y^e confent of y^e Minifter and churchwardens for things needfull for y^e church:

An afefment of two fhillings p pound was Layd for y^e repairing of things belonging to y^e church:

The names of y^e Parifhoners as they were afefed by y^e Minifter

Churchwardens and ouerfeers for y^e poore. 9br: y^e: 1: 1664:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
y ^e inhabitants of Weftholme	3	0	Osmancroft	1	0
y ^e inhabitants of Newfa': ...			Winton: Weft Demaine: ...	2	0
M ^r George Bunny	1	4	Winton Eaft Demaine ...	2	0
Willia' Viccars	0	2	Richard Wilfon	0	6
john: Balmer	0	8	Barnard ffrankeland ...	0	3
Edward: Wright	0	8	john ffrankeland junr: ...	0	1
francis Bunny	0	2	y ^e Parfon of Winton ...	1	0
y ^e inhabitants of Barfoote			George Swainfton		
of y ^e moore	3	4			
Stubhoufe	0	9	y ^e whole	16	11

March y^e 28th 1665 officers chofen this yeere upon Eaftur tuesday:

john: Clemett john: Balmer Churchwardens.

M^r. George Bunny William Richardfon ouerfeers for y^e poor.

Ambrofe: Clemett John: Compton ouerfeers for y^e high ways.

March: y^e 28th 1665. Memorandu' y^t: Thomas Langftraffe and John ffarrow payd tenn fhillings according to their bond.

Memorandu' y^t Elliner Brumell payd tenn fhillings it being y^e laft parte of her twenty

alfo john Brownliffe payd fower fhillings according to his bond.

lykewyes Katherine Dowthwaite payd in fiue fhillings soe y^t she hath now of y^e poors stock twenty fhillings

Likewife john Compton and Ambrofe Clemett payd in y^e tenn fhillings w^{ch} was in their hands:—

Memorandu' y^t all y^e Severall Sumes aboue payd in being of y^e poores stock, was deliuered into y^e hands of y^e overfeers for y^e poore and it was ordered y^t Anthony Robinfon, should haue twenty shillings of it, Willia' Richardton giueing his bond for it.

alfo it was ordered y^t George Heward : should haue nineteene Shillings Barnard ffrankland giueing his bond for it.

alfo it was ordered y^t john Newcome y^e elder should haue his bond in : and y^t he should haue y^e nineteene shillings w^{ch} is in his bond for another yeer his son john Newcome giueing his bond for it.

alfo it was then ordered y^t john Newcome y^e younger fhud haue twenty Shillings of y^e poores money ; giueing bond for it.

May y^e 4th 1665.

An affement Layd by y^e Minister and Churchwardens of twelwe Shillings and sixpence p pound for y^e whiteing and plaistering of y^e Church and paying for y^e bookes w^{ch} was injoynd by y^e Archdeacons injunctions.

May y^e 16th.

Receiued then from Ifabell Tilburne y^e Summe of tenn Shillings being halfe of y^e twentie w^{ch} her ffathir had of y^e poors money soe y^t their remains tenn shillings in her hand y^e tenn w^{ch} was receiued was giuen to y^e overfeers : to be difpofed on.

Receiued then : ffortie shillings from John Bell : w^{ch} john Robinfon had : w^{ch} was giuen to y^e overfeers to be difpoffed on :

May y^e 26th 1665.

An asefment laid for y^e poore : y^e day and yeere aboue named : by y^e consent of y^e Minister Churchwardens and overfeers for y^e poore.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
y ^e inhabitants of Westholme	3	0	Edward Wright	0	8
of Neufam :			Mr. francis Bunny	0	2
Mr. George Bunny	1	4	y ^e inhabitants of Barfoote of		
Willia' vicars...	0	2	y ^e Moore	3	4
John Balmer	0	8	Stubhouse	0	9

An account of y^e dif burfments of y^e Churchwardens and ouerfeers of y^e poore and highwayes, giuen in upon Easter tuefday 1663 Thomas Wilfon Barnard ffranckeland Churchwardens

	l	s	d
Inpr' for y ^e font Surplice and hood	2	5	0
Item for a warrant	0	0	6

Item for my charges	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Item for mending y ^e church gates	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
Item for a locke to y ^e church chift	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
Item for my oath att Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	2
Item for Mr. Marleys charges and my owne att Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Item for books to y ^e church	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	10
Item for two traces for y ^e bellroops	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Item for my charges and oath att Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	9
Item for wine att Christinmas for y ^e com'union	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
Item for mending y ^e bier	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Item for mending y ^e Church gates	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Item for wine att Easter	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	10
Item for bread att y ^e same time	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
Item for wafhing y ^e Surplice two times	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Ite: for going to Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
So their remaineth dew to y ^e Churchwa						Thomas Wilfon		
£0 3 ^s 10 ^d						churchwarden		
Inpr: for y ^e hood and Surplice and font	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	10
Item Willia' ffawell for feching y ^e font...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Item for my charges att Barnardcastle	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Item for my oath att Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Item for my charges att Durha'	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Item for my charges at Durha' y ^e Second time	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	10
Item Laid out	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
So there remaines in his hand						Barnard frankland		
7br: y ^e 30 th	0 ^l	6 ^s	6 ^d			churchwarden:		

John Compton received tenn shillings and a groate from Thomas Wilfon and Barnard frankeland being all y^t remained in their hands when they made up their accounts

Received by me as followeth:

of Mr. Bunny:	...	...	...	...	...	Difburfed		
of George Auderfon:	...	...	...	...	...	to Thomas Warcopp	...	10 0
of john Baumer	...	...	...	...	...	to Thomas ffarrow	...	8 0
of Thomas Wilfon	...	...	...	...	...
of Willia' Simpfon:	...	...	...	...	...	3 0 ob.		

Thomas Newcome ouerfeer for y^e high wayes:

Received by me as followeth:

of francis Clemett	...	...	...	...	...	Difburfed		
of y ^e Parifh	...	...	...	...	...	to Willia Richardfon and	...	1 s d
	...	...	...	...	...	Nicholas Ree	...	1 0 0
y ^e whole	...	...	...	...	...	to Thomas ffarrow	...	0 10 0
						1 s d		
dew to y ^e parifh	0	2	4					

Thomas Sudell ouerfeer for y^e highwayes

Received by me as followeth.

An affesment of fivē s. p pound w^{ch} I was to gather from y^e towne and y^e two demaines w^{ch} came to 14^s 2^d

Disburfed		not received of Elizabeth		s	d
to John Compton	... 5	d	6		
to Thomas Sudell	... 7	d	6	1	1 ob

Soe their remaines in my hand fivē farthings

francis Clemett ouerfeer for y^e high wayes.

An accompt of y^e receipts and y^e disburfments of y^e Churchwardens: 1664:

Inprimis received for affesment of fivē Shillings p pound	...	...	...	...	7	11	ob
It. ffor y ^e com'unicants att Christimas and Easter	...	...	...	...	7	7	
		y ^e whole	...	...	15	6	ob
Inp:					s.	d.	
Laid out for y ^e church leads	...	...	...	...	5	0	
ffor my oath and books att Durha'	...	...	...	...	1	8	
ffor my charges att Durha':	...	...	...	...	1	10	
att y ^e Parke houe [?]	...	...	...	...	0	2	
laid out att y ^e Second vifitation for my charges	...	...	...	...	1	6	
for bread att Easter	...	...	...	...	0	2	
ffor wine att our Saviours natiuitie	...	...	...	...	4	2	
		y ^e whole layd out	...	...	14	6	
		their remaines in my hand	...	...	12	0	ob

Ambrose: Clement Churchwarden.

What I haue received, of y ^e parish	...	...	...	...	1	s	d
Received from y ^e parish	...	...	...	...	1	6	8 ob
ffor y ^e Demaine	...	...	...	...	0	6	3
ffrom Thomas Wilfon and Barnard ffrankeland...	...	...	...	...	0	10	4
Mar. Received		y ^e whole	...	...	2	3	3 ob
of y ^e Com'unicants at our Saviours natiuitie and att							
Easter	...	...	...	...	0	4	1

An accompt of what I haue disburfed for y^e use of y^e Church,

to Christopher Craufoote for mending y ^e leads	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
for two boordes:	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
ffor mending y ^e Church gates and nailes	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
ffor broomes and a tab for y ^e bell	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
ffor a boule of lime and feching it	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
ffor two labourers to lay it on	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
ffor my journey to Durha'...	...	...	...	...	0	3	9
ffor my second journey to Durha'	...	...	...	...	0	4	7
ffor a locke to y ^e Church gates	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
ffor bread att y ^e Com'union	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
ffor bread and wine att y ^e Com'union	...	...	...	...	0	7	10
		y ^e whole	...	...	2	8	1

What I haue Layd out of this affement.	£	s	d
ffor y ^e injunctions att Durha' to M ^r Bullocke	0	8	4
ffor a common prayer booke for y ^e Clerk	0	10	6
ffor my charges at Durha'	0	2	6
ffor warneing y ^e parifioners when the workemen were to be agreed withall	0	0	6
ffor whitning and playftering y ^e Church	2	1	0
More for whiteing y ^e Church	0	4	0
y ^e whole Layd of this affement	3	6	10

Richard Wilfon Churchwarden

An accompt of thofe affements yt haue benn collected by me Willia'
Richardfon in y^e year 1664 and parte of 1665.

Collected an affement of 2 ^s p pound : comeing to	0	5	8
Collected an affement of 5 ^s p pound comeing to	0	14	2
Collected an affement of 4 ^s p pound coming to	0	11	4
y ^e whole Receiued of thefe 3 affements	1	11	2
Layd out of thefe affements for goeing to Durha'	0	2	0
for my oath :	0	1	2
ffor y ^e Bellroopes	0	2	6
payd to John Newcome for y ^e Archdeacons men	0	5	3
to Mathew Hudfon :	0	2	0
to john: Compton for oath	0	2	7
to john Compton for his charges :	0	1	0
payd for y ^e Clerkes book... ..	0	3	6
payd for bording y ^e reading Seate and y ^e com'on feate	0	0	10
payd for Lime	0	0	8
ffor goeing to Durha'	0	2	6
ffor flaging y ^e church	0	4	0
ffor goeing to Durha'	0	2	0
Layd out in all	1	10	0
Collected alfo an affement of twelwe Shillings Sixpence p. pound w ^{ch} cometh to	1	15	5
Layd out of y ^e aboue affement to y ^e playterers	1	12	6
ffor Bording y ^e Staules	0	2	0
ffor Nails	0	0	2 ob
Layd out	1	14	8 ob

Willia' Richardfon Churchwarden.

An accompt of y^e difburfments of john Clemett Church-
warden in y^e yeare. 1665.

Layd out	£	s	d
ffor goeing to Durha' to y ^e bifhopps vifitation	0	2	0
ffor my oath... ..	0	0	9

ffor draweing y ^e Sentences in y ^e Church	...	...	0	11	0
to ye apparitor for comeing for y ^e Monthly collection	0	1	6		
ffor weeding y ^e Churchyard	...	...	0	0	4
ffor two books for y ^e Church	...	...	0	3	6
ffor goeing to Gainford to y ^e Bell founder	...	...	0	0	6
ffor beafoms to sweepe y ^e Church	...	...	0	0	0
payd for wine att our Saviours Navititie	...	...	0	0	6
payd for bread and wine att Eafter	...	...	0	8	6
ffor my goeing to Durha'	...	...	
y ^e whole	...	...	1	13	10 ob

An accompt of what affements I haue collected

An affement of fise Shillings p pound w ^{ch} cometh to	...	1	8	5
Received of y ^e old Churchwdens	...	0	1	6
Received of y ^e Com'unicants att our Saviours Nativitie	...	0	0	7
Received of y ^e Com'unicants att Eafter	...	0	6	2

John Clemett Churchwarden.

An accompt of y^e affements Collected and what money hath been by me Difburfed in y^e yeare. 1665.

Collected an affement of fise Shillings p pound :	£	s	d
Received of Thomas Wilfon :	...	0	16 9
of William Vicars	...	0	13 9
Mr. George Bunny	...	0	5 10
Edward Wright	...	0	2 10
Mr. francis Bunny	...	0	0 9
Edward Alwine	...	0	6 3
Stubhoufe	...	0	4 2
john: Balmer	...	0	3 0

y^e whole received

Received also: of y ^e Communicants att our Saviours Nativitie	0	1	1
Received also of y ^e Communicants att Eafter	0	4	10
	0	5	11

Received in all :

Layd out :	...	2	19	3
ffor goeing to Durha'	...	0	2	9
ffor writting y ^e Sentences...	...	1	1	0
ffor dressing y ^e Churchyard	...	0	0	4
ffor y ^e bell	...	0	0	2
ffor mending y ^e pulpit cloth and y ^e quifhon	...	0	0	8
ffor a plate for y ^e Communion	...	0	1	10
to Raiph Hurdson	...	0	2	0
att y ^e Second visitation	...	0	5	4
ffor wine att our Saviours Nativitie	...	0	1	6

for bread and wine att Easter	0	5	2
for goeing to Durha'	0	2	0
to Raiph Hurdson	0	2	0
... ..			
y ^e whole:	2	4	9
their remaines in my hand	0	14	9

john: Balmer Churchwarden.

The accompt of john: Balmer as to what he had remaining in his hand being 14^s 9^d ...

Difburfed as followeth :			
	£	s	d
for 3 oaths att y ^e vifitation	0	3	4
for Mending y ^e bell:	0	3	3
for wafhing y ^e syrplce	0	0	6
ffor M ^r Marlies Charges:	0	2	0
to Edward Wright	0	4	8
... ..			
y ^e whole	0	14	9

john Balmer: Churchwarden

An accompt of what hath benn collected and Difburfed by Barnard frankeland Churchwarden in y^e yeare. 1666.

Collected an affement of 3 ^s 4 ^d p pound y ^e whole being 7 ^s 4 ^d ob			
also Received of john Clemett at Eafter 7 ^d ob			
also Received of y ^e Communicants att our Saviours Nativitie	£	s	d
and att Eafter... ..	0	6	9
... ..			
y ^e whole received	0	14	9

Difburft. as followeth			
Inp: for wine att Christinmas	0	2	4
Ite for wine att Eafter	0	3	0
Ite' for bringing it here	0	0	2
Ite' for bread	0	0	1
Ite' for a book	0	1	0
Ite' to Raiph Hudson	0	2	0
Ite' for going to Durha'	0	2	0
Ite' for Mending y ^e Bell	0	0	9
Ite' for beafoms	0	0	1
Ite'm for goeing to Durha'	0	2	0
... ..			
y ^e whole	0	12	11
Remaines in my hand	0	1	10
and two fhillings and a penny w ^{ch} john Compton			
refufeth to pay, in all	0	3	11

More difburfed

to M ^r Marley for his charges att y ^e vifitation	0	2	0
Soe their remaines in my hand	0	1	11

Collected of y ^e affement of one shilling and eightpence p									
pound ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 6
Dif burffed of y ^e same affement for my charges att Durha'									0 1 4
ffor y ^e presentment att Durha' ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
their remains in my hand ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 7

Barnard frankeland.

The accompts of Edward Wright Churchwarden in y^e yeare. 1666.

Collected

Inp: An affement of 3 ^s 4 ^d per pound ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 17 9 ob
also Receiued of john: Balmer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 8
of Thomas Newcome for a Laireftone ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 8
of y ^e Communicants att Chr: ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 11
of y ^e Communicants att Eafter... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 5 11

y^e whole 1 10 11 ob

Dif burffed of y^e aboute su':

Inp: for parchent ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
also for going to Durha'... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0
for going againe to Durha' ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
to Bartholomew Harwood ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 8
for mending ye Beire ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 8
ffor swapes for y ^e bells ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 0
to Raiph Hudfon ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0
ffor bread att Chr: ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 2
for bread att Eafter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
ffor wine att Eafter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 11 0
ffor wafhing y ^e Surplice ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 6
for going to Durha'... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0

y^e whole 1 12 4

his accompt of one fhilling and eightpence p pound w^{ch} he also collected:

The whole of y^e aboute affement collected being 0 8 9

Dif burffed of y^e same

Inp: dew to me upon y ^e other accompt: ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 2 ob
also for Richard Wilfon att Durha' ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
for his oath ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 0
for his charges att Durha'... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0

in all 0 4 2 ob

their Remaines in my hand 0 4 6 ob

Edward Wright: Churchwarden.

March y^e 24th 1667:

Richard Darlington made up his accomptes y^e daye aboute named and their remained in his hand: 5^d:

Richard Wilfon also made up his accompts y^e daye aboute named before y^e parish and y^e parish was indebted to him 2^d ob

what affements have benn laid for y^e Church since March y^e 24th 1667: by: Richard Wilfon, and Robert Pearfon Churchwardens.

An affement of Six Shillings and eightpence p pound:

also another affement of three Shillings and fower pence p pound:

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Ofmondcroft	0	1	0	George Swainfton ...	0	0	2
Winston: West demaine	0	2	0	Richard Darlington...	0	0	2
Winston East demaine ...	0	2	0	Elliner Brumell ...	0	0	1
Richard: Wilfon	0	0	6	Robert Slacke ...	0	0	1
Barnard ffrankland ...	0	0	3				
john ffrankeland...	0	0	1	y ^e whole ...	0	17	5
y ^e Parfon	0	1	0				

who are to haue weekly allowances and what they are to haue.

Margrett Brown 12 ^d p week	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mathew Hurdson. 8 ^d p week	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
Ann: Hugh: 6 ^d p week	...	...	...	...	0	0	6

july y^e: 11th: 1665

An affement laid by y^e Minister and Churchwardens for writting y^e sentences in y^e Church: of fve shillings p pound

April y^e 17th 1666/

George: Swainfton.	Elected churchwardens y ^e day and yeare
Edward: Wright:	aboue named
john: Clemett:	overfeers for y ^e poore
john: Balmer:	
Willia' Richardfon	
Mr George Bunny:	overfeers for y ^e highwayes

Memorandu' y^t Willia' Richardfon payd in thirtienine Shillings w^{ch} he had of y^e poores money, and it was delivered to john Balmer and john Clemett to be difpoffed on to thofe y^t haue neceffitie of it, they taking fufficient bond for it

Richard Wilfon hath tenn fhillings of y^e poores money, for w^{ch} he is to giue john Clemett and john Balmer fufficient bond within a week:

Thomas Newcome gaue in fve Shillings w^{ch} he had of y^e poores money: w^{ch} was deliuered to john Clemett and john Balmer to be difpoffed to thofe w^{ch} haue need taking bond for it

Memorandu' y^t it was ordered y^t john Brownleffe should haue his fower Shillings, w^{ch} he was to pay according to his bond another year

none of y^e other w^{ch} had any of y^e poores money came in according to their ingagements but y^e aboue named: only Ifabell Tylburne defired y^t she might haue her tenn shillings another yeare but their was no anſwer returned

April 17th 1666

john: Compton and Ambroſe Clemett when they made up their accounts had 12^s and a penny in their hands of w^{ch} they muſt giue an account

john Compton Received 1^s 6^d of john Simpson w^{ch} he had collected of y^e affement of 6^s 8^d p pound

y^e twelfe Shillings and a penny w^{ch} john Compton and Ambrose Clemett had in their hands was y^t w^{ch} remained of y^e affements of 6^s and 8^d p pound and 2^s 6^d p pound.

Aprill 21th 1666

Memorandu' y^t Thomas Wilfon of Barfoote of y^e Moore gauē twenty Shillings by his will to y^e poore of y^e parish, w^{ch} was to be disposed of by y^e consent of y^e parish for their benefitt, w^{ch} money john Clemett hath in his hand untill y^t it be disposed of:

y^e accompts of y^e overfeers of y^e poore: 1664

Ambrose Clemett.	Received	Disburffed:		
	£ s d		£ s d	
of y ^e West Demaine	... 0 4 0	to Mathew Hurdson:	0 0 6	
Richard Garfoote	... 0 2 0	to Mirrioll Langhorne	0 0 6	
M ^r Marley	... 0 2 0	to Mathew: Hurdson	0 2 0	
Richard Wilfon	... 0 1 0	to Ann: Hugh:	... 0 2 0	
Barnard ffranklin	... 0 0 6	to Robert Wilfons		
john: ffrankeland	... 0 0 2	children	... 0 1 0	
George Swainston	... 0 0 2	to Siffely Harker	... 0 0 6	
Thomas: Wilfon	... 0 6 8	ffor going to Durha'	0 2 0	
		ffor an order ...	... 0 2 4	
y ^e whole	... 0 16 6	to Margrett Browne...	0 2 0	

y^e whole ... 0 13 4

john: Compton. what I haue Layd: out 1 s d

ffor a warrant	... ..	0 0 6
to Ann: Hugh	... ..	0 0 6
payd att Church:	... ..	0 2 2
payd to Margrett Browne	... ..	0 2 6
payd to Mathew Hurdson	... ..	0 1 0
payd to Elliner Bainbridge	... ..	0 1 0
payd to john: Brownlesse ffor widow Mortons houfe rent	... ..	0 8 0
y ^e whole	... ..	0 15 8

What I have received 0 17 6

y^e accompts of y^e overfeers for y^e poore. 1665:

Richard Wilfon: Received	£ s d
att Westholme 5 affements: comeing	... .. 0 15 0
att Neusa' 5 affements. coming to.	... .. 0 15 0
att Barfoote fiue affement coming to	... .. 0 16 8
att Stubhoufe 5 affements coming to	... .. 0 3 9
att Ofmancroft 5 affements coming to	... .. 0 5 0
y ^e whole	... .. 2 15 5

Disburffed:						£	s	d				
to	Margrett Browne	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
	Mathew Hurdson	...	...	...	...	0	17	0
	Ann: Hugh	...	...	...	...	0	9	11
	john Brownleffe for y ^e houfe:	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
	Robert Wilsons children	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	Siffele: Harker	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	Elizabeth Morton	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	y ^e whole	...	...	...	...	2	15	5
Willia' Richardfon what I haue collected								1	s	d		
of	M ^r Marley	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
	john: Compton...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
	Richard Garfoote	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
	Margrett Darlington	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	George Swainton	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	Robert: Slack	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	Willia' ffawell:	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	Elizabeth Richardfon	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	Ambrose Clemett	...	...	...	...	0	1	5 ob
	john: Clemett	...	...	...	...	0	1	5 ob
	Margrett Attkinon	...	...	...	...	0	3	6 ob
	Barnard frankeland	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	john frankeland	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	Eliner Brumell...	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	Richard Wilfon...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
	y ^e whole:	...	...	...	...	1	11	4 ob
Disburffed Auguft y ^e 12 th						jan: y ^e 18 th						
to	Matthew: Hurdson	...	0	1	0	to:	Mathew: Hurdson:	0	1	6		
	Ann: Heugh	0	1	0	Margrett Browne...	0	2	0		
	Margrett Browne:	...	0	2	0		Ann: Heugh:	...	0	1	2	
Septeber y ^e 2 ^d						March y ^e 16 th						
to:	Mathew: Hurdson	...	0	0	6	to	Ann Heugh	...	0	1	8	
	Ann: Heugh	0	0	6	Margrett Browne:	...	0	3	0	
	Margrett Browne	...	0	0	6		Mathew Hurdson	...	0	2	0	
Nove'ber: y ^e 20 th						Elliner Bainbridg			...	0	0	4
to:	Margrett Browne	...	0	3	0	john: Brownleffe for						
	Mathew Hurdson:	...	0	1	6	his houfe rent	...	0	5	0		
	Ann: Hugh:	...	0	1	0	to Ann Hugh:	...	0	0	6		
	for a warrant	...	0	0	6		
							
	y ^e whole:	...	1	8	8		
8 br y ^e 10 th 1666												

An affement of 3^s and 4^d p pound was laid y^e day and yeare above by

y^e confent of y^e minifter and y^e Churchwardens for things belonging to y^e church:

The names. of y^e inhabitants of y^e parish of Winton as they were affeted by y^e ouerfeers of y^e poore and Churchwardens.

		1666					1 s d		
		l	s	d			l	s	d
Barfoote of y ^e Moore...		0	2	8	Richard Garfoote ...		0	1	1
Newfam ...	...	0	2	5	Cuth: Marley Rector		0	1	3
Westholme ...	...	0	2	5	Richard Wilfon ...		0	0	6
Stubhoufe ...	...	0	0	8	Barnard ffrankeland...		0	0	3
Ofmancrofte ...	...	0	0	10 ob	john ffrankeland jun:		0	0	1 ob
Heighley ...	...	0	0	6 ob	Elliner Brum'ell ...		0	0	1 qr
john Clemett and Am-					Margrett Darlington				
brofe Clemett ...	...	0	0	6 ob	for both her cottages		0	0	1
Willia': ffawell ...	...	0	0	4	George Swainfton ...		0	0	2
Willia' Richardson ...	...	0	0	3					
john Compton ...	...	0	1	0	y ^e whole ...		0	15	3 qr

April y^e 9th 1667

Memorandu', y^t none of y^e poores stocke was payd in upon Easter Tuesday,

officers elected upon Easter tueidday

M ^r ffancis Bunny:	{	Churchwardens:
Richard Darlington:		
George: Swainfton	{	ouerfeers for y ^e poore
Edward: Wright:		
john: Balmer	{	ouerfeers for y ^e highways
john: Clemett		

April y^e 14th

An affement of one fhilling and eightpence p pound was laid y^e day and yeare aboue named by y^e confent of y^e Minifter and Churchwardens for difcharging of charges, and things belonging to y^e Church:

Churchwardens { Barnard ffrankeland
Edward: Wright:

The accompts of y^e Ouerfeers for y^e poore 1666:

John: Balmer Ouerfeer his accompts.

Collected 3 affements w ^{ch} in y ^e whole did amount to	...	1	13	3
also collected other two affements w ^{ch} came to	...	0	18	1
y ^e whole Collected	...	2	11	4
Difburffed to y ^e poore.				
To Mathew Hurdson	...	0	8	0
also for his winding fheet	...	0	2	0
to Margrett Brown	...	1	9	0
to Ann: Heugh	...	0	14	6
y ^e whole	...	2	13	6
john: Balmer:				

Ambrose Clemett Overfeer for y^e poor. his accompt. Collected:

two affements w ^{ch} came to	...	...	...	...	0	10	11
Received out of y ^e poore mans box	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
also three other affements w ^{ch} came to	...	...	...	...	0	18	4 ob
y ^e whole collected and Received	...	...	...	...	1	19	3 ob

Difburffed as ffolloweth.

ffor a warrant: ...	...	0	0	6	jan: 27 th : Difburffed.		
to Siffely Harker for to	...	...	...	...	to: Margrett Browne	0	1 0
putt her Son to a trade	0	5	6	Ann: Heugh: ...	0	0	6
to: Mathew Hurdfon ...	0	2	0	Thomas Harker ...	0	0	4
Margrett Browne ...	0	2	0	feb. 3 ^d			
Ann: Heugh ...	0	1	0	to: Margrett Browne	0	1	0
July: 15:				Ann: Heugh: ...	0	0	6
to: Mathew Hurdfon ...	0	1	0	Thomas Harker ...	0	0	4
Margrett Browne ...	0	1	0	March: 31 th			
Ann: Heugh ...	0	0	6	to: Margrett Browne	0	1	0
July: 2i				Ann: Heugh: ...	0	0	6
to: Mathew Hurdfon ...	0	1	0	Thomas: Harker:	0	0	4
Ann: Heugh ...	0	0	6	April 7 th			
Margrett Browne ...	0	1	0	to: Margrett Browne	0	1	0
Mathew Hurdfon ...	0	1	0	Ann: Heugh: ...	0	0	6
Sept ^r . 20:				y ^e whole difburffed ...	1	16	6
to: Margrett Browne: ...	0	2	0	Received also in affe-			
Ann: Heugh ...	0	1	0	ments and other			
7br 27 th				wayes: ...	1	19	1 ob
to: Margrett Browne ...	0	1	0	Received of M ^r George			
Ann: Heugh ...	0	0	6	Bunny ffor y ^e ufe of			
Decmb ^r .				y ^e money w ^{ch} he			
to: Margrett Browne ...	0	2	0	hath of y ^e poor ...	0	3	ob
Elliner Bainbridg ...	0	0	6	y ^e whole ...	2	2	5 ob
Ann: Heugh ...	0	1	6	Difburft:			
Margrett Browne ...	0	1	0	to y ^e poore: ...	1	16	6
Jan: 20 th :				for y ^e widdowes houfe			
to: Margrett Browne ...	0	2	0	rent: ...	0	8	0
Ann: Heugh: ..	0	1	0	y ^e whole: ...	2	4	6
Thomas: Harker ...	0	0	6	Soe y ^t I am out of purfe:	0	2	0

Ambrose Clemett:

The names of y^e inhabitants of y^e parish of Winston as they were assessed by y^e Churchwardens and Overfeers for y^e poore.

1667.

M ^r Cuth: Marley Rector: 0 1 0	George Swainston ... 0 0 2
john: Compton ... 0 1 0	Margrett Darlington 0 0 1
Richard Garfoote ... 0 1 0	Elliner Brumell ... 0 0 1
Wilsons ffarme ... 0 0 6	
john: Wrangha' ... 0 0 8	y ^e whole ... 0 6 2 ob
y ^e two Clemets ... 0 0 7	Ofmancroft ... 0 1 0
Elizabeth: Richardfon 0 0 4	Stubhouse ... 0 0 8
Willia' ffawell ... 0 0 5	Barfoote of y ^e moore 0 3 4
Barnard ffrankeland 0 0 3 ob	Newfa'... ... 0 3 0
john: ffrankeland jun: 0 0 1	Weftholme ... 0 3 0
	in all... ... 0 11 0
y ^e whole affement of towne and parifh doth ammount to 0 17 2 ob	

1667.

The names of thofe y^t haue y^e money belonging to y^e poores ftocke:

john: Powe: 1 0 0
john: Newcome jun: 1 x 0 x 0
john: Newcome s ^r : 1 x 0 x 0
Thomas Langstraffe and
john: ffarow: 3 0 0
M ^r George Bunny 2 x 4 x 0
George Heward: 1 0 0
Mathew Hurdfon: 1 0 0
john: Brownleffe 0 8 0
Robert Pearfon 1 0 0
Siffele Harker 2 0 0
john: Sanderfon 0 5 0
Isabell Tylburne 0 x 10 x 0
Richard Wilfon 0 10 0
Dispoſſed of y ^e poores money by y ^e parifh to Margar when
fhe was ficke 0
w ^{ch} is not repayd [page torn.]
Katherin Dowthwhait 0

4 Dece'ber: . . .

Memorandu' y^t y^e day aboue named john Brownleffe had fue Shillings of y^e poores money giueing him by Richard Darlington w^{ch} money was receiued of M^r George Bunny; being of y^t w^{ch} he hath of y^e poores money w^{ch} fue Shillings was lent to john: Browneleffe untill Eaſter tuesday next:

March y^e 24th 1668.

Memorandu' y^t none of thofe w^{ch} had any of y^e poores ftocke came in to make tender according to their ingagements of y^t money w^{ch} they haue in their hands.

officers elected.

M ^r Downtwaite	}	Churchwardens.
Robert: Pearfon		
Richard Darlington	}	Overfeers for y ^e poore.
M ^r Francis Bunny		
George Swainfton	}	overfeers for y ^e high wayes.
Edward: Wright		

The accompts of y^e Overfeers for y^e poore as they were giuen in March 24th: 1668.

Edward Wright collected for y^e maintenance of y^e poore 2^l 4^s 0^d in y^e parish, and he distributed to y^e poore 2^l 2^s 6^d so their remains in his hand: 1^s 6^d

George Swainfton Collected for y^e poore in y^e towne y^e Sume of 1^l 18^s 11^d ob., and he distributed to y^e poore 1^l 16^s 6^d So their remains in his hands two Shillings five pence halpenny.

Aprill y^e 13th 1669.

officers elected y^e day aboue named:

M ^r Douthwaite	}	Churchwardens.
Richard Garfoote		
john: Balmer	}	overfeers for y ^e poore.
Robert: Pearfon		
Richard Darlington	}	overfeers for y ^e high wayes:
M ^r Francis Bunny		

M^{tris} Ann: Newcome of Heighley Hall gaue Six pounds. to y^e poore of y^e parish of Winton to buy Something for their maintenance, Aprill y^e 13th: 1669.

May y^e 31th

john Brownleffe payd y^e five Shillings w^{ch} he borrowed to Richard Darlington and M^r Bunny of Newfa' payd in y^e 39 Shillings w^{ch} he had, both w^{ch} Sumes doe remaine in Richard Darlingtons hand untill they be dispoised of.

y^e Churchwardens accompts

Robert Pearfon made up his accompts Aprill y^e 13th 1669: and their remained in his hand 9^s and Sixpence:

Richard Wilfon made up his accompts then and their remained in his hand fuepence.

y^e ouerfeers of y^e poors accompts.

M^r Francis Bunny made up his accompts yⁿ and their remained 4^s 6^d pence in his hand.

Richard Darlington maide up his accompts yⁿ and their remained in his hand fuepence ob.

Apr: 17. 1677.

Received from Tho. ffurbey for y^e use of 6^{ll} for 3 yeares one pound one shilling.

It' from Jo. ffarrow in part of his bond for y^e use of y^e poore one pound ten shillings.

It' from Jo. Powle in part of his bond for y^e use of y^e poore, five shillings.

Memorand. y^t by y^e agreem^t of y^e Rector & y^e parishioners then met together, it was concluded, y^t two pounds part of y^e aforesaid sums should bee put into y^e hands of Tho. Wareop & Ambrose Clemett then chosen churchwardens & overseers for y^e poore, to bee added to y^e poores stock, & to bee Improved for their use, as soone as they can put it out into good hands. & y^e other 6 sh. shall bee distributed amongst y^e poore as occasion shall serue. Memorand' y^t this sum was payd in Apr. 2. 78. [P.L.] [Peter Lancaster.]

Aprill. 2. 1678.

Payd by John ffarrow in part of y^e poores money, w^{ch} hee hath in his hand, ten shillings.

Payd by Thomas ffurbey for y^e use of 6^{li} for one yeare. 7 shill'.

Memorand' y^t three pounds of y^e poores money is put into y^e hands of John Newcomb churchwarden, till such time as it can bee laid out for their use.

Memorand' y^t y^e said Jo. Newcomb & Thomas ffarrow of Winston haue giuen bond for y^e said three pounds.

Apr. 22. 1679.

10^s Paid by Jo. Farrow in part of y^e poores money, w^{ch} hee hath in his hands, ten shillings.

3^s 6^d Paid by Tho: ffarrow for Interest of y^e 3^{li} of y^e poores money, w^{ch} hee hath in his hands, three shillings and sixpence.

2^s 4^d Paid by M^{rs} Dorothy Bunny in full of y^e Interest for y^e poores money, w^{ch} shee hath in her hands, two shillings & fourepence.

7^s Paid by Thom: ffurbey for y^e use of six pounds of y^e poores mony w^{ch} hee hath in his hands, seven shillings.

Memorand'. y^t one pound of y^e poores money is put into y^e hands of Bernard franklin churchwarden, till such time as it can bee laid out for their use.

[P.L.].

Aprill 17. 1688:

7^s paid by Jo: Brumell for the use of six pounds.

3^s: 6^d paid by Tho: ffarrow & Jo: Newcom for use

2^s 4^d paid by Cristopher Rafe for use

2^s 4^d paid by Amb: Clement & Rob. Dindfdale one shilling of y^e use so paid was giuen to Margret Taler & the Rist put into the poore mans box being in the . . . sum 14^s 2^d

Aprill y^e 1th: 1673.

The names of y^e officers elected y^a.

Willia' ffawell	}	Churchwardens
Willia' B . . . ne		
Thomas Newcom		
Tho: ffurbe	}	overseers for y ^e poore.
Christopher: Thompson		
Thomas Sudell	}	overseers for y ^e highways
Richard: Wilfon		

~~April~~ March y^e 27. 1676.

the names of y^e officers Elected.

Robart Dindsdale	}	Churchwardings
Hugh Hodgshon		

they are Likewise by the Consent of the parish to stand overseers for y^e poore this p^tent yeare

Thomas Newcome	}	overseers for y ^e highways.
Henery ffawuell		

April 17. 1677.

Memorand' y^t I Pet. Lancaster Rector of Winston claimed my privilege of choosing one of y^e churchwardens but waived it for this p^tent yeare, & consented to y^e election made by y^e Parishioners.

The names of y^e Severall officers then elected by y^e Parishioners of Winston

Thomas Warcope	}	churchwardens.
Ambrose Clemett		

The same persons overseers for y^e poore.

Rob. Dinsdale	}	overseers of y ^e highwaies.
Hugh Hodgshon		

Apr. 2. 1678.

The names of y^e severall officers then elected by y^e parishioners of Winston.

John Seamore Jun.	}	churchwardens.
John Newcomb.		

The same persons overseers for y^e poore.

Thomas Warcope	}	overseers of y ^e highwaies.
Ambrose Clemet		

Memorand. y^t I Pet. Lancaster Rector of Winston claimed my privilege of choosing one of y^e churchwardens; but waived it for this p^tent yeare & consented to y^e election made by y^e parishioners.

Apr. 2. 1678.

Memorand. y^t y^e day & yeare aboue written It was concluded & agreed upon by y^e Rector & parishioners of Winston then p^tent, y^t y^e churchwardens accounts shall bee entered in a book, to bee provided for that purpose, by y^e Clark of y^e parish for y^e time being, for w^{ch} y^e said churchwardens shall allowe him twelue pence yearly, w^{ch} shall bee added to their accounts.

Pet. Lancaster Rect^r ibid.

Apr. 22. 1679.

Memorand' y^t I Pet. Lancaster Rector of Winston claimed my

priviledge of choosing one of y^e churchwardens; but waived it for this p'sent yeare, & consented to y^e election made by y^e Parishioners.

The names of y^e severall officers elected by y^e Parishioners of Winston y^e day & yeare last aboue written.

Bernard franklin
Will'. Granger } churchwardens.

The same persons overseers for y^e poore.

John Seamore Jun.
John Newcombe. } overseers of y^e highways.

Memorand' y^t y^e day & yeare last aboue written these three ensueing orders were agreed upon & established by y^e Rector & parishioners of Winston, for y^e better management of y^e parish affaires.

1. That y^e parishioners shall choofe six men (whereof three shall bee tenants of y^e Lord of y^e mannor of Winston, & y^e other three shall bee Inhabitants of y^e outsides of y^e parish) without whose consent y^e churchwardens shall not lay any afeesment, nor undertake any parish businefs: & if any difference shall arise amongst them, y^e greater number shall determine it.

. . . . r no money thall be distributed amongst y^e poore of y^e parish in any other place but y^e church only, & that upon notice given y^e Sunday before; and y^t y^e same shall bee distributed by both y^e churchwardens in p'sence of y^e minister: unlesf it bee in y^e case of weak persons, who are not able to come to y^e church.

3. That all persons, who haue any of y^e poores money in theire hands, shall either bring it in yearly upon Tuesday in Easter week, or shall upon y^e same day giue new bond for it, with such security as shall giue satisfaction to y^e churchwardens & y^e six men, or y^e greater number of them: & for default here of y^e overseers for y^e poore shall within one moneth after put y^e said person or persons in suit for ye said money.

The names of y^e six men who are chosen by y^e parishioners to Joine with y^e churchwardens in all parish affaires.

Ambrose Clemett.
Ralfe Hodgson ~~Hugh Hodgshon.~~ } for Winston
~~Richard Darnton.~~

Will'. Richardson ~~Richard Wilfon~~
M^r Douthwait.
Robert Dinsdale. }
Thomas { Warcope } for y^e outsides.
or {
George {

To these were added, Apr: 17. 1688. } Richard Holmes
} John Clemett Jun.

Memorand. y^t I Pet. Lancaster Rector of Winston claimed my privi-

ledge for choosing one of y^e churchwardens, Apr. 13. 1680. but waived it for this p'sent yeare, & consented to y^e election made by y^e parishioners; as in y^e next page.

Apriell. 2 th 1689				
Paid by Jo: Brumell for use of 6 ^{li} pounds.	...	...	...	7 ^s 0 ^d
Paid by Jo: Newcome & Tho: ffarrow p use of 3 ^{li}	...	...	...	3 ^s 6 ^d
Paid by Cristopher Rafe for vfe of 2 ^{li} pun	...	...	...	2 ^s 4 ^d

The aboue said vfe was difposed of eight fhillings to Tho: Warcopp & Hugh Hodgthon ouerfeers for y^e vfe of the poore to be Accounted for; the Rett to make the money paid in by Timothy Kipling an euen sum. Memorand' y^t y^e last aboue mentioned is to be accounted for to y^e poores stock out of y^e next afesment poore

Apriell. 22th 1690

Paid by Jo: Brumell for use of 6 ^{li}	...	...	...	...	7 ^s 0 ^d
Paid by Jo: Newcome & Tho: ffarrow p vfe	...	...	...	...	3 ^s 6 ^d
Paid by Crifto: Rafe for vfe	...	...	...	...	2 ^s 4 ^d
paid by Hugh Hodgthon & Tho: Warcupp for the vfe of eight pounds	...	...	...	...	8 2
& one fhillings & 2 ^d abated for 20 ^s which John Eles Receiued when they Entred out of the Eight pounds	...	tot.	1	1	0
the vfe paid in for the poores money was Giuen to the poore Apriell 22 th : 90 only 1 ^s in the poors box					

1693

The Ufe pd by Mr Dowthwait for y^e power mony was giuen teen fhillings of it to John tayler & a leeven to y^e power

The Ufe pd: for 18^l this year past (viz) 1694 the fume of one pound one fhillings 9th: 1695 p' B. Dowthwaite

. . . . w^{ch} ~~remains~~ was paide to Joⁿ: Eells and five shillings more made 1^{li} 6^s paide by William Richardson out of the Seff Collected by him at halfe booke of rates for the year 1694: all y^e other moneys in y^e: box being 15 3^d was giuen to y^e the same day./

Appl 14. 1695

M^d: it is agreed p y^e: Pifh y^t Elizabeth Morton haue five shillings P Ann' giuen her towards y^e paym^t for her houfe P Ann. euery Eafter Teusday till further order

The ute p^d: for 18^{li} this year past 1696 p' John. Brumell and Dowthwaite 1^{li} 1^s Ap'll 20th 1697: w^{ch} was giuen to y^e poor & only remains in y^e poor box 7^s 6^d new money & 3 ould sixpences & some braf Bernard Dowthwaite & John Brumell for 18^{li} this year Past

. . . . 1^s May y^e 3^d: 1698: w^{ch} was Giuen to y^e poor and es in y^e Poor Box 1^s 7^d and 3 ould Sixpences ould halfpence & puder halfpence



W. McLeish, Photo.

ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON,

From the North East.

VIII.—THE CHURCHES OF DARLINGTON AND HARTLEPOOL VIEWED BRIEFLY, AND IN ARCHITECTURAL COMPARISON.

BY THE REV. J. F. HODGSON.

[Read in substance at Hartlepool, June 13th, 1894.]

1.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

I.

THE county of Durham, among many ancient churches—for the most part of very rude and inferior character—possesses, nevertheless, two of extraordinary interest and value, viz.: those of Hartlepool and Darlington. They belong to two entirely separate, and distinct classes; that of Hartlepool to the parochial; that of Darlington to the collegiate. But, as commonly happened with the churches of secular canons, the latter was of a dual, or compound character; the choir and transepts pertaining more particularly to the dean and canons, the nave and its aisles, to the parishioners.

Both are of unusual size and dignity, and both are also well nigh contemporaneous. Both, too, possess the distinction of a western doorway, a feature ordinarily reserved for those of the highest class—cathedral and monastic—but which, though occurring naturally

NOTE.—The above is the seal of bishop Pudsey, reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. Canon Raine, from Raine's *Auckland Castle*.



enough at Darlington in virtue of the nature of the foundation, can only be accounted for at Hartlepool by its connection with the great priory of Guisborough, to which both its immediate predecessor and itself were subject.¹

Of both churches, again, the names and histories of the builders are pretty certainly ascertained.

As to Darlington, prior Wessington not only tells us that it was built by bishop Pudsey from the foundation, but Coldingham, that these were laid in the year when the ransom for the release of king Richard I. was levied, which fixes it to 1192. It was therefore progressing during the three years intervening between that date and the death of Pudsey, which occurred on March 3rd, 1195.²

¹ The presence of a western doorway was, apparently always, and without exception, indicative either of inherent, or dependent dignity. As a rule it pertained especially to all cathedral and conventual churches, however humble, whether of monks or canons, regulars or seculars. When occurring in simple parish churches, no matter how grand their scale, or sumptuous their decoration, this feature may, I think, invariably be taken as denoting their appropriation either to some bishopric or religious house; the accepted, and doubtless correct, theory being that it was provided for the solemn entry of the bishop, abbot, or prior, as the case might be, when coming to visit, in procession. Yet, that there were exceptions to the rule, on one hand at any rate, is evident from the fact that, although nearly all conventual churches had western doorways, some at least, as for example, those of the Augustinian priory of Brinkburn, and the Benedictine abbeys of Buildwas and Romsey had none; nor were they probably the only instances. Nor must it be supposed on the other hand, that though, apparently, all parish churches having western doorways were dependent as above described, all churches so dependent were necessarily provided with them. This would seem only to have been the case where those churches were either built or rebuilt after the date of their appropriation; those already built being suffered to continue as they were. Nor again, were all collegiate churches, unless like those of Ripon, Fotheringay, Tattersall, St. Stephen's Westminster, or St. George's Windsor, built specially for the purpose provided with them; some, like those of Staindrop and Lanchester, ancient parish churches which were made collegiate only at a later date, never having had any at all. That of Chester-le-Street affords us an interesting example of an ancient parish church which, if previously without one, yet, on being extended westwards at the period of the collegiate foundation, *temp.* bishop Bek, was then duly furnished with this customary feature.

² John de Wessington, who was prior of Durham from 1416 to 1446, and lived, therefore, some one hundred and twenty years after the event, can only, of course, have derived his information from either history or tradition. It is none the less valuable, however, on that account, since it does not oppose, but simply corroborates, the actually contemporary account of Coldingham which runs thus:—

³ Rex igitur de terra Syriae revertens, a Duce Ostriciae captus, et Imperatori venditus, legatariis in Angliam directis, mandavit suae liberationi celerius et uberius ab omnibus subveniri; aurumque et argentum ecclesiarum et vasa sancta, vel eorum redemptionem, ad se transmitti, Episcopus, autem, ecclesiam Dunhelmensem nullam volens sustinere diminutionem, quam novis semper decoris optabat incrementis proficere, thesaurum datum centum marcis redemit, et ilibatum loco muneris ecclesiae restituit; misitque Regi duo millia libras argenti;

With respect to Hartlepool, though our information is neither so precise nor circumstantial as in the case at Darlington, it is yet scarcely the less certain or assured. For, though documentary proof be not, indeed, forthcoming, the internal evidence of style alone fixes its erection as surely to the closing years of the life, as do its vast scale and sumptuous splendour of decoration to the munificence, of Robert de Brus IV., the contemporary, for twenty years, of bishop Pudsey, and who, marrying Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots, died in 1191.³

Darlington (see plan, plate IV.), as befitting its purpose, is a cross church, and not merely a cross church—for cross churches, as at Bowes and Hamsterley, are sometimes found on the smallest scale and of the humblest character—but a cross church with a central tower and spire; and what is specially characteristic—for even cross churches with central towers, and of great size, as at S. Mary's, Nottingham, were frequently only parochial—with choir and transepts in two storeys and of the same height as the clearstoreyed nave, features which at once serve to point out its more than parochial dignity.

Hartlepool, on the other hand, as a purely parochial church, or, to speak more exactly, chapel, for notwithstanding its importance it had no higher rank, was built without transepts; features which, whenever

quae ille minus gratanter exceptit, eo quo censeret modicum praestitisse, quem sub obtentu liberationis suae immanes copias didiscerat adunasse. Inter tam multiplicium tempestatum vicissitudines constructione ecclesiae de Derningtona non destitit; in qua, clericis constitutis, ordinem qui olim in Dunelmo fuerat renovare decrevit.' *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres* (9 Surtees Society publ.) p. 14.

The history of Galfrid, who was a monk of Durham, and, at the time it was written, sacrist of the cell of Coldingham, extends from the year 1152 to the year 1214.

³ In the latest archaeological description of the county of Durham, the writer, speaking of Hartlepool church, tells us, in an astonishing flight of fancy, that it speaks: 'as authentically as any written document could, of the rapid growth and prosperity' (of the town) 'which preceded its erection. In the enthusiasm to which success gives birth, the merchants of Hartlepool said: "We will build a church!" From the first they contemplated a splendid design, and this they executed worthily.' The 'merchants,' however, are unfortunately made to 'enthuse' somewhat prematurely, seeing that at the time mentioned they had practically no existence, a weekly market even, not being granted till after the church was finished, nor the privilege of an annual fair conceded till 1216. But one person, it is hardly necessary to say, viz., Robert de Brus IV., the lord and owner of the whole place and parish, had either the power to build so magnificent a structure or transfer it, when built, to his grandfather's foundation at Guisborough, which, as we learn, his father still farther enriched with six oxgangs of land in Stranton, and one in the mother parish of Hart. That bishop Pudsey, who merely confirmed the grants of the two Roberts de Brus, father and son, had, as supposed, anything to do with the actual erection of the church, is, of course, quite out of the question.

occurring in parish churches, were invariably private mortuary chapels, belonging usually to different families, and built at different times. The reason why they are not found here is simply this, viz., that the whole church, owing its existence to private liberality, the founder was minded, from the first, to erect and set apart its immense and splendid chancel as a place of sepulture for himself and his family instead.⁴

Another, and very important point to notice about these two churches is the circumstance that their designers were skilled architects, and not, as so often happened, mere rude country masons, who, in a more or less ignorant and blundering fashion, copied the works of such men as best they could. Consequently they afford us the best possible evidence of the progress of local architectural art at a given time—the last decades of the twelfth century. A careful examination of their respective details becomes, therefore, very instructive, especially in connection with the final developments of the Transitional style.

Both churches, I may add, have been partially illustrated and described by Mr. Billings in his *Durham County*; while of Hartlepool a series of rough, but carefully measured folio plates, with accompanying text, has been given by Messrs. Perry and Henman, in their work on the *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham*.

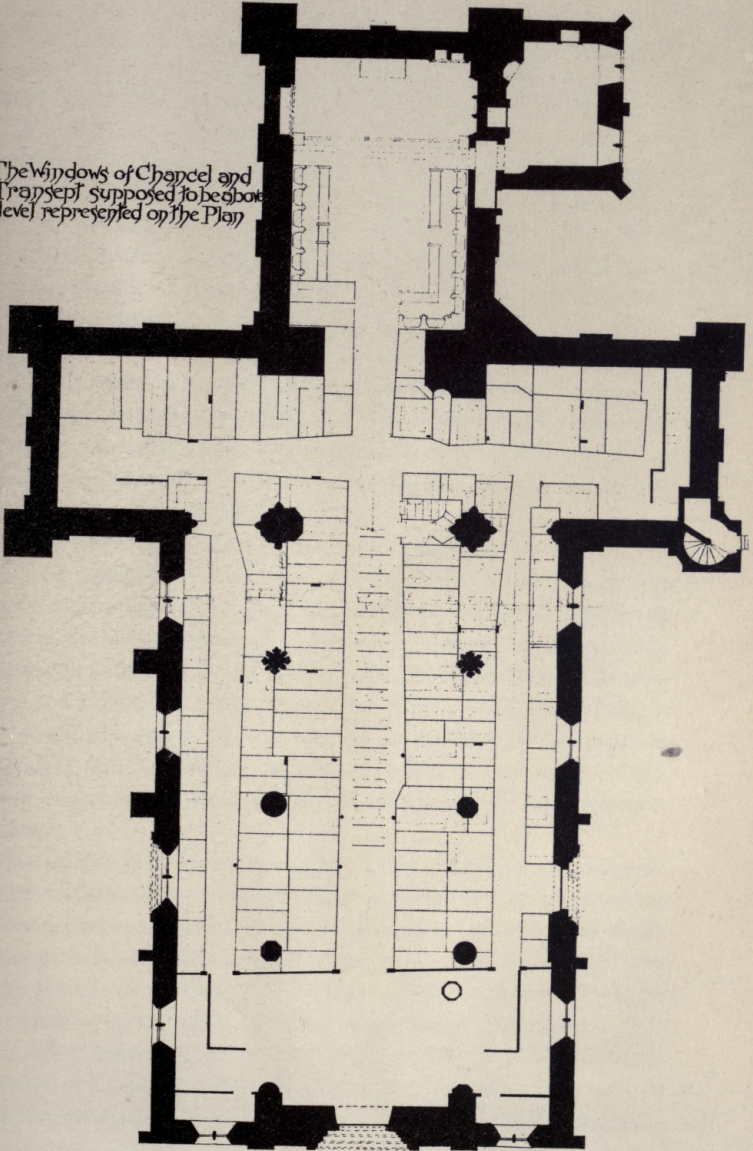
Darlington church, though lacking similar illustration, has, on the other hand, been described not only by Mr. Longstaffe in his *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Darlington*, but by no less an authority on architecture than the late Sir Gilbert Scott; though, I am constrained to say, with a very different result from what might naturally have been expected. Unfortunately, he was not a north-country man, nor intimately acquainted with north-country work; hence, perhaps, to some extent, the strange mistakes he has fallen into.

Without occupying myself, however, by pointing out all the blunders, both as to dates and facts, which he has committed in respect to Pudsey and his works, it will suffice that I confine myself strictly to what he says about the church of Darlington.

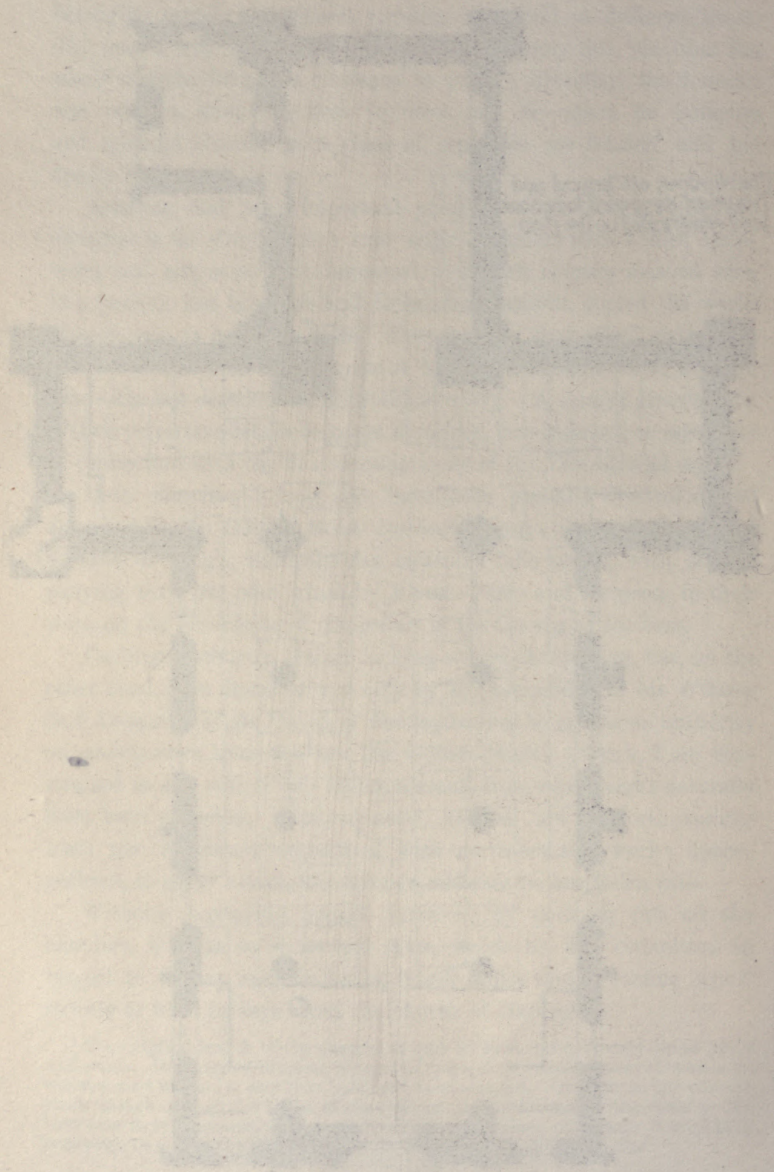
⁴ The original length of the chancel is said to have been twenty-three and a half yards. It consisted of three compound bays of two arches each, of which the westernmost one only, and that half new, now remains. Outside, in the church-yard, though once in the midst of the chancel, may still be seen the remains of a very late Brus altar-tomb, showing clearly, by the place of honour it originally occupied, to whom the erection both of church and chancel was due.

§ Cuthbert's Church Darlington
As it was in 1847

Note The windows of Chancel and
Transept supposed to be of
Jewel represented on the Plan



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON



II.

In a lecture delivered on the spot, June 3rd, 1862, he declared that he 'had found the greatest possible difficulty in making the church accord with the history (of the Transitional period generally) he had just been going through. The date of the erection was involved in perplexity, history being extremely poor in this respect. Historians, so far as their labours had been searched, did not tell us with any certainty when the church was built, or by whom. They said Bishop Pudsey founded a collegiate church in Darlington. One historian went so far as to say Bishop Pudsey began the building, and another nearly contemporary historian said that the troubles Bishop Pudsey had to go through in the latter part of his life did not cause him to cease in the construction of the new church at Darlington. It was therefore perfectly certain that what Bishop Pudsey did in the church at Darlington was at the very close of his episcopate, and it might fairly be inferred that he never finished it, but that it was going on at the time of his death in 1194.'

Now, before proceeding further in quotation, let me first of all direct attention to the way in which the most precise and positive statements of contemporary writers, and those of the highest standing, are summarily swept aside as of no account at all. Though Wessington tells us that the bishop built the church from its foundations, and Coldingham, that these were laid in 1192, Sir Gilbert is bold enough to assert that the date of its erection is 'involved in perplexity,' and its history 'very poor.' Yet, of how many of our ancient churches have we anything like such early and exact accounts as these?

But Coldingham tells us something quite as important as the date of its foundation, if not more so indeed, and that is, that so eager was the bishop in the prosecution of his purpose that 'among all the vicissitudes of such varied tempests he did not desist from the construction of the church of Darlington, in which, clerks being appointed, he determined to renew the order which was formerly at Durham.'

In other words, we are assured on the absolutely unimpeachable authority of a contemporary witness, that the works commenced in 1192 were continued, without cessation, till the bishop's death in 1195.

The assertion, moreover, that Pudsey's work commenced 'at the very close of his episcopate,' it should be noted, though quite true in a loose sense, as compared with the length of his reign of forty-two years, is yet quite untrue in an exact sense, the sense, that is, in which Sir Gilbert would have us understand it, I mean in comparison of the length of time requisite for the completion of the fabric in all its more important parts.

Begun, as we have seen, in 1192, and doubtless—considering what manner of man its founder was, and how great his anxiety for its completion—with a full complement of workmen, the building was pushed forward with unflagging zeal up to the time of the bishop's death on March 3rd, 1195. There were thus three years—a year for each limb, during which the choir and transepts, at any rate, would be progressing in the bishop's lifetime—a period, as need hardly be pointed out, not merely sufficient, but much more than sufficient for their completion.⁵ But Sir Gilbert, ignoring all such considerations, and as blind, apparently, to the broad general witness of the building, as deaf to the voice of history, goes on to ask the question, 'What do we find here?' and makes answer, 'A building which every here and there had details which at once reminded us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which did not belong to the Transition at all. There were details of 1190 or 1200 side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' And then he proceeds to tell us that, 'With the single exception of the buttresses, the architecture was that of the advanced Early English style; many of the windows evidently did not belong to Pudsey. The abaci were round and did not appear extremely early specimens, while many of the mouldings had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging. The conjecture which he came to was that Bishop Pudsey began the church and carried it up to the string-course below

⁵ It was with the architecture of the choir and transepts that Sir Gilbert's remarks had principally to do, and in answer to which the present account is for the most part directed, being designed to show that all three were the actual work of the bishop himself, and completed during his lifetime. But that there was not only abundant time for the completion of these, but of the nave also, there can be no doubt; nor is there anything in the character of the western parts to show that they were not either finished, or, at least, in progress at the time of the bishop's death.

the windows. He thought, too, that Bishop Pudsey had prepared a great quantity of material for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable interval must have transpired before the work was commenced again, and that whenever that might have been, the builders went upon the plan commenced by Bishop Pudsey, and used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind; thus the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles. Throughout the whole of the building, with the exception of the lower part, and certain details which he believed were prepared before, the whole work belonged, instead of to Bishop Pudsey, very probably to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.'

Such are the 'difficulties' alleged to be discovered by Sir Gilbert in the three eastern limbs of the church (for with the nave generally he is not much concerned), and such the 'short and simple plan' he devises for getting rid of them. For myself, I can only say that both one and other suffice to fill me with a sense of utter and blank amazement: though after all, perhaps, it should not be so surprising to find the same measure meted out to the architecture as is measured to the history.

Let us endeavour, however, with the help of exact illustrations of the building itself, and of its more important details, to see how far its witness bears out the plain statements of Wessington and Coldingham on the one hand; or the hasty and superficial speculations of Sir Gilbert on the other. We shall see, I think, that, plausible as his imaginary difficulties may, perhaps, appear at first sight, a very little examination only is needed to show how contradictory and self-destructive they are; and how absolutely, because *practically*, impossible his solution of them. Referring, then, to his address, we observe, first of all, the statement that the church has 'every here and there details which at once remind us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which do not belong to the Transition at all. There are details of 1190 or 1200 side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.'

Now observe, for some, perhaps, might fail to do so, the skilfully disguised attempt which lurks beneath these apparently simple and

innocent expressions to throw dust into the eyes of the unwary, and, at the same time, blur and obscure the clear, sharp lines of history. 'Every here and there details which *remind* us of the period of the Transition,' says Sir Gilbert; as though the whole of the existing work, like the period itself in which we are assured it was wrought, was not positively, and without any reminiscence at all, that of the Transition. 'Details of 1190 or 1200,' he proceeds, 'side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' Of these last we will take full account by-and-by, but, meanwhile, how of 1190 or 1200? Between 1190 and 1200 was a decade of no ordinary kind, but one, on the contrary, of the intensest architectural activity, in which changes of style were advancing day by day with a speed altogether phenomenal. The details of 1190 and those of 1200, so far from being, as might seem to be suggested, practically interchangeable, belonged to two entirely separate classes, viz., those of the Transition, and of the perfectly developed Early English, respectively. And with neither one nor the other of these dates could the choir and transepts have any connection at all. Not with 1190, for they were not then begun; nor with 1200, for they had then been finished five years. With the style of the intermediate and historically defined period, however, all three and their several parts are in the most perfect and exact accord; Transitional, yet so late in the style as to have lost all mixture of the Romanesque; First Pointed, yet in style so immature and undeveloped as to have gained none of the distinguishing features of the purely Early English.

But, to pass from what to the uninitiated may seem, perhaps, something like hair-splitting niceties, Sir Gilbert tells us that those details, whatever their precise date, which every here and there *remind* us of the period of the Transition, are intimately mixed up with others which do not belong to the Transition at all, with those, indeed, 'of 1220 or 1230, or even later!'

Well, it can only be asked, where are those later details, details which, from first to last, Sir Gilbert, like some others who have echoed him, so carefully abstains from particularising? They are certainly not discoverable in the choir, the earliest part of all, and which, though very slightly, yet perceptibly, differs both in expression and detail from the transepts; which, again, differ somewhat, not in

style, but merely in detail, from each other. Nor, again, does the closest scrutiny reveal them in the transepts, which necessarily, and more especially on their eastern sides, went up directly and consecutively after it.⁶

'With the single exception of the buttresses,' Sir Gilbert declares, 'the architecture is that of the advanced Early English style, many of the windows evidently did not belong to Pudsey. The conjecture which he came to was that Bishop Pudsey began the church and carried it up to the string-course below the windows. He thought, too, that Bishop Pudsey had prepared a great quantity of material for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable interval must have transpired before the work was commenced again, and that, whenever that might have been, the builders went upon the plan commenced by Bishop Pudsey, and used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind.'

So far Sir Gilbert: now, let us to the building, and see what answer it returns to his allegations.

Up to the lowest string-courses,* which, like the bands of ashlar work beneath run evenly, and without a break around both choir and transepts in their entirety, all is admittedly of Pudsey's work. All is perfectly plain, and the string-courses themselves are of the same character. And yet Sir Gilbert would have us believe that these few courses of simple ashlaring were all that the whole force of masons the bishop could command were able to erect during three full years. Having carried up the walls so far, they then, according to his account,

⁶ It should be observed, for the fact is very unusual, and noteworthy, that, as the church was first built, it so continued without alteration or insertion of any kind, save in regard to the heightening of the nave aisles, and the repairs consequent on the settlement of the tower piers in the fourteenth century, to the last. There were, therefore, no such after changes of plan, or insertions of windows, or other features, of slightly later date, as Sir Gilbert's remarks might lead any one unacquainted with the building to imagine; such, for example, as the great north window of the Nine Altars at Durham, where the original design was abandoned for a later one while the works were yet in progress; or in the choir of S. Andrew Auckland, where the original *early* Early English lights were built up, and late ones inserted in their place when the church was made collegiate under bishop Bek. All the several limbs, with all their details—though, of course, the lower parts of each being built first, were, to that extent, earlier than the upper—are, respectively of the same date throughout; so that it is quite impossible to pick out any one or more particular features and affirm them to be of one period, while the rest are of another.

* See p. 154, figs. 1 and 2.

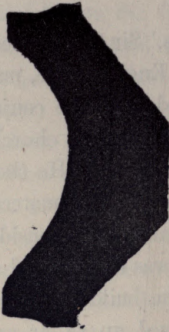


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.

- Fig. 1.—Outer Lower String-course. Fig. 2.—Inner Lower String-course
 Beneath Lower Windows of Choir and North and South Transepts.
 Fig. 3.—Outer Hood of Lower Windows, Choir and North Transept.
 Fig. 4.—Inner String below Upper Windows of Choir, North and South Transept, and Nave.
 Fig. 5.—Outer String below Upper Windows of Choir and South Transept.

instead of proceeding in the regular way, suddenly stopped building altogether; and, for no conceivable reason, and despite the bishop's anxiety, set themselves to preparing 'a great quantity of material,' which they most unaccountably and persistently refrained from fixing. The whole of this accumulated mass, instead of being placed in position as it was finished—and as, according to universal rule, it would have been anywhere else—was thereupon, he 'conjectures,' left either lying about, a very wilderness of carved work, or stacked up in vast heaps for thirty, or five and thirty years or more. And thus, by the invention of this beautifully 'simple plan,' we learn how 'details of 1190 or 1200 are found side by side with details which,' he assures us, 'are of 1220 or 1230, or even later!'

But, however satisfactory upon the surface, and to his hearers, at the moment, nothing could be more so, examination shows it to be not merely erroneous, but impossible. For on what basis does it rest; and what is the special 'difficulty' it has been designed, on the mere spur of the moment, to explain away? Why, simply the presence of round abaci on the capitals of the little columns of the window-jambes and wall arcades, and which, Sir Gilbert thinks ought, like the general outline of the mouldings, to have been square also. 'The abaci' he says, 'were round and did not appear extremely early specimens,'⁷ while many of the mouldings had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging. The new capitals (that is, 'of 1220, or 1230, or even later,' for the

⁷ All of them, on the contrary, bear witness to their purely Transitional character. Compare, for example, the capitals on page 160 with those given by Sir Gilbert in his lectures on *Mediæval Architecture*, I., 123, taken from Ripon and Fountains, where the identity of style and almost of form will be seen at a glance. Compare them also with one of the corbels at the west end of the chapel of Auckland castle, also built by bishop Pudsey, a work evidently contemporaneous with this at Darlington, and where both round and square abaci are used in the same composition. These capitals, it may be added, are worked in that excessively hard and intractable material, Frosterley marble. The first pair of detached capitals, east of them, in the same material, have their abaci, which are of exactly the same section, square, and the foliage flatter. All the rest to the east, or low end of the hall (for it was built originally as the great hall of the manor) are circular, like those of the upper part of the western respond, only plain, and without foliage. It would be interesting to know what Sir Gilbert would have had to say with regard to the elaborately moulded arches that these several capitals carry; whether, that is, they were designed for round, or for square, abaci. They are all exactly alike throughout, and it would certainly have taxed his ingenuity, as it would seem to have done that of the original builders, as to which form suited them best. They solved the difficulty there, as at Darlington, by using both.

originals of Pudsey's time are supposed either never to have been worked at all, or, if so, rejected on the resumption of the works) were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles.'

Now, just consider what this really means. Sir Gilbert himself is far too astute to tell you, for if he did, his 'simple plan' would be seen to collapse at once. 'The mouldings,' he says, 'are square,' while the capitals which carry them 'are round;' the one, that is, according to his interpretation, are of Pudsey's time, the others 'of 1220, or 1230, or even later.' He has just stated that Pudsey's workmen had prepared 'a great quantity of material,' but he judiciously refrains from adding how great that quantity, that is, of those earlier 'square mouldings,' was. I need hardly waste time, perhaps, in pointing out the utter inconsistency of this assertion with the other made previously, viz., that 'with the single exception of the buttresses, the architecture was that of the advanced Early English style,' but simply refer you to the place these, so-called, square-sectioned Pudseyan mouldings occupy in the building. So far from consisting, as, on some sudden stoppage of the works, might naturally be expected, of a few voussoirs and jamb, or other mouldings ready worked for the setter's hand, but unlaied; will it be believed that, on the contrary, they not only embrace the whole of the wall-arcades and of the arch-mouldings of the windows of the choir, both inside and outside, as well as of nearly all the windows and wall-arcades in both storeys of the transepts, but of the great arches of the crossing, and of those opening into the nave aisles as well?

Sir Gilbert, we see, all unconsciously, makes the fatal mistake of proving too much; for if, as he implies, and rightly implies, that what he calls the square-edged mouldings are of Pudsey's time; then, since not merely the wall-arcades, of which he was speaking more particularly, but almost the whole of the arch-mouldings of the three eastern limbs, are also square-edged, they too, together with the walls of which they form so large a part, *and whose interior surfaces they entirely overlie*, must necessarily be of his time too. It is that simply enormous mass of material, therefore, the accumulation of which, to such an extent, must, of course, have been absurdly and monstrously

impossible, that we are asked to believe, was not only left lying useless for thirty years or more, but, after that, along with the greater part of the nave, erected by some benefactor of whom history (and even Sir Gilbert) knows nothing.

III.

But, these 'square-sectioned' mouldings constitute only half, and that the lesser half, of the 'difficulties' discovered. In a building of Pudsey's date their presence was not only natural but inevitable. What seems to be his supreme difficulty is the presence 'side by side,' and 'intimately mixed up with' such mouldings, of 'capitals formed on the round system' and having 'round abaci.' These, he calls 'new,' and 'conjectures' to have been cut on the resumption of the work some thirty or more years after Pudsey and his men had ceased. He does not stop, however, to consider the dilemma in which this 'conjecture' lands him. When Pudsey's masons, as we have seen on internal evidence, carved the entire arch-mouldings of the three eastern limbs, as well as all the window-jambes and columns in connection with them, one of two things must have happened, either they cut the little capitals pertaining to them, or they did not. If not, there remains the fact that, when every other piece of sculpture, without exception, was finished, these small, but important features, without which the rest could not be put together, were, in an utterly incomprehensible way, left out. If they did cut them, then the still more incomprehensible fact results that when, after so long an interval, the works were once more started, the builders deliberately destroyed the whole of the capitals which were made to fit these arch-moulds, only to carve, at infinite labour and expence, 'new' ones which, as Sir Gilbert tells us, do not.

So much for theory: now for fact. All Sir Gilbert's 'difficulties' centre, let me repeat, in the circumstance that, whereas the arch-moulds are 'square,' the abaci are, what it suits him to call, 'round.' Yet, that is exactly what, in the choir more especially, they are not. And then he adds that they are not merely round, but 'do not appear extremely early specimens.' Well; taking those of the choir to begin with, what do we find? On the outside, both above and below, and on the alternate sides of each window, capitals whose abaci are, so far

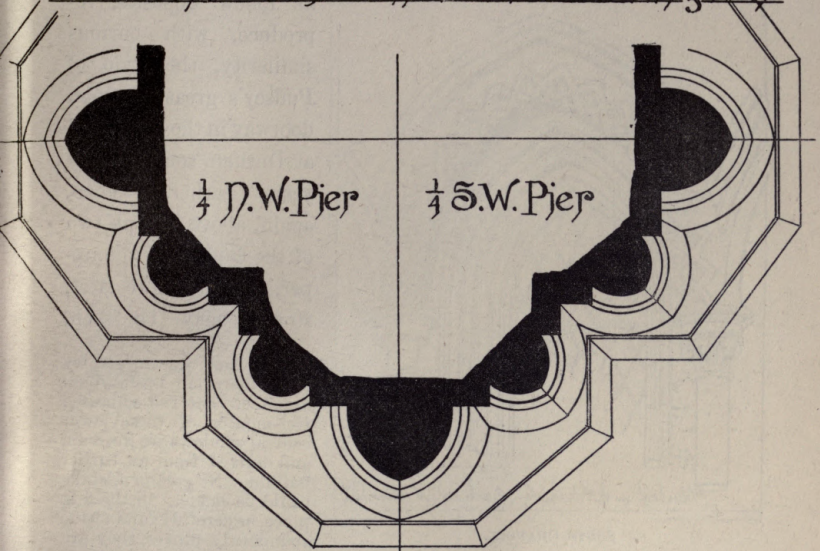
as I know, unique, since they are neither round nor square, but of a form exactly intermediate between the two ; square as to their general outline, but, instead of being brought to a point, having their salient angles gently rounded off. So far, indeed, from 'not appearing extremely early specimens,' nothing more intensely Transitional, whether in form or spirit, could be conceived. Their opposite capitals in every case, though exactly corresponding in other respects, and therefore of the same age, have their abaci of the commoner and more fully rounded form.

In the interior again, we find the abaci of the wall-arcade capitals modelled in much the same way, not 'round,' but formed of parallel straight sides with rounded fronts, and admirably suited to the section of their arch-moulds, which sit upon them perfectly. (See p. 159, A and B, below.)

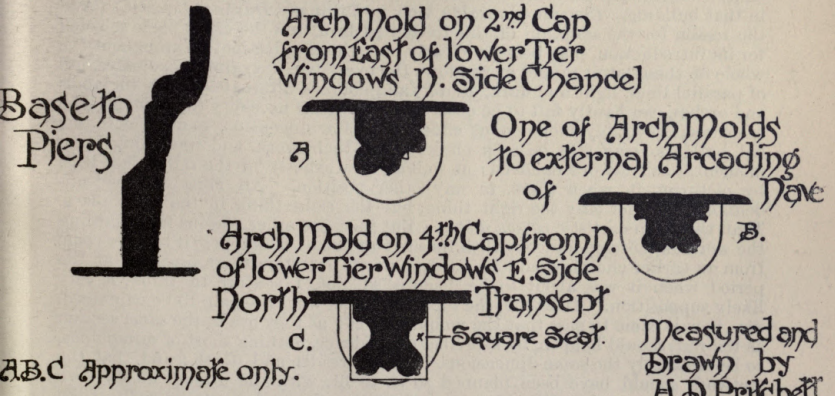
More than this, however ; for besides their abaci, several of these caps are enriched with foliage. Of what style then is this, of Pudsey's day, or of 1230, or later ? Throughout, we find the stiff, formal, upright arrangement, and somewhat pinched and cramped grouping so characteristic of the last decade of the twelfth century. The one solitary exception to this prevailing stiffness is discovered in the lower range of the north side, where, by a happy inspiration, the little trefoil leaves, as stiff in arrangement however as the rest, are shown in motion as though agitated by the wind.⁸ Yet, curiously enough, this

⁸ This slight variation of treatment has, of course, nothing whatever to do with any difference of date, all are alike in that respect, but simply with the innate love of change, and inventiveness of the carver. Though the particular conceit became afterwards very generally adopted, and in a measure characteristic of the pure Early English style, yet, like all other forms of detail, it had its prototypes, and they may be found scattered about liberally in all parts. Among other and early examples may be instanced the beautiful waving and curling foliage of the choir capitals at Lincoln Minster, built by St. Hugh between 1190 and 1200, at the very time the works at Darlington were going on ; and where, it may be noted, *the round abacus is used exclusively*. Other early examples of wind-waved foliage may be referred to, of a slightly later character, at Coleby, in the same county ; as also at Moulton and Whaplode, where, on the other hand, it is somewhat stiffer and earlier. It may be further worth mentioning, perhaps, in connection with the subject of arch-moulds and abaci, that at Coleby, the architect, who was evidently an able man, set Sir Gilbert's rules completely at defiance ; for though the arches are of the usual two chamfered orders, the capitals and abaci of the clustered columns, which are clusters of eight, are not only of a different, but contrariant form, the outline of the abaci of their main pointed bowtels projecting sharply beyond the semi-octagonal faces of the arch-moulds at the cardinal points ; while round, projecting capitals introduced intermediately, and in front of the recessed angles between the two orders have, of course, no arch-moulds to carry at all.

Cuthbert's Church Darlington



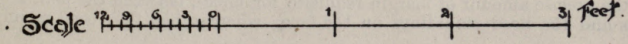
Piers of Centre Tower



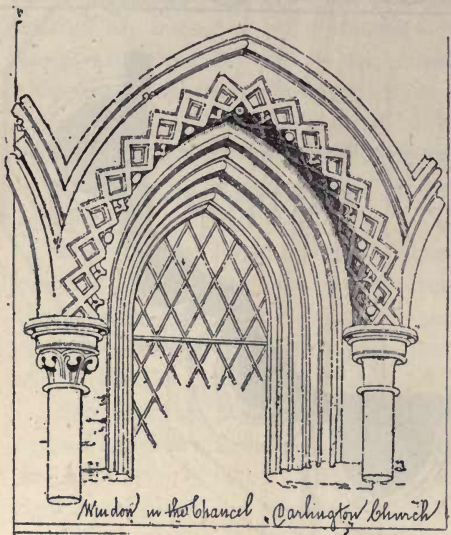
A.B.C Approximate only.

Measured and Drawn by
H.D. Pritchett

Dec. 1863



more advanced looking cap is found supporting the arch-moulds of the central window, which are the earliest in type of all, and, like those of



SOUTH CHANCEL.

its fellow opposite, reproduce, with curious similarity, the style of Pudsey's great Norman doorway in the castle hall at Durham some twenty years earlier.⁹ Then, again, above this on two of the capitals of the upper, and therefore later, storey, may be seen,

⁹ It has been urged by more than one professional architect that the embossed fret-moulds of these lower central windows are Norman, and derived from an earlier building. No greater mistake could be made. In the first place, as careful examination abundantly proves, they are of the very latest period of

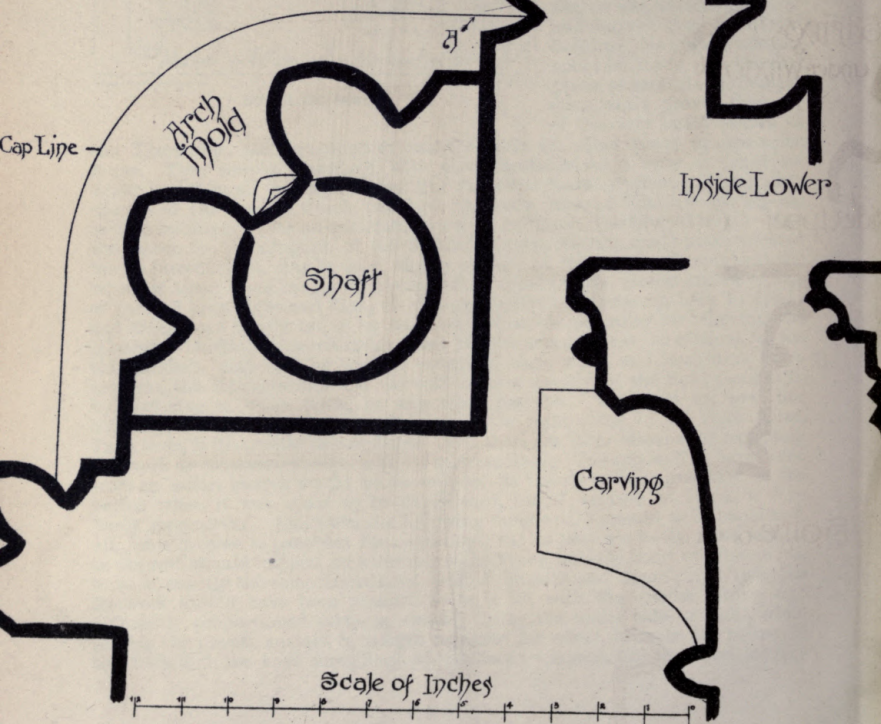
the Transition, and synchronize exactly with all other parts of the same range. They simply reproduce, with much modification, a form of ornament which had then all but expired, just like the south doorway of the contemporary church of Hartlepool, which contains the only piece of Transitional zig-zag in that building. (See an admirable view in Billings's *Durham County*.) And the reason for the adoption of this fretted pattern, and the exact place selected for its introduction, may be seen clearly enough on reflection. Throughout the whole of these lower ranges of windows the excessive, nay, almost exclusive, use of parallel lines, light and dark, of rolls and hollows, alternately, both in jambs and arches, can hardly fail to be observed. Now, the necessity for relieving the otherwise inevitably monotonous effect of this arrangement, so obvious to the old builders, may still be seen on scanning their work, and imagining for a moment, this fretwork removed; as well as, how exactly in the right place it is, by picturing it, when there, in any other position. All must see how, undeniably, it is not only the right thing, but the right thing in the right place. That, then, is its artistic *raison d'être*. But there are other reasons for regarding the work as contemporaneous with its surroundings. To suppose it to have come from an earlier church would be to suppose its insertion there precisely at the period when it was about to be demolished, not, I venture to think, a very likely supposition. And then, the following facts would remain to be explained, viz., how it came to pass that the mouldings, cut as they are to the same section as the rest, should happen, by a further coincidence, nothing short of miraculous, to be of exactly the same dimensions, both of breadth and depth; and that the fretwork should have been planned so as to fit, with the utmost nicety, two differently proportioned surfaces, exactly filling the under side, or soffit, while leaving the precise amount of margin requisite for effect, between the points of the frets and the hood mouldings on the face; whereas, had they been merely

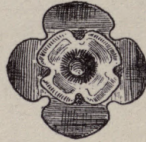
S. Cuthbert's Church Darlington

Details of East End reduced from Full Sized Drawings

Jamb, Arch etc of Lower Windows

Note. From A to B continued round to form Sill





Patera at C
about 6' apart

B

Strings
under windows

side Upper Outside Upper

Some of Caps

J.P. Pritchett Archt
Darlington.
Dec. 1894.

Cuthbert's Church Darlington

Details of East End reduced from
Full sized Drawings

Note: from A to B continued
round to form
Sill

Inside

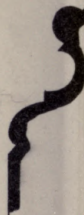
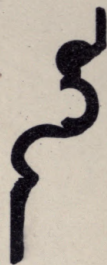
Jamb, Arch

Cap Line

Mold

Arch

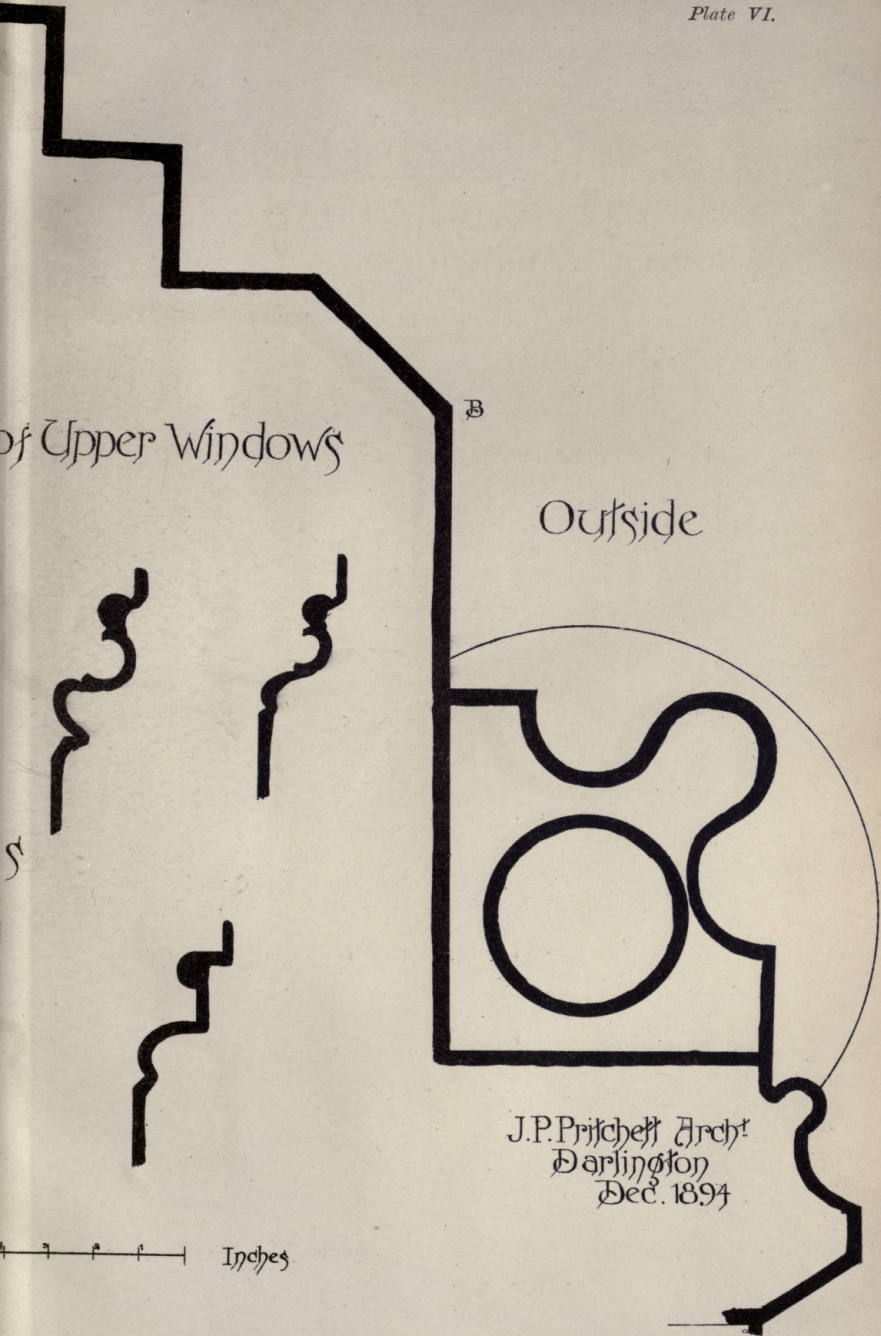
Shaft



B



Scale of 1" = 1' 2" 3" 4" 5" 6"



of Upper Windows

B

Outside

S

J.P. Pritchett Archt.
Darlington
Dec. 1894

Inches

though, as might be expected, with far fuller and freer modelling, that emphatically Transitional form of volute so familiar in his chapel of the Galilee, and which dates from 1175.¹⁰

Clearly, therefore, since all the string-courses, window-jamb, arch-moulds, hood-moulds (see plates V. and VI.), wall-arcades, and sculp-

old material re-used, they would, to an almost dead certainty, have had to be trimmed and adapted, *tant bien que mal*, to their position.

Another point to be explained, too, would be the presence, which can only be detected on the closest scrutiny, of the most perfect and beautifully formed dog-tooth—that essentially Early English ornament, as it is usually considered—at the intersection of the frets, and which is more highly developed even than that which decorates, so remarkably, the adjoining windows to the east. And then would come the further fact, which could not be explained at all, viz. : that on either side, the pointed bowtel mouldings of the adjoining blank arches are worked out of the *same stones* from which these fretted voussoirs spring ; thereby proving, beyond contradiction, that they are the work, not only of the same time, but of the same man.

But, it is objected further, that at the apex the points of the frets do not fit with that degree of exact, and mathematical precision which they ought to do, and that, therefore, the voussoirs cannot, originally, have been designed either for their present shape or place. The objection, however, is taken from a purely modern standpoint, and in complete ignorance or forgetfulness of medieval methods. Men were not then, it should be remembered, the mere machines they so commonly are now ; nor did they either set about, or execute, their work with that mechanical and office-planned precision so dear to the modern architect and clerk of works. Beginning with their arch-moulds at the bottom, they simply went on cutting till they approached the top, and then filled in the intervening space with stones of the required size. In many cases, as in the fine Early English arcades at Kirkby Stephen church, that space proved to be too narrow to allow the perfect penetration of the voussoir, which being thus brought to a point before it reached the bottom, had no intrados at all. In the Norman doorway of Heighington church, again, to take a more strictly local example, the single row of arch zig-zags, which are all of large size, are brought so close together at the crown that the pattern could not be carried on, and so the small intervening space had to be treated in just such an irregular and abortive way as its width allowed.

Here, at Darlington, the utmost that can be said is that, in one instance, the figures, when they reach the apex, fall barely short of such absolute exactness as might have been achieved had the dimensions of each stone been first of all drawn out at full size, and then copied to a hair's breadth—and that is all.

¹⁰ Astonishing as Sir Gilbert's account of the capitals of these wall-arcades is, it would seem, in one particular at least, to be surpassed by that of a local antiquary (quoted approvingly by another) with respect to such of them as exhibit these Transitional volutes. Because, apparently, they occur in a very stiff and early form in the Galilee capitals, where the extreme tips of the leaves only are curled up in a sharp point beneath the angles of the square abaci ; he, at once, after echoing Sir Gilbert's dictum that 'we have mouldings intended for square abaci resting on round ones,' jumps, with even greater precipitancy, to the conclusion that these volutes—notwithstanding their difference of design, and that they conform to their position beneath the round abaci as perfectly as all the rest—had been originally provided with square ones ; which latter, although both arch-moulds and volutes were, according to his view, cut specially to fit them, were afterwards, and out of pure wrong-headedness, rounded off ! A slightly later form of this very volute, I may add, enriched with shallow flutings, may be seen beneath a circular abacus in the northern jamb of the central eastern lancet of Kirkham abbey church.

tured foliage in both storeys are perfectly uniform, and of the most distinctly Transitional character imaginable throughout, no place for the advanced Early English style of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, 'or of details of 1220 or 1230, or later,' is to be found in the choir. They must consequently be sought, if they are to be found at all, in the crossing and transepts.

That these, generally, are of a slightly later date, though without any 'solution of continuity,' cannot be doubted. The stern, archaic severity of style, so striking in the windows of the eastern limb, becomes, in those of the upper stories of the transverse ones, greatly softened; the obtuse design of the earlier choir-window heads springing up here into lighter lancet forms, while the square, unmoulded edges (see Plates V. and VI.) which distinguish them so remarkably, disappear in those of the transepts altogether.

Here, then, at length, we might expect to discover some of those 'many windows' which Sir Gilbert declares 'evidently did not belong to Pudsey.' They vary somewhat; those of the south transept, like all the rest of its details—as pertaining to the choir of the Lady chapel¹¹—being much richer than those of the north, which only formed its nave. On the exterior, the one clearstorey group has a moulded outer order enriched with double rows of nail-head, which is carried on slender, cord-like shafts having caps but no bases, while the other is formed merely of two orders of broad and simple chamfers. (For those on east side, as well as those of choir, see frontispiece.) And thus, either group, viewed from the outside, might quite easily, for anything that appears to the contrary, be, as Sir Gilbert says, 'of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' But, just as in literature, we know

¹¹ Sir Gilbert, if I may be pardoned for saying so, seems, in an unguarded moment, to have fallen into the vulgar error of assuming that the richer work must, *primâ facie*, be the later. In Darlington church, taken as a whole, the exact contrary is the case, the contrast between the comparatively late and plain work of the nave, and that of the choir and transepts being very striking. It never, apparently, occurred to Sir Gilbert, any more than to the local antiquaries who have treated of the subject, that the greater richness of the south transept is due, not to its later date, which its own details, as well as other and structural reasons, prove to be impossible, but to its having formed the choir of the Lady chapel, as the presence of two contemporary *piscinae* there, while there is none in the plainer northern one, sufficiently shows. The church is thus seen to consist really, as it were, of two churches, whose respective naves and chancels cross each other at right angles, with a central tower and spire, common to both, at the intersection.

what usually happens when, for controversial purposes, a sentence, or even part of a sentence, is severed from its context, so here, with these windows. For we have but to go inside and view them in connection with the blank arcades of which they are integral parts, to see at once that they are of practically the same date as those below, and which follow, with more or less exactness, those of the choir. What the true date and character of these arcades is may be discovered from the fact that in those of the north transept there occur, mixed up indiscriminately with rounded, octagonal, and semi-round and square ones, like those of the choir, no fewer than six square abaci, three of them in the clearstorey, and which, by a strange irony of fate, support, not, as according to his theory they ought to do, square-shaped mouldings which they would exactly fit, but broad chamfered ones, which, according to it, they don't fit at all.¹²

IV.

The whole of this arcading, however, demands the closest attention, for it gives Sir Gilbert's undigested and superficial theory the completest answer possible. His main contention against the choir and transepts being the actual work of bishop Pudsey, as the historians assert them to be, was that the arch-moulds of their arcades were 'square,' while the abaci of the capitals which receive them were 'round.' Then, since the square abacus, like the square section of mouldings, was the earlier, and the round, in either case, generally, the later form, he at once saw a 'difficulty.' The two forms (*i.e.*, from a purely theoretical, and cut and dried *office* point of view) did not agree, and therefore could not (as every one, previous to the delivery of his lecture, had imagined) be contem-

¹² Sir Gilbert, in one place, particularizes the simpler details of the north transept as representing part of that 'great quantity of material' which Pudsey's workmen had prepared, but not placed. But as the chancel and its details are evidently the earliest parts of the church, anything that remained over after the stoppage, which he asserts took place at the level of the lowest string-course, would naturally, on the resumption of the works, be used up there. And then, since the moulds of the lower arcade are entirely square sectioned, and as Sir Gilbert assures us, cut to be received on square abaci, how curious a thing is it to find that the actual builders did not see things in that light at all, but fitted what he calls the square-edged arch-moulds to round abaci, while they took square abaci and fitted them to chamfered arch-moulds, with which, according to his theory, they could have no affinity whatever

porary. So he at once jumped to the conclusion that, historians notwithstanding, these round abaci must belong 'to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century,' Darlington meanwhile going for five and thirty years or more without a church, of which all the other parts were ready, and waiting only for these little caps. And then, strange to say, when, after this long probation it got them, they did not fit! Why the carvers of 1230, after all their experience in the use of the round abacus, which, though invented by English William, at Canterbury, eleven years before the foundations of Pudsey's church were laid, was then a novelty, should, nevertheless, not make them fit; and why Sir Gilbert should parade the fact of such misfitting as a proof of the lateness, rather than, as might naturally be supposed, earliness, of their date, is as unintelligible as unexplained. 'Many of the mouldings,' he says (they are all, however, practically alike (see p. 159, A and B, below), 'had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging, the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles.'

But, supposing for the moment, the fact to be as stated, how can it possibly be held to show, or even suggest, that these abaci are of 1230 rather than 1193 or 1194? Surely the men of 1230, when the feverish activity of the Transition had passed, and architectural life had settled down into comparative calm, were far likelier, from long experience of their use, to work with greater exactness than those of the earlier date, who, having to adapt a somewhat unfamiliar feature to well established forms, treated it with all the characteristic freedom of their day. The fact is, however, that this trimming off of the mouldings, of which Sir Gilbert makes so much, does not occur in the choir, the earliest part, at all. Nor is it discoverable in the multitudinous examples of the south transept, which comes next;¹³ but only, and that so slightly as to escape

¹³ That the south transept is, in the main, somewhat the earlier of the two, and not built 'of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own, about 1220;' while 'the north one was built of many of the old materials left behind' by bishop Pudsey, as stated by Sir Gilbert Scott and echoed by his followers, may be inferred from the same reasons which induced the old builders everywhere to commence at the east end, viz. : that it was the altar end, which it was universally felt desirable to have finished first. Now, the south was the altar end of the

notice altogether unless specially searched for, in three instances in the north transept, the latest of the three limbs. And then, what, after all, does it prove? Evidently no point of date, nor any unsuitableness of the rounded abaci to their arch-moulds, which here, in the

transept, and would therefore, naturally, on the same principle, be brought to a speedier completion than the north, which, to some extent, could afford to wait. That both went up systematically as far as the lowest string-course, with the choir, we have clear proof from the fact, never noticed by Sir Gilbert, that, outside, the same courses of stone are carried uniformly round all three of them, the top row throughout being remarkable for its much greater depth, and for the shape of its stones which are nearly cubical. The second stage containing the lower range of windows, is not, however, carried round in such even courses; and it is clear from its details, that the whole of the choir was then, with the exception of their inner eastern angles, gone on with and completed before, and independently of the transepts. In the clearstoreys of both transepts the uniformity of line which distinguishes that of the choir is no longer either maintained or attempted; the courses of the masonry which, however, is of the same general character, being there broken. With respect to the two upper stages of the transepts, those of the south, needful for its earlier completion, would seem to have been pushed forward more immediately. That both of them are later than those of the choir is shown by their distinct advance, as well in point of plan as of style; for whereas the arcades of the choir are all wide and of one size, they are here much more numerous and contracted, two blank arches instead of one being inserted, where practicable, between the windows. And then, instead of the arch-moulds consisting any longer, as there, of a single pointed bowtel below, and a round one above, between two simple hollows, we find a roll and fillet between two hollows, the outer edges of the outermost one of which are worked off into a chamfer. But, like those of the choir, all its arcade capitals still continue to be round. In the lower range of the north transept, on the other hand, though the arch-moulds are practically the same in section and arrangement as in the south, the capitals vary. Here, for the first time, we have square and octagonal forms intermingling with the round; while in the clearstorey the round capitals and all moulded forms disappear entirely both inside and out, nothing but the simpler, though evidently later, chamfers being used either for arches or abaci.

A further reason for supposing the north transept to be, in its upper parts, the later of the two, may be seen in the fact that, while the arch opening from the south transept to the nave aisle has its shafts, like those of the two earlier eastern piers, as also those of the south-western one, composed exclusively of pointed bowtels: although the northern shafts of the corresponding arch of the north transept are of similar pattern, two of the southern ones, like most others of the north-west pier with which they are incorporated, are round. And just as the capitals of the south-west pier show an advance on those of the two eastern ones in having pointed and moulded bells below their square abaci, which the latter—enriched with stiff, Transitional foliage, like those of the choir and south-transept arcades—have not, so the capitals of this great north-west pier show a still further advance upon these, by having the points of their chief abaci no longer left square, but either canted or rounded off: all which, being interpreted means that, though the lowest part of the north transept followed on, like the south, after that of the choir, and the northern responds, of the aisle-arch, naturally, went up along with it; the north-west pier itself, without which, of course, the transept could not be completed, was not proceeded with for some little while after, its more advanced details being necessarily contemporaneous with the upper parts of the north transept which are bonded into, and superimposed upon, it.

But a further, and, perhaps, more convincing proof that the south side of the church, generally, was built before the north may be seen on comparison of the

remaining instances, as elsewhere, they fit perfectly; but simply the free, careless handling of the sculptor, who, in these particular capitals, struck his circle, some quarter of an inch or so, too small. How contemptuous of such petty niceties he was, indeed, appears in another case, which seems to have been planned of set purpose. Here (see p. 159, c, below), instead of making his arch-moulds spring from any abacus at all, he boldly sets their square springing block on the top of it, and leaves its angles standing out defiantly. Such open disregard of tame propriety would clearly have driven a modern clerk of works stark mad.

Only one further remark on the arcading of this transept, I think, need be offered. On the outside, in the gable, which must necessarily have been built after the walls were finished, is an arcade of three arches, the central one pierced for a window. It is the only piece of *external* arcading in the three eastern limbs, the precursor of that which, later on, was applied to the clearstoreys and west end of the nave, and, doubtless, therefore, among, if not the very latest of the earlier parts. What, then, does it show us? So far from any 'details of 1220 or 1230, or even later,' exactly the same severe Transitional arch-moulds as are found in the lower windows of the choir, and—tell it not in Gath—carried, which they are not, on capitals with square abaci!¹⁴

V.

And now, leaving this part of the subject, let us turn our attention to the great arches and piers of the crossing, and the easternmost arches and responds of the nave which are incorporated with, and form

north and south clearstoreys of the nave. Towards the south the arcades are separated into compartments of three by narrow intervening strips of blank walling, across which the hood moulds of the arches are carried horizontally, the effect, though not, perhaps, positively bad, being yet far from satisfactory. On the north side the design has been altered by making the arcade continuous, an immense improvement. The collective evidence, then, of this later north nave-clearstorey, of the later north-west pier, and of the two upper storeys of the north transept, in which the square and octagonal abaci, which are seen elsewhere only in the crossing arches and their small, upper, angle shafts, unquestionably the latest portions of the three eastern limbs, all tend to show that the work was carried on first towards the south, leaving the northern portions to the last; the two upper storeys of the north transept following immediately after those of the south, while the nave and its clearstoreys, carried on after their completion, followed, evidently, the same course.

¹⁴ It is only proper, however, to say that these capitals and abaci were cased many years ago with cement, and therefore some degree of uncertainty must naturally attach to their evidence. But as to the severe and early type of the window mouldings there can be no uncertainty at all. They are Transitional, and nothing else.

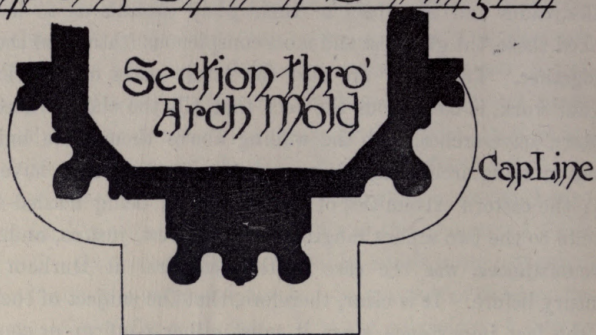
parcel of, them. Strange to say, Sir Gilbert would seem to have been so entirely absorbed with the comparatively trivial and unimportant wall-arcades and the abaci of their petty capitals as to have overlooked these, the grandest and most conspicuous features of the church, altogether. That they are also the latest parts of the richer and earlier work, is clear from the fact that till the choir, transepts, and eastern nave-arches, with the walling above them, were built, these great crossing arches and their western piers could not have been set up; the eastern extremities of the nave walls being needed for abutments to the two arches ranging east and west, just as, under similar circumstances, was the case in the cathedral at Durham about a century before. It is clear, therefore, that the subject of their date is of the last importance, since it must either confirm, or conclusively negative, Sir Gilbert's contention that the parts which preceded them, the south transept more particularly, are 'of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.'

Let us then examine, as carefully as may be, these great crossing arches; the piers and their caps which carry them; together with those attached members, the arches opening into the nave aisles, and the eastern nave arches, with the responds belonging to each respectively, which are built up into, and form part of, the two western ones.

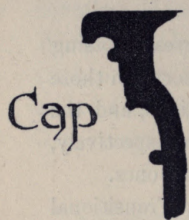
Now, among the various distinctive details of the Transitional period, no one, it may safely be affirmed, is at once so universally met with, and characteristic, as that known as the 'pointed bowtel.' It is formed by two sides of a, more or less, equilateral spherical triangle; and is used, as well in arch-mouldings, as in shafts. Probably the earliest local instance of its use in the former capacity occurs in the arches of the Galilee (1175), where we see double ribs of this section used alternately with, and as a foil to, zigzags. As a shaft we have it locally in the responds of the Transitional parts of Staindrop, and St. Helen's Auckland, churches; and very freely, both as shaft and moulding, in the nave and choir at Hartlepool. It supplies, indeed, one of the most distinct and crucial tests of style that can be found.

Where, then, and to what extent, does it appear here? Well, first of all and chiefly in the twelve clustered shafts of the north-east and south-east piers, the two earliest of the four, which are wholly, and without exception, of this form. Next, in the three shafts of the re-

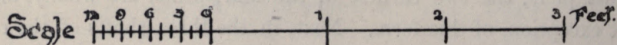
Cuthbert's Church Darlington



Details of Arch etc from S. Aisle into Transept



Measured and
 Drawn by
 H. D. Pritchett
 Dec. 1894.



spond, or semi-pillar of the arch opening to the south aisle of the nave, southwards. (See p. 168 for section, cap, and arch-moulds.) Then, in the great south-western pier in which the corresponding shafts of the respond of the aisle arch are imbedded, and which, to the exclusion of all other forms, contains twelve such shafts. After that, in the principal, and two lateral shafts of the respond of the arch opening to the north nave aisle, northward; and then, lastly, in the great north-west pier where, being used only for the principal shafts, it appears four times towards the cardinal points. (See pp. 159 and 170 for sections and other details.) That is to say, out of forty-two shafts altogether, no fewer than thirty-four are pointed; only eight round ones, and those wholly subordinate, being found in the north-west pier, the latest of the four.

Nor is that all, for besides being used so abundantly as a shaft, it figures conspicuously as a moulding, the three soffit moulds of the four great square-sectioned crossing arches being also of this form.

But the evidence of the pointed bowtel is far from being all that is adducible as to the date of the transepts and crossing. All the twelve capitals of the two eastern piers, infinitely more important than those of the wall-arcades, and decorated with strongly marked Transitional foliage, are surmounted by rigidly square abaci. In the south-west and north-west piers again, while the abaci of the subordinate pointed or rounded shafts follow their outlines respectively, all the main shafts, together with the rectangular portions, have their abaci square, those of the north-west pier having their angles just perceptibly softened and rounded off. These arches and piers of the crossing and nave aisles are seen, in their every detail in short, to be of markedly and indisputably Transitional character throughout, and to have no more connection with the 'advanced Early English architecture of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century' on the one hand, than with that of Flambard or Galfrid Rufus on the other.

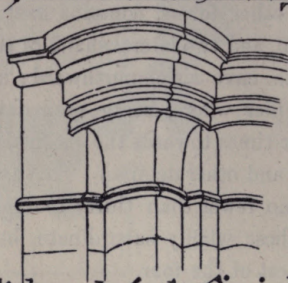
But yet further and, if possible, more convincing proof of the true date of these transepts. Sir Gilbert, it will be remembered, allowed that, up to the string-courses below the lower windows, the work is of Pudsey's day. And so, both outside and inside, the respective string-courses pursue their way throughout choir and transepts uni-

Cuthbert's Church Darlington

Details of Arch from N. Aisle into

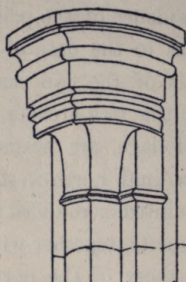
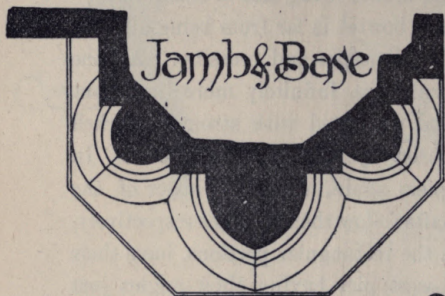
Transept

Cap



Sketch of West Finish.

Jamb & Base

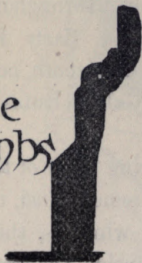


Sketch of East Finish

Plan of Cap looking up



Base of Jambs



Scale 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1

2

3

Measured and Drawn by H.D. Pijkel Dec 18

formly. That, so far, is sufficient proof that all, up to that height, at any rate, is of one date. The lowest interior string-course, however, is but one out of four, the next to it being that which surmounts the lower windows and wall arcades. And this, too, although altered for one of richer character above the altars of the south transept, is of equally pronounced Transitional character as the one below, and carried uniformly throughout both choir and north transept. Then, after that, we come to the second horizontal main string below the upper, or clearstorey windows, once more of precisely the same frank, uncompromising Transitional section as that below the lower windows. And this, after running round the entire choir, and being continued as an abacus mould to the square capitals of the two eastern piers, is then, after traversing the three sides of both transepts, not only used again as abacus mould to the two western piers, but carried on as a string below the clearstorey windows to the west end of the nave. Last of all is the fourth, or uppermost string, or hood-mould of the clearstorey which, of exactly the same unmistakable contour as those below, is continued round the choir and south transept, though changed for one of a somewhat altered form in the north (see p. 154, fig. 1).

Since then, the whole skeleton and framework of the three eastern limbs, as shown by these several string-courses, *of which Sir Gilbert was in far too great haste to take any account at all*, are for the most part continuous, identical, and of Transitional style, it follows that the whole must be continuous, identical, and of Transitional style too. In other words, we see from their own internal evidence that they are not what Sir Gilbert Scott 'conjectures' them to be, viz., 'of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century,' but exactly what the historians declare that they are—the actual work of Pudsey himself, and finished in his lifetime.

VI.

We come now, at length, to the nave. That Pudsey lived to see the completion of this part of the structure is, I think, somewhat doubtful. Up to, and including the easternmost arch of the nave on either side, which, as we have seen, with the walls above them, were necessary as abutments to the crossing, the work was throughout of a highly

enriched and ornate character. There, however, that character suddenly and at once stops, and for good. True, the nave was only the place of the parishioners, a sort of vestibule or ante-chapel to the more strictly collegiate choir which lay beyond, and its comparatively austere simplicity might well enough be accounted for on such grounds alone. But there may, not improbably, have been other grounds than these. In the first place, it is not easy, on such view of the case, to account for the magnificence of its eastern arches and their supporting pillars, differing so entirely as they do from all the rest. There are no signs of these eastern bays having ever formed part of the sanctuary of a people's altar, or of any screen work which served as a reredos to it; though such, indeed, might possibly have been the case, as at the collegiate church of Bonhommes at Edington, and elsewhere. Were they only designed to indicate such a purpose as this, however, a far simpler ordonnance would have sufficed; nor would there have been any need for the arches opening from the side aisles to the transepts to have been of the like degree of richness. The explanation would, perhaps, rather seem to be that Pudsey's death took place when the works had reached that particular point. Then, the stream being cut off from the fountain head, the idea of completing the church according to the original scheme, already commenced, was forthwith abandoned; all further operations being thenceforth carried on and finished by his executors in a far less expensive way than before, and with just such remnant of means as they could command.

That any actual stoppage of the works took place, however, there is nothing, I think, to show. There is no more difference of style observable, indeed, between the work of the transepts and that of the nave, than between that of the choir and of the transepts, that is to say, the mere slight advance accruing from daily growth, and nothing more. With the single exception of the Transitional string-course below the clearstorey windows, which, as there were no breaks to mark the change, was doubtless continued for the sake of uniformity, the merging of the Transitional into more distinctly Early English forms is accomplished so gradually as to be hardly perceived, or even perceivable. Yet, for all that, it is there and can be felt. But a very perceptible change in plan, if not in detail, and one which is patent to the eyes of the most casual observer, is to be seen in the

treatment of the wall-arcades. Hitherto, throughout the church, both in the choir and transepts, with the single exception of the triplet in the north transept gable already referred to, they have been confined strictly to the interior. In the nave they are confined just as strictly to the exterior, a commencement made at the eastern interior angles of the north and south clearstoreys being instantly stopped. The three western bays on either side are not only much plainer in style than the eastern ones, but, as a reference to the ground plan will show, of much wider span. The arches, of three perfectly plain chamfered orders, are carried on alternate circular and octagonal pillars counterchanged, the one form being set opposite the other, and the same order is observed in their responds. Owing to their increased span, the curvature of these arches is excessively obtuse; so much so that in the westernmost ones it is almost, if not quite impossible, to distinguish them from semicircles.¹⁵ A grave defect is also observable in the circular columns; they are much too massive for their superincumbent arch-moulds. From there being three rows of chamfers employed, the result is that the outermost rows in the several arches, at the point of springing, almost touch each other, a mere edge only being left between them. Viewed full front, the effect is unobjectionable enough; but diagonally, and at right angles to the line of chamfers, then the column appears to be nearly twice the diameter of what it carries, a proportion, it is hardly necessary to say, as constructively wrong as it is artistically bad. We have heard what Sir Gilbert has had to say about certain of the 'square-edged' arch-moulds of the choir and transept wall-arcades not fitting their round abaci, but, in two or three cases, slightly overhanging them, and the astonishing theory he constructed to account for such microscopical discrepancy. It cannot, therefore, but excite curiosity as to what he would have said in the case of this indisputably later work, where diamond-shaped arch-moulds are set on round capitals nearly double their own bulk, and which they make no pretence to fit at all!¹⁶ But, like the great crossing arches and their supports, they

¹⁵ In the case of the westernmost arches on either side, the rounded form is intensified through the failure of the foundations having caused the west wall and the attached responds to fall out, thus allowing the arches to spread.

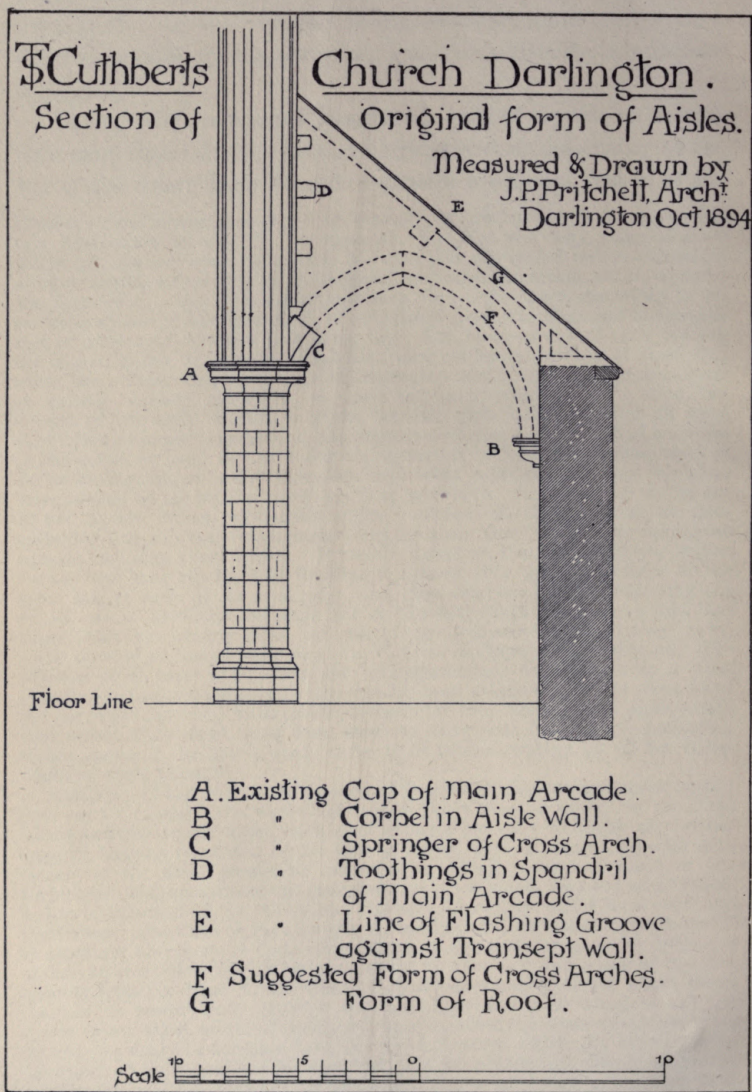
¹⁶ It cannot be too much insisted on how thoroughly self-invented, fictitious, and contrary to all experience this theory of Sir Gilbert's as to the exact correspondence to be looked for between the outline of arch-moulds and their

would doubtless have proved highly inconvenient to his newly invented theory, and so he, very judiciously, never either saw, or mentioned them at all. In the octagonal shafts, which are much slighter than the circular ones, and whose capitals expand considerably, this mistake is avoided.

As originally constructed, the external walls of the side aisles were little more than half their present height, the roofs descending to the top of the dwarf Early English buttresses which still remain at the

abaci is. As a matter of fact it can scarcely, in practice, be found to receive any illustration at all. If, for example, we take the very commonest of thirteenth century arch forms, *i.e.*, of two plain chamfered orders carried on circular shafts, we see that while the abaci are round the arches sit on them in the form of a cross; whereas, to suit such forms, the abaci, according to his showing, should be of a quatrefoil or cruciform plan, which, except in the rare case of quadruple columns, they never are. But however full of such theories Sir Gilbert might be, the old architects knew evidently nothing of them, and cared less. These very mouldings at Darlington which he persists so constantly in calling 'square' are really, at their springing, nothing of the kind, but consist of two rolls, filleted or plain, between three hollows, which sit upon their circular abaci in as natural and artistic a way as possible. Had he, when in the neighbourhood, but extended his researches in local Transitional work as far as Billingham, he would have seen with what practical contempt his ideas were treated by the builder of the south arcade there. As usual, the arches are of two square orders, with their angles rounded off, thus forming at their springing line an exact Greek cross. But the abaci from which they spring are squares enclosing those crosses. It results, therefore, that *the projecting angles*, as any one may see by first drawing a square, then applying others of the same size to each of its four sides, and then drawing another enclosing the whole, are of precisely the same size as the four limbs; in other words, that these abaci are exactly twice the size of the arch-moulds which they carry, while bearing no resemblance whatever to them in shape. Nor is that all. The columns which carry these abaci and arch-moulds are five in number, a stout circular one in the middle, with four smaller ones attached. But in what way? Not, as might naturally be expected, beneath the four limbs of the cross, which they would thus serve, or at least *seem*, to carry, but beneath the projecting square angles of the abaci, where there is, of course, nothing at all for either shafts or abaci to carry.

And then, if not too much shocked with these Billingham examples, he had gone on to examine the really 'advanced Early English work' in the Nine Altars at Durham, he might have seen enough, not only to check all further enquiry, but any repetition of his theory, for all time to come. He tells us in respect of the three particular instances in which the round abaci of the Darlington wall-arcades are cut just perceptibly too small, that the arch-moulds had, to be trimmed off, for if that had not been done, they would have overhung their abaci; and then, on the strength of that frightful state of things, proceeded to construct his theory of there being thirty, or five and thirty years difference of date between the two. What then would he have said in the case of the arch opening from the Nine Altars chapel into the south aisle of the choir, where there is no resemblance between the mouldings and their abaci at all, and where two of them would, if continued, have overshot the abaci altogether? As it] was, we find the sculptor turning the 'difficulty,' which his contemptuous disregard of mathematical niceties had brought about, into simple sources of artistic triumph by carving the extremity of the one into a distorted face, horror struck at being about to be launched into space, and carrying the other on the widespread wings of a flying eagle.



west end and on both sides. Inside, these steeply inclined roofs were carried on transverse arches of stone, which much resembled, and acted as, flying buttresses, spanning the aisles from just above the capitals of the pillars to corbels set at a much lower level in the outside walls. Two of these latter, together with the springer of one of the transverse arches, may still be seen in the north aisle. As the accompanying illustration (see plate VII.) shows, these supports consist of something more than a simple half-arch, having an apex and part of an opposite side attached to the wall of the nave as well. Exact restoration proves what, from the existing fragment, is not at once apparent on the spot, viz., that if continued, the line of the inner side would form a perfect counterpart to that of the outer one; in other words, that both sides, being of the same radius, and struck from the same level, would form a nearly equilateral arch.¹⁷ When, at a later date, the outer walls of the aisles were raised, these transverse arches, no longer suited to the altered circumstances, were destroyed.

As almost everywhere else in the country, this raising of the walls was effected for the purpose of obtaining more light. Large and fine Decorated windows of two lights, with square heads and admirably drawn net-tracery, were accordingly, about the middle of the fourteenth century, made to take the place of the original low and dwarf lancets. They have been slightly, but most carefully, restored wherever decayed, during the late Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration, and in a way which should serve as a model in all like cases everywhere.

Turning to the exterior, we at once observe that arch-moulds exactly similar to those of the transepts, consisting of a roll and fillet

¹⁷ The restored elevation of this transverse arch has been most kindly drawn, after careful measurement, at my suggestion, by Mr. Pritchett, architect, of Darlington. The latest published archaeological account of the church, repeating the statement made in Mr. Longstaffe's history, says that the aisles were vaulted. This, as the drawing shows, is a complete mistake. There was never any vaulting whatever. Though not by any means unique, this fashion of supporting the roofs of the side aisles was somewhat uncommon. We find it still existing in the contemporary nave aisles at Hartlepool, notwithstanding the raising of the outer walls there as here, though, in that case, the arches are equal sided, and sprung from the same, or nearly the same, level. In Llandaff cathedral pointed transverse stone arches, similar to these at Darlington, also occur; but again, owing to the different proportions of the arcades, of perfect and complete form. At Iona, too, there is a very curious application of the same principle. In that case, however, instead of the transverse supports being slight and resting upon corbels as in the foregoing instances, they consist of massive moulded half-arches descending from above the capitals of the columns to the base of the outer walls, where they rise independently from the ground.

between two hollows, and surmounted by a hood, are continued along the clearstoreys, three arcades, of which the central one is pierced for a window, being given to each bay. And again, notwithstanding that the section of the arches is what, in the case of the choir and transepts, it suited Sir Gilbert to call square, we find them, precisely as before, fitted to caps having round abaci, than which nothing more suitable could be conceived, and which all fit perfectly. But of these, so conspicuous, and impossible to be ignored as they are, and in respect of whose several parts it would be futile to suggest any disparity of date, he has, once more, nothing whatever to say. They are, in fact, exactly the self-same characteristic mouldings of the period which are met with all over the country, and carried on capitals of just such rounded form as were commonly and, indeed, universally, applied to them.

The same line of arcading which forms the clearstorey is continued, with a slightly increased height, across the west end of the nave. This is pierced for two windows at that level, and for one over them in the gable, the whole forming, perhaps, as chastely simple and elegant a composition as can be found. Below, in the great west doorway, we meet, under a pedimented head, with a deep archway of three orders of square-set roll-and-hollow mouldings, but, like those of the choir, without fillets, and carried on similar round caps, as perfectly fitted to each other as caps and mouldings, of any sort, can be anywhere. Of these, once more, however, since they would have proved utterly subversive of his theory, Sir Gilbert, although he himself supplied them with new shafts and circular capitals, has, prudently, not a word to say.

On the north and south sides are similar shafted doorways, but smaller and simpler, and having only plain chamfers for their arch-moulds. Both originally had porches, the walls of which rose high above those of the low side aisles, and, standing out transeptally, served to break the monotony of their continuous and steeply sloping roofs. The ridges of these porch roofs were about level with those of the aisles themselves beneath the clearstorey, but both roofs and porches were, apparently, destroyed when the aisle walls were raised to their present height.

A slight, but marked difference of design occurs in the nave

clearstoreys which, since it is, I think, universally unnoticed, seems worth pointing out. Towards the south, each bay is marked off by the introduction of flat and narrow pilaster buttresses, or wall strips; just sufficient to mark the distinction and no more. Small and insignificant as they are, however, they serve, quite visibly, to interrupt and mar the continuity of the arcade. Towards the north these pilaster strips are omitted; and, however correct in principle they may be, very greatly, I think, to the advantage of the general effect. Though there would, of course, be no break in the continuance of the works, this improved arrangement would seem to point pretty clearly to the fact that the north clearstorey of the nave, like the upper part of the north transept, followed, if not the completion, at least the commencement, of that opposite to it.

VII.

With the single exception of the roof of the choir, those of the church generally, up to the time of the late restoration, retained not only very nearly their ancient pitch, but also their ancient leaden coverings. Having suffered no greater loss than that of the decayed ends of their rafters, the defect was all the more readily made good, and they have now, once more, been brought back to their proper height.¹⁸ An entirely new roof of corresponding form and character having also been placed upon the chancel, in lieu of a very poor and flat one of the fifteenth century, the general outline of the building which, till then, had been utterly ruined, has also recovered its pristine dignity. At the same time, nearly the whole of the east end above the lowest string-course, which had been destroyed in 1748, and

¹⁸ In Mr. Longstaffe's *History of Darlington*, a work, generally speaking, full of interesting and valuable detail, some highly original and surprising ideas in connection with the roofs of the church are broached. Instead of being of the original construction, as they unquestionably are, he supposes them to be of the Decorated period, and to have supplanted those of Pudsey's or some later date. These, he imagines, were of stone, springing, not as they should have done, and as everywhere else, in such cases, they invariably did, from the bottom of the clearstorey, but from the top, and coinciding in form and altitude with the open discharging arches which surmount those of the crossing. Then, these vaulted roofs being, in the fourteenth century, held accountable for the various settlements which took place at that time, instead of the weight of the new tower and spire which actually caused them, and below, and in immediate connection with which they alone occurred, led, as he supposes, to their removal, and to the erection of the present roofs in their stead. But, ingenious as the theory may be, it is far too ingenious to be true; the very slightest knowledge of construc-

rebuilt in a cheap and nasty fashion, was taken down and reconstructed according to the original design, and, very largely, with its own disembedded and original materials. These proved to be of the utmost value as affording evidence not only of what the design was, but of the exact form and proportion of its component parts. Previous to this discovery, Sir Gilbert, jumping to just as hasty and erroneous a conclusion with respect to its plan as to that of its date, had a large and very fine folio drawing, prepared by the late Mr. R. J. Johnson, showing it in what purported to be its original condition. That, notwithstanding the considerably greater width of the choir, and the fact that the *head* of the low central buttress remained intact below the lowest string-course, as it does still, he 'conjectured' to consist of four lancet lights, arranged two and two in each storey like those of the transepts, with the buttress running up between them, and a foiled circle in the gable over all. The recovered voussoirs prove, however, what the very slightest reflection might have shown, that such could not possibly have been the case. The head of the buttress, as clearly appeared, was fixed in the first instance where it is ; because, though with a different grouping, the east end, like the sides, was lighted in each stage by three windows, which, of course, forbade its being carried higher.¹⁹ Yet, Sir Gilbert, esteeming its

tion sufficing to show that it is impossible. Independently of the fact that such vaults were unknown in English architecture, it may be added that unless the space to be covered be very narrow and the supporting walls low and of great strength or very powerfully buttressed, vaults sprang from their summits would speedily and surely fall. But the height and breadth of the four limbs of Darlington church are too great, and the construction of the walls too feeble to have allowed the erection of any such vaults at all ; and which, even if erected, instead of standing for two centuries, as supposed, would not, probably, have stood for as many weeks. Moreover, the action of the vaults would have been to thrust all the walls of the church, in their entire extent, out from the top, which is not the case ; and not to have driven them vertically into the ground beneath the angles of the tower only, as has actually happened.

¹⁹ In three other thirteenth-century Durham churches, the same remarkable feature of a dwarf buttress in the centre of the east wall of the chancel, and stopped short below the sill of the central lancet, also occurs. We see it at Gainford, within a few miles' distance, where the work is exactly contemporaneous with this at Darlington, and as the similarity of some of the decorative features to those in the south transept there serves to show, probably executed by the same man. Also at Ryton, of rather later date, and again at Easington, where there are five lights instead of three. It is found also in the case of the fine thirteenth-century abbey church of Egliston, near Barnard Castle, beneath the sill of the large and very peculiar east window of five lights, which, under a deep and richly moulded arch penetrating the entire thickness of the wall, fills the whole extremity of the choir.

witness of no more account than that of the historians, and as hastily impatient of it as of the architecture of the other parts, had it carried up, theoretically, notwithstanding.

But, to the recovered details. They showed, in the first place, that the mouldings of the triplets followed exactly in each storey the respective patterns of the side lights. But they happily did more than this. They enabled the radii of the arches, and consequently the width of the windows, to be accurately ascertained. Still more, and most important, perhaps, of all, a double springer connecting the central light with that on one side, showed that the three, besides being of unequal width, were also of unequal height; the one side of it taking the curve of the head of the lower or side light, while the other one went up vertically. Every available stone has been carefully replaced in these fine and impressive windows, both inside and out; while the sections of the capitals of the recovered nook-shafts, too mutilated for reinsertion, have been carefully reproduced. (See Plates V. and VI.) Like the rest, they fit their places and their mouldings admirably.²⁰

But little further, from an architectural point of view, remains to say. As left by its first builders, the church continued untouched till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when, as we have seen, the aisles were raised, and the tower, which, till then, had remained unfinished, received its rich upper storey and tall tapering spire; crowning glories, but alas! crowning griefs. Admirable in design, and harmonizing perfectly with all below, they served, as in the parallel, if far grander case of Salisbury, to give just that amount of increased richness so desirable for accentuating such features, and relieving at the same time the, perhaps, otherwise, somewhat monotonous uniformity of the rest.

²⁰ The restoration of the chancel was committed by the then lay impropiator, Harry, fourth duke of Cleveland, to Mr. J. P. Pritchett of Darlington, to whose courtesy and kindness, and that of his son, Mr. H. D. Pritchett, the society is indebted for the use of all such of his many drawings, photographs, plans and sections of parts, and mouldings, as might be deemed useful for the illustration of this account. Several of the latter were taken at the time, of full size, neither sketched nor measured, but traced from the stones themselves, which, after being carefully cleaned, were laid upon the paper. The accompanying sections, reproduced from these tracings, may therefore be depended upon for absolute and altogether exceptional accuracy. I am happy to add here my testimony to the extreme care and perfect success with which the restoration of the chancel, using the term in its fullest and most exact sense, has been carried out. Nothing, indeed, could have been done in an abler, more scrupulously conscientious, or conservative way.

Inspired, in all likelihood, by the arcading of the clearstorey, the fourteenth-century architect adopted a similar scheme of decoration for his belfry stage.²¹ If not quite unique it must, I think, be very nearly so, and is, at any rate, of a very unusual character indeed. As will be seen from the exterior views, it consists of a series of five pointed arches on each face of the tower, the central one of which only pierces the wall, divided into two lights each, and filled, like the aisle-windows, with net-tracery. As in their case again, this is beautifully formed, and has the peculiarity, very rare indeed at its period, of having soffit cusping. This contrast of proportions imparts a degree of delicacy and refinement to the work altogether admirable; and which, but for the circumstance of the design being continuous and not confined to a single panel, might probably not have occurred. Why the long destroyed mullions of the central windows should not have been replaced either at, or since, the time of the restoration, but the openings suffered to remain blocked with hideous louvre-boards passes comprehension. The black ugliness of these blotches constitutes a blemish and eye-sore visible, far and wide, in all directions; and goes farther, outside, to spoil the effect of the church, and of all that has been done for it, than could easily be imagined.

Only the lower third of the spire is original, the upper parts having been destroyed by lightning 'on Tuesday, the 17th July, 1750.' In the rebuilding which, on the whole, was effected in a very creditable and praiseworthy manner, the angle beading, which still remains below, was, most unfortunately, omitted, to the great detriment of its effect. The wonderful softness and richness of outline imparted, not merely to the angles themselves, but to the spire as a whole, by a device so seemingly trivial, could hardly, I think, be realized before viewing what remains of it in connection with the comparatively bald nakedness of the rest. Nothing, perhaps, could serve to illustrate more completely the masterly skill and judgment of the old builders than the adoption of so simple and effective a feature as this.

²¹ In the *History of Darlington* it is stated that 'The tower has a series of five Early English arches at each side filled with Decorated tracery, the centre one pierced as a belfry window.' The arches, of course, are nothing of the kind, but of late fourteenth-century work, of the same date as the walls, of which they form part, of the spire which surmounts, and of the tracery which not only fills, but is incorporated with, and *worked out of the same stones as themselves.*

A few words only as regards the present state and aspect of the church in conclusion. Notwithstanding the vast amount of money, care, and talent which have been expended on it, the interior of the building, although galleries and other obstructions of phenomenal magnitude have been cleared away, remains still in a condition utterly, and from every point of view, deplorable. Not that anything, as so almost universally happens, has been done amiss, far from it; but that, while so many things have been done, and done as well as possible, that which above all else cried out for remedy has simply been left undone.

I have already spoken of the new tower and spire as being something more than crowning glories, viz., crowning griefs. Could their builders only have foreseen half the mischief that was to follow, it may safely, I think, be said of their work, that they would have 'let that alone for ever.' Sir Gilbert Scott, however, unless gravely misreported, would seem to have taken a wholly different view of the case, and come to the conclusion that they not only calculated beforehand what disasters would ensue, but proceeded at once, and before commencing operations, to provide the remedies. These, as the plan and views will help to show, amounted to nothing less than the deliberate destruction of nearly all the chief beauties of the church. The westernmost windows of the choir, both above and below on each side, together with their attached wall-arcades, were accordingly solidly blocked up; the splendid clustered shafts at the eastern intersection of the transepts, up to and including their fine foliated capitals, embedded in shapeless masses of rude masonry; the eastern windows of the transepts, one below in the north, and two, one above and another below, in the south, likewise built up; huge ungainly props or buttresses constructed across the angles of the choir and transepts externally; and worst, or nearly worst of all, perhaps, the beautiful wall-arcading of both choir and transepts, but especially of the south transept, filled up flush with stonework, thereby completely ruining the whole beauty and symmetry of its design. But worse, if possible, than all this put together, at any rate from a practical, or utilitarian point of view, in order to prevent the buckling of the eastern piers, a platform of solid stone, some thirteen feet high and seven broad, and pierced in its centre

by a low and narrow archway, exactly like a bridge, was introduced between them, shutting off the choir, all but entirely, from sight and sound, and leaving it as practically useless, as its adjoining parts disfigured.²² All this, unhappily, has been allowed to remain precisely as it was. And all this, Sir Gilbert asks us to believe, the builders of the tower and spire perpetrated deliberately, with their eyes open, and in cold blood, before they commenced their work. 'Bishop Pudsey, he thought, never intended the piers to support a tower of anything like the weight of the one resting upon them. The builders of the tower, indeed, had evidently distrusted them, as they built up the windows, as was seen on both sides of the piers, and also constructed the screen.'

How such an idea could have presented itself to any mind whatever, least of all to that of a practical builder and archaeologist like Sir Gilbert Scott, seems altogether unintelligible. Where, it may be asked, in all the length and breadth of the land, is anything like a parallel case to such proceedings to be found? Desperate remedies to avert impending ruin may be seen, scattered all over, plentifully enough; but where, a single instance of wholesale propping and mutilation practised speculatively beforehand, when, to all appearance, the existing works, exhibiting no signs of weakness or decay, seemed fully equal to the purpose? It was never, in any case, until signs of failure made their appearance, that such remedies were either supplied or dreamt of. Nor, indeed, was it possible in such cases, any more than in that of the human subject, to know, before the development of the symptoms, either the kind or extent of the remedies required, or whereabouts they should be applied. How, at York for example, could the builders of the central lantern possibly have imagined that the enormous piers, capable apparently, of carrying any weight that could be laid upon them, would prove inadequate to the load of even such a structure, nearly all windows, and vaulted merely with wood? But we see, as they themselves did when too late, how

²² Whether 'William the engineer,' who was employed by bishop Pudsey during the latter part of his life, was the designer of the church at Darlington or not, cannot now be said. From the total absence of all engineering capacity displayed in its construction, however, as in that of other works presumably proceeding from the same hand, we might be led to suppose that, in all probability, he was. As an architect, from the artistic point of view, he was doubtless a conspicuous success; as an engineer, like his works, structurally considered, in an only too literal sense—a failure.

its weight drove those piers vertically eight inches into the ground, and not only dragged down and dislocated all the adjoining masonry in the most frightful way along with them, but pushed the piers and arches of the transepts also greatly out of place. All the patchings and pieceings which, in order to conceal distortions and make good defects, were necessarily on a very extensive scale, and, as we may be sure, very reluctantly undertaken, took place, not, of course, as Sir Gilbert would make out in the case of Darlington, beforehand, but only after the extent and direction of the settlements was revealed.

And so, too, at Canterbury, where much the same kind of thing occurred, only on a far more extensive scale, and in a slightly different way. There too, when under very similar circumstances to those at York, prior Goldstone, in 1495, carried up the splendid 'Angel Steeple,' he had, as the builders in that case, to make use of vast piers containing the work of various periods from that of Lanfranc (1070-77) down to about a century before his own. These also, refaced largely as they were at the latter date, looked, doubtless, thoroughly efficient. But the usual result followed, and that, apparently, without delay, for the same prior is reported to have built not the tower only, but that unparalleled system of arch-bracing and buttressing which still serves to keep it up. Two great strainer arches then, would seem, almost immediately, to have been thrown across, at about mid-height, below the western and southern arches; while four other smaller arches were built as additional supports to the two western piers on which they rested, across the east ends of the north and south aisles of the nave, and beneath the easternmost nave arches on either side; those last-named arches themselves being further immensely strengthened by the introduction of massive inner arches carried on additional responds applied to the crossing, and final nave, piers alike. (For a full and most admirable account of these works, see the late Professor Willis's *Canterbury Cathedral*.) In the case of a tower built anew from the foundations, it is clear that an architect would be able, to some approximate extent, to calculate the amount of pressure and thrust which it would exercise, and provide for both accordingly. But, in cases such as these, it was otherwise. They neither did, nor could, know what the hearts of those huge and superficially strong

piers were like. They had no idea whatever either of the quality or extent of the unsound work within, nor could they possibly predicate whereabouts, or how far, they would yield to the new strain, or, indeed, whether they would yield at all. At Chichester, as we know, the piers of the central tower, though wholly unfortified by extraneous support, yet bore their new load, rotten, as recent experience has shown their cores to have been, for full five hundred years. How then, could the builders, either at Canterbury or York, form any idea of when, or where, or in what shape, or to what extent, the yielding, if it ever occurred at all, would declare itself? Though the exact date of the Canterbury work is unknown, nothing, I think, could serve to show more clearly than the very intricacy and extent of the system of stiffening and counterthrusts established there, that it must necessarily have been carried out, not by any mere previous guess-work at weaknesses of which there were no signs, but only after such weaknesses had declared themselves, and then, at the precise points, and to the exact degree, required.

At Wells and Salisbury, again, both of whose central towers, possessing piers of less bulk, and more uniform construction than those of Canterbury and York, and therefore more analogous to the case of Darlington, we find all the buttressing appliances to be subsequent, not prior to, the new works. At Wells, indeed, not only those works, and the mischiefs they caused, and the means taken to remedy them, but the Chapter Acts as well, remain to tell us all particulars. Just as at Darlington, the original early piers and arches, with the superstructure, had been carried up only to the roofs. There the building stopped. Then, some thirty years or so before the tower and spire of Darlington were built, the upper parts of the tower were proceeded with in 1321. In less than six years time, however, though of no great height or weight, the Chapter meetings tell us of the threatened ruin of the structure. 'One thousand pounds spent and two hundred pounds of debt,' says Professor Willis, 'attest the expenditure, and the means resorted to are still too visible. The lofty tower arches, excepting the eastern, are each,' he proceeds, 'obstructed by a massive frame of masonry, consisting of an inverted arch, resting upon a low arch, each spandril space being occupied by a circle, connecting these

two arches with the tower arch responds, between which they stand, in such a manner as effectually to prevent the latter from bulging in. The fractured and distorted masonry of the nave was also repaired or rebuilt, its triforium spaces walled up, and other buttressing contrivances introduced. These various devices have proved perfectly successful in sustaining the tower, but detract greatly from the beauty of the interior.' The remedies, we see, were applied, as doubtless they were at Canterbury, just where the actual development of fractures showed that they were needed. For how, otherwise, could the restorers have known beforehand, or even guessed, that in this case as in that, the two western piers only would give way, while the two eastern ones would stand firm, and need no buttressing at all? Priors and convents, like private people, did not usually, one may suppose, anticipate evils that might possibly not exist, nor incur doctors' bills and discomfort till something really ailed them.

Salisbury, however, affords the exactest parallel of all of these to Darlington. There the addition was not merely of a tower, but of a spire as well. There, too, no remnants of an earlier building were incorporated in the existing one, and there too the walls had been carried up only to the ridges of the roof. Moreover, exactly as at Darlington, the original builders, as is clear, had never designed the piers and arches of the crossing to carry anything like the load subsequently laid upon them. Both buildings also, as well as their after additions, are curiously contemporaneous: the foundations of Darlington having been laid in 1192, and those of Salisbury in 1220; while the tower and spire of Salisbury were commenced about 1331, and those of Darlington about 1350.

But, just as at Wells and Canterbury, so here again; no sooner were the new works completed, than symptoms of approaching ruin set in. Chapter meetings from 1387 to 1417, testify to the danger, and to the anxious collection of funds wherewith to meet it. How threatening it was the remedies applied prove. Again, curiously enough, as at Wells and Canterbury, it was the western piers which gave way. Although not so massive as those employed at Wells, the remedies resorted to were similar in kind, namely, the introduction of inverted arches into the north and south openings of the small transept; and of a similar contrivance to the north and south tower

arches, consisting of a bridging arch, which connects the responds of those arches, and acts as a strut to prevent them from bulging. Also a variety of arched braces and other props and ties were introduced into the apertures to relieve the great arches from part of the superincumbent weight by distributing it on the adjacent walls, and so prevent them from spreading. Price enumerates no fewer than one hundred and twelve of these additional supports, exclusive of iron bandages.

As in the preceding instances, and others innumerable elsewhere, the whole of the remedial appliances were due, we see, not to forethought, but afterthought ; and brought to bear, not speculatively, on parts which, for anything the builders could tell, would never need them, but precisely at the points of actual, or threatened, failure.

And such, beyond all shadow of doubt, was the case here also at Darlington. There was just this difference, however, between it and the several instances above cited ; that whereas their towers stood upon four detached piers, this, though a cross church, had, owing to the fact of the choir being aisleless, two only of its four piers detached ; the other two, consisting of semi-piers, being embedded in, and supported by, the angle walls of the choir and transepts. But how could the builders of the tower and spire here, any more than there, have imagined at the commencement of their work, when both piers and arches were perfectly sound and symmetrical, and presented every appearance of strength, that their foundations were deficient ? And how, still less, could they have imagined that those parts which, to all seeming, possessed such superabundant strength at the two eastern angles, would yet give way, and be the first to yield ? With no evidence whatever of such weakness before them, how is it possible to conceive those men pitching beforehand on the very parts which, above all others, seemed firmest and most secure, and applying to them that vast, and, so far as the appearance of the church is concerned, hideously destructive system of internal and external buttressing which we see to-day ? Yet, that is precisely what we are asked to believe they did. Were they, indeed, gifted with such a supernatural degree of foresight as that view of their conduct presupposes ; it might well be asked how it happened that they did not rather apply themselves to the root of the matter at once ; and instead of permanently crippling and disfiguring the building at a vast cost,

adopt the far cheaper plan of underpinning the piers, and so save both church and money at the same time. It is but too evident, however, that Sir Gilbert was here speaking with the same rash and inconsiderate haste as he did before. For, if he had but allowed himself time to think, or examine even superficially, the building whose history he was professing to trace, he might have seen that, theory apart, its evidence here, as elsewhere, belied his utterance; the dragged down and distorted arches of the choir windows showing clearly that the settlements must have taken place before their openings were blocked.

But it is only due to Sir Gilbert's memory to say that the perpetuation of those frightful degradations to which the erection of the tower and spire gave birth is due to others rather than to himself. It is, indeed, public knowledge that had he been left to follow his own professional and artistic instincts, those never sufficiently to be lamented evils would long since have been got rid of, and the church, once more, brought back to its pristine use and beauty. Most unhappily, however, he was not allowed to have his own way; for while the works of restoration were in progress, and the question of clearing away the obstructive arch was mooted, it at once called forth a vehement, if little more than individual, opposition. The bare suggestion was at once publicly denounced as vandalism; the wanton destruction of an ancient monument of the most precious and unique character; and heaven and earth invoked to witness to the sacrilege. The consequence was that Sir Gilbert, yielding weakly to such an outburst of zeal, untempered by either knowledge or discretion, refused to take further steps; nor could all the after-solicitations or remonstrances of sober-minded and rational people induce him to alter his resolve. As so often happens, the opportunity once gone cannot, there is too much reason to fear, now, or perhaps ever, be recalled. At the time, however, all the mischief incurred could easily have been obviated, and, comparatively speaking, at a trifling expence. While the costly shoring was in place, and the tower arches were blocked solidly with timber, not only could the bridge, which was then discovered to be as practically useless²³ as obstructively frightful, have

²³ Such, I was assured by the master mason employed during the restoration, was positively the case. Not only, as he took occasion to prove to Sir Gilbert

been readily removed, but all the cumbrous casing of the piers along with it ; and those most central and beautiful features, together with the adjacent windows and wall arcading, have been restored, and opened out to view. As the *extra* cost for remedying these evils would now, it is said, amount to between one and two thousand pounds, the time for doing so seems relegated, consequently, to the Greek kalends.

Such, from a purely architectural standpoint, are the observations I have to offer with regard to this most interesting, and once beautiful church. It neither is, nor ever was, my purpose to give anything in the nature of a general, or popular, account, either of the building or its history. My concern has been altogether with the critical examination of its structure and details ; and if I have succeeded in disentangling either one or other from the maze of wild theory and ignorant speculation in which they have latterly been involved ; and in vindicating the claims of the great, if not, according to modern views, perhaps, good, bishop Hugh Pudsey, to be not merely the founder, but actual builder of it, I shall be well content.

RECAPITULATION.

In order that those who having neither sufficient knowledge of architectural detail, nor patience, if they had, to follow the account contained in the foregoing pages, may yet be able to grasp its general scope and purpose ; as also, that those who have done so, may possess it in a briefer and more convenient form ; I have thought that the following summary might, possibly, prove useful ; giving Sir G. Gilbert Scott's various assertions on the one side, and the refutations of them, in as condensed a form as may be, on the other :—

I.—In the first place, then, Sir Gilbert affirms that ‘the date of

personally, by thrusting a shovel as far as it would reach underneath, were the foundations worthless, but he further ascertained that it had no hold upon the side walls so as to act towards them as a buttress. As a strainer arch its planning alone shows that, from the first, it could have been of no account. Had the man who designed it really understood his business, he might here, as at Rushden and Finedon, have converted a structural need into an architectural beauty, by throwing a flat strong arch of open stone work from side to side, and so, while preventing the piers from bulging, and without obstructing either sight or sound, have provided a noble chancel screen and rood loft at the same time. It was undoubtedly a great opportunity then, *as since*, lost. At the present time, whatever slight support it may once have offered, it is, there is every reason to think, of no more practical use than a waggon load of hay.

Darlington church is involved in perplexity—that historians do not tell us with any certainty when the church was built, or by whom.’

On the contrary, the contemporary historian prior Galfrid of Coldingham, tells us distinctly, that the church was built by bishop Pudsey, and that its foundations were laid in 1192 ; adding, what is of the highest importance in connection with the architectural evidence that, notwithstanding the various troubles which beset the latter part of his life, *he suffered nothing to interfere with the progress of the works*, a statement corroborated by prior Wessington, of Durham (1416-1446), who, speaking either from local history or tradition, says that Pudsey built it *from the very foundations*.

II.—In the next place Sir Gilbert says that ‘we have a building which every here and there has details which at once remind us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which do not belong to the Transition at all ; there are details of 1190 or 1200, side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.’

But, instead of finding, as asserted, in a purely Early English building, a few scattered details which every here and there *remind* us of those of the Transitional period, the architecture, both of choir and transepts, as their mouldings, the only true tests of date or style, prove, is that of the Transition throughout. The sections of the several string-courses, which are carried along the walls in their entirety from below the sills of the lower windows to above the heads of the upper ones, are thoroughly Transitional, and not Early English at all ; whence it follows that the walls themselves, of which they may be said to form the skeleton or framework, are Transitional also. And then, as none of the windows or other features is, or is even pretended to be, later insertions, it follows, further, that they, too, must be of the same period. But more than this : the mouldings of these windows, as the reduced full-size sections show, are no more Early English, or anything like it, than are the string-courses, but of the most pronounced Transitional type imaginable, with double square edges instead of chamfers in the lower ones of the choir, and with the roll moulds of the sides, both there and in those of the transepts, returned horizontally along the sills, exactly as in the chapel of Sherburn hospital, which was already built by Pudsey in 1185, some eight years or more before the works at Darlington were commenced.

The only details which could for a moment, and that only when seen from the outside, be attributed to 1220 or 1230, are the clear-storey windows of the transepts; but even these, when examined from the inside, are discovered, from their Transitional hood, and arch-moulds, and the square abaci of their accompanying capitals, to be of just the same date as all the rest.

III.—In the next place, Sir Gilbert says that ‘the architecture of the building was that of the *advanced* Early English style, with one exception; that was the flat buttresses, which were exactly similar to those found in Norman buildings, and to those of Ripon cathedral.’

This statement will be seen to contain in itself as complete a refutation as could possibly be applied to it; the very existence of these flat buttresses which are quite unknown to the advanced Early English style, and are continued round the whole of the choir and transepts from base to summit, proving both in itself, and in connection with the other details, that they, and the entire intervening wall spaces, are of the same early and Transitional period.

IV.—Again, Sir Gilbert ‘conjectures’ that bishop Pudsey began the whole eastern part, and carried it up to the string-course below the windows; also that he ‘prepared a great quantity of materials for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable time must have transpired before the work was commenced again,’ when ‘the builders used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind, and then, the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square;’ and, ‘with the exception of the lowest part, and certain details prepared before, the whole belonged, instead of to Pudsey, to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.’

It is conceded that the bishop carried up the basement of the three eastern limbs as far as the string-course below the lower windows. But this consists only of a few courses of perfectly plain walling which could easily have been built in three months. Yet this, we are asked to believe, was all that the bishop and the whole body of masons at his command were able to accomplish, despite his eagerness, in three full years! Then, the details which were before spoken of as every here and there *reminding* us of those of the Transitional period, are now described as a great quantity of materials actually prepared in the

bishop's lifetime, which was that of the Transition itself, but not set in their place. All such details, however, as none knew better than Sir Gilbert himself, are, and always were, set as soon as ready, and not left to accumulate. More than this : we are asked to believe that all this material, after lying idle for thirty years or more, was then, together with the whole body of the church, erected by some person wholly unknown either to history or tradition. And all this monstrous fiction he bases on the fact that while the moulding of the wall-arcades are what it suits his purpose to call *square*, the abaci of their little capitals, or some of them, are *round*. But, since the mouldings, consisting of a simple roll, or roll and fillet between two hollows, are, as Sir Gilbert perfectly well knew, precisely those used throughout the whole of the late Transitional and Early English period, and universally carried on round abaci, the statement, it is clear, can only have been made to throw dust in the eyes of the unwary ; and account, in an, apparently, marvellously clever way, for what was perfectly simple and commonplace, and required no accounting for at all.

Again, in attributing the so-called square mouldings to Pudsey's time, while referring the little capitals that carry them to 1225 or 1230, he left himself no time to consider how far his argument carried him ; for, instead of stopping short at a few details ' here and there,' it embraces not only the whole of the arcade and window moulds of the three eastern limbs, but the great arches of the crossing, together with those opening into the nave aisles, and of all the nave clearstoreys and great western doorway as well. The whole of this enormous mass of material, which would have blocked up the entire surface of the ground far and wide, we are invited to believe was, instead of being put together as it was finished, for no conceivable reason whatever, left lying about for thirty years awaiting the little circular capitals which alone had not been cut ; and which, when they were, according to his showing, did not fit. Yes, out of the whole multitude, Sir Gilbert found *one* (he tells us so expressly) whose arch-moulds overhang it ! And on this basis, which exactly represents the feat of erecting a pyramid upon its apex, he constructs his theory. So far from the mouldings overhanging their capitals as he asserts they would all, or almost all, do if not trimmed off, there are, out of the entire number, three only, which do so to the minutest conceivable extent ; and that,

not through any unfitness of the round abaci to their place, but simply through the carver's having cut them some quarter of an inch or so too small. It should be observed that, throughout the entire range of the three eastern limbs, the idea of the sculptor has been to restrain the diameter of his abaci within the least possible limits, a sort of reaction, probably, from the excessive projection of the earlier square forms, and that, in the three particular instances specified, he has carried this system just the veriest trifle too far. In the somewhat later nave clearstoreys, and the great western doorway, the abaci are of a fuller and freer development, proving clearly that those of the choir and transepts are, not as Sir Gilbert tries to make out, thirty years later than the whole of their surroundings; but, as might naturally be supposed, of the same period, consequently somewhat tentative and immature.

V.—‘Looking at the two transepts,’ Sir Gilbert continues, ‘he should say that the north one was built of many of the old materials left behind, and the south one of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own. Those details were of the Early English style.’ But, as the choir was undoubtedly built before either of the transepts, any details left behind, after the imaginary cessation of the works, would naturally be used up there. And then the details of the north transept, unlike those of the south, are similar to, and all of a piece with, those of the crossing, which must necessarily have followed after the erection of both transepts, as otherwise its great arches would have been without support. Besides, its upper parts could only have been built after the erection of the north-west pier, which is manifestly the latest of the four crossing piers, since they are both built into, and upon, it, just as the corresponding parts of the south transept are built into, and upon, the earlier south-west pier.

As to the south transepts being built ‘about the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own,’ he has, through a hasty impression of general effect, simply fallen into the vulgar error of assuming that the richer work must naturally be the later; without stopping to examine the mouldings which, even in the very topmost string-courses, are of the intensest Transitional character, and continuations of those similarly situated in the choir.

VI.—‘Bishop Pudsey,’ Sir Gilbert tells us finally, ‘never intended the piers to support a tower of anything like the weight of the one resting upon them. The builders of the tower, indeed, had evidently distrusted them, as they built up the windows, as was seen on both sides of the piers, and also constructed the screen.’

The first sentence of this statement is undoubtedly true. But, instead of mutilating the finest features of the church beyond remedy by the blocking up of the windows and wall-arcades of the choir and transepts, and the casing of the eastern piers of the crossing with hideous masses of rude masonry, by way of preliminary safeguards; it is evident that such remedies were, and could only be, applied here, as in all other similar cases, *after* the new works were finished, and the results became apparent. Otherwise, how were the builders, who could not possibly know anything of the deficient foundations, to tell which, if any, of them would give way, or to what extent? That the remedies were only applied after the settlements took place, and not before, as alleged by Sir Gilbert, may be inferred, not merely from analogy, but from the fact of the adjacent window arches being dragged down in a way that could not have happened had they been previously blocked up.

One thing only, I think, needs stating here, finally, and in express terms; and that is, that the church, one of the noblest and most deeply interesting buildings to be found, is not, as Sir G. Gilbert Scott, in spite of contemporary history, endeavoured to make it appear, in the main, the work of some wholly unknown and unheard of person, or persons, of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, who availed themselves of the commenced, but abortive, attempt of bishop Pudsey to erect it; but, on the contrary, up to, and inclusive of the eastern arches of the nave, undoubtedly that of the bishop himself, and completed by him in his lifetime. Whether so much can be said for the western parts which, by whomsoever built, went up without delay, is possibly, though only possibly, doubtful. That the three years of the bishop’s life, after the foundations were laid, were not only sufficient, but more than sufficient, for the completion of the whole fabric, exclusive of the later tower and spire, any builder can testify who, without the least hesitation, would undertake to do the like in half the time, or less; while, that there was money enough, is shown by the



ROMAN BRONZE FIGURE OF MERCURY, FROM AESICA.

(FULL SIZE.)

From a photograph by Mr. C. F. Spence.



W. McLeish, photo.

S. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON

INTERIOR OF CROSSING, LOOKING SOUTH.

ADDENDA.

To the account already given I have thought it desirable to add the two accompanying plates and descriptions to show still more clearly, and on a larger scale, examples of some of the abaci of Darlington church, and of the way in which their arch-moulds really sit upon them. They are reduced from carefully measured full size drawings taken by myself, and will serve to show, far more intelligibly than words can do, how entirely misleading and erroneous the late Sir G. G. Scott's statements respecting them are.

Plate VIII. fig. 1, shows one from the lower range of the north end of the north transept. In this instance, as in several others which occur quite indiscriminately, it will be observed that the arch-moulds do not descend to the circular abacus at all, but are received upon a square block with a steeply sloping surface. Further, it will be observed that the fillets of these arch-moulds do not, of course, project so far as the angles of the square block on which they rest, but that the angles of the block are broached into them, so as to unite the rectangular and oblique surfaces. And these broaches, which belong plainly to the block, and not in the least to the arch-moulds, it will be further observed, just come up to, without overhanging, even the inner line of the abacus. What then becomes of Sir Gilbert's allegation that 'the capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circle?' Why, even the square block itself does not overhang the circle, how much less then the mouldings which are set well within the angles of the block; and where again, it may be asked, does the trimming come in? The square block rests square and level on its bed, but there is no trimming, whittling away or paring down, as seems to be implied, of any kind whatever. In the corresponding capital to the right, the moulds descend straight down upon the abacus proper, without the intervention of any square block. I have stated in the text that there are just three cases altogether—only to be detected on the closest scrutiny and when purposely hunted for—in which the points, not of the mouldings, but only of the square blocks from which they spring, can be detected as just perceptibly overhanging the circular lines of the abaci; and but one which does

so to an extent which can be seen without difficulty. I find that, in the desire to be strictly accurate, I have admitted considerably too much. Such, indeed, seemed to be the case when viewed from below, that is, from the ground. But, when seen from the top of a ladder, below, or on a level with, the eye, the actual plan is discovered to be quite different. The upper moulds of the abaci (as the elevation of one of the capitals on plate IX. will show) are rounded, forming a quarter of a circle, and it is seen that in these three instances, out of the whole number, the points of the square blocks barely overlap the *inner* lines of these mouldings, and thus, when seen from underneath, show minute and dark triangular surfaces. And it is just these points of the beds of the square blocks which Sir Gilbert speaks of as being trimmed off, as, otherwise, they would have overhung the circles. But this is absurd; for, so far from overhanging they don't reach the outer lines of the circles by half, or three-quarters, of an inch. Had the angles of the blocks been continued down till they reached the rounded surface of the moulds, or, had the moulds at the point of contact been left square or level, so as to form a seat, then these apparently projecting angles would have disappeared altogether, and the argument founded on their presence along with them. As it is, the beds have been simply left to themselves, thus showing at the angles of the blocks a minute gap or space where the rounded mould of the abaci falls away from them. In what sense they can be said to be 'trimmed off,' when thus severely 'let alone,' passes comprehension. (See section given on plate IX. fig. 3, which will explain the arrangement perfectly.) Only in one case do the angles of the block project as far as the *outer* line of the abacus—the one single individual instance which Sir Gilbert specifies with such emphasis, and on which his whole theory is constructed. The idea, or caprice, of setting the square block upon the circular abacus is, in effect, very much the same as that of setting a square abacus upon a round or pointed bell shaped capital, as shown in the case of the respond of the arch opening into the south aisle of the nave, and where the projecting angles are seen supported by foliage.

Plate VIII. No. 2, shows mouldings practically identical with those above described and illustrated from Darlington, but with the roll and fillet moulds only brought somewhat closer together at their

seat, or line of springing. In the course of a few inches, however, they clear themselves, when the mouldings become perfectly developed and the appearance of the two sets is then identical. In the groining of the south porch of S. Andrew Auckland church, where similar mouldings occur, the three roll and fillet moulds of the transverse and diagonal ribs are brought so close together at the point of springing from the abaci of the caps that the intervening hollows disappear altogether. They are, moreover, brought to the extreme verge of the abacus which can barely hold them, entirely filling up the whole surface.

Now, it is not a little curious to note how every word that Sir Gilbert Scott urged so persistently against the arch-moulds and abaci of the Darlington arcades being contemporaneous, applies in exactly equal proportion to those at Durham—‘the capitals are formed on the round system, although the mouldings are square, and worked to suit square abaci.’ And his inference or ‘conjecture,’ it will be remembered was that, the square mouldings were worked by Bishop Pudsey’s masons *inter* 1192 and 1195, while the circular capitals which carry them were not worked ‘till 1220, or 1230, or even later.’ How then about the ‘square moulds’ and ‘round abaci’ here, of, practically, the same identical pattern? He invented, out of his own inner consciousness, and against the express witness of history and common-sense, the theory that there was a gap of some five and twenty or thirty years between the cutting of the Darlington arch-moulds and caps, because of the alleged incompatibility of their square and circular forms. How then is their concurrence to be explained, on such hypothesis, in the present instance? The ‘square’ mouldings cannot be thrown back to the twelfth century (as Sir Gilbert would have them at Darlington) for the work of the Nine Altars was not commenced till after 1235, in which year the Norman apse, the very centre of whose destroyed walls is now occupied by them, was still standing. No one, not even Sir Gilbert himself, nor yet those who have so long and confidently echoed him, could pretend that any such gap occurred here. And yet the features are precisely the same in both cases. ‘The abaci are round, while the mouldings are square.’ Sir Gilbert, it will be remembered, explains the supposititious discrepancy by asserting that those at Darlington ‘were worked to suit square abaci.’

But here, we have indisputable proof that they were worked to suit nothing of the kind, but the round abaci which they still surmount, and which, being worked with a free hand instead of, as nowadays, with scale and compasses, they fit with just such varying degrees of accuracy as they do at Darlington ; no two, in either case, probably, being in all respects alike. There is precisely as much, or as little, difference between the two in one case, in fact, as in the other.

Plate IX. fig. 3, shows abacus and arch-moulds from east side of lower arcade of north transept. This is the one only example in which the square block comes up to the *outer* line of the abacus. The dotted lines on the plan serve to show, in connection with the square angle lines of the block, by how much the latter overhang the inner line of the abacus, and to what extent this is seen from below. The fact is clearly due to the carelessness or indifference of the carver, who could, of course, by slightly altering his proportions, have made the abacus of this particular cap fit its arch-moulds as perfectly as all the rest, had he but taken pains, or desired, to do so. This, however, he evidently did not; and the result, as so commonly happens in old work, and in none more conspicuously than in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, is thoroughly refreshing—so human, unfettered, and free is it. But it may equally well, and quite as likely, perhaps, as not, have been so planned deliberately and of set purpose, for the square block sits upon and overhangs the abacus moulding much like the upper square member of the capital figured below overhangs the bell of the capital itself. Let me add that, however absurd the idea of a quarter of a century's difference of date between the arch-moulds and their capitals may appear, even when viewed from the floor of the church, it becomes ludicrously and preposterously so when they are seen from a ladder and close to the eye ; workmanship, style, material, and general character being all absolutely 'identical and homogeneous.'

Plate IX. fig. 4, shows capital supporting block and arch-moulds figured above. I have already stated in the text that the foliage of all those caps in the choir and south transept which are so enriched is of distinctly transitional character, thus completely negating in a further, and quite independent, way Sir Gilbert's 'conjecture' that because those capitals were round they must belong to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. And exactly the same argument applies to

these plainer and later ones of the north transept. For the mouldings of the whole of these, just like the foliage of the others, are not, as Sir Gilbert would make believe, advanced Early English at all, or anything like it. On the contrary, as this one example, in all respects thoroughly typical of the rest, shows, especially in the pointed bowtel member of the abacus, it is Transitional, and nothing else. In other words it is proved, like all the rest, by its own internal evidence, and in exact accordance with history and common-sense, to be of precisely the same style and period as the arch-moulds it carries, and as the rest of the arcading of which it forms one of the most curious and interesting parts.

I append the following notes of all the caps at present visible.

Beginning at the *lower* south-east angle, the first two arches are seen to be blocked, and their capitals embedded in masonry. After these, the first column has square abacus and foliage. This is new. The next, shown in plate IX. figs. 3 and 4, has square block on round abacus, and is the only one whose angles come up to the *outer* ring of the abacus. The next has round abacus and square block, and the next, the same. In the angle cap the abacus is round and full, and there is no block.

North end ; the first cap has abacus round and full without block. Next, same. Then the one shown on plate VIII. fig. 1. Then the end one, round and full, with block.

West side, beginning at north end ; the first cap has a square abacus. Next, round and full abacus, with square block. Two next, round, with square blocks. Next and last abacus, round and full, and without block.

Upper range, beginning, as before, at south-east angle ; the first and blank arch only is moulded, all the rest chamfered. First cap has abacus round and full. Next, though the arch-moulds are chamfered, square, with foliage. Next, square and plain. Next, octagonal ; and next, square, with angle rounded off.

North end, where all the arches are chamfered ; the first cap from the east is round ; all the remaining three being octagonal.

West side ; all the arches are chamfered ; and of the five capitals, all are octagonal save the central, which is square.

PLATES VIII. AND IX.

1.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

Arcade mouldings, north end of north transept, showing square springing block set upon round abacus, reduced from full size; with same shown in geometrical elevation, reduced from one-third full size. 'The capitals are formed on the round system, although the mouldings are square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would overhang the circles'! Sir G. G. Scott.

2.—DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

Arcade mouldings beneath Feretory platform, chapel of Nine Altars, showing similar mouldings springing from round abacus, reduced from full size. These mouldings are seen to come up to the inner line of the abacus, though the Darlington ones—'which, but for the trimming of the mouldings would overhang the circles'—do not.

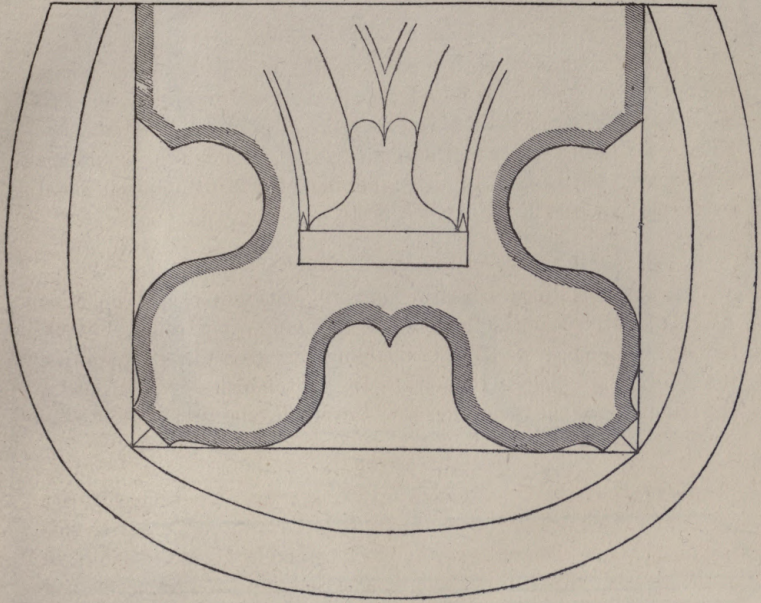
3.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

Arcade mouldings, east side of north transept, showing square springing block set on round abacus, reduced from full size. In this instance *only* do the angles of the block extend as far as the outer line of the abacus. Sir Gilbert Scott tells us that, 'in one instance he had found a square moulding placed upon a round abacus and with its corner crushed away, which evidently showed that the moulding was not intended to rest upon a capital of that form.' Whether this is the 'one instance' referred to, I cannot say. But there is no 'crushing away' that I can see about it; nor, though I have looked diligently all over the church, can I find anything of the kind anywhere. It is possible that the base of some one moulding like the edges of divers abaci may have accidentally become chipped, but that is, of course, quite another thing; and, in such a multitude of examples, were the fact to be actually as stated, it would simply show that, owing to free drawing, one moulding of one side of one arch came, or threatened to come, perhaps, a quarter of an inch beyond the *inner* line of its cap; or, it may be, even less.

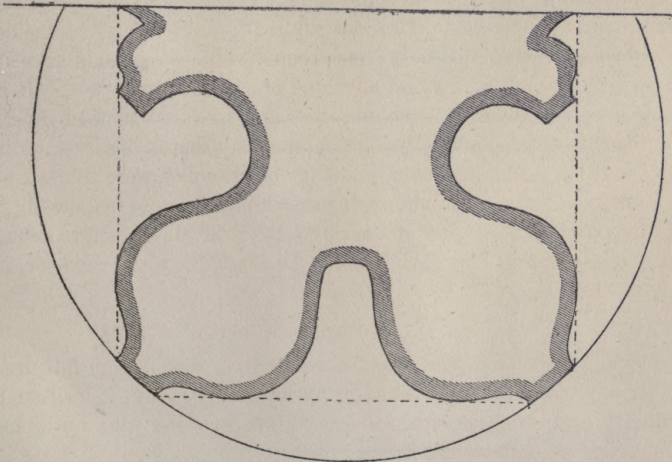
4.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

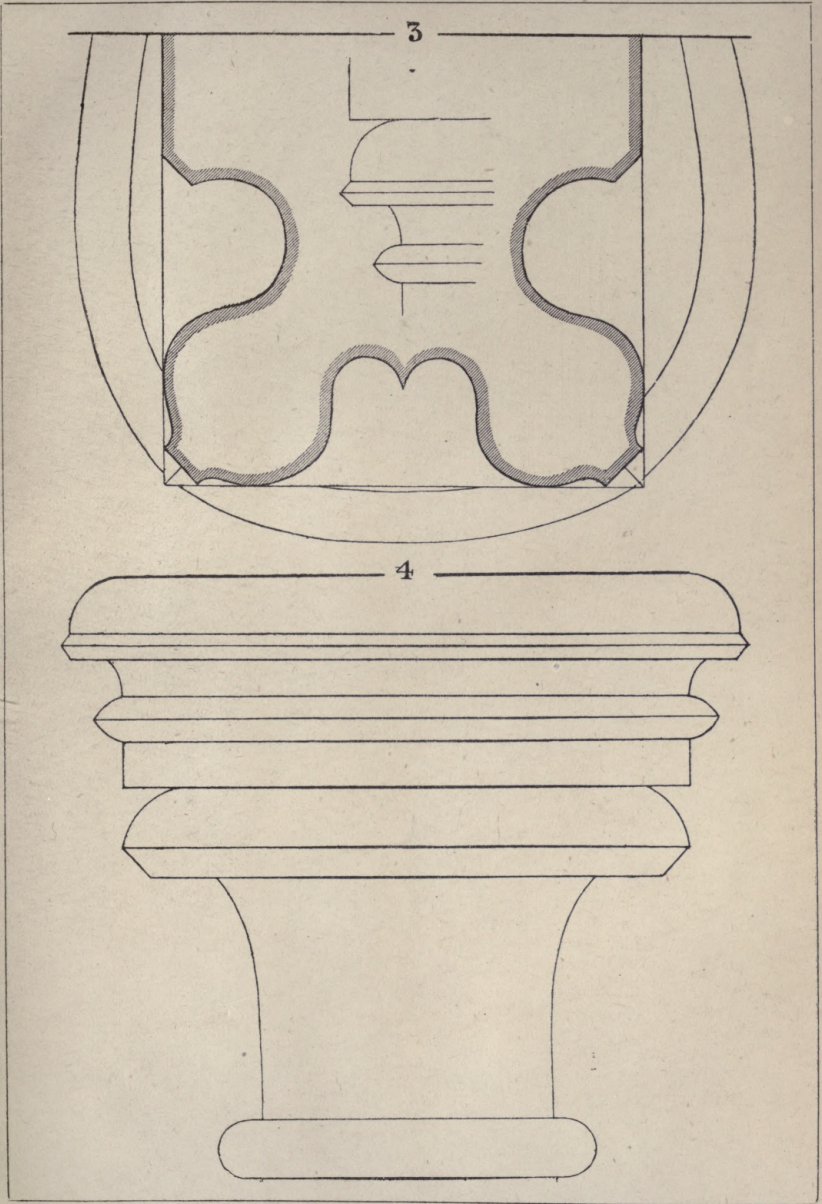
Capital supporting mouldings shown above, reduced from full size. As already stated, it will be seen to be of distinctly Transitional character, and, as a consequence, exactly synchronous with its arch-moulds and other surroundings.

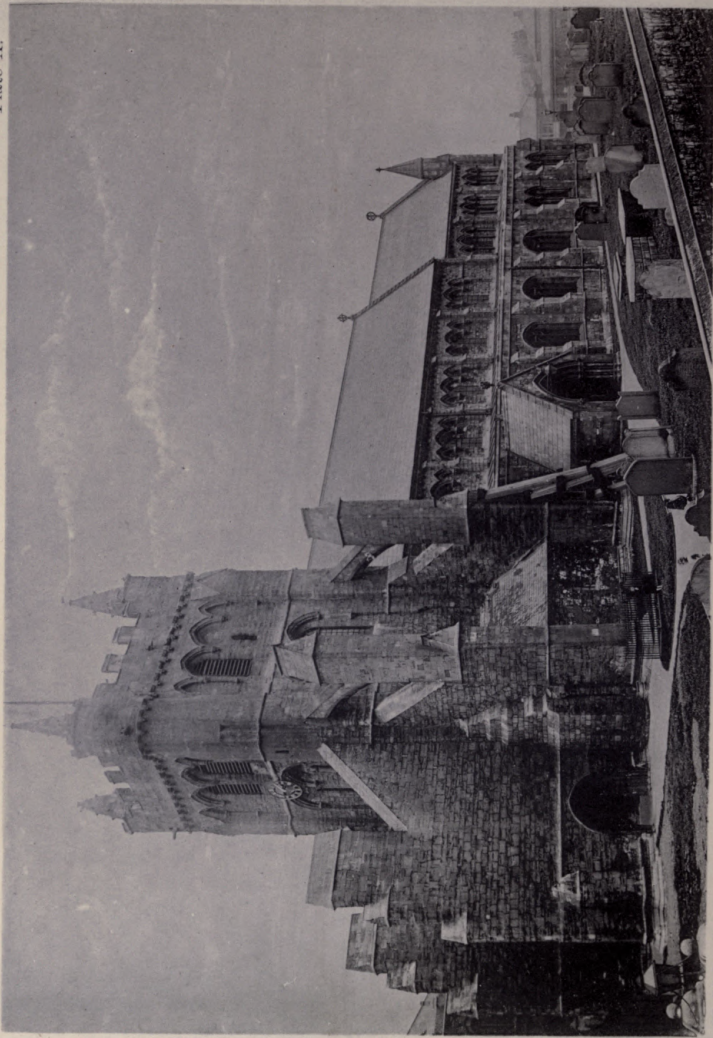
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W. McLeish, photo.

S. HILDA'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL, FROM THE S.W.

2.—HARTLEPOOL CHURCH.

I.

No greater or more striking contrast of situation could probably be found among our ancient Durham churches than that which exists between those of Darlington and Hartlepool; the one seated in a low and sheltered spot beside a still, scarce moving stream; the other on the point of a rocky and exposed peninsula, where, scourged by wild winds and wetted with salt spray, it echoes to the thunder of the sea. Nor is the force of contrast much diminished in respect of their several conditions; for whereas Darlington church, however much disfigured, has come down to us practically intact, well nigh half of that of Hartlepool, owing to neglect and elemental stress, has, like the cliffs it once surmounted, perished altogether. Closely contemporaneous in structure, both churches are, moreover, built in honour of two equally famous and closely contemporaneous local Saxon saints; Darlington, of S. Cuthbert; Hartlepool, of S. Hild.¹ But whereas S. Cuthbert had no

¹ Of both an account has been left us by Venerable Bede who himself also was the contemporary of both, having been born in the neighbourhood of Wearmouth in the year 674, and, after passing his whole life in the sister monastery of Jarrow, died there on the 27th of May, 735. His notice of Hild, full of interest as far as it goes, is yet somewhat brief, and couched in general terms; but of Cuthbert he has given the whole life from childhood, including all particulars of his death and burial, both in prose and verse. Of all three saintly personages the first and earliest was Hild, who, born in 614, renounced the world at the age of thirty-three, in 647; became abbess of Heruteu in 649; and died abbess of Whitby in 680, when Bede was but in his seventh year. Cuthbert, who came next, was born at some place unknown, but probably in the district of the Lothians, about the year 637. At any rate, when in 651 he entered the monastery of Melrose, he was still, as Bede tells us, only on the threshold of adolescence—'vir Domini Cudberctus *ab ineunte adolescentia* jugo monasticæ institutionis collum subdidit, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 1.' He would then be fourteen, which, since the period of adolescence was, strictly speaking, fixed between fifteen and thirty, would doubtless be close upon, if not indeed precisely, the age suggested. Thence migrating with abbot Eata to Ripon as hostellar for awhile, he returned with him in 661 to Melrose, where, after succeeding his master Boisil in the priorate, he was wont, leaving the cloister, to traverse all the country far and near, teaching and preaching the word of God, oftentimes for weeks together. Leaving Melrose in 664, he became prior of Lindisfarne under his old superior Eata. There, though his life was one of great mortification and humility, he gave it up after twelve years, in 676, for the still harder one of utter solitude, first on the mainland, and then on Farne, where he constructed a rude hut of stone and turf. On that barren, storm-swept rock he subsisted for nine years, visited only at intervals by his brethren. Then, in 685, on the deposition of Tunberct, bishop of Hexham, by the synod of Twyford, he was unanimously called on to accept the see. This, however, he steadfastly refused to do, till the whole synod, with Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and Egfrid, king of Northumbria, at its head, sought him in his cell. Being at length overcome by their entreaties, he was shortly afterwards consecrated by

personal connection or association whatever with Darlington, S. Hild was, both in her life and labours, directly identified with Hartlepool. Known originally, as we learn from Beda, by the name of Heruteu, *Insula Cervi*, or Hart's Island, it is not a little wonderful to find how, within fifty years of the landing of S. Augustine on the shores of Kent, this remote and solitary headland was selected by Heiu,² the first of Northumbrian female saintly recluses, as the site of a monastery which she founded there about 640. After ruling it for a few years she retired, in 649, to Tadcaster, whence, migrating into Cumberland, she founded, under the name of Begu or Bega, as is said, the more famous establishment of S. Bees.³ At Hartlepool she was succeeded by S. Hild, daughter of Hereric, a nephew of King Aeduni.⁴

Theodore and six other bishops; but, during the year, exchanged his see of Hexham for that of Lindisfarne with Eata. As bishop of Lindisfarne he laboured even more abundantly than he had done as prior of Melrose, visiting the remotest and wildest parts of his diocese, and teaching and confirming the still half heathen people. Thus two laborious years were passed; when, feeling the approach of death, he retired once more, in 687, to Farne, where, within a few weeks, he died; Bede, his biographer, who like himself had entered the religious life in childhood, being then thirteen.

² 'Religiosa Christi famula Heiu, quae prima feminarum fertur in provincia Nordanhymbrorum propositum vestemque sanctimonialis habitus, consecrante Aedano episcopo, suscepisse. Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii recessit ad civitatem Calceariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur, ibique sibi mansionem instituit.' *Beda, H. E.* iv. 23. For reasons for supposing Tadcaster to be the place referred to, see Camden, *Brit.* col. 714.

³ In recording the death of Hild at Whitby, Bede tells us how there was then in the monastery of Hackness, thirteen miles distant, and which she herself had founded that same year, a nun named Begu, who for above thirty years had been dedicated to the divine service, and who in a vision saw her soul, amidst celestial light, and a choir of attendant angels, transported into heaven. Whether this was the same person as Heiu, as some would endeavour to make out, seems, I think, more than doubtful. Her entry into the religious life can scarcely, in the first place, be said to agree even tolerably with that of Heiu, which commenced in or about 640, and must then have extended to forty, instead of thirty, years. Besides which, had she been really the same as Heiu, it would have been only natural for the historian, who had already mentioned her, to have said so. Nor, finally, would it seem likely that after having been the pioneer of the monastic movement in Northumbria, as well as abbess of Heruteu for nine years, she should be found, more than thirty years later on, a simple sister in the newly founded house at Hackness.

⁴ Bede calls him *nepos*, and tells how, together with the king, he received the faith from Paulinus:—'Cum quo etiam rege ad praedicationem beatae memoriae Paulini, primi Nordanhymbrorum episcopi, fidem et sacramenta Christi suscepit, atque haec, usquedum ad ejus visionem pervenire meruit, intemerata servavit.' He died in exile, and of poison. His wife's name was Bregusuid, and the following is the account of her dream respecting him and the future glories of their child. After speaking of the immense influence which Hild exercised, not only on her immediate friends and followers, but also on those far off to whom the fame of her virtues had come, he proceeds:—'Oportebat namque impleri somnium, quod mater ejus Bregusuid in infantia ejus vidit: quae (cum vir ejus Hereric exsularet sub rege Brittonum Cerdice, ubi et veneno periit,) vidit per

This royal lady having devoted herself to the religious life at the age of thirty-three years, had proceeded as far as East Anglia on her way to make her profession at Chelles, of which her sister Heresuid was abbess.⁵ Being detained there for the space of twelve months, however, while awaiting a favourable passage, she was then prevailed upon to return northwards by S. Aidan,⁶ first bishop of Lindisfarne,

somnium, quasi subito sublatum eum quaesierit cum omni diligentia, nullumque ejus uspiam vestigium apparuerit. Verum cum sollertissime illum quaesisset, extemplo se reperire sub veste sua monile pretiosissimum; quod dum attentius consideraret tanti fulgore luminis refulgere videbatur, ut omnes Britanniae fines illius gratia splendoris impleret. Quod, nimirum, somnium veraciter in filia ejus, de qua loquimur, expletum est; cujus vita non sibi solummodo, sed multis bene vivere volentibus exempla operum lucis praebeuit.' *Bedae, H.E.* iv. 23.

⁵ The late Rev. D. Haigh, in an account of the discoveries made in the cemetery of the Saxon monastery at Hartlepool (*Journal of British Arch. Assoc.* i. 185) asserts that Heresuid was abbess of Chelles at the time that Hild set forth thither. Beda, however, makes no such statement. His words are (*Hist.* iv. 23): 'Nam et in eodem monasterio soror ipsius Heresuid, mater Alduulfi regis Orientalium Anglorum, regularibus subdita disciplinis ipso tempore coronam expectabat aeternam.' Pagi, however, discusses at great length the question whether Heresuid were ever even an inmate there at all, and decides that Beda was mistaken when he made the assertion that she was.

⁶ Brought by King Oswald—whose first care on coming to his kingdom was to Christianize it—from Iona, in 635. Mindful, perhaps, of his old home, and choosing a similar retreat, the king, at his own request, granted him the island of Lindisfarne as the seat of his bishopric. Though disagreeing strongly with his Scottish manner of observing Easter, Bede's admiration of his character is unbounded—'pontificem Aedanum, summae mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis virum, habentemque zelum Dei, quamvis (as regards Easter only) non plene secundum scientiam.' *Bedae, H.E.* iii. 3. And then, after telling how King Oswald—'ejus admonitionibus, humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare ac dilatare curavit,' he proceeds to draw the following glowing picture:—'Ubi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut, evangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres verbi existeret coelestis; quia nimirum, tam longo exsilio sui tempore linguam Scottorum jam plene didicerat.' *Bedae, H.E.* iii. 3. And as he preached, so we are told, he lived. 'Nihil enim hujus mundi quaerere, nil amare, curabat; cuncta, quae sibi a regibus vel divitibus seculi donabantur, mox pauperibus, qui occurrerent, erogare gaudebat. Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca, non eorum dorso, sed pedum incessu vectus, nisi si major forte necessitas compulisset, solebat; quatenus ubicumque aliquos vel divites vel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos divertens, vel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum, si infideles essent, invitaret, vel si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret, atque ad eleemosynas operumque bonorum executionem et verbis excitaret et factis.' *Bedae, H.E.* iii. 5.

Nor was he satisfied only with distributing the gifts which he received from the rich among the poor, but he sought out also, and redeemed therewith, those who had been unjustly sold into bondage, educating and advancing, moreover, such of them as were worthy, to the priesthood.

Of his love for his friend King Oswald, and how entirely he succeeded in imbuing him with Christ-like charity and humility, we learn from the oft-told tale of a certain Easter festival:—'fertur quia tempore quodam, cum die sancto paschae, cum praefato episcopo consedisset ad prandium, positusque esset in mensa coram eo discus argenteus regalibus epulis refertus, et jamjamque essent manus ad panem benedicendum missuri, intrasse subito ministrum ipsius,

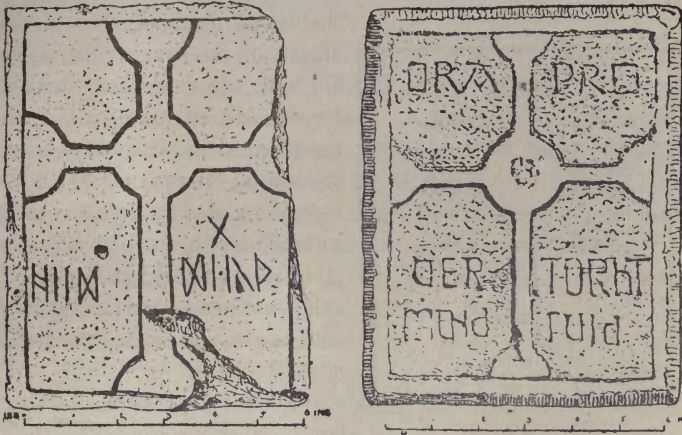
who gave her a hide of land north of the Wear on which she constructed a small monastery. But Heiu, relinquishing her charge a year afterwards, she at once abandoned the place, and proceeding to Heruteu, was invested with the rule of that house. Here she continued as abbess till 655, when King Osuiu, in discharge of a vow devoting his young daughter Aelfled to a religious life, if God should give him victory over Penda, king of Mercia, placed her under Hild's care. Two years later, in 657, after having governed the monastery of Heruteu for eight years only, she too, like its foundress Heiu, forsook it, selecting another, though equally wild site, at Streaneshalch, or Whitby.⁷ Thither Aelfled accompanied her, and on

cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura delegata, et indicasse regi quia multitudo pauperum undecumque adueniens maxima per plateas sederet, postulans aliquid elemosynae a rege; qui mox dapes sibimet appositas deferri pauperibus, sed et discum confringi, atque eisdem minutatim dividi, praecepit. Quo viso, pontifex, qui adsidebat, delectatus tali facto pietatis, apprehendit dextram ejus, et ait, 'Nunquam inveterascat haec manus;' quod et ita juxta votum benedictionis ejus provenit. Nam cum, interfecto illo in pugna, manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectae, contigit ut hactenus incorruptae perdurent.' *Bedae, H. E.* iii. 6.

How little store Aidan himself set by any worldly goods and comforts, and to what excess he carried his practice of almsgiving, Bede further tells us in the story of the horse which Oswald's successor, Osuini, gave him as a help to travelling, not only the very best in the royal stables, but equipped with regal trappings as well. Happening shortly afterwards, while thus mounted, to meet a beggar in the way who asked an alms, the bishop at once dismounted, and ordered both horse and trappings to be bestowed on him, 'for not only,' says he, 'was he very compassionate, but a friend of the poor, and, as it were, a father of the wretched.' Osuini, however, naturally enough, hardly saw things in that light, for we read—'Hoc cum regi esset relatum, dicebat episcopo, cum forte ingressuri essent ad prandium, "Quid voluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem te conveniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare? Numquid non habuimus equos viliores plurimos, vel alias species, quae ad pauperum dona sufficerent, quamvis illum eis equum non dares, quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi? Cui statim episcopus, "Quid loqueris," inquit, "rex? Numquid tibi carior est ille filius equae, quam ille filius Dei?" Quibus dictis, intrabant ad prandendum, et episcopus quidem residebat in loco suo.' *Bedae, H. E.* iii. xiv. Then, the transient cloud being speedily dispersed, the bishop became greatly affected, and, bathed in tears, foretold the king's untimely and tragic death. Hastened by grief at the news of it, his own occurred but twelve days afterwards, August 31st, 651, in a humble shed attached to the west end of the church of Bamburgh, which served him as a temporary residence. He was buried at Lindisfarne; first in the cemetery, afterwards in the new cathedral. Thence his remains were transferred to Durham where an ancient picture of him, in glass, may still be seen in the Te Deum window.

⁷ At the same time we are told that Oswiu devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity, he also offered twelve estates, 'possessiones' or 'possessiunculas,' as they are called, each of which contained ten 'familiae' or hides of land, a hundred and twenty in all. Six of these 'possessiones' were in the province of Deira, the modern Yorkshire; and six in the province of Bernicia, the more northern parts of Northumbria, including Durham; 'in quibus, ablato studio militiae terrestri, ad exercendam militiam coelestem, supplicandumque pro pace gentis ejus aeterna, devotioni sedulae monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret.'

her death in 680, succeeded her as abbess.⁸ After Hild's departure, the monastery of Heruteu is heard of no more; and whether it continued till the Danish devastations of 800, when the churches of



Tinmouth and Hartness 'smoked in ruins,' or till 867, when the Durham churches and monasteries were destroyed far and wide, cannot now be said.⁹ Most likely, however, the monastic settlement did not long survive the date of Hild's departure. Such, at least, so

That of Streoneshalch was one of them, and thither accordingly Hild, carrying the young child along with her, was induced to emigrate.

'They told how in their convent-cell
A Saxon princess once did dwell,
The lovely Edelfled.

And how, of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone,
When holy Hilda pray'd.

—Scott, *Marmion*, cant. ii. 13.

⁸ Aelfled continued, first as 'discipula,' and afterwards as 'magistra,' or abbess, till she reached the age of fifty-nine, when, 'ad complexum et nuptias Sponsi coelestis virgo beata intraret.' There, too, where she had lived and died, she was also buried. 'In quo monasterio et ipsa, et pater ejus Osuii, et mater ejus Aeanfled, et pater matris ejus Aeduini, et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt.' *Bedae, H. E.* iii. 24.

⁹ The writer of an account of Tynemouth priory in the series of 'Abbeys of Great Britain' now (1895) in course of publication in the *Builder*, states, apparently on the authority of the late Sidney Gibson's *History*, that 'On the invasion in 865 the monastery was burned, and also the nuns of St. Hilda, who had fled thither from Hartlepool for refuge.' But Mr. Gibson gives no authority for his statement respecting the nuns; referring only in a note to a passage about the destruction of Tynemouth by Hingmar and Hubba in Leland's *Collectanea*, iii. 179 (ed. 1774, vol. iv. 114), his extract, however, making no mention of the nuns at all. Nothing is said on the subject either in the *Saxon Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester, Leland's Extracts, or the *Vita Oswini* of the Surtees Society; so far, therefore, it rests on the unsupported testimony of Mr. Gibson

far as it goes, is the inference to be drawn from the discoveries made in the cemetery attached to it in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. It was only, apparently, some twenty yards long, and situate about 135 yards to the south-east of the church, in a spot still bearing the traditional name of Cross Close.



In it were two rows of interments, all, with two exceptions, those of females, and all lying, in the still uneradicated Pagan fashion, north and south. In each case the heads reposed on small square stones as on cushions, while above each were other stones somewhat larger, but still less than a foot square, adorned with crosses, and bearing the names of the deceased.*

From the close similarity of these last to others mentioned by Beda,

as well as from the character of the lettering, and forms of the crosses, the whole belonged evidently to one and the same early period, viz., the latter half of the seventh century. Besides the occurrence of the pillow stones, another curious point of resemblance presented by these interments to others of Pagan origin in the barrow mounds of Kent was, that the five molar teeth on either side, and in both jaws of the skeletons, were worn quite smooth, as though ground down with files. The names of the two males discovered amongst those of the nuns were Ediluni and Vermund, the latter in connection with that of Torhtsvid. Very curiously, both were found occurring again upon a third stone, bearing the compound inscription—'Orate pro Edilvini orate pro Vermund et Torhtsvid.' But, whether the Edilvini was, as

himself. That he invented the occurrence, however, is not likely, since in describing it he says, as though quoting some ancient author, that they were thereby 'translated by martyrdom to heaven.' It would seem most likely, notwithstanding, I think, that such *possibly* ancient, but unknown, writer, whoever he may have been, drew his facts from his imagination rather than from any other source; and, regarding Tynemouth as a naturally stronger position than Hartlepool, just as naturally imagined that the equally imaginary nuns would flee there in their terror.

* Of three of these stones, of which illustrations are given on this and the preceding page, two are in the Black Gate museum, Newcastle, the third is in the Durham Chapter library. They are reproduced by consent of the editor of the *Reliquary*.

the late Mr. Haigh was inclined to think, the famous count of that name who, at the command of King Osuiu, murdered Osuini, king of Deira, at Gilling, near Richmond, in 651,¹⁰ is, though far from impossible, a point on which opinions may, perhaps, differ.

II.

Short, however, as the rule of Hild was, and as the continuance of her monastery may, perhaps, have been at Heruteu; she left behind her, notwithstanding, the undying fragrance of a saintly life and name. And so, when upwards of five centuries after her death at Streoneshalch, a church, no longer monastic, but parochial, came to be built at Hartlepool, it was dedicated, very fitly, in her honour.

In the interim, little or nothing more is known either of Heruteu or Hartness, than of the monastery. Indeed, from the time of the Danish ravages in the ninth-century to the period immediately preceding the Norman Conquest, its history is almost a blank. Billingham, it is true, is recorded to have been built by Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne (830-845), and given by him to the see; and much of his work

¹⁰ The circumstances are thus narrated by Bede (H. E. iii. 14.):—‘Habuit autem Osuiu primis regni sui temporibus consortem regiae dignitatis, vocabulo Osuini, de stirpe regis Aeduini, hoc est, filium Osrici, de quo supra retulimus, virum eximia pietatis et religionis; qui provinciae Derorum in maxima omnium rerum affluentia, et ipse amabilis omnibus, praefuit. Sed nec cum eo ille, qui ceteram Transhumbranae gentis partem ab aquilone, id est, Berniciorum provinciam, regebat, habere pacem potuit; quin potius, ingravescentibus causis dissensionum, miserrima hunc caede peremit. Siquidem, congregato contra invicem exercitu, cum videret se Osuini cum illo, qui plures habebat auxilios non posse bello configere, ratus est utilius, tunc demissa intentione bellandi, servare se ad tempora meliora. Remisit ergo exercitum, quem congregaverat, ac singulos domum redire praecepit, a loco qui vocatur Vilfaraesdun, id est, Mons Vilfari, et est a vico Cataractone decem ferme millibus passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus; divertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidelissimo, nomine Tondheri, celandus in domo comitis Hunvaldi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. Sed, heu, proh dolor! longe aliter erat; nam ab eodem comite proditum eum Osuiu, cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Aediluinum detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. Quod factum est die decima tertia kalendarum Septembrium (20 Aug.) anno regni ejus nono, in loco qui dicitur ‘Ingetlingum’; ubi postmodum castigandi hujus facinoris gratia, monasterium constructum est; in quo pro utriusque regis (et occisi, videlicet, et ejus, qui occidere jussit), animae redemptione, quotidie Domino preces offerri deberent.’

Speaking of the murdered king’s personal characteristics and appearance, Beda describes him as being ‘of a winning aspect, lofty stature, pleasant address, courteous manners, bountiful to all alike, whether gentle or simple; whence it happened that, through his royal dignity of mind, countenance, and deserts, he was beloved of all; and that from all the neighbouring provinces the noblest flocked to his service, among whose glories of virtue and modesty, the chiefest was humility.’ He was canonized, and his history is given in the *Acta SS.* Aug. Tom. iv. p. 57.

still stands in the church there to bear witness to the fact; but of Heruteu we hear nothing. Shortly before the Norman invasion, however, Fulk de Panell, besides vast territories which he possessed in other parts, held also those of Hart and Hartness. Through the marriage of his daughter Agnes with Robert de Brus, son of one of the Conqueror's followers, the whole of these were eventually transferred to that family. In 1129, this Robert de Brus II. (son of Robert de Brus I.), at the instance of Pope Calixtus II. and Thurstan, archbishop of York, founded the monastery of Guisborough, endowing it, among other things, with the churches of Stranton, Hart, and their dependent chapels of Seaton and Hartlepool.

Like Egred's church of Billingham, that of Hart, referred to in Brus's grant, and of much the same period, probably, is still in part standing; but of its chapel at Hartlepool there are no remains at all. Though pretty certainly of later date, it would, doubtless, be of equally humble character and dimensions as those of the mother church. But, whatever its age or capacity, it was destined, within some sixty years or so of its bestowal, to make way for the splendid structure whose remains we see to-day. As to the origin of this last there cannot, of course, be a shadow of doubt. But as regards the actual individual builder, the case is otherwise. Of the Brus family the founder, Robert de Brus I. died at some unknown period, but probably early in the twelfth century, when he was succeeded, at Hart and Hartlepool, by his second son, Robert de Brus II. who died in the sixth of Stephen, 1140, a date far too early for him to have had any connection with the present church. To him succeeded his son, Robert de Brus III. who was living in 1171, but who also, as is evident, could have had no more to do with its erection than his father or grandfather. His son and successor was Robert de Brus IV. who, married to Isabel, natural daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots, died in 1191; a point of time which, from our present point of view, and in absence of historic evidence, was about the most awkward and perplexing imaginable. For it makes it practically impossible to say with certainty, whether the entire building, the tower only excepted, should be referred to him or to his son. But a very few years, say four or five, on either side would have freed the subject of all doubt, and rendered it absolutely certain. As it is,

it seems to hang almost upon a balance. But yet, I think, we may say pretty confidently, to which side it clearly inclines; and, comparing the work with that of the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, completed by William the Englishman in 1185, with that of the choir at Ripon, built by Archbishop Roger (died 1181), and with the vestibule of S. Mary's abbey at York, of very nearly the same period, on the one side, and with that of Darlington on the other, there can be but little doubt (taking the subject of his marriage also into account) that it is to Robert de Brus IV.¹¹ that the choir and nave of Hartlepool church are due. For, while a strong general likeness, including the profuse use of foliage in connection both with square and circumscribing circular abaci may be observed there and in two of those earlier instances, there is, at the same time, a distinct and palpable advance, yet only just such an advance as might reasonably be supposed to occur between all three and the work at Hartlepool.

It must, I think, nay feel sure, have been in progress, though practically completed, at the time of Robert de Brus IV.'s death in 1191; and therefore, even allowing four years for the operations, need not have been commenced before 1188. The style itself bears every indication of this; and taking 1191 as the central point or pivot, I should certainly say that the internal evidence of style is in favour of the work belonging to the four previous, rather than to the four succeeding, years.¹² But that a pause occurred when the nave was

¹¹ Hutchinson (*History of Durham*, iii. 17), following Dugdale, gives only two, instead of four, generations of the Brus family between the time of the Norman Conquest and that of William de Brus, who died in 1215. He thus makes Robert de Brus I., who was a fighting man of great consequence in 1066, and who could hardly therefore, on the most modest computation, have been born later than 1040, not only found the priory of Guisborough in 1129, but take part in the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when Dugdale, considering he must then have been close upon a hundred, might well speak of him as 'an *old soldier*.' In like fashion, his second son, Robert de Brus II., is, apparently, made to live till 1196, a date which, if correct, would at once have removed all doubt as to the builder of the church at Hartlepool. With both writers the mistake would seem to have occurred from the uncommon circumstance of four Roberts following each other in succession.

¹² The difference between the work at Ripon, and that at Canterbury and S. Mary's abbey, York, lies chiefly in this, *viz.*, that in the former case it is perfectly plain, whereas in the latter, at York especially, it is highly enriched. At Canterbury, too, though in the crypt, the pointed style, including the use of the round abacus, is perfectly developed; in the upper parts, the main lines, involving the use of the round arch, had to be accommodated to those of the earlier work of William of Sens. But, though not concluded till 1185, the designs were made in 1179, when William the Englishman succeeded to the direction. In like manner at Ripon, the works, as we learn from the words of

finished is plain enough ; for the tower bears witness not only to a slightly later style, but, probably, to a different hand. It may, indeed, without hesitation be referred both to the times and person of Robert de Brus IV.'s son and successor, William de Brus, who bore sway as lord of Hartlepool from 1191 to 1215.

III.

For size, and sumptuous splendour of decoration, the church commenced, and well nigh, if not quite, completed by Robert de Brus IV., was wholly without a rival among the parish churches of its day, not merely in the county of Durham, but in the north generally. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether anything comparable to it of its class could be found in all England. That the architect employed in its construction, whoever he may have been, was the same as that of the similarly situated monastic church of Tynemouth,¹³

Archbishop Roger himself, had been begun, and must therefore have been designed, some time before his death—'quod dedimus operi beati Wilfridi de Ripon ad aedificandam basilicam ipsius quam de novo inchoavimus mille libras veteris monetæ.' And so, too, at York, the work at S. Mary's abbey, which corresponds closely with that of the palace known to have been built by Archbishop Roger—even to the exact correspondence in the length and diameter of the shafts—must also necessarily have been designed some years before 1181, which was that of Roger's death. But, in addition to these, there are three other well-known and most important dated examples, the round of the Temple church, London, which was consecrated in 1185; the retro-choir of Chichester cathedral, begun in 1186; and the famous choir of Lincoln minster, commenced probably in the same year, and which has long and deservedly held the supreme distinction of being the first great work of the purely pointed, or Gothic, style in England. The old Norman choir was cleft in twain, as Benedict of Peterborough tells us, by an earthquake, in 1185; and the year following was the first of the pontificate of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, commonly known as S. Hugh of Lincoln, under whose enthusiastic administration—he is said to have worked, like a common labourer, with his own hands—the task of rebuilding was at once commenced. But, both here and at Chichester, all traces of Norman influence have vanished utterly, and the Early English style reigns untrammelled and supreme. As the Hartlepool work, therefore, need not have been planned till two years later even than these last, there need be no hesitation whatever for referring it to a period lying between 1188 and 1191.

¹³ The work in the choir at Tynemouth is of a very strongly marked and individual type indeed, both as regards its general design and details. Its dominant note, as at Hartlepool—more particularly as shown in the choir—is that of power, wedded to a no less masculine and vigorous type of foliated decoration. The fact of the two churches being not only so closely contemporaneous and analogous in character, but locally in such near neighbourhood, renders the probability of their common authorship, I think, about as certain as anything of the kind can be. Where the man came from, and who he may have been, is, of course, another matter altogether. I have often been struck, however, with the surprising similarity of style, and especially of foliage, which exists between the Tynemouth work and that in the magnificent choir of New Shoreham in Hampshire—slightly the earlier of the two. The resemblance is at

is, I think, judging from internal evidence, as certain as that he was not the Willielmus Ingeniator, engaged by Pudsey; and to whom, as is not unlikely, the design of Darlington church is due. For, although of almost exactly the same period, the two buildings reflect, in a curiously marked manner, the widely divergent idiosyncrasies of two wholly different men. Not merely that the details and general scheme of the two are unlike, but that their whole spirit and conception are opposed and contrary. Indeed, it would be no easy task to point out two other local examples which illustrate so distinctly the characteristics of what are known as the *école laïque* and the *école ecclésiastique*, as do these two buildings respectively.

But, while the scale of the church alone points clearly to the rising prosperity and increased, and increasing, population of the place; the character of its construction, and lavish richness of adornment show, if possible, still more clearly that they could have had no say or share whatever in its erection. Built, unmistakably, as a parish church, it is yet far from being, and in no sense is, a mere parish church, pure and simple, magnified. The typical parish church, of any size, consists, normally, of a chancel, nave with two aisles, and a western tower. But the chancel, especially in the earlier periods, was, as a rule, and, indeed, almost universally, aisleless.¹⁴ Whenever, in a

once so close, and the character of the work itself so special and individualistic, that, far apart as the two places are, I have long conjectured that the same architect must have been employed on both. The designer of the Nine Altars chapel at Durham would seem, without doubt, to have been a south-country man; and so, just as easily, may he of Tynemouth and Hartlepool have been also.

¹⁴ So, Mr. Fergusson, in his excellent *History of Architecture*, ii. 63, in speaking of the typical English parish church, says:—'In almost every instance the nave had aisles, and was lighted by a clerestory. The chancel was narrow and deep, without aisles and with a square termination. There was one tower, with a belfry, generally, but not always, at the west end; and the principal entrance was by a south door, usually covered by a porch of more or less magnificence, frequently vaulted, and with a room over it.' Churches of this class, that is parish churches in the strictest and most exclusive sense, as not having any adjuncts in the shape of private chapels, whether insular or transeptal, and to every part of which the whole body of parishioners had full access as of right, may be found in every variety of size all over the kingdom. Some, indeed, though of course relatively few, are of the very first rank in size and dignity. Such, for example, are those of Walpole S. Peter, Norfolk; and S. Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire. Of these the former, which is of excessive richness of decoration throughout, is no less than about two hundred feet in length by seventy-five in breadth, and with very large north and south porches. In vastness of size, however, both of length, breadth, and height, that of Boston stands out altogether without a rival. Admirably constructed, of splendid material, and, like that of Walpole, consisting of a nave of seven bays and chancel of five, with fourteen fine two-light clerestory windows on each side the nave, very broad and spacious, and with

twelfth, thirteenth, or even early fourteenth-century building, we find aisles attached to the chancel, they will, in almost every case, be found to be later additions, and commonly of different dates. Being in all cases private mortuary chapels, they were, like transepts, purely parasitical accretions to the original structure, with which, save only in respect of contact, they had no connection whatever.

At Hartlepool, however, the case was different. Here, as so rarely happened, the church, although of quite exceptional, and, at the time of its erection, probably, unequalled, size, was built at a single effort, and by a single individual. As founder, he was consequently in a position to make his own arrangements; and so, while providing his new town with a simple parish church, or, to be more precise, chapel, in the ecclesiastical sense; to make it, while retaining the usual characteristics of such buildings, something more in purely personal sense. He designed its immense and splendid chancel, in short, though serving as that of the parish, to be his own chantry chapel and burial place as well; and, while containing the high, or parish altar, to be provided with others for more particular and, perhaps, private use. Hence its aisles which naturally involve and presuppose their presence; provision for which was the sole cause of their erection.¹⁵ With the

a length of between two and three hundred feet; it terminates westward in a tower, by far the loftiest in England—the west window of which, in eight lights, is no less than seventy-five feet high—and whose total elevation is upwards of three hundred. No such parish church, and constructed on such a severely simple plan, it may safely be said, is to be seen in all the world.

¹⁵ The whole subject of aisles, which is a very far reaching and complex one, has never yet, like the kindred one of transepts, received, as far as I know, anything like the degree of attention it deserves. Both one and other, indeed, have all along, and by all alike, been simply accepted as facts, without the least enquiry as to their origin or the purposes for which they were planned. As a rule, our most ancient churches, which were usually very small, were aisleless; sometimes, as at Worth and Dover, cruciform; but more commonly consisting of simple parallelograms, nave and chancel, as at Escomb, Headbourn Worthy, Corhampton, and Bradford-on-Avon, among those of Saxon, and others innumerable, like Haughton-le-Skerne, of Norman, and later, date. Then, in process of time, but more particularly during the latter part of the twelfth, and early years of the thirteenth centuries, aisles, almost always very narrow, began to be added to the naves, frequently only on one side to begin with, and then afterwards, as at Aycliffe and Pittington, on the other. Very frequently, however, as at Coniscliffe, Winston, and Witton-le-Wear, a second or corresponding aisle was never added on the other side at all. Towards the end of the twelfth century, and afterwards, the common rule, save where the churches were of the very smallest, was that the aisles were erected along with, and as natural and recognised features of them, their width and height increasing as time went on in a gradual and steadily progressive ratio.

Another class of what are commonly called aisles may also frequently be met with, consisting of broad and lofty adjuncts, sometimes nearly equalling, some-

exception of little more than the western halves of its westernmost compound bays, the whole of this magnificent structure was taken down and destroyed in 1724. Continuous neglect and consequent decay had doubtless long set in and left their marks upon it; but the

times even, as at Staindrop, far exceeding the naves in width, to which, as in that case, at Heighington, and in the lately destroyed church of Middleton-in-Teesdale, they are commonly attached on the south side. Frequently, as at Staindrop originally, they are under independent gabled roofs, and are sometimes of the same, sometimes of less, and sometimes of greater length than the naves, and prolonged to a greater or less extent, along the side of the chancel. Such were always, I think, for the larger part of their area, private mortuary chapels, being simply built lengthways, instead of crossways as a transept, and in all cases provided with an altar.

There was also another class of aisles, narrow, and, of original, or at any rate early, construction, not terminating at the east end of the nave, but prolonged for one or more bays alongside the chancel. Of this arrangement we have a curious and interesting example at Auckland S. Helen's, a small village church with an open bell-cot, where the aisles are continued to about half the length of the chancel into which they open uniformly by two massive, but minute, pointed arches on each side. The case is interesting on this account, that the church originally consisted of two round-arched Transitional bays only, with a chancel of corresponding length. About the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the nave was lengthened by another assimilated bay westward, and the chancel prolonged proportionally eastward, to which period the extended portions of the aisles, doubtless sepulchral chapels, belong. Many similar examples of nave aisles thus extended, but usually of later date, may be found also all over the country. An exceptionally curious and instructive instance occurs in the magnificent fifteenth-century church of S. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds, the nave of which is 140 feet long, with a width of 68 across the aisles. To the chancel, which was then 55 feet in length, John Barret, before 1468, added a north aisle, which, together with its splendid painted oak roof bearing his initials in the centre of each panel, still remains. What is of special interest, however, in this connection is the occurrence of a wish expressed in his will that if anyone thereafter should build another similar aisle to the south, it should be connected with the nave aisle, not by a transverse arch as usual, but by cutting the jamb of the existing east window of the nave aisle down to the ground in order that the carvings and figures erected by him about that window and the altar beneath it might not be destroyed. When, about twelve years later, one Jankyn Smith built such a prospective south aisle, the request, as is evident, was not complied with. But what became of the altar, whether it was allowed to continue more or less in its original position, or whether it was removed to the east end of the new aisle, does not appear. And so in numberless other cases of the like kind, that of S. Helen's Auckland possibly among them. In the church of Skipton in Craven may be seen a remarkable feature which has long and greatly exercised the wits of the local antiquaries, but which, regarded in the light of the above evidence, may, I think, readily be accounted for. The nave with its aisles would seem to have been rebuilt in the first quarter of the fourteenth century; the chancel, with two corresponding aisles, in unbroken connection and without any transverse arches, in the following one. Now about the middle of the south aisle wall occur three sedilia and a piscina of the earlier or fourteenth-century date, exactly opposite the first pillar of the chancel, and on which the chancel arch, if there had been one, would have rested. Superficially they seem unconnected with the site of any possible altar whatever. But when they were erected the original chancel would have no aisles at all, and they would pertain to the altar at the east end of the new aisle of which they structurally formed a part, and which was made to extend a few feet eastwards along the side of the old chancel. When, about a century afterwards, the

sordid spirit of post-reformation greed and indifference from which they sprang, joined to the prevailing poverty of the place, then took the swifter and more radical course of wholesale destruction; thus, as might, perhaps, be hoped, effectually annihilating all evidence of past shame, and need of future expenditure at the same time.¹⁶

chancel was rebuilt with aisles, as at Bury, the east wall of the fourteenth-century aisle was taken down; but, as in that case, what became of the altar is uncertain.

The question, however, still confronts us, viz., Why were the original and exceedingly narrow aisles added to the naves at all? It seems difficult to imagine that increased accommodation, considering many of them were only six or seven feet in width, could have been the sole or even primary cause of their introduction, especially when there is such general, not to say universal, evidence of their having had altars at their east ends. In many small, aisleless churches, as at Cockfield in Durham, and Boarhunt in Hants, a small altar was anciently placed on either side of the chancel arch.

A certainly curious and remarkable fact should further be mentioned in connection with this subject, and that is, that where two aisles have either been added or originally built, it so much more frequently happens that the evidences of a former altar are to be found on the south than on the north side; a circumstance at once raising the question as to whether the latter was either, always or usually, provided with them.

I need only add, in conclusion, the remark that, although in numberless instances there are now no visible proofs of the former existence of altars in aisles, it by no means follows that such do not or did not originally exist. In almost every case it will be found that the projecting bowl of the piscina in aisles, where pews have been intruded, has been broken off, and the recesses blocked up and plastered over, so that it is only when the walls come to be stripped that the remains can be detected. Sometimes again, as at Gainford, the wall has been rebuilt, and all evidence, no matter how specially interesting soever it may be, deliberately destroyed. But there still remain many other cases, as at Easington, where the arrangement of the windows alone sufficiently witnesses to the fact of the eastern end of the aisle having formerly been a chantry.

It is greatly to be hoped that in all cases where the destruction has not already been complete, the hand of the restoring architect, so effectual hitherto in "blotting out history," should be stayed from annihilating these frequently beautiful, and always historically, as well as ecclesiologically, interesting memorials.

¹⁶ It is possible, perhaps, that want of means, as well as of inclination, may have had much to do with the state of ruin into which the church was allowed to fall. At any rate, in a petition of the mayor and others addressed to her majesty's justices of the peace praying that they would recommend the queen to grant letters patent for the repairs of the church, and dated April 7th, 1714, after stating that 'there are noe lands within y^e s'd corporation to be rated towards y^e repair thereof,' it is added that 'most of your petition'rs and inhabitants of y^e corporation are poor fishermen, who by y^e decay and want of encouraging that most important and beneficial employ, are become altogether unable to repair the the same, y^e expence whereof would at a moderate computation for stone, wood, lead, and other materials, besides workmanship, amount to eighteen hundred and eighty-four pounds and upwards,' etc. But no result would seem to have followed this petition, since, two years later, the condition of the building was found to be still ruinous.

A brief granted by George I. on February 5th, 1719, however, to collect the sum of £1,732 and upwards, for repairing and rebuilding the church, met with considerable success. The preamble, which is in nearly the same words as the

Of the eastern arrangements of this well nigh unique chancel we have, consequently, no exact knowledge whatever; only, on either side, to the extreme west, the early pointed entrance doorways of the chantry priests, and that is all. Foundations of the eastern parts have, from time to time, however, been dug up in what is now the churchyard, and the original length of the structure thus certainly ascertained. Their witness agrees pretty fairly, I believe, with that given in bishop Talbot's licence to take it down, viz.: twenty-three yards and a half; though, if there were three compound bays, and if all the bays were of equal span, this would be some four and a half feet too short.

This single fact of itself, however, is quite sufficient, I think, in the absence of proof positive to the contrary, to raise the gravest doubts as to whether there were really three such bays or not. Indeed, the extremely early date of the work, coupled with the very unusual, if not altogether unparalleled, occurrence of aisles in a simple parish church, being then continued to the eastern extremity of the chancel, renders it pretty certain that there could only have been two such bays; and that the sacrarium, or eastern end of the choir proper, originally, as at present, projected clearly beyond them.¹⁷

petition, adds that the choir was then 'almost entirely unroofed, and the steeple, pillars, and walls of the same so much decayed by length of time, that the whole fabrick will inevitably fall to the ground, unless speedily prevented by taking down and rebuilding some, and repairing the decayed parts thereof.'

What the subscriptions actually amounted to does not appear, but the work of repair was commenced immediately. At a meeting held on September 22nd, 1721, it was agreed that the church and chancel should be continued its full length and breadth; that the roof should be flattened to four or six feet pitch; that the north wall, if advisable, should be taken down and rebuilt—'but in fear y^e cash arising from y^e brief may not answer y^e expectation, y^e said wall shall be referred until y^e last—y^t y^e s^d church shall be new flagged, pned and whitened, and in respect to y^e glory of y^e antiquity of s^d church, what repairs y^e windows may want, they shall be wrought after y^e same model as they now are; and as for y^e chancel y^t is referred until y^e earle of Scarborough's consent is got in writing; and y^t y^e steeples both in and outside be repaired.'

The admirable design of maintaining the church in its full dimensions, and restoring the windows after the ancient plan, could not, unhappily, be carried out—at any rate, was not; for on May 22nd, 1724, bishop Talbot gave leave to take down the roof, and cover the church with a flat one; and for the chancel, which was then seventy and a half feet in length, to be reduced to one of fifteen feet within the walls.

It is interesting to know, on the authority of Brand, that, in aid of these grievously needed repairs, the corporation of Newcastle contributed the sum of £10.

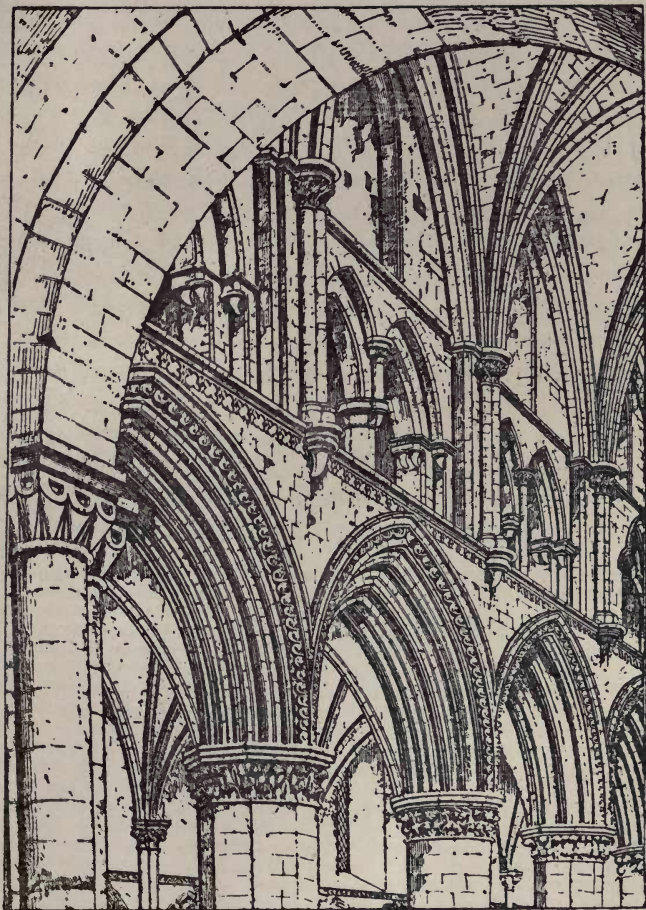
¹⁷ I am not, of course, referring to town, more especially fortified town churches, which had constantly to be squeezed into all kinds of holes and corners, and assume such shapes accordingly. A curious illustration, among others of early date, may be seen in the church of S. John, Winchester. It

Indeed, the only instance I know in which the choir aisles, of what from first to last would seem to have been actually nothing more than a mere parish church, are continued, at an equally early date, as far as

forms an almost exact square, the eastern end or side of which is very oblique, being bounded by a street, while the side aisles, whose outer walls were greatly advanced during the thirteenth century, are much wider than the central one, which is of the twelfth. It is only three bays in length, and without any structural division of nave or chancel whatever; therefore, quite abnormal in plan, and altogether outside the ordinary range of parish churches.

During the twelfth and thirteenth century, aisles reaching to the east end of the choir are usually found in cathedral and monastic churches only; and it is not a little surprising to note in how many, even of this class, they fail to do so. Thus, in the ancient cathedrals of Worcester and Rochester the side aisles terminate at one, and two, bays from the east gable respectively. In those of Oxford, Bristol, and Southwell, all, originally, Augustinian abbey churches, in the first at one, and in the two others at two, bays. At Durham and Peterborough, the aisles ended at the springing of the great central apse, allowing in the latter case for ranges of five windows above and below. At Lichfield, on the reconstruction of the choir on a greatly enlarged scale, early in the fourteenth century, the central portion was advanced in unbroken line for three bays beyond the range of the aisles, and then terminated in a three-sided apse. In the Welsh cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph, while the side chapels left the sacarium of the former free towards the south, the choir of the latter had no aisles at all. In the fine thirteenth-century cathedral of Kilkenny, the eastern bay of the choir is also wholly free from aisles or chapels, as is also the case at Iona, and in the great metropolitan cathedral of S. Andrew's. The splendid cathedral of Elgin, too, has the two easternmost bays of its choir free; and while that of Brechin, like St. Asaph's, has neither aisles nor chapels, those of Dunblane and Dunkeld have the whole of their choirs free to the south, and both their sacaria free also to the north.

And the like restriction may also be observed in the planning of many monastic and collegiate choirs. Thus, to take one of the earliest and grandest among those of the Benedictine order, that of S. Martin at Dover, a building 300 feet in length, by 160 across the transepts—commenced, however, by Wm. de Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, for a church of Austin Canons—we find, exactly as at S. Andrew's, the choir supported by two great angle turrets projecting to an exact square beyond its aisles, which, three bays in length, terminate apsidally. The same arrangement again holds good in the case of the Premonstratensian church of S. Radegund, near Dover, which dates from 1191, and where the sanctuary, two bays in length, projects, with massive angle turrets, beyond the extremity of the aisles. The sacarium also of the great abbey church of Jedburgh, a Transitional addition to the aisled Norman choir, which originally ended probably in an apse, stands out clear of those aisles. At Lanercost, also of an early, though somewhat later, date, a similar arrangement is met with, the sanctuary of two bays standing clear of the contemporary aisles or chapels on either side. The eastern bay of the choir again stood clear of its aisles or chapels in the Premonstratensian church of Dale Abbey, Derbyshire, also of the thirteenth century. And such, too, is the case at Beverley minster, beyond the aisled eastern transept of which the easternmost bay of the choir stands out distinct from base to summit. We see also the aisles of the choir terminating westward of the sanctuary square in the small but exceedingly interesting local example of Finchale priory church, near Durham, commenced *circa* 1196. And the same thing occurs again in the splendid fourteenth-century choir of Melrose abbey, as also in that of Dorchester, the sacaria of both of which are occupied on all three sides by large and magnificent traceried windows. Add to these, which may doubtless stand as samples of an indefinite number more, the typical plans of the early Cistercian churches, which, as a rule, consisted of a similar aisleless sanctuary projecting beyond the line of transeptal chapels, as at



NEW SHOREHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

Part of north side of Choir, showing peculiar design of Triforium.

the east end, occurs in the case of S. Mary's, New Shoreham. The curiously close parallel observable in divers particulars between the circumstances of this building and those of Hartlepool church are very striking. In the first place, the mother churches of Hart, and S. Nicholas, Old Shoreham, were bestowed by their Norman lords, Robert de Brus and William de Braose, on the abbeys of Guisborough, and S. Florence, at Saumur, in Anjou, in 1075 and 1129 respectively. Then, at a considerably later date, the dependent chapels of those churches, viz., those of Hartlepool, and S. Mary of New Shoreham, were rebuilt by the grandsons of the original donors on a scale of splendour, far surpassing that of the mother churches, that of Hartlepool, by Robert de Brus IV., about 1188; that of New Shoreham, by William de Braose II., about 1130. And further, both were rebuilt for the use and benefit of rapidly rising seaport towns.

All direct historical reference to the church of New Shoreham is, however, wanting; and it is only by means of very scanty and collateral evidence that we can arrive at any reasonable explanation as to how its choir came to assume its present size and form.

From this we learn that after the donation of the churches of S. Nicholas de Soraham, S. Peter de Sela, S. Nicholas de Brembria, and S. Peter de Veteri-ponte, the abbey of S. Florence, established at Sele (now called Beeding), a small priory of Benedictine monks, to

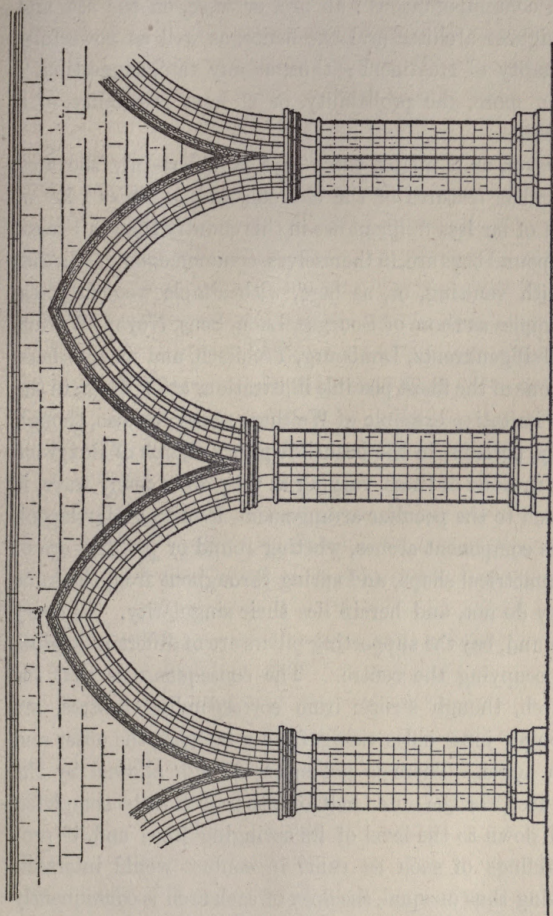
Buildwas, Roche, Kirkstall, etc., and it at once becomes evident in how many instances, even of cathedral and conventual churches, the aisles stopped short of the eastern extremity of the choirs.

And then, among parish churches innumerable, we find the same practice prevailing among those not only of the largest size, but far later date, as at Chipping Camden, Great Yarmouth, Lavenham, Lowestoft, Long Melford, Croydon, Rotherham, Blythborough, and the two great churches of S. James and S. Mary, Bury S. Edmunds, in all of which the eastern bay, at least, was unencroached upon. In the last mentioned instance, indeed, when the south aisle came to be added, *circa* 1485, the chancel, though already fifty-five feet in length, was extended, as though for the express purpose of allowing its sacrarium to stand clear, by an extra eighteen feet.

But, what is more directly to our present purpose is the fact that the same arrangement is found in such a marked and emphatic manner in the case of Tynemouth priory church, designed, as there seems so much reason for believing, by the same architect as that of Hartlepool. There, the eastern projection, which contains a series of triple lights in each face, forms a practically exact square. And such, were there only, as I imagine to have been the case, two compound bays on each side, would be the case at Hartlepool, as well. For, since the chancel was just seventy feet and a half in length, and two such bays would extend to fifty feet, there would then, including the eastern responds, remain a space exactly twenty-two feet and a half long, by twenty-one feet and a half wide, and which would probably be lighted in much the same way in the parish, as it was in the priory, church.

which these churches, which all lay close together, were attached. At the date of this foundation, the parish of New Shoreham did not exist, being then part of that of S. Nicholas, Old Shoreham. But that it was both formed, and the church of S. Mary built there, by the monks in the interval between that time and *circa* 1103, is proved by the following passage in the confirmation charter of Philip de Braose, son of the benefactor :—‘Ierosolimis autem praedictus Philippus rediens ecclesiam sanctae Mariae de Nova Soraham, quia monachorum praedictorum exstitit juris, diligenter concessit et confirmavit.’ To this spot, then, it would seem certain that the monks settled at Sele (and who, as a matter of fact, continued there till the suppression) were at least *designed* to be removed ; for not only was the church, even as first built, a grand cruciform structure, with nave and aisles of six bays and central tower, utterly out of keeping with a parish consisting only of sixty-six acres ; but the original aisleless Norman choir was taken down and rebuilt on a greatly enlarged scale, and in the most sumptuous style of monastic splendour towards the close of the twelfth century. To suppose that such a work as this, consisting, as it does, of five bays in length, with north and south aisles, triforium and clearstorey, vaulted throughout with stone, and sculptured from end to end with a prodigality of the richest detail, was designed for the sole use of a small country parish, is as preposterous as it is against all analogy ; and its erection for conventual or mortuary uses, or both, perhaps, as well as for those of the parish, must therefore, I think, be assigned to one or more of the lords of Braose (for there was a manifest pause between the lower, or transitional, and the upper, or lancet, portion of this great choir), or to their joint action, possibly, with the convent of S. Florence.

It is somewhat of a coincidence that, of these two singularly fine churches, but one half of each has been left to us, with, in either case, just a fragment, a single bay, of the other ; though at Hartlepool it is the choir, at Shoreham, the nave, which has thus perished. A far more singular coincidence is that, in a perfectly independent and disconnected way, I should have been led to the conclusion, I might almost say conviction, that one and the same architect was answerable for both. I have already expressed the opinion that the architect of Tynemouth was the architect of Hartlepool ; and years ago, and before



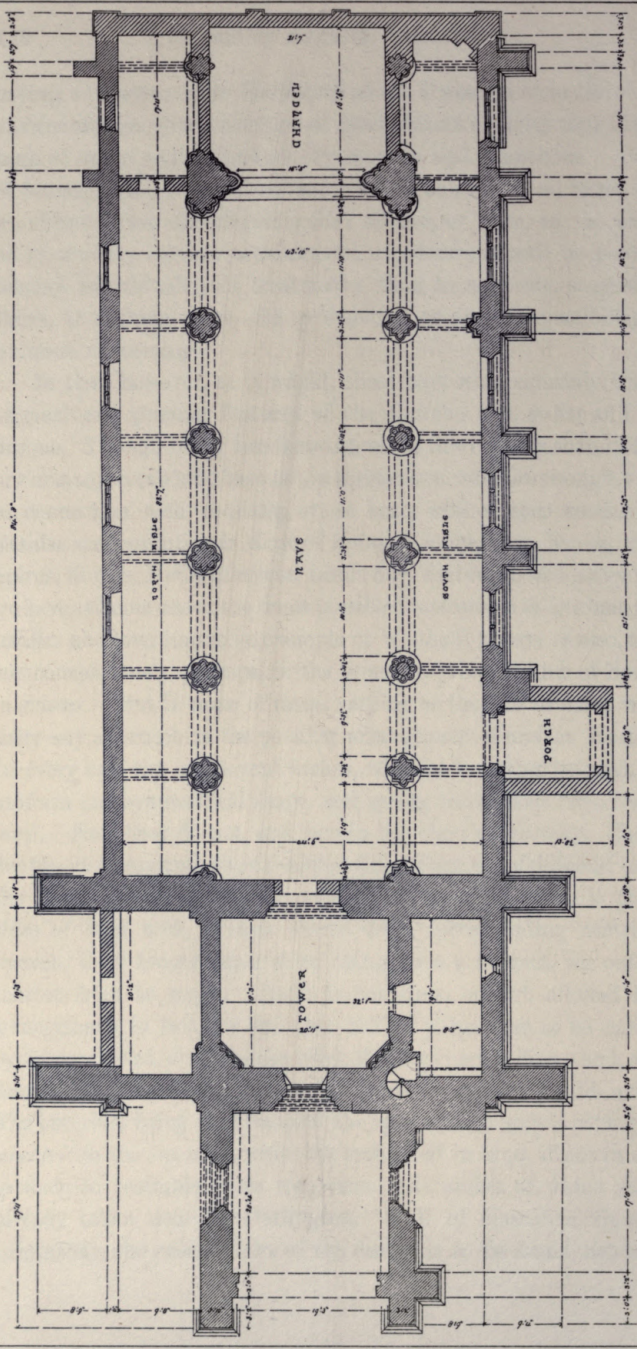
Adjacent Halves of two Compound Bays
of Choir.

Scale 1/2" = 1' of Feet

paying any attention to Hartlepool at all, I was led from the strongly marked and peculiar character of their details to fancy that the same bond of union existed between Tynemouth and Shoreham. It may, of course, be mere conjecture and nothing more ; but all three, it may be observed, are contemporaneous ; all are, or were, on the sea, and all of the very highest architectural excellence, as well as powerfully marked individuality of treatment ; thus, at any rate, suggesting, I think, if nothing more, the probability, or at least possibility, of a common authorship.

Be that, however, as it might, these bays were certainly the most original and peculiar features of the church ; and, so far as I know, unique. Though of far less frequent use in this country than in France or Germany, compound bays are, in themselves, common enough, whether in connection with vaulting, or, as here, with simple wooden roofs. Besides such examples as those of Bourges, Laon, Sens, Noyon, Worms, Spire, Zurich, Heiligenkreutz, Limbourg, Trebitsch, and many others, we have at home one of the finest possible illustrations at Durham ; in the smaller and later imitative example of Waltham abbey ; as also, though less conspicuously, perhaps, in the beautiful priory church of Boxgrove in Sussex. But in none of these, varying as they do in many ways, is there any approach to the peculiar arrangement found at Hartlepool. In every case the component arches, whether round or pointed, are of uniform and symmetrical shape, and spring throughout from the same level. Here they do not, and herein lies their singularity. In every double, or compound, bay the supporting pillars are of different heights, the lower one occupying the centre. The consequence is that the sides of each arch, though struck from corresponding centres, are uneven, their longer inner sides rising from a tangent, the outer and shorter from an angle. There is not space enough allowed by the arrangement, in fact, for the outer half of either arch to be completed by being carried down to the level of its springing line ; and, if produced, the mouldings of such as came in contact would intersect. The two sides being thus unequal, the apex of each arch is consequently *eccentric* to the opening, while the arch itself in kind, if not in degree, is made to resemble those transverse aisle arches of which we have already taken note at Darlington. Full of masculine vigour and originality, the *raison d'être* of the design is to be found, not in mere

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.



GROUND PLAN.

empty love of eccentricity, but of variety, and in the desire of emphasizing that distinction which was sought to be expressed between the eastern and western divisions of the church.¹⁸ The intercolumnar spaces of the several sub-bays also are narrower than those existing in the nave arcades, a circumstance which serves still further to mark the difference. Among these latter, but two out of the six bays on either side, viz., the second and the fourth, are of the same span, ten feet eleven inches; the rest varying from nine feet three and a half inches in the fifth, to eleven feet ten inches in the first. Judging from their remains, those of the chancel were, on the other hand, of the same uniform dimensions, nine feet four inches, or thereabouts, throughout. A further point of difference to be noted also is that, while the capitals of the lower alternate columns of the chancel arcades are on the same level as those of the nave, the capitals of the higher alternate columns, which are brought into more immediate connection with the latter by their position next the chancel arch, range above them by more than their own height; all which particulars, though not, perhaps, very striking or conspicuous in themselves, yet serve, collectively, while not interfering with the general uniformity of plan, to produce such a contrast, and stamp such diversity of character on the several parts, as not only to define their respective uses, but delight both eye and mind as well.

IV.

But these, however interesting, are far from comprising all, or the most important, differences of design to be found between the chancel and the nave. Of exactly the same width both in the centre and side aisles, while within a few inches of the same height, and a few feet of

¹⁸ The only other instance I am aware of in which this very singular principle is carried out is in the choir at New Shoreham. I have already, and quite independently of this circumstance, expressed the idea that the architect of Hartlepool church was the same as that of Tynemouth, and that the architect of Tynemouth was one with that of Shoreham. It is certainly not a little curious to find that a piece of design so excessively rare, if not, indeed, practically unparalleled as this, should be found in these two most remarkable buildings, all the more so, if they proceeded from two wholly different hands. At Hartlepool the arrangement occurs, as we see, in the pier-arches, or ground storey; at Shoreham, in the triforium, or blind storey; where, from the necessity of the case, however, the application of it is exactly reversed, the short sides of the arched openings lying inwards to the centre, instead of outwards to the circumference, as here. I may, doubtless, be mistaken; but, so far as I can call to mind, nothing of the kind has come under my observation elsewhere in the kingdom.

the same length, the distinction between the two great ritual divisions of the building, though never forced or violent, is maintained, more or less markedly, in every single feature. Thus in the clearstorey, which, though of just perceptibly smaller dimensions in the choir, follows the same design throughout, while in the nave the windows are set exactly above the centres of the arches, in the choir they are not ; but, on either side, the western, instead of the centre, line of the light comes immediately above the apex of each arch, the whole window, that is the glazed part of it, lying to the east. This, however, is but a slight matter in comparison with the rest of the composition. At Darlington, as we have seen, the wall arcading both in the choir and transepts is confined strictly to the interior, while in the nave it is kept just as strictly to the exterior. At Hartlepool, though the same system is applied to the nave it has no place whatever in the choir, the rich triplet arcading being adopted on the inside as well as on the out. Nor is that all, for rich as is the external decoration in the depth and beauty of the arch mouldings and floriated capitals of the shafts which carry them, in the interior these mouldings and supporting shafts are doubled, the outer of the two orders being carried on rich projecting corbels. The effect, as may well be imagined, even in its present fragmentary condition is, owing to the consequent depth of the arcades and the closeness with which they are set, of astonishing beauty and magnificence.

As in the case of the compound bays beneath, the design of this clearstorey is, I think, probably unique ; at any rate I cannot call to mind a parallel example anywhere in which a similar arrangement is found. For, as will be seen, in order to gain sufficient depth for the outer order of the arcades, the usual, I might say universal, method of construction is here exactly reversed, the thicker part of the walling being placed, not at the bottom, but at the top. That is to say, that although the inner mouldings of the clearstorey arcades and their shafts are here, as elsewhere, set back, the whole of the outer mouldings, together with the shafts that carry them, their hood-moulds, and the superincumbent masonry are set forward, and completely overhang the pier arches and wall surfaces below. Thus, in striking contrast to the nave clearstorey with its simply pierced window openings, this of the choir may be said, in a way, to con-

stitute a sort of grand *cornicione* as well. Taken altogether, and despite the loss of its eastern elevation, the finest perhaps of all, it may safely be said, I think, that no nobler or statelier chancel of a simple parish church or chapel could be found in all the land than that of this sea-girt, weather-beaten church of Hartlepool.

The contrast offered by it to that of Darlington, however, is about as complete and striking as possible. Thus, while the latter was aisleless, it was aisled. While the walls of Darlington were about five feet higher than they were long (viz., forty feet by thirty-five feet), those of Hartlepool were, at the lowest computation, more than twice as long as they were high (viz., seventy feet six inches by thirty-four feet). Again, while Darlington had but three bays, Hartlepool had, or had space for, six; while Darlington was arcaded in two stories, Hartlepool was but in one; and the clearstorey which, at Darlington, was arcaded only on the inside, was, at Hartlepool, arcaded on the outside too. And then both the arcadings and window openings present an equal degree of contrast. At Hartlepool, for instance, while the latter are but about two feet wide, by six feet three inches high, at Darlington they are three feet wide, by nine feet six inches high; and while the intercolumniations of the Hartlepool clearstorey, taken between the windows, measure but three feet wide, with a height to the points of the arches of eight feet, those of the Darlington clearstorey have a width of no less than six feet three inches, with a height of twelve feet. At Hartlepool again, there are not only two blank arcades, but a narrow strip of walling as well, between each light; at Darlington, but a single arcade; and while, in the former case, all are acutely pointed, in the latter they are so obtuse as to differ little from a semicircle. At Hartlepool, once more, the clearstorey windows, small as they are, were about double the size of those in the aisles below; while at Darlington, both ranges of windows, which are on the same plane, are of equal size; and each more than twice as large as the largest of those at Hartlepool.

No doubt, the special purpose, and consequently plan, of each building had largely to do with such structural differences of proportion and arrangement. Yet, curiously general as they are, we cannot but feel, after all, how far they fall short of that radical and essential difference, might it not rather, perhaps, be styled contrariety? of

spirit, or cast of mind, which inspired and directed their several authors. The one vast, broad, gloomy, rich to excess in detail, yet full in every part of concentrated force and power, and as fitted for the hall of some great military chief as for a church ; the other narrow, light, lofty, ascetic even in the calm and chaste simplicity of its decoration, the very ideal of spiritual seclusion and separation from the world. I speak, of course, of the two chancels as they were originally ; for at Hartlepool there is unhappily but a fragment, while at Darlington, though we have the whole, it is in such a shockingly mutilated condition structurally, and decoratively, so grossly misued with hideous stained glass, and other kindred, yet more violently accentuated horrors, that it is only by blotting them all out, and restoring in imagination the obliterated features, that its ancient beauties can be perceived.

Of all the remaining internal features at Hartlepool, by far the finest and most majestic is, undoubtedly, the chancel arch. Like the church itself it stands wholly apart and distinct from all other local examples of its class. Indeed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, I think, in respect of the combined qualities of height, massiveness, and general richness of moulding and sculptured detail, to find its equal anywhere. Rising to within a trifle of the full height of the clearstoreys, it has an elevation of about thirty-two and a half feet above the floor of the nave, and is carried on groups of five clustered shafts. These are crowned by rich capitals, with beautifully modelled Transitional volutes, springing under, and curling over, foiled, or circular bells surmounted by square abaci. The arch itself which springs at a height of twenty feet, is very obtuse and composed of three orders of rich roll-and-fillet and hollow mouldings, square set, and with hood moulds on each side. That there are some few instances of late Norman or early Transitional chancel arches with a greater profusion of ornament, as at Norham, and Tickencote churches for example, may be true enough. But they all, as far as I know, fall far short of this at Hartlepool in two main particulars, viz., want of height, and in having all their enrichments, as in doorways, confined to one, that is the western, face only. Here, however, both sides are alike ; the eastern one, so far from shrinking into utter nothingness, or vanishing altogether, as in such cases, being so far the richer of the



W. McLeish, photo.

S. HILDA'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL,
VIEW FROM CHANCEL LOOKING N.W.

two, that it has an additional shaft carried up at each angle of the chancel, and thus showing on that side groups of four, instead of three, as towards the nave.

The only other chancel arch in the county, if indeed it can properly be called so, which can be compared with this of Hartlepool, is that at Darlington, where it is simply one of four carrying the central tower. It is specially interesting and instructive in the present enquiry, however, as serving to set in stronger contrast, perhaps, than any other feature, the widely differing characteristics of their respective authors. Of much the same form, but set at a much greater height, it is yet notwithstanding its position and the load it was, even originally, meant to carry, as striking both in itself and its supports, for delicate and slender elegance of proportion, as are the others for their superabundant and colossal massiveness and strength. To turn from one to the other, indeed, is like turning from a statue of Hebe or Aphrodite to one of Hercules.

V.

We come now to the nave, where the superiority of that of Hartlepool to Darlington nave is, even its present state, not merely evident, but pronounced. In the first place, though but twelve feet longer, that is to say, eighty-three feet six inches as against seventy-one feet six inches, it has the great advantage of having six bays instead of four; and in the second, of having those bays of, generally, uniform design and character throughout. But, in its present state, and owing to similar causes, the nave of Hartlepool has suffered quite as severely as the choir and transepts of Darlington; and conveys, therefore, but a very imperfect idea of its pristine proportions and beauty. For not only is it deprived of some five and twenty feet of its length, but the noble tower arches and piers, with the vaulted roof and west window beyond, which originally presented well nigh as grand an effect westwards as did the chancel eastwards, are wholly obliterated by masses of rude walling which cut the church in two from top to bottom. With these, and the precise reasons for their introduction, however, we shall have to deal by and by. At present it is the nave itself, or rather what is visible of it, that demands attention.

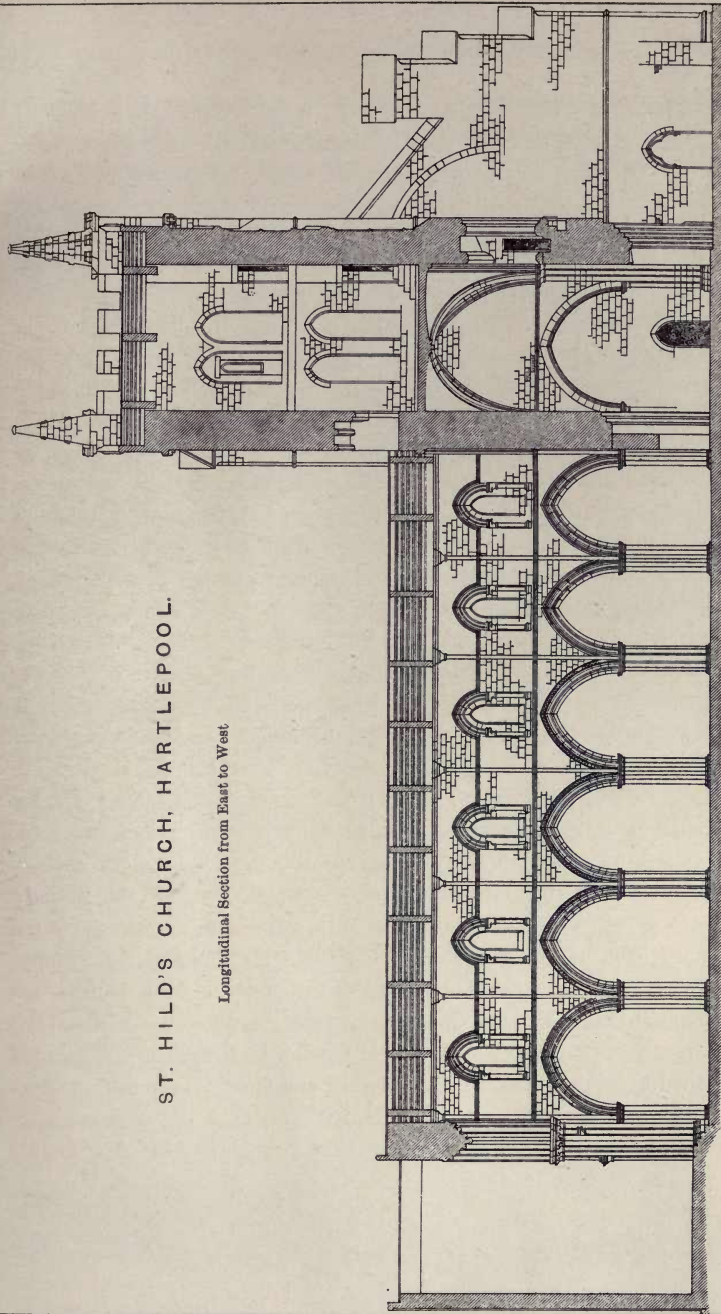
Of this, which includes all lying eastwards of the tower, though the height is somewhat less, the length and breadth differ but little

from those of Darlington. Thus, while the nave at Darlington is seventy-one feet six inches in length, that of Hartlepool is eighty-three feet six inches ; and while the width of the central aisle in the former is twenty-two feet four inches, in the latter it is twenty-two feet six inches ; the entire width, from aisle wall to aisle wall, being, in either case, forty-seven feet and forty-four feet six inches ; and the height forty feet and thirty-six feet respectively. Though, as a reference to the plan and geometrical elevation will show, the dimensions of the six bays which compose it, and which correspond exactly on either side, vary very considerably, the actual effect is as perfectly pleasing and harmonious as could be wished. The contrast, therefore, which the work, taken as a whole, offers to that of our own day, both in planning and effect, is very great, as complete, in fact, as can be. Now, according to universal practice, every bay, down to the minutest particular, would be the exact counterpart of all the rest ; the natural result being that the whole would appear as though it were, and as, indeed, it might just as well, perhaps, really be, cast in *compo* or other material from a mould. Nor would the dead, uninteresting, machine-made aspect end even here ; for, not if the clerk of works could help it, would the least difference of tint or marking in any of the stones be allowed to disturb that monotonous uniformity of colouring which, both in itself, and as evidence of competent supervision, he feels to be so desirable in every part. Note well, however, for too much, or minute attention, whether from an antiquarian or artistic point of view, can hardly be given to the subject, how entirely different were the spirit and principles which governed the twelfth-century architect. Working, not from a mechanical, but a natural standpoint, he sought for unity, not through uniformity, but variety ; for oneness of purpose, not by the repetition of identical features, but through manifold, nay infinite, yet harmonious, differences of detail and expression. And so, when his great nave came to be set out, instead of dividing it, as would inevitably be the case nowadays, into six mathematically exact and equal parts, he took care that no two consecutive ones should be alike.¹⁹ Even its two sides, though corresponding exactly

¹⁹ The same principle of diversity in unity is consistently and ingeniously adhered to in the cathedral church of Durham, not only as regards the setting out of the original Norman design in all its parts, but also in the subsequent additions of the Gallilee and Nine Altars chapels. A reference to the figures in

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Longitudinal Section from East to West



in their several dimensions, are made to differ perceptibly, if slightly, both in planning and decoration; and thus bear witness to that intelligent and quickening spirit which, scorning the base fetters of

Mr. Billings's admirable and carefully-measured plans (*Durham Cathedral*, Plates iii., iv., and xxxiv.) will show that though there, as at Hartlepool, the opposite sides of the choir and nave naturally and very properly correspond with each other, the intercolumnar spaces of the several bays vary in every single instance save one, viz., the second and third from the east in the nave, which, however, belong to two different compound bays, the spans of whose respective arches vary perceptibly, and are separated the one from the other by a dividing pier of greater diameter than their own.

Omitting, then, the easternmost bay of the choir, a thirteenth-century alteration and substitute for the original Norman bay immediately west of the curve of the central apse, we find that, of the four remaining bays, the first has a span of fourteen feet nine inches; the second, of fourteen feet one and a half inches; the third, of fourteen feet two inches; and the fourth, corresponding in width to the eastern aisle of the transept, of eleven feet nine and a half inches; the four, which constitute four compound bays, being parted from each other by a broad central pier of no less than sixteen feet eleven inches diameter.

Passing the transept, and proceeding onwards to the nave, we see that the first arch of the first compound bay has a span of eleven feet six and a half inches, while that of the second is twelve feet ten and a half inches. Of the second compound bay, while the first arch is of the same dimensions as the last-mentioned, viz., twelve feet ten and a half inches; the second is no less than fifteen feet eight inches; the arches of the third compound bay measuring fifteen feet six and a half inches and fifteen feet seven inches respectively. Then, between the next great pier in regular sequence, and the still larger one supporting the western tower, comes a single arch having a span of twelve feet eleven and a half inches, and, finally, that beneath the tower itself, with one of sixteen feet two and a half inches.

But by far the most remarkable development of the system is found in the planning of the two halves of the great transept which, composed of two compound bays each, have, on either hand, as from the common centre of the crossing, their intercolumnar spaces arranged in gradually diminishing order. Whether the idea of producing an effect of distance and increased size through the medium of a kind of false perspective had any share in the design or not, cannot be said; but even if it had, the plan adopted was perfectly legitimate, and stands quite apart from that utterly reprehensible and theatrical trickery of lowering the vault, and approximating the side walls which was sometimes resorted to. As it is, anything more thoroughly scientific and artistically admirable than this piece of planning could hardly be conceived: the effect, in a not very large area, of enormous strength, as well as of constant variety and distance, obtained by the multiplication and subordination of the points of support, and swift vanishing of the spaces between them, stamping the work not merely as that of a master in the art, but with a character absolutely unique.

For, though diminishing gradually from the crossing, the diminution is not, be it observed, regular or in geometrical progression: quite the contrary. Had such been the case the eye would have been able to detect the fact at once, and then all that sense of freshness and mystery which pervades the actual work would vanish instantaneously, since the whole, though in some sort varied, would both be, and be felt to be, fraudulent and mechanical. All such results are avoided, however, by the consummate skill evinced in the arrangement. Though in both compound bays that nearest the centre, or crossing, is perceptibly the larger of the two, yet the two really central ones are so nearly alike, differing in span by only three inches, that they serve to dispel any idea of proportionate diminution entirely, and so relieve both eye and mind at the same time. Thus, taking the north side by way of illustration (for the proportions of each half of the transept differ somewhat, though not very materially, in every

mechanical repetition, could yet achieve a well balanced and symmetrical whole, by means of, and notwithstanding, a free diversity in all its component parts.

Commencing our examination then on the south side we find that out of the six bays which make it up, no fewer than five are differently spaced, and, as a consequence, have arches of varying span and curvature; while of the five columns which carry them three only are alike, the remaining two differing in design, not only from the rest, but also from each other.

First, however, as to the spacing. Taking the bays in due order, the first, or easternmost one, measured from pier to pier, will be seen to have a span of eleven feet ten inches, the second of ten feet eleven inches, the third of eleven feet, the fourth, like the second, of ten feet eleven inches, the fifth, which is the narrowest, of nine feet three and a half inches, and the sixth of nine feet nine inches, the average of the whole being a fraction over ten feet seven and a quarter inches. What particular circumstance, if any, may have governed the remarkable contraction of the two western bays, cannot now, of course, be said. At Lincoln minster, where, in a nave of seven bays, precisely the same thing occurs—and, though on a much larger scale, in almost precisely similar proportions—the efficient cause was clearly that of economy. For when the new nave was planned, and the very unusual average intercolumnar space of 22-30 feet was assigned to each of the five eastern bays, it was doubtless with the intention

particular), the first arch of the first compound bay, which is that of the choir aisle, has a span of ten feet five inches, while that of its fellow arch is only seven feet six inches: next to this comes the first arch of the second compound bay with a span of seven feet three inches, the diameter of the great pier which separates them being eleven feet three inches, while the span of its fellow arch, the extreme one to the north, is only five feet six inches.

And a similar law of variation will be found to govern the laying out and spacing both of the Gallilee chapel and that of the Nine Altars, though in the case of the former, as there are five aisles of but four bays each, the spacing of the latter is practically uniform, the western one alone, in every case, being a few inches wider than the rest. Yet, though for the most part but slightly, the width of the aisles themselves varies in every instance, that towards the south being thirteen feet eight inches; the next, thirteen feet seven inches; the central one, thirteen feet nine inches; the following thirteen feet eleven inches, and the northernmost, twelve feet eleven inches.

As to the Nine Altars, the variations are simply legion, no two things, and frequently even halves of the same things, being alike in almost any part of it; and hence, in part, the result that, for grace and power and fascinating charm, it stands, I think I may say, alone, even among the greatest works of its great age.

of clearing away the Norman west front of Remigius altogether, continuing the arcades of the same dimensions throughout, and erecting a new west front, possibly like that of Peterborough, in a similar style, and at right angles with them, which the actual Norman front is not. But by the time the fifth bay was finished funds failed; the retention of the old work became a matter of necessity; and the two western bays had, consequently, to be at once and violently contracted to a space of only seventeen feet each, in order to make them fit in with it. Such a sudden and severe interference with the integrity of the original scheme, has, however, issued in the most disastrous results; for whether it be that the vast scale on which the work was commenced has caused the disparity of spacing in the arcades to appear too pronounced; that the dimensions of the earlier eastern ones were not (as, indeed, under the circumstances, they could not be) duly accommodated to them; that the intended length of the nave was so greatly curtailed; or, as is most probable, to the combined action of all these causes; the unity of that nave, which, had it only been completed as it was commenced, would probably have been the most daring, scientific, and beautiful thirteenth-century work of the kind in the land, has been completely destroyed, not only as a whole, but in the proportion of its leading parts.

But at Hartlepool there were no such limitations; the lower parts of the tower, though continuous, being certainly of later construction. At the same time owing partly, perhaps, to the smaller scale, partly to the considerable variation pervading the four eastern bays, and partly to the entire structure having reached the limits originally designed for it; the general unity, as well as relative proportion of parts, are in no way interfered with or impaired. Whether viewed from the west when they are in the immediate foreground, from the east when in far and sharp perspective, or from any intermediate standpoint, the effect of these narrow bays either alone, or in connection with the rest is equally fine, nor is their actual difference from them in size even suggestive of disparity.

VI.

Besides the different spacing of its bays, and the difference in plan of the columns of the south aisle among themselves, and of all of

them from those of the north aisle, another mark of distinction is seen in the fact that, while the southern arches are enriched with hood moulds, those towards the north have none. And a further point of interest is this, viz., that these hood moulds, like the earlier ones of the choir, are indented, a circumstance tending to show that the south side of Hartlepool nave, like that of Darlington, was built first.

Again, the arch moulds of the two arcades which, in either case, are of two orders, though in the same style, and producing a very similar effect, differ completely in every detail, save one, which is that the central mould of the soffit of the inner order consists in both of a pointed bowtel. The feature of chiefest interest in the southern range, however, is perhaps found in the broad eastern bay, as well above, in the clearstorey, as below, in the arcade and aisle compartment.

Though to no striking extent, or in any way interfering with the unity of the general design, the easternmost clearstorey window on either side is appreciably taller than the rest, the height to the springing of the arch being four feet eleven inches, and four feet two inches, respectively. But, again, the inequality is so skilfully masked by the string course, which also forms the hood mould, being carried at the same level throughout, through taking the arch of the taller light as its springing line and those of the others at nine inches above, that, in the general view, the eye is neither conscious of, nor suspects, any difference at all. The reason of this difference, which though slightly more apparent on the outside because of the accompanying blank arcades, yet even there interferes to no greater extent with the unity of the whole, is to be found in the fact of this eastern bay having formed a chantry chapel. That such, independently of the inference to be drawn from its greater size and larger clearstorey light, was certainly the case, is proved not only by the presence of the original piscina, but by the occurrence of a respond in the south wall opposite to, and of the same section as the first column, and which, instead of a mere corbel, as in all the other bays, carries the transverse arch, and so serves to mark it off the more emphatically from them.²⁰

²⁰ Besides the high, or parish altar, there were also certainly three other subsidiary or chantry altars in the church or chapel of S. Hild, viz., those of S.

These transverse arches constitute one of the most unusual, and also, it must be confessed, difficult and perplexing features of the church. Unlike those at Darlington they are richly moulded, and springing on either hand from nearly the same levels, have their sides, in consequence, of nearly the same length. But in the south aisle more particularly, many of them are most curiously and unaccountably mis-shapen, as though either from settlement or excessive pressure. Nothing of the kind, however, as is evident both from the verticality of the walls on either side and the horizontal level of the courses overhead has ever happened to them, and the cause must therefore be sought in the original construction. Their malformation is all the more remarkable, seeing that the curvature of the whole of the other arches throughout the building, whether great or small, is so exceptionally and perfectly symmetrical. It cannot easily, therefore, be attributed either to ignorance or carelessness. The first and most obvious explanation would seem to be that before the raising of the outer walls they had been struck intentionally from very unequal centres, and at distinctly different levels; thus, in rampant fashion, and following the inclination of the steep ancient roofs, presenting much the same general outline and effect as those at Darlington. Then, when the outer walls were raised to their present height in the fifteenth century, that the corbels were raised too, and the irregular arches adapted to their new forms and positions with the least amount of trouble possible. But as there is no evidence of the

Helen, S. Mary, and S. Nicholas, two of which would probably occupy the eastern extremities of the north and south aisles of the choir; the other, that of the south aisle of the nave. All three were refounded in the time of bishop Skirlaw (1388-1405) who in the eighth year of his episcopate, granted leave to the mayor and commonalty of Hartlepool to found anew a chantry for one chaplain, to the honour of S. Helen, at the altar of the blessed Helen, to pray for the good estate of the bishop; of Matilda, wife of Roger de Clifford, and their heirs; and of the mayor and commonalty; as also for their souls when they shall have departed this life, etc., according to statutes to be made and determined by the mayor and commonalty.

A similar licence empowered the mayor, etc., to found to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, one chantry of two chaplains, to pray at the altar of the blessed Mary, etc., as before, and permission was likewise given to the said mayor, etc., to assign certain messuages to the keepers of the fabric of the church of S. Hild, for the purpose of supplying a light at the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary, and for sustaining the choir of the said church.

A further licence was also granted to refound, etc., to the honour of S. Nicholas, one chantry of one chaplain, to pray at the altar of S. Nicholas, in this chapel, etc., as before, and that the mayor, etc., may grant eight messuages to John Abel, chaplain keeper of the chantry and his successors for ever.

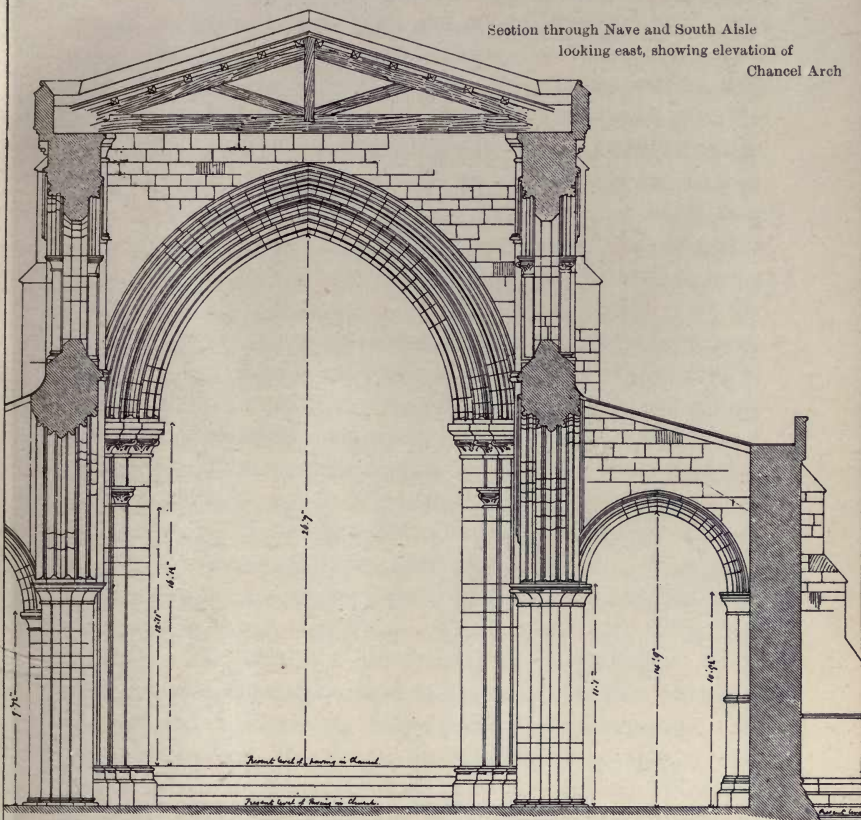
corbels having ever occupied a lower level, which the height of the unaltered capital of the respond renders indeed impossible, and as the line of the original roof would, as experiment shows, have cleared the arches in their present form perfectly, such theory is, of course, untenable. Still the deformity exists, and that in so pronounced a fashion, and in so many instances, that it needs to be accounted for. Why there should have been any discrepancy at all in so simple a matter, when once the respective springing lines were determined, does not appear. The actual difference of level between the corbels and the capitals of the columns from which, in the south aisle, the arches spring is so trifling, only about four inches, as to be practically non-existent, and offers no explanation whatever for such singular and excessive deformity; while mere carelessness, though it might account for the irregularity in a single instance, could hardly be held to do so in so many. The only remaining way of explaining the actual state of things, short of wanton recklessness or stupidity, would seem to be that, an irregular curvature with an uneven springing line having been designed for the arches originally, and a certain number of voussoirs cut to that form, the idea, before the arches were actually turned, was abandoned, and the prepared stones worked up on a nearly level springing line in the way we now see.

But, however this may be, certain it is that on building the north aisle a different system was pursued, and the cross arches, instead of springing from the capitals of the columns, as in the south aisle, were made to do so from independent capitals applied to the inner shafts of the columns at a lower level; that is to say, with their abaci rather lower than the neck moulds of the capitals of those columns. The result, whatever the cause of a contrary one to the south, is that the transverse arches are, if not absolutely, yet quite fairly, regular.

Though corresponding exactly in the span of its pier arch with that opposite, the eastern bay of the north aisle possesses neither of the two characteristics, of the respond or piscina, which are found there; nor can it certainly be said, therefore, whether an altar, as might be supposed, ever occupied it or not. In all other respects the two bays, both above and below, correspond exactly, save in one, and that is that, the arrangement of the clearstorey hood mould, to which I have called attention on the south side, is here all but reversed.

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Section through Nave and South Aisle
looking east, showing elevation of
Chancel Arch



Half Plan of Piers to South Nave Arcade.

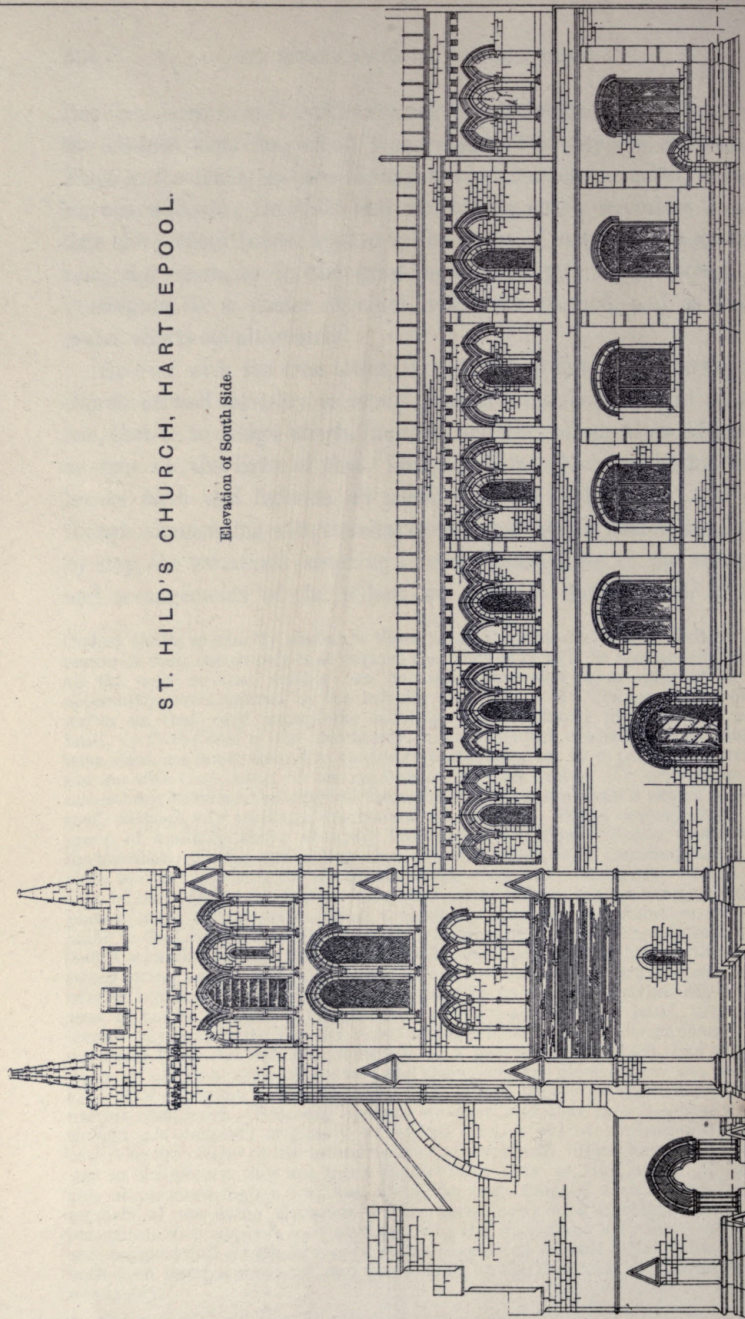
But then, even in this uniformity, we see a difference in the design of the columns from that of all those with which they are contrasted. Thus, on the south, we have three patterns; here on the north, though but one, a fourth; for while that which most nearly resembles it consists of a pointed bowtel applied to the centre of each face of a square; here, the figure, as in the great north-west pier of the tower at Darlington, is a cluster of eight, viz., four pointed, and as many round, shafts set alternately.

As ever with the true artist, indeed, the architect of Hartlepool church refused slavishly to repeat himself; and being a free agent, free, that is, to design afresh, improve, and vary all previous ideas as he went on, the light of that 'Lamp of Life' which was within him breaks forth and lightens all portions of his work alike. And so, though commencing with the clearstorey hood moulds, and noting, step by step, the variations occurring in every detail down to the sections and arrangements of the pillars, we find yet further proof of his

theless, shafts so exactly similar to these at Hartlepool, and whose position and reason of their occurrence is so curious that they may well be mentioned here—all the more so that neither one nor other has ever been referred to or, apparently, even noticed by the late Sir G. G. Scott, Mr. Sharpe, or any other writer on that very remarkable building. As originally planned, and even built, up to the base of the clearstorey, it was intended, evidently, to be vaulted with stone, no fewer than five vaulting shafts being set in a peculiarly French fashion with their bases on the capitals of the pier arches. On arriving at the clearstorey, however, this original intention was abandoned and a simple wooden roof, without any vaulting, determined on, instead. There, consequently, the group of vaulting shafts abruptly terminated, and single slender shafts with square abaci, exactly resembling those at Hartlepool, were superimposed upon them to carry, as there, the tie beams of the roof. At Darlington, though the idea of such divisional shafts would seem never to have been seriously contemplated, there is, notwithstanding, a curiously apparent and abortive attempt made in that direction, at the springing of the eastern nave arches on each side. But it is carried up, like the vaulting shafts at Ripon, only as high as the clearstorey string course, and there ends. Whether these shafts were intended to be carried higher, and all the succeeding bays to be similarly marked off, cannot now, of course, be said, any more than whether, on the other hand, they were meant only to indicate, like the richer arches which they serve to emphasize and segregate from the rest, the sacrarium of a people's altar which, like that of Jesus, or the great cross, at Durham and elsewhere, was placed below the western arch of the crossing. But, whatever their object, they were neither continued nor yet completed. The only instance we have, and that in a building which, though not designed originally for sacred uses, is yet of contemporary date, occurs in the chapel of the bishop's palace at Auckland. Here, however, as there was no clearstorey, they are much shorter than those at Hartlepool. They are also much more highly enriched, springing from foliated corbels, and having capitals of the same character. They have now, with excellent taste and judgment, been applied to a new use, viz., the support of very finely executed and designed full length figures of angels playing on musical instruments, which both give them a meaning, and serve to fill up the bare and blank wall spaces admirably.

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Elevation of South Side.



inventiveness awaiting us in their bases. Again, as with themselves, the arrangement of the one side would seem to be opposed to that of the other; not, that is, in detail, but as a whole. Thus, while the circumscribing line of all those towards the south, the difference in their shafts notwithstanding, is circular, on the north it is octagonal. Nor is this all. On the south the bases stand, as usual, separate and disconnected. On the north, for some reason, not now readily explicable, they were, though such is no longer the case, connected by a plinth a few inches higher than the nave floor. Whether the floor of the aisle was continuous with that of the nave, or raised to the height of the plinth is, however, as uncertain as, seeing there were no inequalities of surface to account for it, the presence of the plinth itself is unintelligible. But, that it was there, whatever its *raison d'être* may have been, and that it had one we cannot doubt, is undeniable.

VII.

But two other features of the twelfth-century architect's design remain to be noticed, I think, the south doorway and the windows of the aisles. The latter are now, unhappily, all gone, and the only evidence we have respecting them is that of the single small light remaining in the engaged bay of the tower, with whose general details and proportions the rest presumably agreed. It is remarkably small, only four feet six inches in height, by one foot in breadth, and consequently a mere loop. But, taken in connection with the pitch of the roofs, also preserved there, it enables us to understand perfectly that solemn and impressive effect of light and shade which formed so important an element in the original plan, and of which we could otherwise have little or no conception. By its aid, however, we can see at once how marvellously grand and overpowering must have been the expression of mystery, and power, and vast extent, which characterized the work as it left its master's hand; and how miserably it has been lessened, almost, if not altogether, to vanishment, by subsequent alterations.²³ Till then, practically, the whole of

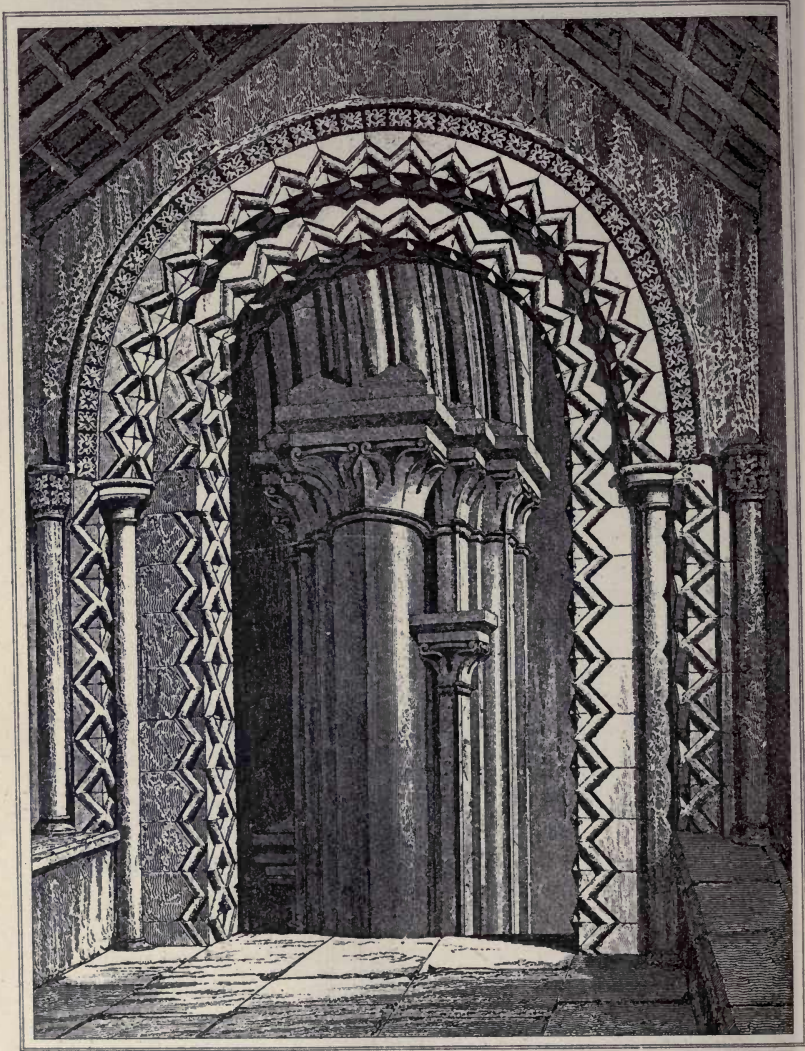
²³ Unfortunately, similar mischief has, in varying degrees, befallen almost, if not all, of our earlier churches. Certainly none in the county of Durham has escaped, and that Hartlepool should have suffered no further than it has is a subject for much thankfulness. To a larger extent, because on a far larger and grander scale than any other, it must, I think, have displayed the marvellous

the illumination would be derived from the windows of the clearstorey, subdued and separate bars of light divided by broad intervening belts of shadow, sufficient, doubtless, to throw up in full relief the general forms and details of the architecture, but little or nothing more. However great the skill displayed in other parts of the construction, it may well be questioned, I think, whether it exceeded or even

gain accruing from a system of carefully thought-out and subdued lighting, accompanied by the powerful effect of well-regulated and disposed gloom. It certainly seems strange that while in pictorial art the utmost attention should be given habitually by the greatest masters to the due proportion and distribution of light and shade; in architecture, the noblest and most impressive art of all, we should have come, in modern practice, not merely to treat so important a point with indifference or contempt, but to have lost sight of its very existence altogether. In time, perhaps, our architects, or such of them as would be artists, as well as, or rather than, mere builders, will wake up to a sense of their loss and strive to remedy it. At Hartlepool, the effect of contrast was, so far as we can judge, more highly accentuated and intense, probably, than elsewhere. For, though the nave could never have been light, the western parts of the choir were still less so, and the whole illumination, as such, must have been concentrated directly upon the high altar from the great triplets which, whether in one or two stages, at the east end, and probably also at the sides, as at Tynemouth, would bathe it, and that all the more strikingly by comparison, in a perfect flood of light. Much the same thing, though owing to its wholly different arrangement, in a more graduated fashion, would also be seen at Darlington. Here too, originally, the nave must have been wrapped in comparative obscurity, and its lighting, derived notwithstanding, or rather, perhaps, on account of its aisles, almost wholly from the clearstorey, been in marked contrast with that of the eastern parts. To it succeeded immediately the piers and arches of the crossing which, in the absence of a lantern, had no direct light at all, the brighter light of the transepts coming in only indirectly on either side. But beyond them, in due course, the choir with its eighteen great lights in double rank, above and below, shone forth glorious and resplendent, a symbol and picture, as it was meant to be, of heaven's brightness in comparison with that of earth.

And just the same simple, but beautiful and expressive arrangement, is seen to have obtained, in an equally artistic, if far humbler, way in the little neighbouring church of Gainford, a small and perfectly plain structure, consisting of chancel, nave, with north and south aisles, and, like Hartlepool, engaged western tower. Unlike either it or Darlington, however, its architecture, which may very well be owing to the village mason, is simplicity itself. Yet, for all that, a fully proportionate degree of dignity and fine effect was gained.

As so often happens in the churches of adjacent Richmondshire, the west end, both of nave and aisles is entirely without windows of any kind, the west, towards which quarter the abrenunciations of baptism were directed, being held to be emphatically typical, or under the special dominion of, the devil. Occupied, then, not only by the massive piers and arches of the tower, but by others spanning the aisles as well, it was altogether unlighted and in gloom. The unclearstoreyed nave of three bays, with aisles descending nearly to the ground, had but very small and narrow lancets, the sole remains of which, surmounted by vesicas, are now to be seen only at the east end. Farther on, however, and in the most striking, not to say startling, contrast lay the chancel flooded with light from nine broad and lofty lancets, three at the end, and three on each side. Looking westwards, was looking into gradually deepening darkness, the way of sin and death; looking eastwards was 'looking unto Jesus,' 'from darkness unto light,' 'from death to life,' 'from the power of Satan unto God.'



Drawn by R. W. Billings.

Engraved by John Sadler.

HARTLEPOOL CHURCH.

SOUTH DOORWAY AND CAPITALS OF THE CHANCEL ARCH.

equalled that masterly power of lighting which set them off to such wonderful advantage, and endued them with an aspect so majestic and sublime. Nowadays, such matters seem never to be thought of; and in new churches a chief requirement is held to be fulfilled if, under a factory-like glare of equal and untempered light, the smallest type, on the thinnest and worst paper, can be read in every corner.

The south doorway, simple in design, yet rich and beautiful in effect, is of singular interest. Like the lower central, north and south windows of the choir at Darlington, it contains the one solitary instance of fret, or zig-zag moulding in the church. More than that, both the mould itself and the method of its application are practically identical; the only difference being that in this, the earlier example, those little conical and dog-tooth enrichments which there stud the interstices of the frets in so rich and remarkable a way, are wanting. As there, and in other instances innumerable, notably at Nunmonkton and Brinkburn, it shows us with what difficulty the men who, for the best parts of their lives, perhaps, had been used to the exquisitely rich and refined details of the Transitional style, brought themselves to abandon altogether its more salient and characteristic details; and how lingeringly, and with what affection, they still clung to and recurred to them in some one feature or other, while suppressing them in all the rest.

A singular freak, or rather accident, perhaps, may be noticed in one of the voussoirs of the arch, the lowest to the west, being left uncarved.

The most curious and remarkable point, however, and which, could it but have been brought under the notice of the late Sir G. G. Scott, might not only have proved highly instructive, but saved him from much wild conjecture, is seen in the capitals of the little nook shafts on each side. Here, at Hartlepool, the section of the arch moulds, altogether unlike that at Darlington, is rigidly and absolutely rectangular. Yet, though this, if any, may seem to require, nay demand, square abaci, the architect has, notwithstanding, provided it with round ones. The effect, it is true, is scarcely satisfactory; but then, this is owing to the perfectly flat sides of the arch-stones having nothing in common with the circular form of their seat, into the centre of which the sharp point of the angle cuts violently. At

Darlington, however, where the combination of so called square mouldings and round abaci created such a 'difficulty' as could be solved only by the 'conjecture' of there being a difference of thirty or five and thirty years between the two, nothing of the kind occurs. For there, as we have seen, the sides of the arch-stones instead of being flat, as here, consist of deep rolls and hollows; and instead of a hard right angle, present, on the contrary, a hollow to the front. In that case, in short, the square outline of the arch-moulds is purely imaginary; in this, it is real.

VIII.

We come now, at last, to the tower, incomparably the finest thirteenth-century structure of its kind in the county; and, in connection with its added buttresses, the most remarkable and picturesque, perhaps, in all England. (See frontispiece, plate X.)

Massive and simple in outline, it rises in four stages; of which the lower three correspond in height with the arcades, clearstorey, and roof respectively, and was supported, in the first instance, at the angles by pairs of flat gabled buttresses terminating beneath the corbel table of the fourth, or belfry, stage only. Above this, whether actually or intentionally cannot now be said, would spring the spire which was, or was meant to be, almost certainly, of wood covered with lead, as at Whitburn and Ryton. As the upper stages, however, are necessarily of somewhat later date, it will be convenient to take account, in the first place, of the lowest one, which went on more or less continuously with the nave of which it structurally formed part, and without which the former could not be completed. For the tower being what is known technically as engaged, standing, that is, with three of its sides enclosed in the body of the church to which it opened by as many arches, it is clear that the two eastern piers must not only have been built, but the north and south arches turned, before the western bays of the nave could possess either adequate support or abutment. These must, therefore, be regarded as being substantially contemporaneous with the nave and its aisles, with which they were both in contact and continuous. Most unfortunately they are at present, as for many centuries past, completely shut out from view; and, worse than that, solidly embedded in masonry; a rough and massive wall, the whole height and breadth of the nave and aisles,

blocking up the great eastern tower arch and its piers, as well as those opening to the aisles, while other and similar ones do the like office for those in line with the arcades to the north and south. The west window being also built up and the interior encumbered with wooden shoring to prop the vault, the whole interior forms a sort of labyrinthine black hole where sight and motion are almost equally impossible.

Like that of the chancel, the tower arch is of altogether exceptional proportions, occupying the whole space from the columns of the arcades up to the full height of the clearstorey. With the exception of the hood mould, however, its details are wholly buried. And such, too, is the case with the lateral arches.

Of the original west doorway all that can be said is that it was of considerably larger size than the existing, and slightly later, one; and that it was enriched with nook shafts separated by rows of beautifully formed dog-tooth, the inner one exactly reproducing those found in the frets of the choir windows at Darlington.

The plan of the tower is very remarkable, far bolder and more original, however, than scientific. The only approach to anything like solidity, indeed, is seen in the two western angles, and that, at best, of a very doubtful and, as the event has proved, quite inadequate, kind. Practically, it was designed to stand on four open arches, the eastern one the full height and width of the nave walls, and resting simply on slender clustered columns continuous with those of the arcades. North and south were arches of the same height, but greater span than these; while the arch of the west doorway, nearly twelve feet in span, was of proportionate height. But even so, and with the existing method of construction, the tower might, perhaps, have maintained its stability had it not been for the introduction, at the same height as the clearstorey, of the massive quadripartite vault. Nor need any serious mischief, even then, possibly, have happened, if only sufficient care and forethought had been exercised. But the radically, and well nigh universally, pernicious practice of the age prevailed, and the work was started from wholly inefficient foundations. With the solid rock at a depth of only seven feet beneath him, the architect was content to go no further down with them than four feet, thus leaving three feet of compressible material between the two. Such

a proceeding would have been foolish and risky enough, even had the walls been carried uniformly down to the ground on all four sides. So far from it, however, their whole weight, together with that, as well as the active thrust of, the vaulting, was brought to bear upon four narrow isolated points, and so disaster became not only inevitable, but almost immediate.

Beautiful exceedingly as it is in its entirety, as a piece of architectural composition, and beyond all praise, when taken in connection, as it was originally intended to be, with the design of the nave, the faults of this tower, like those of so many other grand works of its period, were all attributable to mere lack of experience. Backed by this, the design might, with perfect ease, have been rendered permanently secure. What it needed was, in the first place, an absolutely rigid foundation to resist vertical pressure ; after that compact and close jointed masonry, without any rubble filling, at the four corners, to resist lateral pressure ; and then the vaulting to be sprung from just so many courses of horizontally jointed voussoirs as would suffice to resist the thrust of the central radiated ones, and thus sustain the whole *in equilibrio* without its exercising any active thrust on the flat pilaster buttresses whatever. But, unhappily, every one of these three essential conditions is lacking ; and hence the necessity for that system of buttressing which it became imperative to apply. How vast, and probably unique, it is, a reference to the ground plan and external views will show far better than any verbal description. Yet, it may be pointed out that while the clear internal diameter of the tower is only about eighteen feet, the projection of the four lateral buttresses is about twenty ; while that of the two western ones is no less than twenty-seven ; all six being carried up to half the height of the entire structure. Reckoning this enormous mass along with that employed in blocking the four arches of the ground storey, the two others spanning the nave aisles, and the windows of the upper parts, the singular fact is forced upon us that a considerably greater amount of masonry has been used to prop the tower up than was adopted originally for its construction.

And then it will be observed further, that the whole of this gigantic system of buttressing is of very early date ; only a little more advanced in style, in fact, than the tower itself. In other words that, just as might have been expected, the process of disruption set in at

once, and proceeded at such a pace that within fifty years or so, it became necessary, in order to avoid imminent ruin, to bolster it up in the way we now see.

But if the original architect was ignorant and inexperienced as regards foundations, his successor, untaught by his mistakes, was every whit as much so. For, from first to last, his buttresses have been just as great a source of anxiety as the tower itself; and again, and again has his work forced the query *Quis custodiet custodes?* Twice, if not thrice, during the present century have the props themselves yielded, and are even now, at the present moment, propped with wooden stays themselves. And all from the selfsame cause, absence of due foundation. Apparently the later architect flattered himself that the inert mass of his additions would offer an amount of passive resistance that would obviate all further trouble, never dreaming that, owing to the same cause, the same results must necessarily follow.

It is not a little curious to note the wild nonsense that has found place in print respecting this tower and its supports. Thus Mr. Billings, whose admirable illustrations of the architectural antiquities of the county are but ill supported by the text, can find nothing better to say than: 'This once magnificent building is marked by peculiarities of a perplexing description, and it is no easy task to decipher the intention of its architect. Especially singular are the enormously massive buttresses jutting from the tower. Looking at their extraordinary form, we might fancy the original design had for its object a cross church, consisting of nave, transepts, choir, and chancel, and that, this intention being altered, the buttresses were placed against the tower to compensate for the loss of support which the complete members would have given it; but on a closer inspection of the masonry we discover portions of the walls, windows, and (upon the buttress sides) the coping stones of the roofs of three small chapels, attached to the west, north, and south of the tower, and all of the Early English period when the church was first built. The southern chapel, indeed, still exists.' And then he continues: 'A survey of the interior of the tower satisfies us of the necessity of large buttresses, for they sustain the lateral pressure of a lofty and heavy stone ribbed groining, which is undoubtedly the best constructed specimen of the kind in the county.'

Astonishing as such utterances are, how a man of Mr. Billings's intelligence could ever have brought himself to utter them, is more astonishing still. For the whole history and explanation of the several features are 'writ' so 'large' upon their face, that 'even a wayfaring man, though a fool,' need not 'err therein.' So far from anything perplexing occurring either in the building as a whole, or in any of its parts, all, on the contrary, is as plain and clear as daylight.

Begun at the east end of the splendid chancel, continued uninterruptedly throughout the nave, and ended with the lower parts of the tower, everything pursued a perfectly normal course. That a brief, but only a brief, pause took place, however, would seem most likely. The details, not only of the upper stages, but also of the small visible fragment of the original west doorway, show a distinct advance upon those in all other parts of the church, and suggest, at least, the influence of another, and a different, mind. The square abacus used so unreservedly elsewhere is throughout abandoned, and altogether the character of the work seems of a less masculine and gentler kind. And then as regards the intention of 'its architect,' there were, if not three, certainly two of them, of whose intentions there can be no doubt. The builder of the upper part of the tower, whether the same as that of the lower or not, simply carried up his work as it had been begun and then stopped. That he never contemplated the possibility of its carrying a stone spire, the usual finish of towers at that time, is clear from the fact that he prepared no squinches or angle arches to carry one. Were any such crowning member ever added, it must evidently, therefore, have been of wood. But it soon became plain enough that the tower could not support itself, let alone a spire of any kind at all. The powerful thrust of the vault, set at so great a height, and with next to nothing in the shape of buttresses to resist it, speedily threatened to bring the whole structure to the ground. Hence, therefore, the need of additional support, the vastness of which measures at once the imminence of the danger and the anxiety of the later architect to meet it. That is simply the whole history of the place, and of the 'intention of its architect.'

As to the three 'chapels,' one of which 'indeed still exists,' they neither have, nor ever had, save in Mr. Billings's imagination, any existence at all. The two compartments, north and south, were just

the continuations of the north and south aisles ; while that to the west, if it were really ever covered in, was neither more nor less than a mere portico or shed to the west doorway, a very natural adjunct after the enormous buttresses which constituted its side walls were once built.

The only 'perplexing' feature of the case is as to what should be done to open out and efficiently restore this most imposing part of the church to its original use and beauty, and how to do it. Theoretically, the best and only perfect way would be to take the tower down to the ground entirely, put in competent foundations, and then carefully reconstruct its bulged and shaken walls, vault included, with its own materials exactly in its ancient state. The whole of the blocked, distorted, and expanded arches and twisted walls and pillars could then be symmetrically reset and opened out ; and the entire space, now shut off and left in dirt and darkness, be brought back to light and life. Long may this glorious heirloom of the ages be handed on in its integrity to the generations yet unborn, as the noblest local record of the past, a masterpiece of its age and class, not merely unequalled but unapproached.

NOTE.

The following most interesting particulars relating to the foundations of the tower and its buttresses have been kindly supplied to me by Mr. J. Carse, late clerk of works :—'In some cases there were *no* foundations to the tower. The N.E. angle was built on the surface, on what appeared to be puddled clay, with a few large boulders thrown in amongst it. The foundations of the buttresses went down to the rock, but were composed of nothing else than loose rubble, *narrowing in to the bottom*. Under the S.E. buttress I found a split or fissure in the rock about an inch and a half wide, with a current of air blowing out. I tried to fill it with cement, but it was out of the question ; it went away as though going down some drain.'

IX.—A SURVEY OF THE CHURCHES OF THE ARCH-
DEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, *TEMP.*
CHARLES II. (FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF MR. W.
WOODMAN, A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY).

By J. CRAWFORD HODGSON.

[Read on the 27th day of February, 1895.]

The following survey of the churches grouped under their respective deaneries of Newcastle, Morpeth, Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Corbridge, comprised in the one archdeaconry of Northumberland, was drawn up in the period of revived ecclesiastical discipline which followed the restoration of Charles II. and the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Frequently quoted by the Rev. John Hodgson, and recently in the new county history, the copy to be read before you to-night is from the collection of Mr. Woodman; and the most valuable of the notes appended are abridged from the minute book of the visitations of the sensible and sagacious Archdeacon Singleton, for the use of which the writer is indebted to the Rev. W. Greenwell. It will be observed that some important parishes are unnoticed.

A VIEW OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE WITHIN THE ARCHDEACONRY
OF NORTHUMBERLAND, ANNO 1663.

Enquiries.

1. What churches are destitute, how long, and who are the impropiators? What the value of the impropriacon, and in whose deanry?
2. What churches want competent maintenance, and what their stipends are now?
3. What scandalous ministers?
4. What chief seducers to popery or sects?
5. What churches are ruinous?
6. What glebe concealed or confounded, and how long?
7. What schooles, and howe far asunder, free schooles especially, and whether any be decayed?

Answers.

I.—IN THE DEANRY OF NEWCASTLE.

1. All the parochial churches in this deanry are impropriated.
2. The impropriators of the rectory¹ of Newcastle are the deane and chapter of Carlile valet p' annu' 90^{li}. The vicaridge itselſe valet p' annu' . . .
3. The impropriators of the rectory² of Tinemouth are ye earle of Northumberland and Ralph Delevall, baron', valet p' annu' 460^{li}. The vicar hath a salary of 30^{li} p' annu' out of which is paid to the curate of Earsden³ chappell 04^{li} 13^s 04^d. Tinmouth chappell is unfinished.
4. The impropriator of ye rectory of Benton⁴ is Coll. Baliol. Oxon., valet p' annu' 60^{li}. The vicaridge 40^{li} p' annu'.
5. The impropriator of the rectory of Ponteland⁵ is coll. Merton Oxon., valet p' annu' 126^{li}. The vicaridge 90^{li} p' annu'.

¹ The rectory of Newcastle was given by Henry I. to the church of Carlisle. In 1193 it was in the prior and convent. Brand, vol. i. p. 238.

² The rectory was parcel of the possessions of the priory of Tynemouth. In Horsley's time the patronage was in dispute, but according to Randal the advowson was in the duke of Northumberland for one turn, and Sir John Hussey Delaval for two turns; it then contained besides the parish church the chapels of Earsdon, Blyth, Seaton-Delaval, and Dissington. The duke of Northumberland has now the sole right of presentation.

³ The impropriation is half in the duke of Northumberland, and the other half bequeathed by Sir M. Milbank for charitable uses. The church was "repaired" as the inscription over the entrance says, but in reality rebuilt in 1792 nearly on the old style; it contains two thousand persons.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826.

⁴ The minister's stipend arises from the interest at 4 per cent. of £1,200: a farm of 44 acres at Long Framlington lets for £22 per annum: 6½ farms pay him at the rate of 6s. 8d. per each farm. The duke of Northumberland has been urged by his bailiff to dispute the latter payment as concerns his property as a matter of right, but gives per annum £5; this is a ruinous step to the poor curate since others dispute, without making the present as the duke does. I presume that upon the whole his income may amount to £125 per annum. They have a neat little cup and cover with the date 1618, with the names of the churchwardens.' *Ibid.* See *Proc.*, vol. iii. p. 268, for description of cup and cover.

⁵ Long Benton vicarage is in the patronage of Balliol coll. Oxford, who have the great tithes; their chancel is not so creditable as the body of the church. Mr. Clapp, the vicar, has been non-resident for 26 years, and his parish shews it. The college occupy their impropriation themselves, it is worth about £1,400. The vicar's income from glebe and tithes is £245.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*.

⁶ Ponteland vicarage which is worth £700 is in the gift of Merton college. The impropriation is worth more than £2,000 per annum. There are 140 acres of glebe well defined, and let in three distinct farms. The vicarage house, which is an old tower, has been much improved by the good and costly additions of the present vicar. I forebore at present to press them to paint their church, but they must do it soon, saving the gallery whimsically painted or perhaps dis-tempered by Whittle "the Cambœe poet," a sort of ingenious vagrant whose memory is cherished by the country people.' *Ibid.*

6. The impropiator of the rectory of Heddon⁶ is Sr Tho. Widdrington, valet p' annu' 60^{li}. The vicaridge 24^{li} p' annu'.
7. The impropiator of the rectory of Newburne⁷ is Dn'us Ep'us Carliol, rented at 140^{li} p' annu', vicaridg 80^{li}.
8. These places are destitute, namely, the chappell of Earsdon for 3 years. The chappells of North & South Gosforth 2 years. The ld. bpp. deane & chapter of Carlile are ye impropiators. The tithes are of a considerable value. The vicar of Newcastle of his accord contributes towards South Gosforth to his power.
9. Seducers are so many that they are hard to be found out. The most active and visible are for popery, viz., Thomas Riddell of ffenham, Esq., Robert Lawson of New C[astle,] merchant, John ffenwicke sometimes at Bedlington sometimes at N[ew] C[astle.]
10. For sects, Will. Durant⁸ & John Pringle⁹ of New C[astle,] Alexander Gordon of Tinmouth, John Ogle of Kirkely.¹⁰ Many conventicles are held in New C[astle] by papists & schismaticks, shoemakers, &c.
11. Cramlington (where Mr. Dickenson officiates without a licence) & Gosforth chappells¹¹ and Benton church are ruinous. The chancel of South Gosforth hath nothing remaining but sorry walls.

⁶ 'The impropiation is in the Bewick family, and produces annually about £250. The vicarage, which has vicarial tithes de jure, and is endowed with the great tithes of West Heddon, is worth about £350. The chancel is curious, but wanted whitewash. It appears that the Scotch army encamped on Heddon Laws the night before the passage of the Tyne into Durham.' *Ibid.*

⁷ 'Newburn church is in a most discreditale state. Roof, pews, beams, covering—all neglected and bad. The chancel as bad as the rest, and the impropiators' pew the worst of all. The impropiation is in the bishop of Carlisle, it is worth above £1,000 per annum. The vicarage is worth £260. This is an opulent parish, and the church frequented by gentlemen.' *Ibid.*

⁸ Wm. Durant in 1645, lecturer of St. Nicholas, married a sister of Sir Jas. Clavering.—*Cf. Life of Ambrose Barnes*, and Welford, *Men of Mark*.

⁹ John Pringle, a man of learning, a physician and pastor, 'married a choice and good woman with whom he got a very great fortune.' He was ousted from the vicarage of Eglingham, and died at Newcastle, circa 1619. Calamy, and *Life of Ambrose Barnes*.

¹⁰ The son of John Ogle of Kirkley married the daughter of John Thompson, the ejected rector of Bothal, and their son, Nathaniel Ogle, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Jonathan Newton of Newcastle, counsellor-at-law, by his wife, Isabel Jennison, a near kinswoman of Dr. Jenison, the puritan vicar of Newcastle. Alexander Gordon, in 1663, was bound over that he should not within 20 days speak or contrive against the king or government. *Life of Ambrose Barnes*.

¹¹ 'South Gosforth. It is proposed to sever Gosforth from Newcastle, and make it an independent parish. Sir M. W. Ridley has the great tithe, the vicar's [of Newcastle] revenue from this part of his parish amounts to about £180.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

12. Not one free schoole, but in Newcastle which is kept in very good condition. Mr. Oxley¹² is chiefe schoolemaster, and there are under him two ushers.
13. [A private chapel belonging to ye prior of Tinmouth.]* Benwell chapell is destitute, the gleeb worth 12^{li} or 14^{li} which Mr. Shaftoe holdes for 40^{li} p' annu'. The vicar of Newcastle would gladly recover it to ye church if he knew how, & belongs to himselfe.
14. There is in Newcastle one . . . Thomson, once a schismatical preacher in Duresme, who is accused for practising clandestine marriages in divers parts of Northumberland.

II.—IN THE DEANRY OF MORPETH.

1. Mr. Edward Prowse¹³ parson of Bothall¹⁴ is blamed by some for scandall & negligence. Mr. John Thompson of Pyseworth¹⁵ once a schismaticall minister, now turned farmer, a chief seducer.
2. Mr. Thornton of Neather-witton is a seducer & (as it is said) will let no land unless they revolt to popery.
3. Henry ffenwick of Elsdén parish seduces some to the sect of the quakers.
4. The gleeb of Elsdén church hath been concealed many years.

¹² Amor Oxley was vicar of Kirknewton, and was displaced from the mastership of the Grammar school at Newcastle in 1645 as a Royalist; in 1656 the common council, in consideration of his great wants, ordered him £40 as arrears of salary, and in 1662 he was restored to his office. He lost his library 'when the town was stormed and plundered by the Scots.' He bequeathed his books to the library of the school, and dying in 1669 was laid near his wife at the entrance to the quire of St. Nicholas.

¹³ Edw. Prowse rector of Bothal and Sheepwash, 1660-1667. Randal.

¹⁴ 'The value is £1,400 per annum. The old church at Shipwash is entirely gone down, the font is in the rector's farm yard. I begged them to look to their spouts, and to restore the heraldic blazoning on the timbers of the roof, and to repair the only six remaining folios of the long list in Dr. Sharp's book. The monument of the Bertrams, that of Ann Wilson, the Ogle pedigree on the wall, the painted glass in the windows, and the carved capitals on the north side of the entrance into the chancel are all curious and should be preserved. An old cup and cover 1571. The glebe stretches across the water into Bedlingtonshire but is deemed to be Northumberland.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826. See *Proc.* vol. iii. p. 240, for note of cup and cover.

¹⁵ John Thompson the ejected rector married *circa* 1650 Catherine Wilson of Pegsworth, an heiress, and with her in 1652 sold lands in Old Moor to Mr. Lawson of Longhirst. Calamy says, 'he was taken in the bishopric and imprisoned in the common gaol at Durham for his nonconformity, the imprisonment brought him into a dropsy of which he died. He was a man of learning, a man of peace, and an excellent preacher.'

* Marginal note.

5. A stipend of 06^{li} 13^s 08^d p' annu' belongs to the chappell of Corsonside. Mr. Gram,¹⁶ the curate, is sordid & scandalous. The impropiator is John Hall of Otterburne, esq., valet p' annu' 18^{li}.
6. The impropiators in Northumberland are generally recusants.
7. The vicar of Midford¹⁷ hath onely a stipend of xvj^{li} p' annu' from ye impropiato^{rs} of that rectory, namely, Edward Radcliffe, baronett, a papist, & Henry Rawling of Newc[astle,] a notorious sectary, valet p' annu' 80^{li}.

III.—IN THE DEANERY OF ALNWICKE.

THE VICARIDGE OR CURACY OF ALNWICKE.¹⁸

1. Is in the gift of the lord b'pp. of Duresme. The stipend is 12^{li} p' annu' paid by his ma^{tie}. The church is destitute about a year. But till my l. b'pp. be pleased to provide otherwise 'tis for the present supply'd by a combination of neighbour ministers appointed by the archdeacon. The church is likewise ruinous. The chancell a goodly ffabrick, ready to fall down.
2. The impropiator is Mr. Charles Brandling.

¹⁶ John Graham, vicar of Corsenside, 1617-1682. Randal.

¹⁷ The rectory of Mitford in 1289 was given to the priory of Lanercost. In 1648 Henry Rawling was one of those who petitioned the Parliament, demanding justice on the king. *Life of Ambrose Barnes*.

'Mitford vicarage is in the gift of the bishop of Durham, but it has only the name, being entirely stripped of the tithes. Colonel Mitford, who resides in Hampshire, is the impropiator; his tithes may be worth £700 per annum. The church is venerable and spacious, but the chancel from which the leaden roof has been taken is now covered with a grey slate, steep and decaying, and is unceiled within, and the south porch belonging to the Mitfords of Mitford is also in a bad condition.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826.

¹⁸ Alnwick was a chapelry of Lesbury; its tithes with the abbey at the beginning of the seventeenth century came into the hands of the Brandlings, who a hundred years later sold the abbey to the Doubledays. In 1717 Francis Brandling, as a Roman catholic, registered his estate in the corn tithes of Denwick, Bilton, Hawkhill, and 5/12 of the corn tithes of Alnwick and Lesbury [all parcel of the rectory of Lesbury]: fractions of the tithes remained until recently with his descendants or heirs the Cooksons and Ildertons.

'Alnwick is in the gift of the parishioners by a sort of compromise with the bishop for so long as they shall pay from their corporate funds a certain stipend named in the agreement to the curate.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826.

'[In 1603 Henry Strother, Matthew Kelham, and Cuthbert Mason were presented "for going about the making of matches on the Sundaic."]' *Ibid*.

'The duke of Northumberland has become patron of the living by reason of endowment, part of which is the admirable glebe-house which he has built and conveyed to the benefice.' *Ibid*. 1836.

3. The value of the impropriation of the tythes of all kinds is 200^{li} p' annu' or thereabouts. If but the petty tithes were added to the stipend it would make a competency.
4. Many papists & schismaticks.
5. A free schoole & xvj^{li} salary belonging to it.

THE RECTORY OF HOWICK.¹⁹

Belonging to the arch-deaconry of Northumberland, both church and chancel were ruinous, the chancell repaired by the arch-deacon, 'tis of late destitute of a curate, but supplied by the arch-deacon's care.

THE VICARIDGE OF EMBLETON.²⁰

1. The impropriator^s are the warden & fellows of Merton coll. in Oxon. ye value of the impropriac'on is 300^{li} p' annu'. Two ruinous chappells in that parish, Rock & Rennington, both destitute for 15 years or thereabouts.
2. The stipend now is 60^{li} p' annu'.
3. The church is much out of order.
4. The Gleeb that did anciently belong to Rock chappell is now confounded.

THE VICARIDGE OF WARKWORTH.²¹

1. In the gift of the l. bp. of Carlisle valet p' annu' 66^{li} 6^s 8^d.
2. The impropriac'on belongs to the l. b'p of Carlisle valet p' annu' 400^{li}.

¹⁹ In 1734 the church of Howick, according to Mark, was in very good order, but in 1746 it was replaced by one built by Sir Henry Grey after the style of a Greek temple. Neither drawing nor description of the old church has survived, and the only remains which exist are some two or three tombstones on the chancel floor, and in the grave yard five ancient grave covers—one of the thirteenth century, coped with a flat top. Cf. also new *County Hist.* vol. ii. p. 361.

²⁰ Cf. new *County Hist.* vol. ii. p. 73.

²¹ 'The vicarage of Warkworth in ye office of First Fruits for land in East Chivington four shillings, for the which the incumbent receiveth eight shillings per annum. By an abstract of the Court Rolls holden in that manner the 30 Oct., 1626, it appeareth that one Robert Albone holdeth in right of glebe land these nineteen stints or grassings besides arable land and meadow. For land in West Chevington six shillings and eight pence for the which the incumbent receiveth 13^s 4^d per annum.' *Terrier*, dated 23 Oct., 1663. Warkworth parish chest.

'The impropriation belongs to the bishopric of Carlisle, and is rented by Sir M. Ridley; it is worth £3,000 per annum. The vicarage is worth £400 per annum from undisputed tithes, but a suit is now pending for adjustment. The vicar, however, has no endowment. The population is 3,000, the

- 3 Gleeb anciently belonging to the church, as appears in the office of first fruits, in Nether Buston, valued there at 6^s, for which the incumbent receives nothing. In East Chevington 4^s. In West Chevington 6^s 8^d,
4. One chappell in ye parish Chivington²² very much ruined & vacant.
5. No schooles, no papists, but many schismatics. Mr. Humphrey Bell²³ of Whoaddon, in Warkworth parish, is a notorious seducer schismatical.

THE VICARIDGE OF LESBURY.²⁴

1. In ye donac'on of his ma^{tie} the value 35^l p' annu'.
2. The impropriator is Mr. Charles Brandling, the value of the impropriac'on is 80^l p' annu', and the value of the impropriac'on of Bilton & Hacle is 50^l p' annu'.
3. The vicar, Mr. Cox, resides at Barwick.²⁵
4. The church and chancell ruinous, no schooles, no seducers.

THE VICARIDGE OF SHILBOTTLE.²⁶

1. In the donac'on of his ma^{tie} the stipend 20^l p' annum.

church holds 600, but there are no free sittings, and the rated inhabitants of Chevington chapelry are entirely unprovided with accommodation. I pressed their case upon the notice of the parish. They have a clock repaired by the town. The clerk was appointed in 1825 by the vicar, he is paid 1^s 6^d by each farm, 3^d a house at Easter, and church fees. The four church wardens come in by rotation, the vicar appointing the town church warden. They gather their church rate by an ancient custom from the farms—one gathering produces £29 8^s at 4^s per farm. The Grey arms are on the gallery, but there are few if any memorials of the Percies.—I requested that their dilapidated pew might be repaired.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826.

²² The chapelry of Chevington comprised the three townships, of East and West Chevington and Hadston. Tradition says its chapel was a thatched building destroyed by fire: the Sessions Records inform us that certain persons were apprehended in 1717 for stealing the chapel bell. Subsequent to the decay of the chapel the parishioners resorted to the mother church of Warkworth, where they were treated somewhat as step-children, church rates being demanded from, but no seats being appropriated to them.

²³ Humphrey Bell was the ejected vicar of Ponteland, though he was much solicited to conform, yet upon mature deliberation he refused it, and was content to turn farmer for a livelihood. . . . He was a learned man, as his MSS. testify. He died in 1671.' Calamy. At the sessions held at Alnwick in 1682, Mrs. Margaret Bell and her son, Mr. Samuel Bell of Wooden, were presented to be dissenters so reputed. She was buried at Lesbury in 1697. Their son, Samuel Bell of Wooden, married Susanna, daughter of John Grey of Howick, and left issue. Wooden is not in Warkworth, but in Lesbury parish.

²⁴ Cf. new *County Hist.* vol. ii. p. 443.

²⁵ Wm. Cox vicar of Lesbury 1663-1666, fellow of Brasenose, and vicar of Berwick.

²⁶ 'Shilbottle vicarage worth about £220. The impropriation is in various hands, to wit, Mr. Cook of Newton Hall, Mr. Bacon, Lieut. Selby, R.N., Mr. Sanderson Ilderton. The chancel is, however, repaired by the parishioners, who

2. The impropriators are Mr. Charles Brandling, Mr. W. Selby of Beel, Mr. Ratcliffe of Spinlestone, Mr. Leonard Thorneton, & Mr. George Lislei. The impropriac'on valet 6 3¹ p' annu'.²⁷
3. Gleeb anciently belonging to the church is now in ye possession of Mr. William Selby.
4. The church is in a reasonable condic'on.
5. No schooles in the parish, noe papists, noe seducers to popery nor sectaries.

THE VICARIDGE OF WHITTINGHAM.²⁸

1. In the donac'on of the dean & chapter of Carlile.
2. The impropiators are Mr. Clavering of Callilee, Mr. Collingwood of Eslington, Baronet Ratcliffe of Dilston, all papists. The value of which impropriac'on is 200¹ per annum.
3. The stipend of the vicaridge is now 50¹ p' an', but anciently the tith corne of Whittingham belonged to it, worth 26¹ p' annu',

have a church fund arising from the rent of lands, called 'Lord's lands,' which produces at present £24 15s. per annum. The population is 870, but the church contains only 188, without any free sittings. There are no catholics and very few dissenters. The church is in excellent order, but wants painting, and I called upon them to endeavour to meet their increasing population with proportionate church room, and at all events, not to suffer the churchyard fence to deteriorate. This fence is maintained by a variety of persons. There are 18 acres of glebe, well maintained and well fenced.' Archdeacon Singleton, *Visitation*, 1826.

²⁷ The rectory was parcel of the possessions of Alnwick abbey. The great tithes were sold by the crown trustees, Morrice and Phillips, in 1600. Certain of them were purchased in 1627 by Wm. Selby of Beal, and are yet in the possession of his descendants. In 1717 Francis Brandling of Bilton Banks registered as a Roman catholic the corn tith of Shilbottle.

²⁸ 'The church is in excellent order but their communion plate is mean, and their walls have a sort of conventicle aspect for want of "the select sentences," "the King's Arms, etc." The population is 1,730; the church, with the addition of its recently erected gallery, contains 360. The catholics in this, their stronghold, amount to 100. The protestant dissenters are liberal, and frequent the church; they amount to 900. The Clavering family are catholics, and a priest is maintained by them. The dean and chapter of Carlisle are the impropriators, and the chancel is upheld by their lessees, Lord Ravensworth, Messrs. Clavering, Pawson, Atkinson, Tarleton, and those who are locally termed the "lairds of Glanton." There are meeting houses for catholics and protestant dissenters. The parsonage is an old but respectable tenement, and with its trim garden maintained in the decent simplicity of clerical taste. The glebe, which is all within the township of Whittingham, amounts to 50 acres, moderately fenced, but well ascertained; it is chiefly grass-land. The vicar has six stints in Eslington wood, at present let to Lord Ravensworth at £12 per annum. The pillars in the church are curious.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

'Alas! these pillars have been removed. I called for caution and delay and reconsideration, but the parishioners wanted room, the vicar was zealous, and I had no power to plead merely architectural curiosity against the spiritual necessities of the people.' *Ibid.* 1841.

- which the dean and chapter are about to deduct from the church and lease to Mr. Collingwood of Eslington a recusant.²⁹
4. The said Mr. Collingwood & Mr. Clavering of Callile, are seducing papists and keep priests. There are also many other papists & sectaries.
 5. There is a petty schoole kept.
 6. Mr. Tallantire ye minister reported scandalous but now said to be reformed upon ye arch-deacon's publique admonic'on.

THE VICARIDGE OF CHILLINGHAM.³⁰

1. The stipend is 40^{li} per annum.
2. The Lord Grey is impropiator of ye tithe corn of Newton which is worth 20^{li} p' annu', and of ye tith corne of Chillingham, 12^{li} per annu'.
3. The church is in good reparac'on.
4. The gleeb lands found and boundred, and the terrier sent to be registered in the Consistory Court at Durham.
5. No seducers, papists, recusants, nor sectaries, and no free schoole.

ALLINGTON CHURCH & HOLYSTONE CHAPEL.³¹

1. Both these have been destitute of curates 4 years. Allington's stipend is at most but 13^{li} 06^s 04^d.

²⁹ George Collingwood of Eslington was out in the '15, was taken, tried at Liverpool, found guilty, and lost his life and estate. Horsley says his fate was generally lamented and pitied, he himself having had the character of an inoffensive and peaceable gentleman.

³⁰ The rectory of Chillingham was parcel of the possessions of Alnwick abbey. The corn tithes of Chillingham and Newton were granted in 1605 by James I. to Lindley and Starkey, who immediately after sold them to Sir Ra. Grey of Chillingham.

³¹ The Rev. John Sandford of Baliol college, Oxford, son of the titular bishop of Edinburgh, and what has had a more immediate influence on his appointment, the godson of the bishop of Durham, has been recently appointed vicar. He is building a new vicarage house, apparently in a sort of Gothic taste, and of considerable dimensions. Why he has placed it obliquely to the village street I know not. The earl of Tankerville proposes to pull down a row of old miserable houses to the eastward of it, which will render its position very agreeable. Mr. Sandford is at present engaged in endeavouring to make an amicable settlement with Lord Tankerville on the score of tithes. His lordship, I apprehend, is contented to forego the gross payment mentioned in Dr. Sharp's folio for the tithes of his land. The vicar has had reference to an old and absurd endowment, which claims to have been granted by Julius Caesar! This document is in many instances more against him than for him; and if he be well advised he will stick to prescription. The vicar has the corn tithes of Hebburn, and the benefice, I presume, may be worth £400 per annum in good years.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

³¹ The appropriation of Allenton and Holystone, says Archdeacon Sharp (*circa* 1730), was in the Benedictine nunnery of Holystone—after the dissolution

2. The impropriators (all recusants) are Sr Edward Widdrington of Cartington, Mr. Thurloe of Rothbury, Mr. Selby. The value of ye impropriac'on is at least 240^{li} p' annum.

FELTON.³²

1. The church is in good repair. The impropriators are Mr. Brandling and Mr. Salkell valet p' annu' 100^{li}.
2. The vicar, Mr. Greave, is accused for intemperance and neglect.
3. The chappell of fframlington³³ is totally ruined and destitute.

THE VICARIDGE OF LONG-HOUGHTON.³⁴

1. The impropriators are Mr. Brandling & Mr. Archbold, the value is 50^{li} p' annum.

both places being granted into lay hands it became an impropriation which is now worth between £400 and £500 per annum. Mr. Selby of Biddleston has two-thirds, Mr. Talbot, Lady Sherborn (now duchess of Norfolk), and others the remaining third. The duchess's part lately sold to R. Storer, sen., of Rothbury.' Horsley's *Northumberland*.

'Allenton is a curious old church, and the ascent to the chancel and altar rare and imposing. In the sort of crypt beneath the chancel is the Selby burial place.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1839.

³² Felton was granted to Brinkburn by Wm. Bertram the second. Mark Grieve was presented to the vicarage in 1661 and deprived in 1669.

'Alex. Davison, esq., of Swarland, is the impropriator; the impropriation is worth £600 per annum. The vicarage is worth £350, including the glebe, which lets for £130, besides 7 acres usually occupied with the parsonage house, which is excellent. The population is 2,000, but there are 50 catholics, and dissenters generally are increasing for want of church room. The sacramental utensils are mean. There is one plain silver cup and cocoa nut shell tipped with silver. There is a curious old stone in the pavement near the vestry door. The boundaries between Felton and Warkworth are defined by stones placed in Acklington park. Mr. Riddell repairs the south aisle.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826. For notes of plate, see *Proc.* vol. iv. p. 181.

³³ 'Framlington chapel is in a very sad and disgraceful condition, the pews ruinous within and the walls ruinous and unseemly with filth and abominations without. The curate is a stipendiary curate to the vicar of Felton, but without a single farthing of stipend. He receives an ancient payment from the crown of £6 1s., and a scanty and varying subscription of the inhabitants may produce about £30 per annum. For this he gives double duty on Sundays, the vicars pretending that by ancient custom they are only compelled to do, or to find duty at Framlington every third Sunday in summer and every fourth in winter, this too with a population of 840. The late good and generous bishop of Durham gave the curate £30 per annum, and he is reduced to teach the village school, and to share the house and garden with the clerk, the parish making this disposition, to whom the house belongs. The clerk is paid by groats collected at Easter, and he has the churchyard, which is in a horrible state, intersected with paths, and the receptacle of all the filth of the village and of the adjoining schoolhouse. There is neither glebe nor parsonage. The earliest register in the curate's keeping begins in 1723, but at Felton there is a Framlington register commencing in 1654.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1826.

³⁴ Longhoughton, originally a chapelry in the parish of Lesbury, was made into a vicarage by the abbot of Alnwick shortly before the dissolution of that house.

John Curry, M.A. of Queen's coll., Oxon., son of Edward Curry of Carmonby, Cumberland, vicar of Longhoughton, 1663-1665. Cf. new *County Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 392.

2. The minister, Mr. Currie, is not instituted nor inducted, valet p' annum circiter 30^{li}.

THE VICARIDGE OF EDLINGHAM.³⁵

The church is ruinous and so the chappel of Bolton.

THE VICARIDGE OF EGLINGHAM.³⁶

The church is in good repaire. The chappels of Brandon and Bewick are totally ruined & destitute. The parishoners generally schismaticks, presbyterians, independants, or anabaptists.

ALNAM.³⁷

The church is ruinous and destitute. The earl of Northumberland is patron.

THE RECTORY OF INGRAM.

The church is ruinous and destitute. Mr. Ogle is patron, valet 120^{li} p' annum.

THE RECTORY OF ELDERTON.³⁸

The church is ruinous.

³⁵ The rectory of Edlingham was parcel of the possessions of the priory of Durham, and belonging to the officialty the church was not visited by Archdeacon Singleton.

³⁶ The rectory of Eglington was parcel of the possessions of Tynemouth. Though this survey does not mention the chapel of West Lilburn, Mark states that it was in ruins in 1734.

³⁷ Eglington.—Population, 1,750; church room, 350; dissenters about two-thirds. . . . The registers begin about the close of the usurpation, and the vicar has a tin box filled with valuable papers and muniments. The chancel is repaired under a rate raised upon the impropiators, who at present are Lord Tankerville, Messrs. Allgood, Brown, Ogle, and Baker. The £40 of Mr. Hymers's money mentioned in Dr. Sharp's folio is still secured on the Bewick Turnpike Trust. . . . The situation already agreeable will hereafter become convenient when the neighbouring gentry shall have learned to appreciate the necessity of good roads. At present it would appear that they are leagued with their tenantry and each other for the purpose of eluding the Highway Acts. There are the remains of several dilapidated chapels in this parish, to wit—Bewick, Lilburn, Wooperton, &c. The chapel yards are still in the vicar, and as he cherishes the honourable intention of hereafter restoring them to their pristine utility, he is careful in preserving the rights of way to them in spite of some jobbing attempts to defeat him. . . . He has built a girls' school and room for the mistress on his glebe. The late vicar built a boys' school over his coach house—a whimsical position. Glebe (*inter alia*), Bewick chapel yard, 1 acre; West Lilburn chapel yard, 3 roods 14 perches; Brandon chapel yard, 32 perches; Wooperton chapel yard (has been ploughed out, but the vicar has reclaimed it), 3 roods.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

³⁷ The rectory of Alnham was parcel of the possessions of Alnwick abbey. Certain of the tithes were granted by James I. in 1605 to Lindley and Starkey.

³⁸ 'Alnham usually, but not of necessity, united with Ilderton. The population is about 150. There is no parsonage house but an old tower, long uninhabited and uninhabitable. Revenues £59 per annum.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

³⁸ 'Ilderton rectory, for such it is, although denuded of every sort of rectorial

THE RECTORY OF FORD.

The church is ruinous, the manse usurped.

KIRKE NEWTON.³⁹

The curate thereof is schismaticall.

THE RECTORY OF CARRAM.⁴⁰

The church is ruinous and destitute. The impropriator^s Mr. Forster; valet per annu' 300^l, and the stipend 06^l 13^s 04^d p' annu'.

advantage, is dedicated to St. Michael. There is an old cup and cover; on the cover, anno 1583, a scroll pattern running round. Flagon, cup, and paten, "The gift of Ann third wife of Robt. Roddam esq. admiral of the White, to the parish church of Ilderton 1803." This inscription and the full blazon of the Roddam arms are on all the three pieces, and the motto *Nec deficit alter*, surely not very inappropriate for a man who had found a third wife! Mr. Smith, the late vicar, in a lawsuit, in which he was supported by the patron, caused the glebe to be ascertained and restored. It now consists of 48 acres, well fenced, and lying contiguous to the house, which is in tolerable condition, but built with a sham castellation. There is 1 acre at Rosedon.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828. For note of communion plate, see *Proc.* vol. iii. p. 333.

Pearson v. Ilderton. 7 Oct. 1787. After three weeks sitting the commission closed, respecting the glebe land of Ilderton, and sealed up. Nicholas Brown, *Diary*.

³⁹ 'Kirknewton. This church is dedicated to St. Gregory, and is a vicarage in the gift of John Davidson of Otterburn, esq. I should have said disposal rather than gift, for I believe the family of Mr. Robinson, the present incumbent, made a purchase of it from the trustees of Mr. Davidson when that gentleman was a minor. The last incumbent was Dr. Thomas, the vicar of Chillingham, and whatever his merits may have been, he was indebted for this preferment to his age. The excellent Mr. Bouchier, the former vicar, died so unexpectedly that the trustees had made no arrangements for appointing a successor, and were obliged to supply the vacancy with one whose numbered years would give the greatest reason to calculate on an early presentation. . . . However, it is right in this case to say that during Dr. Thomas' incumbency the curacy was respectably filled by Mr. Wood. I have heard that the original intention of the trustees was to nominate Mr. Witton of Rennington, a man at that time in extreme old age, but it was found utterly impossible to convey him to the bishop for institution, and impossible that he could ever read himself in.'

There is a tradition of a parochial chapel yard at Akeld, but it seems now to be alienated, and I was told the high road to Wooler passed through it.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

⁴⁰ 'Carham has retained the memory of its dedication to St. Nicholas, the tutelary saint of mariners and fishermen. The patronage is in the Compton family, the impropriation belonging to the elder brother, whilst a junior has the church, being at the same time rector of St. Olave's, Exeter. There is some litigation in the parish on the score of tithes, principally between laymen, viz., Lords Tankerville and Grey on one part, and Mr. Compton on the other, but I understand the former have had a verdict. As this was only a quarrel for the spoils of the church I did not make an enquiry into the particulars. The annual value of the benefice may now, in the extreme depression of wool, be taken at £150 per annum. [Repairs needed to] the fence round the Wark chapel yard, or as it is locally called the burial ground at Gilly's Nick, I suppose St. Giles'. The population amounts to 1,300, the church will seat 200, which I fear is a number equal to the exigencies of the parish, as a very large proportion of the inhabitants are members of the Kirk of Scotland.' *Ibid.* 1828.

KELLOE.

The church is ruinous, ye stipend 10^{li}, the p'sent incumbent supplies also Lowick. Most of ye ministers in the deanry are Scotchmen.

SEDUCERS.

1. Sr. Edward Widdrington's lady of Cartington.
2. W^m Clenell of Rothbury.
3. Mr W^m Clenell of Clenell (seduced wthin these 2 years by his Eve) Sr. Edw. Charlton's lady of Hesleside.
4. Sr. Cuth. Heron of Chipchase his lady (himselſe a protestant).
5. Mr. Clavering of Callale.

The highest seducers are the 3 ladies, especially the Lady Widdrington, who by her almes hath of late gained an 100 proselytes.

THE DEAN'RY OF BALMBROUGH UNITED TO YE DEAN'RY OF ALNWICK.

BALMBROUGH CHURCH⁴¹ AND CHAPPELL.

1. The names of the impropriato^{rs} of all the tithes heretofore belonging to the parochial church of Balmbrough and within that parish are menc'oned in an information in writing declaring every particular place where such tithes do yearely chance and renew, and are estimated in the first page of that informac'on to amount to the yearely value of 323^{li} 13^s 4^d, which full informac'on is in ye hands of ye archdeacon.
2. The names of the impropriato^{rs} of all the tithes and places yearely chanceing and renewing within the chappelries of Belford,⁴² Lucker, Beadnell,⁴³ and Tughill,⁴⁴ being all chapels dependent

⁴¹ 'Bamburgh, a perpetual curacy endowed, however, with some portions of vicarial tithes. The church dedicated to St. Bartholomew (*sic*). The church room is ample, for many of the parishioners are of the Kirk of Scotland, and there is one family of catholics.' *Ibid.* 1828.

⁴² 'Belford chapel is comparatively a modern structure, but the builders have wisely decorated it with the carved stones of an older chapel which once stood on the adjoining hill. Mr. Clark's pew in a gallery is very handsome.' *Ibid.* 1826.

⁴³ 'This very neat little chapel was built by subscription. The population amounts to 291, and the chapel contains 170. The clerk has fees by custom, such as a groat per house and 6d. a plough, and in addition to this a collection is made for him every Sunday except those on which sacrament is administered: he computes his annual profits at about eight guineas a year. I dislike these weekly collections, they are unusual in the church of England, whose officers should not be paid in the way of alms, and moreover it produces an uncertain, and therefore an unsatisfactory, return.' *Ibid.* 1828.

⁴⁴ 'Tughall chapel. There is a handsome Saxon arch remaining which might,

on the parochial church of Bamburgh, are menc'oned in the second page of the said informac'on, and doe amount to the yearly value of 573^{li}. In all 896^{li} 13^s 4^d. The minister incumbent hath out of all these onely 13^{li} 06^s 8^d per annu'. The chappells of Belford,⁴¹ Lucker, and Tughill are destitute. My lord b'pp of Edinburghe sent a complaint to the archdeacon that ministers (Borderers) do baptise and marrie those that come to them out of his diocese; upon enquire the archdeacon is informed that one Patrick Hudson of Brankston is one of these, but he is not presented.

RECTORY OF FORD.⁴⁵

The quire altogether ruinous, without any rooffe. The body of the church little better, without door or windowes, faulty in the roof, that none can sitt dry in the church in time of raine, the walls not plaistered nor the flower paved, no ffont, noe communion table, no cloth nor vessells thereto belonging, no desk, noe surpless, no register, noe chest, noe vestry, no house for the parson, what was, is totally demolished, no gleeb nor tith that he can get possession of, but hath served for nothing nigh these three years past.

III.—THE DEANRY OF CORBRIDGE.

1. The parish church of Corbridge, especially the chancel (belonging to ye dean & chapter of Carlile) is very ruinous, in the late wars ye Scots did burne all the seats.
2. Mr. Humphrey Dacres of Haltwhistle is presented by the church wardens for a notorious drunkard being soe drunke on the first Sunday in this yeare as he would not come to doe service in the church. There are sundry other foule & scandalous informac'ons brought in publikely against him, by occasion whereof many of that parish are said to be lately fallen away to popery.

I should imagine, be worked with advantage into a new edifice. The burial ground is still used. The total of the Bamburgh glebe in Tughall amounts to 20a. 3r. 34p., of which 3a. 0r. 32p. are in the same enclosure with the ruin.' *Ibid.* 1828.

⁴⁵ 'Ford. The oldest registers commence in 1683. The rector keeps a book of registration for the dissenters of his parish; he found the custom, and I like him for continuing it. The rectory house is old, with small and low rooms, but the view is delightful over one of the richest and best cultivated plains in the Island.' *Ibid.* 1828.

3. Mr. Andrew Hall, vicar of Bywell St Andrew, reported scandalous and admonished by the arch-deacon.

Inquiries.

1. What cures are destitute, how long and who are the improprato^{rs}, what value the impropraci'on, & in what deanry ?
2. What churches want competent maintenance, and what their stipends are now?

IN THE DEANRY OF CORBRIDGE.

The Answers.

CORBRIDGE.⁴⁶

1. Hath alwaies been full. The improprato^{rs} are the deane & chapter of Carlile. The impropraci'on of the value of 160^{li} de claro 2 p' annu', ye stipend 60^{li} p' annu.

OVINGHAM.⁴⁷

1. Vacant two yeares after his ma^{tie} came in, now supplied by Mr. John Lumlee minister there. The improprato^r Mr. Ra. Anderson or Mr. Francis Addison (for at p'sent they are at law about it). The impropraci'on valued at 300^{li} per annum.
2. Wants competent maintenance. The stipend now being but 20 marks per annum.

⁴⁶ 'Corbridge. The impropriation which was formerly rented [from the dean and chapter of Carlisle] by the late Mr. Errington is now in the hands of Sir Ed. Blckett and Mr. Donkin of Sandoe; it is worth £1,400 per annum. The vicarage, including glebe, tithes, and all dues scarcely surmounts £400 per annum. The church is a perfect cross, but has suffered much by tasteless alterations and repairs. The fine old lancet windows are barbarised, but the buttresses and fantastic headed door of the chancel, and above all the fine old Saxon arch are worthy of much admiration. There is a fine old tower in the church yard which was formerly the vicarage, and is of course the fortalice alluded to in the licence of King Edward IV. It now belongs to the duke of Northumberland, probably by exchange. The actual vicarage is at the east end of the town, and is at inconvenient distance from the church. It is low and covered by grey slates. The only curiosity is the necessary house, I may say almost entirely of Roman altars or armorial remains. One of these last consists of three most *volant* horses and three rings. It is a performance of Vicar Walton, who made an immense collection during his incumbency and sold it to the Grahams of Netherby.' *Ibid.* 1828.

⁴⁷ 'Ovingham is a perpetual curacy, the impropriation being in the hands of Chas. Bigge, esq. of Linden. The church is a very large and lofty structure, being in the main in a very satisfactory state, although the grey slates uncieled give it an uncomfortable aspect. Some of the pillars are very fine.' *Ibid.* 1827.

The rectory of Ovingham was parcel of the possessions of Hexham. John Lumley was vicar, 1662-1664.

STAMFORDHAM.⁴⁸

1. Hath alwaies been full. The impropriato^r the ld. b'pp. of Durham. The value of it above 200^{li} p' annu'.
2. Hath good and competent maintenance. The vicaridge being worth at p'sent 90^{li} per annum.

BYWELL ST. ANDREW.

1. Hath alwaies been full. The impropriato^r Mr. Henry Thornton. The value of it 48^{li} per annu'.
2. Wants competent maintenance. The vicaridge now being but 18^{li} per annum.

BYWELL ST. PETER.

1. Hath alwaies been full. The impropriato^{rs} are ye deane and chapter of Durham. The value of it eight score pounds per annum.
2. Hath competent maintenance being lately endowed and augmented (according to his ma^{ties} letter) by the said impropriato^{rs} to the value of above 60^{li} p' annum.

SLEYLEE.⁴⁹

1. Hath been most supplied by Mr. Hall of Bywell St. Andrew, till of late. The impropriator Mr. Henry Thornton; the impropria'con valued and lett at 28^{li} p' annu'.
2. Wants competent maintenance. The curate there having at p'sent (and never had more) but twenty nobles per annu'.

⁴⁸ 'Stamfordham is in the gift of the Lord Chancellor. The impropriation belongs to the bishop of Durham, and is worth about £900 per annum. The vicarage half that sum. The population of the parish including the parochial chapelry of Ryal amounts to 1,827. Of catholics, with the worthy Mr. Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange at their head, there are 70, and protestant dissenters 100. They have a silver chalice, "the gift of J. Pearson, esq., to the parish church of Stamfordham, 1774," a plate with the same inscription, and an old unmarked silver cup.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828. For note of plate see *Proc.* vol. iv. p. 135.

Stamfordham was appropriated to Hexham by Edward I. The grant is printed by the Surtees Soc. vol. xlvi. p. 118.

⁴⁹ 'Slaley. I rode to it with Mr. Silvertop, lord of the great neighbouring barony of Bolbeck, and a very liberal and enlightened member of the church of Rome. The minister is an infirm old man of the name of Smith, recently appointed by Mr. Beaumont to this now perpetual curacy, which was once a member of Bywell St. Andrew's. The representatives of the Thorntons of Nether-Witton have the impropriation. The old Saxon doorway is curious, the old King's or Queen's arms grotesque, and the pewing of the church the most satisfactory part of it. They have a small footless communion cup. The poor curate received no delapidation, and his house is of course wretched. The delapidation system is a bad one in all cases, but dreadful and ruinous in these very small benefices. It is a living pauper suing a dead one.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

CHOLLERTON.⁵⁰

- 1 It is supplied at p'sent. It was vacant about half a yeare after his ma^{tie} came in. The impropiator Sir William ffenwick. The impropriac'on valued at 160^{li} p' annu'. But most of it sold to the Mercers at London, and paid to the lecturer at Hexham and
2. Hath hardly competent maintenance. The vicaridge worth but 40^{li} per annu'.

SIMONBURN⁵¹ [WITH] BILLINGHAM.⁵²

1. It is a rectory and well endowed. Billingham dependes upon Simonburne, and is supplied & provided for by the parson of Simonburne.
2. The rectory worth 120^{li} p' annu'.

NEITHER-WARDEN.⁵³

1. Hath been alwaies supplied. Sir W^m ffenwick is patron. But who is impropiator is not well knowne. The impropriac'on having been formerly sold by Sir John ffenwick to several persons, viz., to S^r Cuthb. Hearon, to Mrs. Anne Charleton, to the Lady Younge, to Richard Errington of Bukelee, to Nicholas

⁵⁰ 'Chollerton. Archdeacon Sharp congratulated himself on the introduction of venetian and sash windows. Look at these below [drawing] and tremble for the caprices of archidiaconal taste. The impropriation is held under the Mercers' Company, by the lecturers of Hexham and Berwick, their nominees. Mr. Bird values his benefice at £400 per annum. My enquiries about the old stone in the churchyard induced Mr. Bird to dig it up, and from the annexed drawing it would appear to have been an altar.' *Ibid.* 1828. This must be the Roman altar still in the church yard.

⁵¹ 'Simonburn. The old fortalice has been pulled down, but the more modern parsonage house has a great air of respectability, if not of good taste. The population is 900, usual congregation, 120. There are two or three roman catholic families, but such is the efficacy of residence and church room that there are very few presbyterians, and most of the people belong the establishment. The Allgoods have a very large parlour-like pew, and a monument, and, I fear, a vault. I saw in Simonburn village two of the finest beach trees in a close of Mr. Allgood's which have ever come under my observation.' *Ibid.*, 1832.

⁵² 'Bellingham church, which was formerly a chapel under the great Simonburn rectory, has now become independent and rectorial under the "Act of division." It is dedicated to St. Cuthbert, on whose day the village fair is kept under the common appellation of "Cuddy's Fair." *Ibid.* 1832.

⁵³ In 1663 the vicar of Warden would be John Shafto of Carrycoats, the founder of Haydon Bridge school.

'The vicarage house is in decent repair, and has all that picturesque irregularity which is characteristic of an old official residence where each successive incumbent has added what suited his own convenience, without any reference to what had been erected before, or might be added afterwards. Mr. Beaumont is patron, and the value of the whole vicarage may be £500 per annum.' *Ibid.* 1828.

ffairelamb of B'ppside, to Alexander Stokell of White-Chappell, to my lord of Newcastle. Sr W^m ffenwick hath part of the tithes in his owne hand. The whole impropriac'on valued at 193^{li} p' annu'.

2. Hath competent maintenance. The vicaridge being lett at p'sent for 50^{li} p. annu.'

HALTWESLE.⁵⁴

1. It hath been alwaies supplied. The impropriator Mr. Nevill of Cheat. The impropriac'on valued at 300^{li} per annu'.
2. Hath competent maintenance. The vicaridge being lett at p'sent at 70^{li} p' annu'.

KIRKHAUGH.

Is a rectory worth but 25^{li} p' annu'.

KNARSDAILE.⁵⁵

Is a rectory worth 34^{li} p' annu'.

WHITFIELD.

Is a rectory, hath competent maintenance, worth at present per annu' 60^{li}.

ALSTON.⁵⁶

1. Hath been alwaies supplied. The impropriators are Sr Edw: Ratcliffe & John Whitfield. The impropriac'on valued at 60^{li} p' annu'.

⁵⁴ Haltwhistle. The rectory was granted by Edward VI. in 1553 to John Wright and Thos. Holmes. In 1585 it belonged to Nicholas Ridley of Willimoteswyke, by whose grandson Musgrave Ridley it was forfeited to the Commonwealth, and sold to the Nevilles of Chevet. They sold to the Blacketts. Hodgson, pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 436.

Humphry Dacres, vicar, 1633, was discharged from the cure by the commissioners for the ministry in the county. *Ibid.* p. 125.

'Haltwhistle. No canonical decoration is omitted in this church from the King's arms at the west end to the crimson velvet cover of the communion table at the east end. I was well pleased to see over the vestry door a large table on which was painted a catalogue of benefactions. There are four churchwardens appointed conjointly by the minister and select vestry of twelve. The revenues of the benefice amount to about £600 per annum, exclusive of 12 acres of ancient glebe in Haltwhistle, and I think 330 in Milkrich and Henshaw. The chancel is maintained by Sir E. Blackett of Matfen. Haltwhistle is full of uncouth but curious old houses which betoken the state of constant insecurity and of dubious defence, in which the inhabitants of the Border were so long accustomed to live. The very pig styes which are objects not very discernible from the dwelling house, have the crenellations and loop holes.' Archdeacon Singleton's *Visitation*, 1828.

⁵⁵ 'Knarsdale is a very poor rectory in the gift of the lord chancellor, and poor as it is, it was much worse when the Rev. Mr. Bewsher was appointed to it in 1824. It appears that the sacrament was never administered for the last six years of Mr. Todhunter's incumbency' [Bewsher's immediate predecessor.] *Ibid.* 1832.

⁵⁶ The grant of the advowson of Alston to the convent of Hexham is printed by the Surtees Soc. vol. 46. p. 119.

2. Wants competent maintenance.

1. GARRAGILL and Alston both one, and alwaies supplied by one and the same man. The improprato^{rs} named and impropriac'on valued as under Alston appeares.
2. They both want maintenance. The stipend to them both is but 12^{li} 6^s 8^d p' annu' with some small gleeb.

Other Inquiries.

WHAT CHURCHES ARE RUINOUS ?

Answers.

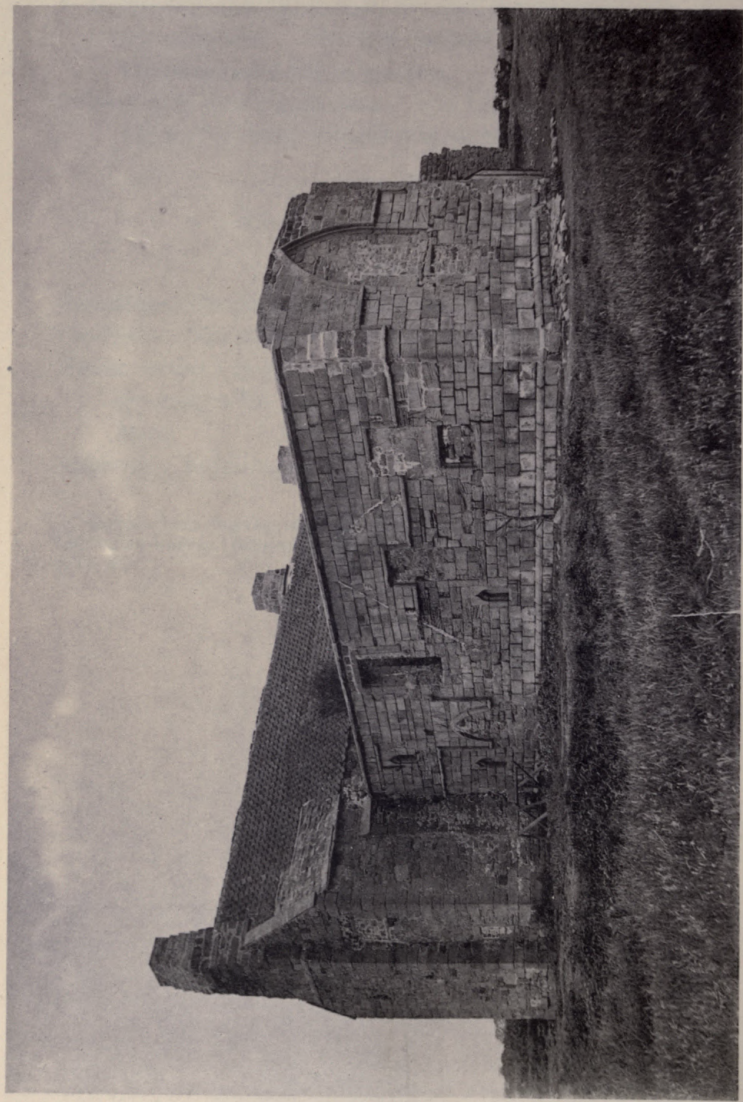
Corbridge : The chancell very ruinous.

Chollerton : The chancell is so ruinous that it is ready to drop down.

Nether warden : Is quite down and continues so. And the churches generally wthin are very rude and little decency or beautie in them.

Haltwesle : In bad repaire.

NOTE.—This Survey may be read and compared with that styled the 'Oliverian Survey,' printed in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, quarto series, vol. iii, p. i—10.



CHIBBURN PRECEPTORY, FROM THE S.E.

AUGUST, 1887.

X.—CHIBBURN AND THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS IN
NORTHUMBERLAND;¹ (WITH DOCUMENTS FROM MR.
WOODMAN'S COLLECTION.)

BY J. CRAWFORD HODGSON.

[Read on the 27th day of March, 1895.]

'FOR men strongly moved by the Christian faith it was natural to yearn after the scenes of the Gospel narrative. In old times this feeling had strength to impel the chivalry of Europe to undertake the conquest of a barren and distant land, and . . . there were always many who were willing to brave toil and danger for the sake of attaining to the actual and visible Sion. These venturesome men came to be called Pelerins or Pilgrims.'²

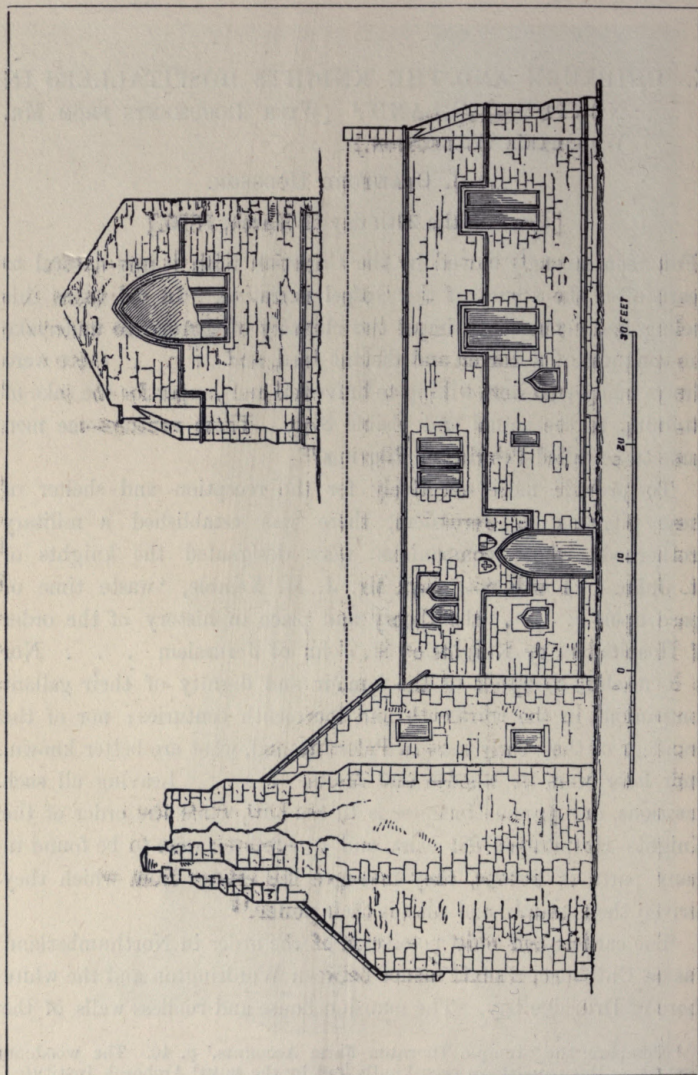
To provide more effectively for the reception and shelter of these pilgrims to Jerusalem, there was established a military brotherhood whose companions were designated the knights of St. John. 'I will not,' says Mr. J. M. Kemble, 'waste time or space upon . . . the theory and place in history of the order of Hospitallers or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem . . . Nor is it needful to speak of the honour and dignity of their gallant companions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; nor of the grandeur of their early wars in Palestine, and, what are better known, their later wars in Rhodes and Malta . . . Leaving all such questions, our present business is to see how, while the order of the Knights Hospitallers did exist, and its brethren were to be found in many parts of Europe, they managed the estates from which they derived their wealth, and with it their power.'³

The earliest and chief possession of the order in Northumberland was at Chibburn, a small manor between Widdrington and the white shore of Druridge bay. The mansion house and roofless walls of the

¹ Compare the 'Temple Thornton Farm Accounts,' p. 40. The woodcuts illustrating this paper have been kindly lent by the Royal Archaeol. Institute.

² Kinglake, *Crimea*, vol. i. p. 41.

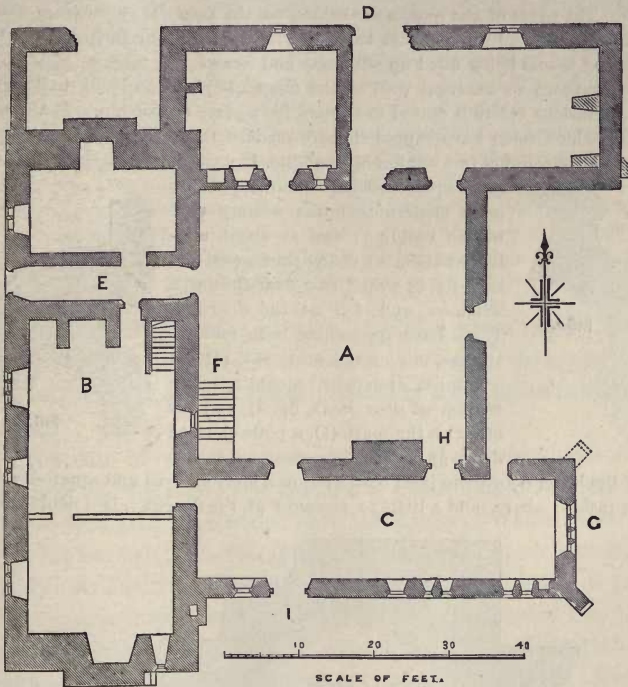
³ Introduction to the *Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand-Master Elyan de Villanova, for A.D. 1338*. 65 Camden Soc. 1857, p. xiii.



REMAINS OF CHIBBURN PRECEPTORY (Elevation from the South).

chapel of the preceptory remain virtually as they were left by the Hospitallers. Their architectural features have been described in a paper by the late Mr. F. R. Wilson, printed in a former volume of the transactions (*Arch. Ael.*, vol. v. p. 113) of this society; in a short account by Mr. J. H. Parker in his *Domestic Architecture in England in the Fourteenth Century*; and in a valuable paper of great accuracy, contributed by Mr. Woodman to the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xvii. pp. 35-38. Mr. Woodman says:—

The building has been defended by a moat, enclosing an area of about 100 yards in diameter; the walls are of stone, and the roof had been originally covered with freestone slates. The buildings, as will be seen on the accompanying ground-plan, formed a parallelogram, having a courtyard (A) in the middle;



on the west side is the dwelling house (B); the chapel (C) occupies the entire south side, and various offices have been on the north and east. The principal entrance was by an arched gateway (D) into the court on the north side. The dwelling house (B) is of two stories, and has been divided into three apartments

on each floor. On the ground floor is a passage (E) with a low arched doorway, and there are four mullioned windows, two of three lights, and the others of two lights each; the stairs leading to the upper floor are constructed of solid blocks of wood; the ceiling of the ground floor is formed merely by the oak joists and boards of the floors of the apartments above, both joists and boards having a reed run along their angles, and the under surface of the boards was planed smooth, and left without any plaster. The windows of the upper floor opening towards the west are now flush with the wall, being of comparatively modern construction, but originally they appear to have rested on corbels projecting about twelve inches, and this arrangement may have served, it is supposed, for some purpose of defence.

There is also access to this floor by stone stairs (F) from the court. In each apartment is a spacious fire-place, deeply recessed, having the lintel formed of a very large stone, with a relieving arch above. In one of the upper chambers an old partition remains, consisting of oak planks set in grooves at the top and bottom. The edges of the planks are reeded on the face; they measure about five inches broad and three inches thick, and are placed four inches apart, the intervening spaces being filled up with clay and straw.

The southern or external wall of the chapel (C) had probably undergone many alterations before it ceased to be used for a place of worship. At the east end (G), which some have supposed more modern than the rest, is a pointed window of four lights (see section of jamb, fig. 1); on the south side were two

large square-headed windows, possibly more modern than the western part of the building; and at about mid-height there is a string-course (see section, fig. 2) which rose over the large windows and fell at the doorway. There have apparently been two entrances, one on the north side (H) by a pointed arch with mouldings (see section of door jamb, fig. 3), and the other on the south (I), a plain-pointed doorway with a drip-stone. On each side of the latter door there is an ogee window widely splayed and square-headed on the inside; above, and a little to the west of the doorway, is a double ogee



FIG. I.



FIG. II.

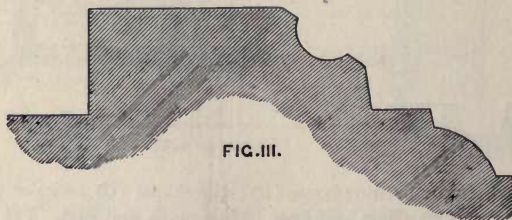


FIG. III.

window with drip-stone above; a cornice ran along beneath the roof (see section, fig. 4). Immediately over the arch of the south doorway there are two escut-

cheons; the charges are nearly obliterated, but traces of a cross patée, doubtless for the knights of St. John, may be seen on one, and a quarterly coat on the other. The east end (G) has an oblique buttress at the south-east angle, and possibly a similar buttress may have existed at the other angle.

In the chapel a peculiarity deserves notice; there is a floor nearly on a level with that of the upper rooms and communicating with them; the upper chamber so formed had a fireplace in a massive chimney which is built from the ground, projecting on the outside near the entrance door (H). The floor does not extend to the east window, but about two-thirds of the entire length from the west end. This chamber probably opened at the east end into the chapel, and was doubtless used by the principal inmates of the house at the time of divine service. Another example of such an arrangement may be noticed in the chapel in Warkworth castle. The piscina remains in the south-east angle; human bones have been occasionally found, and a grave slab with a cross flory now forms the threshold of the door leading from the courtyard into a stable (see p. 280). This slab is of greater width at the head than at the foot; the head of the cross carved upon it is pierced in the centre with a large curvilinear lozenge. In one of the windows the upper portion of a stone coffin may be seen, placed in a cavity of the wall. There remains a corbel or truss rudely carved in oak, which may have been intended to represent the mitred head of a bishop, or possibly an angel, with a fillet round the forehead ornamented in front with a cross. Of the roof, now wholly fallen, a few strong rafters remained in 1853, supporting thatch. The original roof may have been of higher pitch.⁵

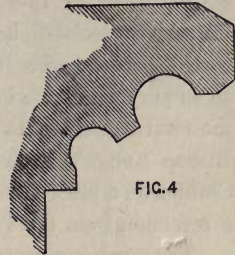


FIG. 4

But Mr. Woodman's collection contains some unprinted documents which, with some other notices printed in the appendix, will yield all that is known of the connection of the Hospitallers with this county.

The date or period of the acquisition of Chibburn by the order can only be inferred. The manor of Widdrington was held in the time of Henry II. by Bertram de Widdrington of Walter fitz-William as of his barony of Whalton, but his right of possession was disputed by William Tascha. To decide the cause a wager of battle or judicial duel was appointed to be fought at Whalton, when on the non-appearance of Tascha and of his surety, Alan de Dririg, the judgment of the court was given for Widdrington and attested by a large number of the gentlemen of the district. Now, the absence from this list of the names of the preceptor and brethren of Chibburn offers negative

⁵ The *Archaeological Journal*, 1860, pp. 35-38.

evidence that the house was not then founded.⁶ On the suppression of the Templars in 1308, efforts were made by the Hospitallers to get themselves declared heirs to their possessions, their claim being supported by the pope. Before the king would make the desired grant, an enquiry was made into the temporal position of the claimants, and the return made in 1313 to the mandate of the nuncio, preserved in Bishop Kellaw's Register, makes particular mention of the house of Chibburn; a proof that this estate was an original possession, and not a reversion from the Templars.

The next notice is to be found in the report made in 1338 by prior Philip de Thame to the grand-master Elyan de Villanova. It was discovered by the Rev. Lambert Larking in 1839 in a plastered over closet at Malta, and contains a detailed account of the income and outgoings of the bailiwick of Chibburn under its preceptor, brother John de Bilton.

BAILIWICK OF CHIBBURN IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.⁷

Chibburn—There is a manor there, built and ruinous, of which the manor house is worth yearly 6s.
 There are 190 acres of land there, at 4d. an acre, and they are worth 63s. 4d.
 Also 8 acres meadow, at 2s. an acre, worth 16s.

⁶ In the Calendar of Escheats in the sixth year of Henry IV., there is mention of 'Willelmus Heron Chevalier et Elizabetha uxor ejus Escheta maner. de Temple Thornton LVI acre terr. ut de hospit. de Chilburne,' and in the Great Pipe Roll, anno 1228, in the twelfth of Henry III., 'Et de x^s de quadam navi fracta in Chilburnemue.' In the appendix to *North Durham* (dclxxi. p. 116), Dr. Raine prints a grant to Holy Island, witnessed by John de Crauinne, the preceptor of Chibburn, and Alan and Robert, clerks of the same place.

⁷ BAJULIA DE CHIBOURN, IN COMITATU NORTHUMBRIE.

Chiburn. Est ibidem unum manerium edificatum et ruinosum, cujus herbagium valet per annum vj^s
 Sunt ibidem ix^{xx} acre terre, pretium acre iiijd. et valent lxiiij^s iiij^d
 Item viij. acre prati, pretium acre ijs. et valent xvi^s
 Item de redditu assiso per annum xx marce, tempore pacis, que nunc propter guerram Scotie vix levari possunt:—
 per annum cx^s
 Item fraria ibidem per annum, ratione guerre supradicte, xij marce et dimidia, et non plus, quia ista bajulia est in marchia Scotie.
 Et de perquisitis curiarum per annum x^s
 Item de pastura, tam pro vaccis quam pro bidentibus xl^s
 Et de firmis et molendinis per annum v marce
 § Summa totalis recepti et proficui dicte bajulie ... xxxv marce xij^s
 Reprise.

Reprise. In de in expensis domus; videlicet. pro preceptore, ij. fratribus, et aliis de familia domus, prout decet, et etiam aliis supervenientibus, causa supradicta. In

Also for assize rent, 20 marks yearly in time of peace, which now can scarcely be raised on account of the Scotch war: yearly	110s.
Also the brotherhood there, yearly 12½ marks and not more, for the above reason, because that bailiwick is in the Scottish march	12½ marks
And for perquisites of the courts, yearly	10s.
Also for pasture, both for cows and sheep	40s.
And for farms and mills, yearly	5 marks
Sum total of receipts and profits of the said bailiwick	35 marks 12s.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Thence in household expences; viz., for the master, two friars, and others of the household, as is becoming, and also for others who come in, for the aforesaid cause. In bread, furnished yearly, 25 quarters at 3s. a quarter, worth ...	75s.
In brewing ale, 28 qrs. 'brasei ordeï,' at 2s. a quarter worth	56s.
In cooking expences, as in flesh, fish, etc., 18d. a week ...	78s.
And in robes, mantles, and other things necessary for the master and his brotherhood	69s. 4d.
And for the salary of one chaplain, yearly	15s.
And for the salary of one chamberlain, yearly	10s.
Also for a groom, 5s., and for one villein, 3s.	8s.
And for the salary of one 'lotricis,' yearly	12d.
Pensioner. Also William de Wyrkelee received yearly, for the term of his life by charter of the chapter	20s.

	pane furnito per annum xxv. quarteria, pretium quarterii iijs. et valent	lxxv ^s
In	cerevisia bracianda xxviiij. quarteria brasei ordeï, pretium quarterii iijs. et valent	lvj ^s
Et in	expensis coquine, ut in carne pisce et aliis, per septimanam xviiij.	lxxviiij ^s
Et in	robis, mantellis, et aliis necessariis preceptoris, et confratris sui	lxiix ^s iiij ^d
Et pro	stipendio unius capellani per annum	xv ^s
Et in	stipendio j. camerarii per annum	x ^s
Item pro	palefridario vs. et pro j. pagetto iijs.	viiij ^s
Et in	stipendio unius lotricis per annum	xij ^d
Pensionarius.	Item Willelmus de Wyrkelee capit per annum, ad terminum vite, per cartam capituli	xx ^s
	Item cuidam senescallo defendendo negotia domus per annum	vj ^s viiij ^d
	Item clerico colligenti confrariam per annum	j marca
	Summa omnium expensarum et solutionum xxvj marce	vj ^s viiij ^d
	Summa Valoris.—Et sic remanent ad solvendum ad Thesaurarium pro oneribus supportandis ix marce, vj ^s viiij ^d	
	Et non plus quia terra est destructa et depredata pluries per guerram Scotie.	

Nomina Fratrum } Frater Johannes de Bilton, s. preceptor.
 } Frater Johannes Dacombe, capellanus.
 } Frater Simon Dengayne, s.

Also to a certain steward, defending the affairs of the house,
 yearly 6s. 8d.
 Also to a clerk defending the brotherhood, yearly 1 mark
 Total of all expences and payments 26 marks 6s. 8d.
 Total value:—And so there remain, to be paid to the
 Treasurer for meeting obligations... .. 9 marks 6s. 8d.
 And no more, because the land has been laid waste and
 plundered several times by the Scottish war.

Names of the brothers { Brother John of Bilton, preceptor.
 { Brother John Dacombe, chaplain.
 { Brother Simon Dengayne.

Between the year 1313 and the suppression of the order, the Hospitallers had acquired by gift and possibly by purchase many other estates and lands in the county. They are enumerated in the Minister's Accounts of 5 Edward vi. Besides Chibburn and Temple Thornton there were lands at Meldon, Morpeth, Ulgham, North Seaton, Newbiggin, Ellington, Shilbottle, Warkworth, Spindleston, Falldon, Woodhall, Felton, Bolton, Alnwick, Stanforth-hall, Temple Healey, Whalton, Kenton, Longwitton, Thockrington, Denton, Fenham, Killingworth, Edlingham, Hoborn, Bockenfield, Burton, Milburn-grange, Chevington, Morwick, and coal mines at Fenham, which, with some arrears recovered in that year, produced a gross income of £25 2s. 10d.

Two years afterwards, Sir John Widdrington and Cuthbert Musgrave of Harbottle, in consideration of £756 1s. 5½d., obtained a grant under the great seal, of the manor of Chibburn and certain lands which had belonged to Newminster at Shotton, adjacent to the Widdrington manor of Plessy.

At the end of the sixteenth century Chibburn was in the possession of Hector Widdrington of Berwick, a natural son of Sir John Widdrington. He was presumably a tenant.

His will and inventory remain at Durham. They are as follow:—

In the name of God Amen, I Hector Wooddrington, one of the Constables of Horsmen of her Ma^{ties} Towne of Barwicke upon Twede, thoughe sike in bodye yett of good and p'fect remembra'nce the Lord be thanked therefore, do make and ordayn this my last Will and Testam^t in mannr and forme followinge. First I bequythe my Soul to Almightye God and my bodye to be buried in the earthe. Itm I gyve and bequythe unto Ralphe Wooddrington the House in Barwike wherin I nowe dwell, and fiftye pounds in moneye to be payd hym by my executorys uppon the receipt of my goods and debts. Itm I gyve and bequythe unto Isabell Graye, Dowghter unt' my Sister Marye Graye, fourty pounds to be payd as is aforesaid. Itm I gyve and bequethe unto my Sister

Rebecka Wooddrington, ten pounds. Itm I gyve and bequythe unto my Brother Isacke Wodrington his eldest sonne Robt. Ten pounds. Itm I gyve and bequythe unto my Serva'nts Mathewe Humphraye and Thomas Raye. eyther of them, ten pounds and all the Corne betwene them I have lying at CHIBBURNE. Itm I gyve and bequythe unto Steven Bell, fortye shillings. Itm I gyve unto Roland Archer, syxe pounds. Itm I gyve and bequythe vnto Marye Lancaster, in remembran'ce of my good will towards her one hundrethe angells. Itm I gyve vnto Thomas Garratt and Hector Garratt, Ten pounds betwene them to be equalye devyded. Itm I gyve and bequythe vnto John Harwood, Ten pounds. Itm I gyve unto Willm. Tappye, in coneyderac'on of all his paynes and debts I owe him, fyve pounds. The rest of all my Goods and Chattalls, moveables and immovables, Bonnds, Bills debts, and debts, Lands Leases, reckinnng w^{ch} anye maner of wayes are dewe to me, my debts beinge payd and my Funerall expences discharged, I gyve and bequythe unto Elizabeth the Ladye Woodrington her heirs and assigns for ev^r, whom I ordayne and make my sole and full Executrix of this my last Will and Testament. In witnes wherof to these pr'sents I have sett my hand the xxviij daye of Aprill 1593 in the fyve and thirtye yeaere of the raigne of O^r Sovraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Quene of England, France and Ireland, Defende^r of the Faythe, &c.

Hector Woodrington his mark X.

I give unto Willm Teasdall xl^s and unto Hector Hall xl^s. Itm to Emay xx^s and a cote in the p^r'senc' of Willm Garford John Harwood Thomas ^X Raye.
his mark

[The inventory taken 15 May, 1593, after enumerating testator's goods at Berwick amounting to ciii^{ll} xi^s ii sets out]

Itm Good of the said Hector Wooddrington at Chiburne presed by Willm. Garford, Robt. Trumble, Vincent Tailer and Rowland Archer.

Imprimis one flanders chist... ..	iiij ^s	
Itm in the same chist, iiij table clothes, and tow cupbord clothes	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
Itm vii napkins	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Itm one Featherbed, one bolster, two pillowes, ij Blanketts, one pece of blewe Clothe, one quilt, and one coveringe of arras	xc ^s	
Itm one greate chist... ..	vij ^s	
Itm one Basin and Ewre, iiij pewder dishes, v Saucers, syx Porringgers, and three broken candelsticks ...	viiij ^s	
Itm one quishinge of arras worke and two pec ^s of nedell worke for quishings		xiiij ^d
Itm one cros bowe and a Racke	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
Some	iiij ^{ll}	ix ^s ii ^d
Somma totalis viii ^{ll} iiij ^d ...		

W. Garford—Robert Tromble—Vincent X Tayler
Roland X Archer.

During the seventeenth century Chibburn may have been used, as the Rev. John Hodgson suggests, as a dower house for the ladies of

the Widdrington family. During the last decade it was occupied by one of the family of Burrell of Long Houghton and Lesbury, for on the 11th November, 1697, George Burrell of Chibburn, conveyed a messuage and close in Alnmouth to Brown.

With the rest of the Widdrington estate it was forfeited for the part taken by William Lord Widdrington in the rebellion of 1715, and was subsequently sold to the York Buildings Company. While in the Crown a survey was made, from which the following is extracted :—

NORTHUMBERLAND.—[Extract from] A survey of the estate late of the Lord Widdrington at Widdrington castle in the parish of Woodhorne in the county aforesaid taken July 3 1717
5 yards & a half to the perch.⁸

Tenants.	Chiburne in the Chapelary.
John Annett 26 : 13 : 04	Three houses and Homesteads
Tho. Annett 26 : 13 : 04	Meg's meadow } 10
John Garrett 26 : 13 : 04	The Fattinfield Pasture } 16
	Whitefield and oakesdo. and arable } 56
	The Cow Close Meadow and arable } 18
£80 : 00 : 00	The Linck pasture } 24
	ST. JOHN'S FLATT, meadow arable
	and pasture } 26
	The Greens and ST. JOHN'S PAS-
	TURE } 27
	acres 177 £80 : 00 : 00

Though the mansion house must have been well known to Horsley, who resided at Widdrington, where, besides his ministerial avocation, he acted as agent to the York Buildings Company,⁹ it is not noticed in his *Northumberland*. It was dismissed by the Rev. John Hodgson in a few words, and attracted little notice until about 1846, when a commencement was made in pulling down some of the buildings for the sake of the material, a proceeding fortunately quickly arrested by the judicious interference and protestations of neighbouring antiquaries and men of taste. The mansion has not ceased to be occupied, formerly as a farm house, latterly in tenements by labourers. During last summer, at the intercession and recommendation of the Rev. Wm. Greenwell, the present owner, Mr. Taylor of Chipchase, by the replacing of fallen stones, the mending of roofs and of chimney stacks, and by the judicious running of cement into the interstices and rents in the walls, has done what was necessary to preserve and keep good these unique buildings for many years to come.

⁸ From the original in the Tower of London among the papers taken from Essex House relating to the rebellion of 1715.—W. W.

⁹ *Newcastle Journal*, 13th January, 1721/2.

APPENDICES.

A.—GRANT FROM WALTER FITZ WILLIAM BARON OF WHALTON TO
BERTRAM DE WIDDRINGTON.

Walterus, filius Willelmi omnibus hominibus suis et amicis francis et Anglis presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Bertramo de Wdringtuna villam que vocatur Wdringtuna et medietatem Burgundie¹⁰ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et in plano; in pratis et in pascuis; in aquis et molendinis, liberas et quietas sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum tenendas a me et heredibus meis sicut pater suus melius et liberius eas una die et una nocte tenuit et ipsemet hactenas tenuit pro servicio unius militis faciendo in feudo et hereditate. Cognitum etiam vobis sit omnibus qui has litteras videritis vel auderitis quod illa calumpnia quam Willelmus Tasca habuit adversus Bertram de Wdrington quod Bertram dirationavit iudicio curie domini sui et quod Willelmus nequiter eam amisit eo quod die cepit in curia summi domini Walteri filii Willelmi de nequitia sua defendend. et hoc se deficit; et Alanus de Dririg parem suum vadem suum dedit ad probandum illum de nequitia et ille suum dedit et diem cepit ad defendendum se iudicio curie domini sui, scilicet, duello et ad dies constitutos et terminatos nec venit nec contra mandationem immo ut nequam se deficit et ideo iudicio curie summi domini Walteri filii Willelmi ut nequam eam amisit et Bertramo sicut recto heredi remisit sicut propria hereditas sua. Et quod ego Walterus filius Willelmi warranto hoc iudicium quod factum fuerit apud Weltuna de appellatione Alani de Dririg et de defectu Willelmi Tascha. Hoc sciendum quod Hodonellus de Umframvilla hoc iudicium fecit et testimonio suo approbat illud cum his qui subsequuntur. Testibus Willelmo de Merlay, Widone Tyson, Willelmo de Turbrevilla, Waltero filio Stanceli, Richardo fratre ejus, Ulfchil de Swyneburna, Davido de Buivilla, Johanne filio Semani, Wilardo de Trophill, Rogero fratre ejus, Richardo filio Semani, Radulfo de Sancto Petro, Willelmo de Grenvilla, Richardo Bartrum, Umfrido de Oglia, Gilberto filio ejus, Roberto de Newham, Roberto de Unflanwilla, Huctredo filio Faramani, Willelmo filio Alfredi, Hugone filio Stanfelini, Osberto Presbitero de Weltun, Osberto Presbitero de Ortun, Willelmo de Hebra, Herberto Preposito de Mitford, Alstar filio Glessan, Roberto filio Petri, Roberto Belmis, Rogero filio Grunbald.¹¹

B.—GRANT FROM EDWARD VI. TO SIR JOHN WIDDRINGTON AND
CUTHBERT MUSGRAVE.

Exchequer Remembrancer's Office, Originalia Roll, 7 Edw. vi. part 2.

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos pro summa septingentarum quinquaginta sex librarum septem decem denariorum et unius obuli legalis monete Anglie ad manus Edmundi Pekham militis ad usum nostrum per dilectum nobis Johannem Wytheryngton de Wytheryngton in Comitatu Northumbrie militem et Cuthbertum Musgrave de Harbottell in dicto Comitatu Northumbrie armigerum praemanibus bene et fideliter soluta unde fatemur nos plenarie fore satisfactos et resolutos eosdemque Johannem et Cuthbertum

¹⁰ Burgundea = Burradon in Tynemouthshire.

¹¹ Hodgson, part ii. vol. ii. p. 248.

heredes, executores et administratores suos inde acquietatos et exoneratos esse per presentes de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefatis Johanni Wytherington et Cuthberto Musgrave totum Dominium et Manerium nostrum de Chibborne cum suis juribus, membris et pertinentiis universis in Comitatu nostro Northumbrie parcellum possessionum nuper preceptoris montis Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Comitatu nostro Eboraci nuper Prioratui sive Hospitali sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia modo dissoluto dudum spectantium et pertinentium ac parcellum possessionum inde existentium; ac omnia et singula mesuagia, molendina, tofta, cotagia, columbaria, ortos, pomeria, Gardina, Domos, edificia, terras, tenementa, prata, pascuas,¹¹ pasturas, comunias, boscos, sub-boscos, vasta, Jampnum, bruere, moras, mariscos, aquas, Stagna, Vivaria, piscaria, piscaciones, redditus, reversiones, servicia, feoda militum, Warda, maritagia, escaeta, relevia, Curias letas, visa francorum plegiarum ac omnia ad visum [francie] plegiae pertinentia, catalla,¹² Waiviata, extrahitura, catalla felonum et fugitivorum ac felonum de se et in exigend. posit.; Necnon deodandum, fines, amerciamenta, herietta, liberas Warrenas, ac omnia [alia] jura, jurisdictiones et proficua, commoditates, emolumenta et hereditamenta nostra, quecumque cum pertinentiis suis universis scituata, jacentia, et existientia in Chibborne, in dicto Comitatu Northumbrie ac alibi in eodem Comitatu Northumbrie, dicto Dominio et manerio de Chibborne quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinentia aut ut membripartes vel parcella ejusdem Domini et Manerii antehac habita, cognita, accepta, usutata, seu reputata, existientia ac etiam omnes omnimodis decimas bladorum, garbarum, granorum et feni ac alias decimas quascumque in Chibborne in dicto Comitatu Northumbrie dicto nuper preceptoris Montis sancti Johannis Baptiste et dicto nuper prioratui sive Hospitali sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglie quondam spectantia pertinentia ac parcellum possessionum inde existentium; ac etiam totum illud messuagium et tenementum nostrum et unum le Garthe nostrum ac omnes terras et pasturas nostras, continentes per estimationem triginta octo acras; ac comuniam pasture cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis in Shotton juxta Stannyngton in dicto Comitatu nostro Northumbrie modo vel nuper in tenura sive occupacione Rogeri Blackberd ac nuper monasterio de Newmynster in dicto Comitatu Northumbrie dudum spectantem et pertinentem ac parcellum possessionum inde nuper existentium; Necnon totum illud Cotagium sive tenementum nostrum cum pertinentiis in Shotton alias dictum Shotton juxta Stannyngton in dicto Comitatu Northumbrie modo vel nuper in tenura sive occupacione Johannis Cowper nuper Monasterio sive Dominio Monalium infra villam Novi Castri super Tinam dudum spectantem et pertinentem ac parcellum possessionum inde nuper existen¹³

Et he littere nostre patentes vel Irrotulamenta earundem erunt annuatim et de tempore in tempus tam dicto Cancellario et Generalibus supervisoribus ac consilio nostro dicte Curie nostro Augmentacionum et Revencionum Corone nostre, quam omnibus Receptoribus, auditoribus et aliis officariis et ministris nostris heredum

¹¹ Pastura is used for all kinds of pasture, in meadows, fields, etc.; pascua is a place set apart for cattle, *e.g.*, mountains, moors, marshes, plains, untilled ground.

¹² Waiviatum, things with no owner assigned to them.

¹³ Ebor. m. 95.

et successorum nostrorum quibuscumque pro tempore existente sufficiens Warrantum et exoneratio in hac parte; volumus eciam ac per presentes concedimus prefatis Johanni Wytheryngton et Cuthberto Musgrave, quod habeant et habebunt has litteras nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo factum et sigillatum absque fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in¹⁴ Hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrum proinde quoquomodo reddendo solvendo vel faciendo. Eo quod expressa mencio, etc. In cujus rei, etc., apud Westmonasterium secundo die Maii.

C.—COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS: MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS.

Newminster incip. 4-5 Edw. vj.

Percell. possessionum nuper preceptoris Montis Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Comitatu Eboraci.

Balliatum terrarum et possessionum in Comitatu Northumbrie dicto nuper preceptori pertinentium.	}	Compotus Johannis Taylor deputati Roberti Fenwicke Ballivi sive Collectoris reddituum et firmarum ibidem per tempus supradictum.
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ARREBAGIA.

Idem onerat super compotum de lxvi^s viii^d de arreragiis ultimi compoti anni proximi precedentis prout in pede ejusdem plenius patet. Summa lxvi^s viii^d.

TEMPLE

THORNETON

Sed reddet compotum de iiiij^l vj^s de redditibus et firmarum tam liberorum tenentium quam tenentium ad voluntatem domini Regis in Templethorneton solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini in Hieme et invencionis Sancte Crucis equaliter. Et

de xvi^s de firma tocuis capelle de Thorneton ac unius parvi clausi vocati Chaple Yarde et unius molendini aquatici cum suis pertinentiis in Thorneton simul cum omnibus et singulis decimis eidem capelle pertinentibus quoquo modo spectantibus sic modo dimiss. Roberto Bullocke per Indenturam sub sigillo Curie Augmentationum datum apud Westmonasterium xii^o die Julii anno regis Henrici viii^{vi} xxxvii^o per annum solvendo ad festa Sancti Michaelis Arch. annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis prout in dicta Indentura in compoto anni Regis Edwardi sexti primi ad largum declaratum plenius patet. Et de xvj^d de firma unius parcelli terre vastae jacentis in dicta villa de temple-thorneton predicta super quam quidem parcellum terre scilicet cujusdem Molendini quondam statuit cum gardino eidem annexato in tenura predicti Roberti Bullok de novo repertum per examinacionem dicti compoti super hunc compotum coram Auditore solvendo ad terminos predictos per equales porciones. Summa iiiij^l viij^s viii^d.

Et de xx^d de redditibus Assise in Meldone predicto exeuntibus
 REDDITUS ASSISE de certis terris vocatis Heron Land, Bores land solvendo ad
 DE MELDONE.¹⁵ festum Sancti Martini in Hieme et invencionis Sancti Crucis
 equaliter. Et de xii^s viij^d de firma iiiij^{or} cotagiorum cum pert.

¹⁴ Office of the Treasury to which are brought moneys for sealing charters, etc.

¹⁵ Meldon is very near to Temple Thornton, and belonged to the Heron family, who seem to have been munificent donors to the order. This family also possessed the estate and barony of Hadston, in the parish of Warkworth, and closely adjoining Chibburn. Their later seat was at Bokenfield, in the parish of Felton, out of which the order drew 12d. per annum.

ibidem in tenura et occupacione uxoris Roberti Watson, Rob. Rotherome, Joh. Rochester, Joh Hale de anno in annum solvendo ad festa predicta equaliter. Summa xiiij^s iiij^d.

- MORPETHE.** Et de xii^d de firma certarum terrarum in tenura Joh. Harrison per annum solvendo ad festum Sancti Martini etc. Summa xij^d.
- MANERIUM DE CHIBBORNE.** Et de iiijⁱⁱ de firma domini sive manerii de Chibborne cum omnibus terris, dominicis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis aliis proficuis, ac commoditatibus quibuscumque eidem dominio sive manerio spectantibus, sic dimiss. Joh. Affenwicle per indenturam sub sigillo Curie Augment. etc, pro termino annorum misericordie ad huc coram auditore ostens. Reddendo inde ad festa Annunc. Beate Marie Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Arch. ultra stipendium capellani divina servicia infra capellam dicti domini Celebrantis, per annum. Summa iiiijⁱⁱ.
- HUGHAM.¹⁶** Et de ii^s ii^d de redd. et firmis tam liberorum quam custumariorum tenentium ac ad voluntatem domini Regis in villa de Hugham predicta per annum solvendo ad festa predicta equaliter. Summa ii^s ii^d.
- SEATON WOODHORN.** Et de vj^s de redd. et firmis in villa de Woodhorne seaton per annum solvendo ad festa predicta per equales porciones. Summa vj^s.
- NEWBIGGINGE.** Et de v^s ij^d de redd. et firmis tam liberorum tenentium quam tenentium custumariorum in Newbigginge predicto annuatim solvendo ad festa predicta per equales porciones. Summa v^s ij^d.
- ELINGTON.** Et de v^s de redd. et firm. in Ellington predicto solvendo annuatim ad festa predicta per equales porciones in tenura diversorum tenentium ad voluntatem domini Regis solvendo ut supra. Summa v^s.
- SHILBOTTELL.** Et de ij^s iiij^d de redd. et firm . . . terrarum in Shilbottell predicto in tenura diversorum tenentium solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in Hieme et Pentecostes per equales porciones. Summa ii^s iiij^d.
- WARKEWORTHE.¹⁷** Et de v^s de redd. et firmis in Warkeworthe predicto in tenura diversorum tenentium Solvendo annuatim ad festa predicta per equales porciones. Summa v^s.
- SPINDLESTON.** Et de vj^s viii^d de redd. et firm. terrarum et tenementorum in Spindlestone predicto in tenura diversorum tenentium Solvendo annuatim ad terminos equaliter. Summa vi^s viii^d.

¹⁶ Ulgham, a chapelry in the parish of Morpeth.

¹⁷ 1 Edw. I. Robt. de Hampton, Sheriff of North^d, accounts with the King, and takes credit for 2 marks granted to the Knights Templars for 2 years, and the Sheriff charges himself with 8^s 8^d for 13 acres of land and one toft for the Sergeanty of Tokesden, received from the Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, and also of £11 11s. from the same for the years aforesaid. *Pipe Rolls*, 1, 2, and 3 Edw. III., all in one roll. There is still a field close to Togston, but in Acklington township, called Temple-hill.

- FALLOWDOWNE.¹⁸ Et de ij^s de redd. et firm. terrarum in Fallowdowne predicto in tenuta diversorum tenentium. Solvendo annuatim ad festa predicta equaliter. Summa ij^s.
- WOODHALL ET
BURNEWICKE. Et de x^s de redd. et firm. terrarum et tenementorum ibidem in tenuta diversorum tenentium Solvendo annuatim ad festa predicta per equales porciones. Summa x^s.
- BOLTONE IN
COOKEDALE. Et de viij^s de redd. et firm. diversorum terrarum et tenementorum in Bolton et Cookedale. Solvendo annuatim ad festa, etc. Summa viij^s.
- FELTOUNE. Et de iiiij^d de redd. et firm. in Felton predicto in tenuta diversorum tenentium Solvendo annuatim, etc. Summa iiiij^d.
- GRENEFFILDE¹⁹
IN ALNEWICKE. Et de vj^s viii^d de redd. et firm. trium messuagiorum extra villam de Alnewicke cum totis terris in le Southside de Alnewicke predicto Solvendo annuatim, etc. Summa vj^s viij^d.
- STANFORTHALL. Et de xl^s de firma cujusdam graungie vocate Staynforthall cum omnibus terris, pratis, pascuis, pasturis eidem pertin. dimiss. Christofero Burrell per indenturam ut dicitur Solvendo, etc. Summa xl^s.
- TEMPLE HELAY.²⁰ Et de liiij^s iiiij^d de firma duarum porcionum omnium illorum terrarum, pratorum, pastur. cum suis pert. in Temple Helawe predicto dimiss. Cuthberto Radcliffe militi de anno in annum reddendo inde annuatim ad dicta festa per equales porciones. Et de xxvj^s viij^d de firma tercię partis terrarum, pratorum et pastur. in Temple Helaye predicto dimiss. Joh. Orde per annum Solvendo, etc. Summa iiiij^d.
- LYNDON BRIG. Et de xvij^s de firma duorum tenementorum vocatorum Templehouse et Shepewoode cum pert. scituat. jacentium et existentium in dicto Com. Northumbrie cum omnibus terris, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis communis, proficuis, commoditatibus et emolumentis quibuscumque dictis tenementis quoquo modo spectantibus et pertin. sic dimiss. per indenturam sub sigillo Curie Augmen. pro termino xxj annorum Reddendo inde ad festa predicta prout tam in dicta Indentura data xx^o die Decembris anno Regis Henrici viii^o xxxviij^o quam in compoto de anno Regis Edwardi vi^o primo ad largum et plenius patet. Summa xvij^s.
- WHAWTON. Et de ij^s de firma certarum terrarum in Whawton predicto dimiss. Geo. Simpson ad voluntatem Domini Regis Solvendo annuatim, etc. Summa ij^s.
- KENTON. Et de iiiij^s de firma certarum terrarum cum suis pert. in Kentone predicto sic dimiss. Wm^o Baynett de anno in annum. Solvendo, etc. Summa iiiij^s.

¹⁸ Falloodon, in the parish of Embleton.

¹⁹ The Alnwick lands began at the top of Clayport.—On them is built the mansion called Swansfield. Tate, ii. p. 65.

²⁰ Temple Healey, in the chapelry of Netherwitton.

- LONGWITTON. Et de v^s de firma certarum terrarum cum suis pert. in Longewitton predicto dimiss. Robt^o Stephenson de anno in annum. Solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in Hieme, et inventionis Sancti Crucis equaliter. Summa v^s.
- THOKEINGTON.²¹ Et de xx^s de firma omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pert. jacentium in villa et campis de Thorneton, parva Babington, et Riall infra communes ibidem vocatos Temple lande cum libertatibus, Fraunchisis, proficuis commoditatibus eisdem terris et tenementis spectantibus et pertin. sic dimiss. Edw^o Shaftoo per indenturam sub sigillo nuper prioratus Hospitalis Sancti Joh. Jerusalem in Anglia datam xvij^o die Maii anno Regis Henrici viiiⁱ x^o pro termino xl annorum prout tam In dicta indentura quam in compoto anni precedentis plenius patet. Solvendo, etc. Summa xx^s.
- DENTONE.²² Et de xiii^s iiii^d de firma certarum terrarum et tenementorum cum suis pert. in Dentone predicto dimiss. Anthonio Errington Solvendo, etc. Summa xiii^s iiii^d.
- FENDHAM. Et de xlvi^s viii^d de firma omnium illorum terrarum, pratorum et pasturarum vocatorum Feneham ac unius tenementi super eandem pasturam edificati cum universis boscis subboscis mineris carbonum et metellorum de et in predictis terris pratis et pasturis vocat. Feneham tantummodo except. et reservat. sic dimiss. Geo. Davell per indenturam sub sigillo communi prioris nuper hospitalis Sancti Joh. Jerusalem in Anglia datum xxij^o die Novembris anno Regis Henrici viiiⁱ xxix^o pro termino xxj annorum extunc proxime sequentium per annum Solvendo ad festa purificationis Beate Marie Virginis et Sancti Petri quod dicitur ad vincla prout tam In dicta Indentura quam in compoto anni precedentis. Summa xlvi^s viii^d.
- KILLINGWORTHE. Et de viij^s de firma certarum terrarum, etc., in Killingworthe predicto dimiss. Joh. Killingworthe ad voluntatem Domini Regis Solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini et pentecostes equaliter. Summa viij^s.
- TINDALE. Et de x^s de firma cujusdam pasture vocate Le Nooke in Tindale in tenura assignatorum Gilberti Stokalle per annum Solvendo, etc. Summa x^s.
- EDLINGHAM. Et de ii^s de redd. assise diversorum liberorum tenentium domini Regis in Edlingham predictum Solvendo annuatim, etc. Summa ii^s.
- HOLBORNE. Et de xviiij^d de redd. assise diversorum liberorum tenentium Domini Regis in Holborne predicto Solvendo, etc. Summa xviiij^d.
- BUCKINGFELDE. Et de xij^d de redd. assise, etc., in Bucken felde predicto Solvendo, etc. Summa xij^d.
- BURTON. Et de ij^s de firma unius clausi terre vocati Sancte Johannes lande in tenura — Stephenson per annum Solvendo, etc. Summa ii^s.

²¹ Thockrington, Little Bavington, and Ryal.

²² Denton and Fenham, near Newcastle.

MILBORNE- GRAUNG.	Et de xij ^d de redd. assise liberorum, etc., de Milborne graunge predicto annuatim Solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in Hieme et Inventionis Sancti Crucis equaliter. Summa xij ^d .
CHIBBINGTON. ²³	Et de ij ^s de redd. assise diversorum liberorum, etc., et de Chibbington predicto Solvendo, etc. Summa ii ^s .
MERRICKE. ²⁴	Et de ij ^s de redd. assise, etc., de Merricke predicto Solvendo, etc. Summa ij ^s .
ALNEWICKE.	Et de xij ^d de firma unius cotagii in Bellegate in tenura et occupacione Roberti Muscrope ad voluntatem domini Regis. Solvendo annuatim ad festum Sancti Martini. Summa xij ^d .
MINERUM CARBONUM.	Et de vj ⁿ xiiij ^s iiiij ^d de firma tocuis mineri carbonum hoc anno terris et pasturis vocatis Fentun invent. dimiss. Radulfo Carre et aliis mercatoribus ville Novi castri super Tinam per Indenturam misericordie ad huc viss. per annum Solvendo ad festa annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Arch. equaliter. Summa vj ⁿ xiiij ^s iiiij ^d . Summa totalis oneris xxxv ⁿ ij ^s x ^d .
FEOD ET REGARD.	Idem computat in feodo dicti computant ballivi et collectoris omnium et singulorum reddituum et firmarum predictorum ad lx ^s per annum cum vj ^s viij ^d plus eidem allocatum in recompensacione mane laboris sue hoc anno sustentat in et super collectionem reddituum et firmarum predictorum ex discretione auditoris et receptoris quam solebat allocari viz. in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti lx ^s et in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura hujus compoti et omnis parcelli ejusdam ad ij ^s per annum viz. in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti prout allocatum est alio auditori Curie Augmentationum ij ^s . Summa lxij ^s .
DECASUS REDDITUS.	Et in decasu reddituum diversorum terrarum et tenementorum in Boltone et Rookedale superius onerat. ad viij ^s per annum in titulo pro se Eo quod jacet vastum et in occupatione per totum tempus hujus compoti et nihil inde levari potest ex sacramento dicti computationis super hunc compotum coram auditore et sic in decasu per tempus hujus compoti viij ^s . Et in decas. redd. custumariorum tenentium de Hugham superius onerat. ad ij ^s ij ^d per annum in titulo pro se eo quod jacet vastum et in occupatione per totum tempus hujus compoti et nihil inde levari potest ex sacramento etc. ij ^s ij ^d . Et in decasu redd. liberorum tenentium domini Regis de Holborne superius onerat. ad xviiij ^d per annum in titulo pro se Eo quod jacet vastum et in occupatione per multos annos elapsos nulla districcio ibidem habenda est ex sacramento computat. super hunc compotum et sic in decas., etc., xviiij ^d . Summa xj ^s viij ^d .

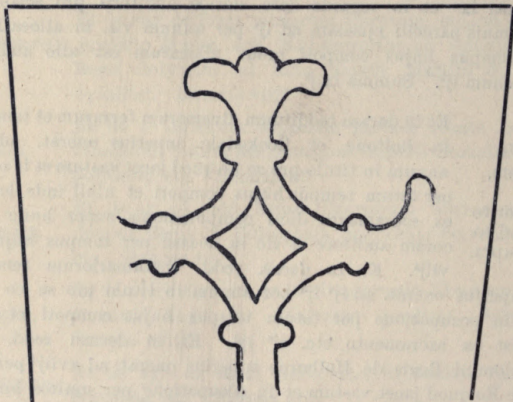
²³ In 1568 Sir John Widdrington and Sir Thos. Grey held lands in West and East Chevington. *Feodary's book*.

²⁴ Morwick, 37 Eliz., the property of the Greys of Chillingham and of Cuthbert Bates, now of the Duke of Northumberland.

Et in denariis per dictum computantem liberat. Thome
LIBERACIONES Newnham milit. receptori domini Regis ibidem de exitibus
DENARIORUM. officii sui hujus anni ad divers. vices infra tempus hujus
 compoti prout per librum Receptoris super hunc compotum
 ostens. et examinat. et in custodia dicti Receptoris remanet. xix^s xiiij^s iiiij^d.
 Et in denariis in compoto receptoris hujus anni onerat. super Joh. Taylor
 ballivum ac collectorem reddituum et firmarum in Temple Thorneton, Meldon
 et Morpeth cum aliis parcellis nuper preceptoris predicti jacentibus in
 Comitatu Northumbrie de parte exit. offic. Domino Regi debitorum finitum
 ad festum Sancti Michaelis Arch. anno Regis nunc Edwardi vj^{ti} v et per
 ipsum aretro et nondum solut. — xxxv^s x^d. Summa xxj^{ti} ix^s ii^d.
 Summa allocacionum et liberacionum xxv^{ti} ij^s x^d. Et debet x^{ti}.

RESPECTUANTUR. Et de et pro tot denariis de exitibus et proficuis pro uno anno
 et de redditibus domino Regi debitis at festum Sancti Michaelis
 Arch. anno regis Edwardi vj^{ti} v^o provenientibus de firma mineri
 carbonum in Fentun in tenura Radulfi Carre ad vj^{ti} xiiij^s iiiij^d
 per annum Eo quod idem Radhulfus negat solvere dictum
 redditum pro uno anno et die predicto, racione quod dictum
 minerum carbonum jacuit vastum per tempus unius anni et
 di asserens quod nullum proficuum inde provenisse per tempus
 predictum Ideo hic posuit in respecuacione quousque refert warrant. a cancellario
 et concilio Curie augmentacionum pro allocacione ejusdem.

The serveis to
 surveye the s^d
 Coolemyne
 whether it lye
 wast or no.



GRAVE COVER, CHIBBURN (See p. 267).

XI.—THE NAMES OF THE EMPEROR CARAUSIUS, AS REVEALED BY THE CARLISLE ROMAN MILESTONE.

BY MAJOR R. MOWAT, OF PARIS.

[Read on the 29th May, 1895.]

A NOTICE of the discovery of a Roman mile-stone at Carlisle in October last appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, vol. vi. 1894, page 263, with a sketch. Owing to the kindness of Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., president of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, I received in the beginning of March a squeeze which enabled me to ascertain the accuracy of the reading of the inscription engraved on the stone. This was discovered in the bed of the river Petterill, below Gallows Hill, from whose summit it had probably rolled, and where it formerly stood, marking the first mile from LUGUVALLIUM (Carlisle) on the road to EBURACUM (York); it is now preserved at Tullie House.

It consists of a cylindrical column, six feet high, with the front side roughly cut to a plane surface. At one end are four lines of an inscription, somewhat weathered but still tolerably legible, the letters of which are two inches high. Below, at some distance, can be seen the remains of two other lines, worn out, save three faint letters. This end of the inscription, purposely separated from the beginning with the intent of attracting the notice of passers by, contained the proper itinerary indications.

IMP C M

AVR MAVS

CARAVSIO P F

INVICTO AVG

..... O

..... AS

.....

IMP(eratori) C(aesari) M(arco) | AUR(elio) MAUS(...)| CARAUSIO, P(io), F(elici), | INVICTO, AUG(usto), | [Luguvalli]O | [Brovonac]AS |



[*m(ille) p(assuum)*]. |.—To the Emperor, the Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Maus(. . .) Carausius, pious, happy, invincible, the Augustus. From Luguwallium towards Brovonacae, first mile.

The restored word *Luguwallio* may safely be considered as certain, whilst the complementary part of [*Brovonac*]*as* is merely conjectural, for the sake of showing how the brackets are to be filled with the name of one of the stations on the road to York, provided it has the feminine plural termination—*as*, such as *Brovonacas* (Kirkby Thore), *Verteras* (Brough), or *Lavatras* (Bowes).

At the opposite end is another inscription in five lines, reading in a contrary direction ; the first line ends in a monogram formed by the conjunction of the three letters VAL.

FL VL
CONS
TANT .
NO NOB
CAES

FL(*avio*) VAL(*erio*) | CONSTANT[*i*]NO,
NOB(*ilissimo*) CAES(*ari*).—To Flavius Valerius Constantine, the most noble Caesar.

From this particularly remarkable instance of two different military inscriptions engraved on the same block, we may deduce that the lime-stone was erected first in the reign of the Emperor Carausius,

A.D. 287-293, and that it was afterwards turned up topsy-turvy in the time of Constantine, when he still held but the rank and title of Caesar, A.D. 306. A fresh inscription in his own honour was then engraved at the summit, whilst the end bearing the inscription dedicated to Carausius was hid under ground, such a course implying that Constantine on his accession to power denied any official character to the public acts of the usurper. In its turn the Constantine mile-stone was thrown down, most likely when the Roman forces and officials were ordered by the Emperor Honorius to withdraw from the Isle in the year 411. The contemptuous treatment inflicted on the emblem of the imperial government is imputable to the Caledonian invaders, or rather to the British natives themselves, disgusted with the behaviour of the authorities who forfeited the duty of protecting their subjects against their bitter foes.

This is the first instance of a lapidary monument containing a record of the British adventurer who founded in his own country an independent empire, and played a historical part somewhat comparable to that of Postumus in Gaul thirty years previously.* Whence he originated we are left to guess from a short sentence of Aurelius Victor,¹ *Carausius, Menapiae civis*. Notwithstanding the apparent clearness of this information, it is not an easy task to define its meaning with precision. No less than three different countries have equal claims to the denomination of Menapia: in the first place, a people known by the name of Menapii inhabited Belgian Gaul, the land bordering the river Scheldt and the mouth of the Rhine²; next, the Isle of Man was called Monapia, according to Pliny's spelling, if the manuscripts are correct;³ last, on the eastern coast of Ireland dwelt the *Μανάπιοι*,⁴ whose capital was *Μαναπία πόλις*, in our days Wicklow (Wexford). It will surprise none when I say that French antiquaries assign the mesopotamic part of Belgium as the birth-place of Carausius, whilst British scholars contend for the Isle of Man, no specific argument being brought forward by either party. No doubt if the University of Dublin were chosen to arbitrate upon the difference

¹ *De Caesaribus*, xxxix.

² Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, ii. 4. Strabo, iv. iii. 4, 5. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. xviii. 31. Ptolemy, ii. viii. 10.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. xviii. 30.

⁴ Ptolemy, ii. ii. 7, 8.

* Postumus, A.D. 258-267; Carausius, A.D. 287-293.

the affirmation of his Hibernian origin would luckily help to decide the question in a friendly and neutral manner. Nevertheless, it may be suggested that the words *Menapiae civis* match admirably with the *parvae civis insulae* employed by Ausonius in a similar case,⁵ and that such a geographical designation seems to apply most fittingly to the Monapia island, whilst the ethnical qualification *Menapius*, or *civis Menapius*, or even *natione Menapius* would have been the correct expression if Aurelius Victor had meant that Carausius originated from the continental Menapians. To whatever branch of the Menapians Carausius belonged, either Gaulish, Britannic, or Hibernian, his birth-place was undoubtedly maritime, and this accounts for the fact that he was such a talented seaman that Maximian chose him for fitting out a fleet against the Germanic pirates; it afterwards served him as the most efficacious instrument for making himself independent of the Roman domination. He clearly perceived that the security of his insular empire rested on a powerful navy, and this stamps him a truly national hero for Britain, deserving to share the honours of a traditional popularity with Queen Boudicca, whose name by-the-by, synonymous of 'Victorina,' is ridiculously disfigured in Boadicea, even by the Admiralty officials who select names for Her Majesty's ships.⁶ Several varieties of his coins show on the reverse a pretorian galley manned by rowers, with her name inscribed above, LAETITIA. This type and legend also adopted by Allectus his successor, was evidently borrowed from the coinage of Postumus, large and small brass. Here we have, amongst many others, a striking feature of similitude between these two historical characters, and hence we are led to believe that under like circumstances Carausius modelled his acts and policy on those of the Gaulish emperor.

Let us now proceed to a closer examination of the wording in the inscription of the Carlisle mile-stone.

From the first lines we gather the entirely novel and authentic information that Carausius, besides this name under which alone

⁵ Ausonius, *Ludus Septem Sapientium*, v. 147: 'Cleobulus ego sum, parvae civis insulae.' Cleobulus, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, was a native of Lindos, in the isle of Rhodes.

⁶ As a rule, it may be noticed that when half instructed people have to choose between two ways of spelling a name or an uncommon word, they will unhesitatingly hit upon the wrong one, and stick to it with obstinacy. In the French navy also there is always a ship traditionally named 'Primauguet' instead of 'Porzmoguer.'

he was hitherto known, bore three other names; from Emperor M. Aurelius Maximianus, under whose orders he served in the army of Inferior Germany, he received the *praenomen* and *nomen gentili-cium* Marcus Aurelius, retaining his other two native names; one of these began with the syllable *Maus*, which was sometimes still more abridged and merely reduced to the initial letter M, for instance on some rare brass coins; three of these are preserved in the Hunter museum, at Glasgow, according to Petrie's *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. clxv. col. 2; pl. xi. 28, 29, 32.

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P AVG—PAX AVG; exergue, MCXXI;

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PIETAS AVG;

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PROVID AVG; field, SC.

Four others are described from private collections:—

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P AVG—MERCVRIO CON AVG (Roach Smith);⁷

IMP C M CARAVSIVS AVG—MARS VICTOR (Roach Smith);⁸

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PAX AVG (Selborne);⁹

IMP C M CARAVSIVS AVG—PAX AVG (R. Mowat).

The enigmatic sigla M, and the equally puzzling syllable MAVS are unmistakably the more or less shortened forms of a Celtic name, which we may safely restore to *Mausaeus* or *Mausaius*, since it is the only fitting form to be found in the whole Gaulish nomenclature compiled from manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. This name is inscribed on a small silver coin preserved, under No. 9359, in the medal room of the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris; the late Emile Hucher was the first numismatist who published it¹⁰ in the shape of MAVSAIIOS. I personally verified this reading on the original coin; hence I am able to give the following accurate description of this documentary relic:—

Obverse—Helmeted head turned to left; in front, NINNO.

Reverse—Wild boar running to left; beneath and above, a half-

retrograde legend, $\overset{OVAM}{\text{AIIOC}}$ with Greek lunar *sigma* instead of s,

such as in other Gaulish legends, BELINOC, SANTONOC, VENEXTOC. We may now state that the denominations of Carausius were, at full length, *Marcus Aurelius Mausaeus* (or *Mausaius*) *Carausius*.

⁷ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vii. p. 224; pl. xxii. 4.

⁸ *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. clxii. col. 2; pl. ix. 14.

⁹ Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies Impériales*, vii. 1888, p. 22, n. 204.

¹⁰ *L'art gaulois*, ii. p. 68.

In the middle of last century Stukeley published a coin which he had noticed in the collections of Sir Hans Sloane, and of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. and secretary to the Society of Antiquaries¹¹:—

Obverse—IMP C M AVR V CARAVSIVS P AVG. Radiated bust, clad with the paludamentum, to right.

Reverse—PAX AVG. Peace standing to left, holding a flower and leaning on a sceptre ; field, SP ; exergue, C.

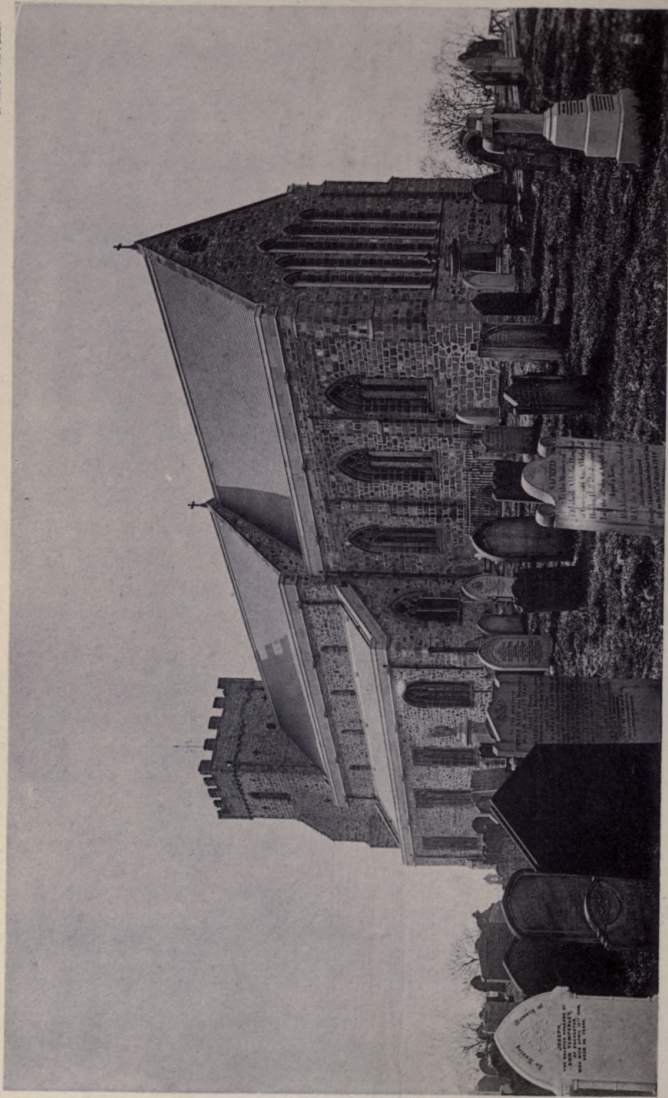
By the expansion of the legend he made out the reading M(arcus) Aur(elius) V(alerius) Carausius, and Mionnet¹² confidently adopted it ; but John Doubleday seems to have doubted its correctness, or to have suspected the genuineness of the coin, for he did not admit it in his carefully drawn-up descriptive catalogue of the coins relating to Britain.¹³ This tacit condemnation is so much the more significant as the Sloane collection was bequeathed to the British Museum, where Doubleday might have leisurely examined the coin. Moreover, this is altogether confirmed by the fact that no such piece is to be met with in the sets of coins of Carausius in the British Museum, which Mr. Grueber has kindly examined, one by one, for my purpose.

A priori the reading V(alerius) is not altogether objectionable, since Maximian had added this family name of Diocletian to his own patronymic *Aurelius*, and styled himself M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS on several of his coins ; hence Carausius, in his turn, might have had the double gentilicial name *Aurelius Valerius*, by which he connected himself both with Diocletian and with Maximian. On the other hand, it is possible that the letter v, which Stukeley fancied to have deciphered, is merely the middle part of a defaced letter M, and this would bring us back to something like the aforesaid legends beginning with IMP C M CARAVSIVS.

¹¹ *The Medallic History of M. Aurelius Valerius Carausius, emperor in Britain*, i. p. 115, pl. v. n. 1. Mr. Haverfield believes the coin is in Cambridge, and has been misread. He also thinks that the word MAVS is simply a blunder.

¹² *De la rareté et du prix des médailles Romaines*, ii. (2nd edit. 1827), p. 165.

¹³ *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. cliii-clxxiii. 17 plates.



EASINGTON CHURCH FROM S.E.,
AFTER RESTORATION IN 1894-5.

XII.—EASINGTON CHURCH.

By the Rev. H. E. SAVAGE,

Vicar of St. Hilda's, South Shields, and Honorary Canon of Durham.

[Read on the 24th April, 1895.]

THE work which has been in progress at St. Mary's church at Easington during the past year has afforded an exceptional opportunity for tracing the story of the building. The temporary removal of all the interior fittings, the stripping of the walls, and the lowering of the roof, have each and all laid bare some features which throw light on the past. For it is the church itself that is the only witness, for the most part, to its own history ; there is apparently no notice preserved in any of the early records of the see of Durham with regard to the builder, or the re-builder, of this church. And yet in general outline the story is fairly plain to read, and it is full of interest. The simplest way to follow it will be to take the several still existing features according to their approximate dates, and so work out the gradual growth of the building to its present condition.

The earliest portion then of the church is the lower part of the tower, which is Norman ; but even that only discloses its age on the eastern side, in the lofty arch opening into the nave, which is now once more cleared of all blocking, and in the small window above, which was until last year hidden by the abnormally high pitched nave roof : possibly also in the other belfry windows. The corresponding Norman church was pulled down at the end of the twelfth century, and the only certain vestige which remains of it, with perhaps the quaint circular steps of the font, is half the base of one pillar, or rather the base of one of the western responds of the arcade, which has been used as a sub-base for the present respond of the western arch on the north side. This base, which is an exact semi-circle, with a diameter of two feet six inches, is eight inches less in diameter than the sub-base of the adjoining circular pillar, and has a hollow chamfer. It has apparently been moved from its original position for use as an underpacking when the Early English arcade was built. For besides the *a priori* presumption that the Norman nave would be somewhat narrower than that of the Early English church, there is an indirect indication that this was actually the case. Close against the north

and south walls of the tower on the outside there are two, by no means beautiful, buttresses, which are exactly in line with the arcades within, and seem to be intended to meet the thrust of the arches, which had not sufficient support from the thin western walls of the nave aisles. The arcades of the Norman church would presumably come up to the north and south walls of the tower itself, which is sufficiently broad ; but when the nave was widened the new work would miss this strong stay, and so the extra strength in the form of supporting buttresses was needed.

It may very well have been the case, too, that the Norman nave had a floor level the same as that of the tower, and therefore some eighteen inches higher than the level shown by the present pillar bases. Possibly some insecurity in the Norman piers, resting, as so much Norman work undoubtedly did, on inadequate foundations, led to the rebuilding of the church at the close of the twelfth century, when the bases of the pillars were carried down to a lower and surer foundation.

For another reason also it seems clear that the present arcades do not belong to the original building. For they have been built from east to west, and are not of the same construction as the tower. They have been built, that is, pu to an already existing tower. The nave arches are part of the same work as the chancel arch, and come away quite naturally from it. The span of all the bays is exactly the same in measurement ; but when they reach the west end

of the church there is a difference of some inches, which is made up on the south side by a square stone packing of greater thickness than the corresponding packing on the north side.

The pillars are alternately circular and octagonal ; two circular and one octagonal on the north side, and two octagonal and one circular on the south. The north-west circular pillar has a curiously stiff form of partially decorated volute carved on the capital in distinctly Transitional style, as in

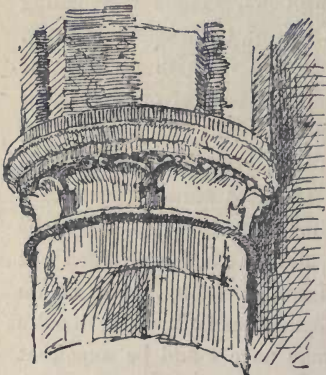
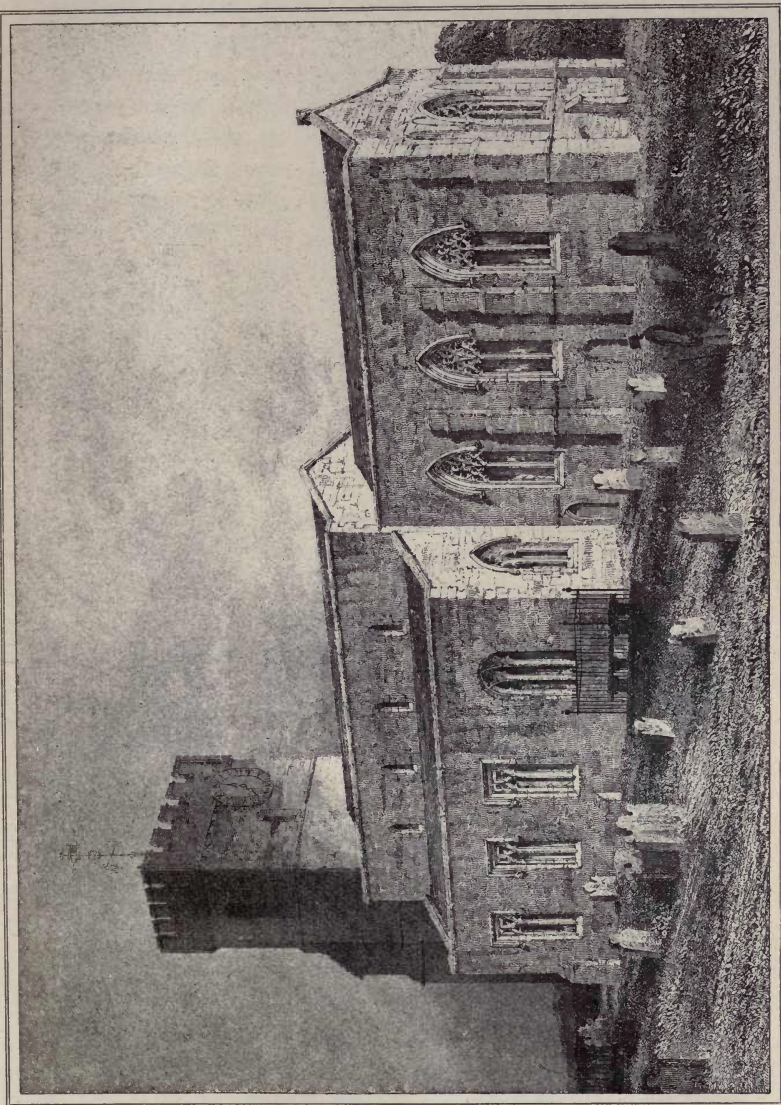


Fig. 1.

fig. 1. What seems to have been the same, or a very similar pattern,



Drawn by R. M. Dillings

EASTINGTON CHURCH, S. B.

Engraved by George Witter

occurs also on the capitals of the two western responds, though they are now much defaced, especially the one on the south side. On the capital of the north-east pillar there are two distinct designs of trefoil ornamentation, of which that on the north side towards the aisle has a broader and heavier leaf, and a plainer device, than the other towards the nave. The capital of the central circular pillar on the south side is quite plain. These carvings are unmistakably Trans-

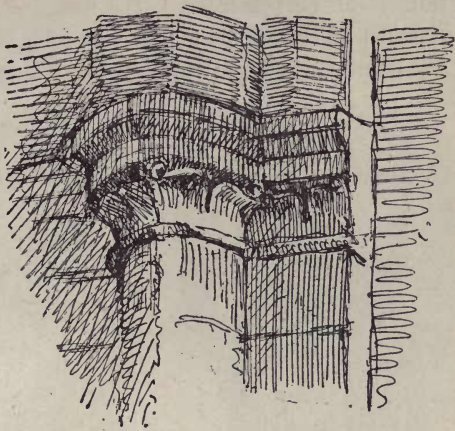


Fig. 2.

sitional work, probably not later than 1195 A.D.; and thus the first approximately definite date is fixed. These carvings, as they appear in their present state, are clearly shewn in the accompanying reproductions of sketches, which have been most kindly contributed by Mr. W. S. Hicks. The octagonal pillars have a small bead ornamentation running round under the heads of the capitals, just like the corresponding ornamentation round the bases of the pillars in the neighbouring parish church of Pitington; and a nail-head pattern of rather larger proportions appears also on the base of the easternmost pillar on the south side.

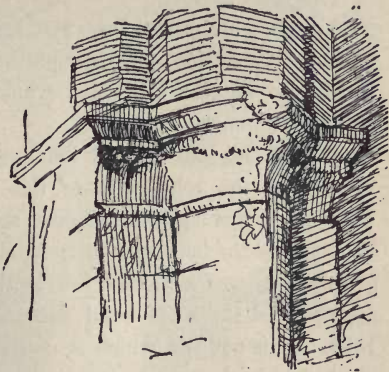
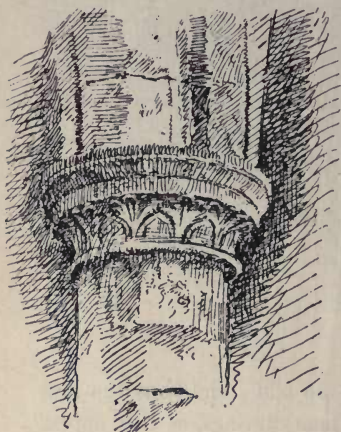


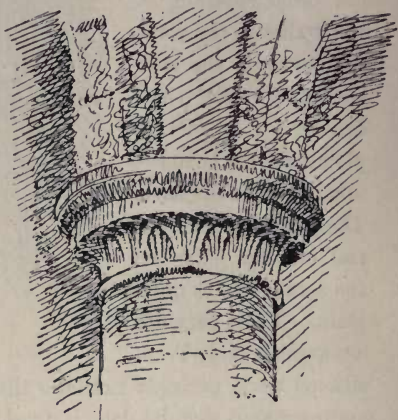
Fig. 3.

The other extant remains of the Transitional or Early English period are the two lancet windows at the west ends of the aisles, which have happily been lately re-opened, and the small clearstorey windows.

The chancel of the Early English church was originally lighted at the east end by five lights of equal height, like the 'five sisters' of the north transept of York minster. The heads of these windows were still traceable on the outside of the gable after the Decorated east window was inserted, as may be seen in plate xix., a reproduction of Billings's



The back.



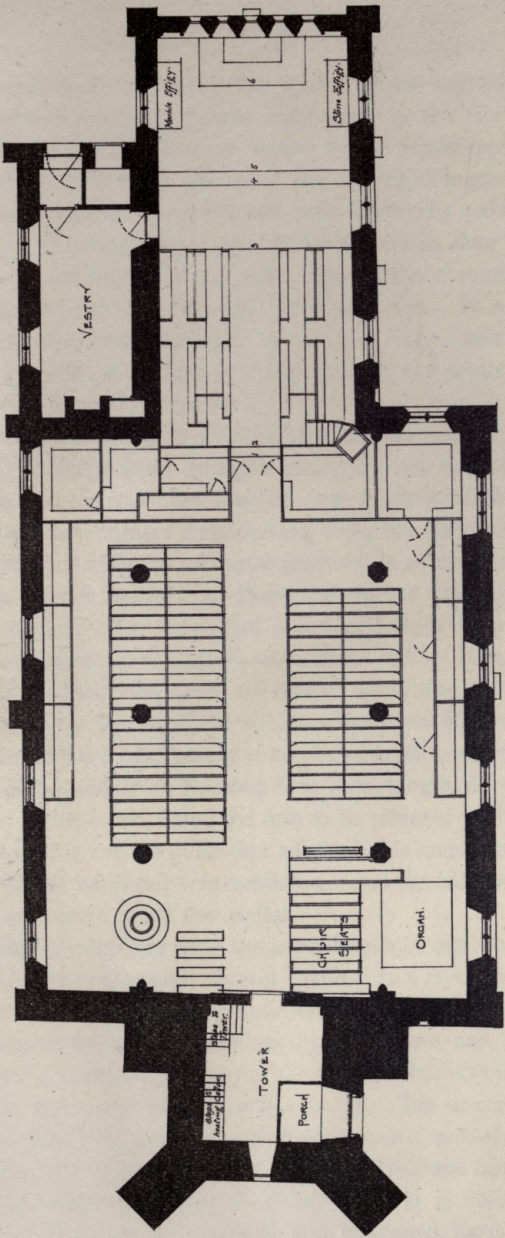
The front.

NORTH-EAST CAPITAL OF EASINGTON CHURCH.

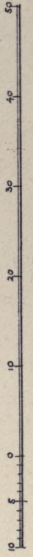
plate of the church, but they were removed forty years ago, when the present disagreeable and disproportionate lancets were substituted by Hardwicke for the Decorated window. The glass was put in by Messrs. O'Connor.

Within the last three or four weeks a most beautiful 'low side' window at the south-west of the chancel has been opened out. That there was such a window seemed, indeed, to be indicated all along by the hood moulding on the outside; but the significance of this label was somewhat lost by the space within it having been appropriated for a memorial slab to Archdeacon Pye, who died in 1808. This window, which is now open to the chancel, but is still blocked towards the exterior, is all cut out of a single four and a half inch slab of a kind of flagstone. It has two lights, transomed, in an enclosing arch. All the four spaces are grooved for glazing on the outside. The lowest space on the right is also checked on the inside for a shutter, and still retains the marks of the shutter hinges,

EASINGTON PARISH CHURCH
CO. DURHAM
SURVEY August 1895



GROUND PLAN



and actual remains of the sneck. The window is set well back in a recess in the wall, which is splayed only down to the foot of the window, below which it comes out square to the inner face of the wall. The junction between the splay and the right angle is very rough and unfinished, as though it had been hidden by a shelf or a seat originally. Billings's plate also shows a 'priest's door' of the same period in the centre of the south side of the chancel. But this was, unhappily, made away with forty years ago. In a bill of 'Thomas Punshon, mason, Durham,' dated Feb., 1853 (now in the Rectory), is included an account for 'taking down wall south side of chancel to ground, as per estimate.'

In the Decorated period the whole of the windows were by degrees remodelled. To judge from Billings's plate, the two earliest would seem to have been the south-east and the east windows of the south aisle. They are not quite of simultaneous date, but they are both, though in somewhat different manner, representative of the geometrical style. From a much earlier time there had been a chantry of St. Mary in the church. For it received endowment both from bishop Richard de Marisco (1217-1226) and from bishop Nicholas de Farnham (1237-1248), the latter of whom, according to Surtees, chose Easington for his residence on his resignation of the see of Durham. Presumably this chantry would be situated at the east end of the south aisle; and, if so, this may have something to do with the two windows of this corner being the first to be enlarged in the new style. Moreover, it was the pillar that adjoined this same corner that alone received the nail-head ornamentation round the base as well as the band of bead-work round the capital.

After these two windows came the more developed east window of the chancel, and then the south chancel windows in a richer design of flowing tracery. These windows were still *in situ* down to 1853, when they were unfortunately taken out by Hardwicke and replaced by modern work, professedly a copy of the original, but actually very far from being a true reproduction of the design. The tracery of the fourteenth-century windows was carried over to the rectory garden, and eventually used to form rockeries; and so much was fortunately preserved that might have been altogether lost. It is much to be hoped that all that can be recovered will be pieced together and

restored to the precincts of the church for a more careful and reverent preservation before it is too late. Finally, and probably after a more or less considerable interval, quite towards the end of the fourteenth century, the remaining windows of the south aisle (and presumably those of the north aisle as well) were completed in the latest form of the Decorated style, with square hood mouldings and simpler tracery.

It was probably at this time that the original entrance to the church at the west end of the south aisle was built up, and the south doorway broken into the tower. This doorway is evidently a removal from somewhere else; and the numbers which are seen on the successive stones of its arch were no doubt cut as a guide for its re-erection when it was taken from its original position. Of these numbers there are still legible 3, 4, and 5 (in Arabic figures) on the west shoulder, and II., III., IV., and V. (in Roman numerals) on the east side.

The Perpendicular period set its characteristic stamp upon the church in the lowering and flattening of the roof. This was in 1853 raised to an inordinate pitch, which completely dwarfed the tower, and marred the proportion of the building. It has now been reduced, but not quite to the pitch of the Perpendicular roof.

The tower was also heightened and battlemented, and the two enormous western buttresses were added to support the additional weight at the top. It is probable also that to this time should be ascribed the doorway on the north side of the chancel at the west corner, the head of which was uncovered last year, but which has been removed to make way for the arch of the organ-chamber. It was two feet nine inches wide, with a check for the door.

In the north wall of the church, towards the west end, the lines of the jambs and threshold of a doorway are clearly traceable on the outside.

In 1526 (November 17) a second chantry, of 'Our Ladie of Pittie,' was founded in the church by the will of John Jackson of Easington. Presuming that the original chantry of St. Mary was, as has been suggested, in the south aisle, this new chantry was apparently located at the east end of the north aisle. When the wainscotting was stripped off last year, a mutilated piscina was uncovered in the north wall. It has the appearance of a much earlier date than the sixteenth

century, and if it belonged therefore to the altar of 'Our Ladie of Pittie,' it may have been removed from some other position in the church, or it may be an indication of an earlier altar in this same position. This chantry would be one of the last founded in England, as it was less than twenty years later, in 1545, that the Act was passed which suppressed all chantries (and of course their endowments!) 'for the use of the king.' Could this foundation have been suggested by the altar in the cathedral described in the *Rites of Durham*?—'Ther was betwixt two pillers, on the leaft hand in the North Allie as yow tourne into the Galleley from the northe churchedour, our LADY OF PITTIES ALTER, being inclosed of either syde with fyne waynscott, with the picture of our Lady carying our Saviour on her knee, as he was taiken from the crosse, verey lamentable to behoulde.'¹

Soon after the Restoration of 1660, the famous James Clement of Durham, 'artis ille fabricæ peritissimus,' according to his epitaph in St. Oswald's church, Durham,² the designer of the oak choir stalls in the cathedral, was employed to design oak fittings for Easington church.³ As the rectory was attached to the archdeaconry of Durham, his engagement must have been due to bishop Cosin's son-in-law, Denys Granville, who was then archdeacon. Clement's work included a carved oak chancel screen, a pulpit which was placed against the easternmost pillar on the south side, and a set of carved oak seat ends. The screen remained until 1852, when it was removed by Hardwicke. Fordyce says, in 1857, 'the screen has been removed, but is carefully preserved,' but it is not at Easington now (unless the small piece of canopy work which stood until recently against the blocking of the tower arch is part of it), and it has, it is greatly to be feared, been before now broken up. Only a few weeks ago I was told by Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, that when first he came to Durham many years ago, he remembers some carved oak work standing in the yard of the late Mr. Robson, builder, of that city, which was pointed out as the Easington chancel screen, but he added that it had since disappeared from the yard. In one of the accounts of 'Robert Robson, Builder, Durham,' for sundry works done at Easington church in 1853 (preserved in the rectory), an item occurs for 'carriage of

¹ 15 Surt. Soc. Publications, p. 33.

² Boyle, *County of Durham*, p. 207.

³ Fordyce, *Durham*.

screen to Durham.' I have since been informed that a great part of the screen is still to be found in Durham, but who has it I have not been able to ascertain. The pulpit, or part of it, still remains in the church; and Clement's seat ends, now freed from thick layers of paint and varnish, are being reinstated in the church.

Either then, viz. in the seventeenth century, or later, the chancel was (as Hutchinson describes it) 'ceiled, stuccoed, and neatly wainscotted;' the walls of the nave were liberally plastered, and apparently stencilled with texts, of which one, 'Pray without ceasing,' was to be seen on the wall of the south aisle before the plaster was removed; the pillars were white-washed; the tower arch was built up; and the floor of the nave was raised. But the last two features, at all events, if not some of the others also, were probably not introduced till quite the end of the last century, perhaps in 1798, which is the date on the face of the clock which was inserted in the filling of the tower arch. For Hutchinson writes (edition of 1787, ii. p. 576), 'you descend by *four* steps into the nave,' whereas until last year there were only two steps from the nave to the chancel.

In 1852-3, the church was thoroughly overhauled by Hardwicke, when much, no doubt, was done to improve its condition, but a great deal that was, to say the least, most unfortunate was also perpetrated. The work, which is now almost completed, will bring back the church as nearly as can be done to its former beauty.

In the west wall of the tower, on the outside close to the ground, a stone has been inserted on which a large rough Maltese cross is cut in relief. It is difficult to say what this cross represents. It may have been part of a grave-cover, which has at some time been dug up and placed here for preservation. It certainly has not the appearance of a 'dedication cross.'

The Rev. T. N. Roberts, vicar of Cornforth, has kindly supplied the following notes on the monumental effigies in the church:—

There are two recumbent figures in stone in good preservation in this church. One is that of a man in chain mail of the fashion of the latter part of the thirteenth century. The head is covered with a round hood of mail, encircled with a small twisted wreath, and the lower part of it comes over the surcoat at the shoulders. The surcoat is long, and the skirt, opening in front, displays the lower part of the hauberk descending almost to the knees, which have quilted coverings. The sleeves of the hauberk end at the wrists, and the hands are

extended together in the attitude of prayer. The legs, protected by mail *chaussés*, are crossed, the right over the left. The feet are broken off, but rested on some animal, apparently a dog. The sword depends in front by a broad belt from the narrow waist-band. The triangular shield on the left arm shows the armorial bearings of a fess between three popinjays for Fitz Marmaduke or Lumley. This effigy was lately at the east end within the altar rails, but is now placed at the east end of the south aisle.

The other figure is that of a lady. She has on her breast the same coat of arms. It is made of encrinital limestone, or Frosterley marble, and is of remarkable length. The dress is plain, falling to the feet in straight folds. The head is attired in a wimple, with a band across the forehead, and another under the chin. The skirt of the habit is held down between the feet by the hand and arm of a very small figure at the foot of the tomb.⁴ The upper part of the little figure is gone, the lower is clothed in skirts to the ankles. This effigy has also been removed from the chancel to the east end of the north aisle.

There are no inscriptions attached to these effigies.

In the church is preserved a late tilting helmet, probably of the early part of the 16th century. The visor has no bars or perforations, and projects somewhat suddenly at the part over the nose and mouth. There is a spike at the apex to support crest. When Billings sketched it (more or less inaccurately) for his plate, this spike bore a wooden plume, with the date 1664. This, however, has since disappeared. Presuming that the date refers to the occasion of its being placed in the church, it would seem that it was a memorial of Sir John Conyers of Horden hall, whose burial is recorded in the Parish Register under the year 1664:—‘Decem. ye 6th Sr John Conyers,⁵ Knight & Barronet, burried.’ This Sir John Conyers, son and heir of Christopher Conyers, was created a baronet on 14th July, 1628.

⁴ The remains of two similar small supporting figures, each on one knee, are also clearly visible beside either shoulder.

⁵ The following entries in the register apparently refer also to the same John Conyers:—(a) ‘Ihon Coniers sonne of m^r Christopher Coniers of horden was Baptized y^e viij day of July Ao. dni 1593 Ao. Reg. Eliz. 34.’ (b) ‘Aprill : 7 : 1608 : Iohn Conyers & Francis Graues did acknowledge that wth theris owne most willinge consent, as alsoe wth the consent of theris parentes expofer Conyers esq John Hedworthe gent : & An his wife), the sayde John & Francis were solemnly married att yorke about towe years before the registringe herof. In the p^resence of vs, witnesses of this acknowledgment, as alsoe of the giuinge & receinge of one peice of gould for the farther confringe of this acknowledgmet, test Thomas Bainbridge Cuthebert Conyers expofer Bainbridge John Dixon Abrahamus Robinson clrcs.’ The consent of John Hedworthe and his wife to the acknowledgment of the validity of this marriage was no doubt required on account of the family succession, because the father Christopher Conyers had married their daughter as his second wife, John being the son of his first wife.

The communion plate and bells have been described in the *Proceedings*⁶ of the society.

The registers are in very good condition. The first volume is a book of one hundred and nineteen parchment leaves, measuring ten and a quarter by six and a half inches, newly and strongly bound in red calf in 1878. On the third page is headed 'REGISTRVM ECCLESIE DE ESINGTON ex vetere cartaceo in pergamenum redactum, fideliter collectis, transumptis et redintigratis nominibus et cognominibus Baptizatorum, nuptorum, et sepultorum intra spatium regni excellentissimæ Reginæ nræ Elizabethæ: diligenter etiam annotatis Annis mensibus singulisq' singulorum mensium diebus in quibus quisq. vel sacro fonte lotus fuerit vel sanctam nuptiaru' copulam introit, vel Christianæ sepulturæ beneficio fuerit affectus, iuxta ordinem provinciale constitutione, Regiaq' Autoritate stabilitum: Anno Salutis 1597.' It begins, in 1571, 'Isabel Baytes daughter of Jhon Baytes was baptized the iij day of June,' and ends, on page 216, in 1652.

POSTSCRIPT.

The suggestion made in the foregoing paper (page 293) that the screen and bench-ends were designed by James Clement of Durham, was taken from a note by Fordyce in his *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (vol. ii. p. 353) who quotes Billings as his authority. His actual words are:—'This screen, which is carefully preserved, is of about the year 1660, as are also the boldly-carved bench-ends with which the body of the church is completely filled;' and he adds in a note at the foot of the page: 'The general effect of the screen and bench-ends,' says Billings, 'is excellent; and if they are questionable in point of detail, the fault must be attributed to the prevailing taste of the time and not to the architect who designed them—James Clement of Durham, who died in 1690.'

⁶ Vol. iii. p. 220 and 246. But since the plate was examined and described in the *Proceedings*, the fine 17th century pewter flagon with incised devices and strapwork, then in the rectory, has disappeared, it is said at the sale of the effects of Mr. Harrison, the late rector, and that it is now in the possession of a farmer in the parish. The sooner it is recovered the better, as it has no business to be out of the possession of the churchwardens.—ED.

As this note stands, it would appear that Billings's statement is clear enough that Clement was the designer of the oak work at Easington. But when reference is made to his own words, it seems to be somewhat uncertain whether his remarks really applied to Easington at all, and not merely to the stall work in Durham cathedral. It is in his introduction to his *Illustrations of the Architectural Antiquities of Durham* (page 13) that the words occur. The whole passage reads:—'Coming down to a later period we have the benches at Sherburn, the screen work and bench-ends of Easington, and the stall-work of the cathedral at Durham, erected during the reign of Charles the Second, after 1650. Here, again, the general effect is excellent, and, if they are questionable in point of detail, the fault must be attributed to the prevailing taste of the time, and not to the architect who designed them.' And he appends a note—'James Clement of Durham, who died in 1690.' The natural interpretation of these words no doubt is that they refer inclusively to Sherburn and Easington as well as to the cathedral; but it is not quite clear that this is what he does mean; certainly by no means so clear as Fordyce's arrangement of the quotation would lead us to suppose.

Now, valuable as Billings's information undoubtedly is, he is not always to be implicitly trusted, especially on a question of date. For instance he puts down the nave of Easington as 'about 1270,' which is of course some three-quarters of a century too late; and he speaks of 'one of the original windows of the nave aisles, a single narrow lancet (now walled up)' as being 'in the west wall, close against the north side of the tower;' entirely ignoring the exactly corresponding window on the south side. And indeed there seem to be reasons for hesitating to accept so late a date as 1660 for at least the seat ends. The portion of the screen which was preserved at the west end of the church, and has now been fixed on the east wall as a canopy over the altar,⁷ may probably enough be work of the time of the Restoration. But a careful examination of the carving on the bench-ends suggests a somewhat earlier date. Moreover, in the earliest parish register (1571-1652) there is a curious note at page 233 recording the appropriation by the rector, Dr. Gabriell Clarke, acting as archdeacon, on 8th November, 1634, of certain specified

⁷ Where it was in Surtees's time.

seats to 'Sir William Bellesees, knight, high sheriffe of the countie of Durham, and to Syr Alexander Hall, knight.' In this apportionment Dr. Clarke mentions that 'the stalls, seats, and pewes, of your church are lately made new and erected uniforme;'⁸ and it is hardly probable that the whole church was again resealed within thirty years. The present seat ends may very well, so far as their style goes, date from 1630 rather than 1660.

On one of them the letters T.S. are carved in relief on either side of the central band from which the flowers depend. It is far from easy to say to whom these letters refer. They can scarcely denote a *permanent* appropriation; nor is it likely that they represent the designer. It is possible that they may be the initials of some generous donor of the seats, in which case they would be placed on the seat occupied by him during his lifetime, but as involving only a lasting commemoration of his gift, not a successive appropriation. The only known permanent assignment of seats in the church was in the south aisle, where the 'Pesspool seats' were set apart for the Pesspool estate, but probably more by prescriptive custom than by definite allotment. But even supposing the letters in question may have referred to the donor, who was T.S.? There were at least three men connected with Easington at this period whose initials were T.S.

(1) Thomas Strode, esq., barrister-at-law, of Parnham in Dorsetshire, to whom Pesspool was mortgaged after the Restoration by William Midford. But if the seats are of the time of Dr. Clarke's rectorship the initials cannot be his.

(2) Thomas Shadforth of Eppleton was a member of the committee of sequestration when Dr. Clarke was expelled from the rectory under the Act of April, 1643, as 'a malignant.' Shadforth was a brother-in-law of John Blakiston, one of the regicides. He was high sheriff in 1651. He was a zealous supporter of the Parliament during the Civil Wars, and sat on all their commissions within the county (*sc.* under the same Act of April, 1643).⁹ So that his connexion with Easington was not properly a parochial one, but only that of an ardent itinerant iconoclast. It is therefore improbable to the last degree that T.S. can refer to him.

⁸ See App. No. I. p. 302.

⁹ *Fordyce*, vol. ii. p. 580.

(3) Thomas Sharpe is the only parishioner who signed the 'Solemn League and Covenant' whose initials are T.S. He signed it on both occasions, and was one of the few who could write their own names. Was he the same Thomas Sharpe of Hawthorn in Easington parish, who in better days rebuilt the vicarage house of Dalton-le-Dale as vicar in 1665, and inscribed over the porch, 'Tho : Sharp edif. 1665.'¹⁰?

It is perhaps worth while thus to refer at length to these bench-ends as a fragmentary contribution to the study of the early oak work, which is so remarkable a feature of the older churches in the county of Durham.

The north-west door, to which reference is made on page 292, was apparently a large one when it was first inserted, to judge by the very wide original threshold, which is clearly marked on the outside. But at some later period, as the line of the jamb shows, it was replaced by a smaller door before it was finally walled up.

The remains of the tracery of the Decorated east window of the church, which was taken out during the last restoration, are in the rectory garden. It is shown in Billings's view of the church (plate XIX.) and



Chancel Window Easington.

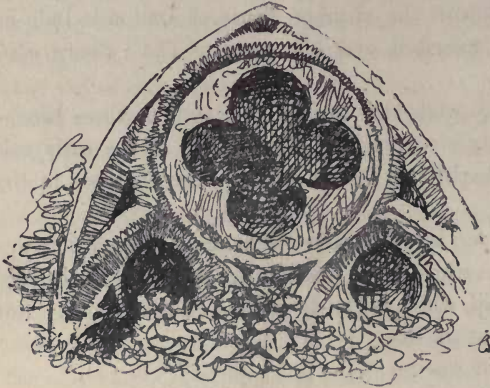
also in the detailed illustration here given, reproduced from Billings.

The window head, of which a sketch is given on the following page, as it now appears in the rectory garden, was part of the east window of the south aisle. It is cut out of a single piece of stone. The diameter of the contained circle is twenty-seven and a half inches; the measurement across the base of the arch is fifty-three and a half inches; and the height forty-two inches.

The rectory of Easington was united to the archdeaconry of Durham, 'propter exiles proventus eiusdem archidiaconatus,' by bishop Walter de Kirkham in 1256, on the occasion of his collation of Robert de St. Agatha to the rectory; and this connexion lasted until 1832, when the two benefices were separated by the Durham Church Estate Act.

¹⁰ Surtees, i. 3.

On pages 163-168, both inclusive, of the first register book of the parish the 'Solemne League and Covenant, for Reformation of Religion, the Honour and Happinesse of ye King, and ye peace and safety of ye



three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland'¹¹ is written out in full, followed by the signatures of the male parishioners (above eighteen years of age) to the number of 157, of whom 118 could not write their own names, but made their marks, a great number of them

curiously distinctive marks. This covenant, which was originally drafted in Scotland, was adopted by the House of Commons, and by the Assembly of Divines, in September, 1643, and ordered to be taken in all the London churches on Sunday, 1st October, 1643, and throughout the country on 2nd February, 1644. It is printed *in extenso* by Fuller in his *Church History of Britain*, book xi. section 5 (who notices the curious conceit that the words in it were counted up by churchmen as exactly numbering 666 [Rev. xiii. 18]). The covenant was appointed to be printed, framed, and hung up in churches; and Fuller remarks, 'in his own defence,' that he never saw the same until he required it in writing his history in July, 1654, 'except at distance as hung up in churches.' So that the parliamentary authorities at Easington were abnormally zealous in having it copied out in the parish register.¹² But the local pressure of the covenant did not end here. On page 115 of the same register book the following entry occurs:—'An :

¹¹ See Appendix II., page 303.

¹² Surtees says 'that the whole parish seems to have been considerably influenced by Nicholas Heath of Eden, and Thomas Midford of Pesspool, two gentlemen of considerable estate who embraced the Parliamentary interest, and with their neighbour Thomas Shadforth of Eppleton, appear in all the committees of sequestration and plunder.'

Dom : 1645¹³ : Oct : 26. the year & day above specified the nationall covenant was taken by the parishoners of the parish of Easington according to an order directed by the Hon^{ble} the standing committee att Lumley Castle to the minister for the present Philip Nisbett ther,' and there follow again the signatures of the parishioners to the number of 161, of whom 111 had already signed on the previous occasion. Probably this fresh imposition was to some extent due to the mis-directed energy of the new minister, Philip Nisbett, stimulated perhaps by the influence of the neighbouring Scotch garrison of Hartlepool under lieut.-colonel Dowglass.¹⁴

On the first occasion of signing the covenant the signatures are headed by the name of 'William Johnston, minister.' This William Johnston appears to have served as residentiary curate for Dr. Clarke, and during his incumbency. For though the cathedral clergy fled southwards almost to a man after the victory of the Scotch at Newburn in August, 1640, apparently Dr. Clarke was not expelled from his rectory (and other preferments) until about four years later, as the return of the benefice of Easington 'late belonginge to Dr. Clarke, Rector thereof,' is given in the Sequestrators' books under date of 17th September, 1644.¹⁵ But the signature of William Johnston appears at the foot of the registers from 1636 onwards. It would seem that the title of 'minister' was in vogue before the Parliament men were thrust into the parishes. For Johnston signs his name promiscuously as 'Gulielmus Johnston, minister,' 'Will. Johnston, minister,' 'Gulielmus Johnston, Curatus,' 'Willielmus Johnston, Curate,' or 'Willielmus Johnston, Curatus.' And as late as 1642 he enters the burial of his wife : 'Julij 5. Elizabetha vxor Willielmi Johnston Clerici pia matrona sepulta est' (an entry which was afterwards copied by Philip Nisbett in 1647 : 'Novemb^r ye first Elizabetha Nesbitt pia Matrona sepulta est'). Moreover, the burial of Johnston's predecessor Robinson, who signed his name as 'Clericus' in 1608,¹⁶ is entered in 1636 thus 'Aprilis 5 : Abraham^s Robinson, minister, sepultus.' And he had himself signed the registers as 'minister' from 1605 onwards. So

¹³ The last figure of this date is uncertain ; it might be 6 or 5 ; but inasmuch as some of the signatories died in the early months of 1646, the date is definitely fixed as 1645.

¹⁴ Sharp's *History of Hartlepool* (ed. 1851), page 58.

¹⁵ Surtees, i. 12.

¹⁶ See note 5, page 295 above.

that it seems clear that the title was in use from the beginning of that century at least to denote the assistant curate of the parish.

The number of men in the parish who signed the covenant corresponds very closely with the number who responded to the summons of James I. in 1615 for the array of all men in the bishopric able to bear arms between the ages of sixteen and sixty, when out of the 8,320 assembled on Gilesgate Moor 140 were from Easington.¹⁷

It is noteworthy that the names of some of the principal families are not found in the lists of signatures, *e.g.*, there is no Conyers, and no Bellasis.¹⁸

APPENDIX.

I.

On page 233 of the Register the following occurs:—Gabriell Clarke Dor: of Diuinitie and Archdeacon of Durham to the churchwardens of the p'ishe Chirche of easington wthin the Ar[chdeacon]rie afforsd & to the p'ishoners ther or to whome these p'sents may concerne [health] & peace in our lord god euerlasting, wheras we accordinge to canons ecclesiasticall of this realme & in discharge & excution of our sd office acordinge to his m^{ties} late p'clamation in this behalfe haue lately taken a full view & p'fecte survey of your sayd Churche that all things therin might accordinge to the p'script of the sayd lawes & cannons (?) be fitted furnished & p'uided in such sort as becomethe this churche & [house] of God to the comfort & delight of suche as thither resorte to heare his holy worde & to receiue his sacraments And whereas the stales seates & pewes of your churche are latly made new & erected vniforme yet diuerse of the p'ishoners doe sit diordersly & in manner [disturb]inge the rest the seates belonginge to sir William Bellesees knight highc sheriffe of the countie palatine of Durham & to syr Alexander Hall knight, are not so conueniently placed as to their rankes degrees & qualities are meete & thought fittinge we therefore by vertue of our office and authoritie afforesd doe by this our p'sent writinge limitt & appoynt sett assigne & allott their seates & pewes in manner & forme followinge videl. the first & second seates next the ministers seate on the southe side to syr William Bellesees afforesd knight entirely (the clarks seate onely excepted) the third seate to Edderacres And wee assigne limitt & appoynt that syr Alexander Hall knight shalbe placed & haue the seate next the pulpett formerly belonginge syr W^m Bellesees w^{ch} consist of three seates whereof s^r Alexander Hall is to haue one in his owne right by exchange wth sr W^m Bellesees on the southe side & another in exchange wth Miles White in the next seate & the thirde in exchange wth Nicholas Tomson on the northe side of the pulpett, wherby

¹⁷ Surtees, i. pages lxxxvii., cxxxvii.

¹⁸ The covenant was finally condemned as 'in itself an unlawful oath' by the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

bothe the knights will haue their peculiar seates or pewes wthout the interruption of others & this our allotm^t & assignem^t we will & comand to bee registred in your register booke for posteritie sake & none wilfully to oppose disquiet & contemne the same vpon payne of ecclesiasticall censure: Giuen vnder the seale of our office the eighe of Nouember in the yeare of our lord God 1634.

Concordat cum decreto
Domini Archidiaconi.

II.

A Solemne League & Covenant, for Reformation^s of Religion, the Honour & Happinesse of ye King, and ye peace & safety of ye three kingdomes of England, Scotland, & Ireland.

Wee Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, ministers of ye Gospel, & Commons of all sorts in ye Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by ye providence of God, Liuing vnder one King, & being of one reformed Religion, hauing before ouer eyes ye glory of God, & ye advancement of ye Kingdome of o^r Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour & happinesse of ye Kings Ma^{tie}, & his posterity, & ye true publicke liberty, Safty, and peace of ye Kingdomes, wherein everyones private condition is included and calling to minde ye treacherous & bloody plotts, Conspiracies, Attempts and practices of ye enemies of God, against ye true Religion & p^rfessors thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdomes ever since the Reformation of Religion, & howmuch their rage, power, & p^rsumption are of Late, & at this time increased & exercysed; whereof ye deplorable estate of ye Church & kingdome of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church & Kingdome of England, & ye dangerous estate of ye Church & kingdome of Scotland, are p^rsent & publike testimonies Wee haue now at Last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, p^rtestations, & Sufferings) for ye p^rservation of our selues & our Religion from vtter ruine & Destruction according to ye comendable practice of these kingdomes in former times, & ye example of Gods people in other Nations; after Mature Deliberation, resolued & determined to enter into a mutuall & solemne League and Covenant, wherein wee all subscribe, & each one of vs for him selfe; wth our hands lifted vp to ye most high God, Do Swear:

1. That wee shall sincerely, really & constantly, through ye grace of God, indeavour in o^r severall places & callings, the p^rservation of ye Reformed Religion in ye Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline & goverment, against ou^r common enemies, the Reformation of Religion in ye kingdomes^s England & Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline & goverment, according to ye word of God, & ye example of ye best Reformed Churches; and shall indeanour to bring ye Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to ye nearest Coniunctions & Vniformity in Religion, confession of fayth, form of Church goverment, Direction for wor^{sh}ipp and Catechizing; that wee & our posterity after vs may as brethren Liue in fayth & Love & ye Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of vs.

2. That wee shall in Like Manner wthout respect of persons, indeavour ye extirpation of popery, prelacie (that is Church goverment by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours & Comissaries, deanes, deans & chapters, Archdeacons

^s Reformation and defence. (Fuller).

⁴ Of. F.

and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchie) Superstition, heresie, Schism, prophanesse, & whatsoever shalbe found to be contrary to sound doctrine, & ye power of godlinesse, lest wee p'take in other mens sins, & thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, & yt ye Lord may be one, & his name one in the three Kingdomes.

3. We shall wth ye same sincerity, realty, & constancy, in our severall Vocations, indeauour wth our estates & lives, Mutually to p^rserve ye Rights & priviledges of the parliaments & ye^s liberties of ye kingdomes. And to p^rserue & defend the Kings Maties^e person and Authority in ye p^rservation & defence of ye true Religion, & liberties of ye kingdomes yt the world may beare witness wth our Consciences of our Loyalty, & yt we haue no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Maitsties power^r and greatnesse.

4. We shall also wth all faithfulness indeavouour ye discovery of all such as haue ben, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Instruments, by hindering ye Reformation of Religion, Dividing ye King from his people, or on of ye kingdomes from another, or making any faction or p^rties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publike triall, & receive condigne punishment, as ye degree of their offences shall require or deserue, or ye Supream Judicatories of both Kingdomes respectively, or others hauing power from them for that effect, shall iudge convenient.

5. And whereas ye happinesse of a blessed peace between these kingdomes, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by ye good providence of God granted vnto vs and hath been latly concluded, & settled by both parliaments, We shall each on of vs, according to our place & interest indeavouour yt they may remaine conioined in a firme peace & vnion to all posterity; And that Justice may be done vpon ye willfull opposers thereof in manner expressed in ye p^rcedent Articles.⁸

6. We shall also according to our places & callings, in this common Cause of Religion, Librertry, & peace of they⁹ kingdomes, assist & defend all those that enter into this League & Covenant in the mayntaing & pursuing thereof, & shall not suffer our selues directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion, or terror, to be divided & wthdrawne from this blessed vnion & coniunction,¹⁰ whether to make defection to ye contrary part, or to giue our selues to a destable Indeffe^rnce or neutrality in this cause, w^{ch} so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of kingdomes, & the honour¹¹ of the king; but shall all ye dayes of our Liues zealously and & constantly continue¹² therein against all opposition and promote ye same according to our power, against all Lets & Impediments whatsoever; and what wee are not able our selues¹³ to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely p^rvented or removed; All which we shall Doe as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdomes are guilty of many sins & provocations against God, & his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our p^rsent distresses & dangers, ye fruits thereof; wee professe & declare before God & ye world, our vnfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins & for ye sins of these kingdomes, especi-

⁸ Due. F.

⁶ Majesty, his. F.

⁷ Just power. F.

⁸ Article. F.

⁹ The. F.

¹⁰ Conjunction and union. F.

¹¹ The kingdoms, and honour. F.

¹² Endeavour to continue. F.

¹³ Of ourselves. F.

ally, that we haue not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of ye Gospell; that we haue not Laboured for ye purity & power thereof; and yt we haue not indeavoured to receiue Christ in our harts, nor to walke worthy of him in o^r Lives, w^{ch} are ye causes of our¹⁴ sins & Transgressions so much abounding Amongst vs; And our true & vnfeigned purpose, desire,¹⁵ for our selves and all others vnder our power† & charge¹⁶ both in publike & in private, in all duties we owe to God & man, to amend ou^r liues and each one to go before another in ye example of areall Reformation, that ye Lord may turne away his wrath & heaue indignation, & establish these Churches & kingdomes in truth and peace, And this Covenant wee make in ye presence] of almighty God ye searcher of all hearts, wth a true intention to performe ye same, as we shall answer at that¹⁷ great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen vs by his holy Spirit for¹⁸ this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such successe as may be deliverance and safety to his people and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning vnder or in danger of the yoake of antichristian tyranny to joyne in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of god the inlargement of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdomes and common-wealths.

William Johnston, minister.	*Gilbert Rand ×	Thomas Wilden ×
*Richard ffoster.	*Christopher Chapman ×	*Lancilot Young ×
*Michaell Bryan.	*Ja. Nicholson ×	*Jhon Kendlaie ×
*Richard Read.	Steven Robinson ×	William Kendlaie ×
*Nicholas Shadforth.	*Geo. wilden ×	*Mihil Hikson ×
*Thomas Lighton.	*Robert Richardson ×	Richard Biltriss ×
*Willm. young.	Nicholas Rennison ×	*Jhon Thomson ×
*Rich. Jurdeson ×	*Geo. Robinson ×	Willia ^m Butler × (?)
*Thoms Robinson.	*James Hart ×	George Cock ×
*John Thomson ×	*Raph wat ×	*Robert forester ×
*Thomas Sharpe.	*Richard wilden ×	*Thomas Midford.
*Anthony Robinson.	*Marmaduke wilden ×	*Richard Reed.
*Robert Ayre.	*william watson ×	William Midford.
Richard Drauer.	*Tho. Robinson ×	*Robert Rutter.
John paxton ×	Gilbert Paxton ×	Richard Jackso' ×
*William paxton.	William Harrison ×	*Thomas Robinso' ×
*Thomas paxton.	John Midleton ×	George Willso' ×
*Geo. Robinson.	*willia ^m wardell ×	Willm Liddell ×
*Rich. Vnthanke ×	*Raiph Newbie.	*John Nelson.
*Geo. Foster ×	*George robinson.	*Christopher Humble ×
*Tho. Robinson.	Robert Davison ×	Bertra' Ritchie ×
*John Richardson.	*Thomas Ellyson.	*Thomas Atkinso' ×
*Christopher Bee ×	*James Crookes ×	Thomas paxton.
*Robert Tonge ×	Edward paxton.	*John Gascoigne ×
*George paxton ×	*George Paxton ×	*Thomas Robinso' ×
*William foster ×	*Robert paxton.	Nicolas Todde ×
William Hall ×	*Christopher paxton ×	*Roland Robinso' ×
*George Grame ×	John westland ×	Nicolas burdon ×
*John Weremouth ×	Thomas Harrison ×	*Richard Dawso' ×
*Robert Jurdeson ×	*John Hunter ×	Christopher Stoddart ×
	John Hart ×	*Christofer Shacklocke ×

¹⁴ Other. F.¹⁶ Under our charge. F.¹⁵ Desire and endeavour. F.¹⁷ The. F.¹⁸ To. F.

* Also signed in Oct., 1645.

† Added in a different hand.

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| *Peter Wilden × | *Robert Jurdeson × | *James Byers × |
| *Barth. Starne × | John Hall × | Nicolas Reule × |
| *Richard Wolfe. | *Robert Bacon × | Robert pescod × |
| *Willm Rennison. | *Richard Bower × | *Edward Newby × |
| Richard paxton. | *George Kendall × | Charles Vshay × |
| Richard Jurdeson. | *Edward Burdon × | John Packston × |
| *George Burdon. | Edward Twaile × | *George Meaburne × |
| *William Wright × | George Burdon × | *John ffarow × |
| *Cuthbert liddell × | John foster × | Willm Gent × |
| *Edward paxton × | *Jhon Jordison × | Robert Chambers × |
| Robert Errington × | *William Hunter. | *Willyam Dauy × |
| *Tho. Young × | *Miles White. | *Philip Clerk × |
| *James Watson. | *Robert Byars. | *John Humble × |
| *Cuthbert Jurdeson × | *Henry Clerk × | *George Humble × |
| William Cawood × | *Adam Wilkisen × | *Henrie Smyth × |
| *Tho. Robinson × | *Anthony Tayler × | John Reedhead × |
| *Abraham Paxton. | *Anthony Storie × | Henry Mayhew × |
| *William Jurdeson. | *Georg Harison × | George Linsley × |
| *Anthony Vnthanke × | *Jhon Clerk × | *Edward Vsher × |
| *Thomas Weldon × | *Lemvel Horslie × | *Nicolas Vsher × |
| *George Wolfe × | *Robert Simson × | *Anthony Willso' × |
| *Geo. Shadforth × | Henrie Thomson × | |

The following additional signatures occur in 1645 besides the 116 marked with an asterisk above :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Nico. Heath. | William sourbie × | Martin Kirke. |
| Alexander Nisbett. | Robert Lambert × | Christopher King × |
| George Walton. | Thomas Thomson × | Michell Harrison × |
| Richard Baits × | Robert Etherington × | Robert Robinson × |
| Robt. Sharpe × | Willm. Hopper × | John Robinson × |
| John Sharp × | Richard Davison × | Jhon Lambert × |
| George Jurdison. | Tho: foster × | Will' Swalwell × |
| John Reede. | William Hyll × | John Bell × |
| William Bower × | William Watson × | John Pope × |
| Philip Nesbitt, M. | Christopher Kinge × | John Hickson × |
| Richard Tindale. | John Rennison × | Alexander Brogtem. |
| Richard Wilkinson × | Henry Meder × | Willm Corner × |
| John Burden × | John Wakes × | Robert Tailour × |
| John Lyall × | Richard patison × | George Errington × |
| Georg. Smith × | James Telerson × | James Bower × |
| Thomas Hewson × | William Dawson × | John Washing × |
| John newby × | John coke × | |

* Also signed in Oct., 1645.

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R E P O R T
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCV.

IN presenting to the members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne the report for the year just ended, the council has not many important events to commemorate. The number of members is now 339, showing an increase of three from the preceding year. There has been a good supply of papers on antiquarian subjects, and the monthly meetings at the castle have been attended by a large number of members who have been rewarded for their diligence by several interesting discussions.

The literary activity of some of our members has been usefully displayed in various fields of archaeological research. Mr. Richard Welford's *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed* will help to preserve from unmerited oblivion many of our Northumbrian worthies. Mr. Maberly Phillips's *History of Banks, Bankers and Banking, in Northumberland, Durham, and North Yorkshire*, is a monument of patient industry and research, and will be invaluable to the future describer of life and manners in the North of England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, besides recalling attention to a class of men whose unostentatious services to the community seldom meet with the recognition which they deserve. Mr. R. Oliver Heslop has at length brought to a conclusion his work on *Northumberland Words*, in which, with remarkable assiduity and ability, he has collected and preserved the folk-speech of Tyneside and the northernmost county of England. Another volume of the *New County History of Northumberland* is on

the eve of publication. We have to regret that the editor, Mr. Bateson, has now ended his connection with this interesting enterprize, but are glad to welcome his successor, Mr. A. B. Hinds, amongst the members of this society.

The Northumberland Excavation Committee has, during the past year, made researches at the Roman camp of AESICA, the results of which are detailed in their report.* The discovery of scale-armour, rings and *fibulae*†, which must apparently have belonged to an officer of somewhat high rank in the Roman army, is an important event, and should stimulate the committee and the subscribers to the fund to undertake with fresh energy the campaign of 1895.

We have as usual to lament the gaps caused by death in the circle of our members. Sir Charles Thomas Newton, K.C.B., the illustrious discoverer of the sculptures of Halicarnassus, who was for many years keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, was the oldest member of our society,‡ having been elected as an honorary member in the year 1841. He died on the 28th November, 1894, aged 78 years.

A somewhat similar official position was held by another honorary member, Col. August von Cohausen, who was Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities at Wiesbaden, who died suddenly at that city on the 2nd December, 1894, at the age of 83. We have the satisfaction of knowing that it was the work of our late revered vice-president, Dr. Bruce, on the Roman Wall, which stimulated him to undertake those researches in his own country, which have for ever connected his name with the Roman *Limes Imperii* between the Rhine and the Danube, and to which he joyfully devoted so large a portion of his life.

The country meetings during the year have been well attended, and thanks are due to those gentlemen who so kindly received and entertained members, especially to Mr. Trevelyan of Netherwitton hall, Mr. Chaytor of Witton castle, and our secretary, Dr. Hodgkin, at Bamburgh castle.

* See it at page xxii. † See *Proceedings*, vi. pp. 241-5.

‡ M. Ferdinand Denis, the next oldest on the list, who was head librarian of the 'Bibliothèque S^{te} Geneviève' at Paris, died in the month of August, 1892, at the age of ninety-two years.

It will be observed that the name of 'His Excellency John Sigismund von Mösting' of Copenhagen, appears at the head of the list as the oldest member of the society; but he died so long ago as Sept. 6, 1843, 1759 having been the year of his birth.

The council gratefully records its high appreciation of the gift, by Mr. J. C. Brooks, one of the vice-presidents, of his large and valuable collection of portraits and autographs.

Considerable progress has been made with the supplement to the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and it is hoped that part of it may be ready for issue to the members in the course of the year.

One of the vice-presidents of the society, the Rev. Dr. Greenwell, has just made some most important discoveries in Durham cathedral. The foundations of the eastern termination of St. Carilef's church which was begun in August, 1093, have been partly uncovered, and they show that the plan of the east end comprised three apses and not as has been supposed one great apse with an encircling aisle. It is hoped that Mr. Greenwell will read a paper on the subject.

We have received the following report from the librarian (Mr. M. Mackey, junr.):—

'In addition to the stock value included in the treasurer's report (p. xx), the following are a few notes for the consideration of the council. To take into consideration whether such works as Surtees's *History of Durham*, Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, and others equally scarce and valuable, should be allowed to circulate. Several local books of importance are not in the library, such as Sharp's *History of Hartlepool*, either first or second edition, Summers's *History of Sunderland*, and Lonsdale's *Cumberland Worthies*, in five volumes, which contains biographical notices of local worthies not to be found elsewhere, and a fitting companion to Atkinson's *Worthies of Westmorland*, already on our shelves. It would be advisable to purchase these. Several volumes of the publications of the Surtees Society are wanted to complete the society's set. These should be got; as time goes on many of them will be more difficult to procure. In conclusion, I think we should have in our library all works of local interest, especially relating to the history and topography of the district.'

The following is the report of the curators (Messrs. C. J. Spence and R. Oliver Heslop) presented to us:—

'During the years 1892, 1893, and 1894 the total number of donations to the museum have been sixty, comprising about one hundred and eighty-six separate objects. These include the 'Richard

Cail collection' of sculptured stones, numbering seventy-five objects, presented by the executors of our late vice-president.

An epitome of the remaining donations shows the following relationship:—

Prehistoric, nine objects (including three sepulchral food vessels, two implements of stone, one bronze spear-head, and three fragments attributable to this era).

Roman, nine objects (including the large altar from Binchester, three centurial stones, and five objects of lesser consequence).

Medieval, six objects (including the fine ewer found in Pudding Chare, Newcastle, presented by our librarian).

Weapons, nine, of various dates (including five firearms of recent times and three swords).

Coins, nine (eight English and Scotch, one Wisby).

Photographs, Drawings, and Casts, twenty-five.

Cannon Balls, four of various dates from seventeenth century.

Domestic Articles (chiefly objects of comparatively recent date, but which have now, or about, gone out of use), thirty-four.

Foreign objects, five Indian gods, and a set of African bagpipes of grotesque construction (the latter presented by our librarian).

Efforts have been continued in the direction of a systematic arrangement of the contents of the Black Gate museum, but the conditions render this task necessarily slow. Many of the old cases were originally intended for altogether different situations, and they are at the best ill adapted for exhibition, whilst the imperfect lighting of the museum adds a further difficulty in the way of their disposal in an endeavour to show the contents to advantage. Supplemental cases of special design and suitable construction have been added at the personal cost of one of the curators, and it is hoped that the furniture of the museum may be further modified in the same direction by the society itself.

Improvements have been made in the arrangement of objects in the castle with a view of rendering the contents of the main building more attractive to visitors, and of compensating, to some extent, for the depleting which took place on the formation of the Black Gate museum. In addition to the banners required to complete the series in the Great Hall, other objects of interest might be included with advantage. Collections of weapons and armour would be especially suitable for the purpose.

The representations of your curators of the danger to the public through the unprotected condition of the openings in the parapet of the castle have been met by the Mayor and Corporation of the city, and the thanks of the society are due to them, and to the city engineer Mr. W. G. Laws, for the courtesy and promptitude with which the open embrasures have been efficiently protected by strong iron bars.

The carronades and their mountings still lie on the gun platforms in a condition of dismantlement and decay, and your curators beg to suggest that old ship's gun-carriages be obtained to remount these now antiquated accessories to the castle.

Appended is a list of donations to the museum during the three years ending 31st December, 1894:—

1892.

- Jan. 27. From the late J. W. BARNES, Durham—
 Five coins found at Neville's Cross—two Robert II. (1371-90), Edinburgh and Perth; half groat, London; penny, York; penny, Durham, 1327-1377.
 Water-colour drawing of window in Holy Island church, by T. S. Good.
 Twelve etchings, by Good (*Proc.* vol. v. p. 133).
- From C. C. HODGES—
 Three photographs of illuminations to a MS. of Cassiodorus in Durham Chapter library (*ibid.*).
- From M. MACKEY, jun.—
 A large earthenware pitcher, 13½ inches high, 4¾ inches diameter at mouth, and 6¾ inches at base, found during excavations in Wallace's Yard, Pudding Chare, Newcastle. It was found embedded in solid clay, surrounded by oak stakes 6 inches apart (*ibid.* p. 134).
- Feb. 24. From W. LISLE, Bilsmoor Foot (per D. D. Dixon)—
 Iron cannon ball, weighing 5 lbs. 4 oz., found in 1886 in the heather on Carrock Moor, near Elsdon, Redesdale.
- Mar. 30. From R. G. BOLAM, Berwick—
 Grant on parchment from Queen Elizabeth (1587) of tenement at Souther Field, Berwick, with pendent seal (*Proc.* v. p. 146).
- From JOHN GIBSON—
 Fragment of gravestone from Darn Crook, Newcastle (*ibid.*).
- Apr. 27. From J. CRAWFORD HODGSON, Warkworth—
 Pair of steel snufflers (*ibid.* p. 155).
- May 25. From Mrs. WALKER—
 Portrait of John Walker, 1835, in the attitude of playing the Northumberland small pipes.

- June 29. From W. G. LAWS, city surveyor—
 Large stone missile, found May 11th, 1892, in excavating for wall at Newcastle Quay, at about depth of low tide mark (*Proc.* v. p. 184).
 From GEORGE WILSON of Hepple—
 Red deer's horn, fragment from Hetchester camp, near Rothbury, showing saw marks (*ibid.*).
- From J. MORRIS, Medomsley—
 Bronze spear head, 8½ inches long, blade 5⅜ inches long, found in a field on High Bradley Farm, a little south-west of Medomsley, and a short distance from the Watling Street (*ibid.* p. 184 and 190).
- July 27. From HUGH W. YOUNG, F.S.A., Scot., of Edinburgh—
 Cast of a bull, from an incised stone of Celtic date, in British Museum, from Burghhead (*ibid.* p. 191).
 From J. E. NEWBY, late of Binchester Hall—
 Roman altar, found at Binchester, May, 1891, inscribed MATRES OLLOTOTAE SIVE TRANSMARINIS (*Proc.* v. pp. 36, 130, 143, and 191; *Arch. Ael.* xiv. p. 225-227).
- Aug. 31. From H. COULTER, 36 Rodsley Avenue, Gateshead—
 Pipe, found in digging a cellar in Chillingham Road, Heaton, at a depth of 14 feet below the surface, August 26th, 1892.
 Coin, found at same time and place, but 15 feet below the surface; probably a farthing of Charles II. (*Proc.* v. p. 204).
- Sep. 29. From HENRY HINDE, South Shields—
 Brass guinea scales of early nineteenth century.
 Brass ticket, used on Newcastle and North Shields Railway Company about 1840; *obverse*, 'Newcastle, North Shields, and Tynemouth Railway : ' *reverse*, 'Third Class' (*ibid.* p. 220).
 From R. Y. GREEN of Newcastle—
 Old spectacles with circular glasses (two pairs).
 Old clasp knife (*ibid.* p. 220).
- From Fleet Surgeon S. A. WILLIS, M.D., R.N.—
 Remington rifle, } from Egyptian soldier's equipment, Tel-el-Knapsack and canteen, } Kebir, September 13th, 1882.
 French musket, carried by a Zulu native at Ginghilovo, April 2nd, 1879 (*ibid.* p. 220).
- From H. J. W. COULSON, Lythecourt, Tiverton, Devon—
 Centurial stone from Walltown turret (*ibid.* p. 220).
- Oct. 26. From W. D. CRUDDAS of Haughton Castle, North Tynedale—
 Two centurial stones, found in wall by side of Military road near Sewingshields in June, 1892 (*ibid.* pp. 188, 227).
- Dec. 28. From His Grace the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND—
 Plaster cast of penny of Henry earl of Northumberland; struck at Bamburgh (*ibid.* p. 243).
 From R. E. RUDDOCK, of Newcastle—
 Portrait of vice-president John Philipson (*ibid.* p. 242).

1893.

- Jan. 25. From WM. DAVIDSON, Harbottle—
A perforated stone hammer, of Cheviot porphyry, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, having a central hole $\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter; found in the Coquet in 1892 (*ibid.* vol. vi. p. 1).
- From Superintendent DOBSON, Rothbury—
Constable's baton or staff, formerly belonging to a petty constable.
Constable's twitch (*ibid.* pp. 1 and 2).
- From WM. LISLE, Billsmoor Foot—
Key, found in a slag heap on moors near Elsdon (*ibid.* p. 2).
- From D. D. DIXON, Rothbury—
A dirk, 17 inches long from knob of pommel to point, found in digging a foundation in June, 1883, at Borough Butts, near Rothbury. Supposed fifteenth or sixteenth century workmanship.
A sword, found on the moors west of Rothbury, about 1870.
Length, knob to point, $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches; blade, $32\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width of blade, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Mark on blade, an object like an orb.
Handcuffs (as formerly used by petty constables of townships), from the township of Caistron, Northumberland.
Handcuffs, from township of Mount Healy (*ibid.* p. 2, also vol. i. p. 335).
- Feb. 22. From the late J. W. BENTHAM of Newcastle—
Inscribed stone wall tablet—'Thomas Bryckwel, 1579.' From old house formerly standing on the site of Bentham Buildings, Side, Newcastle. Demolished 1892 (*Proc.* vi. p. 10).
- From C. W. HENZELL of Tynemouth—
Iron cannon ball, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, found lying below Tynemouth cliffs, 1892. Supposed to have come from a stranded vessel (*ibid.* p. 12).
- From R. BLAIR (secretary)—
Brass figure of Billy Purvis, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.
Flint pistol, probably Turkish, $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.
Flint pistol, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long (*ibid.* p. 12).
- Mar. 29. From BARRON EBDY, Durham—
Three weights, used in weighing hemp at Durham up to the year 1892. All are made of stone, with iron ring handles. Two weigh about 32 lbs. each, and are 8 inches diameter by 11 inches high. The smallest weighs 16 lbs., size 4 inches diameter by 6 inches high (*ibid.* p. 19).
- From THOMAS MAY, now of Warrington—
Stone celt, North America.
Cruzie from the north of Scotland (*ibid.* p. 19).
- From R. BLAIR (secretary)—
Flint-lock gun, detachable, for putting in the pocket, used so by poachers. Made by Johnson, Newcastle (*ibid.* p. 19).

- Apr. 26. From MIDDLETON H. DAND of Hauxley—
Hank of flax, for spinning wheel (*ibid.* p. 26).
From the WALBOTTLE COAL COMPANY—
Wooden wheel, from wheelbarrow, found in pit workings at Whorlton, Northumberland (*ibid.* p. 26).
- May 31. From Sir GAINSFORD BRUCE and co-trustees of the late Dr. BRUCE—
Head of Hadrian, of heroic size. A plaster cast, bronzed.
Spode plate, from the Mansion House, Newcastle, with arms and motto of the town in centre (*ibid.* p. 32).
- June 28. From WALTER S. CORDER of North Shields—
Photograph by himself of Bewcastle cross, framed (*ibid.* p. 41).
- July 26. From Sir GAINSFORD BRUCE and co-trustees—
Three chalk drawings of places on the Antonine Wall, near Falkirk, by S. Holmes (*ibid.* p. 53).
From JOHN VENTRESS of Newcastle—
Rubbing of Tyzack tombstone, Heaton park (*ibid.* p. 54).
- July 26. From WALTER SCOTT, Sunderland—
Piscina from Boldon church (*ibid.* vi. p. 54).
- Sept. 27. From Mrs. THOMPSON—
Flint and steel, with tinder (*ibid.* vi. p. 77).
From GEORGE IRVING—
Fragment of Roman altar, from Greenhead, [I] . O . M . [A]EL .
DA . . . P (*ibid.* p. 77).
From THOMAS MAY—
Fragment of a vitrified fort at Lochhell, Argyll (*ibid.* p. 78).
From C. WILLIAMS, Cullercoats—
Durham Penny of Bp. Booth (*temp.* Ed. IV.) found at Clock house, Cullercoats, July, 1893 (*ibid.* p. 78).
From the Rev. J. F. FARROW, Felling—
Fragment of Roman tile, Procolitia (LEG—) (*ibid.* p. 78).
- Oct. 25. From G. H. THOMPSON, Alnwick—
Two harvesting sickles and one hook (*ibid.* p. 89. See also letter p. 95.)
From THOMAS MAY—
Vitrified rock, from hill fort, near Brechin (*ibid.* p. 89).
From R. C. CLEPHAN of Southdene Tower, Gateshead—
Small copper coin of Wisby, fifteenth or sixteenth century (*ibid.* p. 89).
From STATION MASTER, Whitley—
Old railway chair from Whitley colliery (*ibid.* p. 89).
From W. W. TOMLINSON—
Old door key, from Whitley (*ibid.*).

- Nov. 29. From MATTHEW MACKEY, JUN.—
 African bagpipes, purchased at sale of the effects of the late Dr. Bruce (*ibid.* p. 94).
 From the Rev. J. M. LISTER—
 Iron fetters, found on north side of St. Andrew's church, Newcastle (*ibid.*).
- Dec. 20. From JOHN ROBINSON of Newcastle—
 Reaping hook, found in pulling down the Fox and Lamb public house, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, 1893 (*ibid.* p. 101).
 From GEORGE IRVING of Newcastle—
 A heavy timber crane, jib, and stays, from a warehouse in City Road, Newcastle (*ibid.* p. 101).
- 1894.
- Jan. 31. From the Rev. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A., vice president—
 Three small plates or scales (bronze), forming part of the attachment of a Roman *lorica*; found west of the Mucklebank turret (*ibid.* p. 129).
- April 25. From HENRY RICHARDSON, Backworth—
 'Food vessel,' found in prehistoric cist in excavating a foundation at The Hirst, Ashington (*ibid.* p. 153).
 From the executors of the late RICHARD CAIL—
 'The Richard Cail collection' of sculptured stones, etc.:—
 Nine large stone balls, dredged from the river Tyne at Newcastle.
 Thirty-five sculptured stones from church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle (Norman).
 Six fragments of window tracery from church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle.
 Four base rounds from columns of crypt of chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, Spital, Newcastle.
 Corbel with face of satyr.
 Three carved heads from the ends of drip mouldings.
 Spandril, carved, brought from rockery, which stood at Anderson Place, Newcastle.
 Six 'creein trows' or husking mortars.
 Three hand-mill stones.
 Two heraldic figures of paroquets in Portland stone, each bearing on its breast the Lumley arms, and on an escutcheon of pretence the arms of Jones of Oxfordshire (*ibid.* p. 51). Originally brought from Lumley castle, these birds long stood at the doorway of Mr. Todd's residence, Picton house, now the terminus of the Blyth and Tyne Railway at Newcastle.
 Two balusters from Tyne bridge (eighteenth century).
 Cruciform sundial from Carlisle.
 Multiface sundial.
 Sundial on pedestal dated 1754 (Thomas Wilson's) (*ibid.* p. 155).

- July 25. From HENRY RICHARDSON, Backworth—
 Sepulchral 'food vessel,' $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at mouth;
 found near the vessel (presented April 25th last) in a cist at The
 Hirst, Acklington (*ibid.* p. 202).
- Aug. 29. From MARGARET ROBSON, Red Lion inn, Haltwhistle—
 Toasting cranks.
 'Tom' candlestick (*ibid.* p. 220).
- From HENRY RICHARDSON—
 Sepulchral 'food vessel' (the third), from The Hirst; 5 inches
 high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, and 3 inches at base (*ibid.* p. 221).
- From W. S. CORDER—
 Fragments of Samian ware, earthenware, and glass (Roman) from
Segedunum (Wallsend) (*ibid.* p. 221).
- Sept. 26. From R. NEWTON of Newcastle—
 Two cement casts of heraldic shields, representing the arms of
 Barnes of Durham, and probably Acton. From a house front
 in Westmoreland Court, Newcastle (*ibid.* p. 241).
- From Mrs. BARNES, Whitburn—
 Bronze mortar, Dutch, five inches high by six inches diameter, with
 pestle, inscribed LOF GODT VAN AL ANNO 1651.
 Five Indian gods of bronze.
 Carved horn.
 Short sword.
 Tinder box and candlestick in one (*ibid.* p. 241).
- Oct. 31. From WILLIAM ANGUS of London—
 Newcastle silver token of Alex. Kelty, 1812 (*ibid.* p. 262).
- From J. W. WATSON, Tynemouth—
 Statuette of stone, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and fragments of others, probably
 Graeco-Roman workmanship found near Larnaca, Cyprus, sup-
 posed to have been broken off the face of another sculptured
 work (*ibid.* p. 262).
- Nov. 28. From THE INCORPORATED COMPANY OF PLUMBERS, GLAZIERS,
 AND PEWTERERS—
 Cannon ball, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches circumference, found in 1700 during repairs
 in the town wall, Newcastle, at Morden tower. The ball, formerly
 gilded, used to hang from the centre of the ceiling at Morden
 tower, and was supposed to have been discharged in the siege of
 1644 (*ibid.* p. 265).
- From Mr. MENDELSSOHN, formerly of Newcastle—
 A large photographic portrait of the late Dr. Bruce, with frame
 complete (*ibid.* p. 265).
- From C. J. SPENCE, one of the curators—
 Two show-cases for the Roman room, Black Gate museum, with
 stands complete.

The following is the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

for the year ending 31st December, 1894:—

The number of ordinary members is now 339, being an increase of 18 for the past year. During the year we have lost seven members by death, and eight have resigned.

The total income from revenue sources has been £490 12s. 1d., and the expenditure £506 18s. 7d., which shows a balance of expenditure over income of £16 6s. 6d., but this is equivalented by the value of the prints from the plate of St. Nicholas's church remaining in stock.

The balance of the revenue account carried forward to 1895 is £201 5s., and the capital invested in $2\frac{3}{4}$ consols with dividends thereon is now £47 3s. 2d.

The receipts from members' subscriptions have been £348 12s., which is an increase of £28 7s. over that of 1893.

The receipts from the castle have increased £10, and from the Black Gate £1. The balance of receipts over expenditure for the two places is £3 12s. 6d. for the year, but the Black Gate museum continues very far from paying its way, and it is a question whether some better mode of advertising it could not be adopted.

The expenditure upon the *Archaeologia Aeliana* has been about the same as last year. The illustrations have cost £10 more, and there is an increase of £10 under the head of sundries. The printing of the *Proceedings* has cost £16 more than last year, but included in this is the cost of printing the Elsdon registers. The sum of £28 15s. 2d. has been expended in the purchase of books, and the sale of the society's publications has amounted to £16 3s. 9d., which is a heavy decrease upon the previous year's sale.

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.*

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 31, 1894.

	Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on January 1st, 1894	217	11	6			
Members' Subscriptions	348	12	0			
Castle	106	2	0	84	0	5
Black Gate	19	14	4	38	3	5
Museum				26	1	8
Books	16	3	9	28	15	2
<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>				96	16	6
<i>Proceedings</i>				56	19	0
Illustrations				58	8	2
Sundries				77	14	3
Secretary (clerical assistance)				40	0	0
Balance				201	5	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£708	3	7	£708	3	7

Capital Account.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Invested in $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Consols	42	18	5			
Interest to end of 1894	4	4	9			
	<hr/>					
				47	3	2
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
				£47	3	2

Audited and certified.

2nd February, 1895.

J. A. DIXON.

R. W. SISSON.

The present value of the Society's publications in stock is, as per statement furnished by the Librarian, £527 17s. 9d.

Details of Expenditure.

CASTLE—	£	s.	d.
Salaries	67	8	0
Gas	1	7	4
Water	0	6	0
Property Tax	1	12	1
Insurance	0	7	6
Rent	0	2	6
Trestles, &c.	5	18	5
Explorations in the Castle	4	11	1
Sundries, Coal, Firewood, &c.	2	7	6
	<hr/>		
	£84	0	5

BLACK GATE—	£	s.	d.
Salaries	22	0	0
Gas	1	4	7
Water	1	0	0
Property Tax	1	6	3
Insurance	2	15	0
Rent	1	0	0
Repairs	7	2	3
Sundries, Coal, &c.	1	15	4
	<hr/>		
	£38	3	5
	<hr/>		

MUSEUM—	£	s.	d.
Carriage of Stones	7	7	8
Cases	8	5	0
Copper Plate of St. Nicholas's Church	10	9	0
	<hr/>		
	£26	1	8
	<hr/>		

BOOKS BOUGHT—	£	s.	d.
<i>Illustrated Archaeologist</i>	1	1	0
<i>Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland</i>	1	16	8
<i>New County History of Northumberland, vol. 1</i>	1	1	0
<i>Collection of State Papers</i>	2	1	6
Ordnance Maps	0	14	3
<i>Gilpin's Memoirs</i>	0	4	6
German Year-book	0	17	0
<i>Year-book of Societies</i>	0	7	6
<i>Brockie's Sunderland Notabilities</i>	0	7	6
German publication	0	13	0
<i>Ferguson's Royal Charters of Carlisle</i>	0	18	6
Waters, for lettering	0	4	6
<i>Calendar Border Papers</i>	0	17	6
Northcote & Brownlow, <i>Roma Sotteranea</i>	0	16	0
<i>Phillips's Banks, Bankers, and Banking</i>	1	1	0
<i>Itinerary of Antoninus and Notitia Dignitatum</i>	1	16	9
Indexing	3	3	0
Printing 50 copies of St. Nicholas's plate	5	1	6
Binding <i>Border Holds</i> (8vo copies)	5	12	6
	<hr/>		
	£28	15	2
	<hr/>		

SUNDRIES—	£	s.	d.
Cheque Book	0	5	0
Reid & Sons, general printing, &c.	9	17	0
Nicholson, do. do.	36	0	6
Frames	2	8	9
Postage and carriage of parcels, &c.	6	4	9
Indexing <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>	3	0	0
Treasurer's postage and expences	0	15	6
Secretary's do. do.	16	10	9
Subscriptions—Harleian and Surtees Societies	2	2	0
Income Tax	0	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£77	14	3
	<hr/>		

REPORT FOR 1894 OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND
EXCAVATION COMMITTEE.

1. *Aesica* or Great Chesters stands on the western side of the depression which divides the 'Nine Nicks of Thirlwall' from the range of Whinshields and allows the Caw burn to find a passage southwards to the Tyne valley at Haltwhistle. Half a mile to the west of the burn is the farmhouse of Greatchesters, six hundred feet above the sea, amid an expanse of moor and grass fields, and immediately west of the house the outlines of the Roman fortress are still distinctly visible. The situation is not unfavourable; the ground slopes gently to the south, and additional shelter is provided by the rounded mass of



Chesters pike, which rises to the height of eight hundred feet about half a mile to the north. The fortress is an oblong area of three acres, measuring about three hundred and sixty by four hundred and twenty feet,

and resting its northern face upon the wall. To south and south-east lay the usual 'suburban' buildings of the so-called 'civil settlement,'



a hypocaust belonging to which is said by Dr. Bruce to have been visible in 1867. Farther south, about a quarter of a mile from the fortress, runs the line of the *vallum* and beyond it, at

Walltown mill, Brand and Hodgson suppose the cemetery to have

been. The fortress was garrisoned by the Second Cohort of the Asturians ;* but our further knowledge is limited to that supplied by



three of the not very numerous inscriptions discovered here. One of these mentions Hadrian. A second records work done about A.D.

165, while a third states that a ruined storehouse was rebuilt by the garrison A.D. 225. The fortress lies at present almost untouched beneath a grass field. Its eastern face has been encroached on by the



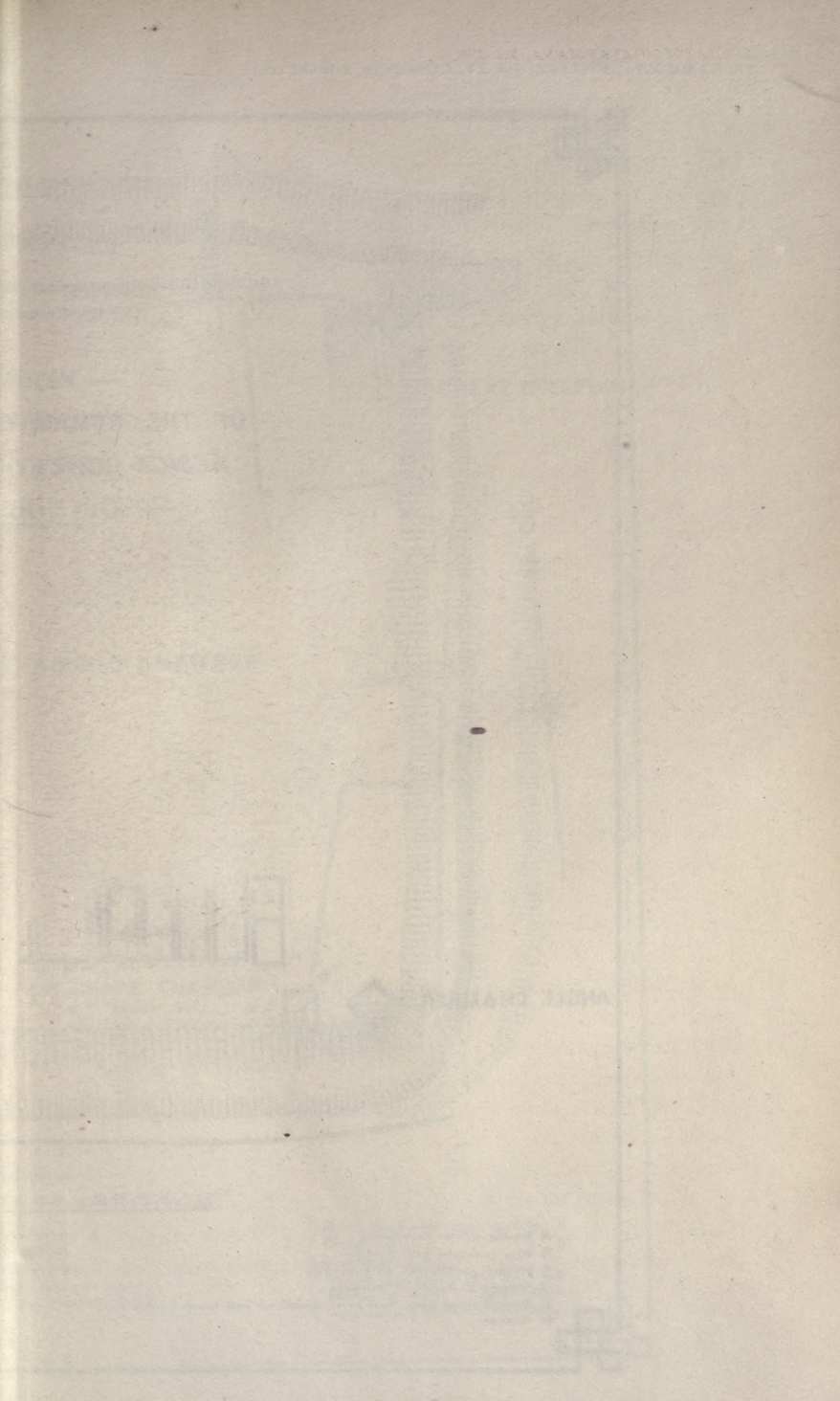
* See illustration of tile found at *Aesica*, naming this cohort, on preceding page.

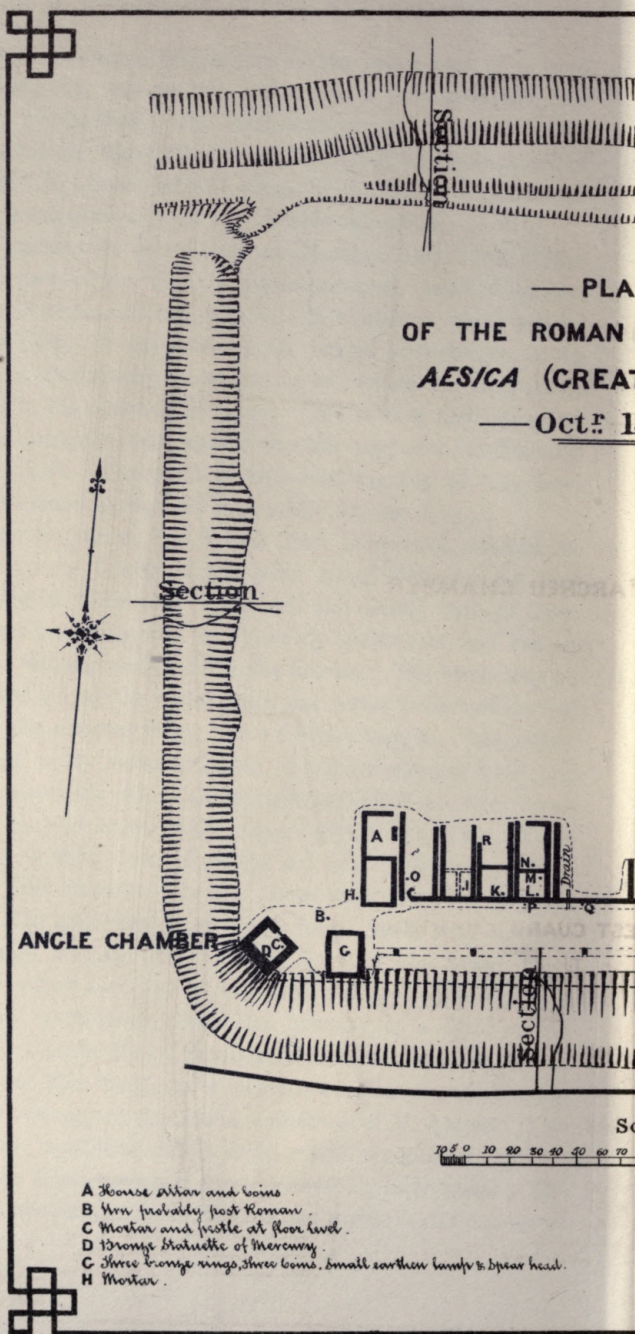
† See illustrations of these three inscriptions on this and preceding pages.

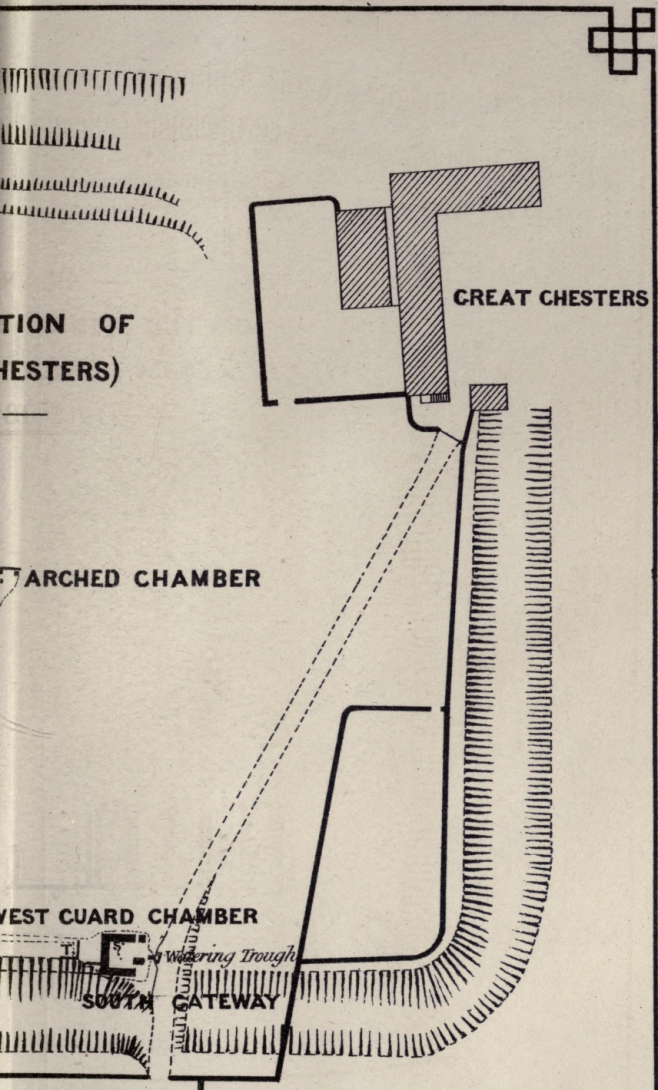
farm buildings, and some foundations in the upper part of it were cleared out in 1767, but the site is obviously a promising one, and had been marked as such. The excavation committee was fortunate enough to obtain the leave of the owner, Mr. H. J. W. Coulson, and of the tenant, Mr. Woodman, both of whom, by their ready concurrence, have laid archaeologists under a considerable obligation.

2. Excavations were commenced on Monday, July 23rd, at the south-west corner of the camp, a point previously selected by the committee, and were continued eastwards in a manner which will be seen from the plan. It was subsequently judged advisable so far to exceed the area continuously excavated as to include the south gate, and the vault in the centre of the camp. The work at first proceeded slowly, as the workmen were unused to their task and insufficiently provided with tools. The earth to be moved was full of very large stones, and the trenches required were nearly five feet deep.

3. The corner turret, which was first excavated, appears to resemble the corner turrets of the other mural fortresses, the best preserved being at *Cilurnum*. It is well and solidly built of hewn stone, measures internally very nearly ten by twelve feet, and has an entrance three feet wide with a sill at the bottom. The whole may be certainly classed among the better built and better preserved turrets of the *murus*, the masonry being over six feet in height. Like many other buildings in the mural fortresses, it had two flagged floors, one about a foot above the other; on and between the floors were bones and burnt refuse, and in two of the corners were marks of fire. There were traces of a third floor below the second. This, however, was not flagged. The discoveries in the turret were not of very great importance. The most interesting was a large pestle with a correspondingly large mortar, found on the level of the upper floor. Fragments of pottery and iron objects and a stone trough were also turned up, and immediately outside the doorway, at a depth of five and a half feet, a quern fifteen inches in diameter. Just outside the southern wall of the turret, at a distance of three feet below the surface, an interesting coin was found, a *denarius* of M. Antony. This is one of those republican silver coins which remained in circulation during the empire owing to the goodness of their metal. The easily distinguishable republican silver is not unfrequently discovered







Feet
160 200

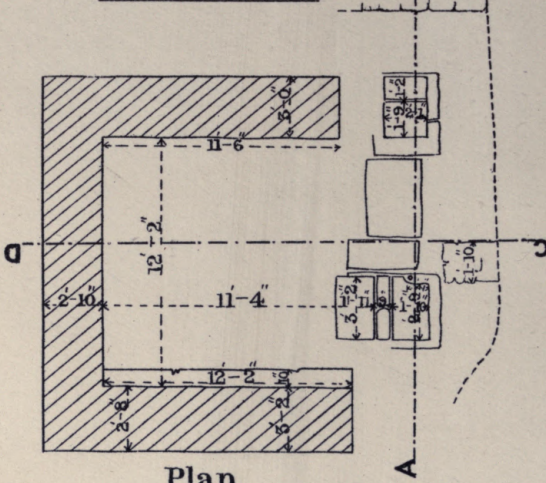
to head.
not put.
over coin.
pronged now
marked EAE.

- O Stone with double ring marks.
- P Bronze bars.
- Q Central stone
- R Curved stones built into wall end.
- S Salsbe & coins at 2'-5" above floor.
- T Scale armour plates 2'-0" below surface.

GATEWAY CHAMBER

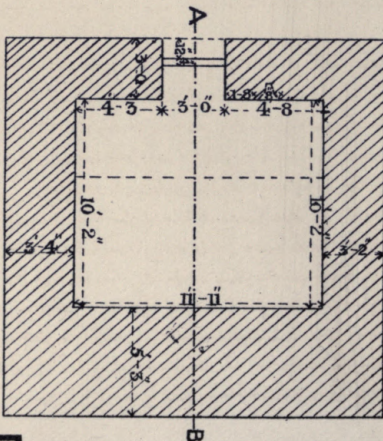
Fibula and Coins found at level of Cross

Section thro' C-D



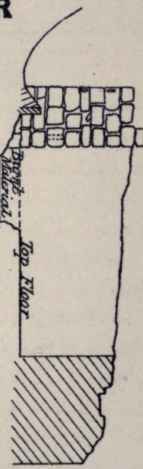
Plan

S. W. ANGLE CHAMBER



Plan

*Original
Interior
Bottom Floor*



Section thro' A B

The dotted
of the plan
re-used,
the line
having
the gate
west end
alteration
being
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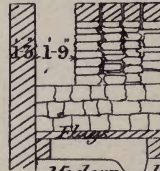
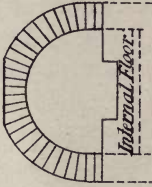
DETAILS AESICA

1894

CENTRAL ARCHED CHAMBER

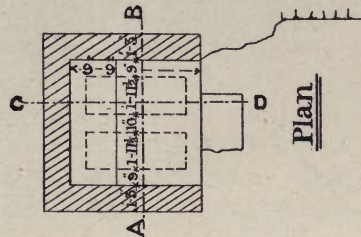
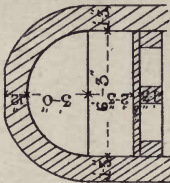
Section on C D

Elevation



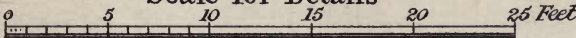
*Modern Field Drain
Red Stony Clay, undisturbed*

Section on A B



Plan

Scale for Details



NOTES

tion indicates where the ground has been opened up during 1894. With the exception
 ie & central chambers, the walling is of a poor character & some of this material has been
 south west angle does not appear to have been rounded in the usual manner, but follows
 angle chamber. This chamber has been twice floored, the material between the floors
 fire. There is a small recess to the left of the entrance with splayed angles.
 remaining, the walls of the Guard chamber. The bases of two of the pillars on the
 the reveal and pivot hole for the door. But these have evidently been later date
 gateway. The central chamber remains partially arched, the top of it
 the present surface and has a flagged floor resting on dwarf walls. It seems
 reached by a stair way from the east and the general appearance points to its having
 the Service Water Tank for the station, for which purpose, it being wholly built in the
 it would be quite serviceable. A modern field drain has been cut through
 which has in part disturbed the floor.

along with imperial issues, and in places where republican Rome was unknown. Thus, a hoard of coins recently found at Silchester, apparently deposited in the early years of Septimius Severus (*circa* A.D. 195), contained a few of these republican silver coins among a great number of later ones.

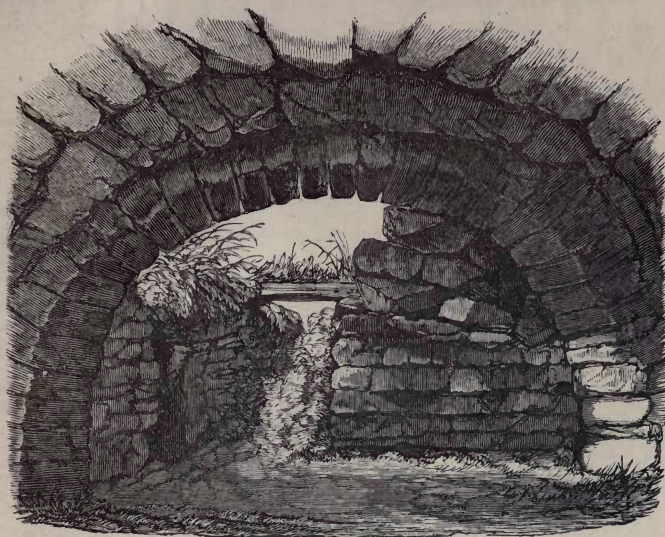
4. From the turret a trench was driven north-east towards the centre of the camp, until a wall was struck about forty feet from the turret. The trench itself revealed very little. Near the turret, two lines of black earth, the upper one four feet six inches below the surface, were noticed, and thought to correspond to the two flagged floors of the turret. About twenty feet from the turret a pot was found in thirteen pieces, three feet below the surface. From this trench another was carried back to the wall, east of the corner turret, with the result that another turret was found built against the wall. The masonry of this turret was extremely rude, as it showed no outer faces that could be seen; it was perhaps piled up from the outside with earth. It was flagged in rough fashion, and is only remarkable for yielding a small find of three coins (one of Trajan, one of Faustina), four bronze rings, and some small iron objects. Close by were discovered a spear head, a bit of window glass, and some other small fragments.

5. It will be convenient to deal here with the buildings which were first discovered in the trench from the corner turret, and which were subsequently traced for a considerable distance, though not completely. The buildings seem to consist of a range of oblong chambers, each divided into two more or less square rooms, and separated from one another by very narrow spaces, of which the object is not clear. Apparently every chamber must have had its own outer walls, but the complete excavation of the block is necessary before they can be compared with some possibly similar features at *Cilurnum*. The remains found in these chambers were few and disappointing. The westernmost chamber yielded a small altar-shaped stone, in size seven by ten by seven inches, with an ornament of incised lines, which may point to mere architectural use. This chamber had two flagged floors, one a foot below the other. The other rooms yielded some building stones strongly resembling that which was at first taken to be an altar, an axehead, some coins, some brass pans, a

curious iron object, and besides some smaller remains, pottery, etc., two lettered fragments, one bearing the letters IAE, the other the numerals XLVIII. The general disposition of these objects will be seen from the plan, on which also a drain is shown which issued from one of the eastern chambers. The masonry of these chambers was of a very poor character and it is not impossible that the excavators made mistakes as to one or two pieces of walling in the stony and highly disturbed soil. For the present we can only say that the presence of these chambers proves the existence at *Aesica* of a feature which seems to distinguish our northern fortresses from those on the German *Limes*. This feature is the greater abundance of traceable buildings within the camp area.

6. A separate examination was made of the vault in the centre of the camp. This had been cleared out before, and indeed yielded, in the shape of relics, nothing more valuable than modern crockery and milk tins; but its good preservation, and its similarity to the vaults at *Cilurnum* and elsewhere, rendered its exploration desirable. It proved to be a vaulted chamber almost exactly six and a half feet square. It was paved with large flags resting on small dwarf walls, which Mr. Holmes thinks are coeval with the flagging, while doubting if this was the original floor of the chamber. These dwarf walls rest on undisturbed clay, and a modern horse-shoe drain has been carried between them at some more or less recent period. On the western side of the vault some large stones lie regularly, as if intentionally, on the flooring, and make a ledge about eight inches high and twenty-eight inches wide; on the north side a native rock juts out to about the same height. The roofing is made by five courses of stone, the top of the arch being about five feet above the lower flooring. The exit from the vault appears to have been on the eastern side, but no steps were discovered there, though the excavation was taken, as it appeared, into undisturbed clay. It may be worth while to add, by way of comparison, some details of the vault at *Cilurnum*. This vault stands inside a square room on the south side of the 'forum,' its area is nine feet by ten, its height six and a quarter feet, so that it is larger than the *Aesica* example. A passage three feet wide leads for five feet to steps by which the surface is reached. The roof is arched with five courses of stones; the floor is flagged. When the vault was first

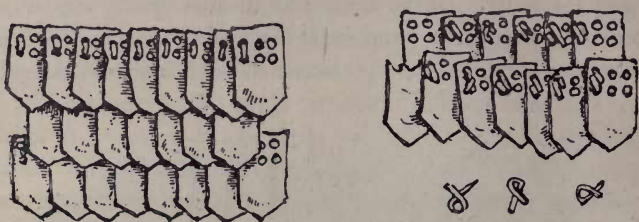
opened, the remains of the original door, bound with iron, were found. Both vaults plainly have the same use. They do not seem adapted for water. Of the other two theories usually suggested, a prison or a treasury, the latter seems the more probable. The recent examination of the forts on the German *Limes* has revealed somewhat

VAULT AT *CILURNUM*.

similar vaults in connection with some of the *praetoria*. These appear to be under the 'shrines' of the camps, and various features lead to the supposition that they were used to store money or documents. A somewhat similar vault has been noticed at *Bremenium*.

7. Finally, the site of the south gate was ascertained and a part of it, the western guard chamber, was cleared out. The gate appears to have been where the modern road to the farmhouse passes the wall of the fortress, and it is possible enough, as Dr. Bruce supposed, that this road is on the course of a Roman road down to the Stanegate. This gateway is farther to the east than we should have expected, as it appears to be the only gateway of the side. There were signs that it had, at some time, been walled up like other gateways along the Wall. Outside the guard-chamber and just inside the wall of the

camp a find of scale armour was made which resembled fragments of armour found elsewhere on the Wall,* but was much more abundant.



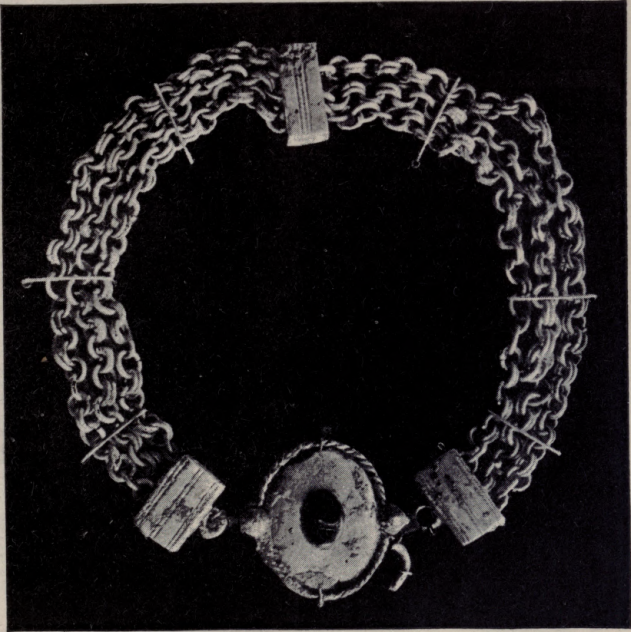
Inside the guard-chamber a very remarkable find was made. As the earth was being cut down, there was discovered a small parcel of *fibulae*†, rings, silver necklet, scale armour,† etc., of a very remarkable character, including an *Abraxas* ring with device of a figure with head of a cock and two serpents for legs, holding in one hand a scourge, in the other a shield. The *fibulae* are probably unique in the world of Ro-



mano-British archaeology, and are ascribed by Mr. A. J. Evans to the end of the second century, and the age of Severus. They are of Celtic character, and undoubtedly represent a contemporary Caledonian art. They are

* See *Arch. Ael.* xvi. p. 441.

† In the illustrations the scale armour is represented full size, and the *fibulae* one half linear.



SILVER NECKLACE, FROM GREAT CHESTERS (*Aesica*).

(Thirteen inches in circumference.)

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

of extraordinary size, and one of them, which had been gilt, is covered with an exquisite flamboyant relief of Celtic design, and was probably the most beautiful object of the kind ever found. The larger of the *fibulae* was of purely Celtic pedigree, starting from a form which seemed to have originated in south-east Europe, and



which had found its way into Britain already before the Roman conquest. The nearest approach to the *Aesica* form was a type found in Northumberland, which from the find could be fixed to the age of Antoninus Pius. The other *fibula* is a highly original adaptation

of a Gallo-Roman type with a median disc, which from a Rhenish monument was shown to have been prevalent at the end of the first



century. The Celtic ornamentation answered to that of a series of late Celtic armlets found in Scotland, for the most part north of the Firth of Forth. The whole seems to him to resemble a female sepulchral deposit, but the evidence as to the exact character of the find is not minute enough to enable us to judge certainly on this point. It is noteworthy, however, that the *fibulae* are of a north-British type, and that they are comparatively unused, and must have been buried

soon after they were made, and that they were found some distance above the floor of the guard-chamber.*

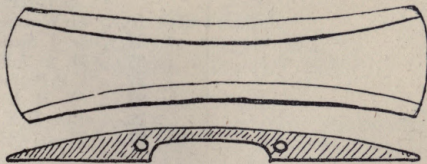
The following is a list of the coins discovered during the excavations:—

- 1.—MARK ANTONY. *Denarius*. *Obv.*—ANT AVG III VIR R P O. Galley.
Rev.—LEG X. Eagle between two standards. Cohen, i. $\frac{41}{35}$.
- 2.—DOMITIAN. Second brass. Illegible.
- 3.—TRAIAN. First brass. *Rev.*—In exergue, VIA TRAIANA (almost obliterated).
Cohen, ii. $\frac{86}{647}$.
- 4.—TRAIAN. First brass. Illegible.
- 5.—" " "
- 6.—HADRIAN. Second brass. Illegible.
- 7.—ANTONINUS PIUS. Second brass. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P
TR P XVIII. Bust radiate to right. *Rev.*—LIBERALITAS COS IIII S C.
Liberality standing. Cohen, ii. 323.
- 8.—ANTONINUS PIUS. Second brass. Illegible.
- 9.—MARCUS AURELIUS. Second brass. Illegible. *Rev.*—Mars marching to
right.
- 10.—FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER. First brass. *Ob.*—FAUSTINA AV
Rev.—Illegible.
- 11.—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. *Denarius*. *Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Bust
laureate to right. *Rev.*—P M TR P XIII COS III P P. Mars holding
Victory and spear reversed. Cohen, iv. $\frac{49}{171}$.

* For full account of the objects found and Mr. Hodgkin's descriptions of some of them, see *Proceedings*, vol. vi. pp. 241-245.

- 12.—*ELAGABALUS*. *Denarius*. *Obv.*—IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG. Head laureate to right. *Rev.*—MARS VICTOR. Mars marching to right. Cohen, iv. 335.
- 13.—*VICTORINUS*. Third brass. *Rev.*—PROV[IDENTIA AVG].
- 14.—*TETRICUS*. Third brass. *Rev.*—PAX AVG. Almost obliterated.
- 15.—*ALLECTUS*. Third brass. *Obv.*—IMP C ALLECTVS P F AVG. Bust radiate to right. *Rev.*—PAX AVG. S P in field; C L ? in exergue. Pax standing. Cohen vii. 48.
- 16.—*CRISPUS*. Third brass. *Obv.*—CRISPV[S] [NOBIL] C. Bust armed, to right. *Rev.*—[BEAT]A TRANQVILIT[AS]. Altar inscribed VOTIS XX. Cohen, vii. 340.
- 17.—*CONSTANS*. Third brass. *Obv.*—CONSTANS P F AVG. Bust to right. *Rev.*—VICTOR[IAE PP AVGG Q N]N. Two victories. M in field; SARI in exergue. Cohen, vii. 431.
- 18.—*CONSTANS*. Third brass. Similar type.
- 19.—*MAGNENTIUS*. Second brass. *Obv.*—D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Bust draped to right. A in field. *Rev.*—GLORIA ROMANORVM. S P in exergue. Emperor on horse spearing an enemy.

Nine coins obliterated (four second brass, five third brass). Cohen, viii. $\frac{1}{2}$.



Bone object, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, from Greatchesters (*Aesica*).

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 1ST MARCH, 1895.

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Date of Election.

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., Mayfield, Orchard Road, Blackheath, Kent.
1865 April 5	The Duca di Brolo.
1883 June 27	Professor Emil Hübner, LL.D., Ahornstrasse 4, Berlin.
1883 June 27	Professor Mommsen, Marchstrasse 8, Charlottenburg bei Berlin.
1883 June 27	Professor George Stephens, F.S.A., Copenhagen.
1883 June 27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June 27	Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., P.S.A., Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum.
1883 June 27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1886 June 30	Ellen King Ware (Mrs.), The Abbey, Carlisle.
1886 June 30	Gerrit Assis Hulsebos, Lit. Hum. Doct., &c., Utrecht, Holland.
1886 June 30	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.

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The sign * indicates that the member has compounded for his subscription.

† that the member is one of the Council. ‡ indicates a life-member.

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, St. Alban's, Felling, R.S.O.
1873 July	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence W., Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 46 Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Anne Jane (Miss), Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Titlington Hall, Alnwick.
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
1895 Jan. 30	Barnett, Mrs. E., Bywell House, Stocksfield.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Heddon Banks, Wylam.
1894 Mar. 25	Bates, Stuart Frederick, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Bateson, Edward.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Beckingham, F. H., Westward House, Ryton.
1889 July 31	Bell, Charles L., Woolsington, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, John E., Bell & Dunn, Queen Street, Newcastle.
1894 July 25	Bell, M. Howard, Seend, Melksham, Wiltshire.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon Hall, near Sunderland.
1874 Jan. 7	†Blair, Robert, F.S.A., South Shields.
1892 Mar. 30	Blenkinsopp, Thomas, 3 High Swinburne Place, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Blindell, William A., Wester Hall, Humshaugh.
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, Blackett 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.

Date of Election	
1894 Feb. 28	Boyd, William, North House, Long Benton.
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, 19 Lansdowne Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Branford, William E., 90 Grey Street, Newcastle.
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, AINWICK.
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.
1892 Mar. 30	Campbell, John McLeod, 4 Winchester Terrace, Newcastle.
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.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., B.A., LL.B., 122 Northumberland Street, Newcastle.
1885 Nov. 25	Charlton, William L., S. 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.

Date of Election.	
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 Public Library, Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1844 about	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	†Dendy, Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Denison, Joseph, Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
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, 5 Wellington Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1894 July 25	Dolan, Robert T., 6 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
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., 31 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.
1894 Nov. 28	Ferguson, John, Dene Croft, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Rich. S., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1894 May 30	Forster, Fred. E., 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Robert Henry, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Thomas Emmerson, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1890 Mar. 26	Forster, William, Houghton Hall, Carlisle.
1895 Jan. 30	Forster, William Charlton, 11 East Parade, Newcastle.
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.

Date of Election.	
1879	Gibson, Thomas George, 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1878	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.
1894 Aug. 29	Gradon, J. G., Lynton House, Durham.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1894 July 25	Grant-Wilson, Wemyss, Heathfield House, Streatham Common, London, S.W.
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, Crosshouse, Westgate, 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 Terrace, 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.
1894 May 30	Hedley, Edward Armorer, 8 Osborne Villas, Newcastle.
1893 Aug. 30	Hedley, Ralph, 19 Bellegrave Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 April 28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Cheviott, Corbridge.
1884 Feb. 27	Henzell, Charles Wright, Tynemouth.
1891 Oct. 28	Heslop, George Christopher, 135 Park Road, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	†Heslop, Richard Oliver, 12 Princes Buildings, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Hicks, William Searle, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 April 25	Hindmarsh, William Thomas, Alnbank, Alnwick.
1894 Oct. 31	Hinds, Allan B., 24 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1882	†Hodges, Charles Clement, Sele House, Hexham.
1865 Aug. 2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Bank, Newcastle.
1895 Jan. 30	Hodgkin, Thomas Edward, Bamburgh Castle, Belford.
1890 Jan. 29	†Hodgson, John Crawford, Warkworth.
1884 April 30	Hodgson, John George, Exchange Buildings, Quayside, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Hodgson, William, Elmcroft, Darlington.

Date of Election.		
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	Hunter, Edward, North Eastern Bank, Elswick Road, Newcastle.
1894 May	30	Hunter, Thomas, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1894 Feb.	28	Ingledeu, Alfred Edward, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
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.
1883 Feb.	28	Jocey, 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.
1894 Sept.	26	Leeds Public Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1892 Dec.	28	Leitch, Rev. Richard, Osborne Villas, Newcastle.
1894 Oct.	31	Lennox, A. H., Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1885 April	29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1887 June	29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1894 July	25	Long, Rev. H. F., The Glebe, Bamburgh, Belford.
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, George Eugene, 9 Dean Street, 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.
1894 July	25	Mearns, William, M.D., Bewick Road, Gateshead.

Date of Election.	
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (<i>c/o</i> Edward A. Petherick, 33 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.)
1891 Aug. 26	Mitalcfe, 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, Twizell House, Belford, Northumberland.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 9 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1891 Sept. 30	Newby, J. E., West Hunwick, co. Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library.
1895 Feb. 27	Newton, Robert, Warden House, Hexham.
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.
	†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.
1894 Dec. 19	Oswald, Joseph, 33 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., 11 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, Bank, 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.
1879 Jan. 29	Pickering, William, Poplar Cottage, Longbenton, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., 2 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Potts, Joseph, Windsor Terrace, 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.

Date of Election.	
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.
1894 Feb. 28	Reed, Thomas, King Street, South Shields.
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.
1894 May 30	Reynolds, Rev. G. M., Rector of Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, R.S.O.
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Richardson, Miss Alice M., Esplanade, Sunderland.
1894 May 30	Richardson, Charles John, Cotfield House, Gateshead.
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.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 25	Robson, John Stephenson, Sunnilaw, Claremont Gardens, 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.
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, Picktree House, Chester-le-Street.
1888 Oct. 31	Shewbrooks, Edward, 2 West Avenue, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Marlow William, Blyth.
1894 July 25	Silburn, Miss Jessie, 7 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Silburn, Reginald J. S., 7 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Hedgefield House, Blaydon-on-Tyne.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, Grey Street, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
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, 71 King Street, 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, 1 Argyle Street, Sunderland.
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., Oatlands 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., Dacre House, Laygate Lane, South Shields.
1879	Swan, Henry F., North Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866 Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1887 Nov. 30	Tarver, J. V., Eskdale Tower, Eskdale Terrace, Newcastle.
1895 Feb. 27	Taylor, Rev. E. J., F.S.A., St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
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 Minorities, 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., 6 Bristol Terrace, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 28	Toovey, Alfred F., Ovington Cottage, Prudhoe.
1892 July 27	Toronto, University of (c/o Edward G. Allen, 23 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.
1894 May 30	Vincent, William, 18 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Walton Vicarage Morpeth

Date of Election.	
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.
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 C., 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.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, Jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Young, Hugh W., F.S.A. Scot., 27 Lauder Road, Edinburgh.

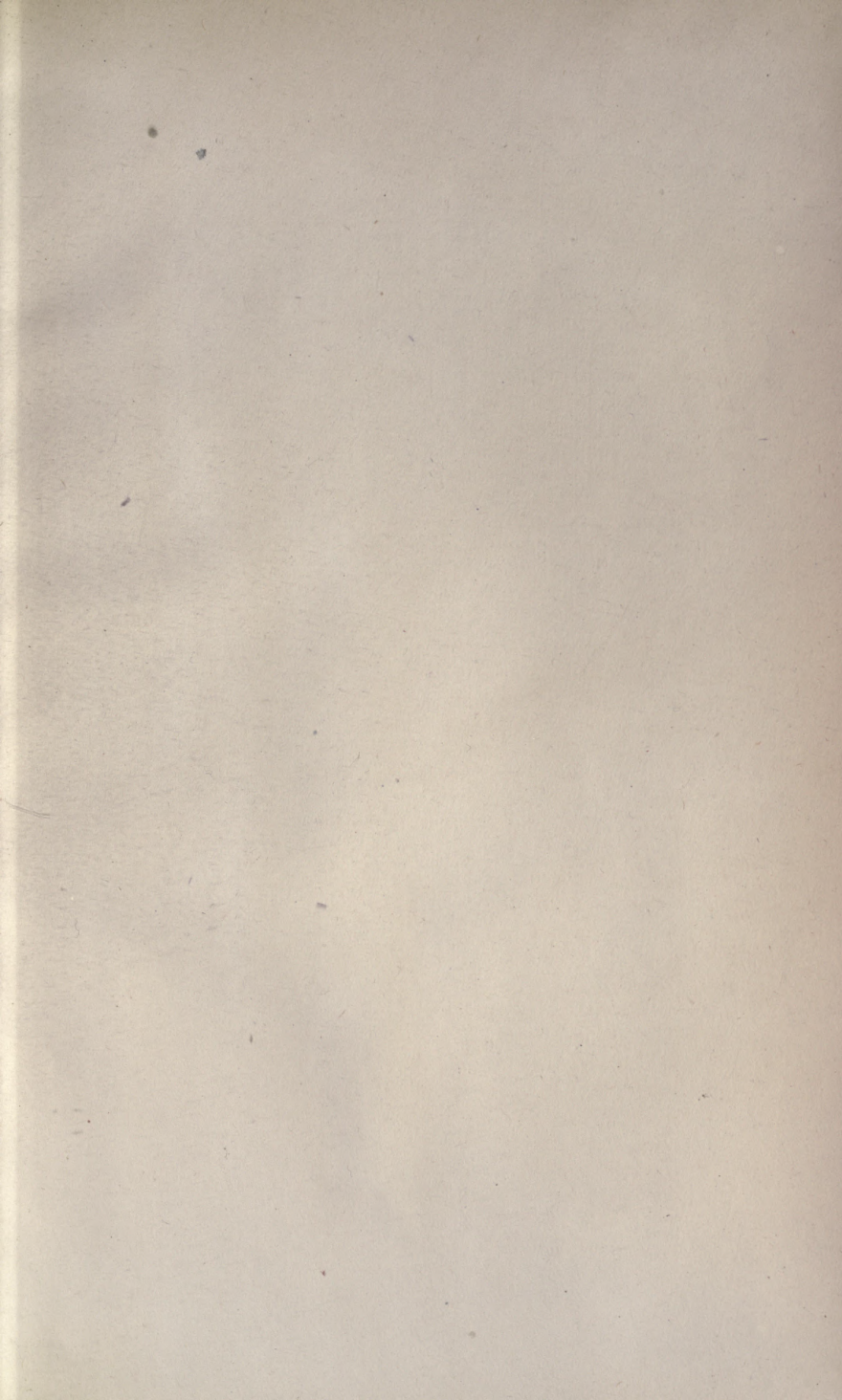
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