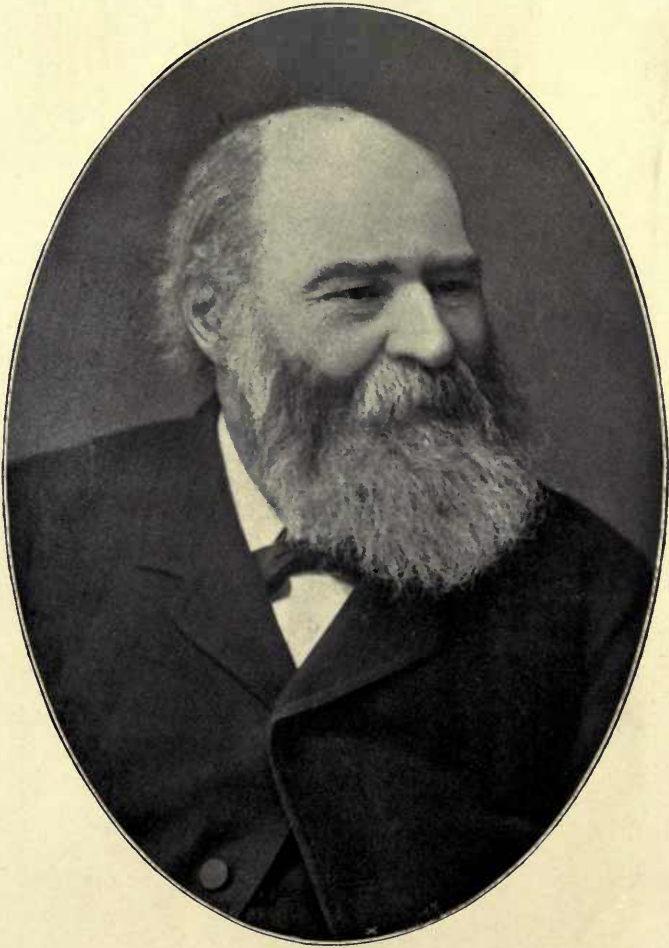


THE ROYAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE

516

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

VOL. XX.



Yours truly
W. H. D. Longstaffe

THE LATE MR. W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE,

A Vice-President of the Society.

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A fch
A

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES,

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOLUME XX.



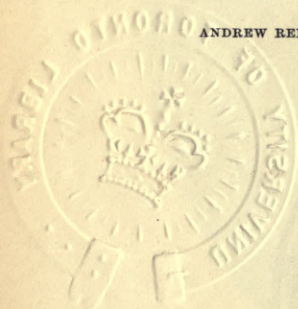
LONDON AND NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:
ANDREW REID & Co., LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS, AKENSIDE HILL,
LONDON OFFICE: 10, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.

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ANDREW REID AND COMPANY, LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS,
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ANCIENT BRITISH COIN, SOUTH SHIELDS.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.

Thanks are given to the following :—

- Blomfield, Sir Arthur, for loan of plan of Auckland St. Andrew Church, on p. 76.
- Browne, the late Major, block on p. 281.
- Carlisle, the Earl of, for photograph for plate XV.
- Clephan, Eugene E., for drawing on p. 225.
- Clephan, R. Coltman, for all the photographs and blocks to illustrate his paper on armour.
- Clephan, Mrs. R. Coltman, for drawing on p. 219.
- Church Monthly*, the Editor of the, for loan of wood block on p. 158.
- Hodgson, the Rev. J. F., for all the drawings illustrating his paper on St. Andrew Auckland Church, and for rubbing of brass (plate XII).
- Reliquary*, the Editor of the, for the loan of block on p. 36.
- Stevenson, A. L., for photographs for plates II., III., IV., and XIV., and for blocks on pages 30 and 31.

Plate XV. is from a photograph by Mr. Parker Brewis.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page xv., line 21, for 'Baedae,' read 'Baeda.'
- „ 60, plate VIIIa., the line of the floor coincides with the bottom of the tinted part.
- „ 61, the section of the hood-mould of the chancel windows has been printed upside down.
- „ 69, for 'cap. 1st pillar from E.,' read 'cap. 2nd pillar from E.'
- „ 78, lines 8 and 9 from top, for 'see margin,' read 'see p. 77.'
- „ 77, note, for '115,' read '1154.'
- „ 100, note, for 'It is not a little curious that bishop Hatfield's,' read 'It is not a little curious that, with the exception of that of Ruthall, bishop Hatfield's,' etc.
- „ 118, line 18 from top, for 'portem,' read 'partem.'
- „ 170, line 3 from bottom, for 'pretendent,' read 'prétendaient.'
- „ 170, line 6 from bottom, for 'perpétueés,' read 'perpétue.'
- „ 171, line 9 from top, for 'oublíér,' read 'oublier.'
- „ 221, line 12, for 'surcoat,' read 'breastplate.' Of course the rings came through the surcoat.

R E P O R T
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCVIII.

THE monthly meetings of the society have been well attended throughout the year, and several interesting papers contributed by members, some of which will be of permanent value as preserved in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Your council, however, think it right to point out that good and interesting as the papers have been, they were contributed by only a very few of our members; and they would urge all the members of the society to take part in its primary work, by reading notes or papers on matters of local history.

Though very inadequately supported by the Northumbrian public, the Northumberland Excavation Committee has continued its operations this year and has achieved some interesting results. The Roman camp of *Aesica* (Great Chesters) has again been the scene of the excavators' labours. A large building outside of the camp on the south-east has been excavated and reveals several chambers, some of them furnished with hypocausts; this was probably the home of one of the officers of the garrison with his family, or, from the size of the building, we may conjecture that more than one distinguished family has here taken up its quarters. Excavations have also been made in the centre of the camp which have at last brought to light some inscribed stones. Three fine examples have been discovered, one of them bearing an interesting inscription to the memory of a young Roman lady who probably died at *Aesica*.*

* *Vide Arch. Ael.* vol. xix. p. 268.

Other Roman inscriptions recently discovered, include the slab at Chesters recording the supply of water to *Cilurnum* while Ulpius Marcellus was governor of Britain and the second cohort of Asturians in garrison, and an altar at South Shields naming Julius Verax, a centurion of the sixth legion.*

The eastern portion of the late sixteenth century pele of Doddington the most prominent object in the village, and a picturesque building, 'one of the most charming remains of border architecture,' fell down during a storm in the early part of the year; the remaining portion is in danger of sharing the same fate. It has been asserted that there is neither written history nor tradition about the tower, but as has been truly said, its history 'was clearly written on its walls. In 1584 Sir Thomas Grey was obliged to build a strong house of this description for the protection of his tenants at Doddington, but art and industry had so decayed on the Border that he was unable to build it of better masonry. It is of great importance to keep up this unique building now that its counterpart at Kilham is gone.'

The members of the Armourers' company have granted a repairing lease of the Herber tower to the corporation of Newcastle for a long term, so that this interesting and valuable building, the most complete of the few wall towers remaining, is now saved from destruction.

The corporation of Newcastle, at our suggestion, has placed the old *camera* of Adam de Gesmuth in Heaton Park, locally known as 'King John's Palace,' in a condition of repair sufficient to resist the action of the weather.

The corporation of Newcastle, under the direction of the city engineer (Mr. W. G. Laws), has remounted the ordnance on the battlements of the keep, and the new gun-carriages restore the carronades to the embrasures where they once more present an effective feature of the parapets of the Old Castle.

During three days in May last an exhibition of silver plate manufactured in Newcastle was held under the auspices of the society in the uppermost room of the Black Gate museum. It was in every way successful; it was highly appreciated by the public, as every class of work, ecclesiastical and civil, was represented in the collection. A

* *Vide Arch. Ael.* vol. xix. p. 273.

catalogue of the different objects is being prepared and will be ready shortly for issue to the members. It will be fully illustrated, several of the exhibitors having given illustrations of their respective exhibits.

The banners in the great hall of the Castle yet require the arms of Sir Ralph de Neville, Radcliffe, Lord Derwentwater, Sir Robert Bertram, Sir William de Montagu, Sir William de Tyndall, Robert de Raymes, Sir William de Herle, the Countess of Pembroke, Sir John d'Arcy and Clavering (all to be of silk and four feet six inches square, except the Neville banner, which is to be six feet square), to make up the number of baronial feudatories who served in castleward the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, etc. An appeal is made, especially to the lady members of our society, for assistance in rendering this highly decorative feature of the building complete. Any member wishing to present one of the banners may obtain particulars of the arms from Mr. Blair one of our secretaries.*

Country meetings during the year were held at Corbridge and Dilston, at Easington, Dalton-le-Dale and Seaham, and at Elsdon, Otterburn and Bellingham, and were well attended. The respective parties were hospitably received at Dilston castle by our member, Mr. James Hall, who, with Mr. Heslop, described the building, and at Seaham vicarage, where the vicar, the Rev. A. Bethune, pointed out the objects of interest in and about his church. Our thanks are due to them.

Under the scheme adopted by the society in 1894, as much progress has been made in the printing of our parish registers as the small sum allocated for that purpose would permit. The registers of Esh down to 1813 and Dinsdale baptisms and burials to the same year are in the hands of the members, as are also instalments of the registers of Elsdon and Warkworth. To Mr. Crawford Hodgson and to one or two of his friends the society is indebted for a contribution of £15 towards the cost of printing the Warkworth register, and to Dr. Longstaff of £5 towards that of the Dinsdale register. Mr. D. D. Dixon, one of our members, is continuing the printing of the Rothbury registers in the *Rothbury Parish Magazine*, and Dr. Burman, another member, has commenced to print the Alnwick

* *V. Proc.* III. 10, 17, 42, 49, 134, 177, 216, 248; and IV. 178.

registers at his private press. An appeal has been made to our members for assistance in printing local parish registers, and it is hoped that the favourable terms on which a local organization is enabled to co-operate with the Register Society will induce a cordial response to the invitation to send names of subscribers to Mr. H. M. Wood of Whickham.

We have entrusted Mr. Sheriton Holmes with the task of compiling a short guide for visitors to the keep of the castle, and congratulate the members on having secured the services of one whose knowledge of the structure and whose literary and artistic accomplishments are a guarantee that this desirable work will be satisfactorily carried out.

The printing of the general index to the transactions of the society (*Archaeologia* and *Proceedings*) has been completed, and it is now in the hands of the subscribers.

The fourth volume of the great *County History of Northumberland*, concluding the account of Hexhamshire, has just been completed, and our fellow-member, Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, under whose editorship it has been produced, is to be congratulated on the admirable manner in which he has carried out his arduous and honorary task.

Another work of historical interest has been published by our fellow-member, Mr. William Weaver Tomlinson, whose *Life in Northumberland during the Sixteenth Century* is not only a description of contemporary history but a work of literary ability.

Amongst the members whose loss by death during the year the society has to regret are Mr. John Crosse Brooks, one of the vice-presidents and the generous donor to the society of the large collection of valuable autographs, portraits, etc., and Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, the president of the Society of Antiquaries of London, an honorary member.

TREASURER'S REPORT, DECEMBER 31ST, 1897.

During the year three deaths have occurred, including that of our late vice-president, Mr. J. C. Brooks. There has otherwise been a loss of twenty-two members, which has been equivalented by the election of twenty-two new members. The total number of ordinary members now stands at 344, of whom five have compounded for their subscriptions.

The total revenue has been £538 3s. 8d., and the expenditure £510 2s. 11d., showing a balance of income over expenditure of £28 2s. 9d. The receipts from members' subscriptions have been £356 18s.

There has been a considerable falling off in the number of publications sold at the Castle, due possibly, in some measure, to the absence for some weeks of our warden, Mr. Gibson, who has had a serious illness. He is now, I am happy to state, sufficiently recovered to be able again to attend to his duties. The amount paid for books stands at £16 18s. 8d. The second part of the general index has cost £26.

The repairs to the Castle and Black Gate buildings have been heavy, and the balance of receipts and expenditure on the two buildings therefore shows a profit of only £9.

The printing of the *Proceedings* and registers has cost £76 17s. 6d., but of this sum £20 is borne by Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson and a few friends and by Dr. Longstaff, who have subscribed, the former £15 towards the Warkworth, and the latter £5 towards the Dinsdale, registers.

The expenditure upon the *Archaeologia Aeliana* has amounted to £81 17s. 6d. only, as against £116 11s. 6d. last year. The cost of the illustrations has also been less.

The expenditure on account of the museum amounts to £21 8s. 11d., £20 of which is due to a contribution of the society towards the cost of the various articles of antiquity found in making the excavations at the station of Aesica, on the Roman Wall.

The expenditure under the head of sundries has been £81 7s. 8d., but this includes a sum of £12 9s., the cost of insurance and watching at the Black Gate during the exhibition of Newcastle plate in that building.

The balance carried forward to 1898 is £100 9s. 8d., and the capital account with interest now stands at £51 1s. 8d.

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 31ST, 1897.

	Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on January 1st, 1897	72	8	11			
Members' Subscriptions	356	18	0			
Books	15	17	9	16	18	8
Castle	116	4	7	89	6	9
Black Gate	27	8	4	45	12	8
Printing: <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>				81	17	6
<i>Proceedings</i> and registers	20	0	0	76	17	6
General Index (part ii.)				26	0	0
Illustrations				28	18	3
Museum				21	8	11
Sundries	1	15	0	83	2	8
Secretary (clerical assistance)				40	0	0
Balance				100	9	8
	<u>£610 12 7</u>			<u>£610 12 7</u>		

NOTE.—The cost of printing the Warkworth and Dinsdale registers is included in the item *Proceedings* and registers, but the cost to the society of this is lessened by the following donations:—

Mr. Crawford Hodgson, towards cost of Warkworth register ...	£15	0	0
Dr. Longstaff, towards cost of Dinsdale register	5	0	0
	<u>£20 0 0</u>		

Examined and approved,

JOHN PHILIPSON.

20th January 1898.

p.p. JOHN M. WINTER, ROBT. P. WINTER.

Capital Account.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Invested in 2½ per cent. Consols		42	18	5			
Dividends and interest to December 31st, 1897 ...		8	3	3			
		<u>51 1 8</u>					
					51	1	8
					<u>£51 1 8</u>		

CASTLE—	Details of Expenditure.				£	s.	d.
Salaries					69	16	0
Insurance					0	7	6
Rent					0	2	6
Water Rate					0	6	0
Gas					0	4	10
Poors Rate					0	19	2
Property Tax					1	10	6
Incandescent Gas Burners					4	0	0
Gas Fittings					0	11	6
Repairs to Building					9	0	0
Coal and Sundries					2	8	9
					<u>£89 6 9</u>		

BLACK GATE—										£	s.	d.
Salaries ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	6	0
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	15	0
Rent ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Water Rate ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	7	10
Poors Rate ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	5
Property Tax ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
Repairs to Building ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	1	9
Floor Cloth ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
										<hr/>		
										£45 12 8		
										<hr/>		
MUSEUM—										£	s.	d.
Carriage of Stones from <i>Aesica</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	11
Two Diamond Jubilee Medals ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Frames and Glasses for Pictures ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
Contribution towards the Payment for the Antiquities found at <i>Aesica</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
										<hr/>		
										£21 8 11		
										<hr/>		
BOOKS, &C., BOUGHT—										£	s.	d.
Drawings by the Rev. W. Darnell ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
Bourne's <i>History of Ryton</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Leland's <i>Collectanea</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
Plummer's <i>Bacdae</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Macdonald's <i>Birrens and its Antiquities</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Transactions of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	17	0
Cocks's <i>Church Bells of Buckinghamshire</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	6
<i>History of Doddington, Lincolnshire</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	10
<i>Year-book of Societies</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
<i>Austin Canons</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
<i>Der Obergermanisch-Raetisches Wall</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Bedford's <i>Blazon of Episcopacy</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Prescott's <i>Register of the Priory of Wetherall</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	5
Macgibbon & Ross, <i>Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland</i> , vol. iii. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
<i>Catalogue of the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	5
Tuer's <i>History of the Horn Book</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
<i>Northern Genealogist</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Tomlinson's <i>Guide to Northumberland</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	9
Waters, for Binding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	9
										<hr/>		
										£16 18 8		
										<hr/>		
SUNDRIES—										£	s.	d.
Reid & Co., for general printing, etc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	8	7
Nicholson, for general printing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	18	5
Gibson, postage and carriage ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	9	1
Secretary's expences ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	8	7
Treasurer's do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	0
										<hr/>		
Carried forward ...										65	10	8

SUNDRIES (*Continued*)—

	Brought forward...	£	s.	d.
Cheque Book ... ..	...	65	10	8
Subscription—Harleian Society ... ..	...	0	5	0
Do. —Surtees Society ... ..	...	1	1	0
Do. —Register Society ... ..	...	1	1	0
Expences attending the exhibition of Newcastle plate in Black Gate :—				
Insurance against fire	£3 0 0			
Do. do. burglary	2 10 0			
Watching expences	8 14 0			
	<hr/>			
	14 4 0			
<i>Less</i> —Balance received from Plate Committee	1 15 0			
	<hr/>			
		12	9	0
		<hr/>		
		£81	7	8
		<hr/>		

The curators reported that the following donations to the museum had been made during 1897 :—

- 1897.
- Feb. 24. From Mr. A. D. PARK :—(i.) A sand-glass, with a run of two hours' duration, formerly attached to the pulpit of a church; (ii.) pair of Mexican spurs, with long-pointed rowels of antique pattern; (iii.) a fabricated heirloom belonging to the stock of the *quasi* 'Countess of Derwentwater'; this is a German hunting knife, the maker's stamp on which is 1810; an inscription has been cut 'From the isle of Derwent, 1810,' in order to give to it a fictitious antiquity; (iv.) a horn lantern, which was formerly in the possession of Mr. John Hancock (*Proc.* vol. viii. pp. 13 and 32).
- April 28. From Mr. WM. OLLIFF, Newcastle :—A bicycle, made in 1864, of the type now commonly known as 'a boneshaker' (*ibid.* p. 32).
- July 28. From Mr. H. W. YOUNG, F.S.A. Scot. :—Plaster cast of an early Christian inscription discovered at Burghead, Moray Firth (*ibid.* vol. viii. p. 62).
- Aug. 25. From Mr. JOHN VENTRESS :—Plaster cast of the Newcastle goldsmiths' punch-plate (*ibid.* p. 84).
- Sept. 29. From Mr. JOHN BRAITHWAITE, Gosforth, Newcastle :—Flail from Hall Flat farm, Irton, Cumberland (*ibid.* p. 88).
- Nov. 24. From Mr. JOHN GOOLDEN, ex-Mayor of Newcastle :—Iron key from the Old Gaol, Newgate, Newcastle (*ibid.* p. 98).
- Dec. 15. From Mr. W. J. SANDERSON, Gosforth, Newcastle (per Messrs. Oliver & Leeson) :—Two sculptured stones of medieval date, found in demolishing houses in the Crown and Thistle yard, Pudding chare, immediately behind the west end of Collingwood street, Newcastle, one a grave cover, the other a gable cross (*ibid.* pp. 98 and 105).
- 1898.
- Jan. 26. From Dr. G. ALDER BLUMER, Utica, U.S.A. :—A small Roman coin of the Constantine period found during the restoration of Monkwearmouth church several years ago. The inscription on the obverse is CONSTANTINOPOLIS, and on the reverse the letters TR · P. in the exergue (*ibid.* p. 110).

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

Patron.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH.

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HORATIO ALFRED ADAMSON.
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MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ON THE
1ST MARCH, 1898.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

The sign * indicates that the member has compounded for his subscription.

† that the member is one of the Council.

Date of Election.	
1885 Mar. 25	Adams, William Edwin, 32 Holly Avenue, Newcastle.
1883 Aug. 29	†Adamson, Rev. Cuthbert Edward, Westoe, South Shields.
1843 April 4	†Adamson, Rev. Edward Hussey, St. Alban's, Felling, R.S.O.
1873 July	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, 29 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence William, LL.D., 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 46 Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1895 July 31	Allan, Thomas, Blackett Street, Newcastle.
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.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1897 Nov. 24	Arnison, William Drewitt, M.D., 31 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	Baily, Rev. Johnson, Hon. Canon of Durham and Rector of Ryton.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Langley Castle, Langley, Northumberland.
1894 Mar. 25	Bates, Stuart Frederick, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, John E., The Cedars, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1894 July 25	Bell, W. Heward, Seend, Melksham, Wiltshire.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon Hall, near Sunderland.
1874 Jan. 7	†Blair, Robert, F.S.A., South Shields.
1892 Mar. 30	Blenkinsopp, Thomas, 3 High Swinburne Place, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Blindell, William A., Wester Hall, Humshaugh.
1896 Dec. 23	Blumer, G. Alder, M.D., Utica State Hospital, New York State, U.S.A.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1888 April 25	Bolam, Robert G., Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1897 July 28	Boot, Rev. Alfred, St. George's Vicarage, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1871	Booth, John, Shotley Bridge.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rock, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Vicarage, Monkwearmouth.
1883 June 27	Bowden, Thomas, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 May 25	Bowes, John Bosworth, 18 Hawthorn Street, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Boyd, George Fenwick, 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.
1896 Nov. 25	Brass, John George, The Grove, Barnard Castle.
1892 Aug. 31	Brewis, Parker, 32 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	Brock-Hollinshead, Mrs., Woodfoot House, Shap, Westmorland.
1897 Nov. 24	Brooks, Miss Ellen, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 17 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1891 July 29	*Browne, A. H., Callaly Castle, Whittingham, R.S.O.
1893 June 28	Browne, Thomas Procter, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, The Hon. Mr. Justice, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1897 Nov. 24	Bryers, Thomas Edward, The Cottage, Whitburn, Sunderland.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick.
1889 April 24	Burnett, The Rev. W. R., Kelloe Vicarage, Coxhoe, Durham.
1888 Nov. 28	Burton, William Spelman, 19 Claremont Park, Gateshead.
1884 Dec. 30	Burton, S. B., Ridley Villas, Newcastle.
1897 Jan. 27	Butler, George Grey, Ewart Park, Wooler.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympston, near Exeter.
1892 July 27	Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Barming Rectory, Maidstone, Kent.
1896 Oct. 28	Carr-Ellison, H. G., 21 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Carr-Ellison, J. R., Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1885 Nov. 25	Charleton, William L.
1896 Aug. 26	Charlton, Henry, 1 Millfield Terrace, Gateshead.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., B.A., LL.B., 36 ^a Victoria Road, Kensington Palace, London, W.
1895 Sept. 25	Chester, Mrs., Stamfordham, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester (Walter T. Browne, Librarian).
1895 Nov. 27	Clapham, William, Park Villa, Darlington.
1896 Jan. 29	Clayton, John Bertram, Chesters, Humshaugh, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	†Clephan, Robert Coltman, Southdene Tower, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1893 July 26	Cooper, Robert Watson, 2 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Corder, Herbert, 10 Kensington Terrace, Sunderland.
1886 Sept. 29	Corder, Percy, 41 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Corder, Walter Shewell, 4 Rosella Place, North Shields.

Date of Election.	
1887 Jan. 26	Cowen, Joseph, Stella Hall, Blaydon.
1898 Feb. 23	Crawhall, Rev. T. E., Wall Vicarage, North Tynedale.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, Junior United Service Club, London, S. W.
1888 Feb. 29	†Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.
1896 Feb. 26	Cruddas, W. D., M.P., Haughton Castle, Humshaugh.
1897 Dec. 15	Culley, Francis John, 5 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1889 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Tow Law, co. Durham.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Public Library, Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1844 about	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	†Dendy, Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Denison, Joseph, Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Dickinson, John, Park House, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 9	Dickinson, William Bowstead, Healey Hall, Riding Mill.
1883 June 27	Dixon, John Archbold, 5 Wellington Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1897 May 26	Drummond, Dr., Wývestow House, South Shields.
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.
1886 May 26	†Embleton, Dennis, M.D., 19 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	Emley, Fred., Ravenshill, Durham Road, Gateshead.
1886 Aug. 28	Featherstonhaugh, Rev. Walker, Edmundbyers, Blackhill.
1865 Aug. 2	Fenwick, George A., Bank, Newcastle.
1875	Fenwick, John George, Moorlands, Newcastle.
1894 Nov. 28	Ferguson, John, Dene Croft, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Richard Saul, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1894 May 30	Forster, Fred. E., 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1896 Aug. 26	Forster, George Baker, M.A., Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Robert Henry, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Thomas Emmerson, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1890 Mar. 26	Forster, William, Houghton Hall, Carlisle.
1895 Jan. 30	Forster, William Charlton, 33 Westmorland Road, Newcastle
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Gayner, Francis, King's College, Cambridge.
1859 Dec. 7	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.

Date of Election.	
1879	Gibson, Thomas George, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1878	Glendinning, William, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1896 Jan. 29	Glover, Rev. William, 48 Rothbury Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.
1886 Oct. 27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1895 Sept. 25	Gough, Rev. Edward John, Vicar and Hon. Canon of Newcastle.
1894 Aug. 29	Gradon, J. G., Lynton House, Durham.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1896 Dec. 23	Graham, Matthew Horner, 61 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Greene, Charles R., North Seaton Hall, Newbiggin-by-the-Sea.
1845 June 3	†Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon.
	F.S.A. Scot., Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Greenwell, His Honour Judge, Greenwell Ford, Lanchester, co.
	Durham.
1877 Dec. 5	†Gregory, John Vessey, 10 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Haggie, Robert Hood, Blythwood, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893 Mar. 8	Hall, Edmund James, 9 Prior Terrace, Tynemouth.
1883 Aug. 29	Hall, James, Tynemouth.
1883 Aug. 29	Hall, John, Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1887 Mar. 30	Halliday, Thomas, Myrtle Cottage, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1892 Aug. 31	Harrison, John Adolphus, Saltwellville, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 Mar. 26	Harrison, Miss Winifred A., 9 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1893 Aug. 30	Hastings, Lord, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
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, Cheviot, Corbridge.
1884 Feb. 27	Henzell, Charles Wright, Tynemouth.
1891 Oct. 28	Heslop, George Christopher, 8 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1883 Feb. 28	†Heslop, Richard Oliver, 12 Princes Buildings, Akenside Hill,
	Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Hicks, William Searle, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 April 25	Hindmarsh, William Thomas, Alnbank, Alnwick.
1882	Hodges, Charles Clement, Hexham.
1865 Aug. 2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., 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, Rockwood, Shinfield Road, near Reading.
1895 July 31	Hogg, John Robert, North Shields.
1891 Oct. 28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, 8 Sanderson Road, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1877 July 4	†Holmes, Sheriton, Moor View House, Newcastle.
1892 June 29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1882	Hopper, John, Grey Street, Newcastle
1895 Dec. 18	Houldsworth, David Arundell, 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1876	Hoyle, William Aubone, Normount, Newcastle.
1896 April 29	Hudson, Robert, Hotspur Street, Tynemouth.
1896 July 29	Hulbert, Rev. E. C., Grange Clergy House, Jarrow.
1888 July 25	Hunter, Edward, 8 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Hunter, Thomas, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1897 Dec. 15	Hutchinson, Edward, The Elms, Darlington.
1894 Feb. 28	Ingledeu, Alfred Edward, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1886 May 26	Irving, George, West Fell, Corbridge.
1882	Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883 Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Rudby Vicarage, Yarm.
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, Sir James, Bart., M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Henry, 38 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1896 Dec. 23	Lambert, Thomas, Town Hall, Gateshead.
1897 July 28	Laws, Dr. Cuthbert Umfreville, 65 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1896 Sept. 20	Lee, Rev. Percy, Birtley Vicarage, Wark, North Tynedale.
1894 Sept. 26	Leeds Library, The, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1897 Jan. 27	Lightfoot, Miss, 5 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1894 July 25	Long, Rev. H. F., Hon. Canon of Newcastle, The Glebe, Bamburgh, Belford.
1896 Nov. 25	Longstaff, Dr. Geo. Blundell, Highlands, Putney Heath, London, S.W.
1850 Nov. 6	Lynn, J. R. D., Blyth, Northumberland.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, George Eugene, 9 Dean Street, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., East Cottingwood, Morpeth.
1884 Mar. 26	†Mackey, Matthew, Jun., 8 Milton Street, Shieldfield, Newcastle.
1884 Aug. 27	Maling, Christopher Thompson, 14 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 May 27	Manchester Reference Library (C. W. Sutton, Librarian).
1895 Sept. 25	Marley, Thomas William, Netherlaw, Darlington.
1884 Mar. 26	Marshall, Frank, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1882	Martin, N. H., F.L.S., 8 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1893 Oct. 25	Mather, Philip E., Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swatling, Riding Mill, Northumberland.
1894 July 25	Mearns, William, M.D., Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (c/o Melville, Mullen, and Slade, 12 Ludgate Square, London, E.C.)
1897 Mar. 31	Milburn, Joseph, Highfield, Marlborough, Wilts.

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

Date of Election.	
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1896 Jan. 29	Mitchell, Charles William, Jesmond Towers, Newcastle.
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., 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.
1896 Oct. 28	Neilson, Edward, 172 Portland Road, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1896 April 29	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library.
1895 Feb. 27	Newton, Robert, Brookfield, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1896 May 27	Nisbet, Robert S., 8 Grove Street, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent.
	†Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1889 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 7 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1897 Oct. 27	Ogle, Bart., R.N., Capt. Sir Henry A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London.
1891 Feb. 18	Ord, John Robert, Haughton Hall, Darlington.
1894 Dec. 19	Oswald, Joseph, 33 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1896 Oct. 28	Parker, Miss Ethel, The Elms, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1898 Jan. 26	Peacock, Reginald, 47 West Sunnyside, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 29	Pearson, Rev. Samuel, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Bank, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1892 Nov. 30	Percy, The Earl, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1884 Sept. 24	†Phillips, Maberly, F.S.A., 12 Grafton Road, Whitley, R.S.O.
1880	Philipson, George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1871	†Philipson, John, Victoria Square, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., Prior's Terrace, Tynemouth.
1898 Feb. 23	Porteus, Thomas, 3 Poplar Crescent, Gateshead.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1896 Mar. 25	Pybus, Rev. George, Grange Rectory, Jarrow.
1882	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
	†Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, jun., Alnwick.
1882	Redmayne, R. Norman, 27 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, 4 Bentinck Road, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Killingworth, Newcastle.
1894 Feb. 28	Reed, Thomas, King Street, South Shields.
1897 April 28	Reid, C. Leopold, Wardle Terrace, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
1894 May 30	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., Rector of Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, R.S.O.
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Richardson, Miss Alice M., Esplanade, Sunderland.
1891 July 29	Richardson, Frank, South Ashfield, Newcastle.
1895 July 31	Richardson, Mrs. Stansfield, Thornholme, Sunderland.
1898 Jan. 26	Richardson, William, Rosehill, Willington Quay.
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Bank House, Rothbury.
1877	Ridley, Bart., M.P., The Right Hon. Sir M. W., Blagdon, Northumberland.
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 136 Brighton Grove, Newcastle.
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, High Street, Sunderland.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 25	Robson, John Stephenson, Sunnilaw, Claremont Gardens, Newcastle.
1897 Sept. 29	Robson, Lancelot, 12 Stockton Street, West Hartlepool.
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 Stace, 7 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1893 Nov. 29	†Savage, Rev. H. E., Hon. Canon of Durham and Vicar of St. Hild's, South Shields.
1891 Sept. 30	Scott, John David, 4 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Scott, Owen Stanley, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.
1886 Feb. 24	Scott, Walter, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Scott, Walter, Holly House, Sunderland.
1883 Feb. 28	Sheppee, Lieutenant-Colonel, Birtley House, Birtley, co. Durham.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Marlow William, Blyth.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Bradley Hall, Wylam.
1895 May 29	Simpson, Robert Anthony, East Street, South Shields
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, 13 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Ainwick.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Barrasford.
1893 Mar. 29	Smith, William Arthur, 71 King Street, South Shields.
1896 Dec. 23	Sopwith, Henry Thomas, 2 Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	South Shields Public Library (Thomas Pyke, Librarian).

Date of Election.	
1866 Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
1883 Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Millfield, Newburn, Newcastle.
1882	Steavenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891 Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, D.D., Vicarage, Heworth.
1883 Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882	Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
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, Breffni Villa, Eglinton Road, Donnybrook, Dublin.
1897 Jan. 27	Sunderland Public Library.
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., ¹ F.S.A., St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
1860 Jan. 6	Taylor, Hugh, 57 Gracechurch Street, London.
1892 April 27	Taylor, Thomas, Chipchase Castle, Wark, North Tynedale.
1884 Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Catholic Church, Whittingham, Alnwick.
1896 Nov. 25	Temperley, Henry, LL.M., Lambton Road, Brandling Park, Newcastle.
1896 Dec. 23	Temperley, Robert, M.A., 18 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1883 Jan. 31	Tennant, James, Low Fell, Gateshead.
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 Weaver, 6 Bristol Terrace, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 28	Toovey, Alfred F., Övington Cottage, Prudhoe. Toronto Public Library, c/o C. B. Cazenove & Sons, Agents, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
1897 Mar. 31	Townsend, Brian, Snowsgreen House, Shotley Bridge.
1897 Aug. 25	Trotter, Dr. James, Bedlington.
1895 Dec. 18	Turner, S. C., 5 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Tweddell, George, Grainger Ville, Newcastle.
1889 Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1896 July 29	*Ventress, John, ² Wharncliffe Street, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Vincent, William, 18 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.

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

Elected originally Aug. 6, 1856.

Date of Election.	
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Hon. Canon of Newcastle, Whalton Vicarage, Morpeth.
1896 Nov. 25	Walker, John Duguid, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1890 Aug. 27	Wallace, Henry, Trench Hall, near Gateshead.
1896 Oct. 28	Wallis, Arthur Bertram Ridley, B.C.L., 3 Gray's Inn Square, London.
1889 Mar. 27	Watson-Armstrong, W. A., Cragside, Rothbury.
1896 Aug. 26	Watson, Henry, West End, Haltwhistle.
1887 Mar. 30	Watson, Joseph Henry, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1892 Oct. 26	Watson, Mrs. M. E., Burnopfield.
1887 Jan. 26	Watson, Thomas Carrick, 21 Blakett Street, Newcastle.
1895 May 29	Weddell, George, 20 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1879 Mar. 26	†Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1886 June 30	Wilkinson, Auburn, M.D., 14 Front Street, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Wilkinson, The Rev. Ed., M.A., Whitworth Vicarage, Spennymoor.
1893 Aug. 30	Wilkinson, William C., Dacre Street, Morpeth.
1896 May 27	Williams, Charles, Moot Hall, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, jun., Lovaine House, North Shields.
1897 Sept. 29	Willyams, H. J., Burndale Cottage, Alnwick.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1896 Feb. 26	Wood, Herbert Maxwell, The Cottage, Whickham, R.S.O.
1897 Oct. 27	Worsdell, Wilson, Gateshead.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Young, Hugh W., F.S.A. Scot., 36 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh.
1896 Dec. 23	Young, William, 15 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

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

- Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, The (*Secretary*, The Rev. W. Bazeley, Matson Rectory, Gloucester).
- British Archaeological Association, The (*Secretaries*, W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., British Museum, and G. Patrick, 16 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.)
- Cambrian Antiquarian Society, The (c/o J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., 28 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.)
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society, The (*Secretary*, T. D. Atkinson, St. Mary's Passage, Cambridge).
- Canadian Institute of Toronto, The
- Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, The, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- Derbyshire Archaeological Society, The (Arthur Cox, *Hon. Sec.*, Mill Hill, Derby).
- Heidelberg Historical and Philosophical Society, Heidelberg, Germany.
- Huguenot Society, The (c/o Reg. S. Faber, *Secretary*, 10 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.)
- Kent Archaeological Society, Maidstone, Kent.
- Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, The (R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Old Swan, Liverpool).
- Literary and Scientific Society, Christiania, Norway.
- London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, The (8 Danes Inn, London).
- Nassau Association for the Study of Archaeology and History, The (Verein für nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichte forschung), Wiesbaden, Germany.
- Numismatic Society of London, The (*Secretaries*, H. A. Grueber and B. V. Head), 22 Albemarle Street, London, W.
- Peabody Museum, The Trustees of the, Harvard University, U.S.A.
- Powysland Club, The (*Editor*, Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., Gungrog Hall, Welshpool).
- Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The (*Secretary*, Francis Goyne), Shrewsbury.
- Smithsonian Institution, The, Washington, U.S.A.
- Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, La, rue Ravenstein 11, Bruxelles.
- Société d'Archéologie de Namur, La.
- Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The (c/o *Curator*, W. Bidgood), Castle, Taunton, Somersetshire.
- Surrey Archaeological Society, The (c/o *Hon. Sec.*, Mill Stephenson, 8 Danes Inn, Strand, London, W.C.)
- Sussex Archaeological Society, The (C. T. Phillips, *Hon. Librarian and Curator*), The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- Thuringian Historical and Archaeological Society, Jena, Germany.
- Trier Archaeological Society, The, Trier, Germany.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, The (c/o *Hon. Librarian*), 10 Park Street, Leeds.

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

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

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

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

Constitution
of the Society.

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

Election of
Members.

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

Obligations
of Members.

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

Officers of
the Society.

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

Election of
Officers.

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

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

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

Members not eligible for Council.

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

Meetings of the Society.

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

Property of
the Society.

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

Reading of
Papers.

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

Publications
of Society.

X.—The Council shall be entrusted with the duty and charge of selecting and illustrating papers for the publications of the Society (other than the *Proceedings*) ; and that no paper be printed at the Society's expence before it be read in whole or in part at a meeting ; and that no paper which has been printed elsewhere be read at any meeting unless it be first submitted to the Council at a meeting of the Council, nor printed in the Society's transactions except at the request of the Council. Two illustrated parts of the *Archaeologia* shall

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

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

Removal of
Members.

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

Donations to
the Society.

Duplicates.

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

Members
entitled to
publications.

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

The use of
the library.

Repeal or
alteration of
Statutes.

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



FIGURE OF MERCURY FROM *Aescia*.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—OBITUARY NOTICE OF THE LATE WILLIAM HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE, A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

By RICHARD WELFORD, M.A., a vice-president of the society.

[Read on the 30th day of March, 1898.]

On the 6th of November, 1850, the roll of members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries was inscribed, for the first time, with the name of William Hylton Longstaffe—a young man of four and twenty, who had already given proof of precocious devotion to archaeological research, and promise of notable success in that absorbing pursuit.

Eldest son of a family of nine, Mr. Longstaffe was born at Norton, near Stockton-on-Tees, on the 2nd of September, 1826. His father and grandfather were surgeons, his great-grandfather was a clergyman who had married a descendant of the Hyltons of Durham—lawyers and doctors in the county palatine for several generations. His mother was a great-granddaughter of Dyer the poet.

Endowed with intelligence befitting this intellectual ancestry, Mr. Longstaffe was sent at the proper age to the free grammar school of his native village. In our day, when educational machinery is run at high pressure, the old grammar schools of the country are too often regarded as relics of the past—interesting, but obsolete. In Mr. Longstaffe's boyhood they were the mainsprings of intellectual progress, the mechanism by which the children of all but the poorest were prepared for the active pursuits of commerce and industry, or started on the highway to learning and scholarship. Intended for a professional career, young Longstaffe struck the higher path. Mingling devotion to the classics with excursions into heraldry and genealogy—his father's favourite studies—and occasional deviations into botany and natural history, he made rapid progress. A brilliant future seemed to be opening out before him; he was already upon its threshold, when the death of his father arrested his steps and threw

him back upon his own resources. Longstaffe senior died, a victim to adverse fortune, on the 1st of November, 1842, a few weeks after his eldest boy had completed the sixteenth year of his age.¹

Deprived thus suddenly of the means of completing his studies, young Mr. Longstaffe sought temporary employment in the office of a family friend, Mr. Peters, a law stationer, in the city of York. Thence, after only a few weeks' trial, he entered upon the duties of clerk with a solicitor at Thirsk. In 1845 he came to Darlington under a similar engagement with Mr. John Shields Peacock, an attorney in good practice, whose wife was the daughter of Mr. Francis Mewburn, chief bailiff of the town.

While at Thirsk Mr. Longstaffe had followed the pursuits of his boyhood, and had increased their number by the study of church architecture. He came to Darlington with a collection of notes, drawings, and sketches which excited the interest of Mr. Mewburn (himself a careful annalist and collector), and brought about an introduction to Mr. Robert Henry Allan of Blackwell Grange, the descendant of munificent contributors with press, pen, and purse to local history and local authors. Seeing the bent of his mind, these gentlemen gave Mr. Longstaffe access to their libraries, their local muniments, and their collections of ancient records.

One evening in January, 1848, the assembly room of the 'Sun Inn,' at Darlington, was crowded by townspeople, assembled, under the presidency of the chief bailiff, to hear a lecture on the ancient history of their town by the young man from Mr. Peacock's office, then in his twenty-second year. The lecture was successful, so successful, indeed, that everybody wanted more. In this way was laid the foundation of Longstaffe's *History of Darlington*, or, as it was then more modestly designated, *Darlington: Its Annals and Characteristics*. With the assistance of Mr. Allan and Mr. Mewburn the youthful

¹ Mr. Longstaffe describes his father as 'a minute amateur etcher, collector, and illuminator of coins, shields, book plates, and seals.' 'The grass grows green on his unrecorded grave, and some may only name him as the vendor of ancient family possessions. But I knew him as a man so full of curious information that we never walked without my returning struck with something new and attractive.' 'An arrangement for his admittance into the Heralds' College fell through, but his collection of some 1,200 book plates, mostly original, from old books, but many gorgeously illuminated designs from his own pencil, form a volume of no ordinary beauty, and prove him to have been most fitted for such an office.'

historian began his great enterprise,² and in the *Darlington and Stockton Times* of February 26th, 1848, declared his intentions as follows:—

The desire expressed by many for the publication of the author's recent lecture on the fleeting days of Darlington has led him to believe that a work of greater scope will be acceptable to its residents and to antiquaries at large. The local naturalist will hail a category of the productions of its fields, its woods, its waters; and the student of statistics has long looked for a faithful picture of the manufacture and trade supporting the prosperity of his earthly home. Darlington, moreover, is now an important locality as the centre of several railways. The numbers among her inhabitants a gentleman (Edward Pease, Esq.), in the absence of whose energy and perseverance the present system of locomotive enterprise would, in the ordinary course of human calculations, have been deferred for many years, and it is thought that a copious chapter devoted to its first fruit, 'The Stockton and Darlington Railway' will be found an interesting addition in every commercial library.

Part i., consisting of about one-fourth of the volume, was issued within a few months; part ii., extending into the third chapter of the ecclesiastical division, made its appearance towards the end of 1849; the remaining parts were delayed from various causes, and it was not until 1854 that the work was completed.

While part ii. of the history was slowly passing through the press, Mr., afterwards Sir, John Bernard Burke, Ulster king at arms, projected a new monthly magazine. The subjects to be treated in this serial were heraldry, genealogy, biography, folk-lore, and matters that belong rather to the by-paths than the beaten tracks of history. Under the name of the *St. James's Magazine*, with Mr. Burke as editor, the new venture made its appearance in the early part of 1849. It lasted a couple of years, and among its contributors was Mr. Longstaffe. His name is attached to a series of sketches, entitled

² At the memorable meeting in the 'Sun Inn,' Mr. Longstaffe was introduced to a large and appreciative audience as the coming historian of Darlington. The manner in which he treated his subject had a delightful effect. It was shortly after this meeting that I made Mr. Longstaffe's acquaintance, and on May 20th, 1849, as is recorded in the journal of my dear father, Mr. John Ord, of Newton Ketton, is an entry: 'Mr. Longstaffe here, seeing old coins.' It was a dreary wet Sunday, but a walk of five miles in the rain did not damp the young man's ardour. Such was the beginning of a staunch friendship extending over the remaining twenty years of my father's life, during which Mr. Longstaffe was a frequent and always welcome visitor at Newton Ketton. Of those who accompanied him on such occasions, I may mention his brother-in-law (Mr. J. T. Abbott), Canon Greenwell, Canon Bade, and Mr. Henry Maddison.—Note by Mr. J. R. Ord, Haughton Hall, who also kindly provided from his local collections a copy of the prospectus of the *History of Darlington*.

‘Gatherings for a Garland of Bishoprick Blossoms,’ sketches which, it is not too much to say, exhibit remarkable ability, and disclose a marvellous acquaintance with the traditions, legends, and superstitions of the county palatine. They are not, the writer points out in a prefatory note, ‘solemn history.’ That must be sought in the splendid folios of Surtees, or the careful quartos of Hutchinson. These papers are ‘devoted to the lighter illustrations of private biography, and the legends, proverbs, popular poetry, and heraldic curiosities of my native county. The massive church, the ornate castle, the comfortable manor house, the old fashioned farmstead, and rude cottage, the gliding stream, its grassy leas, the golden fields, the soft woods, the rugged rock, and sable pit; all will afford me matter. The soil of the palatinate is drowned in story. We cannot move a mile without coming on some new legend or association.’

The people of Darlington were proud of their youthful historian and of his literary achievements. When the queen and royal family made their first visit to the north of England in the autumn of that year, 1849, who but he could prepare an address to the royal visitors? His father had taught him to draw, to sketch, and to emblazon, and he had profited by the parental tuition. ‘It was beautifully illuminated on vellum by Longstaffe the historian, a large paper copy of part i. of whose work was also presented and accepted.’ So writes the author of a *Memoir of Francis Mewburn*. Longstaffe himself describes the incident in a foot note to his history, thus:—‘It was on vellum in the fullest decoration of medieval art I could combine with chastity of effect. In an initial letter hung the arms of England. In the copy of my work presented I inserted a blank page containing a rich cross of foliage, which wreathed round four shields—1 and 4, England; 2, Scotland; and 3, Ireland. “Humbly presented to her most gracious majesty Queen Victoria upon the occasion of her first royal progress through the county palatine of Durham by her most dutiful subject, the author.”’

In the spring of 1850, being in indifferent health, Mr. Longstaffe came to stay for a while with his father’s cousins, Mrs. Taylor of Cleadon (widow of John Brough Taylor, F.S.A., a well-known local collector and antiquary), and her brother, the rev. Edward James Midgley, perpetual curate of Medomsley—recreating himself among what he playfully calls ‘kind companions, rills, woods, hills, and—

parish registers.' Under the title 'Notes from Northumbria,' he contributed to the *St. James's Magazine* a graphic account of his journeys. First of all, he notes 'the deep grace of the green fields and quiet streams' in spring time; 'the feathery, bursting, glowing appearance of every thing in its proud, young beauty;' then, giving further flight to his poetical fancy, he adds:—

Beautiful as our wild flowers are, they must be improved by horticulture, and antiquaries must aid the progress. We must rise higher than to a charter or painted escutcheon. We seek to raise architecture, and the more exquisite the profile of the petal and the leaf, the more delighting will our sculpture be. The winter style of our Norman ancestors was partially brushed up by massive fronds—the Early English had all the crispness of spring herself, with its wiry stems, curled foliage and drooping blossoms . . . the Decorated at its birth assumed such flowery lightness as charmed the eye and sunk into beds of roses and ivy in wanton summer profusion; while the last school of those powerful designers of the middle ages, the Florid, with the cunning of autumn, clothed its deformed leaves and unnatural distortions with acres of rich brown screen and tabernacle and arched roofing work. All this may appear fanciful, but we must spiritualize art, whether in forming or looking back. The Egyptian copied his lotus and palm; the Greek adored his acanthus; the Jews repeated their 'pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet,' their 'bowls made like unto almonds with a knop and a flower,' their 'palm trees and open flowers,' their 'flowers of lilies'; and I would perpetuate all our fair favourites, be they rose, or fern, or moss.

About Newcastle and its antiquaries he writes some appreciative lines, as follows:—

The Newcastle people have their Literary and Philosophical Society, Natural History Society, and Society of Antiquaries. . . . The last have, in all proper taste, taken up their abode in the deserted keep. There they have their Roman altars, their armour, and relics of all sorts; there, in the great chamber, have they caused the banners and the pennons of the Fenwyke, Hylton, Percy, and all the great houses of the North, once more to float over fair foreheads and devoted squires. The *literati* of the metropolis of the North have their own peculiar style of literature. They love red lettering and creamy tracts. Their most unimportant imprints are *brochures*. The Richardsons have carried this taste to the extreme of country perfection, and in a private way sir Cuthbert Sharp, John Trotter Brockett, and John Fenwick, have exercised no small influence over the printers of their *minutiae*. . . . I spent the day in the company of John Fenwick, esq., G. Bouchier Richardson, the young and ardent topographer of the town, and that 'vary *moral* of a man'—as Teasdale folks say—Mr. Robert White, the Scottish minstrel of ballad fame. I was also introduced to Collingwood Bruce, the learned discussor of the Roman Wall, whose book I long to dip into . . . and John Bell, a wondrous collector of all things—hand-bills, ballads, and MSS., good, bad, and indifferent; picked up in the street or sent from gentle fingers; clean, dirty, and of neutral tint.

Mr. John Fenwick, the Newcastle host of the Darlington historian during these joyous wanderings, had been an old friend of the Longstaffe family, and his remembrance of the father found expression in hearty recognition of the budding genius of the son. He was at this time one of the council, and, in after years, the treasurer of our society, a leading solicitor, identified in many directions with the public life of Newcastle. Among his colleagues on the council was Mr. William Kell, town clerk of Gateshead. Shortly after the visit recorded above, Mr. Kell needed assistance in the management of an increasing business. Who could be better qualified to render it than one already versed in the routine of a lawyer's office, with literary abilities and antiquarian tastes to boot? Before the summer of that eventful spring had run its course, Mr. Longstaffe had transferred his services to Mr. Kell, and his residence to Gateshead.

Congenial as may have been his surroundings on the banks of the Skerne, it cannot be doubted that the young antiquary found his opportunities vastly increased by his settlement upon the shores of the Tyne. Here was the society he had admired a few months before; here were the men who had made it famous—Adamson and Raine, Clayton and Bruce, Fenwick and White, Hodgson Hinde and Sidney Gibson, Dr. Charlton and Bouchier Richardson. What would not most of us give for an evening with these departed worthies, assembled once more within these venerable walls that so often echoed and re-echoed the sound of their voices?

Mr. Longstaffe became a member of our society, as already related, in November, 1850, very shortly after his removal. Two months later—at the ordinary meeting of the society in January, 1851—he read a paper on ‘The Sun of the Plantagenet, the Crescent of Percy, and the Star of Vere.’ Then began a career of activity in antiquarian pursuit and of contribution to antiquarian literature which finds no parallel in local annals. No matter what the topic might be—heraldry, numismatics, church architecture, local history and biography, ancient land tenure, local muniments, folk-lore—points relating to these and similar subjects that were curious, abstruse, or obscure, received fresh elucidation from his vigorous and facile pen. Thus we find him in that same year (1851) writing a series of papers which, first appearing in the *Gateshead Observer*, were

afterwards issued, with additions, under the title of *Hylton Chaplets*; next publishing an illustrated booklet on *Martial Mottoes*³ in continuation of M. A. Denham's 'Slogans of the North of England'; and thirdly, preparing and reading at the Mechanics' Institute of Gateshead two elaborate papers on 'Old Gateshead and its Associations.' During the following year he published an illustrated handbook—*Richmondshire: Its Ancient Lords and Edifices: A Concise Guide to the Localities of Interest to the Tourist and Antiquary; with Short Notices of Memorable Men*; and prepared for the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute, held in Newcastle that year, the exhaustive paper which appears in the *Proceedings* of the Institute, on 'Durham Before the Conquest.' By 1854 he had completed his *History of Darlington*, delayed until then by superabundance of material, and the natural hesitation of the faithful historian to withhold so much that is useful and attractive from the expectant reader. Whosoever glances through these books and papers, with their elaboration of detail—the work of three years only—will appreciate the diligence and admire the ardour of the writer.

When Mr. Longstaffe came to Newcastle a 'burning question' had arisen in our society: it related, as already explained in the sketch of the late canon Raine,⁴ to the size and form in which the society's publications should be issued. The older men cherished the unwieldy quarto, issued at long intervals, to which they had been accustomed; the younger ones wanted a handy octavo, frequently published. For six years the question lingered in the lap of sentiment through dread of change; then Mr. Longstaffe drove the wedge that eventually broke down the opposition of the veterans, for he induced the society to arrange with his friend, Mr. James Clephan, editor of the *Gateshead Observer*, to report the proceedings at their monthly meetings, and with the proprietors of that paper to publish the reports every month in the coveted octavo. That step achieved, the forward movement became comparatively easy. One year's experience of the monthly reports converted the objectors, and in 1856 the derided quarto was finally abandoned.

³ The introduction to this booklet is curious:—'Entereth W. Hylton, of the Long Staffe, and striking at the flagstaffs of chevaliers and squires, museth on their mottoes.'

⁴ *Arch. Ael.* vol. xix. p. 127.

While the question was burning, Mr. Longstaffe allowed none of the papers which he had prepared for the society to appear. But as soon as the change was effected he began to print abundantly. The first volume of the new series contains six papers from his pen, and volume two, at the commencement of which he was appointed editor, comprises two of his contributions. It is not necessary to enumerate them, nor to particularize those which follow. A reference to our general index discloses a crowded column and a quarter of subject headings attached to his name, ranging from a mere note of half a dozen lines to a valuable paper like that upon the building in which we are assembled, occupying nearly half a volume. Calculating roughly, and excluding annual reports and business matters, his contributions to our first nine volumes, in octavo, cover 660 pages, equal to two volumes and a half. In none of them is quality sacrificed to quantity. There is not a paragraph or a foot note too much. In reading them one is struck by the industry and acuteness in research which they disclose, the painstaking accuracy of statement that is evident in every line, and the style in which they are written—clear, masculine, and direct—terse, pointed, and impressive.

Next to our own society, the organization which bears the name of the great Durham historian, Surtees, held the highest place in Mr. Longstaffe's affections. He became a member of it in 1855, was elected a vice-president in 1859, and so remained till his death. Three of the society's volumes were issued under his editorship, and of two others he was part editor. The three for which he alone is responsible are vol. 34, *The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham* (1857); vol. 41, *Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties*, by Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms (1862); and vol. 50, in which he printed that most curious and valuable manuscript, the *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes* (1866). The two in which his name is associated with those of other editors are, vol. 37, a volume of *Miscellanea* (1860); his contribution being Nathan Drake's journal of the Sieges of Pontefract Castle, and vol. 82, *Extracts from the Halmote Court or Manor Rolls of the Prior and Convent of Durham, A.D. 1296-1384* (1886). Another volume was announced to be edited by him in collaboration with the rev. Dr. Greenwell, viz: 'The Lords of the Soil of

the County of Durham, from the earliest period to the Reformation, comprising the descent of the estates, with engravings of seals, etc.' But this, if begun, was never completed.

The books above quoted as bearing his name are, in themselves, contributions to local history of great interest and utility; but his editing added enormously to their value. For upon nearly every page are notes illustrating and expanding the text, with biographical and genealogical detail in luxuriant abundance. Even these annotations, copious as they are, do not exhaust his editorial resources. Each volume is enriched by the addition of important documents pertinent to the subject matter. Thus, to *Tonge's Visitation* he appended what had been known as 'The Carr MS.,' being 'A Cathelogue of all the Maiores and Sherifs of His Maiestie Towne and Covnty of Newcastle-vpon-Tyne, with they're Cotes of Armes' etc., from 1432 to 1634, with a continuation to 1730. To the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes* he added a voluminous appendix of evidences illustrative of the history of religion in Newcastle and Gateshead between the Reformation and the Revolution. Merit, in this case, accompanies chronology. The Barnes Memoirs—last in order of date—is far away the best book of the three. Indeed upon the subject to which it relates it is probably the most important local work that has been issued in our generation. North country historians, genealogists, bibliographers, and even polemics, find it a happy hunting ground swarming with quarry.

Of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, started in 1861, Mr. Longstaffe was a co-founder. At their first meeting, held at Darlington on the 3rd of June in that year, he read a valuable paper on 'Bishop Pudsey's Buildings in the Present County of Durham,' in which he announced his discovery of the name of Pudsey's architect—Gulielmus Ingeniator. For some years, sharing with Dr. Greenwell, the president, and the rev. J. F. Hodgson the heat and burden of conductorship, he accompanied the society on its periodical outings, and helped to describe the objects of interest which the members went to see. Between 1869 and 1879, for example, he read papers or gave *vivâ voce* descriptions to his fellow members at Lumley, Norham, Medomsley, Ebchester, Hylton castle, Walworth, Thirsk, Hexham, Auckland palace, Sheriff Hutton, and Durham castle. Some of the papers are printed in the society's

Transactions; of the descriptions only remembrance remains. While his health permitted he performed similar service for our society whenever we rambled among places that he cared to visit. Upon these occasions he was seen at his best—a real ‘guide, philosopher, and friend.’

To the study of that interesting branch of archaeology which reads history, biography, and the progress of the arts upon the faces of coins and medals, Mr. Longstaffe devoted himself with considerable success. He had a faculty of minute observation, and a soundness of judgment which, applied to the workmanship of the old minters and moneyers, enabled him to establish new definitions, and to shed upon ancient controversies fresh light. His abilities, in this direction, are exemplified in a series of articles which he contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle*. The first of them (2nd series, vol. iii. p. 162), entitled ‘Northern Evidence on the Short Cross Question,’ deals with the length of the cross which, during many successive reigns, appeared on the reverse of English pennies. In the long cross pennies the arms of the emblem reached to the verge of the coin and the name and place of the moneyer around it were thus divided into four parts by the arms of the cross, while in those which bore a short cross the inscription was continuous. Mr. Longstaffe showed, by comparison with coins struck at Durham, that pennies stamped with the name ‘Henry’ only, and no numerals (which had been ascribed to Henry III.), were not only made in the reign of Henry II., but also in the reigns of Richard I. and John, of whose coinage no English examples, bearing the names of those monarchs, have been found. The second and third papers (2nd series, vols. vii. p. 21, and ix. p. 256) are headed, ‘On the distinctions between the pennies of Henry IV., V., and VI.’ Here also, although no numerals follow the royal name, the writer, by pointing out slight differences in mint marks, styles of portraits, weights, etc., allocated to each king his own coins, and evolved order out of chaos. In the fourth article (2nd series, vol. xi. p. 193) he answers his title-question, ‘Did the kings between Edward III. and Henry VI. coin money at York on their own account’ in the negative. All these articles, treating as they do of abstruse questions of identity, were exceedingly valuable contributions to numismatology.

In connexion with this subject it may be noted that two or three of the papers which he read to our society relate to the same branch

of study, and that his one special contribution to the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club*, of which body he was elected a member in 1862, describes a 'find of groats at Embleton in Northumberland, ranging from Edward III. to Edward IV.' Some time before his death he had nearly finished a paper on the coinage of Durham, founded on the work of Mark Noble,⁵ but declining health prevented its completion.

Whether life-long devotion to antiquarian pursuits has the effect of modifying human form and feature may be questioned. Yet in the very appearance of Mr. Longstaffe there was something, intangible and unexplainable it is true, but still something which suggested the antiquary, a man who lived in the past. His features seemed to be moulded from the antique, and everything about him appeared to say in Goldsmith's phrase, 'I love everything that's old—old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wine,' to which those who saw his garden-plot at Gateshead might add, 'old herbs likewise, and flowers of ancient fame.' This love of everything that's old was the one absorbing passion of his life. It began, as we have seen in childhood, grew with his growth, and attained its highest development ere he had reached his prime. Blest with a vigorous understanding and a correct judgment, he was able to grasp whatever of ancient lore came within the range of his knowledge, while his skill in assimilating it, his dexterity in weaving scattered facts and figures into clear and consecutive narrative, were special gifts vouchsafed to few. His possession of these rare gifts led some of his friends to hope that he might take up the pen that had fallen from the hands of Surtees, and complete that magnificent work—the history of Durham. Among the most hopeful of them was his early friend and patron, Mr. Robt. Henry Allan, who, dying in October, 1879, bequeathed to him the sum of £1,000, conditional upon his undertaking the task, and carrying it to a successful issue. At the time Mr. Longstaffe was disposed to fulfil the conditions, but upon consideration he deemed the bequest inadequate and allowed the legacy to lapse.

Outside of his historical and archaeological pursuits, Mr. Longstaffe occupied a prominent position as a lawyer, and interested himself

⁵ *Two Dissertations upon the Mints and Coins of the Episcopal-Palatine of Durham*. 4to. Birmingham, 1780.

in various phases of public life. He came to Gateshead, as we have seen, in the summer of 1850, as managing clerk with Mr. William Kell, senior partner in the firm of Messrs. Kell & Apedaile, solicitors. A few months afterwards, on the 4th of January, 1851, he was articled to Mr. Kell, and in due course passed his examination and was admitted to practice. While serving articles, he added to his baptismal designations the name of his maternal ancestor, the poet Dyer, and, having obtained the necessary leave from the Court of Queen's Bench, he signed the roll of attorneys in January, 1857, as William Hylton Dyer Longstaffe. As soon as these formalities had been completed, Mr. Apedaile retired, and Mr. Longstaffe taking his place, carried on the business, under the style of Kell & Longstaffe, till the death of his friend and partner, in June, 1862, left it entirely in his own hands.

Into the details of his professional career, this is neither the time nor the place to enter. But it may be said of Mr. Longstaffe that he was a sound lawyer, specially versed in ancient rights, customs, and tenures, and often consulted about matters relating thereto. Upon one very delicate and difficult question he concentrated his time and attention for years. That was the claim of leaseholders under the dean and chapter of Durham, who had been accustomed to obtain leases for twenty-one years, renewable every seven years upon payment of certain fines, but who, upon the transference of the church estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, were confronted by a refusal to renew. Mr. Longstaffe, with others, contended that the estates had been originally copyhold, and that the tenants were entitled to even better security than twenty-one years' leases. He fought this battle with great energy and tenacity, and after a prolonged controversy secured, or helped to secure, from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at annual rentals based upon the old fines, leases for 999 years, the equivalents, almost, of freeholds.

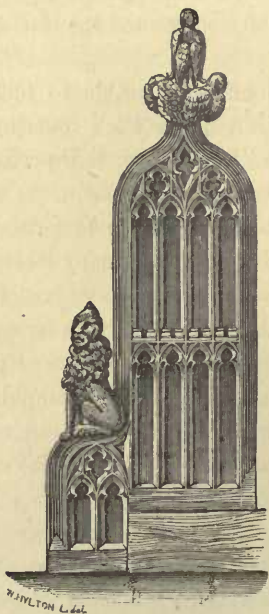
The public life of Mr. Longstaffe was chiefly official. For civic honours he had no desire, and he cared as little for those of learned societies. He did, for a time, use the initials of the London Society of Antiquaries—F.S.A.—but no other. His public life, in so far as it was not professional, was literary and philanthropic. Upon his coming to Tyneside he joined the Gateshead Mechanics' Institute, at

that time a flourishing institution, having for its leading spirits Mr. William Hutt, the member for the borough, James Clephan, William Kell, William Lockey Harle, George Crawshay, W. H. Brockett, and James Guthrie, all of them men of mark, and earnest promoters of the public welfare. Within a year he was elected a member of the committee, and from 1864 to 1868, was one of the secretaries of the institution. He succeeded Mr. Kell as honorary secretary to Gateshead Dispensary in 1862, and so continued till 1875. Twice he was chosen rector's warden at the Easter vestry meetings, and in 1865 he became a member of the Gateshead 'Four and Twenty,' an ancient body with prescriptive rights and privileges, in the investigation and elucidation of which, for the rest of his life, he took great interest. Under the Local Government Act, 1858, he assisted in creating the local boards of Felling and Hebburn, and was clerk of the former from 1868 to 1878, and of the latter from 1873 to 1875. Finally, during the parliamentary elections of 1868 and 1874, he acted as agent in Gateshead for the North Durham liberal candidates, and in the latter year, and again in 1880, represented the interests of the present lord Northbourne.

It has not been found practicable to include in this rambling obituary a full list of Mr. Longstaffe's contributions to local history. Although most of his literary work is described, or its whereabouts indicated, in the preceding paragraphs, there is a residuum, more or less valuable, that eludes the search and defies enumeration. It is known, for example, that he wrote many interesting articles on local institutions for the *Gateshead Observer*. Sometimes a few copies were separately printed from the *Observer* type for private distribution, but the majority remains entombed in the files of that long defunct newspaper. Occasionally, too, he issued in pamphlet form a paper which had been prepared for our society, and not read—such as *The Old Official Heraldry of Durham*—or one that was read and not printed by us, e.g., *A Leaf from the Pilgrimage of Grace*. Other pamphlets bearing his name are reprints, or reprints with emendations, (1) from the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, viz., *The Old Heraldry of the Percies*, and *Some Account of Francis Radcliffe, First Earl of Derwentwater*; (2) from the *History of Darlington*, such as *Parentalian Memoranda*, which contains the pedigrees of the Hyltons and other ancestral families;

(3) from a Worcestershire newspaper, a series of articles on churches, etc., at Droitwich and Dodderhill; and (4) a paper on *The Reading Penny*, apparently from the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

Mr. Longstaffe died, after a prolonged illness, on the 4th of February, 1898. He had been unable to join our gatherings, or to contribute to our literature, for nearly eight years. Few of us, indeed, can remember him in the fulness of his intellectual activity, and to some of our younger members he can be known only by repute. But to us and to them—those who knew him, and those who knew him not—he has left an example of earnest application in research, and of generous promptitude in communicating results, which we may profitably try to imitate. His work remains, his writings survive, and over the door of our council chamber, the benevolence of his friends and the skill of the artist help us to keep his memory ever green.



BENCH END, DARLINGTON CHURCH.
(From Longstaffe's *History of Darlington*.)

THE VILLIERS FAMILY AS GOVERNORS OF TYNEMOUTH
CASTLE AND OWNERS OF THE LIGHTHOUSE.

By HORATIO A. ADAMSON.

[Read on the 30th March, 1898.]

In the paper which I read to the society in 1895 on 'Tynemouth Castle after the Dissolution of the Monastery' (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xviii. page 61), I stated that the War office had, in the year 1828, furnished a list of the governors of Tynemouth castle and Clifford's fort. In the list were the following names:—

	Date of Appointment.
Sir Edward Villiers	Unknown.
Col. Henry Villiers	2 nd February, 1702.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

Henry Villiers	7 th May, 1713.
Henry Villiers	20 th June, 1727.

Although the War office could not give the date of the appointment of sir Edward Villiers as governor of the castle, I was able, from information in my possession, to fix the date as having taken place in the year 1661, shortly after the restoration of king Charles the second. Sir Edward Villiers was baptized at Richmond in 1620, and during the Civil War he took an active part in the royalist cause. He married lady Francis Howard, youngest daughter of the second earl of Suffolk, and had issue—(1st) Edward, his heir, born in 1656, who was created earl of Jersey in October, 1697; (2nd) Henry, born in 1658, who was a colonel of a foot regiment, and succeeded his father as governor of Tynemouth castle. In addition to the two sons, there were six daughters.

While sir Edward Villiers was governor of the castle, England was at war with Holland. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, there are many interesting letters about Tynemouth castle. On the 1st of July, 1667, colonel Edward Villiers wrote to secretary Williamson as follows:—

¹ On 5th September, 1662, colonel Edward Villiers was presented with the freedom of Newcastle (Brand).

The Two Lords [Carlisle and Ogle] join happily in the service. One performs the active part, as having a General's experience in the Chatham expedition ; the other a General's interest in raising forces. Lord Ogle's regiment has rendezvoused at Killingworth Moor, and the number could have been easily doubled, that being the best part of England for raising foot.

It is probable it was during the time sir Edward Villiers was governor of Tynemouth castle that the governor's house was built. It stands to the westward of the lighthouse in the castle. Part of it is used as a hospital for soldiers, and upon the ground floor are two rooms used as a residence by one of the non-commissioned officers. These rooms are panelled and are interesting links between the present and the past of the castle. The governor's house and the lighthouse as they appeared in 1784 are shown in the illustration on the opposite page.

A lighthouse in the castle has existed for a very long time. Whether there was one in monastic days I have been unable to trace, but it is very probable there was. In 1537, two years before the dissolution of Tynemouth priory, the Trinity house of Newcastle (then a religious guild) was granted by Henry VIII. power to build two towers on the north side of Le Shelys (North Shields) and to maintain on each a good and steady light by night for the guidance of passing ships. The earliest historical mention of the lighthouse in Tynemouth castle is in 1608, when there was a warrant from king James the first granting sir Allan Percy £40 a year in lieu of the profits from the lighthouse which had been received by his brother the earl of Northumberland. I find no further mention of the lighthouse in the castle until 1656, when there is a letter dated 15th December in that year from captain John Topping, deputy-governor, addressed to the parliament. In this letter he says :—

I have benee often aboute to acquaint y^r honours that here is one M^{rs} Ffenwicke, widoe to the late Capt. Ffenwicke, who first kept Tinmouth Castle against the Parlimint and upon Sir Thomas Riddell having commission from ye late King to be Governor of this Castle, the Erle of Newcastle commanded the fore-said Capt. Ffenwicke into his Army, who was slayne in Yorkshire, the said widoe was turned out of this Castle by the Scots when they tooke it, and the Sea Lightes which are kept upon a tower within this Castle every night through ye yeare ware then taken from the said widoe and enjoyed by the severall Governors (viz.) Col. George Ffenwicke had the profit of the said Lightes and also Capt. Blunt for one year, fourpence of each ship that anchors in the river he received, after which time the said widoe received the profit of



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND THE LIGHTHOUSE IN TYNEMOUTH CASTLE IN 1784.

(From an old engraving by W. Byrne, published in 1784.)

the said Lightes. Severall honest people in these partes have blamed me for continuing her to have the Lightes. Shee still remaining as Caveleerish and malignant as ever. Therefore I desire to know y^r Hounors pleasure about premises, that if the said widoe have noe order from y^r Hounors, be pleased to return it into the suckesive channell. I humbly crave y^r answer and pardon for this bouldness, and am

Yr Hounors very
humble servant,

Tinmouth Castle,
Dec. 15th, 1656.

JO. TOPPING.

Among the records of the Trinity house at Newcastle are several important letters about the lighthouse in the castle. On the 10th May, 1660, the Trinity house addressed a letter to the members of parliament for Newcastle in the 'Healing Parliament,' in which they complained of the insufficiency of the fire light in Tynemouth castle, and stated that about Martinmas then last past, the stairs and passage up to the light being fallen down, the governor of the castle since that time had kept and placed a light, near the east end of the castle, upon a piece of old stone work not above four or five yards high, which was so low that it was imperceivable for the navigation, so that there was a great necessity of having a new lighthouse. The Trinity house asked that they might have the charge of the lighthouse, and stated they had two other lights at North Sheeles, and they would be at any necessary cost to build and provide a sufficient light and keep it well and sufficiently for the service. Other letters were written by the Trinity house, without any satisfactory result.

On the 30th of June, 1665, by virtue of letters patent under the great seal, the lighthouse in the castle was granted to Edward Villiers, esquire, his heirs and assigns. The letters patent recited that the king (Charles the second) had been given to understand that there had been a long and constant toll of fourpence per ship paid by his majesty's subjects and twelpence by strangers and foreigners for the maintenance of a light house at Tinmouth, which being wholly decayed and fallen down, another had been then lately rebuilt by Edward Villiers, esquire, therein described to be lieutenant of the king's castle of Tinmouth, at his own proper costs and charges, to the great benefit and advantage of his majesty's subjects and others trading to those parts. And further recited, that the king had been informed that a late contract had been made on behalf of the said Edward Villiers with

divers masters of ships belonging to Newcastle, as also others trading and coasting that way, whereby they had voluntarily submitted to increase the said toll of fourpence to twelpence, and to continue the payment thereof for the perfecting the said work, which had cost one thousand pounds already. His majesty approving the said contract, and for the encouragement of this necessary and useful work, of his special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion did for him, his heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Edward Villiers, his heirs and assigns, the custody of the said lighthouse and the ground and soil whereupon the same was situate, and all rights and powers, that he and they should and might continue, renew and maintain the said lighthouse, with lights to be continually burning therein in the night season whereby the said ships might the better come to their harbours and ports without peril.

By the same letters patent authority was given to the said Edward Villiers to demand, collect, have, and take the sum of twelve pence for every ship belonging to any of the subjects of his majesty passing by the said lighthouse and belonging or trading to the ports of Newcastle and Sunderland, and three shillings for every ship belonging to any foreigner or stranger coming or passing by the said lighthouse. For the privileges granted by the letters patent a rent of twenty marks was reserved to the king, which was payable after the death of sir Edward Villiers. Ample powers were conferred by the letters patent for collecting the tolls granted.

In 1680, sir Edward Villiers (who in that year had been knighted), petitioned the king and asked for an increased toll of a farthing per ton on all foreign and strange ships coming to and passing the lighthouse. The ground of his application was that the existing toll did not pay the interest on the money he had expended in building the lighthouse and the charges for keeping and maintaining it. The Trinity house at Newcastle strongly opposed the suggested increased exaction, and pointed out that a light equal to the one maintained by sir Edward Villiers, for which he received twelve pence per ship, had formerly been maintained at a charge of only four pence per ship.

Sir Edward Villiers died in 1689, and was buried in Westminster abbey on the 2nd July in that year.

In the list of governors of Tynemouth castle, before alluded to, it

is stated that colonel Henry Villiers was appointed governor of Tynemouth castle on the 2nd of February, 1702. His father, sir Edward Villiers, died, as before stated, in 1689. In 1685, colonel Henry Villiers was living at Tynemouth castle, and on the 20th May, in that year, a daughter was baptized in the parish church of Tynemouth. The entry reads thus:—'1685, May 20.—Mary, Da. of Capt. Henry Villiers, Gov^r. of Tyn. Castle, bap.'

I think it may be assumed that sir Edward Villiers had resigned his appointment as governor of the castle, and that his son had been appointed governor in his place. There are other entries of baptisms of the children of col. Villiers, and on every occasion he is described as governor of the castle. In the last baptism, in 1703, he is described as the 'Honble. Col. Henry Villiers,' governor of the castle. His only brother, Edward, had been created earl of Jersey in 1697.

In going over the Treasury papers some time ago, I discovered an extraordinary charge of smuggling brought, in 1706, against colonel Henry Villiers, governor of Tynemouth castle. These papers are described as 'a State of the proceedings att Law ag^t Col^l Henry Villiers, Governor of Tin-mouth Castle,' and contain the following information:—

On the first of January last an Informa[']con was exhib^ted ag^t him in ye Court of Excheq^r by way of Devener² for the value of a great Quantity of Wyne Brandy Pepper Lynnen some Doe Skynns & two Scotch pladd^s w^h came to Tryall the Sitting after the last Terme when her Ma^{ty} had a verdict for £536:16:0. The prooffe upon the Tryall was in substance as follows: viz^t Thomas fforest who was formerly the Coll^ls Servt deposed that in June last Capt. Gourdon Com[']ander of a Scotch shipp of warr arrivid nere Tynmouth Barr from whence was taken on shore in the night by y^e direc[']on of the Coll^ls Lady 5 Casks of Brandy & 4 hhd^s of Clarrett Wyne which were Landed att a place called the Sally port & carry'd from hence to y^e Coll^ls Coach horses to his owne Cellar in ye ffort.

That in July was taken out of ye same shipp in ye night tyme 8 Casckes of Brandy six hhd^s of Clarrett six dozen Bottles of White Wyne 10 Bagges of Pepper 8 Casks of Scotch Diaper Lynnen one pack of Doe Skinns and two Scotch Plades, all which were landed att ye same place in the same manner as the fformer. The Collinell's Lady receiving the goods & paid to each of her owne Serv^{ts} for their trouble Eightene pence & to others whoc were not her Serv^{ts} two shillings a peece.

² The only writ I have been able to discover is that of *devenerunt*, an obsolete one, which was directed to the escheator on the death of the heir of the king's tenant under age and in custody, commanding the escheator to enquire what lands and tenements, by the death of the tenant, came to the king. It does not appear to have any application to the present case.

David Scotland who is a Gunner in the ffort deposed that hee had a Boat of his own and that he brought on shore part of y^e goods Landed the last night. Upon this evidence the Jury withdrew for about a Quarter of an hour and then brought in a verdict for her Ma^{ty} as aforesaid.

G. Medcalf.

Custo : h^o Lond: 17th June 1706.

In addition to the foregoing document, there is the following presentment :—

Custome house,
London,
18 June, 1706.

To the R^t Honble Sidney Lord Godolphin
Lord High Trea'r of England.

Presentment

By the Comm^{rs} for Managing and Causing
to be Leavied and Collected Her Ma^{ties}
Customs, &c.

The Comm^{rs} having proceeded to Tryall the Sitting after last terme. On the Information of Thomas Forrest Inclosed to them by his Lord^{ps} direc'ons in M^r Lowndes's Letter of the 12th of January last against Col^l Henry Villiers Govern^r of Tinmouth Castle. For Wine and other Goods run by him out of a Scotch ship of warr and obtained a verdict against him for Five hundred thirty & six pounds sixteen shillings the value of the said Goods, as is more particularly contained in a Memorial from their Solicitors Assitant they think themselves oblig'd Humbly to Lay the same before his Lord^p For his Lord^{ps} Information.

T. Hall.
Sam Clarke.
T. Newport.
Will Culleford.
Jo Werden.
W. Dudley.

(Endorsed) Presentm^{nt} 18th June, 1706
Touching the verdict ag^t Col^l Villiers
Gover^r of Tinmouth Castle.
read 2nd July 1706.

There is another document ; but it contains much the same information as is contained in the two papers I have set out, with the addition that the Scotch ship of war was called 'The Royal Mary.' I have been unable to trace whether the whole fine was paid, or a portion of it remitted.

Colonel Villiers took part in the proceedings of the vestry of Tyne-mouth church. To the minutes of a meeting, held on the 30th March, 1703, his name is appended, and is followed by that of the vicar. In 1705, his name appears at the head of the list of the gentlemen of the Four-and-twenty. In the month of August, 1707, he died, and was buried in the priory burial ground. In a small *History of Tynemouth: the Castle and Priory, with an account of their Possessors, and the Reduction of the Monastery to a Fortress*, published at North

Shields in 1804, it is said there is a stone with the following inscription upon it :—

Hic sitae sunt mortales reliquiae
 Henrici Villiers, armigeri,
 Stirpe antiqua prognati
 unici
 Honoratissimi Comitis de Jersey
 fratris,
 Nec non hujus presidii
 circiter 20 Annos
 Fidelis et perquam dilecti
 Praefecti
 Vixit Annos 49. Obiit 11 Aug. ³
 Anno domini 1707.

This stone I have not been able to discover. It is possible the hand of time has pressed heavily upon it, and that the inscription is now quite obliterated. It is clear, from the inscription, that colonel Villiers could not have been appointed governor of the castle in 1702, as stated in the letter from the War office. His official appointment may have dated from 1687, and the actual appointment from 1685.

On, or shortly before, the death of colonel Villiers, Thomas Meredith was appointed governor of the castle. The son of colonel Villiers was appointed lieutenant-governor of the castle on the 7th May, 1713.⁴

Among the Treasury papers is a memorandum that there was granted, in 1708, to the widow and children of colonel Henry Villiers (late governor of Tinmouth castle) a pension of £300, which was vested in the earl of Jersey. The widow afterwards, with her youngest son, had £100 of it apart, and it is stated she was dead, and it was hoped the £100 might be again joined to the £200 and vested in the countess of Orkney for the children's use. In September, 1721, there is a petition from Henry Villiers to the lords of the Treasury, in which it is stated a year and three-quarters was due upon the king's bounty of £100 a year, that he had nothing else to depend on, and by the death of his brother, the earl of Jersey, and the growing charges of his education at the university, he was put to great distress, and prays for the arrears. It is minuted on the 12th September, 1721, that the arrears were to be paid to him.

³ In Brand's *History of Newcastle* (vol. ii. p. 122) the inscription on the tombstone is given, and the date of the death is stated to be the 18th August, which is probably correct, as the burial was on the 22nd August.

⁴ The appointment of Henry Villiers in 1727 was probably a reappointment, in consequence of the death of the king in that year.

Henry Villiers, the grandson of sir Edward Villiers, who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Tynemouth castle, married, firstly, Arabella, daughter of John Rossiter, esquire, of Somerby, in the county of Lincoln, and secondly, Mary, sister of lieutenant-general Thomas Fowke.

In 1728, Henry Villiers made an attempt to obtain an additional toll of one penny per chaldron towards the erection of a new light at Tynemouth. This was opposed by the owners and masters of ships, and the toll was not imposed. In July, 1747, a release was granted by him to the Trinity house at Newcastle of all dues collected at Newcastle for his lighthouse, reserving to himself a return of one moiety of the net sum collected. On the 29th May, 1753—the anniversary of the restoration of the king, by whom his family had been enriched—Henry Villiers died. His widow by her will, dated 22nd October, 1766, devised the lighthouse to her brother admiral Thorpe Fowke, Charles Palmer, and William Leigh; it was described in her will as ‘all that her freehold Estate at Tinmouth Castle called Tinmouth Great Lights,’ to hold the same subject to the payment of an annuity of £40 to Catherine Craster, widow, for life, in trust to receive the rents and profits until her godson William Fowke, then an infant of eleven years, should attain the age of twenty-one years, keeping the lights in good repair, sufficiently supplied with coals. After giving various directions as to the lights, she directed that none of the gentlemen, her then collectors, should be displaced, and from and immediately after the said William Fowke should have attained to his said age, then to his use for his natural life, with limitations over in tail as mentioned in the will, which are too numerous to mention. She died 7th January, 1767. William Fowke attained twenty-one on 26th November, 1775, and became seised of the lighthouse.

In 1802, George Fowke, of Tamerton, in the county of Devon, a captain in the royal navy, was tenant in tail male in remainder expectant on the estate for life of his uncle, William Fowke.

At this time the lighthouse was lighted, as it had always been, with a coal light. It was then agreed with the Trinity house of Newcastle, and a great number of merchants, traders, owners and masters of ships, and others, that a portion of the lighthouse should be taken down and altered, and a copper lighthouse lantern and an oil light

substituted, with a revolving machine having patent lamps and highly polished silver-plated reflectors. It was estimated that these alterations and improvements would cost £2,500; and to reimburse the owners of the lighthouse for this cost, parliament, by an act passed 4th May, 1802, granted certain dues, mentioned in the act, and power was conferred on the Trinity house of Newcastle-upon-Tyne to inspect the lighthouse, to see whether it was maintained and conducted in a due and sufficient manner. In 1836, an act was passed for vesting lighthouses, lights, and sea marks on the coast of England in the corporation of the Trinity house of Deptford Strond, and among these lighthouses was that at Tynemouth. Under this act the Trinity house purchased the lighthouse in the year 1840 of the Fowke family. The family showed that the net annual profit of the lighthouse was £5,305 9s. 8d., which, at twenty-three and a-half years' purchase, amounted to £124,678 17s. 2d., and this very large sum the Trinity house paid for the purchase of the lighthouse, which then passed into their hands, and the connexion of the family of Villiers and their descendants with the lighthouse ceased. For 175 years they had enjoyed the benefit of the royal benefaction granted in 1665.

From 1840 the lighthouse pursued the even tenor of its way until 1871, when Souter Point lighthouse was lighted on the 11th January for the first time, and Tynemouth was changed from a bright white light to a red one. In making this change there was a waste in light in the proportion of twenty-one to nine, but by increasing the power from nine to twenty-one both the old and new lights were visible at the same distance. In 1887 the lighthouse was terribly shattered by the firing in the castle of twenty-three ton guns, brought from Woolwich. It has never recovered the shock. The lighthouse-keepers' houses have been removed, and the lighthouse stands, with the ruins of the priory, the connecting link between the present and the past. For nearly 300 years, or it may be a much longer period, its beneficent light has been shed along our coast, but the days of the lighthouse are numbered. Upon the little island of St. Mary, which stands midway between the Tyne and the Blyth, where, in early days, stood a cell belonging to Tynemouth priory, a lighthouse has been erected, which, in a short time, will give forth its light, as tradition says it did in the monastic days but in a humbler way. When this has been accomplished, Tyne-

mouth lighthouse, and probably the governor's house, with which it is intimately linked, will be removed, and one more change will have taken place in the well-known and cherished features of Tynemouth.

APPENDIX.

As a desire has been expressed that I should show the connexion of the Villiers family, who were governors of the castle, with George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, this I shall now do.

Sir George Villiers, knight, of Brokesby, in Leicestershire, by his first wife had issue—

- (1) William (sir), created a baronet in 1619 ;
- (2) *Edward* ;

And also three daughters.

He married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, esquire, of Glenfield, county of Leicester. By her he had issue—

- (1) John, created viscount Purbeck ;
- (2) *George*, created duke of Buckingham ;
- (3) Christopher, created earl of Anglesey ;
- (4) Susan, married to the first earl of Denbigh.

Sir Edward Villiers (before mentioned) married Barbara, eldest daughter of sir Oliver St. John of Tregoze, co. Wilts, and by her he had five sons and three daughters :—

- (1) William, second viscount Grandison, who left an only daughter
Barbara ;
- (2) John, third viscount Grandison ;
- (3) George, fourth viscount Grandison ;
- (4) Christopher, who died young ;
- (5) *Edward*, who was born 15th April, 1620, was knighted by Charles the second on 7th April, 1680. He was appointed governor of Tynemouth castle in 1661. He was nephew by the half-blood to George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, and uncle to Barbara Villiers, who is spoken of as the 'splendid termagant,' and was one of the mistresses of Charles the second. She was created countess of Castlemaine in 1661, and duchess of Cleveland in 1670. It was probably owing to her connexion with the royal family that the lighthouse at Tynemouth was made over to her uncle, sir Edward Villiers.

George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, was born at his father's seat 20th August, 1592. He was brought under the notice of king James the first, was knighted, raised to the peerage as viscount Villiers in 1616, and became earl of Buckingham and afterwards marquis. He went to Spain with the king's son Charles to prosecute his suit, which was unsuccessful. He was made duke of Buckingham and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, and negotiated the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria of France, and after a most eventful and extraordinary career, was assassinated on the 23rd of August, 1628, at Portsmouth by John Felton, who was hanged for the crime at Tyburn. His son, the second duke of Buckingham, was educated with the children of Charles the first, and in later years took part in the royalist cause, fought under the royal standard, and, like many others, suffered for his loyalty to the house of Stuart. He married the daughter of lord Fairfax, to whom his forfeited estates had been granted. At the Restoration his estates were restored to him, he was brought back to court, and after a career of the wildest description, he retired to his estates at Helmsley, in Yorkshire, and died on 16th April, 1688, at Kirkby Moorside, 'in the worst inn's worst room.' He was the author of several comedies.



H. KILBURN, PHOTO.

CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND, WEST END.

III.—THE CHURCH OF AUCKLAND ST. ANDREW (OR NORTH AUCKLAND), COMMONLY CALLED SOUTH CHURCH.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON, M.A., vicar of Witton-le-Wear.

[Read on the 15th December, 1897.]

I.—OF THE NAME AND ORIGIN OF THE PLACE.

Though doubtless of very considerable antiquity, the origin of the Aucklands is quite uncertain. But that it stretches back to a period as remote as that of the neighbouring Roman station at Binchester, as some have supposed, there is simply nothing, I think, either to show or to suggest. As to the original place-name, which might go far towards settling the point, we are, I regret to say, not only still, but likely to continue, in complete ignorance. Indeed the only thing certain about the present form of it seems to be that it has been gradually developed from one, the meaning of which had in process of time ceased to be intelligible, into another which, in some measure, was so.¹ What the original form of it was, however, is apparently lost

¹ That this was the case, not only long previous to, but during Leland's time, he leaves us in no doubt, and his account of the places bearing the name and their then pronunciation are of considerable interest (*Itin.* vol. i. pp. 72 and 74):—

'From *Darlington* to *Achelard*,' says he, '8 good Miles by resonable good Corne and Pasture.

'A Mile a this side *Akeland* Castelle I cam over a Bridg of one great Arch on *Gaundelcsse*, a Praty Ryver rising a vj. Miles of by West; and renning by the South side of *Akeland* Castelle goith a litle beneth it to the great streame of *Were*.

'*Gaundeles* rising by West cumming by *Westakeland*, by *S. Helenes Akeland*, by *S. Andreas Akeland*, and by *Bishop Akelande*.

'The Towne self of *Akeland* is of no Estimation, yet is ther a praty Market of Corne.

'It standith on a praty hille bytween 2. Ryvers, wherof *Were* lyith on the North side, and *Gaundless* on the South, and a narrow (*sic*) shot or more benethe they meete and make one Streame, and ren to the Este, and ech of these Rivers hath an Hille by it. So that Bishops Castelle *Akeland* standith on a litle Hille bytwixt 2. great.

'There was of very auncient a Manor Place logging to the Bisshop of *Duresme* at *Akeland*.

'*Weredale* lying as Pece of the West Marches of the Bisshoprick toward *Westmerland* is well wooddid: and so be the Quarters of *Akeland*: for by the Name it apperith to have been ful of Okes.'

irrecoverably. The highest living authorities I have been able to consult agree perfectly in two particulars—the extreme difficulty surrounding the case, and their inability to solve it. In the earliest documentary evidence we possess the name is written *Alclit*. But to what tongue or people does it point, Saxon or Celtic, and what is the meaning to be attached to it? Well, those are precisely the points which are both indeterminate, and, as should seem, indeterminable; for while Teutonic scholars of such standing as canons J. C. Atkinson and Isaac Taylor of York are inclined to think it is *not* Teutonic, but pre-Teutonic; *i.e.* Celtic or Cymric, Professor Rhys, the highest authority on Celtic literature, inclines equally to think that it probably *is* Teutonic, *i.e.* ‘English, in some form or other.’ In this very unsatisfactory and hopeless state, therefore, we must be content, I fear, to leave the question; one which, nevertheless, I had greatly hoped to be able to settle, but which, however interesting, has fortunately no direct bearing upon our subject.

From uncertain, and more or less pre-historic, we must needs, then, pass on to certain, and historic, times. The step, it is true, is a long one, for our earliest documentary evidences date only from the tenth century, when, as Symeon tells us, *Alclit ij*—the two Aucklands—were included in those many territories of the see which bishop Ealdhun and the congregation of S. Cuthbert gave in pledge to ‘Ethred eorle, and Northman eorle, and Uhtred eorle,’ in time of necessity, and of which many were never recovered by the church. Nor is the period of the first ecclesiastical foundation much more clearly ascertained. That it existed anterior to the Conquest, however, is proved abundantly by several exceptionally interesting remains of Anglo-Saxon or ‘Anglian’ sculpture still existing on the spot. Of these, the earliest structural evidences, we will therefore, in the first place, take account.

II.—ANGLO-SAXON RELICS.

As usual, these remains consist of portions of grave-crosses, most of which came to light during the ‘restoration’ of 1881. The two principal ones have formed parts of shafts, to the head, or upper part of one of which a third small fragment enriched with pellets and foliage has probably once belonged; and two square grave-stones—one nearly perfect—ornamented with flat and shallow strip-work.



PRE-CONQUEST STONE IN CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND.

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

Of these, the first and bulkiest (plate II.) has formed the socketed base of a very stout and massive structure. It has a total height of three feet four inches; the sloping panel occupying two feet, and the vertical plain part beneath, one foot four inches, with a breadth of two feet seven and a half inches, and a present thickness from back to front of ten and a half inches; but as the stone has been split in two from side to side, its original thickness must have been about a foot and a half.² The edges, which have a flat surface of one and a half inches, are left square, with a narrow roll moulding inside forming the panels.

The subject of the front, or principal one, displays three three-quarter length nimbed figures. Of these, the central one, which is shown full-face, has the features worn nearly smooth. The ears are prominent, while all traces of the hair, which may once, perhaps, have appeared, are gone. The right hand is raised in benediction, and the left, which is not visible, holds what is most probably meant for a book, though the lines of the drapery give it quite the appearance of the square head of an upright cross.

The figure to the right (spectator's left) has the right arm and hand extended across the body towards the central one, on whose right shoulder the fingers rest. Here, again, the features are almost gone, but the face is turned towards the centre figure, and the hair is shown in stiff, round curls, like little balls, about the head. The left-hand figure, which is much the same as that to the right, has the left hand extended in the like fashion, the fingers resting upon the left shoulder.

The right-hand edge-panel has once shown another nimbed figure of the same size as those in front, but it is now split off through the centre vertically. The corresponding panel to the left has also had a large nimbed figure with stiff curled hair, accompanied, apparently, by a second one, part of whose head is just visible. This large fragment, besides having been split in two from side to side as stated, has also

² Compare this breadth of two feet seven and a half inches with that of the famous Gosforth cross—fourteen and a half feet high—which, though cylindrical, is only one foot, one and a third inches thick at the base, and but six inches, by five inches, at the top, immediately beneath the cross. It is probably the slenderest of all crosses either remaining entire, or of which we possess fragments. Sometimes the shafts are found of square, or nearly square section, instead of oblong, as at Leeds, Raistric, Neverne, etc.; but they varied, as need hardly be said, both in size and proportion, as infinitely as in detail and artistic merit.

been broken in half from top to bottom ; and, not only so, but has had the whole of the lower, or uncarved, portion towards the left knocked off bodily.

What the particular subject intended to be set forth in this panel may be there are no details sufficiently conclusive now left to show. That the central figure is the chief one, to whom the others are bearing witness is, however, perfectly clear, and it may therefore, pretty certainly, be taken to represent our Lord. But the scene itself—whether, as, perhaps, not unlikely that of the Transfiguration, with Moses and Elias, ‘the Law and the Prophets,’ testifying to Him, or not—remains mere matter of conjecture. The one certain point is the grace and dignity of the figures, which, their thick and massive draperies notwithstanding, is very striking.



Then comes a small fragment about eleven inches broad, by ten high, and about eight thick, with cable moulded edges towards the front, but which, being split in two like the other, is consequently without a corresponding face behind. It displays a piece of bold and well-cut scroll work, together with the

feet, lower parts of the legs, and bottom of the tunic of a man ascending it. Another, and rather larger, fragment shows the two feet and lower part of the legs of a second figure also apparently ascending, though the tree, or scroll-work, in connection with it has been destroyed. The next page shews one of the headstones displaying an upright cross in relief, and measuring two feet six and a half inches in height, by one foot eight and a half inches in breadth.



This was a far from uncommon form of memorial, falling as it did well within the reach of the many to whom the cost of the detached monumental crosses would be prohibitive. Another, but very small local example of this class of grave-stones remains perfectly preserved in the adjoining parish of Escomb, and yet another, and larger one,



a.



b.

PRE-CONQUEST CROSS SHAFT (2 FACES) IN CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND.

(From photographs by Mr. A. L. Steavenson.)

at Gainford. Though much weathered and worn down, it is, nevertheless, an interesting illustration of this once, doubtless, very numerous class of monuments.

We come now, at last, to by far the finest of these fragments. This is, fortunately, on the whole, wonderfully well preserved. It measures three feet three inches in height, by, if perfect, one foot four inches in breadth at the bottom, but one foot two inches at the top; and one foot and ten inches in depth correspondingly from back to front. As the illustration (plate III. *a*) shows, it has on its chief face two nearly perfect

panels, edged vertically and horizontally with cable, and roll, mouldings. The arched upper panel contains two three-quarter length nimbed and winged figures habited in stiff, but gracefully disposed vestments: the one with the right, the other with the left, hand extended on the breast. That to the right, whose hair is arranged in stiff curls, as in those on the other stone, carries no emblem, and has the hand unoccupied. The left-hand figure is differently treated, with the hair flat towards the middle, but breaking out into curls at the side about the ear. The



special distinction, however, is that in the left hand he holds a slender sceptre, tipped with three balls. What part of the entire shaft we have in this fragment cannot, perhaps, certainly be said. But as the breadth of the shaft at the top of the panel seems far too great for it to have formed the summit, its position was, probably, a more or less central, or lower central, one. However this may be, interest undoubtedly centres in the subject of the lower panel. What that subject exactly is, may, no doubt, be open to question, seeing that from the unaccustomed treatment it is, at first sight, far from self-evident.

It will be seen to have consisted, when perfect, for the lower part is now wanting, of three, probably, full length figures, each having a

nimbus, and with the central one standing out in advance of the other two, which are evidently inferior to, and attendant on, it. The two subsidiary figures are clearly those of either saints or angels : the central one, just as clearly, that of our Lord. At the bottom of the right-hand figure, nearly the whole of which is now broken away, may be seen part of the head, and upper portions of the wings, of an angel. It is not a little unfortunate that the greater part of the left-hand figure should have been flaked off by the blow which has destroyed the lower part of the edge mouldings ; and for this reason, that the limb or tablet, which there can be no doubt once occupied a corresponding position to that still remaining on the right, is no longer visible. Had it but been so, then the meaning of the sculpture would have been at once *suggested*, to say the least, even to the most unimaginative. In striking contrast to that of all the rest, the attitude of the nobly conceived and impressive central figure, as cannot fail to be observed, is one of severe and rigorous constraint. The feet and lower parts being broken off, their treatment cannot now, of course, be known. But the upper parts leave little room for doubt as to what that treatment must have been. Behind and above the nimbus encircling the head is seen, in relief, a rectangular limb or tablet ; at the right hand side, and on a line with the arms, another similar, but slightly longer one, against both of which the Lord's head and body are shown as being firmly fixed. Singularly enough, no arms, or portions of arms even, are shown ; but the arm holes of the upper robe, which are of large size, and bordered so as to prevent tearing, are strongly emphasized. Straight through the right-hand one, the limb, or elongated tablet, passes onward behind the back, against which it presses tightly. Now, it needs only to restore in the mind's eye the destroyed, but once, certainly, corresponding, limb or tablet on the left hand, to see at a glance how exactly the three would represent the three upper extremities of the cross, to which the body of the Lord is so evidently attached. The arms, which the exigencies of space forbade being shown in the customary way, must, of course, be regarded as being drawn tightly back, so as to allow of the hands being nailed to the central stem,³ the top of which bears the syllable,

³ Though the restrictions of space necessitated the peculiar disposition of the arms of our Lord on the cross shaft above described, such an arrangement is, nevertheless, not unknown to art where no such restrictions existed. In the

'PAS.,' an abbreviation for 'PASSUS EST,' showing how He 'suffered under Pontius Pilate.' If, indeed, the actual scene of the crucifixion be not deliberately intended to be set forth, as would certainly seem to be most probable; the fact must, at any rate, be very distinctly referred to, and that in a far more direct and expressive way than by the conventional cruciferous nimbus.⁴

What the inscription upon the right-hand tablet, or cross limb has been, is somewhat difficult to determine, as the first letters have been

famous picture of the Crucifixion, by Antonello da Messina, in the museum at Antwerp, painted in A.D. 1445, while the Lord's figure is extended upon a lofty cross of squared wood, those of the two thieves are suspended on two young trees or saplings. That to the left, though somewhat sinuous, is nearly straight, and has all its branches lopped off. To it the writhing body of the impenitent malefactor is shown attached, with one foot nailed to the stem, the other being either free, or fastened to it higher up. His arms are stretched high above his head, and the hands, which are bound tightly together at the wrists, fastened firmly to the very top. The treatment of the penitent thief to the right is slightly varied. Here the upper part of the stem of the tree inclines outwardly, away from the Lord, towards whom the gaze of the penitent has been directed. The chained legs are secured to the extremity of a projecting branch, while the arms, drawn forcibly back, like those of our Lord in the cross shaft, are tightly tied together above the elbows; and in that position, *behind the back*, made fast to the upper portion of the stem. The treatment of the arms, in fact, is seen to be absolutely identical with that suggested in the sculpture.

An excellent account of this picture, beautifully illustrated, may be seen in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Early Flemish Painters*, pp. 215-17.

⁴ In the famous Baldr-Odin crucifixion panel of the Gosforth cross, no cross at all is shown: the out-turned feet rest on the cable-moulding forming the panel, which the horizontally outstretched arms and hands also either touch or grasp. Again, on a gravestone at Kirk Michael, in the Isle of Man, on which an imitative upright monolithic cross, ornamented with strip work, appears in relief, the figure of the Lord, which occupies only about as much space in the centre as a boss would do, is shown with the feet similarly turned out, as are also the arms beyond the elbows, but unattached to any proper cross of its own, or that could be supposed to belong to it, the attitude only being suggestive of the actual crucifixion.

On another upright grave-stone, in the Calf of Man, more realistic, but still highly idealized, is seen another crucifixion scene. In this case, though the cross does indeed appear, it is not only disproportionately broad and flat—a cruciform backing rather than a cross—but of barely sufficient size to fit the figure, which, though attached to it by nails through hands and feet, evinces no sign of suffering. On the contrary, it is fully vested in excessively rich apparel, covered with embroidery, which reaches down to the feet, and wears, altogether, an expression of serene majesty. In short, the Lord is shown, 'reigning from the tree.'

On one of the chapter house stones at Durham, we have the fact referred to in a purely symbolical way, the central space of the head being occupied, not, as was commonly the case afterwards, by a lamb bearing a cross tipped banner (lamb and flag), but by a lamb passing in front of an upright stone cross fixed in a square base. And the same subject is repeated on the reverse side of another of those crosses; but the obverse, where the actual scene is shown, instead of dispensing with the arms altogether as here, at Auckland, shows them of most exaggerated length, each one nearly equalling that of the entire body from head to feet. But then, the work is of the feeblest and most miserable character throughout. (See illustrations in the *Transactions* of the Dur. and Northd. Architect. Socy., vol. iv.)

flaked off. The remaining four, however, read either RIEL or NIEL. If the former, then it would seem to point to Gabriel ; but for this, it will be noted, there is not sufficient room, at least without some sort of contraction. The latter would therefore seem to be the more probable reading ; and this for more reasons than one. In the first place, the letters could all be easily got in ; in the second, Daniel would stand as a universally accepted type of the resurrection, and of the Lord's triumph over death ; and, in the third, there would be a sufficient explanation of the absence of wings, which, as will be seen, occur not only in the case of the two angels shown above, but in that of the one below as well.

Should this right-hand attendant be really intended for Daniel, then that to the left would doubtless be of similar import, and represent, probably, either Isaac or Jonas, the one as having been directly referred to in this connection by S. Paul, the other, by our Lord Himself. Left, as we are, entirely to conjecture in the matter, however, the remains of the figure should perhaps be more safely regarded as those of the Prince than of the Prophet. Scenes from the lives of both Daniel and Isaac are, it may be added, depicted upon one of the faces of the cross at Castledermot, co. Kildare, where Daniel is shown in the midst of four lions in the panel immediately above the base ; while the sacrifice of Isaac is displayed in a precisely similar position to that occupied by the destroyed figure here—the left hand of our Lord.

The mutilated nimbed figures on the other side of the shaft (see plate III. *b*) have no distinguishing emblems—unless, indeed, that to the left be holding, as is possible, the handles of two mutilated keys, in which case we should have the effigies of SS. Peter and Paul—and therefore call for no remark ; their chief, indeed only, claim to notice being that they show both faces of the cross—instead of having the usual allowance of fantastic, mythological monster, and ribbon work—to have been occupied, exclusively, with large-sized scriptural personages and incidents, in bold relief.

But more remarkable and noteworthy, perhaps, than the figure subjects, including the probably unique crucifixion scene, is the scroll work which decorates the narrow, or edge, sides of this cross shaft (see plate IV. *a* and *b*). For beauty and freedom of design, for depth of



a.



b.

PRE-CONQUEST CROSS SHAFT IN CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND (2 SIDES)

(From photographs by Mr. A. L. Steavenson.)

undercutting, for force of drawing, and intense vitality of movement and expression, they are probably quite unequalled.

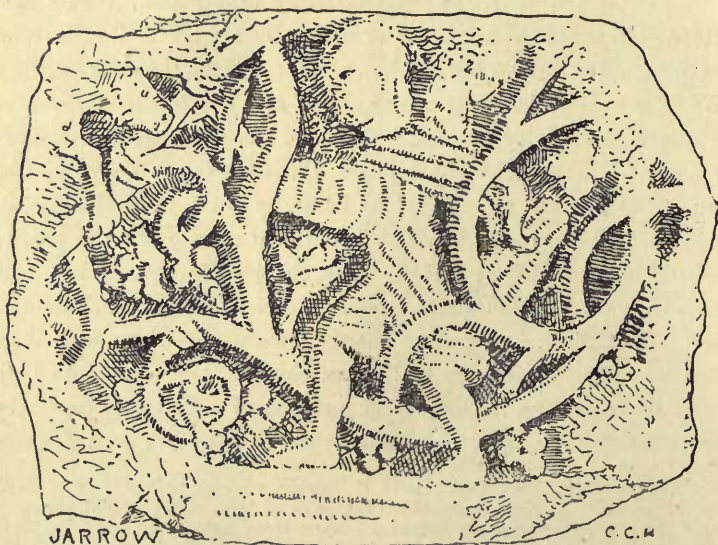
Apart from artistic qualities, however, there are two points to be noted. First, the upper parts of the figure of an archer (plate IV. *a*), whose body and lower limbs have been broken off; and the birds and beasts, which, turning to left and right alternately and devouring the fruit which terminates each branch, fill all the upper portions of the scroll. At these, with bent bow and adjusted arrow, the archer takes careful aim. The meaning of divers similar presentments which, elsewhere, occur profusely, has been variously interpreted. Some⁵ have professed to see in the huntsman or archer the spirit of evil endeavouring to wound or destroy the children of light; others, the exact contrary. 'We offer to God the spoils of our chase,' says the *Hortus Deliciarum*, 'when, by example or precept, we convert the wild beasts, that is to say, wicked men. The chase of the Christian is the conversion of sinners. These are represented by hares, by goats, by wild boars, or by stags. The hares signify the incontinent; the goats, the proud; the wild boars, the rich; and the stags, the worldly-wise. These four beasts we smite with four darts, by our example of continence, humility, voluntary poverty, and perfect charity; we pursue them with dogs when we arouse their fears by the preaching of the word.' As both birds and beasts are, in the present instance, of a distinctly predatory and ferocious type, the archer, who in no way answers such descrip-

⁵ As, apparently, for example, Dr. G. F. Browne, who, writing of the Bewcastle cross (*Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 192), says of 'the conventional trunk or branch of a tree running in graceful curves from bottom to top,' that 'It represents, in all probability, the idea of a tree of life. The animals and the birds are peaceful and happy. This is in sharp contrast with similar representations on pre-Norman stones of later date. I have found, by removing some of the earth at the foot, that the great cross in Bakewell churchyard has at the bottom of all a man with a bow taking aim at the little creature nibbling the fruit at the top. At Bradbourne, in Derbyshire, there are the fragments of a cross equally noble with that at Bakewell; and there, again, on more than one side, is a man at the foot taking aim at the squirrels or little foxes in the tree or vine. The great cross at Sheffield has remarkable examples of the same kind. After the Conquest this jarring note becomes still more conspicuous. Thus on the slight columns of the portals at the west front of Lincoln Cathedral you have in alternate circles animals and men with spears attacking them. The whole idea of peace has perished in the idea of sport or slaughter.'

And then again, in an Appendix (p. 223)—'We are familiar with the idea of hunting and slaughter in connection with Roman scroll work. My impression is that the peaceful instinct of early Christian art eliminated this idea, and that our earliest monuments in England were produced under that influence. Then the influence of the pagan work asserted itself, and the idea of peace was lost in the more mechanical copying of ancient examples which we find in "Romanesque" art.'

tion, must therefore probably be interpreted in the latter sense—the Christian soldier or missionary who, by the influence of a holy and consistent course, ‘*emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.*’

But here, in this connexion, it may not be without interest to note, on the other hand, a beautiful example of very early (perhaps seventh century) date from Jedburgh (see plate V.), which presents us with birds and beasts of a purely innocent and peaceful kind. Sporting and feeding amid fruit and flowers, they are all enjoying themselves in tranquil happiness, quite careless of the human foe who,



at the very moment, mounts the branches of their ‘world tree’ to capture or destroy them. Another charming piece of sculpture from Jarrow church, (illustrated by Mr. Hodges in the *Reliquary*),⁶ here also added by way of further illustration, is too fragmentary, perhaps, to enable us to judge clearly of the general purport of the complete design, though what is left might seem to show that its point of view, or moral, agreed rather with that of the Auckland, than of the Jedburgh, sculpture. For here again the man, guarded by the ‘shield of faith,’ would seem to be attacking, as ‘a good soldier of Jesus Christ,’ the powers of evil as represented by the wild beast ravaging in the wood.

⁶ The block has been kindly lent by Messrs. Bemrose & Sons of Derby,



FRAGMENT OF PRE-CONQUEST CROSS SHAFT AT JEDBURGH ABBEY.

That in the very few and fragmentary Auckland stones we should find remains of no less than three distinct hunters is certainly not a little remarkable, and serves to make us regret the more deeply the missing portions of the designs, and the parts that they were made to play in them.

And now, as to the proximate age of this exceptionally fine and remarkable fragment; though we have neither inscription nor historical record of any sort to help to fix it, the internal evidence of style alone will quite suffice to do so, I think, within reasonable limits.

With the crosses of the earliest period—that is, of the seventh and eighth centuries—it has clearly nothing in common. Of these, broadly speaking, there may be said to be two distinct groups, viz. first, those which are covered, more or less completely, with elegant and refined scroll-work of fruit and foliage, full of classic grace and feeling, and derived, as can hardly be doubted, from those on Samian, and other Roman wares, and of which the Hexham and Nunykirk* remains afford such remarkable examples; and secondly, those which, largely occupied with scenes from Scandinavian mythologies, like the crosses of Leeds, Collingham, and Gosforth, for example, have the intervening spaces filled with zoomorphic monsters and endlessly repeated varieties of knot-work. Nothing suggestive of either one or other of these groups is to be met with here. Nor with the later, and generally inferior, mixed designs and workmanship of the immediately succeeding periods is there any more affinity, still less, indeed. Least of all, with that feeble and degraded kind of decoration which characterizes so largely the work of the ninth and tenth centuries, and of which we have such conspicuous and well authenticated examples as those discovered at Gainford, and in the chapter house at Durham. Of all these the dates are accurately ascertained: those at Gainford being necessarily later than 821, when Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne, built the first church there; while those at Durham must just as necessarily range between 995, when the body of S. Cuthbert was brought from Chester-le-Street to its new resting place by bishop Ealdhun, and 1083, when his 'congregation,' whose members they commemorated, were dispersed by bishop William of S. Calais.

* See *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xix. facing p. 192, for a representation of the Nunykirk cross-shaft.

And yet, with the remains both of the earliest and latest schools it may, in some sense, be said to be in touch : with the first, in point of artistic merit ; with the last, in that of time. Free from all trace of mythological admixture, then evidently ceased, and, if not forgotten, at least abandoned ; equally free from the spell of those persistent interlacing and geometric patterns, sometimes, in the earlier instances, as in the manuscripts, of the most elaborate and exact beauty, as, usually, in the later, only coarsely and rudely imitative ; we see here nothing but strictly Christian subjects, set forth with well nigh unprecedented skill and boldness, and accompanied by decorative details of unsurpassable force and vigour. Whatever its shortcomings, they are attributable, it is clear, not to decadence, but immaturity ; not to the worn-out powers of an expiring school of art, but to the untutored energies of a new one. We see in it, in short, as striking a proof, perhaps, of that great revival which took place in the early years of the eleventh century as can anywhere be met with. To what particular part of that century it should be referred is more than can be safely said, nor need we enquire too particularly ; but we shall not be far wrong, perhaps, in connecting it, more or less closely, with the days of Ealdhun, when Auckland, with which he may have had personal, as well as proprietary, connexion, appears for the first time in history ; or with those of his successor Eadmund, when king Cnut made his famous pilgrimage to Durham, that is to say, broadly speaking, between the years 1000 and 1050.

Should it, however, be objected that the Durham sculptures, which must, to a large extent, be contemporary with this Auckland one, are as wholly different from it in style as they are miserably, nay ludicrously, inferior to it both in design and execution, then it may be said that the spirit of life, and especially of reviving life, does not influence all alike ; that men abreast, and in advance, of the art of their day, and lagging dullards, are ever found side by side, and that good and bad workmen, like good and bad fishes, are constantly taken in the same net. In this case, the inspiration—like most other inspirations, perhaps—has been personal ; nor, save in the Escomb fragment which has manifestly proceeded from the same hand, would it at present be possible to point to a second instance of parallel, or even proximate, merit. The carver and designer, whoever he may

have been, was unquestionably a man of very exceptional ability, who took full measure of all his age could teach him ; and who, in making this monument for another, has left one to himself which is absolutely unequalled.⁷

III.—OF THE SITE AND ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH.

What the character of the original Saxon church to which this, and the rest of the early sculptured stones pertained may have been, nothing visible remains to show. Nor yet of that which either succeeded it, or into which itself, in course of time, may have developed, or been transformed. Only a few insignificant details, chiefly small heads which have formed part of a corbel-table, remain to witness that either the primitive, or some other, structure continued to occupy the spot in post-Conquest days.

But more interesting, perhaps, than any other circumstance connected with them was the site. In the first place, as the parish church of what were afterwards known as the two Aucklands, it was built, in a fashion very common in Richmondshire, and not unknown nearer home at Hamsterley, at a considerable distance, in this case fully a mile, from both villages.⁸ Whether or not any

⁷ That such expression of opinion is neither exaggerated, nor due to local prejudice, may be inferred from the following passage in a paper by that very competent archaeologist, the late Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., hon. sec. of the Archaeological Association, and which only fell under my notice since the above account was written. After summing up the results of their visit to the district in 1886, and referring to the various examples of pre-Conquest work that they had seen, he proceeds (vol. xliv. p. 177) :—‘It was, however, at St. Andrew’s Auckland, that the finest examples of these early works were met with. Here we found portions of the shafts of crosses, carved with figures so admirably as to excel anything which we had seen elsewhere, the character of the work being very similar to that of Roman date. Other fragments were ornamented with sculptured foliage so deeply undercut and so elaborately carved, as to approach very nearly to Early English work of the middle of the thirteenth century.’ And, in conclusion, he adds further on :—‘The sculpture and carving at St. Andrew’s Auckland, also indicate that their sculptors were well acquainted, not only with the chisel, but that they could use it with good effect.’

⁸ Of this practice many illustrations might be adduced ; Startforth church, near Barnard Castle, being one, which, though at no great distance from the village, is yet quite apart from it, on the sloping bank of the Tees. The old church of Rokeby, a little lower down the stream, and in a very similar situation, would seem to have been another ; but both church and village, if there ever was one, have now for many years past been destroyed, in order to isolate the Hall. It lay in a most peaceful and retired spot, close to the confluence of the Tees and Greta. Then, a little lower down still, there is the exquisitely beautiful old church of Wycliffe, close to the water’s edge, to which the churchyard lies open, and with only the rectory house and old mill beside it. The little parish church of Hasby, too, still nestles, as of yore, beneath the shelter

habitations began gradually to cluster round it, as about the episcopal manor-house at Bishop's, or North Auckland, cannot now be said ; but, following those precedents, such was very probably not the case, and it would then, like so many other ancient sanctuaries, stand quite alone. The intense silence, the calm and peaceful beauty of the spot, might, indeed, almost seem to demand such isolation. Crowning the gentle eminence of a peninsula formed by the then limpid waters of the Gaunless, which, still and silent, wound their devious way beneath the foliage of great forest trees, no more fitting or solemn site for the worship of the living or the burial of the dead, could be desired. But now, alas ! how changed. Of all that was once so fair, 'Fuit' is the brief, sad epitaph. The trees are gone : the grubbed up or rotten stumps of some, the blackened and decaying trunks of others, remain alone like mourners in the churchyard, the last, long-lingering relics of the ancient woods. The primrose spangled turf, and bosky dells, dim with 'the nodding violet,' have long since ceased to be, a squalid village, with all its unsavoury accompaniments, encroaching on, and hemming in, the very church itself. The perfume of hawthorn and of eglantine, the hum of vagrant bees, 'the beetle's noonday boom, athwart the thicket lone,' which served but to accentuate the solitude and make the stillness more profound, are passed and gone. In place of them, the smoke and stench, the discordant shriekings, the daily and nightly roar and rattle of two convergent lines of railway. Beyond, a howling wilderness of Welsh-slatted pit rows and murky chimneys pouring perpetual smoke ; while the bright, joyous stream which lent such life and beauty to the scene, is now a loathsome ditch, as black as ink, the recipient of all sorts of filth—an unabashed and open sewer.

Such shortly, as regards the site, are the changes brought about between the eleventh, and the nineteenth, centuries.

of the abbey, far away from any village ; and that of Coverham, not far from the abbey buildings, though on higher ground, stands all alone. But by far the most remarkable instance within my knowledge, is that of the old church of Brignal, near Greta bridge. Like some ancient hermitage, far from the haunts of men, it lies in still and deep seclusion by the very brink of Greta, shut in by miles of steep and densely wooded banks on either side—the small scattered village to which it belonged being on the higher level, far out of sight and sound, and about a mile away to the north-west. A most impressive picture of the old fane and its surroundings, from one of Turner's finest drawings, and admirably engraved, may be seen in Whittaker's *Richmondshire*, where the whole spirit and poetry of the scene are realized to perfection.

As to the church, it must, in some fashion or other, have survived not only the stormy days of the Norman Conquest, but those terrible times of post-Conquest vengeance which, more than once, swept the Palatinate as with a hurricane of blood and fire.

Then, when things temporal and spiritual seemed to have reached their worst, the dawn of a better day, however slowly and fitfully, began to break. And, indeed, the time was come. Egelwin, the last of the long line of Saxon prelates who, whether seated at Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street, or Durham, had ruled the see from A.D. 635 to 1056, had, after the murder of Comyn and his followers, fled with his clergy from the Conqueror's wrath to seek refuge at Lindisfarne. Thence he had not long returned before his diocese was once more ravaged by Malcolm of Scotland, when, despairing of the situation, he embarked with much treasure for Cologne. Being driven, however, of a tempest upon the Scottish coast, he determined to cast in his lot with the earls Edwin and Morcar, and returning again to England, was soon afterwards, with the rest of the conspirators, taken captive in the Isle of Ely. There and then his tenure of the see of Durham terminated, for from that day forward he was imprisoned at Abingdon, where, in the winter of the same year, 1071, he died. Thus miserably and ingloriously was the rule of the native episcopate brought to a close,⁹ and in this forlorn condition the church and diocese lay waste for about a year.

⁹ To all who love to look back to the days of their Saxon ancestry—and who does not?—the history of the last three Saxon bishops who occupied the see affords but melancholy and humiliating reading. Of Eadred (1042), Symeon writes (*Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. ix.):—'Eadredus, qui post episcopatum secundus fuerat, praesulatum illius ecclesiae primus ex ordine clericali festinabat obtinere. Siquidem sumpta ex thesauris ecclesiae pecunia non modica, a rege, scilicet Hardecnut, episcopatum emit, sed episcopale officium facere illum divina ultio non permisit. Intratus quippe ecclesiam subita infirmitate corripitur, decidensque in lectum, decimo mense moritur.' Nor was his successor, Egelric, much, if at all, better. Expelled in the third year of his episcopate from his see by the clergy on the ground of his being an alien and elected against their will, he sought the all-powerful aid of Siward, earl of Northumbria, and, by bribery, obtained his support against them. Overawed and cast down by his power, they were thus forced, willingly or unwillingly, to accept and submit to him. Then there was his brother Egelwin, a monk, who ruled the whole diocese under him, and who, with some other monks, endeavoured, along with the bishop himself, to embezzle and carry off the treasures and ornaments of the church. He had already, as it might seem, purposed to destroy the old wooden cathedral of Chester-le-street, and to re-build it of stone. But in digging the foundations they came upon a great hoard of treasure which, on account of the tyranny and avarice of his predecessor, Sexhelm (947), the secretary and others had there hidden away—'grandis ibidem thesaurus est inventus, quem dudum propter avaritiam et tyrannidem Sexhelmi, secretarius et

IV.—OF WALCHER, THE FIRST NORMAN BISHOP.

Then the king made choice of Walcher of Lorraine, a man well born and educated—‘*natu nobilis, divina et seculari scientia non mediocriter institutus*’—as Symeon describes him (*c. xviii.*), to be consecrated to the see. With the single exception of Eadred who, on the death of bishop Eadmund in A.D. 1042, had simoniacally purchased the bishopric of king Hardecnut, but the duties of which, dying in the tenth month afterwards, he never discharged, Walcher was the first secular priest who had ever occupied the throne of SS. Aidan and Cuthbert. With him commenced a new era. ‘Noble by birth’ he was, as Symeon elsewhere tells us, ‘in prudence and honesty of life still nobler,’—a man who, ‘venerable alike in age and self-discipline, was well worthy of such honour.’ Nor, was any circumstance of honour wanting on his introduction to the diocese, Eilaf, the huscarl, with other chief personages of the royal household escorting him as far as York, where earl Cospatric, who, at the Conqueror’s special orders, there awaited his arrival, received, and thence in person accompanied him to Durham.

pauci cum eo ibidem dicuntur abscondisse. Seeing his opportunity therefore, he at once seized and despatched it with other plunder to the monastery (Peterborough), whence he had come, and whither he proposed to follow it. This done, he determined on quitting the see, and substituting his brother Egelwin in his place—a scheme which the help of Tosti, the then earl, enabled him to effect. With the treasure so acquired, Egelwin, it is true, constructed ways through the fens, and erected churches and other buildings; but, being denounced to the Conqueror as a spoliator of the church of Durham, and declining to make restitution, he was taken to London, and there died in prison.

As to Egelwin, he followed closely in his brother’s footsteps as a ‘robber of the church’ of Durham. ‘*Suscepto episcopatu Egelwinus, nihilominus ecclesie nihil inferre, immo multo magis quam frater ejus ante illum ornamenta resque alias satagebat auferre,*’ writes Symeon (*c. xi.*); but, as the event proved, he adds, ‘*nec ipse hoc impune fecit.*’ The treasure with which he fled to Cologne was stolen, he tells us, from the church, and this, or part of it, he had about him when captured in the Isle of Ely. ‘Frequently admonished to restore the things which he had taken away, he denied upon oath that he had taken anything.’ ‘*Sed dum quadam die manducaturus manus lavaret, ex illius brachiis armilla usque manum cunctis intuentibus delabens, manifesto perjurio episcopum notabat. Itaque jubente rege in carcerem detruditur, ubi, dum ex nimia cordis anxietate comedere nollet, fame ac dolore moritur.*’ (*c. xvii.*)

It was not so much for sacrilege as treason, real or imaginary, however, that the last two bishops fell under the jealous wrath of the king, and ended their lives in the way they did. But, whether involved in treasonable enterprise or not, and there can be but little or no doubt as to the fact, both of them were thieves, and, to all appearance, more or less tainted with that open simony which procured their predecessor, Eadred, the bishopric. However regrettable from the sentimental standpoint, the Norman Conquest, for the church especially, did not, it is clear, come a day too soon.

But there he found things little to his mind. The clergy of his cathedral church were neither monks, nor yet canons of his own order; while as to discipline, it was either lax, or altogether absent. It was the ultimate, but natural—perhaps, *too* natural—result of those Danish devastations of the latter part of the ninth century, when ‘the army of king Halfdene, mad with fury, everywhere cruelly depopulated the whole province of Northumbria, burning monasteries and churches in all directions, slaying the servants and handmaids of God for sport, and, in brief, spread incendiarism and massacre from the eastern to the western sea.’ For then it was, in A.D. 875, that bishop Eardulph, foreseeing the coming troubles, bethought him of flying from Lindisfarne—within the close confines of which island they could all be caught as in a trap—to the comparative security of the mainland. But he was perplexed about ‘the sacred body of S. Cuthbert, for without that treasure he was nowhere willing to abide, either within or without the church.’ Consulting then with Eadred, abbot of Luel, what had best be done, they remembered those last words which S. Cuthbert had delivered to his disciples before his death:—‘*If necessity should compel you to choose one of two evils, I would much rather that taking my bones out of the grave and carrying them with you, you should retire from those places and dwell wheresoever God shall provide, than on any account consent and submit yourselves to the iniquitous yoke of schismatics.*’ Reading the words over again therefore, ‘they judged that their father Cuthbert when he uttered them had, in the spirit of prophecy, foreseen the perils of those days, and issued such commands to themselves.’ So they rendered them the promptest and most exact obedience. For, as Symeon proceeds, ‘bearing the sacred and uncorrupt body of the father, and along with it, in a compartment of the same chest, the associated relics of the saints, to wit, the head of Oswald, king and martyr, beloved of God; part also of the bones of S. Aidan, together with the venerated bones of those reverend priests, the successors of the same father Cuthbert, that is to say, of Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, they abandoned in their flight that noble and first church of the Bernician nation, which had witnessed the conversation of so many saints, in the year of the incarnation of the Lord 875, and of the episcopate of Eardulph, the 22nd.’

And well indeed was it for them and for those who came after that what they did they did 'quickly,' and 'with their might,' for there was not a minute to spare ; the storm burst instantaneously. Thus it happened that 'the bishop and those who together with him accompanied the body of the holy father were nowhere able to obtain a place of rest, but from place to place, hither and thither, going and returning, fled continually before the face of the cruel barbarians.' Speaking elsewhere of Eardulph, Symeon adds, 'None, surely, of his predecessors or successors up to the present time laboured so greatly in presence of the most holy body of Cuthbert as did he, who, fleeing with him from one quarter to another for the space of seven years, everywhere amidst savage swords, among the ferocious assaults of barbarians, amid conflagrations of monasteries, and the carrying off and butchery of men, stuck closely to him in the inseparable devotion of his love.'

But such experiences, as can readily be understood, were far from conducive to the preservation of monastic discipline, even if existing at the outset, which in the present instance was far from being the case. For this, though the last, was neither the first, nor yet the deadliest, of the Danish visitations. In A.D. 793, and the 11th of the pontificate of Higbald, 'a most miserable devastation, amounting almost to extermination, destroyed the church of Lindisfarne, filling it with blood and rapine. Then the pagans of the north, with a naval army coming into Britain, dispersing and plundering hither and thither, slew not only beasts of burden, but also priests, deacons, and choirs of monks and nuns. On the seventh of the ides of June, *i.e.* June 7th, they came to the church of Lindisfarne, destroying everything by miserable pillage, spurning sacred things with polluted feet, digging beneath altars, and seizing all the treasures of the church. Some of the brethren they slew, some they dragged away captive, great numbers of the wounded they cast forth naked with opprobrious taunts, others they drowned in the sea. The church of Lindisfarne being thus wasted and its ornaments despoiled, the episcopal seat remained there notwithstanding, and the monks who had contrived to escape the hands of the barbarians for a long time afterwards continued persistently about the body of S. Cuthbert.'

This, however, being the eighty-third year since the occurrence of such events, all those monks were in the meanwhile necessarily

deceased; 'but they who from childhood had been nourished and brought up in the clerical manner, whithersoever the body of the holy father was carried, followed it, and ever afterwards preserved exactly the customs delivered to them by their monastic teachers in the offices of daily and nightly praise.'

This second destruction of the monastery and final dispersion of those who for the most part were not monks at all, but clerics who had merely enjoyed monastic instruction in the performance of divine service, led naturally in course of time to great decay of discipline. By degrees, themselves and their successors began, first to relax, and then to relinquish, its rigours, and thus it came to pass that during the intervening two hundred years the congregation of S. Cuthbert lapsed, not merely into a married, but, as might seem, into a hereditary, priesthood. 'Though called clerics, they made no pretence,' says Symeon, 'either to clerical habit or conversation.' The chanting of the psalms, indeed, at the appointed hours was the one and only rule of S. Benedict that had traditionally been handed down to, and observed by, them.¹⁰ Secular though he was, such a state of things grieved Walcher deeply, the more so as he found himself unable to amend their lives or change manners. Nor did the study of Bede's writings, wherein the ancient customs of the church were described, induce him to regard those then practised with more favour. Thinking earnestly thereon, he prayed God both for direction and assistance in his line of conduct. And then, as though in answer to his prayer, a strange thing happened. A certain Mercian priest named Aldwin, prior of the monastery of Winchcomb, had also, like Walcher, been studying the ecclesiastical history of Northumbria, when, urged by a divine impulse, he resolved on visiting and seeing with his own eyes the places, then waste and

¹⁰ 'Peremptis autem, ut dictum est, memoratae ecclesiae monachis,' says Symeon, in his preface, or rather epitome, 'parvuli qui inter illos nutriebantur et instituebantur sub disciplina diligenter, quoquo modo evadentes manus hostium, corpus quidem sancti confessoris comitati sunt; sed tradita sibi districtione paulatim postposita, ecclesiasticam disciplinam odio habuerunt, remissioris vitae illecebras sequuti. Nec erat qui eos sub ecclesiastica censura coerceret, utpote cultura Dei destructis monasteriis et ecclesiis poene deficiente. Seculariter itaque omnino viventes, carni et sanguini inserviebant, filios et filias generantes. Quorum posteri per successionem in ecclesia Dunelmensi fuerunt nimis remisse viventes, nec ullam nisi carnalem vitam quam ducebant scientes, nec scire volentes. Clerici vocabantur, sed nec habitu nec conversatione regularum Sancti Benedicti institutum tenuerunt, hoc solum a primis institutoribus monachorum per paternam traditionem sibi transmissam servantes.' (Rolls Ed. p. 8.)

desolate, but which were once so glorious through the lives and labours of the saints. There, he determined, 'for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,' to spend his days and follow their example.

Proceeding then, we are told, to Evesham, he declared his purpose to the brethren, two of whom, Elfwy, a deacon, and Reinfrid, a lay brother, agreed to accompany him. And so, with one little ass only carrying the books and vestments necessary for divine service, they set out on foot. Arriving at the Tyne, they settled at a place upon its northern bank called 'Munecaceastre', whence, since it was under the rule of the earl, and not of the bishop, Walcher sent to fetch them, and receiving them with great joy and honour, gave them the monastery of S. Paul at Jarrow, of which the roofless walls were still standing. There, after getting those of the church covered in with shapeless trunks of trees and hay, they commenced to celebrate the divine offices ; constructing for themselves a hovel beneath the walls in which to eat and sleep, and wherein they passed a poor life on charity. And thus, in cold and hunger, they continued suffering the loss of all things for Christ's sake. And not in vain, for 'meanwhile, many provoked by their example, renouncing the world, accepted at their hands the monastic habit, and, under the institution of regular discipline, learnt to serve Christ.' Gradually their fame spread far and wide. Though but few Northumbrians joined them, many from the south, attracted by the life and conversation of Aldwin, came to place themselves beneath his guidance. Such a result, indeed, was hardly to be wondered at, for his character, as drawn for us by Symeon, was a noble one. 'A singular despiser of the world, very humble in mind and habit, patient in adversity, modest in prosperity, acute by nature, prudent in counsel, grave in speech and action, a companion of the lowly, fervent in zeal against insolent despisers of justice, ever longing after heavenly things, and striving to draw all others with him thitherwards.'

Great, accordingly, was the bishop's joy and thankfulness at seeing the number of those serving God there thus daily increasing ; and the lamp of monastic life, which had been extinguished for so many years, once more rekindled. He lent them both a ready and effectual hand ; and knowing well their wish to rebuild the church, and destroyed domestic offices, bestowed on them the vill of Jarrow

with its appurtenances, to wit, 'Preostun, Munecatun, Heathewurthe, Heabyrm, Wivestou, Heortedun,'—so that they might not only achieve those objects, but live free from want.

Having, then, prospered thus exceedingly at Jarrow, Aldwin was moved to set out for other such like places, and there, from separate centres, continue and extend the work he had begun. Meanwhile Elfwin, the first of his associates, was, by common and unanimous consent, elected prior in his stead. Reinfrid, the second, animated by a like spirit, set off for the forsaken site of Whitby where he founded a new brotherhood, which, after his decease, migrating to York, established the famous abbey of St. Mary; while Aldwin himself, together with the priest Turgot, afterwards so famous, who had been sent to him by bishop Walcher, proceeded to the ruined sanctuary of Melrose.

Thence, however, after suffering prolonged and bitter persecution at the hands of king Malcolm to whom the place belonged, they were, after many fruitless entreaties, at last peremptorily recalled by bishop Walcher who gave them the monastery of S. Peter at Wearmouth, 'once,' as Symeon puts it, 'sufficiently eminent and noble, but then, owing to the ruin of the buildings, hardly to be detected.' There Turgot took the habit; and there again, as at Jarrow, they constructed for themselves huts of twigs and branches, persuading all whom they could influence to enter 'the way of life.' Nor were their teaching and example less effective than of old, for again converts from far off places, attracted by the monastic methods, came to swell their ranks; but the place itself was in a pitiable plight. From the days of the Danish incendiarism to that in which Aldwin entered the province, two hundred and eight years had elapsed. The church of S. Peter, says Symeon, was overgrown with trees, and its whole interior filled with thorns and brambles. These they first of all cleared away, and then a new roof '*quale hodie cernitur*' being set up, they had all their work cut out to restore it for the performance of divine service.¹¹

¹¹ 'Monasterium beati Petri Apostoli in Wiramuthe donavit, olim, sicut habitator ejus ab infantia, Beda describit, egregium satis ac nobile; tunc autem, quid antiquitus fuerit, vix per ruinam aedificiorum videri poterat. . . . Tunc ecclesiam Sancti Petri, cujus adhuc soli parietes semirutuli steterant, succisis arboribus, eradicatis vepribus et spinis, quae totam occupaverant, curarunt expurgare: et culmine imposito, quale hodie cernitur, ad agenda divinae laudis officia sategerant restaurare.'—Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. iii, c. xxii.

To Aldwin and Turgot, however, the bishop 'exhibited the tenderest and most fatherly affection, calling them to his presence, admitting them to his councils, and freely submitting to their judgment. As before at Jarrow, so here again at Wearmouth, in order that they might have wherewith to live and carry on their work, he gave them the whole vill of Wearmouth, to which afterwards his successor added that of Suthewic; so under his protection they led a quiet and peaceable life, the bishop, as a most benignant father, cherishing them with his whole heart, oftentimes envying their lot, and bountifully providing all things that they were in need of.' He himself, indeed, had determined, if his days were prolonged, to become a monk and build a monastery to S. Cuthbert, and of this he had both laid the foundations and commenced the superstructure; but, death preventing the accomplishment of this purpose, it was left to be dealt with by bishop William of S. Calais.¹²

Thus were those two ancient abodes of piety, the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, occupied again with inmates, and the prayers and praises of the church, which for two hundred years had ascended thence unceasingly, and for another two hundred been quenched in blood, heard within their walls once more. Nor, with the single exception of that brief period of rebellion when the 'Cromwellii flagitiosus grex,' like the heathen before them, 'entered on her inheritance, and laid waste her dwelling-places,' have those revived voices ceased for a moment to connect us with that distant past.

As to the remaining events of bishop Walcher's pontificate—the gifts of the town and church of Waltham, and of the earldom of Northumberland conferred on him by the king; the tyrannical oppression of his officials whose evil doings, like Eli, 'he restrained not'; and his own unjust and cruel murder at the church of Gateshead in consequence—they belong more properly, perhaps, to the domain of general history than to that of the church at Auckland, and may therefore be sufficiently referred to in a note.¹³ What, in this con-

¹² 'Interim circa parietes Dunelmensis ecclesiae jactis fundamentis coepit aedificare habitacula monachorum habitationi congrua. Sed priusquam ea perficeret, crudeli suorum manibus morte praeventus est.'

¹³ The death of Walcher and the causes which led up to it are far better and more fully set forth by Symeon in his History of the Kings than in that of the Church of Durham, and, in a condensed form, are as follows:—Under the date 1080, he tells us that he was slain in vengeance for the death of Ligulf—'nobilis generosique ministri'—who, having vast possessions throughout England of

nection, we are more particularly concerned with is, to continue tracing, step by step, the course of those events which in due time so largely affected its destinies, and served, in the strictest and most literal sense, to lay the foundations of the actual structure which we see to-day.

V.—OF WILLIAM OF S. CALAIS, THE SECOND NORMAN BISHOP.

Six months and ten days having elapsed since the tragic death of the first Norman bishop, the Conqueror, in A.D. 1080, elected to the vacant see William of S. Calais—so called from the bourg and abbey hereditary right, was driven, through the lawless violence of the Normans, to seek refuge with S. Cuthbert at Durham. His wife was Alghitha, daughter of earl Aldred of the blood royal of Northumbria, and sister of Elfleda, the mother of earl Waltheof. So high in favour, moreover, was this Ligulf with the bishop that, without his counsel, he would on no account transact any secular matters of importance. But this favour roused the bitter envy of the bishop's chaplain and archdeacon Leobwin, who, arrogantly opposing him, treated his counsels with contempt, and, as far as possible, frustrated them. Nor were his habitually insolent words, mingled with threats, restrained even in the bishop's presence. One day in particular, when called upon to advise, Leobwin opposed, and exasperated him with more contumelious speech than ever. And then, because he answered more roughly than his wont, he straightway went out, and sending for Gilbert, the bishop's kinsman, to whom the secular government of the county had been committed, begged that he would avenge him, and get rid of Ligulf as speedily as possible. This he readily undertook to do, and sending a force of his own, the bishop's, and Leobwin's men by night to Ligulf's house, they there deliberately murdered, not only himself, but almost all his family, in cold blood. Greatly distracted at the news, the bishop, who foresaw but too clearly what the upshot of the deed would be, 'uncovering his head and prostrating himself upon the earth, thus upbraided its author:—"Tuis, Leobwine, factionibus dolosis acta sunt haec et insiliis stolidissimis. Idcirco volo te scire pro certo, quia et me, et te, omnemque familiam meam tuae linguae peremisti gladio." Then, dispatching messengers throughout the whole province, he protested his ignorance of the slaughter; moreover, that Gilbert and his accomplices had been outlawed, and summoned to judgment before himself.' A meeting of the two parties being then agreed upon, it took place at Gateshead. But the bishop refused to hold it in the open—only in the church, where he, together with his clerks and the higher ranks of soldiers, were assembled; and whence, once and again, he sent forth messengers to treat of peace with those outside. This, however, they steadfastly refused to do, being fully assured that Ligulf's murder had been perpetrated by the bishop's own orders. For Leobwin had not only entertained Gilbert and his companions the night after the murder in a friendly and familiar way, but the bishop himself had received him into the same favour as before. Accordingly all those of the bishop's party who were outside they slew at once, a few only escaping by flight. Which, when the bishop understood, he, in order to appease their fury, commanded his kinsman Gilbert, whose life they sought, to go forth of the church. Passing out, therefore, both he and all the soldiers who followed at his heels were instantaneously cut down and destroyed by swords and spears. Two of them, however, being English, were spared for kinship sake. The like fate befel the clerics, who perished the moment they appeared. Then the bishop, finding that nothing but the life of Leobwin, the author and source of all the mischief, would satisfy their fury, besought him also to go forth. But when he should have gone, being wholly unable to part from him, he went himself to the church

of S. Calais, or S. Carileph, where he was either born, or first took his monastic vows—then abbot of S. Vincent in Normandy, and who was consecrated at Gloucester by Thomas, archbishop of York, the king himself and all the bishops of England being present at the ceremony. Whatever may be thought of the monarch's conduct in general, there cannot be two opinions as to his having 'faithfully and wisely made choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry of the church' of Durham; more especially as regards the latter prelate. Equally devout and desirous of fulfilling the duties of the high station to

doors, and earnestly entreated them to spare his life. This being refused, he thereupon, 'covering his head with the border of his robe, went forward, when, pierced with swords, he fell and immediately expired.' Then Leobwin was bid to follow, but declining, they at once set fire to the walls and roof of the church. Thence, after enduring the torment of the flames as long as possible, he was at last driven out, half roasted, to seek relief amidst the swords of his enemies, with which, being hewn instantly to pieces, 'he paid the penalty of his wickedness, and so perished miserably.'

Symeon's own, and shorter, account of the death of Walcher, in his History of the Church of Durham (lib. iii. c. xxiv.), through coming to much the same thing in the end as that given above from the History of the Kings, by his continuator, differs from it, nevertheless, so much in respect of details, as to render its insertion here, something more, perhaps, than desirable—almost necessary. Briefly given, it runs as follows:—The bishop, in order that both those who had done, and those who had suffered, wrong might be brought into unity and concord, convened a meeting on a certain day at Gateshead—'ad locum qui Ad Caput Caprae dicitur'—at which both he himself and his attendants would be present; and to which 'all the chief men north of Tyne, as well as an infinite multitude of the whole people, united by the worst counsels, gathered themselves together. Declining the tumult, the bishop entered the little church—'ecclesiolam'—of the place, where, calling before him the leaders, he discoursed to them of the advantages accruing to both sides from mutual friendship. Which done, the bishop, with a very few of his people remaining in the church, all those who had been invited—as though about to consult together—went outside; when, after a little while, a great shout being set up by the tumultuous crowd, an inhuman butchery at once took place in all directions. For divers of the bishop's soldiers who, all unsuspecting of evil, were here and there sitting or lying about, were slain by those nearest to them; while some, mounting the church, set it on fire; and others, drawing their swords and brandishing their spears, formed a dense phalanx about the door, allowing none to come out alive. So, when those within, after humbly confessing their sins and receiving absolution, were driven by the fury of the flames to attempt a passage, they were instantaneously cut down. The bishop remained till last of all, suffering greater anguish in his heart than death itself. For it was intolerable to him to see his servants, with the priests and deacons, put to death before his eyes; knowing that he, too, would not be spared. To one or other of these kinds of death he was compelled, and knew not which to choose. The fire drove him into the weapons of his enemies; their weapons drove him back into the fire. A prolonged death seemed to be the worst; the quickest, the best. So when he could no longer endure the fierceness of the fire, commending his soul to God, he proceeded to the door, where making before them with his fingers the sign of the cross, after he had covered his head and eyes with his pallium, he was in the very doorway itself, transfixing with spears, and his dead body gashed with many wounds. Such was their bestial cruelty, that they could not remain satisfied even with his death.'

which, by virtue of their merits alone, they had been called, both, however, as the event proved, were not equally capable of discharging with efficiency the varied and, in some respects, opposite requirements attaching to it. Such offices as those of chief pastor of the flock of Christ, and earl of the vast province of Northumbria, demanded qualities but seldom centred in a single man. And it was in the latter that Walcher, his personal piety notwithstanding, failed so conspicuously. Trusting the administration of secular affairs to the hands of those of whose uprightness and capacity he, doubtless, felt well assured, he would seem to have confined himself well nigh exclusively to things spiritual, letting all others take their course. Contemplative rather than active, his success and failure in his compound office were proportionate accordingly. By his clergy, especially the monks, he was beloved and revered as a saintly and tender father; by the people at large, though solely through the faults of others, detested as a cruel tyrant. But with bishop William it was different. A very 'all-round' man, thoroughly competent in matters monastic, episcopal, political, and administrative, he was singularly fitted to fill a place at once so unique and difficult as that of prince palatine of Durham.

‘Solum Dunelmense stolâ judicat et ense.’

Of his natural gifts and acquirements, and the diligent application which he made of them from his youth up, Symeon gives us full particulars.

‘From first entering the monastery,’ says he, ‘he was distinguished above all others in his love and devotion to duty; and so, step by step, gained promotion, first to the post of claustral prior, next to that of prior, and after that to the abbacy of the adjoining monastery. Not long after which, the king, seeing how his skill in the conduct of matters of the greatest difficulty had frequently been proved, advanced him to the episcopate. ‘For indeed,’ he continues, ‘he was well fitted for the office of a bishop, being nobly skilled in ecclesiastical and secular literature, very diligent in things human and divine, and so composed in manner that, in his day, he had no superior. Of such innate subtlety of intellect was he, moreover, that those who sought him could nowhere find profounder counsel. Along with the grace of wisdom went also great powers of eloquence, the tenacity of his memory being no less wonderful. His vigour and prudence had

attracted the favourable notice, not only of the kings of England and of France, but of the pope also, who from time to time were pleased to recognize and listen to such a man, discoursing as he did with so much eloquence and wisdom. Temperate, both in meat and drink, and moderate in his apparel, he was catholic in faith and chaste in person. And forasmuch as he was very familiar with the king, he ever took care, as far as possible, both to protect, and cause to be protected, the liberties of monasteries and churches.'

Such was the bishop, and such also was the state of the diocese as to demand the full and immediate exercise of all his great qualities. Nothing more deplorable, indeed, than the condition to which it had been reduced could well be imagined. No less than three times within fourteen years had it been deluged with blood and fire; first, by the conqueror himself; then shortly afterwards by king Malcolm; and lastly, by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who, coming with a great force to avenge the murder of bishop Walcher, '*terram pene totam in solitudinem redegerunt.*' 'Of the wretched inhabitants who, relying on their innocence, remained at home,' says Symeon, 'they caused great numbers either to be beheaded or mutilated, as though guilty. Many others they accused falsely in order that they might redeem their lives and liberties at a price. Even the ornaments of the church,' he adds, 'including a pastoral staff (*baculum pastorale*) marvellous alike for material as well as workmanship, for it was of sapphire (*lapis lazuli*?) did that bishop plunder and carry off.'

The scene presented to the eyes of William of S. Calais by the patrimony of S. Cuthbert, on his first coming to it, must, in truth, have been a dreary one. As to the country, it lay wild and waste—'*terram illius pæne desolatam invenit,*' writes Symeon, 'and the place illuminated by the presence of his sacred body, through unbecoming neglect of service, contemptuously forsaken—'*despicabiliter destitutum.*' He found there neither monks of his own order, nor yet regular canons. Deeply grieved, therefore, he sought help of God, and enquiring diligently of the elder and more prudent men of his diocese concerning S. Cuthbert, learnt from them how, whether living or dead, he had ever been served by monks. This answer determined him. He would restore the original order and reinstate the monks. But an enterprise of that kind was not to be lightly ventured on, nor

executed out of hand. It was an easy matter for his predecessor to grant the sites of the two ruined monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow to pious wanderers seeking a new home and sphere of labour ; it was quite another to forcibly dispossess a powerful chapter which, under a long line of bishops, had for nearly two centuries acquired prescriptive rights, and which in Durham itself had borne rule from the first foundation of the place.

To this end, therefore, and lest there should be any doubt as to the validity of his action, he sought the counsel of the king, of the queen Matilda, and of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Which done, the Conqueror, in order that no kind of authority might be wanting, despatched him at once to Rome, there to consult, and secure the approval of pope Gregory VII. To all his desire, viz., that, since the size of his diocese forbade the existence of three monasteries, the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow should thereafter be united in one single congregation before the body of the saint, the pope accorded a full consent. Nor was that all, for not only did he, 'with great devotion, confirm the scheme by apostolic authority, giving the bishop letters to the king and archbishop to that effect, but, in behalf of God and S. Peter, bestowed his benediction on them and all those who should aid, coupled with an eternal anathema against all others who should oppose, it.'

Highly gratified with this result, the king—queen Matilda, archbishop Lanfranc, and the rest of his barons being present as witnesses—granted his royal licence, commanding the bishop at the same time to carry it into effect forthwith. Thus, through the exercise of those two great dominant characteristics which Symeon throughout attributes to him, viz., promptitude and prudence, was William of S. Calais enabled at length to subvert what, both by himself and others at that time, must have been esteemed the scandalous state of things ecclesiastical at Durham, and to work his will.

Accordingly, in A.D. 1083, the tenth from the time of Aldwin's coming with his two companions into Northumbria, and the third of his episcopate, on 'vii kal. Junii, feria sexta' *i.e.* Friday, May 26th, 'a day much to be remembered,' the bishop introduced the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth into Durham. 'Then, on the third day afterwards, to wit, Whitsunday, he exhibited, both to them and to the

people there gathered together, the papal and royal missives, after which, commending the brethren to the protection of the most blessed mother of God and S. Outhbert, he committed the care of the church to them, and of them to the church. Immediately afterwards, during the solemnity of the mass, after the accustomed manner he blessed those making the monastic profession and promising to abide in it, and bound them inseparably to the sacred body of the most blessed father Outhbert. To those, however, who had dwelt there aforetime, having the names of canons only, but following no canonical rule, he directed that, if they would continue to abide in that church, they must, along with the monks, consent for the future to live a monastic life; but this they steadfastly refused to do, preferring to leave, rather than enter, the church on such terms—all save one, to wit, their dean, whose son, himself a monk, could hardly persuade him to remain.

‘Then, three days after the profession of the monks, all being gathered together in one place, the bishop, with the fear of God before his eyes, and great discretion, proceeded to distribute the offices of the monastery amongst those whom he perceived to be gravest and most fitting; and in becoming order, beginning from the head, that is, from the altar, he committed the care of the church and custody of the incorrupt body of S. Outhbert to a certain one, to wit, Leofwin, a prudent man, and one fearing God greatly, constituting him keeper. Then to Aldwin, whose strength of natural prudence, discretion in government, and honesty of life, he was well assured of, he delegated the care and management of the whole monastery, both within and without, ordaining that nothing whatever should be done save by his prudent counsel and advice. Lastly, he separated the lands of the monks from his own in such sort that they should hold theirs for their proper support in food and clothing, free and quit of all manner of service to the bishop; for the ancient custom of the church required that those who served God about the body of S. Outhbert should have their lands severed from the bishop’s lands; and thus king William, both before, and now after, the monks had come to Durham, gave for his own and his children’s weal Billingham, with its appurtenances, for the special support of those ministering in the church to God and to His holy confessor. Indeed, the bishop himself also had given

them a small portion of land ; nevertheless, in order that they might serve Christ without indigence or penury, he, together with the king, had provided, and was immediately about to give them more, sufficient for their food and clothing ; but, first, the king's death, and then the bishop's, prevented its being done.' Before, then, however, many things happened.

Aldwin, the first prior, and reintroducer of the Benedictine rule into the north, himself died towards the end of the fourth year of the establishment of the monastery at Durham, 'pridie Idus Aprilis,' *i.e.* April 12th, 1087, when he was succeeded by Turgot ; king William also dying the same year. Then, the year following, the bishop, 'owing to the machinations of others,' was driven into Normandy, where, 'not as an exile, but as a father, he lived for three years in great honour.' Meanwhile, the monks, the king having taken them into his protection, set about building their refectory—'*quale hodie cernitur.*' At length, after having made his peace with Rufus, the bishop, all whose possessions were restored to him, returned home. 'Nor,' adds Symeon, 'did he by any means return empty, but was careful in bestowing, as well, numerous gold and silver vessels for the altar, as also very many books for the church, *i.e.* the Saxon cathedral.

'Not long afterwards,' he continues, 'in 1093, he commanded that church to be destroyed, in the ninety-eighth year after its foundations had been laid by Ealdhun, and in the year following began to construct another on a befittingly nobler and grander scale—'*nobiliori satis et majori opere.* It was commenced, 'tertio Idus Augusti, feria v.,' *i.e.* Thursday, August 11th, 'A.D. 1093, in the 13th of his pontificate, and the 11th from the entry of the monks. For on that day, the bishop, and he who was next to him in the church, the prior Turgot, together with the rest of the brethren, laid the first stones in the foundation. For, a little while before, on the fourth of the kalends of August, 'feria sexta,' *i.e.* Friday, July 29th, 'the same bishop and prior, after prayer had been made, and the benediction given, began to dig the foundations.'

Then, the monks went on with the erection of their own buildings at their own expence ; the bishop taking that of the church entirely upon himself. And, as the fabric itself remains to witness, the work was pushed forward with all that vigour—'*strenuitas*'—which had

throughout been such a distinguishing characteristic of William of S. Calais. In this way it proceeded for the next three years under his guidance, till the Christmas day of 1096, when, having for some time been in failing health, he was suddenly seized at Windsor with mortal sickness, in the pangs of which he lingered for eight days. 'During which time many came to him, some to seek counsel in their need, for he was weighty in counsel, others that, grieved as he was with sickness, they might be consoled by the word of pious visitation—*ut vexatum infirmitate piæ visitationis verbo consolarentur*. Chief among whom was the venerable Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury who, greatly strengthened by his secret colloquy on the salvation of the soul, declared with joy the grace of consolation and blessing which he had received of him.' Then, on the Feast of the Circumcision—New Year's day—as eventide crept on, and he felt that his last hour was come, he asked for the viaticum, which, after making his confession of the Catholic faith, was with great devotion administered to him by Thomas, archbishop of York, Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and John, bishop of Bath, to whose care and protection he committed both himself and his sons, the monks of Durham, whom he had always greatly loved.

Lying thus, therefore, at the point of death, 'it seemed to the bishops, consulting on the matter, that the body of one who, with so much solicitude, had established a congregation of monks in perpetual and well pleasing service to God about the body of S. Cuthbert, should, not as a matter of fitness merely, but of right, be buried in his church. But this the bishop utterly refused. "God forbid," said he, "that the custom of the church of S. Cuthbert which from of old till now has been kept so religiously should be broken on my account." Whereupon they resolved that he should be buried in the chapter house, seeing that in the place wherein the brethren assembled daily, and with his sepulchre before their eyes, the memory of their dearest father would daily be renewed.' Meanwhile, being contracted with acuter pains, the ashen hues of death began to overspread his face, and so, at daybreak on the morning of Wednesday, January 2nd, *quarto nonas Januarii, feria quarta*, 1096, he departed this life.

Clothed in pontifical vestments, his body was accordingly carried by the monks attending him to Durham, where, on the xvii. of the



J. R. EDIS, photo.

FIGURES OF BISHOP WILLIAM OF S. CALAIS AND ROBERT BENJAMIN (the scribe).
From *Augustinus super Psalterium*, a manuscript in the Durham Chapter Library.
(See note on opposite page.)

kalends of February, *i.e.* January 16th, in the place appointed by the bishops, they buried it with befitting honour.¹⁴ 'How much their mourning at the loss of such a father, how great their grief, how copious their tears, I think it better,' says Symeon, 'to refrain from saying, lest to any it should seem to pass belief. For not one was there among them,' he concludes, 'who, if it had been possible, would not have purchased his life with the sacrifice of his own.'

¹⁴ In the mortuary roll of prior Wessington (1416-1446), preserved in the treasury of the dean and chapter of Durham, and which commences with that of bishop William of S. Calais, we read, according to the late librarian, Dr. Raine's account in his *Auckland Castle*, p. 8, as follows:—

'The ornaments of bishop William the first (1081-1096).—In the first place, at the exequies of the lord bishop William, the first of that name, who died on the 4th of January, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1096, the church (of Durham) obtained the vehicle (*litteram*) and the horses which brought the body of the said father from Windsor to Durham; and from his chapel the church obtained very many ornaments, to wit, five copes, of which three were white and two black; three chasubles, two white and one black, with a large stole and maniple embroidered at the ends only; a cloth for the altar; a small censer of silver; a small silver pitcher; two candlesticks of brass gilt, and a small candlestick of silver. When the report of his death arrived his seals were broken and offered to S. Cuthbert. The church also obtained, by the gift of the said bishop William the first, a bible in two volumes and many other books, as it is written in the beginning of the second part of the said bible, under this form:—Those are the names of the books which bishop William gave to S. Cuthbert.' And then follows a long list of the costly and splendid offerings, commencing with the 'Bibliotheca, id est Vetus et Novum Testamentum in duobus libris,' aforesaid.

'But,' as Dr. Raine says, 'of bishop Carileph we have another very interesting memorial. In one of the books given as above (Augustinus super Psalterium, pars secunda B. ii. 13), which is as perfect as in the day it was written, is contained, in the initial letter of one of its chapters, a portrait of the bishop himself, arrayed in his episcopal robes as they were worn in his day. The background is red. Over his alb is a chasuble of green. His stole (no maniple is visible) is red and white, the termination green, fringed with red. In his left hand he holds a long red pastoral staff, and his right is elevated in blessing. Upon his head, which is unmitred, there appears the tonsure, and the hair which remains is blue. Over his head are the words "Willelmus Episcopus." Above is a half-length figure of our Saviour, in a blue background, with green hair, in his peculiar *nimbus*, giving a blessing with his right hand, and holding a closed book in his left. Beneath the bishop is a kneeling figure, having the tonsure, clothed in a blue gown, and raising his hands in supplication, with the words "Robertus Benjamin" over his head. The whole letter measures seven and a half inches in height, three and a half of which are occupied by the figure of the bishop.'

It will be observed that prior Wessington has made a mistake in the date of bishop William's death, of which not only the day, but the hour, are given by Symeon:—'Instante hora gallicantus, quarto nonas Januarii, feria quarta, vitæ terminum habuit.' Now, the fourth of the nones of January is January the 2nd, *not* the 4th, and the day of the week, Wednesday.

'During the partial demolition of the chapter house, in 1795, upon opening the grave of bishop Carileph,' adds Dr. Raine, 'there were found the bones of a tall man, portions of sandals, and fragments of a robe richly embroidered in gold, ornamented with griffins *passant*, and other quaint devices.' These were presented to the library, and, as it appears, are still preserved there.

Such, on the testimony of Symeon, a contemporary monk of the house, and intimately acquainted through personal knowledge and experience of the truth, was that famous prelate, William of S. Calais, at once the great reformer and refounder, moral and material, of the cathedral church of Durham. Of his introduction of the Benedictine order there, Symeon gives us full particulars ; of the expelled seculars, hardly a single word. Not by any means, however, because there was nothing for him to say, but because, through feelings of pity or prudence, he afterwards—as an erasure of some twenty lines in the Durham MS. of his history, and which probably contained details of their lives, remains to show—suppressed what he had said. But, unlike some infinitely better men, for infinitely worse reasons in our own day, they were not turned out to starve. Scandalized as bishop, William may have been at their life and conversation, he was not the man to do a thing like that. Nor, even if willing, would he have been allowed to do so, since pope Gregory, as it seems, had taken the matter entirely into his own hands. Such, at any rate, as an inserted passage of very early, but uncertain, date at the end of the erasure tells us, was the current and universal belief of the day. Of great general, but far greater local, interest and importance—especially for the purpose of our present enquiry—it runs, ‘*ipsum quod dicitur quod prebende de Auckland, Darlington, Norton, Elkington [Heighington], factae fuerunt tantum pro illis canonicis, ex provisione domini papae, ut haberent unde viverent suo perpetuo.*’

Expelled from the centre, they were yet, as we thus learn, through the papal clemency, allowed ‘to live and move and have their being’ within the circumference, of the palatinate ; and those amply endowed parishes were accordingly selected for their maintenance and ministrations. Thenceforth, at least for a season, and till the members of the late ‘congregation’ died out, the churches of those parishes became collegiate, being served no longer by single, but, as the late professor Freeman styled them, ‘multiplied’ rectors. How long that state of things precisely lasted, there is, apparently, nothing to show ; but it would seem probable—since, with the single exception of Heighington, those churches continued to remain collegiate till the general suppression under Edward VI.—that, as their places gradually became vacant, they were filled up by other outside seculars in the ordinary way.

Foremost among them, it will be noted, comes the bishop's own parish church of Auckland. *Here at length then*—though not a stone of the existing fabric takes us further back than the middle of the thirteenth century—we come upon the link which connects it so indissolubly with those famous events in our diocesan history, the expulsion of the seculars from the ancient Saxon cathedral of Ealdhun; and its destruction, and rebuilding as that of the great Benedictine monastery of Durham by William of S. Calais. And not with those events and prelates only but through them, with those far different and remoter days of S. Cuthbert and S. Aidan, when the lamp of life, carried forth by S. Columba to Iona and thence to Lindisfarne, began to throw its first faint, flickering gleam upon the dense, illimitable darkness of the heathen night.

VI.—OF SOME THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BISHOPS.

Above a century had passed since those terrible days in which, ere

— the rude Danes burned their pile,
The monks fled forth from Holy Isle,

till that happier point in S. Cuthbert's story was reached, when—

After many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear;

and well nigh two more had to elapse from the time of their descendants' expulsion thence, till the occurrence of that event to which both the two preceding directly, and in due course, led up—the erection of the present church of S. Andrew Auckland.¹⁵

Of the earlier one, the church which was contemporary with William of S. Calais, Walcher, and Ealdhun, we know nothing save what the few fragments already referred to have to tell us, and that is little more than the bare fact of its existence; but that it was a relatively mean and insignificant structure may be inferred from the fact

¹⁵ The last flight of the monks from Lindisfarne took place in A.D. 875; the completion of Ealdhun's cathedral, in A.D. 999; the expulsion of the 'congregation' therefrom by William of S. Calais in 1083; the foundation of the existing cathedral by the same prelate in 1093; and the re-edification of the church of S. Andrew Auckland, to which divers members of the 'congregation' were relegated, at some undated period of the thirteenth century. What that period was, will be seen further on.

of its entire destruction when the building of the present church was determined on ; for such a method of procedure—as examples without number, all the country over, serve to show—was of the rarest occurrence. No matter how superior the later buildings might be, some portions or other of the original ones will almost always be found to have been incorporated in them, and that very frequently to an extent never so much as suspected till of late, and since the detestable practice of stripping off the plaster has brought the long concealed evidence to light.¹⁶ But in this case, just as in those of the Saxon cathedral church of Ealdhun, of Darlington church, and of that at Hartlepool, there were special, and very sufficient reasons why the ordinary practice should not be followed. It was about to be rebuilt for a purpose wholly different from that for which the original was intended. No longer a mere humble parish church, adapted for a season, ‘*tant bien que mal,*’ to collegiate, or quasi-collegiate uses, it was designed from the first for the service of a regular body of canons under the rule and governance of a dean.¹⁷

¹⁶ Darlington, Hartlepool, Gainford, the little church of Cockfield, and possibly that of Ryton, are, as far as I can call to mind, about the only other examples of churches thus entirely rebuilt in the county of Durham, and they afford, probably, a far larger proportion than can be found elsewhere. That such should be the case may be explained by the fact of the Durham churches having been, as a rule, even to the last, of an exceptionally mean and rude character; so that when great men like Pudsey, De Brus, or others of equal rank were minded to re-edify, there were no parts of the old, worthy of being incorporated into the new, buildings.

The amount of Saxon walling remaining in unsuspected places is shown very remarkably at Staindrop, where, besides portions around the chancel arch, two long strips about three feet in height above the crown of the inserted twelfth century arcades have been left on both sides, which it would have been far easier and less troublesome to take down. Much the same thing may be seen on the north side of Billingham church, where very extensive remains of Saxon walling have been left. So, too, at Hart, and again at Norton, where a large amount of remarkably bold Saxon walling was, till quite recently, to be seen in the choir, but which has, now, I understand, been most wantonly and brutally destroyed. Perhaps as remarkable an instance as any, in a church which could not otherwise be supposed to retain one stone upon another of earlier work, is to be seen in the familiar instance of the embedded cap and pier of the twelfth century, preserved in the heart of the north-west, fourteenth-century, one at St. Nicholas's, Newcastle, a fragment, so far as can be known, unaccompanied by any other.

¹⁷ As against Darlington and Auckland, entirely rebuilt, Staindrop, Lancaster, Chester-le-Street and Norton may all be instanced as local examples of simple parish churches adapted to collegiate uses without undergoing such process. And this was usually the case where the buildings were deemed worthy of that honour. But very often, whether from inherent deficiency or love of ‘making all things new,’ they were rebuilt upon a different, and specially designed, plan. Among such may be instanced those of Glasney or Penryn built by Walter Bronescomb, bishop of Exeter, about 1270; Arundel, Sussex,

To this end, therefore, a complete sweep was made of the existing building: not necessarily, or probably, all at once, but gradually, as the new work went on, though not a vestige of it was ultimately allowed to stand; for the new structure, as is perfectly clear, was designed on a very much larger scale than the old (it is said to be the largest parish church in the county) and as far beyond it, doubtless, in architectural character as in point of size. Indeed, the new chancel could, probably, to a large extent, have been built outside the original one while yet standing, and without interfering with its continuous use at all.

Now, for a work of this kind, it is clear that very considerable funds would be required, far beyond what the parochial income would supply; all the more so, when it was no longer, as at first, applied to the maintenance of a single priest, but to that of an entire collegiate

built by Richard, earl of Arundel, in 1386; Fotheringay, Northants., by Edward, duke of York, and his son, king Henry IV., in 1411; Tattershall, Lincolnshire, by sir Richard Cromwell, 17 Henry VI.; Ingham, Norfolk, built for the use of the order of the Holy Trinity by sir Miles Stapleton of Bedale, in 1360; Tong, Shropshire, by dame Isabel, widow of sir Fulke Pembridge, knt., in 1410; Ruthin, Denbighshire, by John, son of Reginald de Grey, in 1310; Rushford, Norfolk, by sir Edmund de Gonville, priest (founder of Gonville college, Cambs.), in 1340-50, in connexion with his new college of S. John the Evangelist; Norhill, Bedfordshire, built by the executors of sir John Tragely, knt., and Reginald, his son, *temp.* Henry IV.; Llanddewi-Brefi, Cardiganshire, by Thomas Beck, bishop of S. David's, in 1287; Astley, Warwickshire, by sir Thomas de Astley, in 1343; Titchfield, Hants., by Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, in 1231; and Shottesbrooke, Berks., built by sir William Russell, in 1337, a small, but singularly beautiful aisleless cruciform church, with limbs of nearly equal length, and surmounted at the intersection by an exceedingly fine tower and spire. This is a perfect model of such a building; with spacious chancel for the canons; nave, sufficient for the few parishioners; and transepts, devoted to their proper function of mortuary chapels for the use of the founder and his descendants. It has been admirably illustrated, in small folio form, by Mr. Butterfield.

To the foregoing may be added several very fine and interesting Scottish examples, such as those of Restalrig, Carnwath, Biggar, Crichton, S. Monans, Easter Foulis, Dunglass, Seton, Bothwell, Holy Trinity Edinburgh, Roslyn, Crail, and Dalkeith. A very remarkable peculiarity of most of these Scottish churches is that, notwithstanding they were all of royal and illustrious foundation, hardly one of them was ever finished. Intended to be cruciform, like that of Shottesbrooke, they were almost all left off at the crossing incomplete. Most are aisleless, while that of Easter Foulis, an exceptionally curious structure, consists only of a long parallelogram, without any external division between nave and choir. In conclusion, two or three curious instances may be noticed in which, though the churches were rebuilt for collegiate use, the canons, owing to divers causes, were never introduced. Such were those at North Cadbury, Somersetshire, built by dame Elizabeth Bottreux about 1417, '*per ipsam de novo aedificata et constructa*;' Ashford, Kent, re-edified by sir John Fogg, *temp.* Edward IV., where, owing to his attainder, on that king's death, the foundation lapsed; and Knoll, Warwickshire, where Walter Cook, canon of Lincoln, built a fair chapel for a rector and ten priests, a scheme which fell through, as in *temp.* Henry VIII., there were only two chantry priests there, with a slender endowment.

body. But one such source was to be found, viz.: the bishop and patron for the time being, whose parish church it was. For just as at Durham, it was bishop William of S. Calais who, after the introduction of the monks into Ealdhun's church of canons—contemning its humble character—proceeded to pull it down entirely, and then commenced the present mighty structure in its place; and just as at Darlington, also, it was bishop Hugh Pudsey who, for the use of those canons or their successors—sweeping away every fragment of the ancient church which he found there—commenced, '*e fundamentis*,' the noble collegiate church seen there to-day; so here, at Auckland, too, when the time came for the same process to be repeated, it is unquestionably to the same quarter that we must look, I think, both for the same will, and power to carry it into effect.

But here, at the very outset, we are met with the capital difficulty, which will attend our enquiry throughout, as to which of the bishops we must look? For here—very differently from those cases, where not only the names of the authors of the works, but the very years in which they were commenced have been recorded—we have no mention at all either of one or of the other, nor any direct clue, save that supplied by the internal evidence of style. Nor is even this, by any means, so clear and decisive as could be wished, for excellent as the details are in their way, they are yet, for the most part, such as might very well range over a wide period, and one including the reigns of many bishops. Practically, then, where nothing seems certain either way, we must endeavour so to balance the two uncertainties as to arrive at a conclusion which, if not absolutely, may at least be practically, certain. The task, as will be seen, is not an easy one; nor such conclusion by any means to be arrived at, *per saltum*, or in a moment.

As the whole structure of the church in its original state was of simple, but perfectly developed thirteenth-century style, though with little or nothing to limit it to any definite period of that century, it becomes necessary to take account of the contemporary bishops, and, keeping the witness of the building well in view, endeavour to discover which of them was most likely, on historical grounds, to have been the builder.

Turn we then, at once, to this *external* side of the subject.

On the death of Pudsey in 119 $\frac{5}{8}$, the see remained vacant for two

years, when it was filled by the election of Philip de Pictavia, or of Poitou, a counsellor and favourite of king Richard I., who held it till 1208. Proceeding to Rome, he was there confirmed and consecrated by pope Celestine, on the twelfth of the kalends of May (April 20th), 1197. A bosom friend both of Richard I. and John, this foreign satellite, during the whole of his episcopate was at deadly feud with the prior and convent of Durham, whom he not only closely besieged, but surrounding the church with soldiery, endeavoured, by fire as well as famine, to reduce to submission.¹⁸ Nor was he happier in his foreign, than in his domestic, relations; with those above, any more than with those below, him in the hierarchy. A zealous supporter of John in his struggles with the Roman see, he would seem to have fallen under a double stroke of condemnation, viz., that of excommunication pronounced by Geoffrey, archbishop of York, against all such clergy as complied with the king's levy of thirteenths,¹⁹ and that of interdict fulminated by pope Innocent III. against the whole kingdom. Dying under these sentences, he was buried by laymen in an unconsecrated place outside the cathedral precincts.²⁰ Addicted to secular affairs, absorbed in court politics and intrigues, at open and constant war with the ecclesiastical authorities of his day, bishop Philip was little likely to concern, still less to occupy, himself in church building.

¹⁸ 'Torquebatur itaque animo Episcopus, [et] hoc in suam deducens ignominiam, tantam irae concepit vesaniam, quod ecclesiam videretur convertisse in carcerem, dum custodiam arm[at]orum circumponeret, ignem et fumum hostiis et fenestris adhiberi praeciperet, cybum inclusis inferri, ut vel fame cederent, prohiberet. . . .'—*Gaufridus de Coldingham*, cap. xiii. 'Posticum, itaque, qui ad molendinum ducebat, ne quid ad sustentationem inferretur, lapidibus obstruxit; piscariam novam confregit; furnos in Elvete subvertit; stangnum sancti Godrici apud Finchale dissolvit; portam aquilonalem, ne ingredientibus vel egredientibus libere pateret, obserari mandavit; aquam, quam a longe in plantiæm castelli fratres conduxerant, in castellum transverti fecit. In averia quoque monachorum inmani crudelitate grassabatur, reputans quae fecisset bestiis intulisset et monachis.'—*Gal. de Coldingham*, c. xvi.

¹⁹ 'Interea regio per regnum Angliae promulgatum est edicto, tam a monasteriis quam ecclesiis tertiam decimam exigi, et quosque reluctantes ad solvendum laica violentia compelli. Venerabilis vero Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Gaufridus, ecclesiasticae libertatis statum nutare conspiciens, et manum sublevationis apponere cupiens, solvi a suis prohibuit, et solventes anathematis interdicto supposit. Cumque clerici, regio praevalente metu, solutioni instarent, et voluntati res non cederet, Gallias secessit, et pro domo Domini spontaneum exilium subiit.'—*Gal. de Coldingham*, c. xvii.

²⁰ 'Inter haec mala mortuus est Philippus Dunhelmensis episcopus, decimo kalendas Maii, anno pontificatus sui undecimo; et extra septa ecclesiae in loco non consecrato a laicis sepultus est.'—*Ibid.* c. xix. This was during the first year of the interdict, which, as a contemporary marginal note informs us,

Then followed a long vacancy caused by the several, but abortive elections of Richard, dean of Salisbury, John, bishop of Norwich, and Morgan, provost of Beverley,²¹ when, according to Graystones, about the feast of S. Nicholas (December 6th), 1214, Gualo of Vercelli, the papal legate, 'after the lapse of five years ten months and twenty days from the death of bishop Philip, conferred the bishopric on Richard de Marisco, or Marsh, the king's chancellor, who was consecrated to it by Walter Gray, archbishop of York, about the feast day of S. John Baptist (June 24th), of the year following.' Bishop Richard, however, like his predecessor, was at constant strife with the prior and convent of his cathedral church, whose rights and liberties he is said to have constantly invaded, and who accused him to the pope of simony, sacrilege, and bloodshed. During this state of things, and while the contest was still at its height, it was brought in the eighth year of his episcopate to a sudden end by his death at the abbey of Peterborough, whence his body was brought to Durham, and interred in the chapter-house. Clearly, therefore, the work of rebuilding the church of Auckland on a vastly greater and costlier scale than before, would seem no more probable on the part of bishop Richard of the Marsh, than on that of Philip of Poitou.

began on the vigil of the Annunciation—'Anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCCVII, interdicta est tota terra Angliæ, vigilia Annunciacionis Beatae Mariæ.' 'A relaxatione ejusdem anno Domini MCCXIII, VIII. idus Julii.'—*Gal. de Coldingham, c. xviii.*

Coldingham thus describes the effect of it:—'Nudata stabant altaria et lugubrem desolationem præferebant; non assuetorum devota cantuum resonabat modulatio, nec consolatoria campanarum audito est dulcedo. Nulla sanctorum solemnitatium frequentia: silebant omnia quæ a patribus ad laudem Dei fuerunt instituta: non morientibus singulare salutaris viatici subveniebat remedium: non denique mortuis Christianæ sepulturæ impensum est beneficium.'—*Gal. de Coldingham, c. xviii.*

Thus, since the year was reckoned from the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25th, nearly a month must have elapsed before bishop Philip's death, which took place April 22nd next following.

²¹ In connexion with the election of this last, Graystones affords us the following remarkable illustration of papal morality. He was brother of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and after his election proceeded to Rome in order to receive consecration:—'Sed, Rege Angliæ hoc procurante, cassatus rediit, quia spurius fuit; de uxore vero cujusdam militis, dicti Radulphi Bloeth, Henricus pater ejus genuerat eum. Dominus tamen Papa, electo compatiens, obtulit ei, quod si filium militis se diceret et non Regis, cum eo dispensaret, et electionem confirmaret. Super quo, consulto quodam clerico suo, magistro Willielmo de Lanum, respondit expresse, quod propter nullam dignitatem sequendam regium sanguinem subiceret: et sic cassatus recessit.' Truly a pretty spectacle! A pope tempting a man to commit perjury with the bait of a bishopric; and the tempted refusing, not through any objection to such an act, but because, 'glorying in his shame,' he preferred his bastardy.—*Robertus de Graystones, Hist. c. i.*

Then again, with weary iteration came another halt in the appointment of a successor. For two years and four months, less two days, as Graystones tells us, the see remained vacant, when William de Stichill, archdeacon of Worcester, was chosen by the unanimous vote of the prior and monks. But the pope quashed the election. They thereupon nominated Richard Poor, bishop of Salisbury, and to this choice the pope, after some difficulty, yielding a final assent, he was invested with the temporalities by king Henry III. on S. Magdalen's day (July 22nd), 1226, and enthroned on the day of S. Cuthbert (September 4th), next following.

In this famous prelate we come at length upon a man of a wholly different type. Pious and placable, no stirrer up of strife, or destroyer of the church's peace, we see in him, on the contrary, a strenuous and wise master-builder of God's house, not only spiritual but material. Consecrated to the see of Chichester in 1215, he was advanced two years later, in 1217, to that of Sarum. But the site of Old Sarum, however well adapted for the purposes of a fortress, was altogether unsuited to those of an episcopal residence, and of a cathedral church. The whole of the narrow area within the line of entrenchments, one quarter of which was occupied by those buildings and their dependencies, was under the jurisdiction of a lay castellan, the insolent interference of whose rude soldiery with the canons in the discharge of their various duties had become provocative of long and bitter strife.

To obviate, at once and for ever, so scandalous a state of things, the bishop, abandoning the place altogether, determined on the erection of a new cathedral church and city upon land of his own in the meadow of Merryfield, where the three streams of the Upper Avon, the Bourne, and the Wily unite. There, accordingly, the first stone of the existing cathedral church of Salisbury, among the noblest and most beautiful in England, was laid by him, on the festival of S. Vincent (April 28th), 1220, and the work zealously carried on till his translation to Durham in 1226.

And precisely similar opportunities for exercising those self-same talents of peace-maker and builder were afforded him in his fresh, as in his former, sphere. The feuds, so long drawn out between his predecessors and the prior and convent, were, with equal promptness

and permanency, terminated by him. By means of a solemn pact or instrument, known as the 'convenit,' he found as effectual a way of closing those unseemly strifes, as by the removal of his cathedral site from Old Sarum to Salisbury, the scandals which had so grievously afflicted his church and clergy there.

And thus, in this case as in that, the moral and spiritual difficulties being overcome, he would be free to devote himself to the furtherance of those other works of material edification which here, as well as there, required his help. For it was during his somewhat brief episcopate that the costly task of bringing the fabric of the cathedral church of Durham to completion, was undertaken. The foundations of the new chapel of the Nine Altars—the crowning glory of thirteenth-century architecture in the north, as is Salisbury cathedral in the south—were then being laid, and though the aid afforded by the bishop is nowhere definitely recorded, we can hardly doubt that the same spirit of devotion which both dictated the inception, and with such singular zeal carried forward the construction of the one cathedral, would be exhibited in the achievement of the other. Indeed, we have clear proof that such was actually the case.

For, from an indulgence issued by Hugh, bishop of Ely, and dated 1235, we learn that the work, which was designed to remedy the ruin threatening the eastern part of the church through the failure of the apse vault, not only received his active support, but to such an extent as to be styled his own. After reciting the glories of S. Cuthbert, and the imminent danger to which his shrine and body—'*thesaurus super aurum et topazion preciosus*'—were exposed, he proceeds:—'*Cum autem Venerabilis Frater Dominus R. Dunelmensis Episcopus tam manifesto desiderans obviare periculo auxiliante Domino apud orientalem supradictæ Ecclesiæ partem novum opus extruere in quo ipsius sancti Confessoris corpus valeat tutius pariter et honestius collocari,*' etc., where we see the entire undertaking referred to the bishop personally, as the prime mover and author of it.

Nor was his love of church building by any means limited to the inception or completion of his two cathedrals. Humbler structures shared, equally with them, his bounteous and loving care. At Tarrant, in Dorsetshire, his native village, we find him building and

endowing a convent of Cistercian nuns, wherein, and not in either of his cathedral churches, he was, according to his own instructions, interred.²²

How natural then, on the showing of such external evidence, to regard him, whether singly or conjointly, as the probable rebuilder of the parish church of his new home. And the witness is not external only. The internal evidence of style, generally, is quite sufficient to warrant the ascription of the chancel, at any rate, to Poor's period, with the architectural character of which it entirely accords. Yet it only needs further examination to show that such ascription would, to an almost absolute certainty, be wrong. For notwithstanding the fact that its chief details are in perfect harmony with the style then prevalent, they are none the less so with those earlier and later phases of it which obtained in the days of Richard de Marisco, 1217-26, of Nicholas de Farnham, 1241-49, Walter de Kirkham, 1249-60, and Robert de Stichill, 1260-74. In other words, there is next to nothing in the chancel, taken strictly by itself, to enable even the acutest and most hypercritical expert to fix its date precisely within any given portion of that very considerable period. The uniformity and simplicity of the work, rich as in a sense it is, would seem to make it just as likely, indeed, apart from the rest of the building, to belong to one decade as to another. As the solution of the chronological difficulty then is not to be found altogether in this part *per se*, we must seek for it beyond, and outside, such limits, and in connexion with those other works which, in due course, followed on more or less consecutively. And here, I think, we may at length succeed in finding it, if not indeed in quite so conclusive a way as could be wished, yet in one which, practically, leaves no room for doubt, since, as nearly as may be, it touches absolute demonstration. We shall find at once how, viewed in this way, the evidence points distinctly to a late, rather than to an early, or middle, period of the 'first pointed style,' as that to which the building of the chancel, unquestionably the *earliest* part of the church, should be referred. Nay, rather, I should say, to the very latest, just pre-

²² It is stated in Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England, Northern Division*, part II. p. 347, that, dying at Tarrant, his heart was buried there, while his body was brought to Durham. What the authority for such assertion may be I know not, but Graystones's witness is in flat contradiction to it. It runs:—'Et obiit . . . apud Tarentum: et ibidem in Abbathia Monialium, sicut vivens praeceperat, est humatus.'—*Rob. de Graystones*, c. iii.

vious, indeed, to the general introduction of the 'second pointed,' or 'Geometrical.' And thus we find ourselves once more cast back to that history of the church of Durham, which has throughout, and so closely, attended our enquiry into the origin of the building.

That bishop Poor found sufficient scope for his architectural proclivities in the erection of his two cathedrals, and the monastic foundation at Tarrant, would, I think, so far as its witness goes, seem certain ; and we must, therefore, still cast about beyond the date of his death, in 1237, for the author of its reconstruction. And we shall find that the oft-repeated story repeats itself again. No sooner was Poor's place vacant than the usual disputes between convent, king, and pope commenced afresh, and with, perhaps, more than common intensity. The bishop's obsequies duly celebrated, certain brethren were at once despatched to the king, at Windsor, to request licence for the election of his successor. Meanwhile, however, the king sends the archbishop of York and the earl of Lincoln to Durham with letters desiring the prior and convent, for love of himself and welfare of the kingdom, to make choice of the procurator of Valence. To compliance with this request they deliberately demurred, as being, for obvious reasons, quite contrary to the three ways only in which such election could properly be effected, viz. : those of scrutiny, compromise, and inspiration. But, added the prior, when the day of election should arrive, they, having the fear of God before their eyes, would make choice of one who should be serviceable both to God and the church, faithful to king and country, and who should, moreover, be acceptable to men for his careful administration of affairs, as well ecclesiastical as episcopal. And with this answer the messengers returned. Then, the day of election being come, and all concerned assembled, Thomas de Melsanbi, the prior, was chosen, by way of compromise, to the vacant see, a dignity which, overcome only by the prayers and tears of the brethren, he was at length, and with difficulty, persuaded to accept. But the king would have none of him, and backed his refusal by a string of charges, as many as they were monstrous. The incident affords, perhaps, as characteristic an example of the 'freedom and purity of election,' as understood and practised in those days, as could be wished. 'In the first place, he was alleged to be illegitimate, the bastard son of a former rector of Melsonby and a servant maid.'

‘Then, he was a declared enemy of the king and kingdom, having, while prior of Coldingham, done homage to the king of Scots, ever a capital enemy of the king and kingdom, being his special counsellor, by whose advice many evils were wrought upon the English people. Further, that having strong castles on the border, since the Scottish kings and people were always in opposition to those of England, it would be most dangerous to prefer him to such a post, the more especially, as having maritime possessions, he might aid the invasion of the French, Flemish, and other enemies of the king and kingdom. Besides, he should be refused as a homicide, inasmuch as with his permission a certain mountebank having ascended a rope stretched from tower to tower, fell and was killed, when he, so far from allowing such performances, should have strictly forbidden them.’

‘Then again, he had impugned the episcopal liberties of the church of Durham, since all the strife between Richard de Marisco and the convent had been stirred up by him : and, further, he had usurped its rights of jurisdiction in the churches of Allertonsshire, which the bishop had possessed up to the time of bishop Richard, of late deceased. Wherefore, having so robbed the church in these and other matters, it was unfit that it should be committed to his charge. Moreover, he was diseased, being afflicted with the gravel ; so, that even if he had already received the preferment, he ought rather to seek to divest himself of, than be confirmed in, it. In addition to all which, he was a manifest transgressor, since, in the first place, he personally eat flesh of swine, since the new prohibition and before, and because he also gave leave to his monks to eat it. Moreover, he was guilty simony, seeing that he had admitted Richard of Sherburn as a monk, for money, as well as a certain William, for lands bestowed upon the house. He was also a simoniac, for the further reason that, when strife was begun between bishop de Marisco and the prior and convent, it had been so settled in the time of bishop Richard II., that he had conceded to them the advowsons of all his Yorkshire churches, with many other liberties, on the understanding that they should not bestow any on anyone without his consent had been first obtained.’

‘Then, that he had conferred the church of Brentingham on master Odo of Kilkenny, in order that he should aid him in the cause of his election.’

‘Further, that he had promised, and bestowed vast sums of money on divers great men, to the end, that they should so manage matters with the king as to procure the royal assent to his election. Also that he had broken the canon ‘*latae sententiae*,’ because by his order, master Lawrence of Tunbridge was flogged.’

‘And lastly, he was not sufficiently learned, whereas it was essential that one promoted to the episcopate should be skilled in the rules of the holy Fathers, and learned in the sacred scriptures.’

A further reason for the king’s opposition, which Graystones also mentions, was this, viz. : that when he objected to the election, or to admit the elect, while the monks were pressing for his consent, one of them regarding the elect as safe, and the election rightly made, broke out—‘*domine, non egemus gratia magna*,’ received the curt reply—‘*Ex quo gratia non indigetis, sine gratia recedetis*.’ So the king, he adds, instead of relaxing, became only the more obstinate. Thus the strife was continued before the archbishop, who, doing nothing effectual to help them, let it drag on indefinitely for fear of the king.

Then at length, the unhappy prior and convent wearied with repeated delays—the king meanwhile applying the revenues of the see to his own use—make the inevitable appeal to Rome, begging the pope to order the archbishop to conclude the case within three months, failing which, they pray that it should be decided by the venerable father, the lord O. cardinal deacon of S. Nicolo in Carcere Tulliano. In furtherance whereof the sub-prior, Robert de Efden, Lawrence de Upsedlington, and Alan the chamberlain are despatched to the papal court, where Robert of Hexham awaited them. Master Robert de la Hay is also sent along with them, but all die upon the way, a sad prelude of misfortune, for when prior Thomas himself, the bishop-elect, with the king’s permission presented himself at the court at Dover, he was forbidden to proceed farther. Then, despairing of success, and anxious for the widowed church at home, he turned back again to Durham, and freely and fully renounced his position.²³ But

²³ It was under the rule of prior Thomas de Melsonby, with the assistance of bishop Richard Poore, that the glorious work of the Nine Altars was begun in A.D. 1242. Two years later he resigned, and retiring to Farne, there, in company of one Bartholomew, a devout man of God, passed the residue of his days in religious exercises and profuse alms-giving. ‘*Qui cum in extremis ageret*,’ says Graystones, ‘*in excessu positus, vidit candidorum choros in superiore parte domus ambulantes, portantes quasi libellos in manibus, ad suscipiendum eum cum júbilo prae paratos; mirique odoris fragrantiam se traxisse naribus testatus*

not so the king, who, hearing what had happened, forthwith sent certain to Durham to appeal against the election of such as were likely to be chosen, as the dean of Lincoln, the vicar of Auckland, master Simon of London, and divers other religious. After such an experience, the wretched ecclesiastics, not to prolong the hopeless contest further, chose, or rather nominated, Nicholas de Farnham the queen's physician, when—since he was probably all along the man of his choice—the king it is said, kept quiet—'Quievit Rex.'

But another incident, the only satisfactory one in the whole transaction, remains to mention, viz.: the pope's order that the whole of the expences incurred by the convent, should come out of the pocket of the successful favourite.

Such is the chapter of local ecclesiastical history unfolded to us in connexion with the origin of this church, in which, moreover, as will be noted, one of its old, though unnamed, vicars is found to occupy neither an undignified, nor uninteresting, part.

Meanwhile, the church of Durham lay waste and desolate for the space of nearly four years, Nicholas de Farnham, who was not elected till January 2nd, being consecrated at Gloucester on Trinity Sunday, June 9th, and enthroned at Durham on the feast of the translation of S. Cuthbert, 1241. But his reign was neither a long nor a prosperous

est. Cumque corpus defuncti, Dunelmum differendum, in vehiculo poneretur, equus, qui ante claudicabat, obsequio ejus submissus, a claudicatione cessabat. Cum etiam in ecclesia sanctae Mariae de Gatesheved corpus ejus pernoctaret, versus Dunelmum, quidam bonae vitae diaconus columbam niveam toto noctis tempore circa loculum volitare vidit, et alarum plausibus sacris obsequiis coeleste obsequium praestitisse. Cum etiam sepulturae esset tradendus, duorum episcoporum, Edmundi et Etheldredi, corpora in loco sepulturae ejus reperta; quorum sepultura ante illud ignorabatur: quod aliqui, ad commendationem interpretantes, quod quamvis ab episcopatu malitiose repulsus erat, episcopali tamen honore eum dignum indicat, quod inter episcopos meruit sepeliri.—*R. de Graystones*, c. v.

A popular error has long attributed the vaulting of the nave of Durham cathedral to this prior. It may not improbably, perhaps, have arisen from a statement of Leland in his *Collectanea*, which runs thus:—'Nic. Fernham, episcopus, fecit testudinem templi 1242.' Melsonby was doubtless prior at that time, and Farnham bishop; but that either of them should have erected the vaulting is not only against all analogy, but too utterly preposterous to deserve notice. Invaluable as a witness of what he saw, Leland is never to be trusted as to what he 'hard,' beyond the mere fact that he *did* hear it. That Farnham may have covered the nave roof with lead, instead of temporary shingles, is possible enough, and hence, perhaps, the confusion. But his name has, latterly at any rate, been allowed to drop, and the vaulting, as by Mr. Billings in his *Architectural Illustrations and Description of Durham Cathedral*, been boldly attributed to prior Melsonby, though, as will not fail to be observed, Leland makes no mention either of the vaulting, or yet of Melsonby.

one, for in the course of eight years, 'worn out by long support of the pontifical dignity, and broken down with age and weakness, he, at length yielding to the burden, resigned his see, February 8th, 1249, receiving for his support the entire manors of Howden, Stockton, and Easington, with all their members, liberties, and appurtenances.' Indeed, so far as can be judged, he might seem to have received the appointment, not for any special fitness for it, but chiefly, perhaps *solely*, as a rich and dignified provision for old age. Dying at Stockton in 1258, he was buried at Durham, when the church, as usual, received his chapel. To him, however, personally, though the general architectural character of the work is quite consistent with that prevailing during his episcopate, there seems, I think, no reason whatever for assigning the erection of the chancel. Our quest therefore, though necessarily not far off, lies still before us.

This time there was no interregnum, since the vacancy caused by the cession of Nicholas de Farnham was promptly filled up by the unanimous election of Walter de Kirkham, dean of York, to the see, who, receiving the royal assent, September 27th, was consecrated by archbishop Walter Gray, in York minster, on Sunday, December 5th, 1249. Though somewhat longer than that of his predecessor, his rule, albeit distinguished by the very highest personal characteristics, was yet but a short one, lasting only till August 9th, 1260, when he died at Howden. Nor was there anything during its continuance to connect him, any more than Nicholas de Farnham, with the rebuilding of the church of S. Andrew, the evidences of which point, far more directly, I think, to the days of his successor, bishop Robert de Stichill, than to his.

As related by Graystones, his story is a singularly curious and striking one. From an early period, practically all his life, he would seem to have been intimately connected with the church and monastery of Durham, of which, when apparently quite a young man, he became a monk. At first he is said to have been greatly addicted to light and frivolous conduct, as a punishment for which, as well as for divers acts of rebellion, he was enjoined on a particular Sunday to sit alone during divine service upon a stool set in the midst of the choir, in order that, being overcome of shame, he might for the future behave himself becomingly. But this result was not realized,

for, passion playing the part of penitence, he seized the stool by one of its legs and, casting with all his strength, sent it flying among the congregation in the nave.

Afterwards, scandalized no less himself, perhaps, than his brethren and all others, at this miserable exhibition, he is said to have contemplated apostacy. Not that by this term, probably, we should understand a profession of open atheism, but only a breaking away from the bonds of monastic discipline. Nor, the resolve once made, was he long in putting it into execution, for endeavouring to make his escape at night time by way of the cross on the north side of the choir, he was warned by a heavenly voice to return, a promise being given him at the same time that if he would do so and abide, he should receive the bishopric. Whereupon, instantly forsaking his follies, he settled down to a sober life, and becoming what nowadays would, probably, be called 'converted,' devoted himself thenceforward to the diligent study of holy writ. 'In knowledge of which, and in the practice of all claustral duties, he speedily made such progress as seemed to his associates nothing short of miraculous. Whence it happened that one of them, Henry de Horncastre, afterwards prior of Coldingham, a man well skilled both in temporal and spiritual affairs—Robert himself being ignorant of the fact that he was the bastard son of a priest—procured privily a dispensation qualifying him for election to the episcopal dignity.' Which, strangely enough, in due time came to pass, for having in the meantime become prior of Finchale, he was, on the death of Kirkham, forthwith elected to the throne of Durham, September 30th (the month following), and having received the royal assent, October 25th, and the temporalities, December 23rd, was duly consecrated at Southwell, by Godfrey, archbishop of York, on February 13th, 1260.

The church of Howden was made collegiate by this bishop with consent of the convent; and he was also founder of the hospital of Greatham, which place he had bought of a certain Bertram. Dying, after a reign of fourteen years, on his return from the council of Lyons, August 12th, 1274, at the castle of Arbreules, his body was interred in a neighbouring Benedictine monastery, but his heart was brought to Durham, where it was buried in the chapter-house.

And now, in the person of Robert de Stichill, we arrive at the very

last of the bishops to whom, as its own internal evidence distinctly shows, it is possible to refer the rebuilding of that old and inadequate fabric which, for nearly two centuries, had done duty as a collegiate church.

As a local man, and one with such a record,²⁴ the re-edification of the parish church of the chief manor of that bishopric to which he had been called in so wonderful a way, might seem, on historical grounds alone, not only a natural and becoming, but very probable, act. But we are not left to draw our conclusions, indirectly and conjecturally, either from history or likelihood. We shall see very clearly, I make bold to say, as we proceed, that, just as on rigidly architectural grounds, we cannot go later than Stichill's days for the *beginning* of the work, so neither can we go earlier for its *ending*. In other words that, taking the building as a whole, his is the only episcopate in which such work could have been both commenced and completed, and that—so far as can be known, whether singly, or otherwise—he, and none other, was both the author and finisher of it.

VII.—OF THE RE-EDIFIED CHANCEL.

That the general work of re-edification was, as usual, commenced with the chancel, is so self-evident as to admit of no dispute whatever. Taken by itself, however, there is nothing, let me repeat, generally speaking, in its architecture to show towards which end of the forty years intervening between 1220 and 1260, or to what intervening portion of those years it should be assigned rather than to any

²⁴ A pleasing trait of the bishop's character, as well as an amusing incident connected therewith, are thus narrated by Graystones:—'Iste, dum vixit, semper, quando comedit in castro, solebat de vino suo mittere ad conventum; et quodam die, dum pincernae suo diceret, quod suppriori et conventui de vino suo mitteret, veniens ille cum vino, suppriori ad suam justiciam in refectorio residenti vinum praesentavit. Prior vero H. [Hugo de Derlyngton] ad magnam mensam praesidens, ex hoc indignatus, mensam percussit; et sic prandium in medio prandii finivit.'—*R. de Graystones*, c. xiv.

But for Graystones stating expressly that on this particular occasion the cup-bearer was sent to the sub-prior, it might have seemed probable that the man, in the language of the 'commercial traveller,' had set the liquor before 'Mr. Vice' instead of before 'The Chair,' unintentionally, and through sheer absent-mindedness. As such, however, was clearly not the case, we can only conclude that the bishop had not wholly left off his early 'levity,' but, bent on a practical joke, had determined to take a 'rise' out of the prior. If so, the latter certainly proved himself equal to the occasion by not only depriving his flattered subordinate and his brethren of their drink, but of their meat as well. After which experience the joke was probably not repeated.

other. All that can be said in this connexion is that, it is undoubtedly of fully matured thirteenth-century, or Early English, style; and that, whenever undertaken, it was carried on without pause till it was finished. Further, that it was wholly unfettered in its dimensions by whatever had preceded it; as also that, at whatever point commenced, it was certainly completed at the north-west angle where, instead of stopping abruptly, the work was continued along the eastern wall of a new north transept without a break. Now, as will shortly be seen, this point of continuation is just that on which the whole subject of date practically depends. Was the western extension of the church proceeded with uninterruptedly, or was there, after the completion of the new chancel, anything in the nature of a stoppage, and, if so, for how long? Careful and exact comparison of details can alone supply the necessary data; and to this, after the chancel itself has first been examined, we must, in due course, betake ourselves. Meanwhile, as to that, *originally*, most interesting and stately feature of the church.

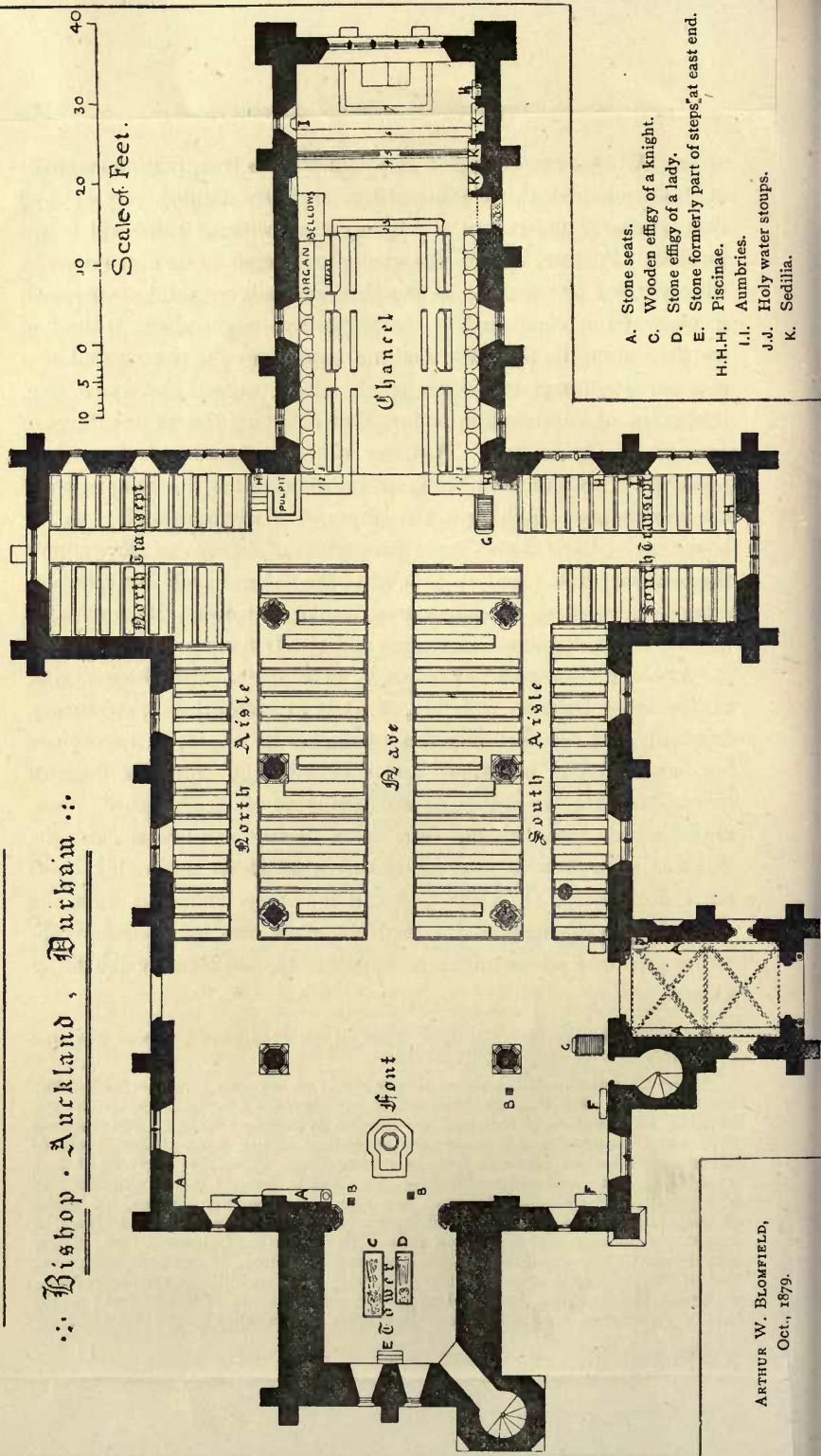
As the ground-plan* shows, it is, as compared with those of most of the other Durham churches, of quite exceptional size, measuring, internally, not less than fifty feet ten inches in length, by twenty-two feet six inches in breadth;²⁵ and with a height, from the floor, of twenty-one feet six inches to the springing of the original, open, high-pitched roof, which, forming a nearly equilateral triangle, would give it a total internal elevation of about thirty-eight feet. Such dimensions, it is clear, would not only suffice to meet the collegiate requirements of the day, but allow also for such developments as future times might be expected to, and actually did, bring about.

* The plan from which the illustration on the next page has been prepared was kindly lent by Sir A. W. Blomfield.

²⁵ The dimensions stated above are the result of my own very carefully-taken measurements. Mr. Billings, however, in his *Durham County* gives the length as being only forty-eight feet and the breadth as twenty-two feet. The chancels most nearly approaching it in size are, according to the same author, those of Houghton-le-Spring, fifty-one feet by fifteen feet; Staindrop, forty-eight feet by eighteen feet; and Sedgfield, fifty-three feet by twenty feet five inches. It is, however, distinctly broader than any other in the county. Three, viz., those of Dalton-le-Dale, Darlington, and Ryton have, according to Mr. Billings, a breadth of twenty-one feet; one, that of Brancepeth, of nineteen feet; three, viz., those of Chester-le-Street, Easington, and Staindrop, of eighteen feet; one, that of Coniscliffe, of seventeen feet; six, viz., those of Billingham, Houghton-le-Spring, Heighington, Jarrow, Lanchester, and Stranton, of fifteen feet; while that of Pitlington, with a length of forty-four feet, reaches but to thirteen feet.

∴ Church of Saint Andrew ∴

∴ Bishop Auckland, Durham ∴



- A. Stone seats.
- C. Wooden effigy of a knight.
- D. Stone effigy of a lady.
- E. Stone formerly part of steps, at east end.
- H.H.H. Piscinae.
- I.I. Aumbries.
- J.J. Holy water stoups.
- K. Sedilia.

Apart from its scale, one of the first and most striking points about this chancel is the unquestionable evidence it affords of having been designed by no mere rustic builder, but by what would nowadays be called a professional architect, in which respect it agrees remarkably with those of Darlington, Sherburn, and Middleham, all intimately connected with other occupants of the see.

Then, notwithstanding the mischievous effect of later and most grievous alterations,²⁶ the perfect harmony and uniformity of its design, so unlike that of our Durham churches generally, will no less speedily strike us than the well-considered variation of its northern and southern schemes of fenestration, the one forming a continuous arcade leading up to the great eastern window which, filling the entire gable, terminated the vista; the other, though repeating the same details, discontinuous, having but half as many openings, massive, stern, and rock-like. And further, unlike almost all the rest, its walls were of excellent, well-dressed ashlar throughout;²⁷ so that, taken altogether, it must, in its original condition, have occupied, as well in size as in character, a position pretty nearly unique.

Unhappily, that condition can nowadays be seen only in the mind's eye, not in actuality, for the degradations have been so deadly and extensive as to blot out its pristine excellencies altogether. Putting all such aside, however, let us see how Stichill's architect conceived and executed it.

Beginning with the exterior, then, we find that he divided it into four practically equal bays,²⁸ separated by exceedingly well proportioned

²⁶ A detailed account of these will be given farther on as the history of the building develops itself; but the special point to be noted here is the fact that, brutally destructive as they are, they were perpetrated, not by puritan malignity, or improving churchwardens of the Georgian period, but by Bek the 'magnanimous,' and cardinal Langley; the first, and worst, within a few years after the completion of the work; the latter, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Anything more ruinously destructive of the original design, or cheaper and nastier, than the *messification* of these two prelates, separately or combined, it would be simply impossible to conceive.

²⁷ The only other Durham chancels so constructed, I think, were those of Hartlepool, now, in the main, destroyed, Darlington, and Brancepeth as sumptuously reconstructed by John Lord Nevill in the latter part of the fourteenth century. To which, in a roughish sort of way, may perhaps be added that of Medomsley, an interesting bit of thirteenth-century work.

²⁸ A very unusual, and, at present, all but unique number among the ancient churches of Durham county. Besides this, the only other examples I know of are, or were, to be found at Brancepeth, built by John lord Nevill personally,

buttresses in two stages, of which those at the end were of combined, or compass form, embracing the angles. All have steeply sloping heads, weathered in every course,²⁹ and the same plain, but very bold and effective bases as those of the walls, which are in fact carried round them.

How the eastern gable was completed originally—for the present window, though a copy, is modern—is far from self-evident, and by no means to be determined as readily as might be thought. The

and for special uses; Hartlepool, built by another great 'baron of the bishopric,' Robert de Brus IV., also personally, and for similar uses, but now nearly destroyed; Bishopwearmouth, also like Hartlepool, now nearly destroyed—the western end of the one and the eastern of the other only being left; and *possibly* S. Oswald's, Durham, which had four two-light traceried windows towards the south, and an inserted, late, 'low-side window' of considerable size to the west of them. But it seems more than doubtful, perhaps, whether they could be reckoned as true bays, *i.e.*, in the same sense as those at Auckland, which consist of well-defined structural divisions, each containing two windows and separated by massive buttresses.

Of our earliest and smallest churches, such as those of Escomb (unique), Witton-le-Wear, Stainton-le-Street, Middleton S. George, Sockburn, Redmarshall, Elton, Long Newton, Grindon, Whorlton (destroyed), Friarside, Trimdon, Croxdale, Hamsterley, Cockfield, Marwood (desecrated), Hilton (desecrated), S. Mary in the South Bailey, S. Mary Magdalene, and S. Giles, Durham (originally), Walworth (desecrated), Ebchester, and Whitworth, the chancel consists, or did consist, of only one or two small compartments, an altar platform, and a space, more or less small and structurally undefined, westward of it.

Then, after these, come the great bulk of our parish churches, where much the same rule applies, only that they are generally on a larger scale and with better and more clearly marked dividing lines. Of these I could hardly adduce a more thoroughly typical example, perhaps, than that of Egglecliffe (or 'Eaglescliffe,' as the railway people have absurdly named it), where, towards the south, we have two, three-light, traceried windows, one serving for the altar platform, and separated from the priest's door and the other window by a boldly projecting buttress, a feature only found occasionally. Other examples of the same class are, or were, found at Gainford, Winston, Coniscliffe, Dinsdale, Hart, Stranton, Elwick hall, Hurworth, Wolsingham (destroyed), Stanhope, Heighington, Haughton-le-Skerne, Norton, Greatham, Barnard Castle (destroyed), Auckland S. Helen's, Bishop Middleham, Wickham, Seaham, Dalton-le-Dale, Aycliffe, S. Mary-le-Bow, S. Giles and S. Margaret, Durham, Witton Gilbert, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Bishopton (destroyed), and Medomsley.

In striking contrast with these we find but the few following churches, the chancels of which have, or had, probably as many as three distinct bays, *viz.*, those of Merrington (destroyed), Ryton, Whitburn, Boldon, Middleton-in-Teesdale (destroyed), Staindrop, Darlington, Lanchester, Pitlington (destroyed), Gateshead, Sedgefield, Chester-le-Street, Billingham (destroyed), and Easington. How very exceptional the position of those with four bays was may, therefore, be readily understood.

²⁹ A special and peculiar characteristic of the best class of work, and even then very frequently wanting. Conspicuous illustrations of its use may be seen in various parts of the cathedral of Salisbury; as well as in the oldest parts of the episcopal palace at Wells, built by bishop Joceline 1205-44; and in the chapel and great hall of his successor, bishop Burnell, 1271-92.

first, and very distinct impression—so distinct, indeed as to admit, apparently, of no dispute—is that the existing window is the copy of one inserted in Stichill's wall towards the very end of the century. And I suppose that hardly a single architectural critic, on the general view, would hesitate for a moment in coming to this conclusion, the evidence seeming, *prima facie*, so clear as to render any other impossible. The two narrow intermediate buttresses dividing the wall space into three equal compartments between the broad exterior ones, must, it would seem, have been carried up between the central, and side lights of a great eastern triplet, the natural and becoming finish of the lines of lancets on either side, just as at Hartburn, Holy Island, and many other places.³⁰ And such, superficially, I am free to confess was, for a time, my own opinion. A more careful and detailed examination, however, has led me to an entirely contrary conviction. That there is, or was, abundant space for lancets of the amplest dimensions in the several compartments, each of which was five feet nine inches wide, is clear enough; but nothing remains to show that such were ever there. On the contrary, there appears the clearest proof that they were not. For on either side—the central part is, of course, wholly gone—the *original* ashlar work remains absolutely untampered with to the extent of two feet eight inches from the angle of the outer buttresses, so that the lancets which, from the

³⁰ This, though by no means a rare, is yet far from being a common arrangement, and with the single exception of Whitburn was, I think, the only example in the county. Locally, very interesting and noteworthy instances of the same treatment occur in the chancels of the parish church of Holy Island, as also in those of Hartburn and Bamburgh—the latter, like the whole of the noble five-bayed chancel, which was also one of canons, being of exceptional height and dignity. Of simple eastern triplets, without divisional buttresses, we have still some, and must once have had many, examples. They remain at Marwood, now a farm-house, Winston, Gainford, Sockburn, Medomsley, Cockfield, Lanchester, and pretty certainly at Hilton, now also a farm-house, but, as the whole is at present covered with rough cast, the fact cannot be determined. The remains of a Norman triplet are still, or were lately, to be seen at the east end of the chancel of Haughton-le-Skerne church, the moulded splays of which were enriched with nook shafts. Apart from parish churches, that of Finchale priory had its choir terminated by a fine triplet of tall lancets, richly moulded and carried on shafts internally; as had also the mother church of Durham; the former, however, without, the latter with, dividing buttresses. Gainford affords the only instance where the rear arches of the triplet were moulded and carried on banded shafts with bases and capitals in the proper way. Medomsley, which might, perhaps, be thought to supply another, exhibits only the very singular mistake of the builder who, not knowing what to do with his shafts, set them against the face of the wall strips *between* the splays, where they were quite useless, having neither mouldings nor anything else to carry, instead of in nooks within, and *apparently* supporting, the splays.

necessity of the case, must have been one foot nine inches, or two feet wide at the glass line, and so, with chamfers similar to those of the side lights, have had a full *moulded* width of three feet, must not only have been pushed quite out of centre, but, *without making any allowance at all* for the necessary 'in and out' bands of the jambs, have been driven into the very angles of the inner buttresses, which is, practically, absurd. Or, to put the case in another, and, perhaps, clearer way. The undisturbed, primitive masonry extends, as I have said, for two feet eight inches from the angles of the outer buttresses, inwards; that is to say, up to *two and a half inches from the centre line* of the compartments. But, if the eastern lancets had been even only of the same width as the side ones, they would have measured two feet six inches from edge to edge of their chamfers, to which another ten or twelve would have to be allowed for the banding of their jambs on either side, and which would make up a total of three feet four inches, or three feet six inches. Now, the half of this, instead of being two and a half inches merely, would be one foot eight, or one foot nine, inches. That is to say, the masonry which still extends undisturbed for two feet eight inches inwards would have to be cut away to the extent of one foot five and a half inches at the least, in order to the introduction of even such narrow lights as these. Being as it is, however, *intact*, it proves, incontestably, that no lights of any kind could ever have occupied the space at all.

Another piece of evidence, leading to the same conclusion, is this, viz., that the string course below the sills of the side windows, after turning the eastern angles, is stepped up to that of the eastern one in a way that would clearly never have happened had there been lancets in the centre of the side compartments; for instead of rising just outside of, and including, their sills, as universally happens, it would have risen, as nearly as possible, in the very centre of them, which, of course, is quite out of the question.

But what then, it may be asked, is the explanation of the two intermediate buttresses, and what purpose, save that of running up between, and separating, the three eastern lights, could they possibly have been intended to serve? Well, that such was the original design of the architect there cannot, I think, be the shadow of a doubt. But, by the time the level of the window sills was reached, that design was

abandoned, and the buttresses, in consequence, abruptly cut short and headed off in the way we see to-day. Whether the change were owing to the very natural and just fear that the lancets at the sides would prove insufficient for the due lighting of the building, or from pure love of the new fashion of grouped lights forming a single window within a circumscribing arch may, perhaps, be doubtful. What there can be no doubt at all about, however, is that such change was then and there made, and a great window of five lancet lights under a single arch introduced instead.

Nor is this at all to be wondered at, seeing that the immediate district furnishes us with three highly curious illustrations of such practice. The first, and earliest, earlier by a few years than this at Auckland, is found at the east end of the choir of the abbey church of Egliston above referred to. It is probably, nay, pretty certainly, I think, the most remarkable instance of the kind to be seen anywhere. The side windows consist of two moulded lancet lights, with solid tympana set within beautifully enriched and shafted enclosing arches. But the great east window of five lights goes a step further. Under a very rich and massive head, like a vast pier arch, spanning the whole width of the choir, four massive mullions, or rather moulded columns, a foot or more in thickness, run straight up from the sill to the intrados of the arch, which their upper stones are mitred into, and form part of. Nothing but its noble proportions, massive construction, and rich detail, however, save this most interesting experiment—if indeed they *do* save it—from absolute ugliness. But it had no imitators, and was, therefore, probably, not regarded as a success.

More nearly, if not actually, contemporary with this Auckland window are the other two, viz., that inserted in the south transept of Finchale priory, and the great north window of the Nine Altars at Durham. Of the first—which was erected above the shrine of S. Godric, and reproduces the exact design of that before us—mention is made in an indulgence granted by Archibald, bishop of Moray, to all who should contribute to its erection, dated on the vigil of S. Leonard, abbot, 1266. It serves to fix, therefore, if not the exact year, at least the period, to which this eastern choir window should be referred, about as accurately as could be wished. The other, very slightly later, perhaps, reproduces the circumstances, though not the

details, of the work here, just as exactly. As first designed and commenced, the north end of the Nine Altars was meant to repeat, with more or less accuracy, that towards the south,—coupled lancets in two pairs, and in two storeys, separated internally by a central group of vaulting shafts, and externally by a lofty staged buttress. But here, again, the desire for a single large window led to a superseding of the original scheme, and so the great central buttress was brought to a sudden stop, precisely like those at Auckland, immediately beneath its sill. And well was it for art that the change was made, for this window is by far the largest and finest composition of its period in the kingdom. That the relative gain at Auckland was at all proportionate cannot, I fear, be said. Indeed, whether looked at internally or externally, the alteration was clearly a mistake; since, however great the gain of light, the loss of solemnity and power was greater. But, then, it had the charm of novelty, and that, as usual, carried all before it.

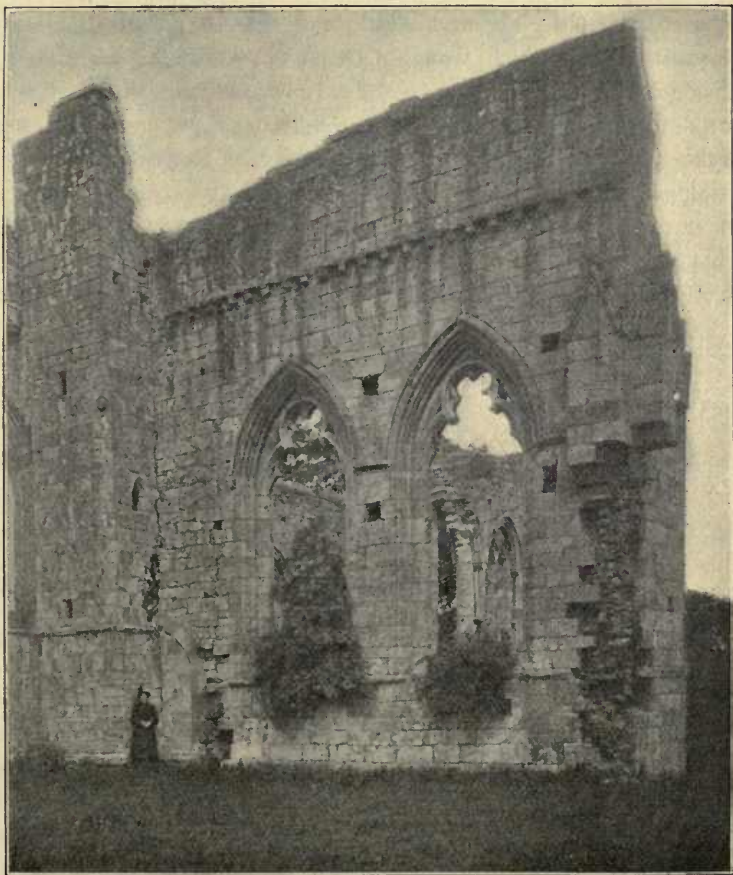
Though similar in all other respects to that on the south, the north side had but half its number of windows; that is, one, instead of two, lancets in each bay.

As the masonry sufficiently shows, the old high roof sprang from the course of ashlar immediately above the window heads, completing, beyond doubt, the finest thirteenth-century chancel of the kind in the county. Its distinguishing qualities will be seen to have been those of size, solidity, excellence of construction, and rich simplicity, all which combined served clearly to denote its purpose; thenceforth marking it off unmistakably as that of a *collegiate*, instead of a mere *parish*, church.

Turning to details: one of its best and most telling features is the basement, as noteworthy for its rich and massive effect, as for the perfect simplicity of the means used to attain it. No less than two and a half feet deep, it has no mouldings, strictly speaking; all its effect resulting from the use of perfectly plain chamfers, and the skilful way in which they are proportioned and applied.

And here, let me say, we come at the very outset, to what, whether historically or architecturally considered, is unquestionably the most important feature of the building. For striking and effective as it is, this basement is of infinitely more value in determining the

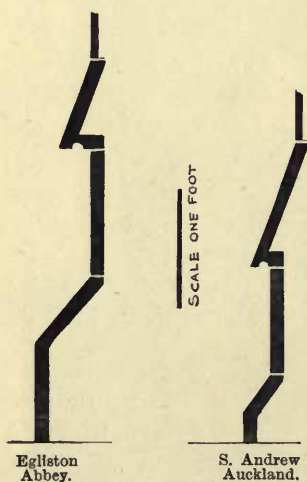
date of the chancel, and by consequence, the personality of the builder than in imparting architectural character to it. It constitutes, indeed—little, as would generally be suspected—the one feature which not merely justifies, but demands, a date very considerably later than that which could otherwise, either safely, or naturally, be assigned to



WEST SIDE OF SOUTH TRANSEPT, EGLISTON ABBEY.
(Basement obscured.) (See next page.)

it. The crucial point is found in its upper and more important member. This, as will be noted, does not, like the one below, and as in similar Early English basements generally, consist of a simple chamfer, whose salient and re-entering angles coincide with the upper

and lower surfaces which they adjoin, but overhangs the lower one considerably. Well, it is just this seemingly simple circumstance which enables that 'snapper up of unconsidered trifles,' the architectural expert, to determine the age of the work to a nicety. For it belongs to that special period of thirteenth century transition, when the Early English style was both developing, and had already developed, into the intermediate phase between itself and the Decorated—the early Geometrical, and which, though not simultaneous in all parts of the kingdom, may pretty accurately be fixed as occurring in these northern parts of it between 1260-70. Though unrecorded, we have perhaps as striking and conclusive a proof of the date of this basement in the neighbouring abbey church of Egliston as could be wished for. In the nave and north transept, the earliest parts of the building, dating from the latter part of the twelfth century, we have a single, and simply chamfered earth-table.

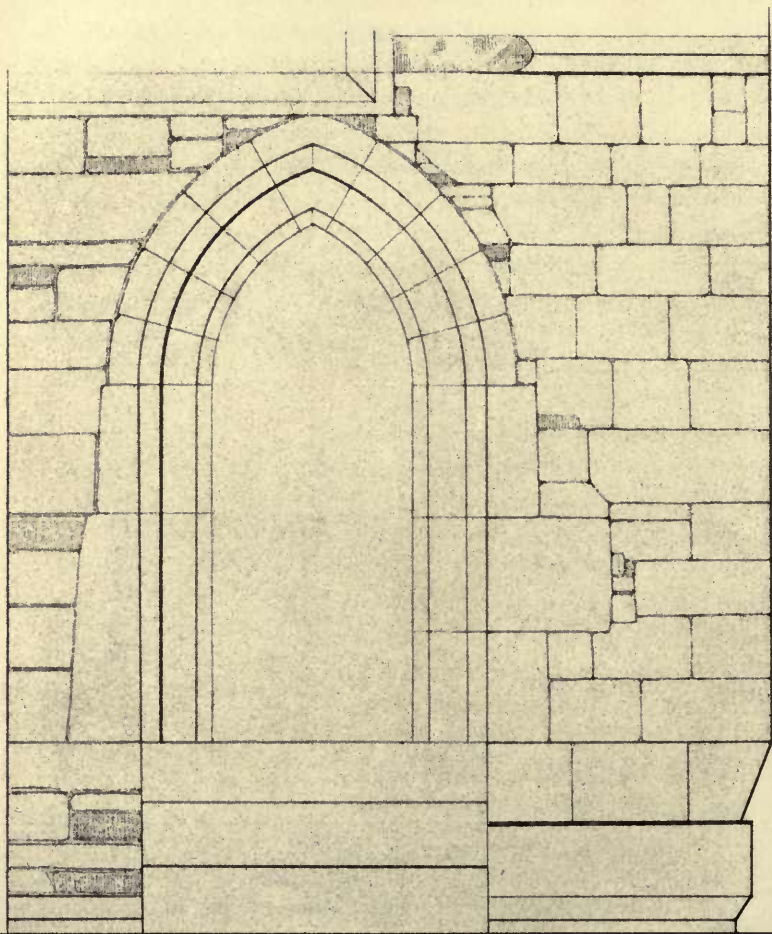


In the choir, rebuilt on a much larger and richer scale, about 1250-60, we see a basement in two stages, like this at Auckland, save that the broad chamfered upper member, like the narrow one below it, does *not* overlap. In the south transept, or lady-chapel, a distinctly later piece of work carried out after an interval of some years in continuation of the new choir, and in the still later south side of the nave in completion of it, both of the most beautiful early Geometrical character, we have exactly the same basement moulds, in all respects, as we have here. Nothing could serve to fix the date of this Auckland work more clearly, I

think, within the limits of Stichill's episcopate, 1260-74, than this local example, the age of which cannot be gainsaid.³¹

And another equally simple, but effective feature is found in the

³¹ In the 'Church Reports' of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, it is stated that the building was 'erected apparently about the year 1200'; but this conjecture is palpably wrong by more than half a century, and could only have been formed after a very hasty and superficial view of the building, not after a detailed and critical examination of it. In the latest *History of the County: its Churches and Castles, etc.*, the same mistake is also taken over and repeated by Mr. Boyle.



J. F. H., MENS. ET DELT.

BASEMENT, SECOND BAY OF CHANCEL FROM EAST,
Showing inserted priests' door, with disturbed, and original masonry.
Jambs ancient, with modern arch.

deep torus moulding which is carried as a string-course beneath the window sills and continued round all the buttresses of the south, east and north sides without a break. It served to impart just that amount of strength and cohesion, which the somewhat peculiar nature of the design required. For here, since the windows were planned with a special eye to internal, rather than to external effect, they were not, as commonly happened, grouped together centrally in each bay, but set separately, and within a few inches of their extremities. They were, moreover, unusually narrow, only one foot four, to one foot six, inches in the clear, and, as a consequence, did not catch the eye, and produce that effect of unity, and centralized balance, which those of greater width, and grouped in the middle of each compartment would do. Here, indeed, the exact contrary is the case, all the central parts, instead of being so accentuated, having mere bare walling. In the absence of any distinct middle feature, therefore, some such bold and massive tie as this was needed in order to bind the whole composition, otherwise too scattered, more visibly together; the more so, as the hood-moulds, instead of being, as usual, in better class work, continued as an upper string throughout, are here discontinuous, and stopped at the springing of each head.



‡ full size.

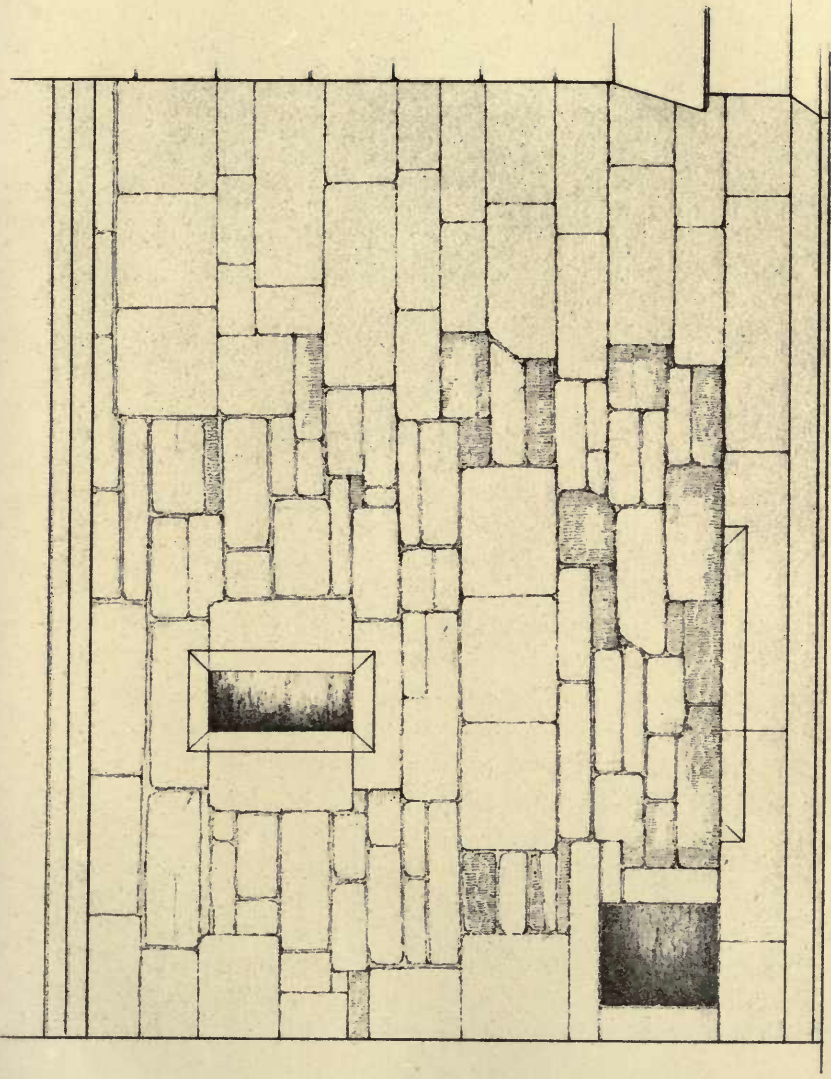
A singular point in connexion with the south side of the chancel is that, in the westernmost bay, the basement, which gives so striking an effect to all the rest of the structure, has been omitted, the wall going straight down to the earth table. Why this should be so was far from apparent. The priest's door (see plate VI.) is found, at present, in the second bay from the east; not, as is clear, in its original position, since one of the stone sedilia has been destroyed to allow of its insertion. Though the position would have been far from usual, the presumption was that it had originally occupied the western bay, and hence, perhaps, the absence of the basement. But, though a good deal disturbed, not the least trace of its ever having been there was to be seen. At last, after the closest search, I fancied that, on a longish stone immediately above the earth table, and much obscured by blackened lime and dirt, I saw a faint trace of a vertical line, about an inch long. An extemporized chisel and hammer showed that my

suspensions were correct, and the sill of the old priest's doorway presently stood revealed. However inadequately, therefore, its presence doubtless serves to explain the non-continuance of the basement which stops short at the adjoining buttress (see plate VII.).

INTERIOR.—Equally simple with the outside, the interior must have been equally effective, and from the same causes, dignity of scale, justness of proportion, and that sober richness of constructive detail which belonged to both alike. To the nave it opened by a large and well moulded equilateral arch, springing on either side from foliated corbels. The walls, twenty-one feet six inches in height above the floor line, were finished above in a very simple and effective way, but one almost unique among our Durham churches, by having a sort of cornice moulding carried along their summits, which made a fitting break, or line of distinction between them and the timbers of the roof³². Slight and insignificant as it may seem, it is, nevertheless, just one of those finishing touches, noticeable everywhere else throughout the work, which, in all cases, make so much for perfection.

But what, if only the original design had been adhered to, would have been the best seen, and doubtless the finest feature, the east end, is now, unfortunately, more utterly gone than even on the outside; for there, at least, the basement and lower parts of the buttresses are left to give some indication of what was once intended, while here there is simply nothing. The three great lights would, of course, have been deeply splayed like the rest, but unlike them, not improbably, provided, as at Medomsley and Gainford, with banded shafts carrying arch-moulds of greater or less richness. Be this as it may, however, the special peculiarity of the windows, generally, lay in the treatment of their internal splays. During the Early English period various methods of dealing with this part of the windows were adopted, according to their position, and the general character of the work. In aisles, or wherever there was a limitation of height, the rear arches were, commonly, more or less flat and plain. In gables, or wherever, as here, the wall space allowed it, then the lines of the rear arches followed more or less closely the sweep of the window heads themselves, as at Finchale and the

³² The only other instances, I think, of this kind of finish occur at Darlington and Hartlepool churches, which in this respect, as in many more, stand quite alone. But in both cases the buildings are clear-storeyed throughout, while that of Auckland is not.



J. F. H. MENS. ET. DELT.

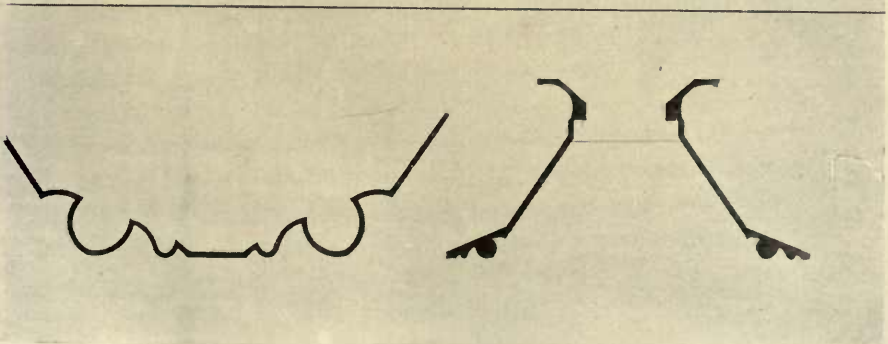
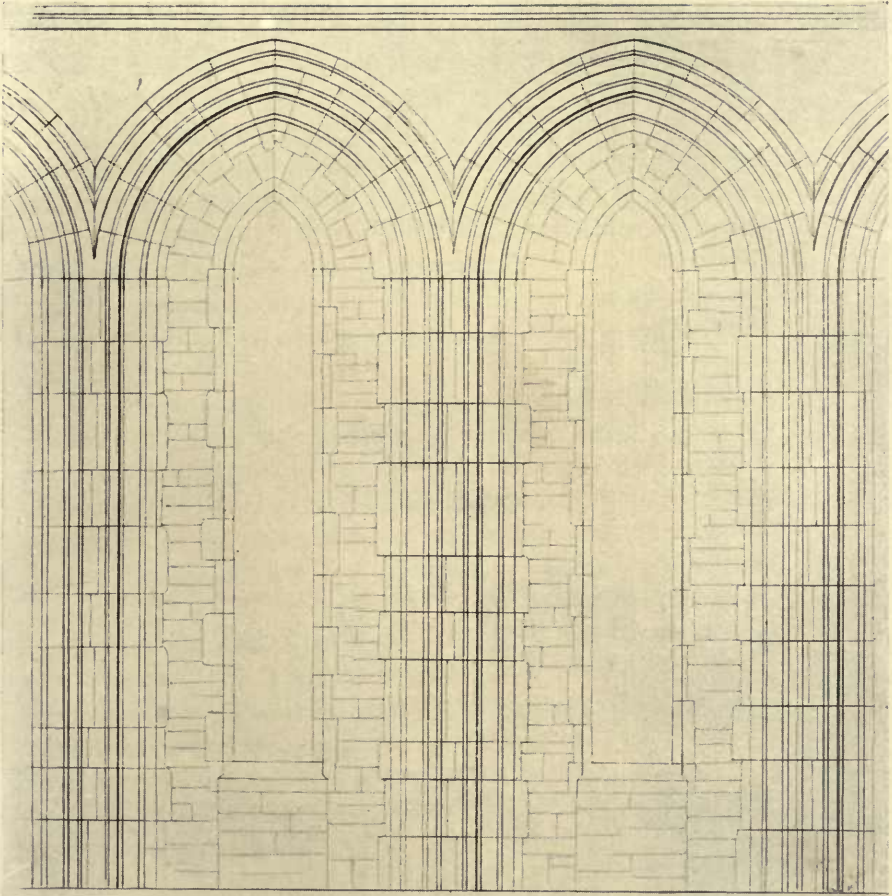
Basement, S.W. bay of Chancel, showing 'low side window,' and (excavated) sill of original priests' door, together with disturbed, and primitive masonry.



H. KILBURN, PHOTO.

INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND, CHANCEL FROM N.W.



J. F. H. MENS. ET DELT.

ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND CHURCH.

WINDOW ARCADE, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL, AS ORIGINALLY CONSTRUCTED.

Nine Altars at Durham. There was also the utmost conceivable variety of treatment, from that of the rudest and sternest severity to the most refined richness, but all equally telling and effective in their several ways. Of the one, we have a local illustration in the northern triplet of the north transept of Staindrop church, where the fully occupied thick wall is worked into three deep cavernous compartments, trefoiled, but with all the edges, both of arches and jambs, left square. The eastern wall had four such openings, and the west two, till it joined the aisle—all continuous. Plain, to the last degree of plainness as they were, the effect, when perfect, must, as cannot be doubted, have been very fine indeed.

Another local illustration, but of considerable richness, is found on the south side of the choir of Houghton-le-Spring church, where is a fine continuous arcade, carried on shafts, with well-moulded *segmental* pointed arches. In the choir of Darlington church the very early arcades, which are also carried on shafts, have only the alternate spaces perforated, but here the rear arches are *concentric* with those of the lights, the blank intermediate ones following a similar curvature.

Now, this arcade at Auckland—and herein lies its speciality—differs from all these three examples, which may be taken as generally representative types, in being neither square-edged, shafted, segmental headed, nor alternately perforated; for, while pierced in each compartment, its arches, which are concentric with those of the lights, in place of being carried on shafts with bases and capitals, have their rich mouldings carried down the jambs without a break. (See Plate VIII.). All are surmounted by a delicate hood-mould, which the flat space of four inches between the splays allows very nearly to descend to the springing.



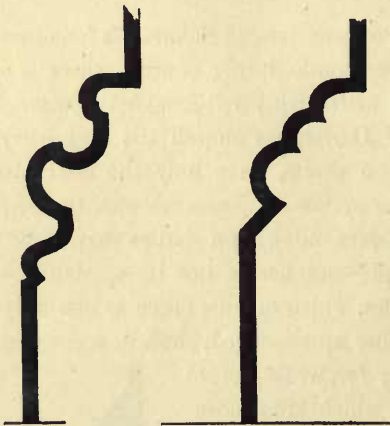
½ full size.

From the great length of this arcade, extending unbrokenly through all the four bays; the narrowness of the lights, and consequent depth and breadth of the splays; the mingled boldness and refinement of the mouldings, at once so rich and simple; it must, in these parts at any rate, have been unrivalled, and altogether *sui generis*. We have simply nothing like, or at all approaching, it.

But few other original features are left to claim attention. Among

them, the first, perhaps, to be noticed is the recurrence of the same striking torus moulding which there, as on the outside, runs round all three sides beneath the window sills ; and which, besides its special office of binding the several parts together in a united whole, tends largely to increase and emphasize the perspective effect.

Then we have the sedilia, or rather, their remains ; for when, as we have seen, the priest's door was at a subsequent period shifted eastwards, the westernmost of them had to be cut away to receive it. Without any special excellence of detail, and consisting of three simply moulded and obtuse pointed arches carried on shafts, these



Base moulds of shafts of sedilia.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.

sedilia, instead of being, as usual, recessed in the thickness of the wall, have the peculiarity of projecting six and a half inches in front of it, and so avoiding undue penetration. And another noteworthy point, and one which I never remember to have either seen, or heard of, elsewhere, is that whereas the two end recesses were, as commonly the case, square in section, and only one foot five inches deep, the central one, which is rather broader, was semicircular, like

the back of an easy-chair, and one foot ten inches deep.

And then comes the most remarkable feature of all, in the shape of another sedile adjoining these, but in all respects perfectly separate and distinct from them, both in size, design, and plane, and evidently designed for the use of some other than the usual priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. It is set back from the line of the sedilia proper, being wholly recessed within the wall, is nearly half as broad again as they, and covered with a once richly moulded, but now, owing to brutal usage during restoration, almost destroyed cinquefoiled (not cinquefoliated) arch.³³ Though nothing can at present, perhaps, be certainly

³³ That a clearly-marked line of distinction between this sedile and the rest was intended from the first, admits of no more doubt than that it was *not* a mere makeshift substitute for the destroyed western one, as asserted by Mr. Boyle.

said as to its use, there would seem little doubt but that it must have been designed for that of the bishop, or dean, when engaged officially in the service of the mass.

Still further east than this again, come the *pisinae*, the one, sex-foiled, the other, cinquefoiled; both set within a deep recess, the head of which was destroyed not long after their erection by the lowered sill of a newly inserted window.

Such are the remains of the chancel, inside and outside, as erected by the original architect, whoever he may have been, and by whomsoever employed. That bishop Stichill did so, I would not assert dogmatically, and as an established fact. Only, that the whole evidence points irresistably in that direction; more so, incomparably, than in any other, including that of his immediate predecessor, Kirkham, who, if he ever began the general work of re-edifying the church—of which there is not, however, the slightest proof—certainly did *not*, as Stichill, on the irrefragable witness of the building itself, certainly *did*, finish it. In either case, the chancel was a truly noble work, far more so than can now, in its present hideously maltreated state, be understood by any save the architectural expert, and formed a fitting climax of a singularly noble and exceptional design.

VIII.—OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT, AND OF THE TWO NORTH-EASTERN ARCHES OF THE NAVE.

That the chancel was no independent work, begun and completed by itself, without reference to any further re-building connected with, and in continuation of it, is fully disproved by the fact of its basement being carried on to the north-west angle of the north transept, where it stops at the west side of the western buttress.³⁴

This is sufficiently evidenced, not only by the several particulars enumerated above, but by the fact that it is *structural*, built at, or—if the work was commenced at the east end—before, the same time as the *sedilia* proper; also, by the further fact that the destruction of the *sedile*, for which it is said to form a substitute, did not take place till necessitated by the erection of Langley's stalls in the fifteenth century—a hundred and fifty years afterwards!

³⁴ At this point the lower member, or earth table, is stepped up to the height of the chief, or upper one, and thence continued southward. The various points of similarity and difference between the work of the chancel and that of the transept are most numerous and best observed at their angle of junction. For the length of about four feet northward the basement mouldings of the chancel are continued evenly along the east wall of the transept. Then a hitch occurs where there is a rise of about two inches in the levels. For about

Nor is this all, for we have the same torus moulding which runs beneath the window sills of the chancel inside, continued here also in a similar position along the eastern and northern wall till it stops at the north-west angle. Then, again, the three east windows reproduced,³⁵ both inside and outside, those of the chancel with the most absolute fidelity. And still further, the end, or north window has precisely the same edge mouldings to its splays as they have, and has the same hood-moulding carried over it till it, too, stops at the north-west angle. With this window, however, comes what might, perhaps, but for the evidence already adduced in respect to the plan of the great eastern one of the chancel, be thought the first distinct development, or step in advance, of the simple lancet forms to which, with that exception, all the preceding ones have been confined.

Though at present, and now for a long time past, consisting only of two plain, broad, bifurcated lights branching off into a pointed arch, such would not seem to have been the primitive arrangement. Hutchinson, whose architectural descriptions are of the minutest and most exact accuracy, tells us (*History of Durham*, iii. 330), that in his day, now a hundred years since, this window had *three* lights; and this, I think, may unhesitatingly be accepted as fact. They would, if original, and not insertions of Bek's time, be probably either of three long lancets with solid tympana under a circumscribing arch, as in

the same distance of four feet from the angle and just above this hitch, the masonry of the transept, like that of the choir, is of ashlar up to the top—all the rest of the transept walling being of rubble, as though, in the first instance, the intention had been to make both alike in that respect, but was then abandoned.

³⁵ In speaking of the *three* east windows, I am assuming that originally there *were* three. And such would seem to be not only the natural, but inevitable, conclusion. As a matter of fact, however, there are only two, similar to those of the chancel, which are placed within the transept proper, *i.e.*, towards the north, and out of line with the aisle. The southernmost window, which terminates the vista of the aisle, is of three lights, and similar in character to the east window of the chancel. But as it, too, surmounted an altar, a doubt not unnaturally arises as to whether one of this form—for the present one is a copy—did not occupy the place from the first. Unfortunately, there is no structural evidence to prove whether this was the case or not, for all traces of the hood-mould of the other two which was continued as a string, and might have settled the point decisively, are lost in the disturbed masonry above the head of the lower three-light one. As its own internal evidence is altogether inconclusive, I think, however, keeping the general effect and nature of the case in view, there can be little or no doubt but that, in the first instance, there were three uniform lancets in the eastern wall of this transept; and that the original of the three-light one now found there was an insertion, made to balance those erected at a somewhat later date in a new, and corresponding, transept, then built for the first time towards the south.

the neighbouring example of the west window of the south aisle at Staindrop church; in the four western south choir aisle windows of Carlisle cathedral; and western nave window at S. Helen's Auckland; or, perforated, as in the east window of the chancel of that same church, all of practically the same date. Such grouping of lights, however, be it observed, would be quite sufficiently accounted for by its position in the gable, and be no evidence whatever either of subsequent insertion or of later date, due to any pause in the progress of the works, of which, up to this point, at any rate, there is no room for suspicion. The reason for the stoppage of the torus moulding at the north-west angle and its change into one of another form, though of the same depth, is explained by the fact of its having fulfilled its office as a well-proportioned base line to the range of long lancets in the choir and transept; and because, at that point only, the change into one less massive and more suitable for continuation along the lower walls and windows of the aisle could be effected without either violence or observation.

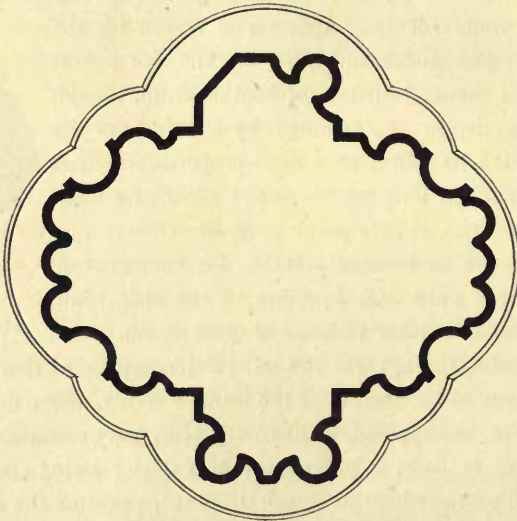


Altered mould,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

But that the transept was not left off incomplete at that angle, or that the change in the section of the interior string-course does not, as might, perhaps, be supposed, point to any temporary cessation of work, and difference of date, is proved by the exterior string-course being continued round the whole structure till it stops against the wall of the north aisle. And similar proof of uninterrupted continuity is afforded by the two adjoining eastern arches of the nave, whose mouldings reproduce those of the chancel arch with perfect accuracy; the easternmost of them springing, moreover, in just the same way as it does, and from a similar kind of corbel.³⁶ As this arch opens to the transept, whence

³⁶ The actual corbels, though new, reproduce, I think, with tolerable, if not perfect, accuracy, the originals which had been much mutilated. The most remarkable point about these arches is that their mouldings are almost exact copies of those in the bishop's chapel, originally Pudsey's great hall, and nearly a hundred years earlier. As incapacity of invention could hardly be alleged against the architect, we can only suppose that either a strong admiration for those fine arcades, the proportions of which, however, are widely different, must have influenced him, or else some similar feeling on the part of the bishop or other ecclesiastical authorities. It may be observed further, that the proportions, though perfectly adapted to the height and span of the arcade arches, are insufficient for those, very much greater, of the chancel arch, which suffers accordingly. In this respect, that of Hartlepool leaves it far behind.

its mouldings could not fail to be plainly seen, they are of the same pattern both back and front ; those of the next one westward, which opens only to the aisle, having the outermost one in that direction, like those in the bishop's chapel and elsewhere, simply chamfered (see below). These two arches, as is perfectly clear from the similarity of their mouldings and general curvature and expression, were built at the same time as the transept, but these two only ; the work, for some reason or other, now impossible to specify, there stopping abruptly.



Arch moulds, two N.E. arches of nave.
One-sixteenth full size.

They raise some interesting, though difficult, questions. For, though speaking of the general curvature and expression of these two arches in their present state, I am, to some extent, assuming what is probable only, since they are both so hideously distorted that their true curves can only be known by reconstruction. Many causes might seem to have contributed to this result : the difficulty lies in determining to which one or more, and in what proportion severally, it may be due.

Mr. Billings, in his admirably illustrated *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham*, speaks of it as 'a noble equilateral pointed arch, the whole width of the nave.' This, however, is a mistake, as it is only the *whole* width of the chancel, the nave being wider by four feet.

In the first place, the construction of the arcade was certainly discontinuous, and stopped, for a considerable period, on the completion of the western arch. Why it ended there, and how it was abutted in the first instance, cannot now be said, though, most probably, it would be built up to, and stopped against, the north wall of the previous structure. Nor can it be known, precisely, when the settlements and distortion first took place. It seems pretty clear, however, that they must have occurred at a very early period indeed, practically as soon as the two arches were built, a circumstance which might, perhaps, account for the temporary abandonment of the work. A recent restoration, undertaken in consequence of extensive settlements due to pit workings, serves to show at least two very efficient causes for their occurrence, whether primarily or later on. The first of them is the alleged existence of a quicksand. The second, the evidence of no fewer than something like one hundred and fifty interments within the limited area of the transept. Both of these might account for a good deal of the mischief, for certain it is that the pillar on which the two crippled arches rest has been driven two inches into the ground, and to the extent of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in a length of 7 feet 9 inches out of the perpendicular, causes which cannot fail to have contributed greatly to such a result.

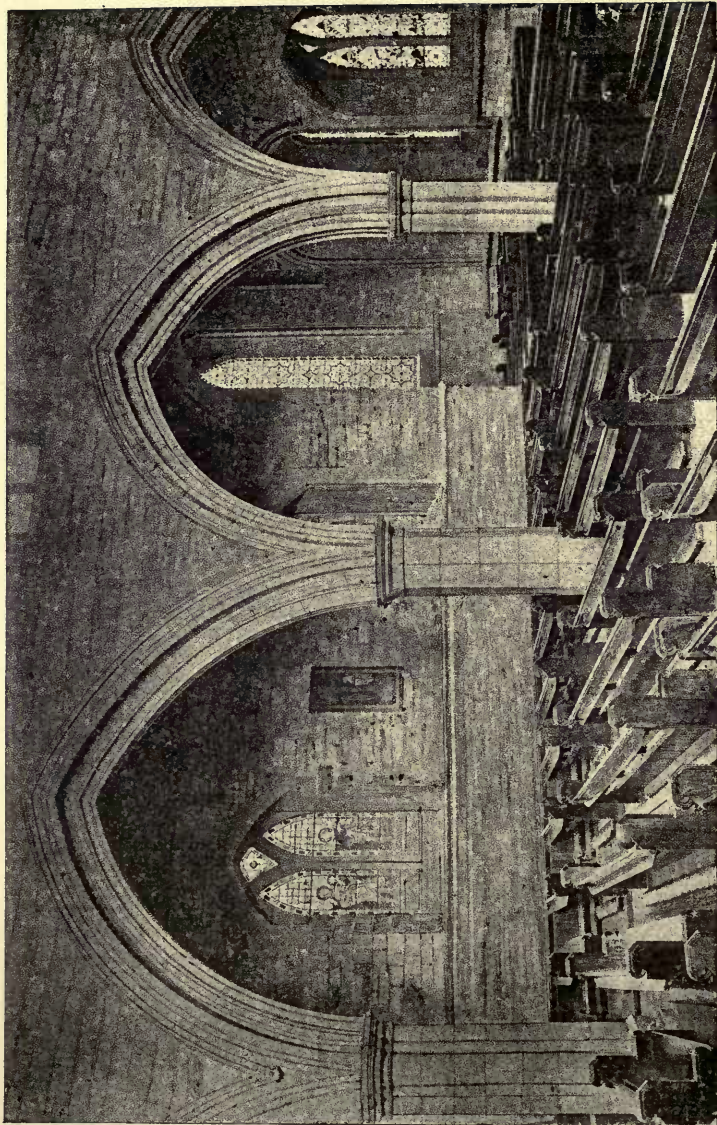
But there is another circumstance which seems to me to point, not only to the particular time when, but to the way in which, the mischief was brought about. I have said that the work of the arcade, commenced at the east end, was abruptly stopped after the two arches had been built, and it was not finished till long afterwards, and then at the very point where it had been left off. Now, the jointing of the masonry at the point of junction shows that the distortion of the western arch had then already taken place, for the extrados line of its voussiors, which are thrust out far beyond the line of springing, is exactly met, and fitted, by the corresponding one of the new arch. Thus, save for the action of the alleged quicksand—for the interments could not then have taken place—it might seem that, in building up to this point, the necessary precaution of centring the arch had been neglected, and that, in consequence, a further spreading had thereupon taken place. But whatever the precise cause, or causes, of such deformation, it must be referred to a period not later than the comple-

tion of the arcade, of which, account will be taken by and bye. And, unfortunately, the mischief did not end there, for the spreading of the western, led to the jamming of the eastern, arch, the lower half of which, westward, was forced into an almost upright, crooked, and most unsightly line. Nothing, I think, calls so loudly for amelioration as the state of these two arches, which, disfiguring the appearance of the church so intolerably, could yet be re-set at little cost and with the greatest ease.

Whether this transept was built in connexion with the collegiate body, and as a Lady chapel, like the southern one at Darlington, or by some private person for mortuary purposes, cannot now be said ; but since there is no mural monumental recess to denote such origin,³⁷ the exact reproduction of the chancel windows and other details in it might seem to point rather to the former, than to the latter, source. But one thing is certain, and that is, that it was complete in itself, and not intended, as afterwards happened, to be balanced by any corresponding limb³⁸ on the other side of the church.

³⁷ Such was very commonly the case in transeptal mortuary chapels, the founder's effigy lying east and west within the recess, while the altar occupied the eastern part. Local illustrations of this practice may be seen in the north transept of Barnard Castle church, where there are two such recesses ; in the south transept of Houghton-le-Spring church, where there is, as usual, but one ; and in that of Egglecliffe, where there is another. At Brancepeth, Sedgfield, Norton (Saxon), and Hamsterley, all with two transepts, there is none ; neither are there any at Kelloe, Grindon, Dinsdale, and Sockburn, where the transepts, or transeptal chapels, are single, *i.e.*, on one side only. Nor, though there were two chantry altars, is any such to be found in the north transept of Staindrop church any more than, almost certainly, in that towards the south, whence, on its destruction, the effigy of the foundress was removed and placed in one contrived in a new south aisle in the fourteenth century. This is pretty clearly proved by the fact that the slab, out of which it is cut, tapers towards the feet, while the section of the recess, like those of the contemporary effigies, is square, and which, of course, this one does not fit. Thus we see that, though the presence of these recesses proves clearly the private origin and use of such chapels, their absence affords no such proof, or even presumption, whatever.

³⁸ When *will* our architects and church builders, whether private or societary, learn the very plain and palpable fact that, save in churches of cathedral, conventual and collegiate character, transepts, which were provided solely for the accommodation of extra altars, never, under any circumstances, formed part of the plan of our ancient churches ? Because, either single or double, they are often found attached to simple parish churches, it is assumed offhand, and without further thought or question, that they are, and always were, integral parts of them ; whereas the very least enquiry would show that such was most distinctly not the case. So far from forming parts of the parish churches, they were in all cases simply joined on to them by individual parishioners for their own proper use and benefit, being invariably screened off and having their separate altar and chantry priest. Yet, because nowadays these screens are very generally destroyed, and the monuments of the founders—whenever not recessed in the



INK-PHOTO. SPRIGUE & CO LONDON.

H. KILBURN, PHOTO.

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND, FROM THE SOUTH.

This special use then, once presumably secured to the dean and canons, may perhaps sufficiently account for the arcade being then stopped for a time on that side, while after a brief interval, or possibly none at all, the work of rebuilding was continued on the other.

IX.—OF THE SOUTH AISLE, PORCH, TOWER, AND THREE NORTH-WEST BAYS OF NAVE.

From the close similarity—identity, indeed—of the mouldings of the southern arcade with those of the chancel arch and two eastern ones towards the north, there seems no reason for thinking that any appreciable delay took place in continuing the task of rebuilding, undoubtedly commenced, and for a while concluded, in that quarter.



Cap. Eastern pillar.
N. $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.

This will appear more clearly by a comparison of the several arch mouldings, which will be found almost, if not quite, identical. Yet, that there might be some little pause seems not improbable, from the circumstance that, though the arch-moulds are uniform, the curvature and expression of the arches vary somewhat. True, the two northern ones are now so dis-

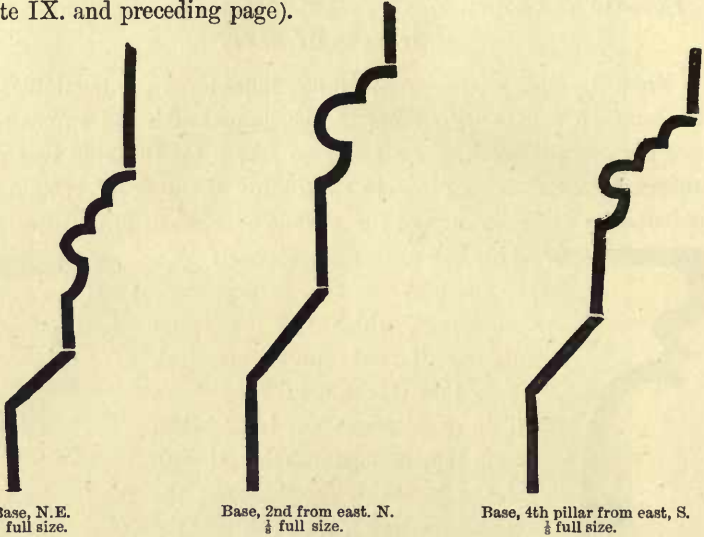


Cap. 1st pillar from E.
N. $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.

torted by twisting and settlement (see plate IX.), that their proper contour cannot accurately be known, yet their effect would seem to have been at once slightly different from, and of earlier type than, that of the southern ones. That the easternmost of these latter springs from a demi-column instead of a corbel, like the northern one, may be due simply to love of variety; but again, the mouldings of the two capitals differ from those opposite, not only in design, but, like the arches, also somewhat in character. And the same difference is observable in the base-moulds; those on the north side,

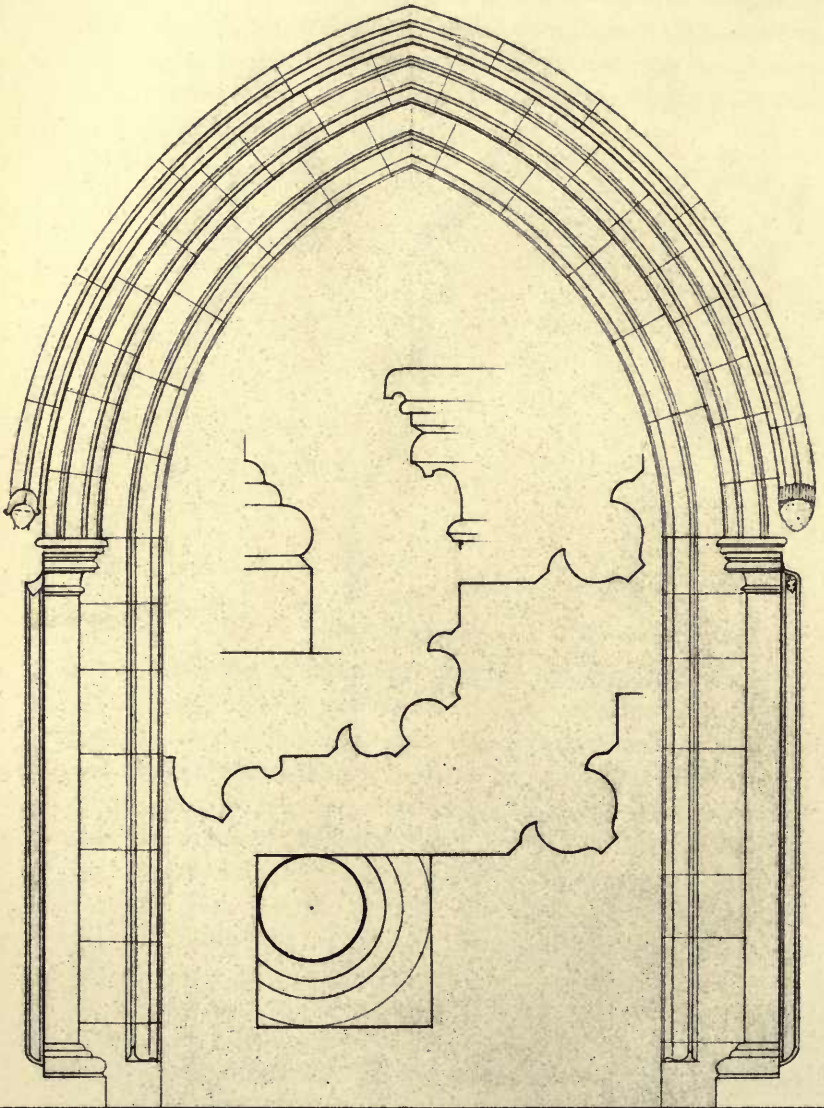
thickness of the wall, either turned out into the churchyard, as at Eggescliffe and Heighington, or bundled into some obscure hole and corner, as at Auckland and Staindrop, they are regarded as being as indisputably parts of the parish church as the tower or chancel. And the practical mischief is, that in new churches, where these transepts are filled with pews, the occupants are altogether cut off from sight, not to say sound, of the altar, and thus deprived of that common point and centre of devotion which should be free and open to all alike.

especially of the easternmost column, having a distinctly earlier look than those towards the south. But it is perfectly clear that, once begun, the south arcade went forward continuously without let or hindrance to completion, the same style and character pervading every detail, varying though they do, from one extremity to the other (see plate IX. and preceding page).



That this was so, that it was designed, moreover, as a whole, and did not result from the mere repetition of an initial bay, is shown also from the very curious fact, which I cannot remember to have met with elsewhere, that the two extreme arches, east and west, though of the same, or practically the same, span as the three intervening ones, are not only somewhat lower, but balance each other symmetrically by being of the same height. The difference, it is true, is not very great, and has probably never been noticed by one in a thousand, but for all that, is easily noticeable by all who have eyes to see, and is certainly not accidental.

Whether the effect is improved by it or not, is not easy, perhaps, to say; but it produces variety, and more or less of that beauty which all well-considered variety, so universally met with in old work, produces; moreover, it saves the design from that dead, unimaginative, and mechanical insipidity, so suggestive of machine work, which is the bane of almost everything new. The whole of the arches



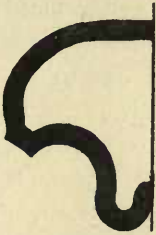
J. F. H., MENS. ET DELT.

SOUTH DOORWAY OF CHURCH,

With sections of arch, and jamb moulds, and of caps and bases of shafts.

have exactly the same mouldings, and their hood-moulds are also of the same section from end to end on each side ; those towards the aisle, however, which are plainer, differing from those facing the body of the church.³⁹ And the arch-moulds all follow the pattern of the second arch, the first that is, which opens to the aisle towards the north.

The arcade finishes westwards on a corbel which differs from those of the chancel-arch and that of the north transept, in being quite plain, and without either foliage or mouldings. Another thing to be observed about it is, that it has preserved the curvature of its arches remarkably well, so that there is no such frightful distortion to be seen among them



Hood moulds, nave. S.
¼ full size.



Hood moulds, aisle. S.
¼ full size.

as in the two eastern ones northward.

But the aisle to which this arcade opens has been greatly altered ; its outer wall raised, and nearly all its original details destroyed, so that, save for the great south doorway, there is little left to be said about it. The latter, however, is a very fine and noble feature of imposing dimensions and rich detail, and, what is more, it exactly repeats the strictly Early English characteristics of the chancel. Evidently, therefore, there had been no prolonged, or even appreciable, pause in the continuation of the rebuilding westwards. An interesting point to notice, too, is that the hood-mould terminates in two heads, not of bishops or canons, but of a knight in a coif of chain-mail, and of a lady, now a good deal decayed, but showing that however large a contributor the bishop may have been towards the rebuilding, he was certainly not the only one.

This exceptionally fine doorway (see plate X.) opens from what was in all respects one of the most striking and unusual features of the building—the south porch. This was, and is, of great depth and height : a sort of narrow transept, indeed, consisting of a lower storey

³⁹ That the easternmost arch towards the south has not the same mouldings on both sides, like that towards the north, seems proof, so far as it goes, that at first no transept was designed in that direction, whence the details could, as in that case, be distinctly seen, but that the aisle was continued straight on to the east end of the nave.

which forms the porch proper, and an upper one communicating by a broad newel staircase and separate doorway, just west of the main one, as well as by a window, now blocked, with the south aisle. Its presence would serve to break the long horizontal lines of the south side of the building as effectually as did that of the actual transept towards the north. The lower stage is covered by two bays of semicircular quadripartite vaulting, with well-moulded roll and fillet, diagonal and transverse ribs, and lighted by three broad and short lancet lights, two to the east and one to the west, the place of the second being occupied by the staircase. The sides are, as usual, provided with stone seats, now much mutilated, and on these the vaulting shafts are set. The whole is admirably designed and built, save in a single particular, which betrays either ignorance or carelessness in the science of vaulting, or both. It occurs in the side compartments of the cells, where they adjoin the walls—'formerets,' as they are called—which should have been formed symmetrically and in regular curves, whether with, or without, ribs, but which, in fact, are utterly irregular and shapeless. The plan of the side lights is peculiar. Perfectly simple, short lights externally, their hooded and moulded splays are divided half way, internally, by the introduction of moulded and pointed trefoil arches carried on shafts, with distinctly Geometrical capitals—an extremely novel and telling arrangement, and one which I cannot recall having met with elsewhere. An excellent view of this porch, showing the general effect both of the vaulting and of these windows (reproduced on the opposite page), is given by Mr. Billings in his *Durham County*.

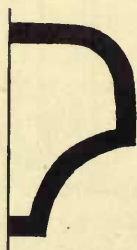
The room above remains equally perfect as the porch below ; its chief interest centring in the beautiful little two-light Geometrical window which lights it from the south. This is composed of two charmingly moulded, not chamfered, pointed trefoil lights, with an inverted circular trefoil in the head, all set within a moulded arch and hood-mould. In connexion with the base and cap-moulds of the nave arcades, it enables us to fix the date of the building with far greater certainty and precision than any of the other details which, by comparison, help but very little, indeed, next to nothing at all to such end. It proves, in fact, for it is all of a piece with the original side aisles, and the inner archway opening into the church, that though



SOUTH PORCH, ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND CHURCH.

many, nay most of them might, for anything that appears to the contrary, be some forty or fifty years earlier ; they are yet really of a period when the simple Early English style was everywhere ' waxing old and ready to vanish away.' As its northern and lateral walls rose high above the low original ones of the aisle, it must, consequently, from the first, as at present, have been gabled to the north, as well as to the south, and thus had its upper parts detached.⁴⁰ It would, doubtless, be occupied by one of the chantry priests or chaplains, for whose use, as a small blocked loophole in the north-east angle seems to show, it was at that point provided with a mural garderobe. But since the whole interior is thickly encrusted with countless coats of dirty whitewash, which greatly detract from the architectural effect, the garderobe arrangements are, for the present, effectually concealed. Notwithstanding, it is still, as it must all along have been, by far the finest and most remarkable porch of any church in the county.

As to the tower, though sufficiently interesting and distinctive, so much cannot be said. (See plate I.) It has, however, one or two points of singular excellence, which deserve notice. First and chiefest, perhaps, is the beautiful hooded arch of three chamfered orders by



Hood mould,
tower arch.
 $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

which its lower storey, lighted by two long lancets, opens to the nave. Simple as it is, nothing finer or juster than the proportions of this arch—in admirable contrast to all the rest—could be imagined, and it has not suffered the slightest deformation. In common with those of the porch, its details, too, serve to prove that the works, of which it formed the western extremity, were carried on up to that point without appreciable stoppage. For as a comparison of the base moulds of its responds with those of the second pillar from the east in the south arcade (see plate XI.) shows that the two are practically identical ; while a similar comparison of those of the westernmost pillar in the same range with the corresponding moulds of the two eastern pillars towards the north (page 70) exhibit a like identity—clearer or more convincing proof of the unbroken continuity of the whole could hardly be desired.

⁴⁰ If proof of this be desired, it may be found at once in the interior of the south wall of the aisle, where the quoin stones of the original north gable, which rose above the wall level, are distinctly visible.

The other point of special interest is found in the stair-turret which rises at the south-west angle. Though the tower itself, like the body of the church, is only built of rubble, this turret is of the most beautiful ashlar work throughout, and as admirable in bold simplicity of design as in execution. And here, too, on the outside, we find still further proof of that uninterrupted continuity which we have



Base moulds, tower buttress, and stair-turret. One-twenty-fourth full size.

seen within; a comparison of the base-mouldings, both of the buttresses and of this turret, with those to the east of the chancel—the two extremities of the building—(see margin), showing all to be of the same type, and practically identical.

Slightly narrower than the nave, the tower itself rises in three stages; the lowest, occupied by two large, perfectly plain lancets towards the west; the middle, by a ringing cham-

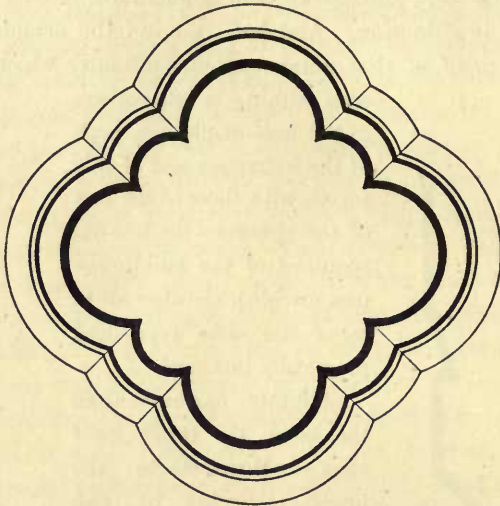


Base moulds of buttresses, east end of chancel.

ber with single, square, trefoil-headed lights; and the third, or belfry, stage, by two small lancets carried on a central column. beneath a semicircular enclosing arch, and of very simple and early looking type. High above the last rose the beautifully built stair-turret, from which access was gained to the base of the original wooden, and lead-covered spire, of which, on its subsequent destruction, the corbel tables were allowed to remain. As at Ryton, on a much smaller scale, that lofty adjunct would naturally gather up into itself, in heaven-soaring fashion, the long aspiring lines of the various high-pitched roofs of nave and chancel, porch and transept, which lay below, and thus bring all to a becoming climax.

And now, with the completion of the tower and spire, we come to the end of that which, though doubtless very late, has yet, throughout been pure, Early English work. From the very commencement of the chancel, throughout the north transept, and the north-eastern bays

of the nave, through the whole of the south aisle, nave arcade, porch, and tower, the details, albeit adhering generally to earlier forms, and only in the east window of the chancel and gable window of the porch



Section, 2nd pillar from west, N., one-sixteenth full size.

giving evidence of a really later period, are, as we have seen, perfectly uniform, and prove that the work, once begun, was carried forward, practically without interruption, up to that point. But there, this Early English work stops suddenly and altogether. Not that there



Cap., Geometrical,
west pillar, N.,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

was any stoppage of the *work*, however. Of this there is not the least proof ; such as there is, indeed, going quite the other way. But the curious fact which meets us here is this, viz., that the remaining portion, the filling up, that is, of the gap between the tower and the two eastern arches on the north side, is not, and makes no pretence of being, in the early English style at all. These three western bays



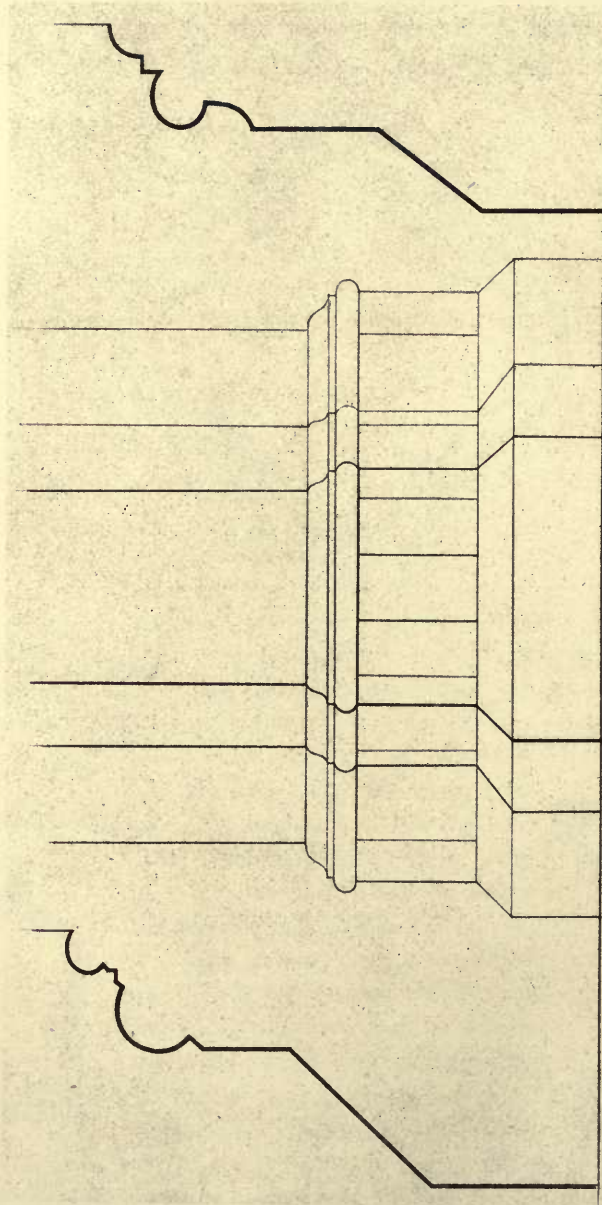
Cap., Geometrical,
2nd pillar from
west, N., $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

which, though in general harmony with, and, indeed, actually reproducing the inner order of the mouldings of the rest, copied exactly, strange to say, from work nearly a century older than themselves, are

1.

2.

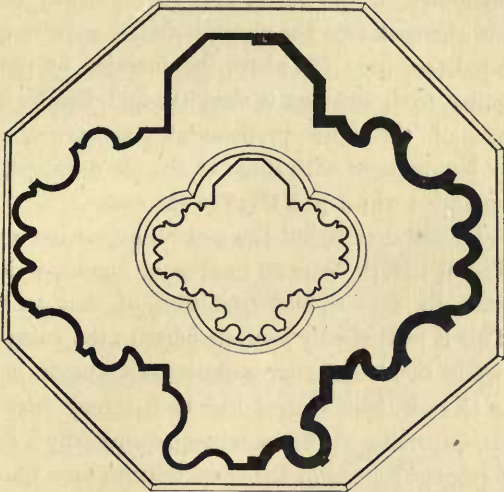
3.



J. F. H., MENS ET DELT.

1. Base mould, respond of tower arch. 2. Shaft, and base mould, second pillar from west, north side.
3. Base mould, second pillar from east, south side.

of the purest and most unmistakable Geometrical character. Save in respect of the inner order, reproduced clearly for uniformity sake, all the mouldings are in that style.



Arch moulds, 2nd and 3rd arches from E., north side of nave
(enclosing those from south side of Bishop's chapel).
One-sixteenth full size.

This is seen most conspicuously, perhaps, in the bases of the two western columns, the one octagonal, the other clustered (for section, see page 76), but both exhibiting the same remarkable ogee upper



Hood mould, two western
arches, N., $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

Hood mould, eastern arches,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

Hood mould, eastern arch,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

moulding which, as need hardly be said, has no affinity with those of the Early English style whatever (for elevation, see plate XI.). And then come the capitals, where mouldings of just as strongly marked a geometrical character as those of the bases (see page 76)

occur again. After these, the next change to be observed is the outer order of the arch-moulds, where the 'roll and fillet,' which all along has played so conspicuous a part in the chancel arch, the two eastern Early English arches of the north, and the whole of those of the south, aisle, is changed into the characteristic 'wave mould' of the Early Decorated (see page 77, where the junction of the two above the second pillar from the east is shown); and, finally, in the hood-moulds which, of the most pronounced geometrical section (see margin), may be compared with those of the often quoted, and purely Early English arches which join them to the east.

And not only the details, but the general expression and effect are different. The new work bears an impress of vigour, which is all the more intensified by the crippled condition of that to which it is attached. This is most clearly seen, perhaps, in the curvature of the arches, for while the two earlier eastern ones appear now, through distortion, as though their centres had been struck from the above springing line, imparting to the western one especially a Saracenic, or horse-shoe, form, the centres of the three western ones lie, apparently, a little below that line, a circumstance which not only serves to accentuate the contrast, but to impart to them a look of wonderful life and power.

How the difference of treatment is to be accounted for, whether through the original master-mason, with whom detail would hardly seem to have been a strong point, having suddenly made a 'forward movement,' or to the advanced, 'up-to-date' knowledge of his possible successor, is more than can now, perhaps, be said. There, however, it is, and 'writ large,' for all who have eyes to see. And most fortunately, for it is just this last remaining section of the continuous work which enables us to fix its close with a degree of precision otherwise unattainable. In this case, 'its' not 'dogged,' but mouldings, 'as does it.' For these mouldings are, as nearly as it is possible for the closest criticism to fix them, those of 1270-74—the closing years of bishop Stichill's life.

And here a singular and highly curious fact remains to mention, viz., that directly above the second pillar from the west, in the very midst of this new work, there occurs as a stop, or terminal to the early Decorated hood-moulds,—the one single portrait head to be found in

all the length of the arcades. Not in itself, as may be thought, perhaps, a very remarkable circumstance, seeing that it is introduced where two dissimilar moulds unite, and so serves to mask the point of junction. But then—for the question forces itself upon us—was this its *sole* object? Had it no further and better end to serve than this purely utilitarian one? Was there not some historical fact or other then engaging men's minds, and which it was designed to emphasize and perpetuate? I cannot but think so. For the head is that of none other than the king of England, young, resolute, beautiful, and wearing the crown royal,—the first Edward who, succeeding his father Henry III., after a reign of no less than fifty-three years, in 1272, was, along with queen Eleanor, whose portrait also faces the aisle, crowned at Westminster, in 1274—the year of Stichill's death, and that which, as it would seem, marked also the completion of the works.

Commenced and finished, therefore, on the showing of its own internal evidence, within the compass of his rule; to him, I think, more or less personally, we may safely ascribe the reconstruction of the fabric,—the one, a church among churches, the other, a bishop among bishops, with peculiarities all their own.

And what a noble and impressive work it must have been! Simple as no doubt it was on the exterior, where the effect must have depended chiefly upon the justness of its proportions, and the contrast presented by the grand scale and superior excellence of the chancel, as well in construction as in detail to the body of the church, its chief excellencies lay elsewhere. Like the 'king's daughter,' it both was,



and was meant to be, 'all glorious within.' Whatever it had of modest dignity or splendour was concentrated there. Its great breadth, enhanced by the spacious transept; the long extended lines of the vast chancel, stretching far beyond the great rood, which, with its screen and loft, occupied the broad entrance arch; the rich massiveness of the arcades; the low walls of the aisles, and general gloom of the nave, intensified by the 'vast valley of the high-pitched roofs' which stretched in well-nigh unbroken line from end to end; all this, seen in prolonged vista through the deep archway of the tower, must have presented an aspect of the most satisfying, as well as severe and solemn grandeur.

NOTE.

With respect to imitative or assimilated work, of which we have such curious illustration, not only in the Early English, but Geometrical, arches of the church, I have, since writing the foregoing chapter, and while it was still in the press, examined what would seem to be as remarkable examples of the practice as could well be conceived, in that singularly interesting and instructive storehouse, the choir of Ripon minster. As is well known, the entire structure was built originally by Roger de Pont l'Evêque, archbishop of York (1154-81), who, dying in the latter year, left 'operi beati Wilfridi de Ripon, ad aedificandam basilicam ipsius *quam de novo inchoavimus* mille libras veterae monetae.' How far the choir, as erected by archbishop Roger, extended eastwards, may, perhaps, be open to question. At present it consists of six bays beyond the central tower. Of these, the first on either side westwards are now blocked with solid masonry, introduced after the partial fall of the eastern and southern walls of the tower in 1454, when the two next bays on the south side were rebuilt from the foundation. That archbishop Roger's choir included four bays is, at any rate, certain. This is proved beyond doubt by the group of vaulting shafts which, on the north side, still remains above the third pillar from the west. They are, I think, the most remarkable examples to be found in all England, and quite unique. For they are not English at all, but purely and wholly French. Strange to say, not one of the writers who have touched upon the church has taken the least notice of them, or, *apparently*, understood the purpose

for which they were primarily introduced. Neither Mr. Sharpe, in his *Seven Periods of English Architecture*, nor Sir G. G. Scott in his *Lectures on Mediaeval Architecture*, delivered at the Royal Academy, nor yet that very able archaeologist, Mr. R. J. King, the author of Mr. Murray's *English Cathedrals* (now all deceased), have so much as a single syllable to say upon their strangely French design and use. Instead of consisting of one, or at the most of three, as in English work, they are no fewer than *five* in number; and rise, not as English shafts would do, either from the ground, as at York and Lichfield, or from corbels, as at Exeter and in other cases generally, but from bases planted on square projecting blocks which occupy the entire capitals of the three front shafts of the clustered pillars below. From which it happens that—just as in contemporary French examples—the mouldings of the pier-arches, instead of being of the full diameter of the pillars and extending through the thickness of the walls—as invariably happens in English work—are reduced to little more than the size of vaulting ribs, and occupy only the *single* capitals of the eastern and western shafts. Anything more utterly un-English or more intensely French could not possibly be conceived.⁴¹ But, since all these shafts remain above the third pillar, it is perfectly clear that there must have been at least one bay further eastward on which the

⁴¹ The planning of the arcade, and vaulting shafts is, as is usual in all French work, of the most uncompromisingly logical kind. Of the former, the three front shafts are given to carrying the corbelled block whence rises the group of vaulting shafts above. The central main shafts, east and west, are given to the pier-arches; the smaller pair to the diagonal ribs of the aisle vaulting, and the main central one to the transverse rib. The five vaulting shafts above have each, in like manner, their own proper and allotted function to discharge, the chief central one, that of carrying the transverse rib of the choir vaulting; the two next it, the diagonal ribs; and those next the wall, the *formerets*, or ribs determining the outlines of the cells. This contemplated vaulting for which, as we see, the completest provision was thus made, was, notwithstanding, never carried out. By the time the level of the clearstorey was reached, very well founded doubts would seem to have arisen as to the ability of the walls to resist its thrust, and the scheme was consequently abandoned. But the change of plan, with its attendant difficulties, was very cleverly got over; so cleverly, indeed, that not one out of the tens of thousands who either visit, or ever have visited the place, would seem to have observed it. Owing to their height above the eye, the utter uselessness of the capitals of these groups of shafts is not observed; all the more so since the base of another single shaft is—though, of course, recessed—placed *apparently* upon the cap of the central one, while those of the slender coupled columns of the side openings of the clearstorey *seem* to stand, in like fashion, upon the capitals of the smaller vaulting shafts on either side of it. Seen from below, the difference of surface levels is altogether imperceptible, and, indeed, unsuspected, and thus, owing to the seeming continuity of the lines, the whole composition appears perfectly harmonious, and as though designed as it now appears from the first.

wall, and diagonal, ribs of the contemplated, though never *executed*, vaulting were designed to rest. This, then, as is clear, would give us an original choir of, at least, four bays. The question of special interest in the present connexion, however, as will presently be seen, is whether there were, in the first instance, *more* than four such bays. In other words, whether the two easternmost bays on either side are, as would seem to be the case, absolutely, and in every detail, thirteenth-century additions or not.

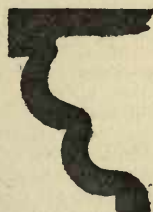
The choirs of the cathedral churches of Winchester, Wells, Hereford, St. David's, St. Patrick's Dublin, and of the great Benedictine abbeys of Gloucester and Glastonbury, as well as that of the fine Cistercian abbey of Netley, among others, had but four bays, while those of Sherborne, Byland, Great Malvern, Melrose (including sanctuary), Romsey, Bath, and Bristol, had no more than three. The author of the account of Ripon contained in the *Builder's* 'Cathedral' series (if not in the best of English) says :—'The two eastern bays of the eastern arm of the church are of Decorated date, with a very fine eastern front, with bold buttresses and generally severe treatment on the exterior. . . . *The piers of the Decorated work have been very closely copied from the Transitional work* which was found remaining, giving this portion of the church an earlier look than it really is.' And consequently, in accordance with this view, the easternmost pillars on each side are shown upon the very carefully prepared plan as belonging to the Decorated period. But later on, and in direct contradiction of his previous statement, he continues :—'The choir of the church of archbishop Roger was evidently co-extensive with the existing one, so that the cathedral has not been materially lengthened since he completed it ; but most of the south side of his choir was destroyed by the fall of the tower, and the three eastern bays, *excepting the arcade piers*, had been rebuilt in the early Decorated style about 1288-1308.' The intricate and perplexing character of the work being duly allowed for, however, such confusion of opinion may, I think, well be pardoned. Why archbishop Roger's east end should have been taken down to the very foundations, and afterwards rebuilt towards the close of the thirteenth century, save for the customary purpose of lengthening his choir, is not easy to understand. To say nothing of parish churches, it was that for which the choirs, or

eastern walls of the choirs, of nearly every cathedral and monastic church in the kingdom were taken down. And such, one would naturally imagine, must have been the case here. Be that as it may, the facts of the case are these. For whatever reason, the original east end, wherever it stood, was completely destroyed, and, together with the two eastern bays on each side, rebuilt from the ground upward on the exterior, and in magnificent fashion, between the years 1288 and 1297. The clearstoreys of the third bays were also rebuilt, and two massive flying buttresses between the three new windows on each side erected at the same time. In the interior, the triforia of the third bays from the east were likewise rebuilt, as were also the three pier-arches on each side. The difficulty lies in determining whether the two pillars, north and south, which support those arches, are of Roger's time or not. If so, they constitute the only fragments of his work which were suffered to remain. If not, then they are unquestionably the most remarkable instances of imitative or assimilated work I have ever come across.

It is a common thing—to take such a well-known and typical illustration as that of Westminster—to follow the main lines and general proportions of the earlier work, such as those of pillars, arches, window openings, etc., for uniformity's sake; but the details, whether of foliage or mouldings, are almost invariably, without any exception whatever, those of the period when the new work was done. Here it is not so, every detail of the pillars from the sub-basement to the abacus reproducing with the minutest exactitude those of the earlier and untouched work. Only on the easternmost pillars on either side—and the variation, slight as it may appear, is of the utmost importance—the abacus mould is changed (see below), *and of the same form as those*



Ripon Cathedral Church, abacus moulds of capitals, north and south arcades of choir (reproduced in 15th cent).



Ripon Cathedral Church, abacus moulds of easternmost pillars of choir, north and south, and of Geometrical responds in east wall.

of the *Geometrical responds of the eastern wall*, while the entire capital of the south-eastern one, though retaining the square abacus and sharp edges of those of Roger's time, is worked with bold, but simple Geometrical mouldings underneath.⁴² Moreover, the vaulting shafts of the aisles, corresponding to the two eastern pillars on both sides are, together with those immediately west of them opposite the third pillars from the east, as well as the vaults they carry, all of the later, or Geometrical, period. And the ribs of this Geometrical vaulting are also of precisely the same section as those of the twelfth century, with the single exception that the central pointed bowtel is worked with a

⁴² The plan of the abaci of the pier capitals of archbishop Roger's choir consists of a square intersected by the arms of a cross, which latter surmount the four main shafts, leaving the angles of the square—which are about only half their size—for the four smaller shafts. There are thus no fewer than twelve salient right angles, all of which, with their severe square edges, are, though utterly alien to the style then in vogue, faithfully reproduced in the abacus of the south-eastern capital, which belongs in its entirety to the Geometrical period. In the north-eastern capital the only point of difference from those to the west of it is seen in the abacus, which is identical with that of the Geometrical capital opposite, and with those of the responds, also Geometrical, which, north and south, are incorporated with, and parcel of, the east wall.

If, as many might be inclined to think, the pillars, together with the immense circular footings on which, like those at Hartlepool, the bases of their shafts are set, are really of Roger's work, it is not easy to understand why, when all the other parts were, and are yet, in absolutely perfect condition, the abacus of the one and the capital of the other should have been removed, apparently for no cause whatever, and replaced by new ones almost identical in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, it is, perhaps, no more easy to realize the alternative conclusion that the architect of the Geometrical period, against the universal practice of his day, should, through love of rigorous uniformity, have designed every portion of his pillars, down to the smallest details, in a fashion a full century and more out of date.

In all the ground plans I have seen, viz., those contained in *The Builder*, Murray's *Cathedrals*, and the *Manual of the Archaeological Institute*, prepared by the late Mr. Walbran, the two easternmost pillars are figured as Geometrical, and belonging wholly to the two new bays of the east end. Not, of course, that such a coincidence proves anything, either one way or the other. At the same time, however, it shows either too little or too much. As we have already seen, archbishop Roger's choir certainly contained four bays; therefore the fourth pillar from the west (the second, that is, from the east) must, if it ended there, as the plans above mentioned would make it do, and the two eastern bays are, as they show them to be, wholly new, be either altogether, or at least in half, of thirteenth-century date also. For, if his choir ended at the fourth bay, then it is clear that no more than the western half of the pillar which might have formed the respond, could possibly have belonged to the earlier work; and the eastern half ought, consequently, to have been figured as belonging to the later. If, however, his work extended to the present east end, then there would be no authority for figuring, as they do, the easternmost columns, which, as to their shafts and bases, are in all respects identical with the rest, as Geometrical. But in none of the accompanying accounts is any explanation of the difficulty offered, or indeed so much as any reference whatever made to its existence. So infinitely easier is it to ignore or overlook perplexing points than to perceive, and grapple with, them.

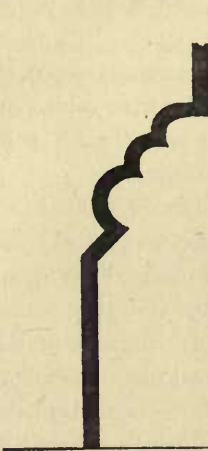
fillet. Nor is this, by any means, all. As I have said above, archbishop Roger's pier-arches were but little deeper in section than mere vaulting ribs, and rested in their entirety upon the two eastern and western capitals of the eight shafts which compose the group. But such a disposition, at the time of the new work, was felt to be a defect which it was determined to get rid of. The two eastern arches on each side were, therefore, for the first time, perhaps, *built*, and the third certainly *rebuilt*, on the English plan of occupying the whole depth of the capitals, notwithstanding this system, broke the surface levels of the walls. The difficulty was very simply surmounted, however. The group of five vaulting shafts which rose from the capitals of the third pillars was allowed to continue as before, while the walls eastward, together with the arches which carried them, were advanced to the level of the central, and most prominent, of the shafts. The two eastern shafts which were also allowed to remain were consequently cut into and intersected at the height of about three feet by the additional mouldings of the new arches, the point of junction being masked by three heads—one, of a lion, the other two, of men. And then the triforium arcades were designed on the same levels as, and in harmonious continuation of, the original ones, with round arches and blank pointed panels on either side, though with details of their own date. But what is most remarkable, the *inner* order of the new arches on the north side are *exact replicas* of those of archbishop Roger to the west of them, their mouldings corresponding to a nicety. And such is also the case on the south side, the only difference being that the central soffit mould, instead of being a pointed bowtel, as on the north, is, like that of the vaulting ribs, worked with a fillet. Not only the forms and proportions of the new pier-arches, but the details also of their inner orders—the only ones of which the earlier twelfth-century arches consist—are thus seen to be closely reproduced in those of the closing years of the thirteenth.

As to the slightly different treatment of this member for the two sides, both the plain pointed bowtel and the roll and fillet moulds, it may be observed, are seen confronting each other in the arcades of Pudsey's great hall at Auckland of exactly contemporary date. Still stranger reproductions of earlier details than even these, however, remain to mention. In the blocked north-western arch of the choir,

both on the south and north sides, the twelfth-century abacus mould of archbishop Roger is seen copied exactly and continued as a string across the face of the fifteenth-century walling, finishing towards the north as the abacus mould of a corbel supporting a massive Perpendicular transverse rib then introduced, along with another longitudinal one, to strengthen the vaulting of the westernmost bay of the aisle. And the same exact copying is seen again towards the west, where the southernmost bay of the transept has been similarly blocked and a curiously early-looking doorway introduced. And then, finally, when, after leaving the interior, we come to examine the outside, precisely the same copying of mouldings with exact and scrupulous fidelity meets us face to face again. In walking round the south side of the choir, we are at once astonished to find the intensely Transitional string course which runs beneath the windows of archbishop Roger's chapter-house carried in perfect facsimile round the deep and massive buttresses erected in the middle of the fourteenth century to support the walls of the Lady-loft above. Whatever may be the case with respect to the eastern pillars, this, at any rate, like the inner order of the choir arches, and abacus mould, is clearly not a case of assimilated, but faithfully and exactly *facsimilated*, work.

Another point intimately connected with the Auckland mouldings, and corroborative of the date assigned to them in the foregoing chapter, remains to be mentioned. Throughout the whole church from the sedilia westwards, the prevalence of a triple roll moulding in the bases of nearly all the columns, great or small, can hardly fail to have been observed. We see it, not only in that of the earliest easternmost pillar of the north arcade, but in nearly all those of the southern one also. Outside the church, it meets us again in the bases of the vaulting shafts of the porch, and in those of the nook-shafts of the south doorway as well. It is an arrangement distinctly characteristic of very late Early English, and Early Decorated work, and widely prevalent, some of the latest and most remarkable examples extant, perhaps, being those of the great clustered arcade piers and vaulting shafts of the nave of Exeter cathedral, erected by bishop Grandisson, *inter* 1327-69; again, curiously enough, in such close imitation of the earlier work of his predecessors, Bronescomb (1258-80), and Quivil (1280-91), that he is said, and no doubt

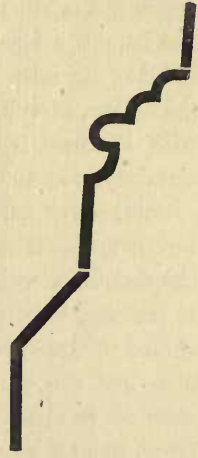
truly, to have carried out the designs of the latter prelate, 'to all appearance, *with little or no alteration.*' The bases of the Geometrical vaulting shafts in the choir aisles at Ripon, erected *inter* 1288-97, furnish us, however, with as characteristic examples of this treatment as could be wished. Slightly later than those at Auckland, they show the prevalence of a fashion which, not only till then, but for a considerable while afterwards continued in general use (see below).



S. Andrew Auckland Church, base mould, sedilia.



Ripon Cathedral Church, bases of vaulting shafts of choir aisles, Geometrical, 1288-97.



S. Andrew Auckland Church, base moulds of S. W. pillar.

And a still further point worth noticing appears in the vertical portions beneath these mouldings, which at Ripon, as in one of the last, if not the very last, in Stichell's work here—the base of the second pillar from the west northward—are no longer, like the mouldings and shafts above, of circular, but multangular, section.

X.—OF THE EPISCOPATE OF ROBERT DE INSULA, OR BISHOP ROBERT II.

No sooner was Robert de Stichill dead than, leave being granted by the king, Robert de Insula, his successor in the priorate of Finchale, was chosen to follow him also in the episcopate of Durham, to which dignity he was consecrated by archbishop Walter Gifford, in York minster, on the Sunday after the feast of S. Nicholas (December 6th), A.D. 1274.

'Happy,' it has been said, 'is the people,' and we may add, *the church*, 'which has no history.' Interesting as the personality of bishop Robert II. was in many ways, his peculiar claim to our regard in the present connexion is this, viz. : that during his whole tenure of office he was content 'to let well alone,' and to allow the singularly beautiful and unique structure, erected in his predecessor's days, to remain intact. It was the one and only episcopate, let me add, in which it was allowed to do so, when its 'history,' for a little while, was happily a blank.

How far these two bishops may have been influenced, in respect of the design, as well as preservation, of the building by their connexion with Finchale, is a question which, if it cannot be answered with certainty, may at least offer interesting matter of conjecture.

Singularly pure and chaste in style, yet staidly rich withal in its severe monastic way as is the priory church, these are precisely the characteristics which, due regard being had to the changed conditions of the case, we find so strikingly reproduced in the collegiate-parish church of Auckland. The early thirteenth-century character of the one—and this connexion may, perhaps, explain what otherwise might seem so inexplicable—finds itself almost literally reproduced in the other, though separated by an interval of nearly forty years.⁴³ Nor is the similarity one of character only; it applies to details also. The same long, simple, lancet lights which still remain at the east end of the choir, the west side of the north transept, and the west end of the nave, all that now remain of the original work at Finchale as the two bishops saw and knew it, are found faithfully reproduced throughout the choir, the north transept, the nave (originally), and west tower at Auckland. And that notwithstanding the fact that traceried windows of the most perfect development, as may still be seen, were being, or had already been, erected in the small local abbeys of Easby and Egliston.

⁴³ An indulgence of the bishop of Candida Casa, dated in 1239, shows that he had then dedicated the high altar there in honour of S. John Baptist, another in that of the Blessed Virgin, and a third in honour of S. Cuthbert, the bishop. This, however, owing to the apparently slow progress of the works, might have taken place some nine or ten years after their inception, the brethren in the meanwhile being content with temporary makeshifts both as regards sanctuary and altars.

Such points of resemblance may, quite possibly, of course, be mere coincidence and nothing more; but the historical and architectural connexion of the two buildings, seems, to my mind, far too close for such results to have ensued through pure accident. The pity of it is that bonds of union, at once so interesting and beautiful, should in both cases, have been so soon and ruthlessly destroyed. For Robert de Insula's reign was not a long one, extending only from 1274 to 1293, when he was succeeded by the most powerful prelate who ever filled the see, and in whose person the palatinate dignity reached its utmost pinnacle of splendour,—Anthony Bek.

XI.—OF BISHOP ANTHONY BEK.

This famous prelate, 'the proudest lord in Chrestientie'—'le plus vaillant clerk du roiaume,' a son of Walter Bek, baron of Eresby, in Lincolnshire, and brother of Thomas Bek, bishop of S. David's, was at the time of his election, the seventh of the ides of July (July 9th), 1283, archdeacon of Durham, and secretary to the king. Two causes, Graystones tells us, determined the choice of the prior and convent—the royal importunity, and the controversy then raging between themselves and William of Wickwaine, archbishop of York. 'For they knew well,' says he, 'that no one elected by them would receive consecration at his hands unless supported by the king's favour.'⁴⁴ Backed by this, he was consecrated accordingly in York minster by the archbishop, January 9th, 12⁸³/₄, in presence of king Edward I., his queen, Eleanor, and a vast concourse of dignitaries.⁴⁵ But not even

⁴⁴ As usual, the cause of all the strife was to be found in that eternal source of squabbling and discord—rights and privileges. On the vacancy of the see, caused by the death of bishop Robert de Insula, on the seventh of the ides of June (June 7th), 1283, the prior and chapter, assuming jurisdiction, appointed their own officers and servants, turning out those chosen by the archbishop, and refusing him entry when, coming personally to Durham, he attempted to hold his visitation. Turning aside, therefore, to the church of S. Nicholas, he was minded, after addressing the people, to excommunicate the heads of the chapter; but certain young townsmen so terrified him that he was glad to make his escape privily down a flight of steps to the water side, and so along to Kepier. Besides all which, they not only grossly insulted him by cutting off his horse's ear, but would further, as was thought—save for the intervention of Wycard de Charrons and Peter de Thorsby—have murdered him.

⁴⁵ Opportunity was taken to make the occasion one of great and imposing magnificence, through a circumstance not mentioned by Graystones—the translation of the relics of the sainted archbishop, William Fitzherbert. His canonization by pope Nicholas III. had been effected by means of 'the money and urgent

then without considerable difficulty, 'for though many at the royal command mediated between the archbishop and the convent, they made but little progress,' so resolute was he that 'at the time of consecration he should compel the prior to leave the church, and on the morrow require the new bishop, by virtue of his obedience, to excommunicate the heads of the chapter.' That, however, when the time came, Bek steadfastly refused to do. 'Yesterday,' said he, 'I was consecrated their bishop, and to-day shall I excommunicate them? No obedience shall force me to such an act.' 'Forsooth,' continues the historian, 'this Anthony was magnanimous; after the king second to none in the kingdom in apparel, carriage, or military power; more occupied in state, than in episcopal, affairs; powerfully aiding the king in times of war and in counsels full of prudence. At times in the Scottish wars he had among his household troops twenty-six standard bearers, and commonly in his suite a hundred and forty knights, so that he might rather be taken for a lay prince than a priest or bishop. And although he delighted to be thus encompassed by a crowd of soldiers, he nevertheless held himself as though he cared nothing for them, counting it a small thing that the chief earls and barons of the kingdom should bow the knee, and knights, like servants, stand long time before him while he himself remained seated. Indeed, he counted nothing dear to him that could magnify his glory.' On one occasion he paid forty shillings (equivalent to as many pounds of modern currency) for the like number of fresh herrings, other magnates then in parliamentary session not caring to buy at so extravagant a price. 'Impatient of rest, and hardly requiring more than a single sleep, he said that he was not worthy of the name of man who turned himself from side to side in bed. Never continuing in one place, he was constantly moving about from one manor to another, from south to north, and conversely; a lover of dogs and birds. And though

entreaties' of Bek, who also bore the entire cost of the translation, and of the magnificent new shrine. The head, which was kept by itself in a reliquary of silver gilt, and covered with jewels, was esteemed the greatest treasure of the church of York, and when Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., visited the minster, was brought for her to kiss. Layton, one of Henry VIII.'s commissioners, who was dean of York, obtained a special grant of this reliquary for the use of the cathedral. Bek's brother, Thomas, had, in a like characteristic fashion, glorified himself by translating, at his own cost, the relics of S. Hugh of Lincoln, on the octave of S. Michael, 1280, on which day he was consecrated in Lincoln cathedral to the see of S. David's.

lavish in many ways, yet was he never in straits, but had, all his life long, all sufficiency of all things. Never eating to satiety, he lived in perfect chastity ; hardly ever with steadfast eyes beholding the face of any woman. Whence it happened that, during the translation of S. William of York, when the other bishops feared to touch his bones, their conscience accusing them of lost purity, he boldly laid hold of them, and reverently did that which was required.'

He was enthroned at Durham on Christmas eve, 1284, by his brother Thomas, of S. David's, the claim of the prior to perform that act being by consent of both parties allowed to stand over without prejudice. On Christmas day he officiated at high mass ; on the next, S. Stephen's day, he and all those attending him were feasted by the prior ; and on the following one, viz., that of S. John the Evangelist, on entering the church he bestowed on it two pieces of cloth of gold, representing the story of the Lord's nativity, which he appointed for the Christmas decoration of the high altar.

In 1300, a grave dispute arising between the bishop and the then prior, Richard de Hoton, with respect to the number of those who should attend him in his visitation of the chapter, led at last to the excommunication and formal deprivation of the latter. Whereupon the bishop, forcibly entering the park of Beaurepaire, made havoc of the game there as though he would extirpate it ; his men, moreover, furiously attacking the prior and his followers, imprisoning his servants, and preventing either vehicles or victuals entering the priory. And once, when the prior came to protest against such conduct they seized, and endeavoured to drag him to prison. But the monks, then at vespers, hearing these things, immediately liberated him. Meanwhile, the king acting as mediator, effected a verbal peace between the two ; ordaining that the prior should continue in office as long as he lived ; that the bishop, in his visitation, should be attended by three or four clerics ; and that all offences on either side should be mutually overlooked. For the king being well affected towards both of them, while proceeding to Carlisle turned aside towards Durham in order to make peace ; promising that he would take part against whichever of them should break it ; and this promise he kept. For the bishop, quickly breaking it, he thenceforth sided with the prior, supporting him as long as he lived. This greatly helped his party ; the more so

since, by bestowing prebends of Howden and pensions on them, he had made friends of the royal chaplains who, in his interest, stirred up the king's mind against the bishop.

Another matter also that helped the prior's party was the dispute which arose between the bishop and his followers concerning the bishopric. For the bishop had twice compelled the men of the bishopric to proceed with him to the Scottish wars with horses and arms; and when, on the second occasion, they had returned home without his leave, had imprisoned them at Durham. Disgusted at such treatment, they took part against the bishop saying that they were 'Haliwerfolk,' holding their lands for the defence of the body of S. Cuthbert, and ought not to go beyond the bounds of the bishopric, to wit, beyond Tyne and Tees for either king or bishop. And the leaders of this opposition were Ralph de Nevill and John Marmaduke. Moreover, almost all the soldiers and free tenants of the bishopric took part with them; and thus, while proceedings were prosecuted at the common expence both in parliament and in the king's court, hatred of the bishop made them all the more zealous partizans of the prior.

Then, three months having elapsed since his suspension and deposition, the bishop, calling together the monks and their adherents, enjoined them to elect another; else he himself would do so for them. Whereupon, since they could not agree, he preferred Henry de Luceby, prior of Holy Island, to the priorate of Durham. And then, in order to induct him, as also to remove prior Richard, who as yet retained possession, he despatched thither his foresters of Weardale and men of Tynedale, who shut up the prior and monks in the abbey: so closely, indeed, were they invested that no food was allowed to reach them; the aqueduct was smashed; the gates of the priory broken to pieces; then those of the cloister; and thus, for three days they imprisoned the prior and monks in the church, where they endured great want of victuals. Yet, though in such straits, the monks none the less, yea rather the more, solemnly celebrated the divine office. At length, on the day of S. Bartholomew, the prior was dragged from his stall by a certain monk adhering to the bishop. For though they had brought in a certain Tynedale man, at sight of the prior he sprang back, declaring that for no amount of gold would he do such a thing. - But what he abhorred to do, the monk did. Being thus ejected, the other,

to wit, Henry de Luceby, was installed in his place, and to him, moved partly by force, partly by fear, almost all the monks submitted themselves. Prior Richard, however, was imprisoned by the bishop, first in the cloister, afterwards in the abbey; and with him two brother monks, to wit, John de Castro and H. de Montalto.

Being inducted into the priorate, Henry de Luceby retained in his service the more honourable personages of the bishopric in great numbers that he might thereby acquire the goodwill of the country; and he also carried on the affairs of the convent with sufficient splendour. But others of the country who were not in his service, held him, notwithstanding, in contempt, calling him *Henry walde be priur*. Being compelled thereto, however, he only undertook the priorate because bishop Anthony had sworn that if he would not enter into it, he would confer the office on an alien. This Henry had, aforetime, admirably administered the duties of sacristan, renewing the roof of the nave, constructing the revestry from its foundations, procuring also bells and ornaments, copes and many other things for the service of the church. In the priorate of Holy Island, and afterwards at Durham, so prudently did he conduct himself, indeed, that in the opinion of many, had he but received the latter appointment canonically, a better prior there would not have been for long.

Meanwhile, prior Richard, being detained in prison, studied how he might escape, and so obtained leave to go out one day to take the air, but in safe custody. When, therefore, he was come to Shincliffe bridge, there appeared eight horsemen having with them a palfrey, which they made him mount. At sight of whom his guards were so terrified, imagining more armed men to be concealed in the wood, that they at once turned and fled. With him was William de Couton, his chaplain, afterwards prior of Durham, who protested that rather than be left behind he would follow him on foot, but a horse being quickly forthcoming, they went both together. Richard therefore remained in Cleveland till Christmas, and about the feast of the Purification next following (February 2nd), attended the parliament of Lincoln. Wherein, making bitter complaint to the king of his imprisonment, and of the injuries inflicted on him by the bishop, he obtained royal letters commendatory addressed to the pope on his behalf, and so set forth for the Roman curia. In the same parliament

the men of the bishopric also complained of the bishop in respect of his conduct in the Scottish wars. Moreover, the king was greatly offended with him because, when he asked whether he would take his part against the earl marshal, the earl of Hereford, and other magnates of the kingdom who, gathered there in arms, were minded to take him captive, the bishop replied that they all laboured for the profit and honour of the kingdom and of the king, and therefore he would take his stand with them, and not with the king against them. Whereat the king, greatly indignant, though forced to dissemble with the earls, thenceforth thoroughly detested the bishop—he had come attended by a suite of a hundred and forty men at arms.

At the instance of prior Richard, therefore, bishop Anthony was cited to appear personally before the Roman curia. Arrived there himself, he found the pope and cardinals well disposed towards him, for he was a man sufficiently learned, eloquent, and personable. Asked to tell his tale, it excited general sympathy; when the pope, after due enquiry, revoked, conditionally, his deprivation, and restored him to his office the third of the kalends of December (November 29th), 1301.

Bishop Anthony not appearing to his citation, the pope thereupon pronounced him contumacious, and suspended him from his pontificate, again citing him to appear within six months on pain of deprivation of his episcopal dignity. Being thus summoned the second time, the bishop appeared before the curia, but with such apparel and gesture, that all were amazed at his retinue and sumptuous prodigality. One day as he was riding towards the curia at Rome, a certain count of those parts meeting his cavalcade and marvelling longwhile at the multitude of his attendants, enquired of a citizen, 'Who is this that passes?' To whom the man replied, 'An enemy of wealth.' To a certain cardinal who admired one of his splendid palfreys he sent two, in order that he might take his choice, when the cardinal, enticed by their beauty, kept both. Which when the bishop heard he said, 'So help me God, but he has not failed to choose the best.' So magnanimous was he that he thought he could do whatsoever pleased him without reproach, not hesitating to bless in the presence of cardinals, nor to amuse himself with birds in that of the pope. While on his way to Rome, and he was being entertained

in a certain city, a quarrel broke out between his servants and the townfolk. The whole town being at length aroused against him, and his servants overpowered, the magnates of the place, breaking into the chamber where he was, rushed in upon him as upon a thief, with swords and clubs, crying out, 'Yield thee, yield!' To whom, neither rising nor paying the least regard, he exclaimed, 'So help me God, but you hav'nt said to whom I should yield—not to any of you.' His followers looked for nothing but death; but he spoke with as much unconcern as though there were no cause of fear. During the same journey, one of his company, enquiring the price of a very precious piece of cloth, the merchant replied that he didn't think even the bishop could afford it, which, when he heard, he purchased forthwith, and, before the man's face, had it cut up into saddle-cloths.

Because of this profuseness he was much honoured of the pope and cardinals; and the pope, rejecting as irrational that exception of the prior that the bishop should visit his chapter alone and unattended, even by a single cleric, and the Bonifacian Constitution being cited, wherein it was ordained that a bishop should visit with two clerics, one notary, and one religious of the same order, he thereupon, being thus licensed by the pope and cardinals, returned to England with—'honour.'

Not to find 'peace' along with it, however. For the king, on the ground of his having left the country without licence, seized the temporalities,⁴⁶ which were not restored to him till the year following. The same process was repeated again in 1303, when the new pope, Clement V., advanced bishop Anthony to the titular patriarchate of Jerusalem. He also, at the bishop's suggestion, suspended the prior as well from spiritual as temporal administration, and, in spite of an unfriendly and adverse chapter, committed to him the care of the

⁴⁶ The forfeited possessions of the Bruces and Balliols—Barnard Castle and Hartlepool, which Bek had acquired, were also taken from him by the king. His son, Edward II., restored the episcopal lands and honours, except Barnard Castle and Hartlepool, in lieu of which he bestowed on him the unsubstantial title of King of Man, for life. Barnard Castle first came into Bek's possession on the forfeiture of John Balliol, in 1296, and, with the exception of a single year, so continued till 1305, when it was granted to Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. During that interval, Bek would seem, beyond all doubt, to have built what is by far the finest and most striking feature of the place, the round tower, an admirable piece of work, and—in strong contrast with the rest—of faultless construction.

house in both respects. Then, while the prior was waiting at Canterbury on his way to Rome, the bishop committed the care of the house to Henry de Luceby, whom he had before preferred to the priorate ; but when Stephen de Mauley, archdeacon of Cleveland, and R. de Morpath were sent to Durham to induct him, they not only found the gates shut and entrance denied them, but themselves also apprehended and fined a hundred pounds apiece by the king.

Meantime, the pope writes to the king, begging of him the cell of Coldingham for his nephew.⁴⁷ 'For he had a certain nephew, Raymond de la Goth, whom he too much loved. He had created him a cardinal, and preferred him to the deaneries of Lincoln and London, as well as given him many rich livings in divers parts of England. He was a well natured youth enough, though too luxurious ; and it was only through hatred of the prior that the bishop had suggested that the pope should confer the priorate of Coldingham upon him.' But the king, like a good and prudent man, replied to the papal nuncios, 'I wonder how it is that the pope loves his nephew so much as to wish to make a black monk of him.' And when they answered that he had no such thought the king returned, 'But, by the holy God, he shall not have that priorate unless he become a monk, for then the pope might bestow any abbey in England he pleased upon seculars, and thus both our own and our ancestors' benefactions would be brought to naught.' 'Beata terra,' exclaims Graystones, 'cujus rex nobilis.'

Arrived at the curia, the prior, he tells us, met with a favourable reception, both from the pope and cardinals. 'For when the pope saw the elegance of his person, the staidness of his manners, his knowledge and eloquence, he confessed that, not only had he erred badly, but as badly as possible, in his suspension, and therefore restored him, the eighth of the kalends of November (October 25th), 1306. But for that restoration *he exacted the sum of a thousand marks!* The prior thus restored, however, dying there on the fifth of the ides of January (January 9th), 1307, all his goods, horses, silver vessels, books, and

⁴⁷ A stereotyped synonym, as need hardly be said, for *bastard*. It is not a little curious to note how, amid the open and unabashed profligacy of the Roman court, the last lingering traces of conventional propriety should be discoverable in such a well understood, and therefore perfectly transparent and innocuous misnomer.

jewels were confiscated to the papal chamber.' Nor, bad as this was, was it by any means the worst of the shameful story, for, Graystones continues, 'The prior being thus dead and buried, choice was given to the three monks who accompanied him to the curia to nominate a prior, whom the pope would prefer to the office. When one of them had been pitched upon, however, so provoked was he that he shed bloody tears from both eyes and nostrils, saying, 'Would you bring such a scandal upon me that it should be said I had poisoned my prior in order that I might rule in his stead?'⁴⁸ Disputing thus, and unable to make a choice either from among themselves or any other, the king of England and the patriarch of Jerusalem wrote on behalf of the prior of Wetheral, William de Tanfield, upon whom the pope bestowed the priorate on S. Matthew's day (September 21st), *or rather sold it, because for that collation the pope had three thousand marks, and the cardinals a thousand*—'vel potius vendidit; quia pro illa collatione habuit Papa tria millia marcarum, et cardinales mille.' As a direct participator in such a transaction prior William's character was consistent enough. Graystones sums it up thus:—'Sumptibus largus sed in providendo minus sciolus. Lætabatur in magnitudine familie, in multitudine et frequentia convivantium; et unde talia sustineret, non satis provide cogitabat.' It suited his patrons, apparently, well enough, however, for, he adds, 'when the king abode at Carlisle with his son, to wit, Edward of Karnarvan, and the patriarch, he so conducted himself that they were ever afterwards graciously disposed towards him.'

But all these infamous transactions fell heavily upon the church and convent of Durham, in whose annals, along with many other accompanying and associated evils, they are set forth at great length. Only one agreeable, if pathetic, incident is to be found in connexion with them. 'On the morrow of the Purification, 1308, bishop Anthony,'

⁴⁸ What a ghastly comment and sidelight does not such an exclamation—all the more so from its being wholly undesigned—cast upon the ordinary, everyday practices of the Roman court and people, as though it were the first and most natural thought that would enter men's minds, and escape their lips! S. William of York, whose relics were translated by Bek, was said, like so many more, to have been poisoned in the chalice only a month after his restoration to the see, in 115; and cardinal Bainbridge, his successor, erewhile bishop of Durham, whose exquisitely beautiful portrait statue and tomb of white marble, perfectly preserved, I remember to have seen in the hall of the English college at Rome, met with a similar fate at the hands of a servant whose ears he is said to have boxed at dinner-time.

we are told, 'visited the chapter of Durham after the form of the Bonifacian Constitution "*De bent.*" Then, many severe sentences were passed by him upon the heads of the house, which, after his death, were annulled by archbishop Grenfeld.' But these, in Graystones's belief, were brought about by others, rather than of the bishop's own proper motion. 'For in the beginning of the visitation,' he says, 'the laymen and seculars having retired, immediately the whole convent prostrated themselves on bent knees to the earth before the bishop, and desired that, if any of them in the late strife had transgressed against him in any way he would mercifully forgive them, when bursting into tears, he promised them solemnly that he would do so.'

After breaking the peace effected by the king between the prior and himself, Bek would seem never to have recovered the favour of Edward I. 'For that, and for other causes,' Graystones tells us, 'he took from him Barnard Castle with its dependencies, and conferred them on the earl of Warwick; Hart and Hartness, on Robert de Clifford; Kewreston (Keverston), on Galfrid de Hertipol; which he had through the forfeiture of J. de Balliol, R. de Brws, and Christopher de Seton. Nevertheless, in his charter, the king added this sentence, *Salvo jure Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.* And these three collations of the king were confirmed by the chapter. The king also took from him Werk in Tyndal, Penereth, and the church of Symondborne, which he had appropriated for the use of his table.'

In his concluding chapter, 'De appropriatis ecclesiae per Antonium, et aedificiis ejus et morte,' he tells us how 'he attached the manor of Evenwood, which he had bought of J. Haunsard, to the church, and built the manor-house of Auckland with its chapel and chambers in the most sumptuous fashion, appropriating thereto the church of Morpeth for the pension of the chaplains. But after his death, Ralph, son of William, lord Greystock, recovered the patronage of that church by legal process, and thus, his presentee being admitted and instituted by the bishop, the chapel remained unendowed.

He built the castle of Somerton near Lincoln, and the manor of Eltham near London, in most curious wise; but bestowed the first on the king, and the second on the queen. The castle of Alnwick, which W. de Vesci had bestowed upon him in trust that he would keep it for the benefit of his young illegitimate son, William, and

estore to him when he should be grown up, he sold to Henry de Percy. He had the Isle of Man, by gift of the king, for life. Dying at Eltham on the 3rd of March, 1310, in the 28th of his episcopate, but the 5th of his patriarchate, he was buried in the church of Durham, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, at the head of the church (*in fronte ecclesiae, i.e.*, the east end), on the north side, on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (May 3rd), next following, as is yet manifest, with sufficiently great honour.⁴⁹ For before his days, for reverence of the body of S. Cuthbert, it was not permitted that any dead body should enter the church. And although that bishop had been most sumptuous in buildings, apparel, servants, and other things, he, nevertheless, died rich and full of goods, precious stones, silver vessels, horses, and costly vestments; deceasing in possession of which, he honoured the church of Durham beyond all his predecessors, and made his memory famous.'

From the Patent Rolls, 5th Edward II. p. i. m. 20.

PRO EXECUTORIBUS TESTAMENTI ANTONII QUONDAM DUNELM'.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Noveritis nos teneri Executoribus Testamenti Antonii quondam Episcopi Dunelmensis defuncti in mille trescentis quater viginti et sex libris tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis pro ciphis et ollis aureis, tentoriis, et uno panno broudato ab ipsis Executoribus emptis ad opus nostrum, solvendis eisdem Executoribus, una videlicet medietate in festo Purificationis B. Mariæ Virginis proximo futuro, et alia medietate in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo sequenti. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud London, xxviii. die Augusti.

PER BILLAM INGELARDI CUSTODIS GARDEROBÆ REGIS.

⁴⁹ It will be observed that Graystones makes no mention of the story circulating in the time of Henry VIII., stated as a fact in the *Rites of Durham*, and repeated, and given currency to as such by the late Dr. Raine, of 'the wall being broken at the end of the allye for bringinge him in with his coffin.' So far as appearances go they belie such a statement altogether. The interior arch of the northern doorway, like that of the other towards the south, with which it exactly corresponds, is of original construction, and occupied the place long before the days of Bek. The exterior archway, however, curiously enough, not only is, but for time immemorial has been, utterly obliterated. Whether it were thus destroyed and blocked before Bek's death, and then broken through to admit the entrance of his body, cannot now positively be said; but such would seem far from likely to have been the case, since a precisely similar pair of doors in the same relative positions may be seen in the corresponding eastern transept at Fountains abbey, and their use, in either case, would be the same.

In *Murray's Cathedrals*, it is stated in the late Mr. R. J. King's excellent account of Durham that—'No monument was erected to this great prelate. A brass alone recorded that "Praesul magnanimus Antonius hic jacet imus."' But this seems to be a mistake, for we read in the *Rites*—'Betwixt the last two Altars lyeth buried Anthony Beake, Bishopp of Durham and Patriarch of

Such is the account given us of bishop Anthony by his contemporary Graystones, doctor in theology, and sub-prior of the house, who had himself also not only been elected, but consecrated and enthroned bishop of Durham; but who, being prevented by injustice and intrigue from occupying the see, continued—rather than stir up strife—to occupy, with admirable patience, the place of a humble monk therein.

As might be expected, from the position of the writer, it deals chiefly with such circumstances of his government as affected the monastery, and led to those miserable squabbles and wranglings which, throughout the whole of his episcopate, never ceased to trouble it.

Among many other matters, consequently, unrecorded by him, is that which, most of all, concerns our present enquiry, viz., his settlement of the collegiate church of Auckland. For this we must turn to the *Monasticon*, where, after casting about vainly in many directions, including the Public Record office and British Museum, I at last happily discovered his statutes incorporated in an *Inspeximus* of bishop Langley (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, 1830, vol. vi. p. 1334). Dugdale's own account of the church, and collegiate foundation, which precedes it, is as follows:—

College at Bishop's Auckland, in the County of Durham.

The church or chapel of St. Andrew at Bishop's Auckland was made collegiate and well endowed by Anthony Beke, bishop of Durham. (a) At the time of pope Nicholas's taxation, A.D. 1291, there were twelve portionaries or prebendaries here, and their revenues were then rated at £249 13s. 4d. But the founder, in his statutes made the next year, appointed a dean and nine prebendaries only, and of that number there was some alteration made by Thomas, bishop of Durham, A.D. 1348; but there was again a dean and eleven prebendaries, 26th Hen. VIII., when the deanery was valued at £100 7s. 2d., and the eleven prebends at £79 16s. 8d. (b)

(a) *Lel. Collect. tom. i. p. 123.* Tanner says there seems to have been some foundation here before; for 'A.D. 1239, Robertus de Courtney habuit literas de presentatione ad Decanatum de Aclent ratione vacationis Episcopatus Dunelm.' *Pat. 24 Hen. III. m. 5.*

(b) *Tann. Notit. Monast. Durh. I.*; William Sherwode, dean of Auckland, was buried at Rome, where he died 11th Oct., 1497.

Jerusalem, in a faire marble tombe under neath a faire marble stone, beinge the first bishopp that ever attempted to lye so neare the sacred Shrine of Saint Cuthbert.' It is not a little curious that bishop Hatfield's is the only sculptured monumental effigy of a pre-Reformation bishop of Durham ever erected either in the cathedral or elsewhere.

That Bek himself was the founder of the college, as alleged by Leland and Dugdale, is, however, plainly disproved, not only by the fact referred to by Tanner, but by the statutes themselves. As will there be seen, Bek's work consisted simply in revising the order, and augmenting the endowment, of an already established institution—that, in short, which had never ceased to exist upon the spot since the days when the seculars were expelled from Durham. Detached from Langley's context, his statutes run thus :—

‘Universis S. matris ecclesiae filiis, ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint, Antonius permissione divinâ Dunelmensis episcopus salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Pastoralis officii debitum Domino credimus exhibere, cum ad ecclesiae suae non solum circa temporalia commoda procuranda, sed etiam circa divini cultus augmentum, nostrae sollicitudinis studium et curam extendimus diligentem, ut dum divina obsequia majori veneratione Domino persolvuntur, fidelium devotio erga ecclesiam ferventiùs excitetur, et ipsum divinum obsequium cum suis ministris ampliori reverentiâ extollatur pariter et honore. Cum igitur ecclesiam S. Andreae de Aukland collegiatam nostrae dioecesis, quae ad nos pleno jure dinoscitur pertinere, non solum numero praebendarum set etiam facultatibus habundanter noverimus decrevisse; nullusque canonicorum seu praebendariorum ejusdem ecclesiae in eadem ecclesiâ residere hactenus sit inventus, vel qui alium pro se curaret ponere servitorem, quanquam utilitas et honestas id exposcerent, et ipsarum praebendarum ad hoc suppetere facultates; hoc solum pro excusationis velamento praetendentes, quod domos ibidem non habeant, vel areas competentes, in quibus sibi possent construere mansiones, propter quod nos meditationis assiduitate augemur et pulsamur, qualiter ejusdem ecclesiae honori prospicere valeamus, de consensu magistri Roberti de Albuwyke perpetui vicarii de Aukland, et omnium canonicorum seu praebendariorum ejusdem, ad ordinationem infrascripta decernimus procedendum.

‘In Dei nomine, amen. Cum infra limites parochiae de Aukland temporibus nostris quaedam fuerunt novalia et terrae de vasto nostro, ad culturam noviter sunt redactae; quarum terrarum seu novalium decimae ordinatio et assignatio ad nos tam de jure, quàm de ecclesiae nostrae consuetudine pertinere noscuntur, de dictis decimis novalium seu terrarum vasti nostri, ad culturam tempore nostro noviter redactarum ultra Gaunles in forestâ nostrâ versus occidentem, et circa Gaunles infra Wydepmore unam erigimus et ordinamus praebendam, usque ad valentiam decem librarum; decernentes illas decimas, usque ad aestimationem praedictam integram perpetuo fore censendam. Et quia cum dignitatis praerogativa et personae eminentia rei conjunguntur excellenti, summum constituit officii gradum, nomen vicariae, quod in ipsâ ecclesiâ hactenus est optentum in nomen decanatus ecclesiae collegiatae decrevimus perpetuo fore transmutandum, attendentes ex hoc non solum personam magistri Roberti dudum vicarii, nunc autem decani ejusdem, et successorum suorum; verum etiam ipsam ecclesiam congruè honoribus exaltare: et sicut nomini honoris tribuimus augmentum, sic etiam eidem reale accedere volumus incrementum,

ipsumque decanum praebendam novalium seu decimarum, usque ad summam praetaxatam annectimus antedictam : statuentes et ordinantes, quod dictus decanus et omnes successores sui post ipsum, omnes obventiones, terras, redditus, jura, et libertates percipiant, quas et quae in statu vicariae hactenus percipere consueverunt : et quod in dictâ ecclesiâ residentiam faciat vel faciant continuam, prout officii sui cura requirit, et quod in capellâ manerii nostri de Auckland unum inveniet sacerdotem qui singulis diebus, pro nobis et praedecessoribus nostris, ac eorum successoribus missam celebret congruentem : et nichilominus, quod in ipsâ majori ecclesiâ et capellis suis in quibus perceperit proventus, sacerdotes et alios clericos habeat competentes, prout hactenus in eisdem fieri consuevit.

‘ Et ut canonicis ipsius ecclesiae, qui hactenus ibidem non residerunt, nec vicarios vel alios clericos servitores pro se ibidem statuere curaverunt, quanquam non modicum praebendarum suarum creverit facultates, praedictam excusationis materiam amputemus quandam aream ex parte australi ipsius ecclesiae eisdem canonicis assignamus, inter eos certis regionibus per nos dividendam, pro mansionibus suis ibidem de novo constituendis, eisdem canonicis omnibus et singulis, in virtute obedientiae firmiter injungentes, quod infra biennium proximum sequens mansiones ibidem in areis sibi assignatis construi faciant ; in quibus se recipere valeant cum honore.

‘ Statuimus etiam et ordinamus, quod quilibet canonicus, qui residentiam ibidem non fecerit personalem, vicarium idoneum pro se habeat, qui cotidianis psallendis, horis, processionibus, et missis intersit in habitu canonicali et decenter officiet in eadem. Et quia non debet ligari os bovis triturantis, set qui altari servit de altari vivere debet, statuimus et ordinamus, quod quinque primi canonici ; videlicet, magister Robertus Avenell, Walterus de Langton, Galfridus de Vezano, Johannes de London, magister Adam de Brampton, et eorum successores in praebendis suis, singuli, singulos vicarios suos habent orthodoxos, quibus de suis proventibus teneantur quinque marcas annuas assignare. Quatuor verò alii canonici, videlicet, Johannes de Lacy, dominus Ricardus de Insulâ, Johannes de Wytham, Alanus de Kyrkham, diaconos habeant vicarios, quorum quilibet pro suis stipendiis quadraginta solidos percipiat annuatim. Reliqui verò subdiaconos vel alios clericos idoneos habeant vicarios, quibus singulis pro suis stipendiis xxx^s. annuos solvi volumus et mandamus. Dictae verò solutiones fiant vicariis antedictis, juxta praedictum statum suum, ad quatuor anni terminos, in nostrâ dioecesi communiter usitatos.

‘ Volumus insuper et mandamus, quod hujusmodi vicarii, per canonicos seu praebendarios dicto decano praesententur, qui ipsos, dum tamen idoneos recipere teneantur. Cum autem aliquis dictorum vicariorum in fata decesserit, vel alias amotus fuerit quoquomodo, canonicus vel praebendarius, cujus fuerit vicarius, infra unum mensem à tempore mortis vel amotionis hujusmodi, alium praesentare teneatur ; quod si non fecerit, omni excusatione cessante, dictus decanus de alio vicario idoneo, pro anni residuo non differat ordinare.

‘ Statuimus etiam et ordinamus, quod omnes horae canonicae in choro dictae ecclesiae per totum annum cantentur cum notâ : et quod dictus decanus et vicarii aut alii ministri ecclesiae antedictae, modum psallendi secundum usum Eborum vel Salesberiae teneant et observent : magna autem missa de die singulis diebus horâ tertiâ, vicariis et aliis ministris convenientibus cum notâ

congrue celebretur. Missa siquidem de beatâ Virgine, per magistrum Adam de Brampton supradictum, vel suum vicarium, et suos successores, post ipsum horâ competenti solempniter præcipimus celebrari. Presbyteri verò qui per dictum decanum in eadem ecclesiâ præficiuntur, ad curam parochiæ supportandum, et caeteri ecclesiæ ejusdem ministri in habitu canonicali caeteris vicariis canonicorum per omnia se conforment.

‘Singuli verò vicarii canonicorum sint ebdomadarii, secundum gradum et ordinem vicis suae, juxta dispositionem decani; qui sicut in curâ parochiali, sic in hiis quae ad divinum spectant officium ordinet et corrigat, chorum regat et disponat; ac etiam in hiis puniat transgressores. Matutinas insuper mane dici propter parochianos volumus et mandamus.

‘Ne autem de ordine sedendi vel procedendi contentio oriatur, statuimus ut primus stallus ex parte australi chori nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservetur.

‘Ex parte autem boreali decanus ecclesiæ retineat primum locum. Canonici quidem qui vicarios inveniunt sacerdotes, loca sequentia habeant ex utraque parte chori, secundum ordinem gradus sui. Deinde canonici qui diaconos habeant vicarios, habeant loca sua. Postremo canonici, qui subdiaconos, vel alios clericos habent vicarios collocentur.

‘Et eandem ordinem observent invicem, procedendo canonici memorati.

‘Hanc igitur ordinationem nostram, concurrente consensu capituli nostri Dunelmensis, ac praedicti magistri Roberti et aliorum canonicorum, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Christi factam, statuimus perpetuis temporibus inviolabiliter observandam, auctoritate, dignitate, et potestate ecclesiæ nostrae Dunelmensis et successorum nostrorum in omnibus semper salvis. In cujus rei perpetuam firmitatem sigillum nostrum praesentibus est appensum. Acta et data apud Auckland in crastino Octab. Epiphaniae anno Domini M.CCXII^o et consecrationis nostrae decimo.’

Had bishop Anthony but confined himself to the enactment of these statutes, he might justly have been regarded as in every way a benefactor. But that, unhappily, was not the case. In order, as they doubtless thought—imagining a vain thing—to adapt the beautiful choir of the new church the better to collegiate uses, he and the blundering mason, architect we cannot call him, whom he employed, deliberately set about its complete, and—artistically speaking—hideous, destruction. And that in the meanest and most miserable way. Inside and outside alike, the work spelt ‘ruin’—unqualified and absolute. The whole scheme, in fact, was conceived and carried out with a degree of callous violence and stupidity which needs inspection to be understood.

That a prelate so profuse and prodigal in his own personal expenditure should have been thus niggardly in respect of things offered to God—save that such spectacles are of daily occurrence—

might seem well nigh incredible. Had but a tenth of the tithe of the wealth squandered in vainglorious ostentation been bestowed upon what he would seem to have considered the necessary alterations of the collegiate church, what an enduring and glorious monument of utmost art—considering the days in which he lived—instead of sordid penuriousness, might it not have come down to us in his honour? But here, as elsewhere, we may read a meaning into the boastful ‘magnanimous’ of his epitaph not contemplated of the scribe. His magnanimity, it is clear, had some stringent limitations. For what, on examination, does it seem to have amounted to but the constant application of his vast wealth, and the enormous power, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, at his command, to his one fixed object of self-exaltation, untroubled by any considerations either of honour or honesty? Witness, for example, his shameful breach of trust in respect to the sale of Alnwick; his unjust and illegal seizure of the church of Morpeth for the endowment of his domestic chaplains; and the aid afforded by him, out of pure spite to prior Richard de Hoton, towards the advancement, through open simony, of so unworthy a subject as William de Tanfield to the priorate of Durham. As to the furtherance of his cause in the Roman curia by means of gifts and bribes, he doubtless understood the character of the gang of ravenous miscreants he was dealing with perfectly, and the case was simply one of diamond cut diamond. And as to the pope, he might think, perhaps, and not unnaturally, that it was ‘enough for the disciple to be as his master, and the servant as his lord.’ At Rome, at any rate, his ‘greatness of mind’ would be measured by that of the appetites of his ecclesiastical superiors, and his ability—if that which was always insatiable, could be satisfied—to satisfy it.

But, so far as the *fabric* went, it had been well if the ‘Magnanimous’ had never been born. As left by him it continued, apparently untouched, till the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when, under cardinal Langley, it entered on a fresh chapter of its chequered, if uneventful, history.

NOTE.

Dugdale, as will be seen, states above that at the time of pope Nicholas's taxation, A.D. 1291, there were twelve portionaries or prebendaries here at Auckland. He then goes on to say that, in the year following, Bek, whom he styles the founder, appointed 'a dean and nine prebendaries only.' But in this last particular, equally as in the first, he is shown, on the evidence of the statutes themselves, to be distinctly and altogether wrong. His error, however, as is plain, can only have originated from a hurried and careless reading of the text. Bek, it will be observed, after specifying, and naming, the first five canons, 'quinque primi canonici,' ordains that they should maintain as many vicars, 'ortodoces,' or in priest's orders. And then he proceeds to specify, and name, in like fashion, the four other canons, 'quatuor verò alii canonici,' who were also to maintain the like number of vicars in deacon's orders. With these, therefore, we have Dugdale's 'nine canons only' complete. Bek, however, goes on, 'Reliqui verò, subdiaconos vel alios clericos idoneos habeant vicarios,' for whose adequate endowment he also makes provision. Now it is clear from this that there must, at the very least, have been two in this last group of canons whose vicars were to be in subdeacon's, or other minor orders. And thus, these, with the dean, would bring up the establishment to twelve as before; the bishop, perhaps, as patron, part founder, and head, occupying the highest place, and so completing the *ideally*, and normally perfect number of thirteen. (See Appendix.)

Besides reconstituting the college at Auckland, Bek founded, or constituted, two others also in the palatinate. They were as follows:—

LANCHESTER, founded in 1283, for a dean and seven canons; the dean, who was to be in priest's orders and have the cure of souls, to provide two suitable chaplains.

The three principal prebendaries to find each a vicar chaplain, and each of the four other prebendaries to have a vicar in holy orders to minister in the church in canonical habits, and to follow the use of either York or Sarum.

The first stall on the south side is reserved to the bishop and his successors, the first prebendary sitting next him; the first stall on the

north side to the dean, with the second prebendary next him ; the third next the first, and so on, the seventh prebendary coming last on the bishop's side.

CHESTER-LE-STREET, founded in 1286, also for a dean and seven canons ; the dean, who was to be in priest's orders and continually resident, with cure of souls, to provide two suitable chaplains and others in minor orders for the efficient service of the church. Each of the three chief prebendaries to have his vicar chaplain, and the other four each his vicar deacon, ministering in canonical habit, and following the use of York or Sarum, with the same order of occupying stalls as at Lanchester.

XII.—OF BEK'S ALTERATIONS.

Among the first results of the resettlement of the collegiate body, as it was certainly the most disastrous, was the general recasting of the church. As in so many other cases, the chief reason for this mischievous meddling would seem to have lain in some real, or imaginary, lack of light.⁵⁰ It is that from which nearly every early building in the country has suffered more or less severely. But none,

⁵⁰It is not a little curious to observe how, from the 12th century to our own, there has been a steadily growing love for more and more light both in our churches and domestic buildings, accompanied by a corresponding determination, at all costs, to secure it. Hardly an ancient church in the land can be found in which evidence of the fact, more or less conspicuous, does not exist. There can be no doubt but that the extreme costliness of glass in the earliest periods led as well to the fewness, as smallness, of the windows. These, as at Staindrop, in pre-Conquest days, were often left unglazed, set as high in the walls as possible, and of just sufficient size to 'make darkness visible.' Where no new parts were added, then larger windows were broken out in the original walls as occasion required and means allowed, as in the choirs of Jarrow, Staindrop, Barnard Castle, Cartmel, and others without number. But, universally, where there were aisles, then, as here at Auckland, space for getting more light was most readily gained by raising the walls and inserting windows, not only of much greater breadth, but height also. And the feeling and fashion still went on developing to the very latest days. Nowhere, perhaps, can more interesting or instructive illustration of its growth during three successive periods be found than in the great metropolitan church of York ; first in the transept, then in the nave, and finally in the presbytery and choir. Yet even the latest of those developments failed to reach the utmost limits of the movement. Such magnificent churches as those of S. Mary's, Nottingham, and Long Melford, Suffolk, are simply all window, both above and below ; the stonework forming a mere skeleton framing to hold the glass together and sustain the roofs. The chapels of S. George, Windsor ; King's college, Cambridge ; and Bath abbey church, the very latest example of native English Gothic in the land, not having been completed till 1616 (or, more correctly, till our own day when the vaulting and flying buttresses of the nave were erected), continue and complete the system, which, it might be thought, could then no further go. But yet we see it did, for in the Lady chapel at Westminster (known commonly as Henry

I imagine, more so than this. Indeed it would be no easy task to name a case in which the subsequent alteration was so utterly destructive, or the original work so worthy of sympathetic and respectful treatment as it was here. But it found none. Rather it was treated as a mere *corpus vile* unworthy of any regard at all. As brutally direct of purpose, as regardless of architectural effect, the new work in the chancel played havoc with all that had gone before, being carried out in a way that simply spelt—ruin. ‘Poverty,’ as the proverb tells us, ‘makes strange bedfellows.’ But no such explanation, save poverty of will, can be found here. Had what was done been effected by any other prelate than Bek, some sort of excuse, however lame, might possibly have been found for it. But it is difficult, not to say impossible, to conceive even ‘extenuating circumstances,’ in such a case as his. ‘Rich,’ in his day, ‘beyond the dreams of avarice;’ profuse, with the most lavish prodigality, in everything that pertained to his own personal popularity and position; when it came to the partial alteration of his parish church, what a pitiful reversal of the picture do we see. Meanness for magnificence, penuriousness for prodigality; brutal destruction of his predecessor’s works, the baldest and most barbarous qualities in his own. Well, as we look at them, may we exclaim with Westmoreland when reviewing Falstaff’s vicarious recruits—‘tattered prodigals lately come from swine keeping, from eating draff and husks,’ ‘Ay, but sir John, methinks they are exceeding poor and bare, too beggarly!’ Destructive as they were, however, they may be enumerated readily enough. The first and most miserable interference was that made with the southern windows of the chancel. These, as we have seen, were planned, more especially in the interior, continuously; and in this continuity lay their chiefest charm. But all such considerations were set at naught. Every second window was destroyed, and another, utterly unlike it, and of the meanest and shabbiest kind possible, thrust into its place. Of these the easternmost, moreover, cut away the arched head of the fine double piscina. Outside, of course, the

VII.’s), not content with filling all the space between his buttresses with window openings, the architect determined on making them bow-windows, standing out from the lines of the walling in semi-circles. And the same idea was also carried out, at the same period, in secular buildings, such as Thornbury and Windsor castles, Richmond palace, and Nonsuch house, which latter were, literally, such ‘glass-houses’ as might well originate the proverb about the inmates ‘throwing stones.’

effect was bad enough, producing, instead of the previous harmony, complete irregularity and confusion. But inside it was infinitely worse, since the windows, instead of being widely separated as they were there, formed here a long drawn out and uninterrupted line of deep and richly moulded arcading of the most beautiful character, the effect of which depended above all else on continued repetition. A more ruthless act of vandalism could hardly be conceived. Towards the north the evil was only less in proportion as there was less scope for it. Otherwise it was just the same. But the chancel was, and is still, artistically ruined. Then the outer walls of the nave aisles were raised. In this respect, probably, the appearance of the church, as seen from without, would not suffer at all, as the originals were very low indeed—no higher, in fact, than the springing line of the present window heads. And though the details were just as mean and poor as those introduced into the chancel, yet was there no contrast of anything better to be injured by them as was the case there. Another addition also, which though poor enough in itself yet perhaps served to improve the appearance of the building as a whole externally, was that of the south transept.⁵¹ For it had the effect of completing the cruciform character of the design, which till then had been incomplete. And then at the same time, as there can, I think, be little or no doubt, the southernmost of the three north transept lancets—which originally formed a wide-spaced triplet—was also destroyed, and replaced by a low and broad window of three plain pointed lights under a single head, in all respects similar to those of the new work opposite.⁵² And with that the work of recasting was apparently brought to an end—a piece of barbarism which, till worse followed, might, perhaps, have been thought as bad as bad could be.

⁵¹ As the following notes from Hutchinson will show, this south transept was known, anciently, as 'S. Cuthbert's Porch'; later on, and simply from the circumstance of the Lilburns having acquired some sort of proprietary rights or other there, and used it as a burial place, 'Lilburn's Porch':—

'Barth. Lylborne, of Shyldon, 20th March, 1561, orders to be buried in S. Cuthbert's porch of S. Andrew's. This porch is near the chancel door.'—*Randal's MSS.* Hutchinson, *Durham*, III., 334. 'The family burial ground [of the Lilburns] in S. Andrew's church, called Lilburn's porch.' *Ibid.*, 341, note.

⁵² The north transept, as was suggested, *supra*, would seem to have been known and used as the Lady chapel from the first; for, since the south transept was known as S. Cuthbert's porch, the 'Lady porch,' as there was no other porch or transept, must necessarily have been that towards the north. That it was so known we learn from the following:—

'Robert Person, of Middleston, orders to be buried in the church of S. Andrew, ny to the ladi Porche.'—*Randal's MSS.* Hutchinson, III. 334.

XIII.—OF BEK'S SUCCESSORS.

Bishop Bek was succeeded in the episcopate by six prelates, of whom none would appear to have been in any special way connected either with the college, or the church, of Auckland. Of these, the first, viz., Richard of Kellaw had, like Stichill, been a monk of Durham. He is described by Graystones as being 'vir utique sufficienter literatus, moribus et vita dignus, cujus eloquentia species et statura digna erant imperio.' His election and confirmation being despatched with unusual celerity, he was consecrated in York minster within three months of Bek's death, on the 30th of May, 1311. But not without some disturbing circumstances. Much as we are accustomed, nowadays, to hear exception taken to the appointment of bishops by the crown, we may at least be thankful (whatever theoretical basis for such exception may exist) that such open and horrible scandals as constantly attached to, and vitiated, them in medieval days, are in ours unknown. The history of the church of Durham has already supplied us with more than a sufficiency of such scandals, and another awaits us here. The day of election being come, Graystones tells us how the king, Edward II., sent the earl of Gloucester to Durham, desiring the monks in his name to choose a certain kinsman (consanguineum) of his own, Antolini de Pysana, to the see—a foreigner, utterly unknown to them, and, as it was alleged, under age. The king's favour went for much ;

Of this three-light inserted window, Hutchinson gives the subjoined interesting, though lamentable, information :—

'In the large window to the east, in this limb of the cross (north transept), are remains of an inscription painted on the glass ; the date appears 1386 ; beneath the inscription are the arms of Bellasys, and in a belt round them the following words :—

'Bellysys Bellysys base was thy sowell
When exchanged Belys for Henknowell.'

This is now called Kennet's porch.—Hutchinson, III. 330.

He also adds as follows, which may be taken in explanation :—

'Close adjoining the church of St. Andrews, on the west, lies Henknoll : in the old records this is called a manor ; and in the fifth year of Bishop Hatfield, Galfrid de Henknoll died seized thereof, as being held of the bishop in capite, by homage, fealty, suit at the county, and eight shillings and sixpence rent at the exchequer ; he left Margaret, his daughter and heir. Soon after his time Henknoll became part of the possessions of the convent of Durham, and a licence was had to enable the convent to exchange the same with John de Belasys for Belasys, and lands in Wolviston. The exchange was favourable to the Church ; John having made a vow to go upon the crusades, and a strong affection for his native place of Belasys prevailing, likely to stagger his resolution, he determined to shake off that yoke, root out partialities, and part with the estate of his ancestors, the regard for which stood in competition with his imaginary virtues. The exchange took place in the year 1380.'

money, it was hoped, would go for more. ‘Habuit iste,’ we are told, ‘promotorem suum, qui multis de conventu dona obtulit, si accipere voluissent. Promittebantur etiam Petro de Gaverston, tunc Regi familiarissimo et Comiti Cornubiae, *multa librarum millia, eo pacto ut procuraret eum Episcopum fieri Dunelmensem.*’ But the monks, having the fear of God before their eyes, rather than the king’s gifts and favourites, chose one of their own brethren. Inflexibly just, humble, pious, none ever ruled the palatinate more firmly or admirably than he. But his reign was both brief and disastrous. In his second year the suburbs of Durham were burnt by the Scots, and great part of the bishopric consumed by fire and sword. Never had it suffered so grievously since the days of the Conquest. Famine and pestilence swept the land. Women, driven mad with hunger, devoured their young children. Floods succeeded fire and famine; crops were submerged; mills and houses swept away, and men, women and children drowned. No such inundation or dearth of provisions had been known within living memory, nor such murrain among cattle. A quarter of wheat fetched forty shillings (equal to about as many *pounds* of our money), and ‘through excess of hunger such multitudes died in the fields, and roads, and lanes, in towns and outside, that there was hardly any left to bury them.’ Dying at Middleham, on the feast day of S. Dionysius, 1316, bishop Kellaw—who, unlike Bek, would not presume to be laid beside S. Cuthbert—was buried beneath a marble slab before the episcopal seat in the chapter house,⁵³ the earl of Lancaster, who attended his funeral, offering three cloths embroidered with his arms, and the king, who was at York, sending his almoner with others enwoven with gold to do him honour.

After which, we find history repeating itself. The earl of Lancaster, whose motives apparently had not been single, begged the see for his chaplain, John de Kynardesley, promising, in case of his election, ‘to be a shield to the bishopric against the Scots and at the

⁵³ When the site of the destroyed eastern part of the chapter house was excavated in 1874 the grave of bishop Kellaw was, among divers others, laid bare. From the marks left upon the sides of the stone coffin, he had evidently been a man of short stature and very stout. The skeleton was in a very fairly perfect state, and I remember being very much struck by the pitiful sight of the toes, in particular, lying in two compact heaps just as they had fallen to pieces. His head, which was taken for a short time into the deanery, showed patches of short, silvery, grey hair behind, and above the ears.

same time to pacify the king.' The latter, meanwhile, was pressing for Thomas de Carleton, D.C.L., keeper of his privy seal, while the queen clamoured vehemently for her relative Lewis de Beaumont, both king and queen being so instant in their endeavours 'that there was hardly a monk in the house of any name who was not the recipient of their begging letters.' And then, as though that were not enough, the earl of Hereford petitioned for his chaplain, John Walwayn. But again the monks stood firm, mindful of their duty, and in the fear of God, chose Henry de Stanford, prior of Finchale, '*virum utique moribus sincerum, aetate maturum, vultu placidum, sufficienterque literatum.*'

For such as would know what freedom and purity of election meant in those happy days, no more interesting or instructive picture than that of the one in question could be desired. The result, as Graystones, himself a contemporary and eye-witness, tells us, was awaited 'in the church by the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Pembroke, the lords de Ros, de Hastings, de Montalto, de Holland, Paynel, and a great multitude of other nobles; also by Henry de Beaumont and his followers on behalf of his brother, and others, who threatened to cut off the head of the elect, should he prove to be a monk!'

And then, the old, old story, with variations, is rehearsed again. The king, his disappointment notwithstanding, would have received the elect willingly, but the queen was not to be gainsaid. Throwing herself on her bare knees before him, she cried, 'Sire, never have I asked anything for anyone belonging to me. If you love me, procure that my kinsman Lewis de Beaumont be made bishop of Durham.' So the king, overcome by her entreaties, and, refusing to admit the elect, wrote on Lewis's behalf to the curia, suggesting to the pope, that if he was made bishop he would form a brazen barrier between himself and his enemies the Scots. Making no progress with the king—and the chapter of York, the see being then vacant, becoming luke-warm in his cause through fear—he then, with three companions, betook himself to Rome, believing that he would find the new pope, John XXII., favourably disposed towards him. But before he got there, at the request of the kings and queens of England and France, the pope had bestowed the bishopric on Beaumont. Not for nothing,

however. *He had to pay such a price for it 'as he was hardly able to discharge during the next fourteen years!'*

Well, indeed, with modern Roman claims before his eyes, might the late cardinal Manning declare appeal to history to be 'heresy and treason,' for surely no more explicit or damning witness could be found. Empty of purse, therefore, through expences incurred upon the way and in the curia, the elect returned to his cell of Stamford—like Graystones afterwards, who tells the tale, to Durham—where cheerful and unrepining, he continued till his death on the feast of S. Gregory, in 1320, when he was buried before the high altar in the church of S. Leonard. There 'a heavenly light was seen of many to play at night time upon his tomb, and thence to pass to other parts of the church, in sign of his salutary example, and of the aid which, while living, he had so freely bestowed on others.'

Having thus, in the usual fashion, openly bought the see of the pope and curia, Lewis de Beaumont was consecrated to it at Westminster, on the feast of the Annunciation, 1318. He had intended, for his greater glorification, it seems, that the solemnity should have taken place at Durham the year previous, in presence of the two cardinals who had been sent to establish peace between the English and Scottish kingdoms. But this design had been frustrated by a Northumbrian thief, Gilbert de Middleton, who attacking and robbing the cardinals and their followers of all they possessed at Rushyford, took Beaumont and his brother prisoners, and shut them up in Mitford castle. This outrage proved a further trial for the unhappy prior and convent, who, at their own cost, had not only to ransom the man so scandalously forced upon them, but, through fear of the spite and malignity of the cardinals, to bestow a pension of a hundred florins a year upon one of them for life. Nor was even that all, for they had to become bound, on the bishop's account, in a sum of no less than three thousand pounds (something like sixty thousand of modern currency) in such sort, that any deficiency of payment on the part of the bishop should be made good by them. For all which, Graystones assures us, they got small thanks.

Of Beaumont's lack of learning, vanity and petulance, the monks had much to tell. Yet he was not all bad. Though a layman, we are told, he was—like his predecessor Bek—chaste, a virtue which as

things went then, might be thought to make some amends for his ignorance of Latin, and difficulty in pronouncing it.

Whence it came to pass that, notwithstanding 'he had for many days previous to his consecration been receiving instruction, he could not read; and when, with much difficulty he had got to the word *Metropoliticae*, and, after much puffing and blowing, was unable to pronounce it, he exclaimed in French, '*Seyt pur dite,*' greatly to the grief and scandal of all present. And once, at an ordination, when he stuck fast at the words *in aenigmate*, he said to the bystanders, '*Par Seynt Lowis, il ne fu pas curtays, qui cest parole icy escrit.*' Throughout his whole episcopate he tried to extort money from the convent; replying to every petition of the prior, that in all their dealings, they did nothing for him, and he would do nothing for them; and bidding them pray for his death, because as long as he lived, they should never have anything.' At Middleham, he built a kitchen, and commenced a hall and chapel sufficiently large and fair, but dying before their completion, at Brantingham, on the VIII. of the kalends of October, 1333, was buried, October VI., of the same year before the high altar of the church of Durham, '*ubi superpositus est sibi lapis marmoreus, curiosus et sumptuosus, quem ipse [sibi] dum vixerat fecerat praeparari.*'⁵⁴ (p. 119.)

After the death of Beaumont came the election of Graystanes, the historian, and sub-prior of the house. And again the shameful story

⁵⁴ The author of the *Rites* gives a full and interesting account of this once magnificent tomb, the largest, I believe, as it was certainly one of the most splendid of its kind, either in England or in the world. It was, he says, 'prepared for himselfe before hee dyed, beinge adorned with most excellent workmanship of brasse, wherein he was most excellently and lively pictured, as hee was accustomed to singe or say masse, with his mitre on his head and his crosiers staffe in his hand, with two angells very finely pictured, one of the one side of his head and the other on the other side, with censors in their hands sensinge him, containing most exquisite pictures and images of the twelve Apostles devided and bordered of either side of him, and next them is bordered on either side of the twelve Apostles in another border the pictures of his ancestors in their coat armour, beinge of the bloud royale of France, and his owne armes of France, beinge a white lyon placed upon the breast of his vestment, beneath his verses of his breast, with flower de luces about the lyon, two lyons pictured one under the one foote of him and another under the other of him, supportinge and holdinge up his crosier's staffe, his feete adjoyninge and standing upon the said lyons, and other two lyons beneath them in the nethermost border of all, beinge most artificially wrought and sett forth all in brasse, maveilously beautifyinge the said through of marble; wherin was engraven in brasse such divine and celestial sayinge of the Scripture which hee had peculiarly selected for his spirituall consolation, at such time as it should please God to call him out of his mortalitie, wherof some of them are legeable to this day (*circa* 1593), as these that follow:—

of intrigue is repeated. The king refuses his consent to the unanimous vote of the chapter, on the pretence that he understood the pope, whom he was unwilling to offend, had already provided for the appointment of his private chaplain, Richard de Bury, in whose interest he himself had not only petitioned the pope, but the prior and convent as well. In spite of this, however, after consultation had, the dean and chapter of York, and the prior and convent of Durham consenting, he was confirmed in the abbey of S. Mary on the Sunday next following, consecrated by the archbishops of York and Armagh and the bishop of Carlisle in the palace chapel, and, during the course of the same week, enthroned at Durham. But all was of no avail ; the king refused the temporalities ; the pope, to please the king, as well as, probably, for more solid considerations, bestowed the see on the royal favourite ; and the poor bishop had once more to seek the retirement of his cloistral cell, where he abode till death.

With this account of his own sufferings and wrongs the history of Graystones closes ; and William de Chambre, our third historian, takes up the tale.

Richard de Bury,⁵⁵ who had been a monk of Durham, tutor to Edward III., when prince, and filled many other offices about the court, was consecrated to the see on the 19th of December, 1333, by

Epitaphium ejus.

In Gallia natus

De Bellomonte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus
 Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumque creatus
 Praesul in hac sede coeli laetetur in ede
 Preteriens siste memorans quantus fuit iste
 Coelo quam dignus justus pius atque benignus
 Dapsilis ac bilaris inimicus semper avaris.

Super caput.

Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit qui in novissimo die me resuscitabit ad vitam eternam et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum.

In pectore.

Reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo. Domine miserere.

Ad dextram.

Consors sit sanctis Ludovicus in arce Tonantis.

Ad sinistram.

Spiritus ad Christum qui sanguine liberat ipsum.

—*Rites of Durham* (15 Surt. Soc. Publ.), p. 13.

⁵⁵ His father was sir Richard de Aungerville, a Norman knight ; but, like so many other clerics, including his predecessors, William of S. Calais, Richard de Mariso, Nicholas de Farnham, Walter de Kirkham, Robert de Insula, and Richard de Kellaw, he took the name by which he was commonly known from the place of his birth, St. Edmundsbury.

John de Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, in the Benedictine abbey of Chertsey, all the expences attending the ceremony being defrayed by the king. Shortly afterwards he was created treasurer of England, and enthroned at Durham. On which occasion he made a great feast, the king and queen of England, together with the king's mother, the king of Scotland, two archbishops, five bishops, seven earls and their wives, all the magnates on this side Trent, many knights and gentlemen, abbots, priors, and religious, with an innumerable multitude of common people being present and entertained by him. The same year he was made chancellor of England, and for the nine next following, much occupied in foreign service. Taking great pleasure in clerical society, he had ever many clergy in his household, among them being the famous Thomas Bradwardyn, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Richard fitz Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, with many more, who, later on, attained high distinction.

Every day reading took place at dinner, unless interrupted by the advent of any magnates; and, after dinner, disputations among the clergy and other members of his family. 'Every week, moreover, he distributed eight quarters of flour among the poor, besides the customary broken victuals of the house. And when more arrived, after such distribution had been made, they received a halfpenny apiece. Besides which, whenever going or returning between Newcastle and Durham, he bestowed twelve marks in alms, and from Durham to Stockton eight marks, and from Durham to Auckland five marks, and from Durham to Middleham a hundred shillings.' Bury ranks as the first English bibliomaniac. 'He was,' says Chambre, 'sufficiently well read, discreet in the ruling of his house, bountiful in entertaining strangers, ever anxious in almsgiving. He cultivated kindly relations between himself and the gentlefolks of the country, and held always the monks of Durham in the highest honour.' Easily provoked, he was still more easily pacified, '*faciliter provocatus, sed facillime revocatus.*' But 'his chief delight was in the multitude of books. Indeed, as was commonly reported, he had more books than all the bishops of England put together. And besides those which were severally bestowed in his divers manors, wheresoever he resided with his household, such a quantity of books lay littered about in his bed-chamber that those who entered could hardly either stand or walk without kicking some one or other with his feet.'

‘He bestowed very many and fair ornaments on the church of Durham, and fully intended, had he lived, to give many more. After peacefully ruling the diocese for eleven years two months and twelve days, worn out by long sickness, he died at Auckland, April 14th, 1345, and on the 21st of the same month was decently, though not with becoming honour, buried before the altar of S. Mary Magdalene, in the southernmost corner of the cathedral.’⁵⁶

Thomas de Hatfield, keeper of the privy seal, elected on the 8th of May, was consecrated to the see on the feast of the Translation of S. Benedict, July 10th, and enthroned on the Christmas Day next following:—‘*Erat autem iste Thomas dapsilis valde,*’ says *Chambre*, (p. 137) ‘*sed ad habendum aliquid cupidus, statura et canitie venerabilis, hospitalitatis obsequio deditus, et quotidianis elemosynis, ut pauperum necessitatibus subveniret, intentus. Monachis aut comprovincialibus molestiam nullam intulit, neque ecclesie possessiones injuste abstulit; venientes ad se monachos honorifice semper excipiebat, et familiariter erga eos se habuit, laetus de illorum praesentia; erat ecclesia in quiete et familia: honorificos viros diligens habere, et non pueros, equos pro vectura non equulos. Fuit enim in oculis spectantium, in gestu et incessu, sublimis et excelsus, in infirmitate quamvis fragilis in parte et lubricus. . . . Pauperibus vero modo rogatus, modo ultraneus, larga manu fuit munificus et beneficus.*’ He erected the existing episcopal throne—the most remarkable one in Christendom—with his tomb, and effigy of alabaster beneath, on the south side of the choir of his cathedral church and eastwards of the stalls of the monks—‘*et ibidem unum monachum, divina celebrantem, pro cujus pensione annua Cuknoll juxta ecclesiam de Auckland dedit et assignavit.*’

‘With the gentlefolk of the district he cultivated the friendliest relations, and ever held the monks of Durham in honour. At Durham castle he renewed whatever parts had become ruinous or decayed through age, building the halls of the bishop and the constable therein; and strengthened the fortifications of the city by erecting at his own cost a strong tower adjoining the castle. He built also the manor-house or hospice of the see in London, with its chapel and chambers, in the most sumptuous manner. And in other parts, where

⁵⁶ That is, the south-east corner of the chapel of the Nine Altars, which was occupied by the altar of S. Andrew, and S. Mary Magdalene.

the buildings belonging to it were ruinous or unsuitable, he rebuilt them magnificently, esteeming it the highest form of honesty not to leave them in such condition as to be a source of anxiety to his successors.' Moreover, he founded at Oxford a college for eight monks, and students in arts belonging to Durham, for all time to come; and instead of lands, possessions, and churches, provided for the perpetual sustenance of the said eight monks, viz.: ten pounds to be procured and appropriated for each monk yearly, and for the seven youths, to each youth five marks yearly; and assigned three marks for habitations fitting and to be extended for the uses of the said monks and scholars; and caused to be paid during his life to Dan John de Berrington, monk of Durham, 500 marks.

Falling at length into mortal sickness, he died at his manor of Alford near London, on the 8th of May, 1381, after bestowing profuse benefactions on the poor, and greatly enriching his church of Durham with vast sums of money and variety of costly gifts, among the latter being—'unam spinam de corona, quam Christus habuit super caput suum in die passionis suae, quam habuit ex dono domini regis Edwardi III.' He was buried beneath the tomb and monument 'quem ipse sumptuosissime construxit; cujus animae pro magna sua pietate propitiatur Deus.'⁵⁷ To which we may all add—Amen.

Licence for a fresh election having then been obtained, the choice of the chapter, after long debate, fell at last upon John de Fordham, canon of York, and secretary to the king, 'on the fifth ferial next after the feast of S. Augustine the apostle of England, 1381.' He was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth palace, by the bishop of Exeter, on the 5th of January, 13 $\frac{81}{2}$, and enthroned at Durham on the 21st of September of the same year. Fordham was one of the evil counsellors of Richard II., who consented with much reluctance to his deprivation in 1388, when, by papal bull he was translated to the see of Ely. He survived till 1425, but next to nothing is recorded of him.

⁵⁷ 'Thomas Hattfeild, Bishop of Durham, lyeth buried over against the Revestorye doore, in the South Allye of the Quire, betwixt two pillars under the Bishoppes seate, which hee did make before hee died, his tomb beinge all of alabaster' [only the effigy is so], 'whereunto was adjoynded a little Altar which hee prepared for a Monke to say masse for his soule after his death, the Altar beinge invironed with an iron grate.'—*Rites of Durham*, pp. 16, 17. This last has now, of course, long since been destroyed.

Walter Skirlawe, who had been educated at Durham house at Oxford, became bishop of Lichfield in 1385, of Bath and Wells in the year following, and was translated to Durham, by papal bull dated the 3rd of April, 1388.⁵⁸ 'Iste pontem de Shinkley [Shincliffe], et pontem de Yarom construxit,' says Chambre, (p. 144), 'pro quo quasdam terras emebat, quas postea pro reparatione ejusdem pontis dedit; pontemque de Auckland construxit; magnas etiam lapideas Auclandiae portas a fundo usque ad summitatem ejusdem aedificii proprio sumptu erexit. Construxit etiam campanile de Houldon [Howden], in Comitatu Eboracensi, summae magnitudinis, quod quidem pro incolis ejusdem loci de Houldon, si fortuito aquarum inundatio eveniret, tanquam refugium fecit. Magnos sumptus in reparatione praedictae ecclesiae effundebat; ubi quoque domum capitularem perpulchram, eidem ecclesiae conjunctam, construxit. Totam etiam aulam manerii de Houldon aedificavit, et magnos praeterea sumptus in aedificiis de eodem manerio expendit. Hic etiam magnam partem campanilis, vulgo lantern, Minsterii Eboracensis construxit, in medio cujus operis arma sua posuit. Iste quoque magnam portem Clausterii in Monasterio Dunelmensi fieri fecit ad summan 600^l. Hic praeterea dedit ad constructionem Dormitoriae 330 marcas, et ejus executores dederunt ex praecepto ejus ad constructionem Clausterii 400^l. et ipse prius dedit 200^l. De quibus omnibus aedificiis arma sua, viz., 6 virgas vicissim flexatas in forma cribri, imposuit. Iste semper summo in honore cum Principe suo habebatur. Obiit anno Domini mccccvi., sepultusque jacet in boreali plaga chori ecclesiae Dunelmensis inter binas columnas, coram altare sanctae Blesiae, quod postmodum dictum erat altare de Skirlaw, sub lapide marmoreo, admodum curioso, multisque aeneis imaginibus sumptuosis circumspicuo, cum ipsius imagine in medio ejusdem tumbae artificiose in aere coelata. Super pectus inscribitur tale dictum: "Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, et in die novissimo de terra surrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum." Et circa utramque partem istius sepulchri in altum erigebatur [ferreum] clatrum curiose compositum, in quo missa

⁵⁸ He was said, and the tradition is mentioned by Leland, to have been the son of a sieve, or basket, maker. There is not, however, the slightest foundation, in fact, for such assertion, due only, as it would seem, to some 'ingenious' persons discovering the 'fact' in his coat of arms, which consisted of a cross composed of six osier wands interlaced.

quotidie pro illius anima dicebatur ; et ex opposito ejusdem tumbac, in parte aquilonari, factum erat sedile lapideam longitudine columnarum distans, in quo arma illius a termino ad terminum ordinatim collocantur.⁷

Such is the full, precise, yet condensed account of bishop Skirlaw given us by Chambre ; and it remains only to make a few, and brief remarks upon it.

Of the bridges built by him at Shincliffe and Yarm, the former has long since been utterly destroyed ; while of the latter very interesting structure but a small part is left. Its arches, as was usual at the time, as indeed long before and afterwards, were ribbed and pointed. Of that at Auckland it is by no means easy to speak positively. While undoubtedly ancient, it looks at least a full century later than Skirlaw's time ; and is not, like what remains of that at Yarm, and all others of similar age which remain in the district, ribbed. Judging from internal evidence only, we should feel inclined to date it from the first quarter, or perhaps half, of the sixteenth century, and in the days of Ruthall or Tunstall. Yet in face of the historical evidence, there seems nothing either in its design or construction (*which is almost entirely of rubble*) to render its attribution to Skirlaw impossible, however *prima facie* improbable such attribution might appear.⁵⁹ As to his great entrance gateway, not a stone remains to tell its tale. At Howden, however, it is happily different, the campanile and chapter-house—ruined as the latter is, and for so long has been—being still in admirable preservation. And so too, heaven be praised, is the glorious lantern (not campanile, as Chambre styles it) of York minster!

⁵⁹ The singular fact of its being throughout almost entirely of rubble building, is quite enough in itself to account for the soffits of its arches being plain and flat instead of ribbed. Though well and strongly built, it is quite clear that strict economy dominated its construction. In the whole structure there is hardly any squared stone to be found. Now in all ribbed bridges, such as those of Durham, the 'New bridge,' Chester-le-Street, Croft, Barnard Castle, and that across the Balder, higher up the Tees, to take some local examples, not only the external arches are of ashlar work, but the ribs also, as well as the intermediate spaces of the soffits between them. But all that, of course, means expence, which in this case was evidently a consideration, and a thing as far as possible to be avoided, even the external faces of the arches, which consist of three courses, the two inner ones slightly recessed, being merely of rubble, and without having so much as their edges chamfered. It is this which, with the consequent absence of ribs, serves to cast suspicion upon the whole structure and give it a later look. Bearing this fact in mind, however, there is simply nothing, so far as I can see, to impugn its claim to be of Skirlaw's time and work.

The stone bench, with his arms, still remains in the north aisle of the choir, immediately in front of which some years ago, when the removal of the organ necessitated the disturbance of the flooring, his body was discovered, swathed in lead. Much to the credit of the late dean Waddington—who, though greatly pressed to allow it to be examined, refused permission—it was reverently reinterred as nearly as possible to the place where it was found. A strange but utterly erroneous statement is made in the *Rites of Durham*, where we read (p. 16): [*‘The place of his sepulcher was in antient tyme invyrrond with irons, artificially wrought, but of late tyme his body was taken upp and interr’d before the High Alter, and the same stone layde over hym, and a stall or pewe placed there for gentlewomen to sitt in. His body was not removed, onely the stone. H. 45 and marg. note.’*] The magnificent slab, however, still lying in front of the altar, and which, on the strength of the foregoing statement, has been by many taken for Skirlaw’s, is, beyond all question, that of bishop Beaumont who caused it to be laid down during his lifetime, since part of the inscription on it was legible as late as 1672.

XIV.—OF CARDINAL LANGLEY AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

We come now, after a brief account of the six intervening prelates, to cardinal Langley, the second refounder or reorganizer of the church and college of Auckland. Thomas Langley, dean of York and chancellor of England, was a zealous Lancastrian, who in 1405 was elected to the see of York on the death, or rather judicial murder, of archbishop Scrope, but had never been installed there. On May 17th, 1406, he was elected bishop of Durham, to which see he was consecrated on the feast of S. Laurence (August 10th) of the same year by the archbishop of Canterbury, when he ceased to be chancellor. In 1411 he was created a cardinal by pope John XXIII. In 1414 he was sent as ambassador to France, and in 1417 was again made chancellor, retaining the office till 1425. Langley, during the thirty-one years of his rule, was a great builder. *‘Iste cantariam ex marmore in Galilaea fundavit,’* says Chambre, *‘in perpetuum, ex duobus capellanis ad missam sacrificandam, cum armis artificiose in summitate ejusdem ostii in marmore insculptis; cujus sumptibus tota Galilaea reparabatur*

ad summam 499*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Hic duas domos scholares, unam scilicet grammaticalem, alteram musicalem, fundavit in loco, qui dicitur vulgariter *The Place Giene* et duos praefatos capellanos sive presbyteros ordinavit fore ludimagistros earundem scholarum, videlicet grammaticalis et musicalis, et eisdem dedit, et continuare decrevit, annuas pensiones sive stipendia; qui quidem presbyteri pro anima dicti Thomae Langley jugiter missa celebrabant. Structuram novae coquinae tempore Roberti Berington, anno Domini MCCCLXVIII. ad summam 180*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* Ab anno Domini MCCCXVIII. usque ad annum MCCCXCVIII. expendebantur ad aedificationem claustrum Dunelmensis 838*l.* cujus summae praedictae iste Thomas dedit ad hanc structuram, id est claustrum Dunelmensis, 238*l.* 17*s.* *ob.* praeter et caetera. Iste totam Dunelmensem gaolam, gaolaeque portas lapideas sumptuosissimas fundavit, ubi priscis temporibus porta fuit antiqua tunc temporis dilapsa. Iste autem, dum vixerat, apud manerium de Houldon construxit totas portas occidentales opere coementario, per quas transivit ad hortum vel pomarium; et cubicula quaedam perpulchra eisdem portis adjuncta aedificavit, super quibus arma illius collocantur. Iste Thomas Episcopus fuit Dunelmensis tempore 3 regum, . . . quorum omnium temporibus summo in honore pro sua singulari sapientia habebatur, et pro rebus publicis summa in autoritate versatus. Hic etiam libertates quasdam a Papa procuravit pro lavacro, quod collocavit in Galilaea in ecclesia Dunelmensi cui, virtute praedictae concessionis, omnes excommunicati ad filios baptizandos, cum nullibi per totum filios baptizare liceret, et ad reliquorum omnium sacramentorum administrationem accederent. Obiit autem in festo sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, viz. xx die mensis Novembris, anno Domini MCCCXXXVII, sepultusque jacet in cantaria in Galilaea ecclesiae Dunelmensis sub tumulo marmoreo artificiose erecto, in cujus fine arma illius insculpuntur, coram altari beatae Mariae Virginis, ubi Missa pro sua anima quotidie celebratur.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Bishop Langley's work at the Galilee is both interesting, instructive, and valuable, in many ways. In the first place, it had the effect of saving that unique structure from impending and imminent ruin, since, but for such timely aid, it would, through inherent defects of design, have precipitated itself ages ago into the bed of the Wear. As others of his works remain to show, the original architect, Ricardus Ingeniator, might seem to have been so styled rather in delicate irony than for any other reason, since in all of them engineering capacity is only conspicuous by its absence. Here, quite independently of faulty foundations, the work had the fatal defect of instability, for the active thrust of

At Auckland also, as well as at Durham and elsewhere, he was a benefactor, and, most unhappily—at any rate, in an artistic sense—a builder. Bad and mischievous as Bek's alterations had been as far as they went, Langley's, which went much farther, were proportionately worse. They were indeed about as bad as anything of that time well *could* be, and put the finishing touch of ruin and disfigurement upon the church. For they altered and degraded its whole general contour and character; the work, both in kind and degree, being just as common, and cheap, and nasty, as Bek's. Nastier it could not possibly be; and to that extent, therefore, it enjoyed a certain impunity. But, as a whole, the glory of Stichill's building was gone, and gone completely. All its aspiring lines were swept away as with a stroke. The lofty roofs of chancel, nave, and transepts vanished simultaneously, and, with them, the contemporary spire. Brutal as was the treatment of the chancel under Bek, that which it received under Langley—if not indeed actively destructive of original details, as in the former case—was, to say the least, equally injurious in effect through the erection of a bald, dead wall—unrelieved by any architectural feature whatever—upon the top of the original one, and about as high as the ridge of the primitive roof. It is a simple incubus, than which—weighing as it does upon the mutilated and disfigured window range below—nothing more abominable could be imagined. And then the plain, flat roof which it was designed to carry is, like its supporting walls, of the poorest and meanest character, simply

its three arcades had absolutely nothing to resist it. But, by means of massive, rock-like buttressing, Langley, though with unavoidable obscuration of the beautiful wall surface decoration, stayed the process of disintegration, and so rescued the fabric. His own work, in itself, too, is worthy both of note and commendation. Broad and simple in its general scheme, it harmonizes well with the massive grandeur of the great church to which it is attached, while imparting at the same time quite a new and different, though by no means bad or incongruous, effect to the earlier work. But, somehow, this art of blending alien characteristics, and producing general effects as though the result of spontaneous growth, was peculiar to our medieval builders, and seems unhappily, to be a lost one. Another point, interesting in connexion with the Auckland work, and that at Ripon above referred to, is the remarkable evidence of assimilation afforded in the bases and capitals of his added shafts, which reproduce those of the original in the exactest fashion, and so lend no little weight to the presumption of the easternmost columns at Ripon being also imitative. Langley's doorways and their doors, with his arms, as also his tomb, still remain intact; but the relics of the reredos of his altar, which I well remember, are now, alas! destroyed and gone. The late dean Waddington, like 'sir Visto,' was unfortunately afflicted with a 'taste,' and the same spirit which prompted the removal of Cosin's screen in order to obtain a view of the choir, impelled the destruction of this reredos and the opening out of the great west doorway behind it, so as to obtain another of the nave!

utilitarian, and without any architectural character to recommend it. A like increased height of walling was at the same time given to the transepts, and for the same reason—to make up for the loss sustained through the removal of the old high pitched roofs. Here, however, owing partly to their less extent as well as to their being partly pierced by two or three clearstorey windows, the effect is not quite so bad. In the nave, where the raising of the walls led, as usual, to the introduction of ranges of tolerable, if poor, clearstorey windows, six to the south and five to the north, the effect is passable; but again, the roof is a very poor and trumpery affair, as cheap, and mean, and commonplace as can be, and—save that it makes no pretence, as in modern examples—without merit of any kind.

The final alteration consisted in the removal of the old timber framed and leaded spire, and the substitution in its place of an additional storey, or belfry stage, to the tower. If not, perhaps, *quite* so mean and bald as the rest, this was yet just about as cheap and commonplace as it well could be; and here, finally, as in the case of all the other alterations, whether previous or contemporary, an excellent opportunity was let slip. Save for the single fact that the belfry windows are recessed in two orders, while they *might* have had only one flush with the wall, not a single halfpenny has been spent upon it beyond what the barest necessity required. Without pinnacles, its poor, rude, irregular, hap-hazard battlements, instead of being of ashlar—as almost invariably happens—are merely of rubble, mean and paltry to the last degree.⁶¹ Curiously enough, we know exactly in what year this belfry stage was built, and how much it cost. For in the account roll of William Chauncellor, constable and receiver general, in the eleventh year of Langley, 1416, there occurs this entry:—‘Solut. p’positis eccleie S. Andree de Auckland et pero’ canis ad edificac’onem campanilis ejusd. Eccleie. de dono dni. per literam dni. de warrant. vii. 13s. 4d.’ (Hutchinson, *Durham*, iii. 332, note.)

⁶¹ It is interesting to note that a belfry stage of precisely the same pattern, save that the battlements are of ashlar, was erected by the same man, at precisely the same period, and for precisely the same reason, on the tower of the neighbouring church of Staindrop. But, while in both instances the corbels at the base of the old spires were carefully preserved, his treatment of them differed. At Auckland he removed the tabling which they carried entirely, and left the corbels themselves standing out all round like bosses. At Staindrop he left the tabling alone, battering out the walling of his new belfry till it reached its surface, and thus made the uppermost storey of the tower broader than either of those below.

But if, as we have seen, Langley's stonework was mean and poor, his woodwork, as shown in the choir stalls, was much better. From its close similarity—amounting, indeed, to practical identity of style and design—to that of the same period (1412) at Staindrop, there cannot be the least doubt of their having emanated from the same source; the Staindrop work, however, being somewhat the richer and better. Both, so far as they go, are wonderfully well preserved, though both are in some respects imperfect. And in both cases the injury, let it be said, has been inflicted in quite recent times, and so—'to give the devil his due'—cannot, as usual, be attributed to the Puritans. At Staindrop, where there were twenty-four, the four easternmost stalls, along with the back panelling of two of them on the north side, were relentlessly destroyed to make room for a staircase leading to a great pew or gallery which was erected across the chancel arch, and furnished with stove, sofas, chairs, curtains, etc., precisely as in a sitting room, in the early part of the present century; and the easternmost one on the south, only some forty years ago, to provide space for a poor monument. Here, at Auckland, still more scandalous wreckage has taken place, and within the same period. Hutchinson, writing in 1794, says (iii. 329):—'The chancel is neatly finished with oak, having fourteen seats or stalls on each side.' At present there are but twelve; the two return stalls on either side having, like the lower part of the screen, to which they were attached, been made away with in the interval. So, too, has the wall panelling, the sole evidence of whose former existence occurs in the traceried end return of the south range, which, as at Staindrop and elsewhere, would be of precisely the same height. Only the lower parts of the other three returns—one of which would be fixed at the east end of the north range, and the other two at the north and south ends of the return stalls, and attached to the side posts of the chancel gates—are extant, the whole of their upper traceries having been destroyed along with the screen and panelling.

According to present arrangements there are on each side, to the west, four desks with passage way, then three more, with another passage way, and then a final three; all supported by the ancient bench ends. The whole of the panelling to the south follows one pattern, and that to the north another; all of it, however, especially that of the

four southern ones, which is very very ill drawn and irregular, somewhat rude and poor : and all of it, notwithstanding its strongly marked likeness, distinctly inferior to that at Staindrop.

The tracery patterns of the bench ends, which are enriched with gabled, banded, and based buttresses, are all exact reproductions of those at Staindrop. All are more or less effective, very massive, four inches thick, and well moulded.

The misereres, though varied, well designed, and full of life, have little or nothing specially noteworthy about them, save that the fourth on the south side bears a S. George's cross surmounted by a coronet of fleurs-de-lys and trefoils alternately, and that the fifth has the arms of Langley surmounted by a like coronet. The knees of each stall seat, too, are almost entirely formed of roses variously treated.⁶²

Another point in common between the two sets of collegiate stall-work here and at Staindrop is the fact that in both cases the original priest's doorway of the respective chancels has been removed farther eastwards to receive them. That at Staindrop remains still blocked up and built over by a buttress which leaves one of its edges only visible. At Auckland, save its sill, which may still be seen in the westernmost bay, the doorway would appear to have been taken out and removed to a point just eastwards of the stalls, when the western sedile was destroyed to make room for it. The jambs of this doorway are very curiously, and quite contrary to ancient usage, each composed of a single stone only. And the

⁶² Besides the stall-work at Staindrop and Auckland other very similar, and of much the same period and character, remains in the churches of Coniscliffe, Darlington, Lanchester, and S. Oswald's, Durham. These, I think, with some slight remains in the chapel of Durham castle, and Brancepeth and Jarrow churches, comprise all that we possess of this kind of work in the county. This is the more regrettable, especially as regards that formerly in the cathedral which was destroyed by the Scotch after the battle of Dunbar in 1650, for, as both that at Jarrow, Brancepeth, and Durham castle, taken from the chapel of Auckland castle, testify, the local woodwork of the very latest period was of the most vigorous, imaginative, and admirably original character. Amidst the general and wholesale destruction which has taken place from time to time, the most infamous and abominable is that which, within quite a recent period, befell the magnificent wooden wall panelling in the south chapel of the choir of Brancepeth church, which, with the exception of the traceried heads, or part of them—now stuck partly into the panels of Cosin's screen and partly into his reredos—has been brutally torn out and demolished for no conceivable reason whatever. The atrocity of this act of unprovoked and well nigh incredible vandalism is deepened by the fact of the panelling having been erected by the third earl of Westmorland around the tomb of his only son, and who died broken-hearted at his loss.

evidence of their having been removed is found in the fact that their chamfers are not, as at Staindrop, of Langley's time, but of the thirteenth century, that is to say, narrow and flat, instead of broad and slightly hollowed.

With this item we may, I think, take our leave of Langley's—generally speaking—unhappy meddlings, than which hardly anything could have been worse.

XV.—LANGLEY'S STATUTES.

His works of moral renovation were, however, of a very different kind; and of these we must now take account. His new statutes, which speak for and explain themselves in the amplest way, run as follows:—

Ecclesia Collegiata de Auckland, in Episcopatu Dunelmensi

STATUTA ET ORDINATIONES PRO MELIORI GUBERNATIONE EJUSDEM.

Universis Christi fidelibus praesentibus et futuris praesentes nostras literas visuris vel auditoris, Thomas permissione divinâ Dunelmensis episcopus ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Deo gratum et acceptum obsequium tunc opinum impendere, cum per nostrae sollicitudinis pastoralis officium divinus cultus in locis nobis subjectis melioratur et augetur; et praesertim ubi statuta praedecessorum nostrorum circa ordinationes ecclesiarum nostrae diocesis, olim proinde, juxta ipsorum praedecessorum nostrorum intentionem piam, in toto non poterint observari eadem statuta, annuente Domino, per nostri laboris studium in melius reformantur. Inspicientes igitur registrum recolendae memoriae domini Antonii quondam episcopi Dunelmensis praedecessoris nostri contineri in eodem quaedam ordinationes et statuta ecclesiam collegiatam de Auckland, nostrorum patronatus et diocesis, concernentia, per ipsum piè et salubriter edita, invenimus, in haec verba.

Then follow Bek's statutes, *ut supra*, after which he continues:—

Quaequidem ordinationes et statuta, licet per praefatum praedecessorem nostrum, deliberatione maturâ, et perpenso consilio tunc edita et promulgata fuissent; vicariisque in praedictâ ecclesiâ collegiatâ ministraturis esset secundum temporis illius usum, salarium satis competens et sufficiens assignatum, jam tamen ad nostrum notoriè pervenit intellectum, quod propter varietatem temporum, in deterius semper vergentium; et praecipue propter caritatem victualium, et aliorum necessariorum ad sustentationem humanam pertinentium, ordinationes et statuta hujusmodi, ad hoc quod officia divina in ipsâ ecclesiâ, ut ordinatum tunc exstitit supportentur, non sufficiunt hiis diebus, pro eo quod vicarii idonei, qui juxta moderationem dicti antiqui salarii per ipsum praedecessorem nostrum, ut praefertur, limitati ibidem ministrari deberent, jam haberi non possunt; nec ut est verisimile, unquam habere poterunt in futurum; cum exinde, secundum usum moderni temporis non valeant sustentari unde divinus

cultus, de quo dolemus, diminuitur, praedecessorum nostrorum ejusdem collegii fundatorum intentio pia frustratur, ipsa ecclesia collegiata magnum in spiritualibus patitur decrementum, et quasi finalem desolationem pati formidatur, nisi de remedio congruo in hac parte celerius sit provisum : quocirca nos intentâ meditatione praemissa pensantes, et remedium eis congruum apponere capientes, de vero valore annuo fructuum et proventuum omnium praebendarum hujusmodi inquisivimus diligenter, invenimusque, ex informatione fide dignâ, quod quaedam sunt iu praedictâ ecclesiâ praebendae, quae ad huc diebus istis dupliciter ; quaedam quae vix, et quaedam quae nullatenus sufficiunt sua onera debita supportare : volentes igitur ut ex officio nostro tenemur, cultum divinum in ecclesiâ praedictâ, juxta intentionem piam dictorum praedecessorum nostrorum, quatenus melius fieri poterit, erigere et sublevare, quasdam earundem praebendarum pinguiores dividere ; quasdam verò exiles annectere et unire, et quibusdam earum onus novum imponere, salarium competens, juxta moderni temporis usum, praedictis vicariis assignare ; ordinationesque et statuta praedicta corrigere et emendare, eisdem addere, et ab eis subtrahere, prout melius coram Deo viderimus expedire, de consilio juris peritorum habito in praemissis, disposuimus et decrevimus, Domino annuente, ad quorum expeditionem processimus et procedimus in hunc modum, Christi nomine primitus invocato.

Quia invenimus fructus et proventus unius praebendae sacerdotalis dictae ecclesiae collegiatae nuncupatae hoc tempore de Aukland Episcopi, ad viginti libras ; et secundae praebendae quae vocatur de Eldone Major ad viginti libras ; tertiaeque praebendae quae appellatur de Eldon Minor etiam ad xx¹ sterlingorum, secundum communem aestimationem se extendere sufficienter hiis diebus ; statuimus et ordinamus, quod ipsis tribus praebendis, simul vel successivè qualitercunque vacantibus, et earum qualibet vacante ; deinceps earum quaelibet sic vacans in duas praebendas sacerdotales dividatur, et sint exindè duae praebendae imperpetuum ; ut sic, postquam omnes tres vacaverint, de caetero sint exindè sex praebendae omnes sacerdotales imperpetuum ; et tot canonici praebendarii in eisdem canonicè instituendi. Dictasque praebendas de Aukland Episcopi in duas ; de Eldon Major in duas ; et de Eldon Minor etiam in duas praebendas sacerdotales, cedentibus vel decedentibus praebendariis earundem, qui nunc sunt, simul vel successivè, ut praefertur ; vel eas ex causâ permutationis, aut alias quomodolibet dimittentibus, exnunc prout extunc ; et extunc prout exnunc dividimus, sicque imperpetuum dividi volumus et decrevimus per praesentes ; ita quod postea non sint tres praebendae simplices, seu tria beneficia simplicia, prout hactenus extiterunt ; set sint sex praebendae integrae, sex beneficia integra, ex sex nova jura : dictaeque duae praebendae de Aukland Episcopi extunc nominibus primae et secundae, ac quatuor praebendae de Eldone praedictis, primae, secundae, tertiae, et quartae nominibus censeantur.

Statuimus quoque et ordinavimus, quod omnes fructus et proventus ad unicum praebendarium de Aukland Episcopi, qui nunc est pertinentes, ad praedictos duos praebendarios de eadem extunc pertineant, in quibusdam locis inter eos aequaliter dividendi ; ita quod hujusmodi eorum praebendae in omnibus et per omnia sint aequales, et in onere, et valore.

Statuimus itaque quod fructus et proventus ad duos praebendarios praebendae de Eldone Majori, et Minori etiam in quibuscunque locis jam spectantes, extunc ad praefatos quatuor praebendarios de Eldone pertineant, et pertinere debeant imperpetuum dividendos aequaliter inter eos.

Et licet praebenda de Eldone Major ad xii^l. et praebenda de Eldone Minor ad xi^l. sterlingorum jam taxatae sint, ut . . . fuerint ab antiquo; volumus tamen et ordinamus quod quàm citò fuerint exindè juxta formam et effectum hujus nostrae ordinationis quatuor praebendae et quatuor praebendarii earundem; extunc omnes dictae quatuor praebendae, tam ad taxam cum solvi contigerit, quàm ad alia onera omnia ordinaria, et extraordinaria eis incumbentia subeunda, per omnia et in omnibus sint aequales.

Comperimus etiam, quod septem sunt praebendae in ecclesiâ antedictâ, quarum fructus non sufficiunt ad onera earum debitè supportanda; etiam omnes fructus et proventus praebendae de Shildone sacerdotalis ad xii. marcas vi^s. et viii^d. Praebendae de Bires etiam sacerdotalis ad xxxiii^s. iiiii^d. Praebendae de Fichefache diaconalis ad lx^s. Praebendae de Morlegh subdiaconalis ad xl^s. Praebendae de Wittone subdiaconalis ad lxvi^s. et viii^d. Praebendae de Wodfild etiam subdiaconalis ad xxv^s et viii^d. Et praebendae seu portiones de Bedburne ad sex solidos et octo denarios vix hiis temporibus se extendunt. Et idcirco, ut in eâ parte remedium necessarium apponamus, statuere et ordinare decrevimus statuimusque et ordinamus; quod ipsis praebendis, sive ex causâ permutationis, sive alias quomodolibet vacantibus, ut praefertur praebendae de Shildore et de Bires praedictae ad invicem uniantur, et sint ambae deinceps una sola praebenda sacerdotalis simplex per se et pura, quae tunc ad decem libras per aestimationem se extendit. Praebendasque de Fichefache et Morlegh etiam sint unitae, et extunc una simplex praebenda subdiaconalis permaneat, cujus fructus ad centum solidos tunc ascendent: et praebendae de Witton et Wodfild, necnon portio seu praebenda de Bedburne consimiliter uniantur, et sint omnes tres deinceps una sola praebenda subdiaconalis simplex, ut praefertur, et pura, cujus etiam fructus tunc valebant centum solidos sterlingorum.

Quas quidem septem praebendas, prout simul vel successivè, per mortem, cessionem, permutationem, vel alium modum quemcunque, ut praedictum est, vacabunt sic ut praemittitur duximus uniendo, easque exnunc, prout extunc; et extunc prout exnunc unimus et annectimus, uniri que et annecti tenore praesentium decernimus et mandamus: statuente et ordinante, quod cedente, vel decedente, aliquo praebendario, qui nunc est, hujusmodi praebendarum, sic ut praemittitur per nos unitarum, seu praebendam suam ex causâ permutationis, aut alios quomodolibet dimittente, liceat praebendario alterius praebendae non vacantis, cui dicta praebenda vacans est unita, possessionem corporalem ejusdem juriumque et pertinentium suorum quorumcunque auctoritate suâ propriâ apprehendere, et perpetuo retinere, dum tamen onera ambabus praebendis hujusmodi incumbentia subeat et supportet.

Et quia fructus et proventus praebendae diaconalis de West Auckland ad decem libras sterlingorum sufficienter hiis diebus, ut asseritur, se extendunt; volumus et ordinamus, quod cedente, vel decedente praebendario ipsius qui nunc est, vel eam quomodolibet alias dimittente, sit ipsa praebenda extunc sacerdotalis imperpetuum, eamque in sacerdotalem praebendam extunc erigimus et creamus; duasque praebendas diaconales praedictae ecclesiae collegiatae, videlicet de Auckland S. Elenae, et de Estcombe, quarum utriusque fructus per se ad septem libras et amplius hodie se extendunt, volumus in eodem gradu diaconali, quo priùs fuerunt, et nunc sunt imposterum remanere.

Statuimus insuper et ordinamus, quod quilibet praebendarius ecclesiae colle-

giatae praedictae resideat personaliter in eadem ecclesiâ, ac cotidianis psallendis horis, missis, et processionibus intersit, et ibidem secundùm gradum suum in hujusmodi canonicali officio, et ministret decenter et honestè, vel habeat ibidem pro se unum vicarium sufficientem ei idoneum in eodem gradu, tam in literaturâ, rectorâ, et cantû quam moribus et vitâ, per decanum ibidem, qui pro tempore fuerit approbandum, in habitu habitibus vicariorum ecclesiarum cathedralium conformi, in divinis officiis ut praefertur continuè ministrantem. Et quoniam non solum personis praebendariorum hujusmodi, set potiùs dictae ecclesiae collegiatae et divino cultui in eadem intendimus per hanc nostram ordinationem, annuente Domino, providere; statuimus, et ordinamus per praesentes, quod quilibet canonicus praebendarius habens in eadem ecclesiâ praebendam sacerdotalem, si residentiam personalem ibidem non fecerit, solvat, seu solvi faciat singulis annis vicario suo presbytero de fructibus praebendae suae decem marcas legalis monetæ Angliæ, ad duos anni terminos; videlicet ad festa S. Cuthberti in Martis, et S. Cuthberti in Septembri, per aequales portiones, primò et principaliter antequam ad usum suum proprium fructus aliquos extra parochiam de Aukland ferat quomodolibet vel asportet.

Canonicique qui praebendas habent diaconales, si ibidem personaliter non fuerint residentes, habeant pro se vicarios idoneos in ordine diaconali, ad minus legitimè constitutos pro evangeliiis percantandis, et aliis officiis exequandis quae ad officium diaconale pertinere noscuntur, quibus singulis solvant seu solvi faciant primò et principaliter, ut praefertur, de fructibus praebendarum suarum septem marcas annuatim.

Et canonici qui subdiaconales obtinent praebendas, et residentiam ibidem personalem non fecerint, habeant pro se vicarios subdiaconos, vel saltem clericos non conjugatos, habiles et idoneos tam moribus quàm scientiâ, ut praefertur, et aetate; quibus singulis annuatim primò etiam et principaliter quinque marcas solvere seu solvi facere teneantur. Quod si canonici praebendarii antedicti in solutionibus hujusmodi praedictis vicariis, ut praemittitur, faciendis negligentes fuerint aut remissi, volumus ac statuimus et ordinamus, quod omnes fructus et proventus cujuscunque canonici sic negligentis et remissi per decanum ipsius ecclesiae sequestrentur, ac sub arto et tuto custodiantur sequestro, donec praedictis vicariis de eorum stipendiis, quatenus ad unumquemque ipsorum canonicorum spectat, fuerit plenarii satisfactum; dictoque decano qui pro tempore fuerit, ad hujusmodi sequestrum interponendum et custodiendum, custodiri mandandum et faciendum; ac violatores ejusdem sequestri puniendi vices nostras et auctoritatem committimus per praesentes, cum cujuslibet coercionis canonicè potestate.

Item volumus et ordinamus, quod vicarii hujusmodi non sint aliunde, cum curâ vel sine curâ beneficiâ, sed de stipendiis suis hujusmodi, eis ut praemittitur assignatis, sint pro eorum victu, vestitu, et habitibus contenti, et sic eorum quilibet sit contentus. Mansiones enim in quibus dicti canonici et eorum vicarii debeant cum honore hospitari, volumus quod iidem canonici ordinent in suis areis sibi antiquitus limitatis, prout per eundem dominum Antonium praecessorem nostrum olim statutum extitit; nisi pro habitatione eorum communiter faciendâ fuerit alio modo infra biennium vel triennium ad majus, volente Domino meliùs ordinatum.

Et ne per diutinam vacationem, seu absentiam canonicorum, vel vicariorum suorum praedictorum, divinus cultus in praedictâ ecclesiâ, quod absit, subtrahatur, seu plus debito minuatur statuimus et ordinamus, quod canonici praebendarii praedicti, qui in praedictâ ecclesiâ collegiatâ residentiam personalem facere non curabunt, vicarios idoneos decano pro tempore existenti praesentent realiter infra mensem; quos idem decanus, si idonei fuerint, recipere teneatur. Cum autem ipsorum vicariorum aliquis in fata decesserit, vel cesserit, aut alias amotus fuerit quovismodo, canonicus praebendarius, cujus ille fuerit vicarius, alium vicarium idoneum, etiam infra unum mensem à tempore obitus, cessionis, vel amotionis hujusmodi dicto decano praesentet cum effectu; vel veniat ipsemet personaliter et resideat, ut est dictum. Quod si forsan neutrum horum duorum cum effectu facere curaverit, extunc uno mense lapsa dictus decanus, omni excusatione cessante, de alio vicario idoneo ordinet illâ vice; cui quidem vicario praebendarius ille pro quo erit vicarius, stipendium seu salarium plenum de fructibus praebendae suae persolvat, prout est superius ordinatum. Vicariosque hujusmodi, vel eorum aliquem, sub formâ praemissâ semel receptos vel receptum volumus praeter et contra eorum voluntates de caetero amoveri, nisi aut contra haec nostra statuta et ordinationes, aut contra regulas et constitutiones honestas praedictae ecclesiae collegiatae hactenus editas, voluntariè et maliciosè venire praesumpserint, vel nisi canonicus praebendarius ejusdem praebendae voluerit ibidem per seipsum cum effectu personaliter residere; et hunc vicarium ejus rationabiliter praemuniat erga festum Pentecostes vel S. Martini in yeme proxima tunc futurum, quod sibi de serviciis provideat aliunde.

Volentes itaque praefati praedecessoris nostri, in hiis quae piè et laudabiliter statuit, et ad huc servari poterunt vestigiis inhaerere, statuimus et ordinamus, quod missae et omnes horae canonicae, per totum annum in choro ejusdem ecclesiae collegiatae, cum notâ secundùm usum Eborum aut Sarum, prout hactenus ordinatum extitit percantentur, excepto quod matutinas, non in mediâ nocte, sed in mane, propter parochianos dici volumus et mandamus: et quod singuli canonici vel eorum vicarii praedicti, secundum gradum et ordinem vicis suae, sint ebdomadarii, juxta dispositionem decani; qui, sicut in parochiali curâ sic et in hiis quae ad divinum spectant officium praesit, ordinet et corrigat, chorum regat et disponat, ac etiam in hiis puniat transgressores.

Volumus etiam, quod omnes et singuli canonici antedicti, vel eorum vicarii pro eis missis, matutinis, et vesperis, ac certis horis canonicis quibuscumque in choro dictae ecclesiae percantandis teneantur in habitu suo honesto personaliter interesse, et juxta gradum suum debite ministrare, si justo et legitimo impedimento per decanum ipsum vel suum locumtenentem approbando non fuerint impediti; eidemque decano, cum praesens fuerit, et in ejus absentia ipsius locumtenenti, seu alteri cuicumque per eum ad chori regimen deputato, tam in legendo quàm in cantando, et observantiis chori custodiendo obediant et intendant humiliter et devotè. Caetera verò omnia et singula per praefatum nostrum praedecessorem ordinata, ut praemittitur, et statuta in suis permanere volumus robore et vigore.

Haec quoque nostra ordinationes et statuta, divisionesque et uniones praebendarum, et novorum onerum impositiones, caeteraque universa et singula per nos, ut praemittitur, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiae suae edita, ut superius declarata, de consensu et assensu prioris et capituli ecclesiae nostrae Dunelmensis; prae-

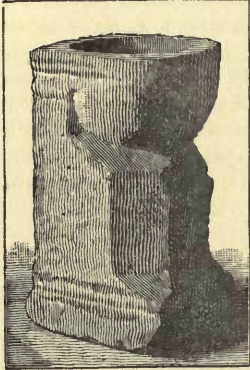
habito, super hiis, inter nos solempni et diligenti tractatu, futuris temporibus perpetuis inviolabiliter observanda esse decrevimus et decernimus per praesentes; praesertim cum urgens necessitas quare sic fieri debeat, et evidens utilitas notoriè sint in causâ; potestatem verò ea interpretandi, corrigendi, et mutandi, ipsisque addendi, et ab eis subtrahendi, quotienscunque opus erit, nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservamus, juribus nostris episcopalibus, ac ecclesiae nostrae Dunelmensis et successorum nostrorum praedictorum, auctoritate, potestate, et dignitate in omnibus semper salvis. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium, fidem, et firmitatem praesentes nostras literas, sive praesens publicum instrumentum per magistrum Thomam Iobur clericum London. publicum, auctoritate apostolicâ notarium, scribumque et registratorem nostrum, ad aeternam rei memoriam subscribi et publicari mandavimus, nostrique sigilli appensione fecimus communiri. Data et acta sunt haec, prout subscribuntur et recitantur, in capellâ manerii nostri de Stoktone, xx^o. die mensis Septembris, anno Domini MCCCCXXVIII^o., indictione sextâ, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo et patris domini Martini divinâ providentiâ papae quinti anno undecimo, et nostrae consecrationis anno xxiii^o.

XVI.—OF LANGLEY'S SUCCESSORS.

Robert Nevill, bishop of Salisbury, and fifth son of Ralph Nevill, first earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, Joan Plantagenet, half-sister of king Henry IV., succeeded Langley, by papal provision, in 1437. For some reason or other, as *Chambre* informs us, he was not enthroned till four years afterwards, the inveterate squabbling between the ecclesiastical authorities of Durham and York having again broken out,—this time as regarded the right of installation, claimed equally by the prior on the one hand, and the archdeacon of York on the other. Bishop Nevill built the exchequer offices on the Palace green at Durham, on the grievously mutilated and disfigured front of which the arms of the see, as well as his own, surmounted by his crest of the bull's head, may still be seen.⁶³

⁶³ The whole of the architectural decorations of this structure have, unhappily, perished, save the decayed remains of this armorial achievement and a little bit of groined vaulting within. The windows have gone utterly, and of the entrance doorway only the decayed core of the stonework is left. The slight fragments of the original details which have escaped will be found in the bases of the jambs, which owe their preservation to having been long buried beneath the surface. These, instead of being, as what remains above would suggest, of the poorest and baldest sort, are seen, on the contrary, to have been not only of refined, but ornate, design. Of the two shields, one of the bishop's own proper arms, the other of the see, which appear beneath the bull's head crest, it is remarkable that the latter displays, for the first time, I believe, the four lions within the arms of the cross, which is shown plain; the whole, as is also remarkable, appearing within a bordure. The plain cross, but without the lions, it will be remembered, appears upon a shield surmounted by the palatine

In the church of Auckland he is commemorated by the singularly interesting *benatura* formed out of a Roman altar upon which is seen his personal shield consisting of the Nevill saltire differenced at the intersection by a gimmel ring, or couple of interlaced annulets. At the manor-house of Auckland also, after making his will, he died on the 8th of July, 1457, in the twentieth year of his translation. In



his will he desired burial 'in Galilea ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis juxta feretrum sive tumbam Venerabilis patris sancti Bedae, ante altare ad honorem ejusdem sancti constructum,' bequeathing to the church for that purpose, 'unum integrum et optimum meum vestimentum de panno aureo rubei coloris; videlicet unam capam, unam casulam, duas tuniculas, cum toto apparatu ejusdem sectae.' But he was declared, notwithstanding, to have died intestate, and was interred, not in the place indicated, but with his ancestors in the Nevill porch. And there his moderately sized blue marble grave cover containing the despoiled matrix of his effigy, pontificially vested, and surmounted by a rich canopy, remains still near the tomb of his grandfather, John lord Nevill of Raby.

To Nevill succeeded, September 25th, 1475, Lawrence Booth, who was appointed by papal bull through the influence of Queen Margaret. Being a zealous Lancastrian, Edward IV. seized, more than twelve

coronet on one of the stall seats on the bishop's side here at Auckland, while on the next is seen the arms of Nevill's immediate predecessor, Langley, surmounted by a similar one.

During bishop Nevill's episcopate, his relative, Henry VI., visited the shrine of S. Cuthbert, and remained for some time his guest in the castle of Durham. Seventeen days afterwards the king wrote to master John Somerset that 'We have been right merry in our pilgrimage, considering iij causes; one is how that the church of y^e province of York and diocesse of Durham be as nobill in doing of divine service, in multitude of ministers and in sumptuous and gloriouse buildinge, as anie in our realme. And alsoe how our Lord has radicate in the people his faith and his law, and that they be as catholike people as ever wee came among, and als good and holy, that we dare say the first commandement may be verified right well in them. *Diligunt Dominum Deum ipsorum ex totis animis suis ex totâ mente suâ.* Also they have done unto us als great herty reverence and worshipp as ever we had eaven as they had bene *celitus inspirati.* Wherefore the blessing y^e God gave to Abraham, Isack, and Jacob, descend upon them all, &c. Wryten in oure city of Lincolne in Crastino S. Lucae Evang. 1448.'

months after the battle of Towton, the temporalities of the see, which he retained for two years. Like his predecessors he had a long reign of nearly twenty years, when he was translated to York.⁶⁴ *Chambre* writes :—‘ *Iste portas totas lapideas Collegii apud Auckland, aliaque aedificii eidem portae in utramque partem annexa proprio sumptu construxit.*’

This statement is especially interesting as giving a clue to the date of the transference of the college from the precincts of South Church to those of the manor-house, or episcopal palace of Auckland—an incident nowhere else either mentioned, or even incidentally referred to. Whether the rest of the quadrangle were erected by Booth, or one or both of his immediate predecessors, Langley and Nevill, we have now no means of ascertaining ; but as the gateway would pretty certainly constitute the finishing touch of the new structure, it should fix its erection, and occupation by the canons, at about the middle of the fifteenth century, clearly enough. From the particular mention of the gateway and the parts immediately adjoining it on either side only, having been erected by Booth, however, the natural inference would seem to be that he did no more in the way of building than the parts specified, and, by consequence, that he simply completed what his predecessors had begun.

The greater part, if not the whole of this work, however, like that of Skirlaw at the manor-house or castle, is now destroyed. The gateway above referred to faced the west, and the annexed portions of the college building did not probably extend very far. What is left of them—now greatly disguised and obscured—lies to the south and

⁶⁴ Through the marriage of his sister Margaret, Booth became brother-in-law to his new neighbour (whether at Brancepeth, as regards Durham, or Raby, as regards Auckland) of Ralph Nevill, third earl of Westmoreland. He was the builder of the south chancel chapel at Brancepeth church, wherein his wife, himself, and their only son were interred ; the latter, who died during his parents' lifetime, in a plain altar tomb of Tees marble in the midst of the chapel ; the former, in a larger and more ornate one, with square panels containing quatre-foiled circles enclosing shields of Nevill impaling *argent*, three boars' heads *sable*, Booth, beneath the arch opening to the chancel. The whole chapel, with its lovely stall work and tombs, was preserved, till a few years since, well nigh intact. Will it, or can it, be credited that within so short a space it should have been ruthlessly and brutally wrecked ; the exquisite fittings cut to pieces and destroyed ; the tomb of the founder and his wife cast out, and that of their son smashed to pieces, and either carted away, or buried beneath where it stood ? And for what, as may well be asked, was such a piece of sacrilegious vandalism as this perpetrated ? The answer is—to make room for a miserable little, rubbishy, second-hand organ !

east of the parts in question, closely adjoining, and indeed forming the western boundary of, the castle buildings.

William Dudley, the first dean of king Edward IV.'s new chapel of S. George at Windsor, and archdeacon of Middlesex, was, on Booth's promotion, also appointed by the pope. He was uncle to Henry VII.'s notorious minister, and founder of the house of Dudley. After a short pontificate of six years he died, November 29th, 1483, and was buried in the chapel of S. Nicholas, in Westminster abbey.

The remains of his monument, which was formerly a very rich and fine one, exist there still. It is surmounted by a beautifully designed canopy of stone, and once exhibited his effigy, pontifically vested, and engraved in brass, upon the slab, or *mensa* of the altar tomb below. This, however, has now, of course, as usual, been stolen. The monument is fully described in vol. ii. of Neale and Brayley's *Westminster Abbey*, and an engraving of it given in vol. i. of the same work, of which it forms the pictorial title page.

John Sherwood, apostolic notary, archdeacon of Richmond, chancellor of Exeter, and English ambassador at the court of Rome, a friend and confidant of king Richard III., was provided to the see by the pope, on January 30th, 1484. He was watched with suspicion by Henry VII., but taking no part in public affairs, died at the English college at Rome, January 12th, 1494.

Richard Fox, translated from Bath and Wells, and an ardent adherent of Henry VII., succeeded Sherwood, and had the temporalities restored on the 8th December of the same year. 'Iste aulam in castro Dunelmensi *transmutavit*,' says Chambre, speaking accurately, 'quod ibidem duae fuere regalitatis sedes, una in suprema parte, altera in infima parte aulae; modo autem unam in parte superiori reliquit, et loco inferioris sedis fecit penum cum pantaria, et super idem opus duas collocavit sedes pro buccinatoribus, aut aliis musicis, tempore servitii, cubiculumque computatorium, et amplam coquinam, omnesque domus officiales ad eam spectantes, cum cubiculis illas suppositis officiales, et novo omni illo opere ex occidentali parte aulae et coquinae collocato, proprio sumptu erexit. Hic erexit et construere incepit in alta turre ejusdem castri aulam, coquinam, aliaque nonnulla aedificia; sed priusquam perficiebantur, translatus erat ad Winchester, ratione controversiae ortae inter eum et comitem Cumberlandiae pro jure de Hartil-

poole. Collegium apud Oxford, vocatum Collegium Corporis Christi, fundavit; cui possessiones plurimas dedit. Deinde capellam apud Winchester magnificis sumptibus constructam erexit;⁶⁵ et ibidem honoratissime sepultus jacet; cujus imago summo cum artificio in lapide efformata ibidem conspicitur.'

Of the goods and utensils belonging to the college of Auckland in the time of this famous prelate his register supplies the following interesting particulars:—

Reg. Fox. 1499.

Indenture 20 July 5th year of Transl. of Richard bp. of Durham, between William Thomeson S.T.B. dean of Auckland and Robert Dykar clerk or registrar of said Reverend Father, witnessing that W. T. received of R. D. the foll^s articles, viz. j Almery, j Bord w^t ij Trest', j choppyng' knyfe, j Counter, j ymage of o^r lady, iij mete bordes remoueable, iij payre trestes, iij fourmys, j Cobberd, j hangyng of Grene say, ij old latyne basynges, ij Ewers to the same, x old Standis of tre, ij old brewyng' leddes, j copper panc, iij colyng leddes, j maskfate, j Gylefate, j Bultyng toone, v Sakkes, j fleshe Axe, j Grete Standyng kyste, ij Wode Axes, viij Standyng beddes, j Salt parcell gilt w^t a cover Weyng xiiij vnc' & di. j Salt parcell gilt W^tout cover Weyng' ix vnces, j Salt Wrethed w^t a cover Weyng' vij vnces et di., j Whit Standyng pece parcell gilt w^t a cover Weyng' xij vnces & di. j pounced pece w^t a cover parcell gilt Weyng xiiij vnces & di., j pece parcell gilt Weyng vj vnces, j pounced pece Weyng' iij vnces et di. xiiij sponys Weyng a xj vnces et di., j Standyng maser covered Weyng' xv vnces & di., vj Brassepottes, j Chafer for the fyre, j ketill, iij litille brase pannys, ij chafyng dishis, j fryng pane, iij Spittes, ij Rostyng' yrons, j latoun

* Fox's work at Durham remains very perfect, and may be seen any day, as also at Winchester, where his chantry, the most magnificent of all the series of magnificent episcopal chantries, has been restored by the members of the Oxford foundation. The stone screens of the choir of that cathedral, surmounted by the very curious carved, painted, and gilt mortuary chests containing the mingled bones of the West Saxon kings and bishops originally buried in the crypt of the old Saxon cathedral, but desecrated, and thrown about the church like rubbish by the Puritans, are also largely due to bishop Fox, whose device of the 'Pelican in her piety,' together with his mitre, shield of arms, and motto, 'Est Deo Gratia,' are repeated continuously along the cornice. The admirable blending of Classic and Gothic feeling throughout this composition, which bears date 1525, is in the highest degree noteworthy and instructive.

The wooden vaulting of the choir, displaying on its bosses a mass of heraldry, besides the emblems of the Passion, and the faces of many personages connected with it, such as those of Pilate and his wife, Herod, Annas and Caiaphas, Judas Iscariot, Malchus, S. Peter, etc., is also due to the liberality of Fox. So too, is, or was—for it has now been mutilated and tampered with—the magnificent east window of the choir, which displays his arms, four times repeated, and impaling those of each of the sees which he held successively, viz., Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, accompanied with his device of 'Est Deo Gratia.' This window was declared by the late Charles Winston to have been 'in point of execution as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their proper limit. It was at this period that glass painting attained its highest perfection as an art.'

ladyl, j Scomer, j Brasyn mortar w^t a pestell, iij lesyng' knyves, j brede grate, j fflesche Crooke, ij Raken Crokes, j Stone mortar w^t a pestell, xx powder platers, xij powder dishes, viij Salsers, ij payre of potclyppes, j garnyshe of vessell', j Shavyng' Basyn.

Req. Fox. 1499.

Similar indenture of same date concerning 'omnes et singulos libros subscriptos pro usu, comodo, et vtilitate dictæ eccl'iæ sive capellæ collegatæ prædictæ ac in libraria eiusdem perpetuis futuris temporibus remanendos & salue custodiendos.'

Inprimis, j Bible cum expositione d'ni Nicholai de lira, in quatuor voluminibus, 2^o fo. Nolui.⁶⁶ Secundum volumen, 2^o fo. erit sacerdos. Volumen tercium, in quo continentur libri prophet Isaïæ, Jheremiæ, Trenorum, Baruch, Ezechiel, Danyell, Osia, Joelis, Amos, Abdia, Jonæ, &c.; iiiijtm volumen, iii^{or} evangelistarum, Mathei, Marci, &c. liber Sentenciarum cum tabula secundum ordinem librorum, 2^o fo. quare pr'. Vocabularium⁶⁷ super Bibliam vocatum⁶⁸ 2^o fo. mediam, et super sacram scripture (*sic*) in vniuersali ecclesia vsitatum. Distinct'ones, cum cæteris contentis theologiæ, 2^o fo., distinct. in terr. Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis, et promptuarium eiusdem cum tabula conueniente, 2^o fo. corpus Phillippi de pergamo. Speculum Regiminis animæ cathomorole, 2^o fo., a veritate. Sermones dominicales per annum et de sanctis, 2^o fo., est de propriis. Boicius de consolacione cum comment et tabul' in pergamo, 2^o fo. Relatione. Tabula exemplorum (?), 2^o fo. laborar'. Petri Marci interpretacio in officia ciceronis 2^o fo. Sed eciam. Epistolæ ciceronis eum commento, qui cum imperio et cilius ytalicus super bella punica in eodem libro, 2^o fo., orare fatali. Sermones de litio de laudibus sanctorum, 2^o fo. de nobilitat. Item boicius impressus, de consolacione philosophiæ, [cum commentario. Sanctus Thomas, 2^o fo. vera securitas. Item boicius de disciplina scolarium 2^o fo. q^{re} opus est, cum commento, et est impressus. Tractatus fratris Egidii de peccato originali, 2^o fo. secundum; habet epistolæ lilij quas correcto^a vocantur, 2^o fo. hijs ep'lis, concordanciæ Bibli et canonum et tocuis iuris canonici, 2^o fo. Orilegium Sapienciæ de vilitate condicionis humanæ, 2^o fo. parabolæ. liber pergameni ligatus in asseribus diuersos libros continens; in principio Kalendarium, Secundo manuale, 2^o fo. dominical. et cætera. Expositio beati Augustini de Sermone in monte, 2^o fo. diligat. Decreta cum glosa bartholomæi Brexensis, 2^o fo. Natialem. Decretales Gregoriani cum glossa bernardi, 2^o fo. so, liber sextus cum glossa Johannis Andrea, 2^o fo. extollit, liber clementis cum glossa Jo. Andrea, 2^o fo. vt fertur. Alius liber clementis cum glossa Johannis Andrea, et cum glossa Willelmi de monte haudio, 2^o fo. clement. Item in eodem libro constitutionum dominorum othonis et otoboni cum glossa Johannis de Atona, 2^o fo. glose q m c (?) Item d'ns Innocencius super quinto libro decretalium 2^o fo. in medico. Item Willelmus in speculo in tribus voluminibus, prima pars d'ni Willelmi duranti in speculo, 2^o fo. accessor. Secunda pars d'ni Willelmi duranti in speculo, 2^o fo. nunt. Tercia et quarta pars d'ni Will'i sub vno

⁶⁶ It was usual to mention the first word on the second leaf of a MS. book for the purpose of identification.

⁶⁷ Words not made out.

⁶⁸ This, being a printed book, could not be identified by the second leaf.

volumine, 2° fo. possu'. Item Reportorium vtriusque iuris Reverendi patris d'ni Petri brixensis Episcopi, 2° fo. Scriberes p't. Secunda pars [et vltima Reportorii vtriusque iuris Reverendi patris d'ni Petri brixensis Episcopi, 2° fo. temporalibus. Item Constitutiones secundum vsu cantuariensis provincie cum glossa Willelmi Sherwode, in pergamento, 2° fo. sub specie sacr'i. Summarium textuale et conclusiones super Elementum in eodem libro cum tabula titularum, 2° fo. in dei. D'ni panormitani practica de modo procedendi in iudicio. Ars inveniendi Themata. Vocabularium vtriusque iuris, 2° fo. vt in iuribus. D'ns Willelmus duranti speculator super Reportorium aureum cum casibus tocius iuris in quibus casibus aliquis est ipso facto suspensus, 2° fo. sciend. quorum expositiones siue declarationes vtriusque iuris titularum, 2° fo. in nomine. Item liber Belial^m et constitutiones cantuariensis in pergamento, 2° fo. cu' tant. Glossa d'ni Digni super regul. iuris, 2° fo. cu' ad rebz. Ortus sanitatis, impressus et ligatus; primus tractatus eiusdem de herbis, 2° fo. effunder' aqua'. Secundus tractatus de animalibus, 2° fo. confert palpita. Tercius tractatus de Auibus, 2° fo. Achant. quartus tractatus de piscibus, 2° fo. aquæ elimento. quintus de lapidibus, 2° fo. Alabandina. Sextus de vrinis, 2° fo. imul (?) primus liber unam . . . vocabulorum, secundum ordinem Alphabeticum, 2° fo. Abigere.

There is also, No. 131, a licence to acquire lands, etc., in augmentation for the support of six choristers.

William Sever, Sinowes, or Senhouse, warden of Merton college, Oxford, and provost of Eton; afterwards abbot of S. Mary's, York, and bishop of Carlisle, was thence translated to Durham by papal bull; the temporalities being restored to him on October 15th, 1502. He did nothing important, and dying May 14th, 1505, was buried at the abbey of S. Mary. After which, with characteristic greed, the king seized the revenues of the see for two full years, when—

Christopher Bainbridge, dean of York, was consecrated to it in 1507. 'Erat Episcopus anno uno, et fuit translatus in Archiepiscopatum Eboracensem anno Domini MDVIII. Qui paulo post factus Cardinalis, missus erat internuntius per Henricum VIII Angliæ Regem ad Romam; qui, ut fertur, veneno illic consumptus erat.'⁷⁰

⁷⁰ So apparently in the MS.

⁷⁰ Bainbridge was a native of the village of Hilton, near Appleby, and was educated at Queen's college, Oxford, where he became provost in 1495. Preferences flowed in quickly on him. He was made dean of York in 1503, dean of Windsor in 1505, as also Master of the Rolls and Privy Councillor. The last years of his life were passed in Italy, as ambassador from Henry VIII. to pope Julius II., who in March, 1511, gave him a cardinal's hat with the title of S. Praxede. In a sudden fit of passion he struck his house-steward, Renald of Modena, who forthwith poisoned him, and then committed suicide. Archbishop Bainbridge was buried in the now destroyed English church of S. Thomas the Martyr—founded in 775, by Offa, king of the East Saxons—whence his beautiful tomb of white marble was, some years since, removed into the entrance hall of the adjoining college, where it still remains.

Again the see remained vacant from September 21st, 1508, till June 23rd, 1509, when—

Thomas Ruthall, dean of Salisbury, was appointed by papal bull, dated 12th June, 1509, consecrated June 24th, and had the temporalities restored on the 3rd of July in the same year. ‘Hic totum a fundo Aucklandiae cubiculum, in quo prandetur, erexit; pro cujus operis perfectione reliquit quendam suum hominem, nomine Stranwich, advocatorem suum, cui satis thesauri ad opus istud conficiendum dedit; propterea quod ipsemet fuit a consiliis Regi Henrico VIII, necnon patri suo Henrico VII., a quo summus habebatur; et continuo in curia sua pro sua singulari sapientia detentus, adeo ut res suas episcopatus Dunelmensis illic agere non potuit. Hic reparavit tertiam partem Pontis de Tyne versus austrum. Ditissimus habebatur subditus per totam Angliam.’

Ruthall is said to have died of chagrin through having inadvertently shown to king Henry VIII. a book containing an account of his own wealth instead of another in which was entered one of all the lands and revenues of the crown in England; both volumes being of the same size, and bound to the same pattern, in white vellum. But the story, which is told also of Wolsey, who was the king’s messenger on this occasion, is an old one, and may be taken for what it is worth. Bishop Ruthall died at Durham palace, London, on 4th February, 1523, when he was buried in S. John’s chapel, Westminster abbey.⁷¹

A fine engraving of his tomb is given in Neale and Brayley’s *Westminster Abbey*, vol ii. p. 184, together with the annexed account

⁷¹ Thomas Ruthall was a native of Cirencester, towards the very rich and remarkable church of which place both himself and relatives were great benefactors. With two of its most striking features, viz., the south porch, and chapel of S. Catherine, they were closely connected as chief contributors and builders. To the former—a unique and magnificent structure, comprising not merely an entrance to the church, but a town hall and other offices, above and around it, rising in three divisions, four stories high, and covered throughout with the richest panelling, bay windows and traceried battlements—his aunt, Aveline Ruthall, gave a hundred marks, his mother also helping largely.

S. Catherine’s chapel, on the north side of the chancel, was built entirely by the bishop as a place of family sepulture, though dying in London, he himself was buried there. Fifty-four feet long, by thirteen in breadth, it has a magnificently groined roof of fan tracery, and had once the whole of its walls covered with the most splendid frescoes, of which the remains, even at the present day, are, or—at any rate, some years since, when I saw them—were, not only very lovely, but extensive.

of it :—‘ Some years after ’ (his death), says Anthony Wood (*Athenae*, vol. i. p. 566) ‘ was a fair tomb built over his grave, with his *statua* mitred and crested, and a small inscription on it, but false as to the year of his death.’ The *inscription* now upon the tomb is painted on the southern verge, and cannot without difficulty be read ; it is as follows, but the date is gone :—*Hic jacet Thomas Rvthall, Episcopus Dunelmensis et Regis Henrici Septimi Secretarius, qui ob. . .*

Ruthall’s ‘ *statua*,’ which is of soft freestone, has been so wantonly mutilated as almost to become a shapeless mass ; his pillow is supported by two angels, and at his feet is a lion, all which are alike defaced. Over the figure was originally a handsome canopy, nearly resembling abbot Fascet’s, but more elaborately groined, every part of which has been destroyed, except two shields, surmounted by helmets and crests (sculptured in full relief), that ornamented the centres of its respective sides ; one of these is now placed upon the stone coffin on Fascet’s tomb, the other is affixed over the west end of Ruthall’s tomb, and has the following sentence below the arms :—

‘ *Dat’ Ano Dni 1524.*

At the head of the tomb, See of Durham, Imp. Ruthall. Crest, on a helmet plumed (with mantling) a mitre rising from a *ducal coronet*.’

Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of S. Cecilia, archbishop of York, legate of the Apostolic see, primate and chancellor of England, appointed by papal bull, followed him, and held the see of Durham, together with that of York, for six years, but never visited his diocese. In 1528 he resigned, on the death of Fox, when he too, in his turn, was translated to Winchester.⁷² After a vacancy of nearly a year—

⁷² It was Fox who first introduced Wolsey to the notice of Henry VII., after which dignities poured in fast upon him. But there was still one, viz. : the bishopric of Winchester, which eluded his grasp. ‘ All,’ says Fuller, ‘ thought bishop Fox to die too soon, one only excepted, who conceived him to live too long, viz., Thomas Wolsey, who gaped for his bishopric, and endeavoured to render him to the displeasure of King Henry VIII., whose malice this bishop, though blind, discovered, and in some measure defeated.’ There is a fine and very interesting portrait of bishop Fox at Auckland castle, copied from the original in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It is that of an ancient man, with smooth, parchment-like face, utterly colourless, very grave and wise of aspect, habited in a square black cap, black cassock, rochet of white linen gathered into a narrow band at the throat, with short, tight sleeves, ending some four or five inches above those of the cassock, and with a full gathered scarf of black silk or other material round his neck. In fact, the original and purely domestic form of the episcopal magpie costume of the present day. By the side of the face to the left, is inscribed :—

Cuthbert Tunstall succeeded. He was, most probably, the son of Thomas Tunstall, of Hackforth, near the village of Tunstall, in Richmondshire, and brother of sir Brian Tunstall, who fell at Flodden. In 1508, when only sub-deacon, he became rector of Stanhope, and in 1516, master of the rolls. In the same year he went on embassy to Charles V., at Brussels, where he lodged under the same roof as Erasmus, whose close friend he ever afterwards remained. In 1519, he was made dean of Salisbury; in 1522, bishop of London, and keeper of the great seal. On February 21st, 1530, he was provided to the see of Durham by papal bull. Of this, the last of our pre-Reformation bishops, Chambre (p. 155) writes:—‘*Construxit a fundo porticum valde speciosum, et capellam ei annexam opere caementario, in castro Dunelmensi. Construxit etiam portas ferreas ejusdem castri cum opere lapideo ab utraque parte. Aquae etiam canalem, scilicet a Water Conduit, ad lavandum, fundavit, a sinistra parte introitus ejusdem castri. Construxit quoque porticum apud Auckland; ubi etiam cubiculi, in quo prandetur, summitatem magnae fenestreae perfecit, per Thomam Ruthall quondam episcopum prius inceptum; aliasque reparationes circa domum praedictam fecit. Castrum etiam apud Norham diversis in locis reparavit. Telonium, Anglice, the Towle Booth, in foro Dunelmensi opere caementario, cum aliis domibus officialibus in posteriori parte ei annexis; quas etiam civibus Dunelmensibus postea donaverat. Tertiam partem, versus austrum, pontis de Novo Castro, vocati Tyne Bridge, opere lapideo et ligneo, binis sejunctim temporibus, proprio sumptu reparavit: sed accusatus per Rinianum Mennill, in fine regni Edwardi VI., turri erat intrusus apud Londoniam, et deprivabatur Episcopali omni autoritate; ad quam, cum primum ad regalem accessit Regina Maria, in dignitatem summo cum honore iterum restaurabatur. In omni suo tempore pati noluit ne lapidem ab aedificiis suis antiquis in ruinam dilapsis auferri. Familiam honorificam semper secum tenuit, honorificeque attendebatur a generosis et hominibus plebeis; quocumque enim loco residebat,*

R. FOX
EP. DUNELM.
1494-1501.

Below, on a white panel, and in large black letters:—

CLARUS WYNTONIAE PRAESUL COGNOIË FOXUS
QUI PIUS HOC OLIM NOBILE STRUXIT OPUS.
TALIS ERAT FORMA TALIS DVM VIXIT AMICTV
QUALEM SPECTANTI PICTA TABELLA REFERT.

honorificam mensam, valdeque largam, semper secum habuit. In elemosynis erat abundans, in omni vitæ genere praeclarus Praesul. Deprivatus fuit tempore Elizabethæ, anno Domini MDLIX., qui cum ad mandatum esset cum Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi apud Lambeth, illic piissimum et gratiosissimum vitæ suæ exitum fecit; sepultusque jacet in ecclesia de Lambeth, ubi primo consecratus fuit Episcopus.'

With Tunstall expired the glories, not only of the palatinate and of the great cathedral, and monastic, church of Durham, but those minor ones of Auckland college too. It was after the suppression of the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' that Henry, fearing the great powers of the count palatine, swept away all the more important of them by Act of Parliament. Then, in 1540, the monastery with all its possessions was surrendered to the crown; Tunstall, however, who had accepted the royal supremacy, maintaining considerable influence during the remainder of the king's reign. But he could not conscientiously accept the infamous measures of uncatholicizing and ruining the church, both temporally and spiritually, which marked the accession of Edward VI.; and though he remained unmolested for a while, the duke of Northumberland (Dudley) had cast far too covetous eyes upon the emoluments of the see for his continuous enjoyment of them. His deprivation followed, consequently, in 1552, when it was proposed to suppress and spoliates the bishopric altogether; Northumberland having in the meanwhile seized Durham house in the Strand, and obtained the 'stewardship,' as it was euphemistically called, of the remaining revenues of the see.

But, before all this, in common with other hospitals, chantries, and colleges throughout the land, this of Auckland S. Andrew, had been suppressed and pillaged in 1547, when, as Hutchinson says, 'this church was left neither rectorial nor vicarial, but became a donative, or curacy, very meanly provided for, considering the parish was so opulent, extensive, and populous, and remains so to this time; bishop Cosin's grant of a moiety of the prebend of Bondgate making a considerable part of the present revenue.'

It was Tunstall's unhappy fate to live throughout the whole of that time still commonly spoken of as the 'Reformation,' and occasionally, though less frequently than aforetime, with the prefix—'blessed.'

That things material were, on a small scale, even here at Auckland, as elsewhere, diseased and out of joint, may be learnt from the steps which the bishop took to correct them. Among other entries in his *Register*, there occurs one on p. 4, for the 'Sequestrac'o omnium fructuum prebend. de Aucklande :—'Cancel. Eccl. collegiate de Awkelande pati ruinam et magnos def'cus in tecto fenestris et pariete ipsius cancelle,' etc.

But that reformation of partial and temporary abuses should be sought in wholesale and sacrilegious confiscation of endowments was a method which, however pecuniarily profitable to certain self-styled Reformers, fell heavily on the reformed, and still more so on the poor, whose patrimony was thus plundered. Yet it was exactly that which the ravening and insatiable vampires of the day applied shamelessly in every quarter, and from which the church has never yet ceased, and, what is more, never will cease, to suffer. Surely nothing more scandalous, more utterly and openly without excuse than the spoliation of the hospitals, colleges, and unattached chantries, save, possibly, the hypocritical pretences under which such villainy was attempted to be masked, could enter into man's heart to conceive. Whatever justification for the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. might be alleged—and then, as now, where plunder was in view, they were to be found in plenty—there neither was, nor could be, any for that of such foundations as these under Edward VI. In the wicked destruction of the latter was delivered, as has been well said, 'the last and most deadly blow against the establishment and propagation of the reformed religion; and numerous districts, especially in the extensive parishes of the north, were left, through their distance from the parish church, as many of them still remain, wholly unprovided for in spiritual matters; but, as Bale justly observed, "couvitousnesse was at that tyme so busy aboute pryvate commodite, that publique wealthe was not anywhere regarded."'⁷³

⁷³ 'The positions of the unattached chantries,' as Mr. Walbran, in his *Antiquities of Gainford*, very truly observes, 'were generally well chosen, and their endowments respectable; and had their structures been allowed to remain, and their revenues been made available for the diffusion and maintenance of the reformed doctrine—instead of having been diverted, under the most iniquitous pretences, to fawning parasites and secular purposes—too many persons, looking round in their respective parishes, may discover how much infidelity and immorality from the absence of religious pastors, how much fanaticism and schism, from the presence of improper and unauthorized ones, would have been prevented or suppressed.'

Like Erasmus, bishop Tunstall was fully alive to the disorders and abuses which affected the church in his day, and desired earnestly their removal. But if, as Surtees says, 'he wanted the firmness and constancy of a martyr, he yet possessed qualities scarcely less rare or valuable. With mild and scholarlike scepticism, he refused to persecute others for opinions on which he had himself felt doubt and indecision, and during the heat of the Marian persecution not a single victim bled within the limits of the church of Durham.' A gentle and noble life, truly, with which closed worthily the long line of pre-Reformation prelates, and patrons of the collegiate church of S. Andrew Auckland.

Of the buildings and appurtenances of the college, dissolved and brought to naught under Tunstall, though there is little to be said, that little is sufficiently characteristic. After that saintly man's deprivation on September 29th, 1554, and death during imprisonment, on November 18th following, James Pilkington—'the first Protestant bishop'—was consecrated to the see on March 2nd, 1561, the crown, meanwhile, as usual, receiving the income.

How the services in the parish church of S. Andrew had been affected by the transference of the collegiate establishment from that spot to the precincts of the castle there seems nothing to show. But that the episcopal chapel became thenceforth the collegiate church or chapel seems plain enough: and thus Bek's original scheme of having it served by a staff of chaplains, for whose maintenance he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to expropriate the revenues of the church of Morpeth, became at length, though in a somewhat different fashion, an accomplished fact.

Speaking of Pilkington, an anonymous writer says:—'Likewise he brust in peaces the college bells of Auckland, and sould and converted them unto his use; and in the lower part of the saide colledge' (church, which was a double one, *i.e.* in two storeys), 'where divine service had been duly celebrated, he made a bowliug alleye, and in the howse above the said colledge' (that is, the upper chapel), 'which before tyme had been used by the said churchmen for Divine service upon generall festivall daies, he builte here a paire of buttes, in the which two places he allowed both shooting and bowling.'

'Pilkington left two daughters, for whom he is said to have saved such large fortunes as to have provoked the jealousy of Queen

Elizabeth, who "scorned that a bishop's daughter should equal a princess;" and, if Fuller may be credited, deprived the bishopric in consequence of 1,000*l.* a year, which she settled on the garrison of Berwick.'

He is said to have been buried without religious service; and, like Mrs. Barnes, the wife of his successor in the unhappy see, to have had his body covered with a gravestone stolen from the college.⁷⁴

But though for a time desecrated in so infamous a fashion, the chapel continued undestroyed, and being again restored to divine service, so continued till the great Rebellion, when, by authority of Parliament, it was sold, with the rest of the castle buildings, in 1647, to sir Arthur Haslerigg. Less disgustingly profane than Pilkington, this man, instead of daily defiling, with more decency perhaps, pulled it bodily down, and appropriated its materials towards the erection of a new house. And thus, at last, was the story of the college and its chapel closed: yet not quite, since Cosin, with poetic justice, on the Restoration, destroyed and utterly effaced the building so impiously constructed by the intruder.

⁷⁴ This practice of destroying the tombs, and not only that, but profaning the remains of the peaceful dead—a species of demoniacal possession, as it might seem—forms one of the most repulsive, as well as inhuman, of the Puritan characteristics.

Pilkington, as has been aptly remarked, would look with no disfavour upon the rabid iconoclasm of his contemporary, dean Whittingham, at Durham, whose acts of wholesale desecration and plunder are thus referred to in the *Rites* :— 'Att the easte end of the Chapter howse,' we read, 'there is a garth called the Centrie Garth, where all the Priors and monnckes was buried: all which Priors, when thei diede, had every one a goodlie fair through stone layd upon ther toumbes, which stones Deane Whittingham did cause to be pulled downe and taken away, and dyd breake and deface all such stones as had any pictures of brass or other imagerie worke, or challices wroughte upon theme. And the residewe he caried them all awaie, and did occupie theme to his owne use, and did make a washinge howse of many of them for women landerers to washe in, so that yt cannott be deemyd at this present that ever any hath bene buried in the Centorie Garth, yt is maid so plaine and streight. For he could not abyde anye annyent monuments, nor nothing that apperteyned to any godlie religiousnes or monasticall liffe. By which act he shewed the hatred that he bare to the memories of his predecessors, in defacing so rudely their ancient and harmlesse monuments.'

'And also,' we read, 'within the said Abbey Church of Durrisme ther was two Holy-Water Stones, of fyne marble, very artificially made and graven, and bost with hollow bosses upon the outer sydes of the stones, verie fynly and curioslie wroughte. The stone of the north dore of the Church was a fair grete large one; the other, at the south dor, was not halfe so great, nor so large, but of the same worke that the other was of. Which two holie-water stones was taken awaie by Deane Whittingham, and caryed into his kitching, and put unto profayne uses, and ther stode during his life. In which stones thei dyd stepe ther beefe and salt fysh in, haveinge a conveiance in the bottomes of them for letting

XVII.—OF THE MONUMENTS.

Though not without interest, the monumental remains, albeit numerous enough, are, with a single exception, of no great importance. I use the word 'remains' advisedly, since, for the most part, they consist of matrices of brasses only. Of these there are several, while of the brasses themselves, one only—the detached and mutilated effigy of a priest—has escaped that ravenous greed of plunder which here, as elsewhere, during the much vaunted days of Puritan ascendancy, has overtaken all the rest. Besides these, there are also two life-sized figures—one of a knight, in wood; the other, of a female, in stone.

To begin with the first and earliest—that of the knight. Of the individual intended to be represented we have no record, either literary or traditional. The date is clearly that of about the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century; and the effigy, in all probability, that of a Pollard, a local family mentioned among the free tenants in the great survey known as 'the Boldon Book,' and which, in the days of bishop Hatfield, had attained to very considerable wealth and position. As a work of art, though passable enough as that of a local craftsman, much cannot be said. Like almost all ancient monuments of the kind, it possesses, however, that quality of tranquil, dignified repose so sadly conspicuous by its absence in later works, and the armour is rendered with considerable skill and effect—but that is all.

furth the water, as thei had when they weare in the church. And after his deathe, the greater holie-water stone is removed into the lower end of the Deanes buttrie, where the water connditt is sett, and next unto the wyne seller, wher in now thei wash and make cleane ther potts and cuppes, before they serve theme at the table.

'Moreover Mrs. Whittingham, after the death of her husband, toke awaie the lessor holie-water stone out of the Deanes kitching, and browght yt into her howse in the Bailye, and sett it there in her kitchinge, and also did carrye awaie dyverse grave-stones, of blew marble, and other throwgh stones, that did ly upon the Priors and Monnkes, out of the Centrie Garth, when she buylded her house in the Baley, which stones some of theme ar laid in the threshold of the dores, and two great ones lyeth without the doures, over against the walle before her dor. For the which faete she was complayned upon, and so laid those two without the dour that before was maid wall-fast within her house, which howse came after to Mr. Jo. Barnes, and after to Mr. Jo. Richardson, who lived there a longe season: but, in his tyme, ther came an olde man with comly gray hayres to begg an almes, and lookinge aboute hym upon the tombe stones, which lay in the court yard, saide to the party that came to hym, that whilest those stones were there nothinge wolde prosper aboute the howse; and, after, divers of his children and others dyed. So he caused them to be removed into the Abbey yard, wher now they are: but before the almes came to serve the man he was gone, and never seen after.'

Hutchinson, who tells us that in his day the effigy was said to be that of one of the Pollards, continues, 'Mr. Pennant describes it as a "cross-legged knight, armed in mail to his finger ends, with a skirt formed of stripes, reaching to his knees; a short sword and conic helm;" and then proceeds:—"The author of the sepulchral monuments adds: "Is not this the common plated surcoat?"'⁷⁵ The hood is united with the vest or waist and sleeves of the mail, and the sleeves are continued and form mitts or covers for the hands. The figure is of wood; the right leg is uppermost; the feet rest on a lion; the hands are elevated; and the sword is sheathed.'

Thus far, our worthy old historian and his authorities. Now for facts.

The effigy, which is of oak, now almost as hard as iron, measures from the point of the helmet to that of the toes seven feet four inches in length, by one foot eight inches in breadth across the shoulders. The head rests, as usual, on two cushions, the upper placed diagonally. It is protected by a sharply-pointed *chapel-de-fer* or *cervelière* of steel plate, with a border an inch deep, to which is attached, underneath, a coif of chain-mail, exceedingly well wrought. This covers, and rests upon the upper part of the surcoat, which, somewhat shorter in front than behind, falls in narrow folds, with the edges of its front part—slit to the depth of about eighteen inches—turned back. Beneath the surcoat appears a hawberk of chain-mail, whose sleeves, terminating in mittens provided with thumb-pieces, encase the hands. Crossing the right shoulder, but extending only as far as the hands, which, pressed 'palm against palm,' point horizontally upwards, is a belt or strap an inch and a half wide, which must once have supported, or been intended to support, the shield, of which, however, there are no remaining traces. Round the waist is a narrow horizontal band confining the surcoat, which is crossed diagonally by the sword-belt, two and three-quarter inches broad. Both are perfectly plain, and connected at the left side by a narrow, vertical strap. The upper and lower ends of the sword, which were detached from the figure, are broken off; whence Mr. Pennant's description of it as being short. Below the surcoat and hawberk are seen, to the extent of about three

⁷⁵ This is quite a mistake, the camail is perfectly distinct, and has no connexion whatever with the hawberk or shirt of mail, which appears below, as the hood, or camail does above, the surcoat.

inches, the narrow vertical quiltings of the *haqueton*, a padded undergarment which was not only worn as an additional defence, but to protect the body from the pressure of the steel links. This is Mr. Pennant's 'skirt formed of stripes,' and the other author (Gough's) 'common plated surcoat.' The knees and lower legs are encased with *genouillières* and *jambarts* of plate or *cuir bouilli*, entirely without ornament, the latter being connected and kept in position by straps which pass beneath the feet. These last, which are shown perfectly smooth and plain, rest upon an animal doubtless intended for a lion, but which has a little sharp pointed snout like a pig.⁷⁶ The legs are crossed, the right uppermost; and the depth of the figure from top to bottom, is about one foot. The date is clearly *circa* 1320-30.

The stone effigy, like the wooden one, is now displaced and stowed away in the north-west corner of the north aisle. As in that case, the effigy is shown probably of life size, measuring in length five feet seven inches, and in breadth across the shoulders one foot one and a half inches. The head also rests upon two cushions, which, here, however, are furnished with tassels. The head-dress, which remains in very perfect preservation, is square, and consists of a reticulated caul, with bosses at the intersections, and the interstitial spaces filled with four petalled roses.⁷⁷ Three of larger size and more enriched character surmount the forehead. Beneath the caul is seen the edge of a close-fitting cap of silk or linen.⁷⁸ Above, and upon the crown

⁷⁶ It has somewhere or other been described as such, but this is certainly not the case. Ill drawn as no doubt it is, the bushy mane and crest of the lion are evidently intended to be shown. Hutchinson tells us (iii. 350), that one of the Pollard estates, 'Newfield, bears the appellation of *Pollard's Den, or Dene*;' and adds in a note:—'We find nothing to confirm the old tradition, that Pollard, a champion knight, for slaying a wild boar, had as much land granted to him by one of our prelates as he could ride round whilst the grantor dined.' Perhaps the porcine snout of the animal depicted on the monument, may have given rise to the tradition in much the same way as the figure of a ship in the arms of Nevill Ancient (a piece of mere canting heraldry) did to the fiction of the 'homo præpositus' of the family having been an admiral of the fleet of William the Conqueror.

⁷⁷ This head-dress may be compared with those of the two countesses of Ralph, first earl of Westmoreland, in Staindrop church, *circa* 1412, where, though not coming so low down the sides of the face, the decorative details are very similar; with that of Lady Cassy, 1400, Deerhurst church, Gloucestershire; and those of Maria Stourton, 1404, Sawtrey All Saints, Hunts.; of Philippa By-schoppesdon, 1414, in Broughton church, Oxon.; and Millicent Meryng, *circa* 1415, in East Markham church, Notts.

⁷⁸ The presence of this close-fitting cap next the skin, which, in the head-dresses of this period, constitutes so striking and curious a feature, concealing,

of the head, is a short veil or handkerchief which descends no further than the neck. The figure is vested in a plain gown, cut low and square across the breast. Midway between the shoulders and the elbows the tight, short sleeves are terminated by those extraordinary and absurd appendages known as lappets or tippets, consisting of a narrow band or belt around the arms, from which a long tail or ribbon, an inch and three-quarters wide, falls nearly to the feet.⁷⁹ Where detached from the body these are now broken away. Below the sleeves of the gown appear those of the undergown or kirtle, the edges of whose sleeves, which form mittens reaching to the knuckles, are ornamented with rows of minute buttons scarcely as large as small peas.⁸⁰ In front, and below the hands, which are pressed together in prayer, are seven large roundels reaching to a little below the waist, an inch and three-quarters in diameter, and quite flat.⁸¹

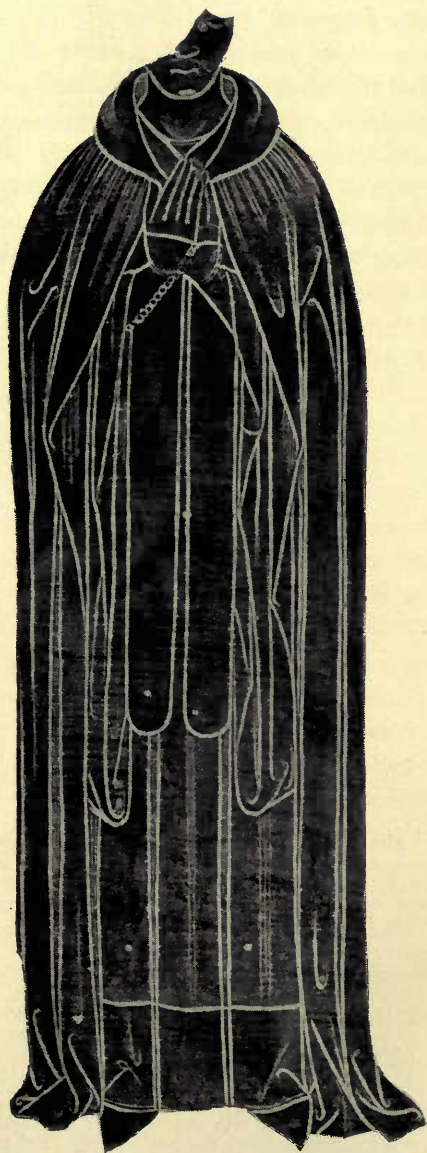
The nose, as usual, is broken, but the face, which is a long oval, has been very comely, not to say beautiful, and with fine, large, full and expressive eyes; now, however, much defaced. The mouth too has been very well rendered, and the general expression is that of serene and dignified repose. The throat, long and slender, is without ornament, as is also the gown, which falls in graceful folds upon the feet. The latter, cased in pointed shoes, rest upon the curiously bowed and crouching figure of a dog. The date of the effigy, which in all likelihood represents, as Hutchinson supposes it to do, one of the Bellasys, is that of the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth, century.

as it frequently does, all appearance of the front hair whatever, naturally raises the question as to how the latter was disposed of. It must certainly have been very rigorously confined; rendering the idea 'probable that false hair, or some other similar material was used for stuffing their head-dresses.' Nineteenth-century experience alone, will, I think, amply suffice to justify such a supposition.

⁷⁹ An interesting illustration of this fashion, but probably of somewhat earlier date, may be seen in the brass of Isabel Beaufo, Water-perry, Oxon. Here the frilled or zig-zag head-dress comes down as far as the shoulders.—See Haines's *Monumental Brasses*, part i. clxviii.

⁸⁰ These rows of buttons as edgings for the seams of the sleeves continued in vogue for a very considerable period. They may be seen, among others, in the effigies of Joan de Cobham, *circa* 1320, in Cobham church, Kent; of Euphemia de Clavering, 1343, in Staindrop church, Durham; Lady Cobham, *circa* 1370, in Lingfield church, Surrey; Lady Harsick, 1384, Southacre church, Norfolk; and Lady Drury, Rougham church, Suffolk, 1405.

⁸¹ Similar roundels, or large flat buttons, appear also on the brasses of Isabel Beaufo, and Lady Cobham, above referred to.



BRASS OF A PRIEST IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AUCKLAND.
(From a finished rubbing taken by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson.)

Next to these personal presentments, in respect alike of preservation and interest, is the mutilated effigy of an ecclesiastic—probably one of the deans—which, now detached from the slab and matrix, is set upright against the adjoining wall. It measures about five feet in length, by one foot five and a half inches in breadth across the shoulders, and is very well and boldly engraved. The upper portion of the head has been destroyed, but the rest of the figure is in very good preservation, showing that, whatever position in the church it may formerly have occupied, it had escaped the wear and tear of feet. The deceased is shown vested in a very unusual and peculiar way. In the first place comes a cassock with tight sleeves edged with small buttons, very like those seen on the female effigy above described, and terminating like them in mittens reaching to the knuckles. Over this is shown a surplice with long sleeves; then an almuce with its pendent lappets; and over all, what would seem to be a very early version of the cope; not, as usual, of cloth of tissue, or velvet, embroidered down the sides with enriched border patterns, and reaching only to the ankles; but, apparently, of thin material—silk, or otherwise—gathered in at the neck like a surplice, and touching, not to say trailing, on the ground. (See plate XII.) The marginal or other inscription being now gone, we have consequently no means of determining to whose memory the monument was laid down; but the date of the work, judging as well from the costume as from the style of the engraving, may be referred pretty accurately, I think, to about the end of the fourteenth century.

Nearly adjoining these effigies is now to be seen a large slab of blue Tees marble, removed like them from the grave it once covered in another part of the church, and turned during the process the wrong way about, *i.e.*, with the head, instead of the feet, towards the east. It measures nine feet two inches in length, by four and a half feet in breadth, and has at the top the matrices of two heater-shaped shields of arms. Between, and below them has been an oblong plate bearing an inscription. Below this again is the matrix of a knightly effigy in a pointed bascinet, four feet ten and a half inches long, by one foot four inches across the elbows, but much levelled up with cement. The stone is now, owing probably to its removal, broken in two transversely.

Alongside this, southwards and westwards, is a magnificent slab, no less than ten feet long, by four and a half feet wide, also removed and reversed, but which has only had a single small strip of inserted brass inscription.

Near at hand, in the north-west corner of the nave, is a small rough slab of about four feet and a half, by two feet, with two head lines in black letter, now all but entirely obliterated. The second and shorter line commences with a capital **S**, followed, apparently, by the letters **t t**.

Southwards, on a large Tees marble slab, measuring six feet four inches, by two feet nine inches, is inscribed on a narrow strip of brass :⁸²

hic facit Ianflotus Claxton q̄i obiit x̄to die mē̄i februarij
Anno dñi M̄oCCCCov̄jo cui' aīē pp̄iciet' deus Amen—

Three others of considerable size, but perfectly plain, have also, doubtless, like this last and all the preceding, been torn in the same iniquitous manner from the sepulchres of those whose bodies they once covered, and packed away at the extreme west end of the church.

In the chancel, on the north side westwards, is a Tees marble slab seven feet nine inches long, by three feet two inches broad, which bears upon a roughish surface, the matrix of the brass of a priest vested, apparently, in a cope, and five feet long, by about one foot nine inches broad. Several rivets and some lead plugging still remain attached to it.

East of this, and measuring six feet nine, by three feet four inches, is another blue marble stone, containing within a large circle, and beneath crest and mantling, an impaled coat of arms, all very deeply cut. Inscribed in great letters below :—

SEPULCHRUM
RICHARDI BOWSER GEN.
QUI OBIT XXXI^o. MARTII
MDCLXXXI^o
RICHARDI BOWSER AR.
FILII EJUS PRIMOGENITUS
OBIIT I^o OCTOBRIS
MDCLXXV
RICHARDUS BOWSER
OBIIT XXIII. OCTOB. MDCCCXXXI.

⁸² Hutchinson, and also Boyle give the reading 'Lancelotus,' which, however right orthographically, is wrong in fact. The initial letters of both lines, it may be added, are embellished with a human face faintly engraved in profile—a pretty piece of pleasantry, all the more refreshing, nowadays, as being something over and above what was bargained for.

This stone has pretty certainly been what 'the wise do call,' 'conveyed,' 'annexed,' 'appropriated,' or, in plain English, stolen.

Then to the west, on the south side, we have another, but smaller, blue marble stone, bearing the matrices of two roundels at the top or west corner; in the centre a longitudinal oblong panel; and below this, but above another and transverse one, the kneeling figure of a priest, facing south, and with a long scroll proceeding upwards from his lips. The height of the figure is ten inches, and the breadth at the feet, six and a half inches.

East of this is the last of these slabs, whose effigies and inscriptions have now, through sacrilegious rapacity, so unhappily perished with those who erected them. It is that which, in queen Elizabeth's time, was 'appropriated' by the Puritan bishop Barnes⁸³—among whose *Ecclesiastical Proceedings*, however, as might naturally be expected, no mention of the transaction occurs—as a grave cover to his wife, Fridesmonda.*

⁸³ Though the infamous practice of plundering the dead was more greedily pursued and widespread in the Commonwealth times than in those of Barnes, still a vast amount of similar spoliation, it must be remembered, had taken place on the suppression of the monasteries and chantries in the preceding days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. And the appetite for this species of sacrilegious rapine once aroused was none so soon or easily appeased. Neither Pilkington, nor his less disgraceful successor, Barnes, would seem to have felt the least shame or compunction in gratifying it. Having none to help him, the rightful owner, it was felt, could be 'expropriated' with impunity. And so, since Mrs. Barnes's plate necessitated the destruction both of part of the shaft and of the cross head, and since the arms and accompanying inscription if suffered to remain would have proclaimed his theft to all, it seems impossible to doubt but that all the rest of the inlay, which could so readily be converted into cash, would be made away with at the same time. Truly a nice object lesson to his diocese! But then, of what wickedness, and especially sacrilegious wickedness, has not the thoroughpaced Puritan ever shown himself capable? In early days the laws against such practices, whether Pagan or Christian, civil or ecclesiastical, were exceptionally severe. 'Another great crime,' says Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xvi. chap. vi., 'condemned and punished under the name of sacrilege, was robbing of graves, or defacing and spoiling the monuments of the dead. These were always esteemed a sort of sacred repositories and inviolable sanctuaries even by the very heathen. And the violation of them was always esteemed a piacular crime and sometimes punished with death. The imperial laws made it capital, and therefore when the Christian emperors at Easter granted their indulgence or pardon to criminals in prison they still excepted robbers of graves among these other flagitious criminals which were to have benefit from their indulgence. Gregory Nyssen says, the Fathers teach us to place the violation of burial places among those sins which are to be expiated by public penance.

* Mr. J. G. Waller, in *Arch. Ael.* vol. xv. p. 81, where there is a reproduction from a rubbing of this brass, says it is of 'very remarkable and unique design.'—ED.

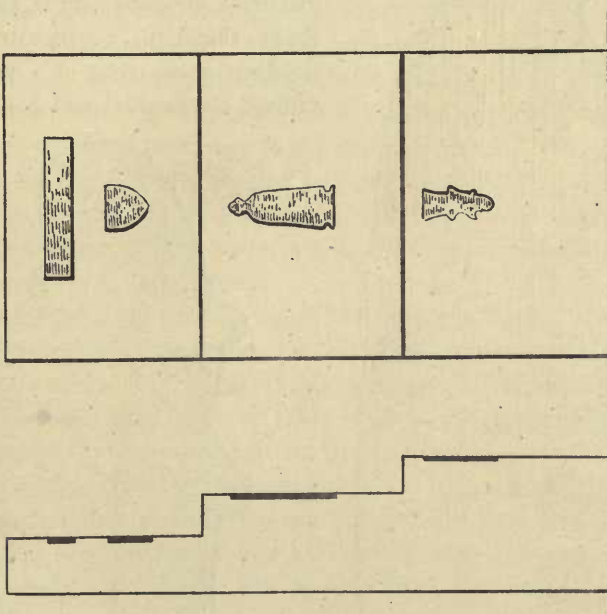
The slab is a noble one, measuring eight feet four by three feet seven inches, and has had a border fillet of brass two inches broad all round. Within this, at the head, have been two heater-shaped shields. At the base, rising from a calvary which surmounts a horizontal panel once containing the inscription, is the long narrow stem of what must, originally, have been an exceedingly beautiful and elaborate open cross, the head of which, consisting of eight ogee-shaped foiled and finialled canopied compartments, and measuring no less than four feet four inches, by two feet eight inches, contained within its centre the figure of a priest, doubtless that of one of the early deans. The matrix of his effigy, measuring two feet, by five inches, would seem to indicate that he was vested—as might naturally be expected from the architectural character of the details, which are those of about the middle of the fourteenth century—in an alb and chasuble.⁸⁴ Of Mrs. Barnes's intruded plate, I need take no further notice than to add that it has cut off the lower part of the cross head, and a portion of the shaft, which last has been enriched, in a fashion not uncommon at the period, with leaves growing out of it on either side alternately.

We come now, finally, to the most interesting and curious of all these sepulchral remains, displaced, like almost all the rest from its proper position, and now set up against the west wall of the north aisle. It is very probably unique, and is, in some respects, I think,

And the fourth council of Toledo makes it a double punishment for any clergyman to be guilty of this crime: "*If any clerk is apprehended demolishing sepulchres, forasmuch as this is a crime of sacrilege punishable with death by the public laws, he ought by the canons to be deposed from his orders, and after that do three years' penance for such his transgression.*" Sidonius Apollinaris and S. Chrysostom justly represent it as one of the most unnatural and inhuman barbarities that can be offered to the nature of man, because the dead are altogether innocent and passive, and in a condition to excite pity and compassion only; being destitute and without ability to resist or right themselves against invaders.'

⁸⁴ Very interesting examples of this class of inlaid brasses—among the most beautiful and effective of any—may be seen in the matrix of that of Sir John de la Rivière, *circa* 1350, at Tormarton church, Gloucestershire, of which he was the founder, and a model of which he is represented as supporting; of John de Blendon and his wife, *circa* 1325, in East Wickham church, Kent; of a civilian, name unknown, *circa* 1300, formerly in Hereford cathedral, where the cross head containing his effigy appears alone, without either stem or base; and in the magnificent brass, happily still quite perfect, of John Lumbarde, rector, 1408, at Stone church, Kent. Somewhat later in date, this splendid work represents, in nearly every particular, an almost exact replica of this at Auckland, the only difference being that the foliage is of a later type, and the head of the cross exactly proportioned as regards length and breadth, instead of being, as in the present instance, oblong.

perhaps, the most singular I have ever either seen, or heard of. As the annexed illustration shows, it is formed into three steps or gradines, the lowest containing the inscription and shield of arms; the middle one, the effigy of the priest commemorated; and the third, or uppermost, what, at first sight, looks like the matrix of a second ecclesiastic laid the reverse way, *i.e.*, with the head, instead of the feet, towards the east. And such, for awhile, and till a closer examination compelled a different conclusion, I imagined it to be. For though, with

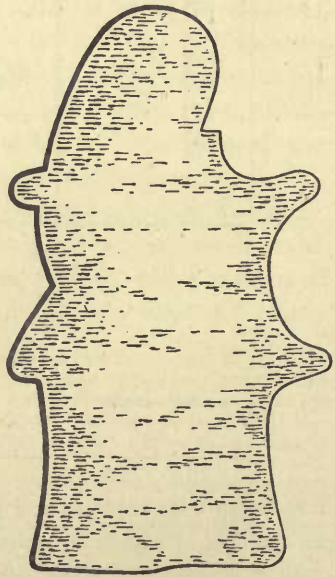
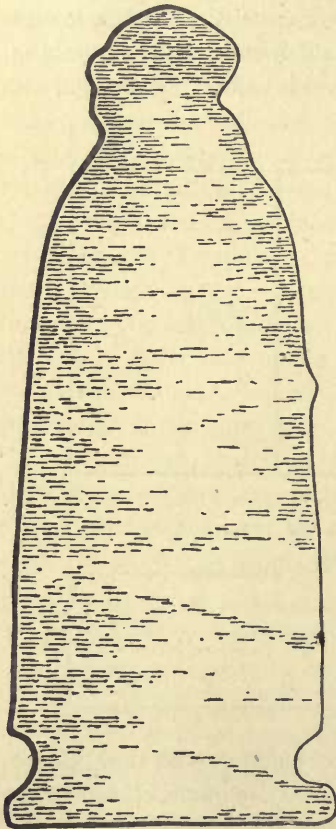


a tolerably wide experience, I have never once met with them, effigies, or symbols of priests so represented, are, I am aware, *said* to be met with in divers places; the idea being that, at the general resurrection, they should meet their people face to face.⁸⁵ But whether there be any

⁸⁵ Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* (1846) I. cexlvii. says:—'The rubric of the revised and modern Roman ritual orders, "Corpora defunctorum in ecclesia vel coemeterio ponenda sunt pro situ et loco, ut sint versa ad altare majus; vel si conduntur in oratoriis vel capellis, ponantur cum pedibus versis ad illarum altaria. Presbyteri vero et Episcopi habeant caput depositum versus altare, et pedes versus populum." Such, however, does not appear from any record to have been ever a distinction allowed in the medieval Church of England, and Catalani confesses that he has found no example of it in any ritual or council previous to this last review of the ritual of the church of Rome.'

foundation, in fact, for such an assertion or not, is quite another thing. That grave covers may, in some instances, have been reversed, and their effigies and symbols, such as chalices, etc., appear at the present time, consequently, turned the wrong way about, is conceivable enough.

Indeed, we have a striking local illustration of the fact in the adjoining parish of Aycliffe. Until the recent restoration of the church there, under the direction of the late Mr. Ewan Christian, a singularly interesting grave cover of a quondam 'village blacksmith' and his wife—



converted, at some later medieval period, into the slab, or *mensa* of an altar, and having the usual five crosses of Maltese form, deeply cut in it—might be seen at the east end of the chancel, on the north side, adjoining the steps of the sanctuary, and placed in the customary way. Then, however, not only was its position shifted from the northeast to the south-west corner, but the slab itself turned round in the process, and the unfortunate man and his wife thus made to appear as

though they had apostatized, and to be lying like Ancient Britons, or modern Roman priests, facing due west. And such transposition may, far from improbably, have taken place elsewhere.⁸⁶ At any rate, if any medieval examples to the contrary do *really* exist, they must be of the rarest possible occurrence, and form individual exceptions to a rule otherwise universal, both for bishops, priests, and people. The only two, indeed, of which I have seen specific mention, are said to be found at Tintagel in Cornwall, and Iron Acton in Gloucestershire. And even these two, are not, after all, effigies, but only chalices and wafers, an entirely different thing, and the evidence of which, so far from substantiating such asserted custom, goes quite the other way; for, though instruments of the priestly office, they are symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and point to His personal presence. They represent, that is to say, not the position in which the bodies of the deceased are placed beneath, but the quarter from which He, whom they served, was looked to come. The bodies would, therefore, necessarily face in that direction, *i.e.*, east, as usual.

But closer study has convinced me that the figure, of which, unhappily, we have now nothing but the indent, was not that of any ecclesiastic at all. On no conceivable hypothesis, either of attitude or dress, could any such figure be made to fit it. It must necessarily, therefore, be that of some saint or Divine personage towards whom the deceased is directing his gaze, and whose aid he is supplicating. At first it seemed possible that the figure might have been that of S. Andrew—the patron of the church—carrying his symbol, the saltire cross; but this idea was soon found to be untenable. The only remaining alternative, and that which I have little or no doubt

⁸⁶ Since writing the above words, I have met with as singular a verification of them as can, perhaps, be found. On recently visiting the church of Spofforth, near Harrogate—a large and interesting Transitional building, wholly recast in the Perpendicular period—I was not a little startled at seeing in the north wall of the chancel, near the west end, a fine recessed and canopied tomb of early fourteenth-century date, with richly cuspidated arch, containing the effigy of a knight in armour, lying with his head to the east, and facing westwards. The mystery, however, was soon solved. On going outside and walking round the church, the chancel was seen to be wholly new from the foundation upwards, only the magnificent Perpendicular basement of the old chancel—which was of vast size, and twice the length of the present one—having been preserved. The tomb, with its effigy, was thus at once seen to be merely a modern resetting; in what relative position to its original one there was nothing to show; and the reversal of the effigy to be due entirely to the ignorant caprice of the restoring architect of some thirty years ago—a man from York, as I was told, who ought to have known better.

is the correct one, is that the matrix contained the seated and enthroned effigy of the Blessed Virgin Mary carrying the infant Christ. The outlines of the veiled head, inclining towards the south, would at once and convincingly have suggested such a subject, had there but been—as is almost universally the case—even the slightest indication of the head of the Divine child. As this is not shown, however, His whole figure must in this case have been backed by that of His mother, and does not therefore appear in the matrix at all.

The nearest approach to this position of a sacred Person in an English brass that I know of is that occupied by the figure of the Holy Trinity on the monumental slab of Joan Strangbon, in S. Catherine's chapel, Childrey church, Berkshire. Though, as usual, flat, this, like the Auckland monument, is arranged in three horizontal divisions. At the bottom, and lying at full length *across the stone*, is the figure of the deceased, habited in a shroud. At the top are two shields of arms—one in each corner—and in the centre, figured on a large scale, the enthroned figure of God in three persons—the Father, with uplifted hands, giving the benediction with the right; the crucified figure of the Son between His knees; and the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, hovering above His head. In the middle division is an oblong tablet bearing the following inscription:—

Maker of mankind, ☉ God in Trynyte
Of thyn bigb mercy grant me this bon
That for my sowle seythe a pat'nost & aue
Daught' to Thom's Walrond baptisid by ye name of Jone
Wife when y in the world levid to Robt Strangthbon
The second day of Aple hens passid & leyd her i que
Ther alder sowlis mercy Lord grant hem to have amē.

And beneath the figure, on the very bottom verge of the slab—

Obitus anno dnī mllm̄ septimo.

Against the south wall of the same chapel are brass plates with figures of a man and woman, each kneeling at a desk, above them again being a representation of the Blessed Trinity. Proceeding from the man's mouth is a scroll:—

Sanc̄t beata trinitas miserere nobis.

From the woman's:—

beata et gloriosa trinitas miserere nobis.

Two other monuments in the same church have also invocations to the Holy Trinity above the heads of the effigies, on one of which the Three Persons are again represented.

But the figures of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Child, whether shown as an infant, or laid across her knees as dead, and just taken down from the cross, are far more frequently met with. Such is the case in the very rich and beautiful brass of prior Thomas Nelond (1433), at Cowfold, in Sussex, where, supported on either side by figures of S. Pancras and S. Thomas of Canterbury, they occupy a tabernacled niche above the head of the deceased, from whose hands, pressed together on his breast, issue three scrolls addressed severally to each.

But in very many cases, as here, at Auckland, they occupy a different position—not *over the head*, but above, and *in front of*, the suppliant effigies of the deceased, who are commonly shown as being presented by their patron saints as objects for the Divine favour.

Thus, on the brass of Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Philippa, sister of king Henry IV., and her husband, duke Philip the Good (1450), now fixed against a wall of the cathedral of Basle in Switzerland, both are represented as kneeling before the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is shown sitting at the foot of the cross, and supporting the dead body of the Lord. Both are attended by their patron saints: the duke (with his son Charles the Bold behind him), by S. Andrew, who is bearing his cross; and the duchess with her two daughters, by S. Elizabeth of Hungary.

Again, in the brass of bishop John Avantage (1456), in the cathedral of Amiens, we see the effigy of the prelate attended by his patron, S. John the Evangelist, kneeling, with his mitre on the ground, before the Blessed Virgin Mary and child, who are seated on a rich throne in front of him.

Another interesting example of the like kind occurs in the mural brass of Arnoldus de Meroide, in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the deceased, supported by his guardian angel, is shown kneeling before the Virgin standing in a meadow and carrying her child, who, naked, holds in his left hand the suppliant's petitionary scroll: **☉! Mater Dei, miserere mei.** To the right is his patron saint carrying a book.

In another mural brass in the church of Termonde, engraved during their lifetime to the memory of Pieter Esscheric and Margriete his wife, the Blessed Virgin Mary is shown seated on a throne nursing the Divine child on her knee, before whom, to the right, and presented by his patron, S. Peter, is the kneeling figure of the deceased, from whose hands, pressed together in prayer, proceeds a scroll inscribed : **Sancta Maria ora pro me**; and on the left that of his wife, presented in like manner by her patroness, S. Margaret, the inscription on whose scroll—continuing, apparently, that of her husband—runs : **Et pro nobis omnibus**.

The mural brass of Willem, Margrite, and Carel de Clerk (1597-1600), at Mechlin, though designed with the same idea of exhibiting the deceased addressing one in front of, or facing them, shows the two chief personages kneeling, one behind the other, before a *draped family altar supporting a crucifix*. And much the same method of treatment is observable in that of the priest Jacob Capillan, in the chapel of the Hospital of Chriaci at Nordhausen, where he is shown kneeling under a richly groined canopy, vested in a wide sleeved surplice, and elevating with both hands a chalice towards which his gaze is directed.

Then, again, there is another class which, following the same method of treatment, shows the objects of adoration, not as though materially present, but appearing, as it were, in vision.

Thus, in the brass of John Pael (1560), a canon of Aix-la-Chapelle, we see him kneeling on a paved floor before the figures of the Blessed Virgin who, carrying the Infant Christ, is clothed with the sun and has the moon beneath her feet, which the open-mouthed head of the serpent is endeavouring to invade. He is being presented towards the left by S. Mary Magdalene, who carries a covered cup; S. John the Evangelist, who holds his Gospel, on which reclines a lamb, and who also accompanies him, occupying a similar position to the right.

Of similar character is the memorial of Henricus Oskens (1535), originally in the church of Nippes, near Cologne, but now in the South Kensington museum. In the centre is the Blessed Virgin Mary standing on the moon, clothed with the sun, and holding the Holy Child, carrying a tall cross in his right hand. He looks towards

the kneeling figure of the deceased, who is presented by the emperor S. Henry, royally robed, crowned, and carrying a drawn sword, while S. Peter, with his keys, supports them on the other side.

That of Bartholomew Penneman and his wife (1560), at Termonde affords also another instance of precisely the same treatment.

But two other illustrations, differing as greatly in subject as in arrangement from all the foregoing, need here be mentioned. They agree equally with them, however, in this particular, viz., that of placing the object of prayer or veneration, not over the head or heads of the deceased, as in the vast majority of English brasses, but as here at Auckland, directly in front of them. The first is a very large and fine mural brass fixed against the south wall of the church of S. Mary at Lubeck, and erected to the memory of the senator Gothardus de Hoveln, and Margaret his wife, in 1571. The highly picturesque scene represented is that of our Lord's Ascension, who, accompanied by angels, leaves behind his footprints on the ground. On either side are grouped the 'Company of the Apostles,' with many others, the central foreground being occupied by the senator and his wife kneeling in worship, and with their crests and coats of arms upon the ground between them. The whole forms a very vigorous, animated, and religious composition.

The other brass, erected to the memory of one whose name does not appear, is a round-topped mural one (*circa* 1600), in the church of S. Gertrude, at Nivelles, near Waterloo. Like the preceding, the scene is a scriptural and historic one, representing the crucifixion, with a landscape, and the Holy City in the distance. Our Lord upon the cross, with the two thieves, one on each side, occupies the central space. Above Him in an aureole of glory, and, attended by angels, appears the demi-figure of God the Father. The skull and part of the bones of Adam—'the first man, of the earth, earthy'—lie at the foot of the cross. Towards the left, kneeling in adoration, is the figure of the deceased—apparently a canon—in a full-sleeved surplice, with the cape thrown over his left arm, and attended by S. John the Evangelist, who presents him to the dying Saviour; while opposite, at the foot of the penitent thief's cross, and facing the suppliant, stands the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The picture is exceedingly well designed, and tells its solemn story in a very devout and impressive way.

XVIII.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The following notices respecting the church and college of Auckland, may not be without interest.

Of the dignitaries connected with it, Hutchinson, vol. iii. p. 334, quoting from *Randal's MSS.*, supplies the following list :—

RECTORS.—Uthred, 1085. Meldred de Aclet, 1129, *Mon. Angl.* Maldredus, cl. et Gregorius, 1147. Walter de Kirkham, 1253. Adam de Breniton, or Brempton, 1270. He was the last rector.

VICARS.—Magister Rob. de Albuwyke was the last vicar, and first dean.

The true value of the deanery, *Reg. Tunstal*, 66l 13s. 4d.

DEANS.—Rob. de Albuwyke, 1292. Stephen de Mauley.* Tho. de Clyfford, S.T.P. 1311. He was provost of Beverley, 1305, and preb. of Linc. John de Insula, time uncertain. One Joh. de Insula was preb. of Bramham, Y. [for York] ch. *an.* 1328-1331; *Mag. Joh. de Insula*, R'r de Boldon, 5 Mar. 1312. Hamon de Belers,* 1340. Johannes de Houton*, 1343. Johannes Mauduyt*, 1343, *p. res.* Houton. Will. de Westlie, 1350. John Kyngeston, 1362. Rich. de Castro B'nardi, 1369, *p. res.* Kyngeston; was coll. archd. of Northum., 30th Sept., 1362. Joh. de Newthorp de Pontefracto. Will. de Walworth, 1378, *p. res.* Newthorp. Hugh de Westwyk, 1388. Joh. Burgeys, 1395. Tho. Lyes, 1409. Tho. Hebbeden, LL.D., 1431, *p. res.* Lyes. Will. Doncastre, S.T.P. Robert Thwaites, S.T.P. Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. Ox. lib.* ii. p. 73. M'r Rob. Thwaytes el. M'r collegii Balliolem, 28th Hen. VI. 1451, cancellar. universitat. et Dec. Auklandensis emersit, librosq. plures MS. Bibliotheca Balliolem donavit: El. can. Oxon. circa natalem Dni 1445. Bartholomew Radclyff, 1466. Joh. Kelyng, 1476. Joh. Newcourt. Will. Sherwode, 1485, *p.m.* Newcourt. Will. Thomeson, S.T.P. 1498, *p.m.* Sherwode. W. Thomeson, S.T.P. and Edmund Couper licentia in decret. were Bishop Fox's proctors, 1501, at York in convoc. cleri. *Reg. Fox*, p. 31. Thomas Patenson, 1511, *p.m.* Thomeson. Will. Strangways, Dec. 1520, *p.m.* Patenson. *V. Wolsey's Life*, p. 165. *Collect. Ruthall.* Preb. Holme, Archie'pi in Y. ch.

* Mauley, Belers, Houton, and Mauduyt are added from Kellawe's Register.
—ED.

1582 ; and also Preb. of Beverley. *Vid. Cop. Book*, marked m. p. 174. A.D. 1534. Rob. Hyndmer, LL.D., 1541, *p.m.* Strangways. He was the last dean.

There is no regular succession of canons, though scattered notices of them as witnesses, etc., occur here and there. The only one of much interest that I have met with, however, is that of the famous William of Wykeham, afterwards bishop of Winchester, but then clerk of the chamber to king Edward III. who, besides having canonries and prebends at Salisbury, Lincoln, and Shaftesbury, held one also here at Auckland.

From a survey of all colleges, deaneries, chantries, etc., within the county of Durham, with their yearly values, possessions, endowments, etc., 2nd Edward VI., in the Augmentation Office, there appears under the heading of—

AWKELAND.

The Parische Church of Awkeland, having vj. curates, of howseling people
MMD.

The Chauntry of O^r Ladie in Aukelande, Alexander Metcalf, of the age of lxxx. yer. The yerelie valewe, viijl. xijs. vjd. ; reprises, xvjs. xjd. ; remayne, vijl. xvs. viijd. Stocke, &c., none.

The Chauntry of Saincte John Baptiste in the saide church, William Stott, lx. yer. The yerelie valewe, vijl. xvjd. ; reprises therof, xvjs. ij. d. ; remayne, vijl. iiijs. ij. d. Stoke, &c., none.

The Gylde of Seyncte Anne in the Chapell of Seincte Anne within the saide parische. Roger Willy, of the age of l. yer. Incumbent. Yerelie valew, xlvs. ; reprises, iiijs. xjd. ob. ; remayne, xls. ob. ; cum, xiijs. viij. ob. ; de terr. cast. Stocke, &c., none.

The Gylde of the Trenitie withe in the saide church. Michell Myres, of the age of xl. yer. Yerelie valewe, xxs. ; reprise, ij. d. ob. ; remayne, xixs. ix. d. ob. Stocke, &c. none.

The Gylde of Saincte Hughe in the church afforesaid, founded within the Chappell of Evenwood there. Incumbent, &c. none. Leade upon the seyde chapell, conteyninge lxxxix. square yerdes of webb, ponderis by est. after l. lb. di., ij. ff. and xiiij. lib.

Landes gyven for the mayntenance of a light there. The yerelie valewe, iijs. Stocke, &c., none.

The Gyld of Hamstreley in the Paroche of Saincte Androwes in Aukelande. Incumbent. Valewe, &c. none.

The Deanery of Aucklande, with the prebends belonging to the same. Robert Hynedemer, Deane, and having cure of sowles of the parische there as vicar. Willm. Franklyn, Anthony Bellases, Richard Robson, John Gretehed, Leonard Melmerbye, John Phillipson, Lancelot Thornton, Richarde Lyntall,

Edmond Nateres, Henry Egliionbye, Prebendaryes. The yerelie valewe of the said deanrie, with the prebendes, clxxijl. xiiij*d.*; the reprises, xs. xd.; the clere remane, clxxj*l.* xs. iiij*d.* Stocke, &c. none.

From an inventory of the plate, vestments, bells, etc., relative to the county of Durham, in the same office, *temp.* 6 Edw. VI., we learn that there were in the church of—

SEINT ANDROW AWKELAND.

Two challices of silver, weying xxij. unces, thre bells in the stepell, a hand bell, a sance bell.*

From the First Fruits Office.

The names of the eleven prebends, and their yearly value.

	£	s.	d.
Aukland and Binchester	9	6	8
Second Preb. of Auckland	8	13	4
First Prebend of Eldon	8	13	4
Second Prebend of Eldon	10	0	0
Third Prebend of Eldon... ..	8	13	4
Fourth Prebend of Eldon	8	13	4
Schildon Preb.	8	16	8
Witton Prebend	4	13	4
West Auckland Prebend	8	0	0
St. Helen Auckland Prebend	0	0	0
Hamsterley Prebend	4	6	8

Pensions paid in 1553 to Auckland College.

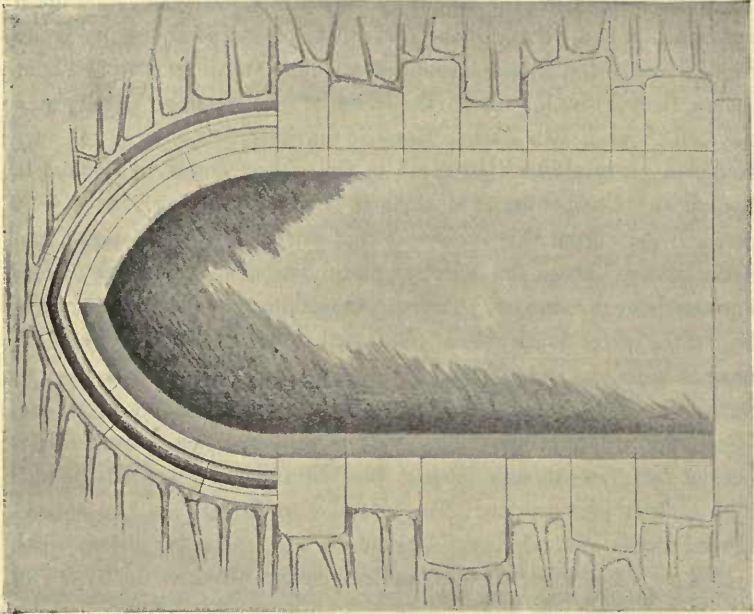
	£	s.	d.
To Robert Hendmere, Dean	50	0	0
„ John Greathead, Prebend of Eldon	2	6	8
„ Edward Narrasse (als. Nottres) Preb. of West Auckland	3	10	0
„ William Frankland, Prebend of Auckland	1	3	8
„ Lancelot Thornton, Prebend of Schildon	1	5	8
„ Tho. Keye, Will. Parler, Edw. Cokerell, Rich. Banks, & Anth. Johnson, each	5	0	0
„ Matthew Nayler	3	0	0
„ Edward Greathead, incumbent	4	13	4

CHAUNTRIES.

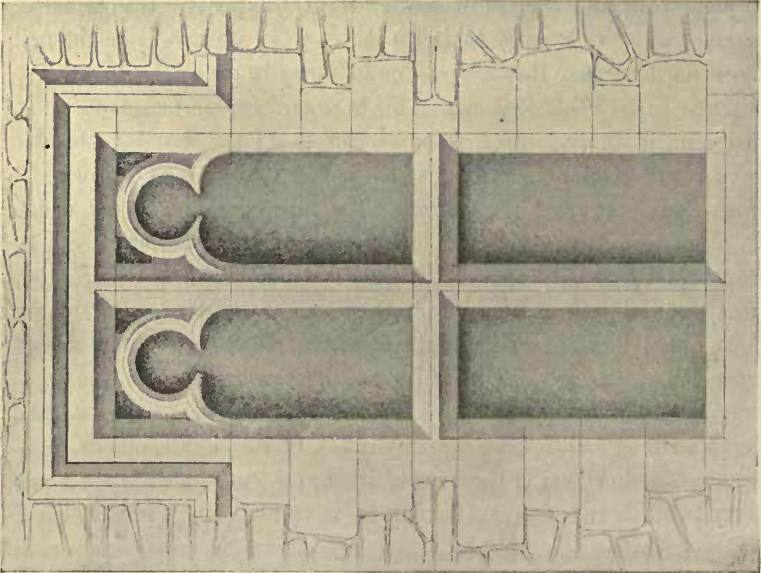
	£	s.	d.
William Scott, incumb. S. John Bap. Chaunt.	5	0	0
Roger Willie, incumb. St. Anne's Guild	2	0	0

* For note of bells see *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* vol. iii, p. 192; and for communion plate, the same volume, p. 218.—ED.

With respect to the ancient collegiate buildings, Hutchinson writes, iii. p. 336, 'Some of the prebendal houses and the dean's house remain, converted into farm-houses, without anything curious about them; their situation is to the west of the church, on dry and elevated ground. Sir Arthur Hazelrig having purchased the deanry lands, on his attainder they came to the crown, and were granted to Bishop Cosin, who annexed them to the see for ever.' But it is perfectly clear from this statement that our worthy old historian can never have examined the deanery buildings with anything like care or knowledge of the subject. They lie, indeed, to the west of the church, but on the far, or south side of the Gaunless, where the main building, now, as then, converted into a farm-house, exists in its entirety. It forms a long and somewhat narrow parallelogram running north and south, and still retains, on its east, or principal face, nearly all its ancient features—though in part blocked up and obscured—in well nigh perfect preservation. Towards the south end are two square-headed three-light windows—one above and the other below—with arched tops and hood-moulds, and a doorway, all three insertions of late Perpendicular or Tudor date, and quite perfect. Then comes a tall, well-proportioned fourteenth-century buttress the whole height of the building—which is throughout in two unbroken storeys—and beyond this an external flight of steps leading to the principal chamber, 23 feet long by 17 feet 3 inches wide, which was on the first floor northwards. Below, the ground storey is covered with a semi-circular barrel vault of stone. This is at present, by means of a wide, flat arch of brick, converted into a cart-shed; the chamber above—which still retains the two massive oaken tie-beams of its original roof—being occupied as a granary. The entire building indeed, which is all of one date, so far from not having anything curious about it, constitutes not only one of the very earliest, but most interesting, pieces of domestic architecture in the north of England. Of this we have proof in the two original windows of the upper storey, one of which lights the principal chamber above referred to, and in the doorway which originally gave access to it. The windows, which form the most striking features, are square-headed, of two lights, one of them transomed, and having the tops of the upper ones foiled in the same very peculiar and singular fashion as is seen at Raby, and which I



DOORWAY OF SAME.



J. F. H. MENS. & DELT.
WINDOW OF UPPER CHAMBER, DEANERY.

have never met with elsewhere. This consists of a rounded and pierced trefoil inserted, without the intervention of any arched head, immediately below the soffit, or horizontal line of the lintel, and producing a very striking and original effect. That they proceed from the same man who was employed by John Lord Nevill in the erection of his castle there in 1379 cannot, I think, be doubted. And, what is still more remarkable, the same peculiar treatment is discovered in the details of his tomb in Durham cathedral, of which they form one of the most distinguishing characteristics. (See illustrations on opposite page of one of these windows and of the doorway—the latter restored.)

As to the other houses referred to, only one, or part of one, known as the west deanery, remains at the distance of a single small field westwards, and at the same level.

XIX.—SUPPLEMENTAL DETAILS.

There remains, by way of conclusion, to take account of some few points relating to the fabric of the church, as yet untouched upon, and which are not without interest. And first, of the—

Ancient Stained Glass.

It is pitiful to think that, up to a comparatively recent time, so much of this should have remained in a more or less perfect condition; and then, as it would seem, been not only wantonly, but *officially*, destroyed. Hutchinson, besides his reference to that still remaining in his day in the three-light window of the north transept, already mentioned, adds—‘The east window (of the chancel) is of five compartments under a pointed arch: by the fragments of coloured glass, it seems the windows were formerly highly decorated; paintings of our Saviour’s sufferings still remain in the north windows.’ And then, in a note, he writes, ‘*These have lately been removed, and the windows glazed with plain glass.*’ From which it would seem that the same depraved and hideous love of universal drab, and whitey-grey which led to the scraping off of the gold and colour from the roof and walls of the bishop’s chapel, and was not happy till it had yellow-washed even its marbled pillars, could find no peace till it had, in like fashion, torn out and destroyed the last lingering fragments of

pictorial art in the windows of the parish church. But then, as we all know—‘imitation is the sincerest form of flattery,’ and, ‘like master, like man.’ The act, however, has been amply avenged, for what has taken its place, is fearful beyond expression—a simple gallery of horrors. We come next to—

The Bells.

As we have already seen, in the 6th Edward VI., there were ‘three bells in the stepell.’ This was the usual number possessed at that date by those of the Durham churches which had towers, as, for example, S. Giles, S. Oswald, S. Margaret and S. Mary, in the city of Durham, Gainford, Barnard Castle, Coniscliffe, Staindrop, Heighington, Easington, Egglecliffe, Houghton-le-Spring, Pitlington, Bishop Wearmouth, Gateshead, Lanchester, Whickham, Sedgely, and Billingham.

There are now eight, five of which, if not ancient, are at least old, dating as they do from the first quarter of the last century.

They are as follows, with a band of scroll-work between each word, and all with ‘SS | Ebor’ on shield below :—

- 1.—VENITE ∞ EXVLTEMVS ∞ DOMINO ∞ 1720
- 2.—CANTATE ∞ DOMINO ∞ CANTICVM ∞ NOVVM ∞ 1720
- 3.—LAVDATE ∞ DOMINVM ∞ CYMBALIS ∞ SONORIS ∞ 1720
- 4.—GLORIA ∞ IN ALTISSIMIS ∞ DEG ∞ 1720
- 5.—BEATVS ∞ EST ∞ POPVLVS ∞ QVI ∞ AGNOSCVNT ∞
CLANGOREM ∞ 1720

Then come three modern bells, the tenor, and two trebles, which are thus inscribed :—

6.—*Tenor*—CAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS, LONDON.
IN MEMORIAM
JACOBI THOMPSON,
A.D. 1881.

7.—*Treble*—CAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS, LONDON, 1881.

8.—*Treble*—CAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS, LONDON, 1881.
THIS AND THE ADJOINING TREBLE BELL
WERE ADDED TO THE RING AT THE RESTORATION
IN 1881.

REV^D. ROBERT LONG, M.A., VICAR.

More interesting by far, however, than the bells themselves is the view, or rather peep, obtained from the bell-chamber down the steep

and narrow diagonal flight of steps which leads up to it from the summit of the spiral staircase. It would scarcely be possible to imagine anything more strikingly picturesque, and I may add (for the thought occurred simultaneously with the sight) more difficult to draw, than the rough and steeply descending stone roof and steps, lighted up at their point of junction with those of the vertical newel, by the topmost loophole immediately beyond the bleached and weather-worn old oaken door, as seen from the all but wholly darkened belfry. It was more than worth all the wind and dirt, and grease and discomfort of the enterprise put together—a perfectly charming architectural study, not readily to be forgotten. The stair-turret, I may add—of the original construction, and admirably built—is covered in at the top by a fine quadripartite stone vault.

Then, another interesting, though obscure point which deserves attention is found in—

The West End of the North Aisle.

This has, in all likelihood, I suppose, remained generally, as little noticed as understood. And yet it is one of the most interesting points about the building, since it contains as valuable and clinching a proof of the way in which it was brought to a conclusion as could be wished. I have already expressed the opinion that, on the evidence of the architectural detail only, the three western arches of the north aisle—together, of course, with their dependent parts—were built after all the rest of the church was finished. Why this should have been so, we have no present means of knowing; and need not, therefore, concern ourselves. I have simply stated the fact on the indisputable evidence supplied by the interior details.

That afforded by the outside, however, will be found to confirm this conclusion convincingly.

The diameter of the tower, as will be seen on reference to the ground plan, though considerable, is yet less by about seven feet and a half than that of the nave, thus leaving the western wall of the latter projecting like a buttress, three feet nine inches deep, on each side of its eastern face. Unlike the tower itself, these projections are—like the stair turret also attached to it—built of fine, close jointed ashlar masonry. They are, of course, contemporary with the tower, of

whose structure indeed they form essential parts, and which, as we have seen, followed on naturally after the completion of all east of it. But though really part of the west end of the nave, there was clearly no continuation of the walling northwards in the shape of a west wall to the aisle, since the face of this ashlar projection is carried up in a straight line from the ground to the roof. Now, had the building of the west wall of the aisle—that is, practically, the west part of the aisle itself—been contemporaneous with the tower, this would not have happened, for the two would, of course, have been carried on continuously without a break. As this, however, is not the case, it is clear that the north aisle has begun, as we have seen, at the east end, and carried on no farther than the two easternmost bays, could only *after* the building of the tower, *and not till then*, have been prolonged westwards, since its western wall is simply built up against the face of this projection, beyond which its upper portions advance in a very ragged and uneven fashion to the extent of one or two inches. So that if further evidence as to the course of the construction were needed, we find it here.

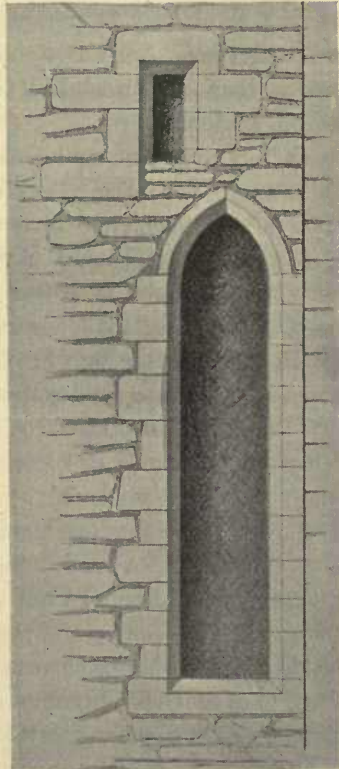
And now we come at last to what might, perhaps, be thought the most trivial and minute item of all, yet nevertheless, the rarest and most exceptional feature in the whole church, a—

High-end Window.

We have often heard of what, for want of a better name, are commonly called 'Low-side windows,' of which the present building furnishes us with an example in the usual place, viz., the south-west corner of the chancel. But in this most remarkable little opening we see what, by a like use of terms, may be styled—a 'High-end window.' It is of the customary size and form, but set at an elevation of no less than seventeen feet above the ground, and at the top of, and in immediate contact with, the northernmost of the pair of broad and lofty lancets that light the west end of the nave. Inside, the jambs and long lintel stone, though now built up flush with the rest of the walling, are distinctly visible in close connexion with the rear arch of the window head, which breaks into the southern corner of the sill. As the annexed illustration will show, there has evidently been an initial blunder in the

setting out of the two openings. That the smaller one is not, as so generally, I might almost say universally, the case with 'Low-side windows,' an insertion, but built along with the tower itself, is shown by the long jamb stones which—instead of being mere narrow uprights, as in the case of the chancel, and other inserted examples—are bonded far into the wall on either side. But, as will be observed, the sill is wanting, and the bottom parts of the northern and southern jambs are filled up with small stones. In other words, they have been cut into and destroyed by the intrusion of the window head. Now, as the jambs and lintel could not have been built without the sill having previously been set, and that could not have been done without a foundation whereon to set it, it follows of necessity that the window head which now so interferes with them, must, in the first instance, have been placed about a foot or so lower down, so as to allow of such foundation being laid. But the effect, as may readily be perceived, not proving satisfactory—for the window would be far too short for its breadth—it was evidently, and while the works were still in hand, raised to its present height—a process which, involving as it did, the destruction of the sill and lower part of the south side of the opening, they were then filled up in the makeshift way we see to-day.

What then, it may be asked, was the *raison d'être* of this extraordinary aperture? That it was not designed for the admission of light is a fact so plain and palpable as to render argument needless.



J. F. H. MENS. & DELT.

N.W. WINDOW OF TOWER, AND HIGH
END WINDOW, OVER.

Equally so, that it could not have been intended for the hearing of confessions, or administering the holy eucharist to lepers, or for ringing a hand, or 'sanctus' bell through at the elevation of the Host in the mass—the latest and most generally approved guess, and which, I think, may at present be said to 'hold the field.' For all such uses it is evidently as much too high as many others, such as those at Hart and Elwick Hall for instance, on, or near the surface of the soil, are too low.

As it is no part of my intention to enter here at any length into the intricate and long vexed question of the uses of 'Low side windows,' on which, after thirty or more years of diligent study both in, and out of England, I have come to very definite conclusions, which would require at least a volume to elucidate, I will content myself with quoting the following remarks of the late eminent architect, M. Viollet le Duc, on what I conceive to be the kindred subject of 'Fanaux,' or 'Lanternes des Morts'—the exact French equivalent of the 'Perpetual,' or 'Poor souls' Lights' of Germany, of which examples innumerable still exist, and in every stage of progression from 'Low side windows,' or lanterns, to magnificent columnar structures of some thirty feet high, and much resembling our well-known 'Eleanor crosses.' After defining this class of monument as a 'Pile creuse en pierre terminée à son sommet par un petit pavillon ajouré, percée à sa base d'une petite porte, et destinée à signaler au loin, la nuit, la présence d'un établissement religieux, d'un cimetière,' he continues, 'Les provinces du centre et de l'ouest de la France conservent encore un assez grand nombre de ces monuments pour faire supposer qu'ils étaient jadis fort communs. Peut-être doit-on chercher, dans ces édifices une tradition antique de la Gaule Celtique. Il en existait à la porte des abbayes, dans les cimetières, et principalement sur le bord des chemins et auprès des maladreries. On peut donc admettre que les lanternes des morts érigées sur le sol autrefois celtique ont perpétuées une tradition fort antique, modifiée par le christianisme. Les premiers apôtres des Gaules, de la Bretagne, de la Germanie, et des contrées Scandinaves, éprouvaient des difficultés insurmontables lorsqu'ils prétendent faire abandonner aux populations certaines pratiques superstitieuses. Souvent ils étaient contraints de donner à ces pratiques, qu'ils ne pouvaient détruire, un autre but et de les

détourner, pour ainsi dire, au profit de la religion nouvelle, plutôt que de risquer de compromettre leur apostolat par un blâme absolu de ces traditions profondément enracinées. Les lanternes des morts perdent leur caractère de colonne isolée, pendant le xiv^e siècle, et sont remplacées par des petites chapelles ajourées dans lesquelles on tenait une lampe allumée. C'est ainsi que les vieilles traditions gauloises, qui s'étaient perpétuées à travers le christianisme jusqu'à la fin du xiii^e siècle, changeaient de forme, peu à peu jusqu'à faire oublier leurs origines.'

That this practice of burning lamps and candles in cemeteries was both widespread, and of remote antiquity, even in the church, may be gathered from the thirty-fourth canon of the council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, which directs, 'Cereos per diem placuit in coemeterio non incendi. Inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt.' Where we not only see the practice distinctly referred to, but the reason for its discontinuance adduced as well—'because the spirits of the Christian dead were not to be disturbed, *i.e.*, according to popular belief, through the desecration of their bodies by the entry thereto of evil spirits. As a safeguard and protection against such hideous pollution, lights—symbols alike of divine worship and protection—were burnt, not only by night, but, as would appear from this canon, by day also. The pseudo-Athanasius indeed, quoted by Durandus, speaks distinctly of lighting a mixture of oil and wax at the graves of the dead as a sacrifice of burnt offering to God; and it is against this practice that Bingham thinks the canon of Eliberis was directed, notwithstanding the fact that the reason alleged in it completely negatives any such supposition. That lights were used by the early Christians at funerals in the day time is witnessed to in the fullest possible way. Thus, S. Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of the obsequies of his brother Caesarius, says expressly that his mother carried a torch in her hand before his body at his funeral. And S. Jerome, writing of the funeral of the famous lady Paula, says:—'Translata episcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro subjicientibus, cum alii pontifices lampadas cereosque praeferrent.'

And so, too, S. Gregory Nyssen gives a similar account of the funeral of his sister Macrina, saying that the clergy went before the corpse, carrying lighted torches in their hands. And Theodoret

(*lib. v. c. 36*), describing the translation of S. Chrysostom's body from Comanae to Constantinople, says, there was such a multitude of people met him in ships in his passage over the Bosphorus, that the sea was even covered with lamps. The writer of the life of S. German, bishop of Auxerre says, moreover, that the multitude of lights used at his funeral seemed to outdo the sun, and beat back its rays at noon-day.

Of the common use of such practice during the Middle Ages, there is no need to speak, the wills of all wealthy people, such as the Nevills for example, bearing constant witness to it.⁸⁷ In all such cases, however, the *ecclesiastical* explanation is that it was done for the sake of showing honour to the dead. And this, so far as it went, was no doubt true enough. It expressed the grounds of the church's formal sanction. But, as will be observed, it does not in the slightest degree point us to the true original reasons for such methods of showing honour. Lamps and candles never, either are, or were, at any time, burnt before living people, however exalted. Why, then, after they were dead? We are unquestionably driven back, I think, in seeking for an answer to this question, to ages long anterior to Christianity, when, as largely at the present day, among all uncivilized and heathen people, as well as multitudes of devout Christians—more especially, perhaps, in Greece and Italy—the belief in witchcraft and demonology was universal, and every endeavour made to escape, or counteract it.⁸⁸ God, we know, is described in Holy Writ as 'Light,' in whom there 'is no darkness at all;' and thus no more effectual symbol

⁸⁷ Lights, it will be remembered, were burnt about the bodies of the deceased from the time of their death up to that of their burial, when the multitude of torches and lighted candles surrounding them offered a fair index to their wealth and status. Nor was that all, as the hearses, with prickets for candles about the tombs to be lighted on anniversaries, or other occasions, abundantly testify. The poor had to be content with less; but in every case, as it would seem, the quantity of wax or tallow consumed at funerals was as much as the means of the relatives would allow.

⁸⁸ How commonly, albeit generally speaking unknown, this custom of burning lights in cemeteries is practised in various parts, even at the present time, may be instanced from such casual notices as that supplied by the late sir Charles Newton, who, writing some years since in the *Archaeological Journal* on certain excavations he had recently been making in Greece, mentions his meeting women on Saturdays carrying lamps in their hands to place upon the graves of their dead relatives and children; and speaks of it as being an ineradicable custom of the country, derived from pre-historic times, which the church—unable to abolish—had simply to accommodate *tant bien que mal*, to Christian teaching. And again, from another, by the well-known 'Peter Lombard,' who, writing in the *Church Times*, so recently as May 9th, 1890, of the Campo Santo at Genoa, says:—'In the open space enclosed by the quad-

of His presence and power could be devised than that expressed by these 'Lanternes des Morts,' 'Fanaux,' 'Poor souls,' or 'Perpetual lights' of France and Germany, or our own English equivalents of 'low,' or 'high,' 'side,' or 'end' windows, wherein, throughout the dark hours of night, the symbolic 'Light of God's countenance might shine upon the resting places of the dead.' A sort of visible and material reflection of that most ancient prayer of the Holy Church Universal, 'Eternal rest give unto them, O Lord; and let perpetual light shine upon them.'

For we know that the symbol of light as expressive of the Divine presence and protection—however it may have been taken up and

range are the graves of the humble poor. One-feature I have never seen elsewhere, *though very likely it is common*. A common glass lamp stands over a grave. At anniversaries it is lighted with a candle, and thus touchingly speaks of life and hope, and calls for a charitable prayer.' That such is the sense in which the act is there, and at the present day practised, is possible enough. But it is certainly not the *original* sense. As an illustration of this, even in the case of the living, an interesting example is given by Mr. Hume Nisbet, who, writing of a visit to New Guinea, and after describing divers festivities there, says:—'Then the camp fires flare out at night and scare away the evil spirits, who fly back to the darkness of the close thickets, and the spirit mediums do a thriving trade with their grotesque masks and eerie performances.' And then as regards the mediæval dead, Cornelius à Lapide (in a passage to which I have now lost the reference) tells us of a certain churchyard in Belgium where horrible apparitions, accompanied by dismal groans and wailings continuing night after night, were only dissipated by the burning of lamps and candles, and the earnest prayers of the faithful—a combination of remedial measures which fully explains the occasional presence of stone desks and seats inside diverse 'low side windows,' as, for instance, at Sherringham, Wickhampton, and Melton Constable in Norfolk, Doddington in Kent, Elsfeld, Oxon., and Allington, Wilts., etc.

Whether the famous round towers of Ireland, which, it will be remembered, are always placed in grave-yards, were designed—among other uses—to be employed as 'Fanaux' or 'Lanternes des Morts,' is, I think, though perhaps uncertain, more than probable, and such is the opinion of Mr. Hodder Westrop, of which the late Mr. J. Fergusson says that it seems to be the most plausible suggestion yet made. Instancing also the parallel German 'Todtenleuchter,' of which so many are still to be met with, he proceeds—'besides numberless little niches in which lamps were placed in churches (that is the *outside* walls of churches) showing a prevalence in Christian countries of a custom which now only prevails among Mahometans, of placing lights at night in the tombs of saints, or of relatives, so long as their memory is preserved.' In the cathedral church of St. Stephen at Vienna, if I remember rightly, there are no fewer than eleven such window lanterns contrived in the walls. They form, in fact, the most perfect connecting link between our own English 'side,' or 'end,' windows, 'high,' or 'low,' as the case may be, and the detached 'Todtenleuchter,' or 'Lanternes des Morts' that can be conceived.

But there was another way of achieving the same end by a different means which remains to be mentioned in confirmation of the view that the primary motive for placing these lights was that of protecting the bodies of the dead from the defilement of demoniacal possession. It must often, I think, have seemed passing strange to those interested in the subject, that, notwithstanding the incalculable number of our so-called 'low-side windows,' we have no certain record, either written or traditional, as to what their primary use and purpose was. Strange as it is, however, such is undoubtedly the fact. And what is

adopted among the heathen—is no outcome of mere human invention, but, on the contrary, of Divine order and appointment. The lamps of the golden candlestick we read were—‘to burn always. In the tabernacle of the congregation without the vail which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the Lord—over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southwards.’ And so, as we are told, ‘*he lighted the lamps before the Lord.*’ And then, as symbol and evidence of the Divine presence, we read how ‘the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel.’ As it is said in the Psalms—‘In the daytime also he led them with a cloud, and *all the night through with a light of fire.*’ Could parallelism be more perfect or appropriate? Or what words more fitting for either the living or the dead than those familiar ones of the collect—‘Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night (whether of sleep or death), for the love of thy only Son our Lord Jesus Christ.’ In this connexion then, we are brought, at length, to that final place of separation—the cemetery. And so—premissing merely that all vestiges of the structure, which once sanctified and adorned it, have, like Stichill, and the various deans, canons, and chaplains connected with the church, long since disappeared—we will take our leave of it with the following extract from *Randal's MSS.* quoted by Hutchinson, iii. p. 334,—‘Thomas Perkinge, of Coundon, wills to be buried in the Churchyard beside the *cross.*’

still stranger is that, in France, a parallel, and probably quite as general a custom should have been practised, not merely down to the sixteenth century, but to about the year 1750, and yet that all memory of it should have perished so completely that it was only discovered and brought to light through a diligent and systematic examination of certain graves made a few years since. I refer to the practice of protecting the bodies of the deceased by means of incense and holy water cups. In the *Bulletin Monumental* may be seen illustrations without end of the vessels used for the purpose, accompanied by the fullest details of the several interments, which range, for the most part, from the sixteenth, to about the middle of the last century. Briefly stated, these vessels, which are usually of the commonest domestic kind, taken from the kitchen, and not made for the purpose of interment, surround the body more or less completely, inside the coffin. Some have only two, one at the head, the other at the feet. Some again have four or six, while in others, these vessels, some for incense having holes roughly pierced through their sides with nails, and others whole for holding holy water, surround the corpse like a close fence. Their purpose, as I need hardly say, is far too clear to admit of a moment's doubt. In another fashion, it was simply that of the ‘*Fanaux,*’ ‘*Todtenleuchter,*’ and as I cannot but think, of our own variously placed, shuttered window openings whether ‘*high,*’ or ‘*low,*’ ‘*end,*’ or ‘*side,*’ also.

APPENDIX.

As commemorative of our Lord and the Twelve, thirteen would seem to have been the normal, or, at any rate, a very common, number for the brethren in collegiate foundations when of medium size and dignity, though not always to be reckoned in quite the same way. In the more important of them we see it confined to the dignitaries, *i.e.*, the dean, rector, master or custos, and the twelve canons or prebendaries. In some, to the master, priests, and clerks. In others again, extended to the entire number, including choristers. Sometimes, where there were only twelve canons, or canons and clerks, as at Higham Ferrers (founded by Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury), the place of the thirteenth might seem to be reckoned to the founder or patron, as in the case of Bek's collegiate churches of Auckland, Lanchester and Chester-le-Street, where the first stall on the south side of the choir was reserved for himself and his successors. Sometimes, on the other hand, we have thirteen canons or prebendaries independently of the dean or master, as at Stafford, where in the Conqueror's time the king is said to have had thirteen canons, prebendaries, but who were afterwards, in the time of Henry VI. and that of the suppression, presided over by a dean. In illustration may be taken the following:—

- Spilsby, in the parish of Eresby, Lincolnshire, founded by sir John Willoughby, 22 Edward III., for a master and twelve priests.
- S. Edmund's, Salisbury, founded in the parish church of S. Edmund there by Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury, before 1270, for a provost and twelve secular canons.
- S. Mary and the Holy Angels, commonly called S. Sepulchre's chapel, adjoining the metropolitical church of S. Peter, and opening into it, founded by Roger, archbishop of York, before 1161, for a master, warden or sacrist, and twelve prebendaries.
- Llandewi Brevi, Cardiganshire, founded by Thomas Bek, bishop of S. David's, in 1287, for a precentor and twelve prebendaries.
- S. Stephen's, Westminster, founded in 22 Edward III., 1348, by that king for a dean and twelve secular canons, the same number of vicars, and other sufficient ministers.
- S. George's, Windsor. In the beginning of Edward II.'s reign there was, it appears, in the park of Windsor castle a royal chapel for thirteen chaplains and four clerks, which was afterwards removed to a new site within the castle, and greatly augmented by king Edward III. in honour of S. George. In 1351 the new establishment was made to consist of a custos or warden and twelve secular canons—*thirteen*, there being also thirteen priests or vicars, besides clerks, choristers, poor knights and other officers.
- Cotterstock, Northants, founded *circa* 1336, by John Giffard, canon of York, in the church of S. Andrew at that place for a provost, twelve chaplains—*thirteen*, and two clerks.
- Glaseney or Penryn college, Cornwall, founded by Walter Bronescomb, bishop of Exeter, in a church erected by himself, about the year 1270, on a moor called Glasenith, at the bottom of his park at Penryn, in honour of the B.V.M. and S. Thomas of Canterbury. It also consisted of a provost, sacrist, and eleven prebendaries—*thirteen*; and seven vicars and six choristers, another *thirteen*.

Penkridge college, Staffordshire. The advowson of the church and manor of Penkridge having been granted by one Hugh House to the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, which grant was confirmed by king John in his seventeenth year, those prelates were, in process of time, always deans of that college, having also collation of all the prebendaries, who were in number *thirteen*. From the necessity of the case, however, these deans must always have been non-resident. At Gnoushall, Leicestershire, the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, similarly circumstanced, were accounted titular deans, but enjoyed no profits.

Arundel college, Sussex, founded by Richard, earl of Arundel in 1386, for a master and twelve secular canons or fellows, priests—*thirteen*; and three deacons, three subdeacons, two acolytes, two sacrists, and seven choristers.

The college of Newark, or S. Mary the Greater, Leicester, founded in the first instance, in 1330, by Henry, earl of Leicester and Lancaster, but completed by his son and grandson, Henry, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in honour of the annunciation of the B.V.M., for a dean and twelve secular canons or prebendaries. Besides these, were twelve vicars, three clerks, and six choristers, as well as fifty poor men, fifty poor women, and ten nurses, with proper officers and attendants.

Fotheringay college, Northants. 'In this town,' says Tanner, upon a parcel of ground containing six acres, between the castle and the parsonage, procured from Edward, duke of York, king Henry IV., in the year 1411, began a noble college in honour of the B.V.M. and All Saints, for a master and twelve chaplains or fellows—*thirteen*; eight clerks and *thirteen* choristers. But the buildings and endowment being chiefly owing to the said duke of York, he is to be accounted co-founder, and is here buried.

Tattershall college, Lincolnshire, founded by sir Ralph Cromwell, knt., 17 Henry VI., to the honour of the Holy Trinity, S. Mary, S. Peter, S. John Evangelist, and S. John Baptist, for a master or warden, six priests and six clerks—*thirteen*; and six choristers, together with an almshouse next the churchyard for *thirteen* poor persons.

S. Mary's college, Stafford, was in existence at the time of the doomsday survey, when it is said the king had in the royal free chapel there *thirteen* canons, prebendaries. In the 24 Henry VI. the patronage of the church of S. Mary at Stafford was granted to Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, who proposed to be a benefactor to the sum of one hundred marks. It was an exempt jurisdiction, and consisted, 26 Henry VIII., of a dean and *thirteen* prebendaries.

The college of Barnard Castle, Durham. Though never carried into effect, licence to found a college within the castle here was granted in the 17 Edward IV., to Richard, duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. It was to have been dedicated 'in honore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et beatissimae Virginis Mariae, sanctorumque Margaretae et Niniani,' and to have consisted 'de decano et duodecim capellanis,' *thirteen*, et 'decem clericis, et de sex choristis, ac uno clerico.' It is interesting to note that among those whose good-estate was to be prayed for during life, and their souls after death, occurs the name of the unhappy Anne of Warwick, the founder's—as is said, afterwards, *murdered*—wife. Of much the same nature was the same king's projected, and in part accomplished, foundation of—

Middleham college, Yorks., where, as Tanner says, he 'had licence of his brother, king Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1476, to found a college for a dean, six chaplains, and six choristers, and other clergymen officiating in the parish church, to be dedicated to the honour of the blessed Jesus, S. Mary, and S. Alkilda, which he never finished.' The licence mentions a dean, six chaplains, and six choristers—*thirteen*, as well as 'quatuor clericis'—'ac uno clerico,' 'divini servicia in ecclesiâ parochiali ibidem celebraturis imperpetuum,' etc.; again mentioning the founder's wife Anne, by name, besides that of his father, Richard, duke of York, but as in the case of Barnard Castle, making no mention of that of his mother Cicely, the famous, but still more unhappy, 'Rose of Raby.'

College of S. Martin the Less, Leicester. 'There was afore the conqueste,' says Leland, 'a collegiate church of prebends intra Castrum,' which was, during the wars in the time of William I., destroyed, together with the city and castle, but was reedified, in 1107, by Robert, earl of Mellent and Leicester, for a dean and twelve prebendaries—*thirteen*—and dedicated, as the old church was, to S. Mary.

College of Sibthorpe, Nottinghamshire. 'In the chapel of S. Mary,' says Tanner, 'within the parish church of S. Peter here, was begun, *temp.* Edward II., a chantry of several priests by Geoffrey le Scrop, which, in the beginning of the next reign, was augmented to a considerable collegiate body, consisting of a warden and eight or nine chaplains, with three clerks, etc., by the munificence of Thomas de Sibthorp, rector of Beckingham, in Lincolnshire.'

The college of Pleshey, Essex, founded *circa* 1393 by Thomas, duke of Gloucester, for a master, and eight secular priests, two clerks, and two choristers—*thirteen* altogether—to the honour of the Holy Trinity.

The college of Newton, Cambridgeshire, founded in the chapel of S. Mary, super Costeram Maris, within this parish, by sir John Colvill, knt., *temp.* Henry IV., and consisting, actually, of a warden and several chaplains, whose numbers are, however, not stated; but it is interesting to know that 'he new built the chapel of S. Mary in the place of the old one in A.D. 1401, his first design being to erect near it a hospital of one chaplain and twelve poor old people—*thirteen* in all'—as appears from the register of Henry Bowet, archbishop of York.

Collegiate church of Bablake, Coventry. Leland, speaking of Coventry, says:—'There is also a collegiate church at Bablake, dedicated to S. John. In this college is now a maister and eight ministers, and lately twelve ministers—*thirteen*.'

S. Elizabeth college, Winchester, founded in the meadow of S. Stephen, *circa* 1300, by John de Pontoys, bishop of Winchester, for a provost, six chaplains, priests, and six choristers, to the honour of S. Elizabeth of Hungary. 'Noverint universi—quod nos Johannes de Pontisariâ—ordinamus in dicta capella tria construere altaria; majus, viz., de Sancta Elizabethâ; et duo minora collateralia, unum de S. Stephano et S. Laurentio martyribus, et aliud de sancto Edmundo rege, et de beato Thomâ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo martyribus: ac etiam septem ponere capellanos, cum six clericis, in sacris ordinibus constitutis, quorum tres sint diaconi, et tres subdiaconi, imperpetuum pro vivos ac defunctis celebrature, etc. De quibus septem

capellanus unus in praepositum—praeficiatur; cui tanquam praesidenti caeteri intendant et obediunt reverenter.' Here, it will be observed that of the *thirteen* in all, one of the seven chaplains was provost, while the six choristers or clerks were all in holy orders.

College of S. Kanntoc, near Padstow. Here was a college of secular canons in the time of Edward the confessor, which continued till the universal plunder under Edward VI., when it consisted of a dean, nine prebendaries, and four vicars-choral. Hence it might seem probable that, as at Winchester, Crediton, and Norton Soupecors, the dean held one of the nine prebends: otherwise the foundation must have consisted of *thirteen* members besides its head.

College of Norton Soupecors, or Raveningham college, Norfolk, founded *circa* 17 Edward III. by sir John de Norwich, knight, in honour of the B.V.M. for eight secular priests, one of whom was to be warden, and who were to perform divine service in the parish church of S. Andrew. But not long afterwards this college was removed to the neighbouring village of Norton Soupecors, where a fine new chapel and all other necessary buildings were erected for the priests, whose number was increased, in 1387, to *thirteen*.

The college of Ingham, Norfolk. This, the first house of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives, was founded in 1360, in the parish church there—which had been rebuilt and appropriated for the purpose—by sir Miles Stapleton of Bedale, in Yorks. The society consisted *actually* of a prior, sacrist, and six canons only, but this number was designed to have been made up to *thirteen*, if the revenues should so increase as to allow the sum of ten marks yearly being paid to each religious. For a beautifully illustrated account of the church and its remarkable monuments, and of the scandalous state of neglect and dilapidation into which it had been allowed to fall by a wealthy parish so far back as the first quarter of the present century, see Neale and Le Keux's *Churches*, vol. i.

The college of S. Lawrence Poultney. founded by sir John Poultney (several times mayor of London), *circa* nineteenth Edward III., for a master or warden, *thirteen* priests, and four choristers, to the honour of the Holy Jesus and Corpus Christi. Here, the thirteen priests were apparently reckoned separately from the warden, who, unless one of their number might possibly, like the founder himself, be a layman. With respect to the number of thirteen, we have an interesting illustration in the case of—

Lambeth college, Surrey, contemplated and partly carried into effect by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, archbishop Hubert. Tanner tells us that Baldwin, being obliged to desist from building a college for secular canons at Hackynton, near Canterbury, endeavoured to do so at a greater distance from the Benedictines established there, and began accordingly to found a fine chapel at Lambeth, which he purposed to make collegiate in honour of S. Thomas the Martyr, about 1191. This was carried on by his successor archbishop Hubert; but when it was finished, in 1199, he was forced to pull it down in obedience to papal bulls procured by the monks of Canterbury who, though so far removed from themselves, were jealous of its being so near the archiepiscopal palace. At last it was

allowed that the archbishop might here, or at any other spot than that of the destroyed chapel, build an ordinary church and place therein not more than twenty, nor less than *thirteen*, praeemonstratensian canons, endowing the same with £100 a year. But this last proposal does not seem to have taken effect.

The college of Tonge, Shropshire, founded in 1410 by dame Isabel, widow of sir Fulke Pembridge, knight, in the parish church of S. Bartholomew, rebuilt for the purpose, and consisting of five secular priests, one of whom was custos or master, and *thirteen* poor persons. The very striking and handsome collegiate church, with its fine stall-work, remains in excellent preservation, as well as the ruins of the college and of the almshouses of the poor brethren, which forms a detached structure.

The Vicars' college, Wells. 'Walter de Hull, canon of Wells,' says Tanner, 'gave two messuages and lands in Wells that the *thirteen* chantry priests who officiated in the cathedral might live in common together. In 1348 bishop Ralph de Salopia began a fair college for them, and augmented their possessions, the college being afterwards much improved by bishop Beckington.' Its buildings, which remain in a wonderfully perfect state, are excellently illustrated in the late Mr. J. H. Parker's *Architecture of the City of Wells*.

Staindrop college, Durham, founded by Ralph Nevill, first earl of Westmoreland, in the parish church there, which he had remodelled for that purpose, in 1412. Cardinal Langley's licence describes it as—quoddam collegium unius custodis, octo capellanorum, et quatuor clericorum seculorum—*thirteen officiants*, together with six gentlemen, six valets, and six other poor persons—thirty-one in all, the figures being thus, as will be noticed, transposed.

Tamworth college, Staffordshire. Leland speaks of this as 'The collegiate church, having a dean and six prebendaries, and every one of these hath his substitute there The king, at this present, is taken as patron of the college.'

Wingfield college, Suffolk, founded by the executors of sir John Wingfield, 1362, in the parish church, at first for a master or provost, and three priests only, but afterwards increased to nine priests and three choristers—in all, *thirteen*.

Wimborne collegiate church, Dorsetshire, refounded, after its suppression in 1547, through the instrumentality of archbishop Laud, by king Charles I., for three priests, three clerks, four choristers, two singing men, and an organist—in all, again, *thirteen*.

Wallingford college, Berkshire. 'There were a dean and prebendaries in the king's free chapel within the third dyke of the castle here,' says Tanner, 'in the beginning of king John's reign, and probably before, which Edmund, earl of Cornwall, tenth Edward I., endowed with lands and rents for the maintenance of six chaplains, six clerks (*thirteen* with the dean), and four choristers.' The words of the charter are: 'Deo, etc., et Rogero de Draytone *decano* dictae capellae . . . ad sustentationem sex capellanorum, sex clericorum, et quatuor ceropherariorum' (candlebearers), etc.

Collegiate church of Ripon. 'Herein,' says Tanner, 'were seven prebends' (all rich and of varying values) 'and six vicars-choral, each worth £1'—*thirteen* in all.

The hospital of S. Cross, near Winchester, may also be mentioned as having been founded in 1132 by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, for *thirteen* poor men, with chaplains, clerks and choristers. Afterwards being much increased, and having among other members *thirteen* clerks, it still, though greatly decayed, comprises ten resident brethren and three out-pensioners—*thirteen*, together with a chaplain and master

At Northallerton the *Maison Dieu* was founded by a certain Richard de Moore, a draper of that town, about the year 1476, for *thirteen* poor men and women. And in memory of the benefactions of the famous Walter de Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, the abbot of Hartland, caused the day of his death, October 15th, to be solemnly observed, decreeing that on that day, 'for all future times XIII pauperes in aulâ abbatis, pro ipsius anima, pascantur.'

It is interesting to note that where the number of *thirteen* could not be provided for, a large proportion of the smaller colleges will be found to have consisted of about half that number, viz., of a dean or custos, and five or six canons or chaplains, though sometimes, and but rarely, there were seven. In those of the humblest rank only about half, or occasionally less than half of these, again are found, consisting of but two canons, or a dean and two, or perhaps three, canons. Thus, there were at—

Wingham, a provost and six canons; Ruthyn, seven regulars; Sudbury, warden and five seculars; Bunbury, master and six chaplains; Irthingborough, dean and five canons; Clovelly, warden and six chaplains; Rushworth, master and six priests; Bolton, master and five priests; North Cadbury, rector and six chaplains; Battlefield, master and five chaplains; Stoke-by-Clare, dean and six prebendaries; Greystock, rector and six chaplains; Axminster, seven priests; Hacombe, archpriest and five fellows; Slapton, rector and five priests; Rotherham, provost and five priests; Wolverhampton, dean and five prebendaries; Shottesbrook, warden and five priests; Chumleigh, rector and five prebendaries; Barking, dean and six canons; Bridgenorth, dean and five or six prebendaries; Bury S. Edmunds, warden and six priests; Bosham, dean and five prebendaries; Laysingby, master and six chaplains; and Lowthorpe, rector and six chaplains.

Among those of the humblest rank were—S. Teath, two prebendaries; Astley, dean and two canons; Hemingbrough, warden and three prebendaries; Bradgare, master and two clerks; S. Burian, dean and three prebendaries; Endellion, three prebendaries; Layer Marney, warden and two priests; Bromyard, three canons; All Saints, Northampton, two fellows; Towcester, two chaplains; Clifton, Notts., warden and two priests; Manton, master and two stipendiary brethren; Burford, three prebendaries; Guy's Cliff, two priests; and Acester, provost and two or three fellows, one of whom had to teach a school.

CORRECTION.

On page 103, sixth and last lines, for 'page 76' read 'page 102.'



Dear Sir

Yours very truly,

John Philipson

THE LATE JOHN PHILIPSON.

A Vice-President of the Society.

IV.—OBITUARY NOTICE OF THE LATE JOHN PHILIPSON, V.P.

BY RICHARD WELFORD, M.A., V.P.

[Read on the 31st August, 1898.]

At the adjourned annual meeting of this society in February, 1890, the number of vice-presidents was increased from six to twelve. Among the members who were promoted upon that occasion to a place in the extra half-dozen was Mr. John Philipson.

It is a fact to be noted that in the eight years which have passed since then death has taken heavy toll of those whom we delighted to honour. We have lost John Clayton (1890), Dr. Bruce (1892), Richard Cail (1893), William Woodman (1895), James Raine (1896), John Crosse Brooks (1897), W. H. D. Longstaffe (1898), and now John Philipson. Of the original twelve but four survive—the Rev. E. H. Adamson,¹ the Rev. W. Greenwell, R. R. Dees, and A. S. Stevenson.

Mr. Philipson came from a good old north-country family,² which, for many generations, had its home among the English lakes. Among its prominent members figure (1) a hero of the Civil War, whose deeds of daring³ earned for him the soubriquet of ‘Robert the Devil;’ (2) a knighted representative in parliament of the county of Westmorland; and (3) a celebrated lawyer and politician, known to most of us as the ostensible ‘guide, philosopher, and friend’ of the corporation of Newcastle, but, in reality, the controller, governor, and ruler of that august body.

Son of George Hare Philipson, an eminent coachbuilder in Newcastle, our friend first saw the light on the 19th of October, 1832. He was educated at Bruce’s far-famed school in Percy street, served an apprenticeship under his father to the art, craft, and mystery of coach and carriage building, married the daughter of his great teacher, Miss Williamina Bruce, in 1862, and a couple of years later succeeded his father in the management of the business.

¹ Since the above was written the Rev. E. H. Adamson has died.

² *Men of Mark 'Twiixt Tyne and Tweed*, vol. iii, p. 259.

³ *Rokeby*, canto vi, stanza 32.

Thus intimately associated with Dr. Bruce, it was but natural that he should be attracted by the antiquarian pursuits to which the doctor's life was devoted. He became a member of our society in 1871, and soon afterwards accepted the post of honorary auditor of the society's accounts—an office which, with a short interval, he occupied till his death on the 24th of June last. In 1876, he was elected one of the council of the society, and in 1890, as already stated, a vice-president.

Mr. Philipson's mercantile activities left him but little time for the study of archaeology or for indulgence in antiquarian research. He was 'a man of affairs,' interesting himself, first of all, and rightly so, in the history and progress of the ancient craft with which his name is identified. Next to that, perhaps, the work of our society claimed his attention. Although unable personally to take a prominent part in our investigations, he was a regular attender at our meetings, kept a watchful eye upon our business transactions, occasionally presided with dignity and tact over our deliberations, and was always in hearty sympathy with those fortunate fellow-members whose gifted leisure enabled them more fully to elucidate the story of the past and rehabilitate the wrecks of time.

Twice during his membership Mr. Philipson contributed to our literature. At the meeting in November, 1885, inspired by a discovery in the Roman camp at South Shields of objects that suggested certain appendages of saddlery, he read a paper entitled 'Roman Horse Trappings, compared with Modern Examples.' Copiously illustrated, it appears in the *Archaeologia Aeliana* (vol. xi. p. 204), and forms a useful guide down a bypath of discovery which had remained comparatively untrodden. His training and experience gave him special qualifications for this work. He was able to explain and exemplify, as few other antiquaries could have done, the historic continuity of horse trappings, and to trace a resemblance between equine adornments in our May Day processions and those which bedecked the equipage of Roman soldiers, and, possibly, the steeds of Jehu, son of Nimshi.

Two years later, when capt. T. W. U. Robinson presented us with a box of wheat and barley taken from the enfoldings of an Egyptian mummy, Mr. Philipson revived the old question of the vitality of

so-called mummy seeds. Like the case-hardened toad that lives for indefinite periods in the heart of a rock, these tough old seeds found among the *débris* of the Pharaohs are a lively source of assertion and debate. There are those who believe that grain, buried in ancient tombs and dormant for two or three thousand years, has not only germinated, but grown and ripened in this country. Mr. Philipson ranged himself among the believers. At the same time, in fairness to sceptics and unbelievers, he quoted numerous examples of failure and expressions of doubt or incredulity. A perusal of the paper (*Archæologia Aeliانا*, vol. xv.) will probably induce the reader to think that whatsoever may be the condition of the object, the subject still remains in a state of suspended animation.

In the literature of his calling Mr. Philipson's pen was more prolific. Thoroughly at home in every branch of his handicraft, he wrote with that practical knowledge which comes from daily experience and lifelong study. He was the author of the following works :—

Harness: As it has been, as it is, and as it should be, with Remarks on Traction and the Use of the Cape Cart. 24 plates and 8 woodcuts. 8vo. Newcastle: A. Reid, 1882.

The Technicalities of the Art of Coach-body Making (with numerous plans, drawings, etc.). 8vo. London, 1885.

Reports on the Carriages in the Paris Exhibition, 1889. By Artisan Reporters. Edited and revised by John Philipson, J.P., M.I.M.E. 8vo. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan, & Morgan, 1890.

A prize essay on *The Humane Method of Harnessing.* Read before the Animals Institute, London. With Portrait of the Author and Woodcuts. 8vo. Newcastle: J. M. Carr, 1891.

The Art and Craft of Coachbuilding—one of a series of technological handbooks edited by Sir Henry Trueman Wood.

Mr. Philipson's public career, apart from his antiquarian proclivities, was active and conspicuous. He was a member of the Society of Arts and of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, a liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Coach and Coach-harness Makers, an honorary member of the Carriage Builders' National Association in the United States, ex-president of the Institute of British Carriage Manufacturers, and a member of the court of arbitration for settling disputes in the carriage building industry. Locally, he was a justice of the peace for the city of Newcastle, held office as one of the

council of the Durham College of Science and of the Newcastle and Gateshead Chamber of Commerce, was a member of the Newcastle Diocesan Society, and a governor of the Infirmary, the Newcastle School for the Blind, and the Whitley Convalescent Home, and had been president of the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club and a churchwarden of St. Andrew's. One of the notable achievements of his public life was a modification of the carriage tax, at which he laboured, in season and out of season, for ten years. His services in this direction were acknowledged at the annual meeting of the Institute of British Carriage Manufacturers in 1891 by the presentation of an address and testimonial from representatives of the carriage building trade and its affiliated industries throughout the kingdom.

An 'In Memoriam' sketch of our friend, reprinted by the family from the columns of the *Newcastle Daily Leader*, contains a paragraph in which most of us will recognize a faithful portrait, worthy to be preserved among our records :—

With the death of Mr. John Philipson there passes away one who was probably the finest representative of the best type of the vanishing generation of Newcastle citizens. Strongly individualised, he had come to seem almost singular in that old-world courtesy which was so natural to him, and so characteristic of him in all situations. Outside of Newcastle the typical Novocastrian is supposed, not always unjustly, to be brusque, abrupt, peremptory, and even rude, in manner. Mr. John Philipson, on the contrary, was an embodiment of gentleness, refinement, and self-respecting modesty of demeanour. He was a Newcastle man through and through, nevertheless, and was proud of the fact. Highly cultivated, prosperous, socially on a level with those who would choose to be regarded as gentry, he was proud of being a tradesman, as he had good right to be, for taking all England over he was at the head of his trade. He was wont to recall with satisfaction the more distinguished achievements of his firm, which, when stage-coaches were threatened by railways, took the bodies of these vehicles off their wheels, placed them on railway trucks, and thus turned out the earliest first class carriages. . . . Mr. Philipson had a high enthusiasm for his calling, and to his initiative many of the most pronounced improvements in carriage building are due. Personally he was from all points of view estimable.

Let me add, from a personal acquaintance of over thirty years, that in Mr. John Philipson were combined a warm and generous heart, a sanguine and cheerful temperament, and easy and natural manners ; that he was a pleasant companion, a considerate employer, and a steadfast friend.

V.—NOTES ON THE DEFENSIVE ARMOUR OF MEDIEVAL
TIMES AND OF THE RENAISSANCE: ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES FROM HIS OWN COLLECTION AND FROM THAT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES IN THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; AND, FURTHER, BY DESCRIPTIONS AND DRAWINGS OF TYPICAL SPECIMENS IN LOCAL AND FOREIGN COLLECTIONS.

BY ROBERT COLTMAN CLEPHAN.

[Read on the 23rd February, 1898.]

The main object of these notes is to illustrate and determine, as far as I can, the defensive armour in my possession, most of which is now before you; and to describe in detail any armour in the district that I have had time and opportunity of examining, as well as several typical suits of various periods, among some of the most remarkable European collections. I cannot attempt to give any account of offensive weapons in these notes, as such would render them far too long and involved for my present purpose; but I am busy on a supplement dealing with weapons, covering the same period.

We owe the inception of much of the arms and armour of European countries to the ancient civilizations of Asia and Egypt, and much also to the Etrurians, Greeks, and Romans, but into such very far-off questions I cannot go in these notes. I will, however, preface the analysis of the suits I bring before you by a short and, I hope, concise sketch of medieval and renaissance armour in general. This, I trust, will be helpful in making my explanations clearer as regards nationality, fashion, and chronology. During the earlier periods, and, in fact, throughout the entire time covering the use of defensive armour to its decadence, great difficulties constantly arise regarding the precise antiquity and nationality of specimens preserved and consequently the fashions generally prevailing in a given country at a particular time. This uncertainty is greatly owing to immigra-

tion, invasions, and to the importation of both artificers and armour from the more advanced countries to others less forward in mechanical skill, as applied to armour making.

Some of the manuscripts, effigies, brasses, and illuminated missals preserved, afford great help in deciding doubtful points, but this kind of evidence practically goes no further back than the ninth century, besides being sometimes of a more or less fanciful and inaccurate character ; and it is only by closely weighing and comparing that some reasonable degree of certainty can be got at.

In brasses we have the best consecutive representation of armour extending from the Crusades to the reign of Charles II. There was formerly a brass in St. Paul's church, Bedford, of sir John Beauchamp (1208) ; this would have been the oldest brass known had it been preserved. The earliest extant is, however, of the reign of Edward I. It must be borne in mind that the date on ancient monuments is that of death, so that the armour indicated may be a quarter of a century earlier ; besides it may have been inherited by the defunct. Suits were also sometimes 'restored' by the armourer to correspond with a later fashion, and cases of this kind naturally give rise to some perplexity. Later in these notes will be found a chapter headed 'Details of Defensive Plate Armour.' This section deals as fully, as a reasonable regard for space will allow, with each important piece of armour, as regards its form, history and chronology. This section will serve also, to some extent, as a glossary of terms.

CHAIN-MAIL AND MIXED ARMOUR.

Remarkably little is known of Britain in the centuries immediately following the Roman occupation, and the question as to when real chain-mail was first used in Europe is both difficult and obscure. There is a representation of armour on the column of Trajan that looks remarkably like chain-mail, and it is almost certain that the Romans used iron chain-mail in Britain. The bronze scales of a lorica or Roman cuirass found at Aesica, which have been so deftly arranged by Mr. Gibson, the worthy custodian at the Castle, and which are now on exhibition at the Black Gate museum, do not help us ;¹ but

¹ A similar fragment was found at Cataractonium (see *Archaeological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 296).

interlinked bronze rings, of Roman origin, have also been found ; and if in bronze, why not in iron ? This question is adequately answered by the masses of corroded iron rings of Roman times, found at Chester-le-Street, and referred to in a report of a meeting held by our Society as far back as 1856.² These rings could hardly be massed together, as they are, without having been interlinked. The extract from the report of this early meeting of the society runs thus :— ‘The Rev. Walker Featherstonhaugh had presented two pieces of chain armour, corroded into lumps, from Chester-le-Street.’ Similar masses of rings, of Roman date, have been found at South Shields, and may be seen in ‘The Blair Collection’ at the Black Gate museum. These are of a date certainly not later than the fourth century. We may then, I think, conclude that these masses of corroded iron rings were once loricas of iron chain-mail.

The Anglo-Saxon epic poem of Beowulf, written doubtless during the second half of the eighth century, has frequent reference to the hero’s arms and armour :—

Beowulf maoelode	Beowulf spoke (or sang?)
On him byrne scán	He bore his polished byrnie
Searonet seowed	The war-net sewn
smiþes or-þancum	by the skill of the smith

This poem has been cited as proof that chain-mail was in use in early Saxon England, and by the Vikings also, and there is some supposed confirmation of this idea as regards the latter, in the finds of chain armour in the peat mosses of Denmark, which have been freely ascribed to the fifth and sixth centuries, but this mail is of such excellent workmanship and so similar to that made in the thirteenth century, as to cast grave doubts on the earlier dates. Every ring of the Danish mail is interlinked with four surrounding rings, and so on throughout the garment. This is the prevailing fashion of all periods and there is a great variety of mesh. I am inclined to think that the ‘war-nets’ alluded to were not chain-mail at all, but leathern or quilted armour with pieces of iron, shaped like the drawn meshes of a net, or steel rings sewn on to it, that this combination constituted the ‘bright byrnie’³ referred to in the poem, and that

² See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* (o.s.) p. 155.

³ In old German ‘brunne.’

the chain-mail found at Vemose and other places was really thirteenth-century armour or thereabouts. Quite independent of other evidence, the line in the poem, 'the war-net sewn by the skill of the smith,' would point to the leathern or quilted tunic being fortified with rings or scales sewn on to the garment, and this was the general method up to and even beyond the time of William the Conqueror.

There are, however, other words in the poem referred to, such as 'hand-locen' (= hand-locked), and 'handum gebroden.' The latter might well read either twisted or embroidered with hands. These words may point to interlinked mail; so it clearly cannot be affirmed with any certainty that there were no instances of real chain-mail in use in Britain at this very early period after the Romans; but if there were any hauberks of the kind it would point to much greater continuity from the Roman occupation than our historians of those times have hitherto imagined.

The sizes of the links of chain-mail vary considerably, extending from one-sixth of an inch to an inch and three-quarters in diameter, and they were soldered, welded, or butted in the earlier times, and often rivetted in the later. Most of the earlier Oriental mail I have seen is rivetted. It is said that the art of wire drawing was discovered by Rudolph of Nuremburg in 1306. At all events its application at this time rendered chain-mail much cheaper and more generally used than when each ring was separately wrought. This discovery was probably only the revival of an ancient art. Very much was lost during the 'dark ages' which followed the disruption of the Roman empire, when so many landmarks were swept away; and the same kind of thing has happened often before in the cycles of 'dark ages' that preceded it. Much was preserved in Chronicles, as was also the case in the earlier periods of obliteration, when hieratic writings on stone, papyrus, or parchment restored so much to the newly-awakening times. Double-ringed mail is mentioned by some authorities, but I have never seen any, and think the indistinct drawings on manuscripts, brasses, or tapestry give rise to the idea—very small ringed mail might easily be taken for double; still many effigies show what looks very like double-ringed mail.⁴ The Anglo-

⁴ Where the rings are hammered flat a decidedly double appearance is given to the mail.

Danes of the eighth century adopted the Phrygian tunic, reinforced with steel rings, probably obtained through their intercourse with the Byzantine empire; and both Meyrick and Strutt agree that such a tunic was then in use. The paladins of Charlemagne wore an armour of strongly marked Roman characteristics, and according to the monk of St. Gall, the emperor's panoply consisted of helmet and cuirass of iron, with leg and arm armour.

The real coat of chain-mail was probably somewhat of a rarity in the tenth century, but that it was in general use by the greater knights late in the eleventh is clear from the testimony of the princess Anna Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, who says, in describing the body armour of the knights of the first crusade, 'it was made entirely of steel rings rivetted together.' She further remarks that this kind of armour was unknown at Byzantium up to the time of the first crusade. Mail armour is mentioned by a monk of Mairmontiers (*temp.* Louis VII., a contemporary of Stephen, 1137), in a description of the armament of Geoffrey of Normandy.⁵

The Bayeux tapestry, worked, there is little doubt, in the middle of the eleventh century, shows that the Conqueror's chivalry wore conical helms with the nose-guard and hood of mail for protecting the neck, shoulders, and part of the face. The tunics reached down over the thighs, with a slit in the middle of the skirt for convenience on horseback; and the mail on the arms came nearly to the elbows. The Norman knights had pear-shaped shields, with a point at the bottom, large enough to cover the body from the shoulders to the hips; some with a rough device; while the Saxon shields on the tapestry are round or oval, with a central boss. Maces are shown in the hands of some of the figures. With the exception of William himself, whose legs are encased in jамbs, probably of leather, with reinforcing plates or rings, the limbs of his knights were simply swathed with thongs. Probably only the richer knights wore chain-mail, the majority having tunics of *cuir-bouilli*, strengthened by continuous rings sewn on to it, side by side or overlapping. Some also had the pieces of lozenge-shaped metal already mentioned, or scales fixed on to the leather. It is impossible to determine these details absolutely, as all the armour looks very much alike on the

⁵ Demmin.

tapestry in its present condition, and this is especially the case where rings were used ; and it is only by careful comparison with other contemporary evidence that any reasonable certainty can be assured. The knights wore no surcoats over their mail. The great seal of William the Conqueror shows him in a hauberk coming down to the knees, with short sleeves, and no leg armour. The Germans were probably before us in the general use of real chain-mail, for the epic poem of Gudrun, written in the tenth century, states how Herwig's clothes 'were stained with the rust of his hauberk.'

The panoply of the Conqueror's knights was very much the same during the century preceding his time, as shown in the illuminations of the 'Biblia Sacra,' a manuscript of the tenth century. Helms with rounded crowns were worn then ; and this is all confirmed by another MS. in the library at Stuttgart of the same period, the well-known 'Martyrologium.'

Defensive armour continued much the same during the reign of Rufus, whose seal shows him in a long-armed hauberk without gloves of mail, and a low conical helm with the nasal ; but in the reign of his successor, Henry I. (1100-1135), the reinforcing rings of the hauberk were sometimes oval and set on edgeways, 'rustred' mail as it was termed ; and this fashion became common in the next reign. The seal of Henry I. shows a conical cap without nasal, and that of Stephen a kite-shaped shield with a sharp point in the centre. The king wears a hauberk of scales sewn or rivetted on the gambeson. The nasal first appeared in England at the end of the tenth century, and the Bayeux tapestry shows it to have been common in the eleventh. Among the seals of the English kings that of Henry II. is the first to show the hood of mail. The hauberk of the Norman kings was in one piece from the neck. Under Richard I. the hauberk was somewhat lengthened and armorial bearings became general. A *plastron-de-fer* (breast-plate) was worn under the mail and sometimes over it. The sleeves of the hauberk were lengthened, and terminated in gloves of mail. The first seal of Richard Coeur-de-Lion shows the king on horseback in a hauberk of mail with a *plastron-de-fer* underneath. His shield, which is shaped like half a pear cut lengthwise and pointed at the bottom, is ensigned with a lion rampant. The arm is mail-clad to the finger tips and brandishes a

simple cross-handled sword; the chausses, separated from the tunic, are of mail, and terminate in a spurred solleret. Over the hood, which is in one piece with the hauberk, he carries a high conical helm without flaps or nasal, bound round with iron bars. On Richard's second seal he bears the great helm with a fan crest, ensigned with a lion; his hauberk is rather longer than in the first seal. The shield on this seal is ensigned with three lions *passant gardant*, and this is still retained on the royal escutcheon of England. There is a good example of an undoubted suit of chain-mail on an effigy of Robert de Vere (died 1221) in Hatfield Broad Oak church. This suit was probably made in the reign of king John. Heraldic bearings first became generally hereditary in the reign of Henry III. His seal shows the king with the fingers of his chain-mail gloves articulated, and wearing the great helm. In the Tower collection is a figure on horseback clad entirely in chain-mail. To the hood is attached a fillet of iron round the head. The hauberk has long arms terminating in gloves of mail. A leathern belt with strong iron clasps encircles the waist. Excepting the legs the horse is covered with leathern armour, fortified with iron scales. The armour on the figure is labelled 'Indian' and the horse 'Persian.' Since I saw the Tower mail I have examined many Indian and other Oriental tunics. Two at Carlsruhe are rivetted chain-mail—hood and tunic in one piece—but the head bears no fillet. On the breast, over nipples and navel, are three small palettes inscribed with oriental characters, and inscribed clasps at the waist to fasten the tunic. These suits are chiefly remarkable for the presence of the hood, and I should judge the date of the mail to be fourteenth century. There are two shirts of mail at Brancepeth castle, Durham, which are rivetted, and I think early fourteenth century. It was not uncommon for hauberks to be provided with reinforcements of leather thongs which were intertwined through the rings; there is an example of this kind in the Rotunda at Woolwich. An effigy of a knight in the Temple church, that of Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex (1144) in the reign of king Stephen, engraved by Stothard, shows the warrior armed completely in chain-mail, having hood of mail over the head and shoulders, surmounted by a cylindrical helmet without nasal. Tunic is in one piece with the arms and gloves, the last without any articulation; this form of gauntlet

is the earliest. Chausses going above the knee, in one web with the demi-poulaine or slightly-pointed sollerets, globular triangular shield extending from the shoulder to the hip, and the belt of knighthood above the hips. There is a singular point in connexion with this and two other effigies in the church, viz., that the sword is worn on the right side. I have noticed this peculiarity in other figures of the period. The figure of another Templar in the same church, that of William Longespée, earl of Salisbury (1200-1227), wears mail gloves, the fingers of which are all articulated—the sword is on the left side. Both figures wear surcoats. Like most of the helmets, early in the thirteenth century, this example is flat at the top. The tops were usually rounded in the second half of the century. A knight in Walkerne church, Hertfordshire, wears the great helm, rising slightly at the crest, pierced with eye-slits, and showing breathing holes over the mouth.

SUIT OF CHAIN-MAIL, ETC., IN THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

The example of chain-mail in the library of the Castle here, which was presented to our society long ago by sir R. Ker Porter, is very interesting, though a somewhat perplexing piece of armour. I have been in great difficulty about it, because in its present condition it is short in the body, with the sleeves coming barely to the elbows. These features taken alone would point to its being simply a 'habergeon,' sufficiently described in a quotation from Chaucer later in these pages under the heading of 'Plate Armour;' but the jagged state of the extremities and general aspect of the mail led me to think that both sleeves and body had once been long; and the slit in the skirt for convenience on horseback confirmed me in this belief. I have now ascertained, beyond all doubt, that I was right in my supposition, and that the garment in question is really a mutilated hauberk, in one piece from the neck.

This mail is of the make already described, every hammered ring being interlinked with four others. The rings are soldered. The headgear is composite, consisting of an iron skull cap rudely engraved, with a camail or fringe of mail falling over the neck, shoulders, and part of the face, the helmet being provided with holes for attachment. The rings of the camail are much smaller

than those of which the tunic is composed, and give it somewhat of a double appearance. There is of course no trace of there having been any reinforcing plates, which when present were generally at this period attached to the mail by straps and buckles. It is

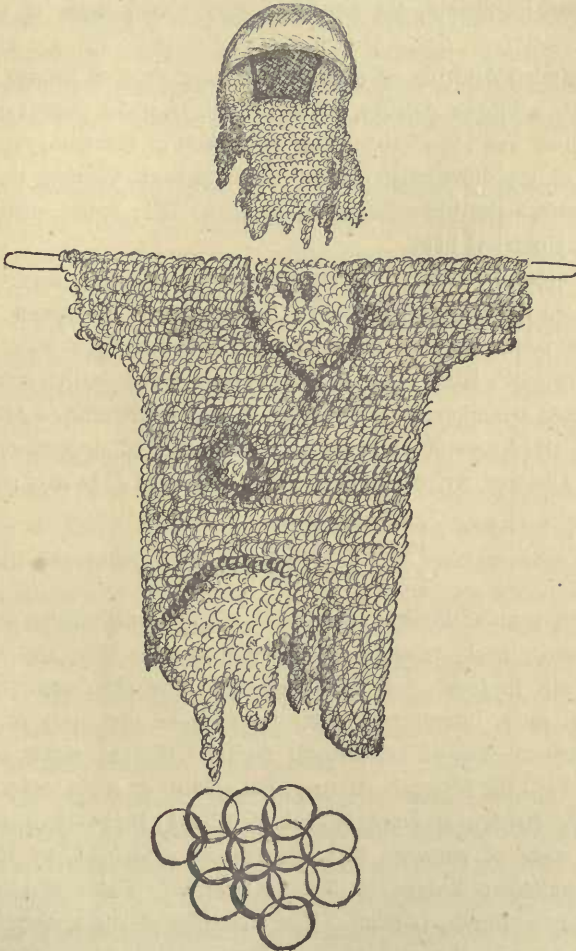


FIG. 1.—SUIT OF CHAIN MAIL IN THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, showing the actual mesh of the hauberk.

extremely difficult to fix an approximate date for the mail in its present condition, but taking the general characteristics of the head-gear into consideration, and assuming it to have formed one panoply

with the hauberk, I should be disposed to put it in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III. The hood of mail separate from the hauberk does not appear before the beginning of the thirteenth century. The illustration (fig. 1) shows the hauberk in its present condition, the headgear, and actual mesh of the body armour.

A spirited drawing of a mediæval water ewer of bronze is given in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, old series, vol. iv. p. 76, plate xxii. This ewer, which was found about four miles west of Hexham, represents a knight of the thirteenth century on horseback, wearing chain-mail, and over it a sleeveless chequered surcoat. The figure wears a flat-topped cylindrical helm.

The epoch of chain-mail armour pure and simple may be said to close about the reign of Edward I., although in more remote and less advanced countries, such as Ireland and Scandinavia, it was to be met with very much later. The surcoat is rare in the twelfth century, but it becomes common in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Among the seals of the kings of England this garment first appears on that of John. Chaucer, writing in the reign of Edward III., says :—

And over that a fin hauberk
Full strong it was of plate,
And over that his cote-armoure.

There is an admirable example of a thirteenth-century surcoat on the figure already referred to. The surcoat is long and sleeveless, with a slit in front. It is embellished by a chequered pattern in diagonal lines, interspersed with *fleurs de lis* and stars of six rays. The garment has an ornamental border. Sleeves rarely appear in England till the fifteenth century, but a local example, referred to in Surtees's *History of Durham* (vol. iii. p. 155) shows that there were earlier cases of surcoats with sleeves, as evidenced by the figure of an unknown knight in Norton church. There is also one in the Temple church, London. The character of the armour indicates a date towards the end of the thirteenth century. The surcoat early in the fourteenth century was long, but became gradually shortened and tightened. There are, however, earlier examples of the short surcoat as shown on the Whitworth effigy (plate xiv.). The garment was variously fastened, being buttoned, laced, or

buckled. On an effigy engraved by Hollis in his plate ii., it is held together by a *fibula*. The fabrics were rich and costly, and usually ornamented with heraldic devices. The surcoat of the fifteenth century presents such devices on the front and arms, both before and behind, indeed it was a 'tabard of arms,' and so it continued in the sixteenth century as a herald's tabard. During the first half of the fourteenth century, English knights wore a garment under the surcoat, called 'upper pourpoint'—the true 'pourpoint' was the surcoat itself.

It is impossible to go very much into detail in these notes, but some mention ought to be made of the 'mamelières.' These were circular plates on the surcoat, with rings affixed. Chains passed through the rings, one being usually attached to the sword and the other to the sheath. I am informed that there have been cases where one chain has been attached to the helmet.

Mamelières prevailed during the fourteenth century, more especially in the first half. Examples are rare. These plates are present on an effigy in Tewkesbury abbey church, the date of which is doubtless about the middle of the century. A beautiful instance may be seen on an effigy at Alvechurch, Worcestershire (1346), showing clearly the one chain connected with the scabbard and another with the hilt. There is a brass in Minster church, Isle of Sheppey, which represents an armed figure with only one 'mamelière;' it is on the left breast, with the chain going up over the left shoulder—early fourteenth century. The derivation of the word is interesting, being from *mamilla*, the breast. Its origin was a leather band worn by the Roman ladies to support the breasts.

We reach the highest point of medieval culture during the fourteenth century, and broadly the 'renaissance' towards its close. Like all periods of transition, it presents many points of interest, especially in armament. It was not before the middle of the century was reached that arms and armour approached to anything like uniformity. In the first moiety the greatest possible irregularity prevailed. Scale armour was still largely used throughout the century, and splint armour also, though to a less extent. An example of the latter may be seen on the effigy in Ash church.

A combination of mail and plate or white armour, the latter strapped on, was in general use in England late in the reign of

Edward the second, when the helm, cuirass, or rather breastplate, and gauntlets were all of plate, and sometimes the cuisse and jamb also ; but the leg armour was often of cuir-bouilli. Chaucer says : ' His jambeux were of cure-buly.' An inventory dated 1313 of the armour which belonged to Piers Gaveston, includes breast and back plates and two pairs of 'jammers' of iron ; but most of the monumental figures are still in chain-mail and genouillières. These 'jammers' were only front plates for strapping on. An effigy of sir William de Ryther, who died in 1308, shows genouillières of plate on a suit of chain-mail, with the hood covered by a bassinet. This was probably thirteenth-century armour, although somewhat early for an example of the bassinet.

Another effigy (in Bedale church, Yorkshire) of somewhat earlier date, that of Brian lord fitz Alan, wears genouillières over chain-mail. He died 1302. The most ancient brass we have, that of sir John D'Aubernon, is similar in character—the figure wears a rounded hood. Mixed armour continued longer in use in England and Belgium than in Germany, which latter country always led the way in defensive armour.

An effigy in Hereford cathedral church of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and constable of England (died 1321), engraved by Hollis, wears the camail which falls like a curtain over the shoulders, surmounted by a bassinet ; hauberk of mail to the knees ; rerebrace ; vambrace and gauntlets of plate, the fingers covered with laminated plates, genouillières, jambs with hinges, and very slightly pointed sollerets, all of steel, with roundels to protect the inside of the elbow. Here we have a good example of the transition to full plate armour, as attaching plates are now replaced by rounded ones, fitting round the limbs, but still strapped on. An inventory of the earl's effects, dated 1322, appears in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 349. The bassinet is mentioned as being covered with leather. A figure, standing in the nave of the same cathedral, of sir Richard Pembridge, K.G., who died a year before the Black Prince, wears mixed armour—camail and bassinet with the great helm.

Both the rowel and goad spurs were in use throughout the fourteenth century. The figure of the Black Prince (1376) in Canterbury cathedral is clad almost entirely in plate, and shows the prince wear-

ing a conical bassinet with camail attached. Breastplate, épaulières, rerebrace, vambrace, coudières and leg armour, including gauntlets, all of plate—his great crested helm has a mantling or lambrequin and cap of maintenance, and is surmounted by a gilded leopard; besides the ocularium it has a number of holes on the right side in front in the form of a crown, for giving air. There are gadlings on the knuckles for the *mêlée*. The surcoat is quilted.

A brass in Wotton-under-Edge church, Gloucestersh., shows a figure in mixed armour of Thomas lord Berkeley, who died in 1417. The sollerets are à la poulaine, though not in the extreme, the gauntlets have articulated fingers and a sharp gadling (knob) over each knuckle. The figure wears a collar of mermaids, the family cognizance. We now get very near full plate armour on an effigy of sir Robert Harcourt, K.G., into Stanton Harcourt church, Oxfordshire. The figure wears a horizontally fluted bassinet; gorget of mail; coudières sharply pointed at the elbow; cuirass with lance rest; laminated taces; and long triangular tuilles (strapped half-way up); sollerets slightly laminated and pointed. There is a great crested helm with the figure. Sir Robert died in 1471, and the armour was probably made in the first half of the fifteenth century. This is a late example of the use of the mail gorget, but it probably covered a defence of plate. Several of these effigies and brasses have been engraved by Hollis.

It may profitably be mentioned again here that dates on monuments are those of demise. The armour, therefore, may be much earlier, perhaps a generation or so before the date of death, and it was common, nay usual, for a knight to bequeath his suit or suits to his sons or other persons. For instance Guy de Beauchamp, who died in 1316, bequeathed to his eldest son his best coat of mail, helmet, etc., and to his son John his second suit. Mixed armour in France went well into the fifteenth century.

Broadly speaking mixed armour was used in England during the last quarter of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, but nearly full white armour began to be seen there towards the end of that century. It had, however, been in vogue in Germany and Italy for some decades, and it is probable that the earlier suits in England were imported from Germany, which country set the fashion. The effigy of Gunther von Schwarzburg, king of the Romans (1349)

shows the body armour to have been of mail, with reinforcing plates for the arms and legs, on which blank and studded lengths are interspersed. He wears the bassinet with camail. The following examples will show to some extent the progress of the evolution in Belgium. A figure in the library at Ghent of Willem Wenemaer wears genouillières and jambs of plate, otherwise clad in mail (1325). This figure is remarkable for the sword being covered with a Latin inscription. A brass at Porte de Hal, Brussels, shows John and Gerard de Herre (1398) in mixed armour. On a brass in the cathedral at Bruges, dated 1452, Martin de Visch has a full armament of plate, excepting the gorget which is of mail.

This continuous strengthening of defensive armour was clearly rendered necessary by the ever increasing power and temper of weapons of attack. We have the same sort of thing to-day in the constant competition between armour and heavy guns.

The shoulder-pieces called 'ailettes' first appeared in France. They were in use in England late in the thirteenth century, but, as they fell into disuse in the fourteenth, there are not likely to be any actual examples preserved, and they very rarely occur on monuments. These pieces assume various shapes, but the usual one is a rectangular figure, longer than it is broad, standing over the shoulders horizontally, perpendicularly, or diagonally, rising either in front or from behind; there are, however, instances of their being round, pentagonal, and lozenge formed. The use of these curious appendages is not very apparent, but the most natural explanation is that they were applied as a defence against strokes glancing off the helmet. They were usually ensigned with a device or crest, and, when worn in front, were often large enough to protect the armpits instead of palettes or roundels. They are mentioned in the roll of purchases for the Windsor tournament in 1278. There is an interesting letter in our *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 268, concerning these somewhat puzzling pieces of armour. It is addressed to our valued colleague, Dr. Hodgkin, by Captain Orde Browne. The writer refers to the ailettes which he noticed on the effigy of Peter le Marechal in our cathedral church of St. Nicholas (fig. 2). This highly interesting figure lies immediately behind the monument to Dr. Bruce. Captain Orde Browne mentions examples of ailettes in the churches of

Ash, Clehongre, and Tew, and quotes two authorities that these three are the only churches in which effigies with these appendages have been found ; the names, however, of these authorities have not been



FIG. 2.—THE EFFIGY OF PETER LE MARECHAL IN ST. NICHOLAS'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

EUGÈNE L. CLEPARIAN DEL. 1898

preserved in the letter. At all events the authorities in question had overlooked our local example, on whose shield there seems to be a bend. I refer to this effigy (fig. 2) as attributed to Peter le Marechal. Brand

believed it be the effigy of the founder of St. Margaret's chantry, Peter de Manley, a baron who bore, according to Guillim, *or*, a bend *sable*. He was associated with the bishop of Durham and others for guarding the East Marches, and died in 1383. His arms therefor correspond with those on the shield of the effigy. Mr. Longstaffe, however, ascribes the figure to Peter le Marechal who died in 1322.

As to the question between Peter de Manley and Peter le Marechal, I think there can be no doubt whatever, as the presence of ailettes and the general character of the armour undoubtedly date the figure about the end of the thirteenth century or very early in the fourteenth, and there is an interval of sixty-one years between the deaths of the two knights. Peter le Marechal was sword-bearer to Edward I. and is buried in St. Nicholas's church. It appears from the king's wardrobe account that a sword was placed on the body by the king's command. According to M. Viollet-le-Duc, this innovation, the employment of ailettes, dates from the end of the thirteenth century, but M. Victor Gay cites an example of the employment of ailettes in 1274. There is, however, one of a still earlier date occurring in a MS. dated 1262, in which is a figure of Georges de Niverlée. This manuscript does not say where this figure is or was. There is an ailette on the right shoulder only, and we may perhaps infer that this piece was first used singly. We see from the roll of purchases made for the tournament of Windsor park (1278) that the ailettes specified for were to be of leather and carda.⁶ Ailettes were worn by sir Roger de Trumpington in the Windsor tournament but these were of leather, and are figured on his monumental brass rising from behind the shoulders. An incised monumental slab in the church of St. Denis, Gotheim, Belgium, shows a figure of Nenkinus de Gotheim (1296) with these appendages. These are remarkable for their diagonal pose. If any device existed it has been worn off. There is another example of another Gotheim (1307), which is charged with a rose, and a couple in the Port de Hal museum at Brussels, dated 1318 and 1331 respectively. A very elaborate pair of ailettes appears in the inventory of Piers Gaveston (1313): 'les ailettes garniz et prettez de perles.' There is a German example on the statue of Rudolph von Hierstein at Bahl (died 1318).

⁶ A kind of cloth.

HELMS UP TO THE END OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

Helmets with horns were worn by the Vikings, and in all probability the headpiece with these appendages, dredged up, with a shield, in the Thames, and now deposited in the British museum, is of early Scandinavian origin. Horned helmets were probably originally emblematic of the goddess Hathor or Isis, and came to Northern Europe through the Greeks. We have an example of an Etruscan helmet with horns, and Meyrick says that such were worn by the Phrygians, though rarely. Diodorus Siculus refers to this form as used by the Belgic Gauls. There are instances of helmets with horns as late as the thirteenth century. The early Anglo-Saxons wore four-cornered helmets with a fluted comb-like crest.

The great variety in medieval and renaissance headgear is somewhat bewildering, but it may all be brought down to a few types with certain salient characteristics, which, however, greatly interweave. The knights of chivalry or their armourers seem to have given as great a rein to their fancy and imagination as the constructors of feminine headgear of all time; still the change and application of weapons of attack played the most important part in the constant modifications of warlike head-pieces, as of other defensive armour.

I have referred in my sketch of the Castle example to the use of the shallow iron skull cap, or sort of rude chapel-de-fer without its broad brim, which, when worn with the camail, was provided with holes for attachment either directly or by laces. Staples were generally applied for this purpose with bassinets.

Both Normans and Anglo-Saxons used the word 'helm'⁷ (of Gothic or Scandinavian derivation) in the eleventh century, as applied to the conical steel cap with the nasal then in use. The equivalent in French was 'heaume.' The word 'helmet' is, of course, the diminutive of 'helm,' and was specially applied to the close-fitting casques, first used in the fifteenth century, of which more anon. The seal of Henry I. shows that monarch as wearing a conical helmet.

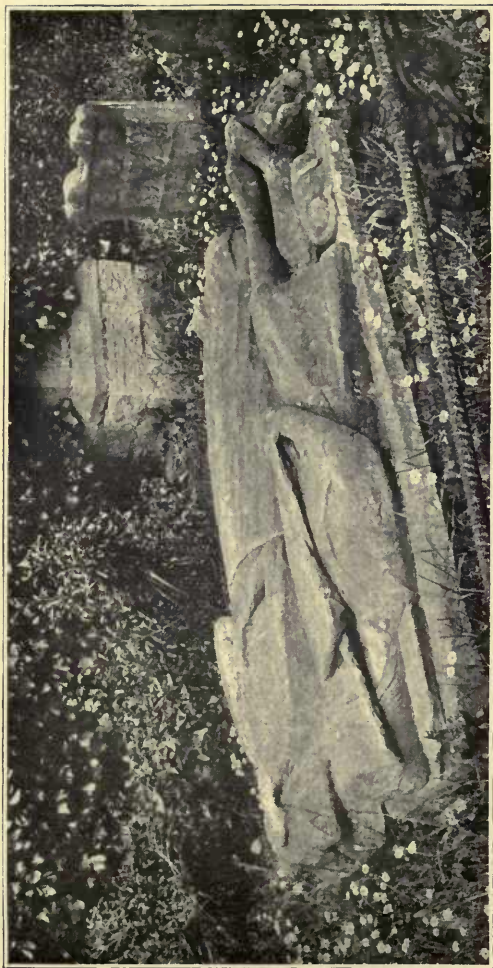
The form of the helmet of the Bayeux tapestry is a quadrilateral pyramid with a narrow strip of iron extending over the nose; but this nasal is but rarely met with after the twelfth century. The Norman helmet was probably wholly of iron.

⁷ The words 'helm' and 'varhelm' appear repeatedly in the epic poem of Beowulf.

The great helm or heaume without a movable visor to meet the bevor is of English origin. It first appeared about the end of the twelfth century, and was worn over the hood of mail, which was then found inadequate to resist either the lance, or a heavy blow from a battleaxe or mace, or even a stroke from the greatly improved sword. The helm had the effect of distributing the force of the blow. The second seal of Richard I. shows him in the great helm. It is either flat-topped or conical, with the nasal, and obviously derived from the antique. There is an example of the conical form in the museum of Artillery at Paris, and one of the nearly flat-topped variety rising very slightly towards the centre, in the Tower of London. The next form, which is in great variety, the knight's early tilting helm, was used pre-eminently for jousting; the visored bassinet being worn generally in battle. It was introduced to resist the heavy lance charge. This form was hemispherical, conical, or cylindrical, with an aventail to cover the face, and an ocularium or slits for vision, and sometimes a guard for the back of the neck. It formed a single structure with bands of iron in front constituting a cross, very heavy, and in the earlier forms the head bore the whole weight;⁸ but later it was constructed to rest on the shoulders, and the cross bands disappeared. It was fastened to the saddle bow when not in use. The great helm is often represented as a pillow for the head in effigies. An excellent example may be seen on the male effigy in Whitworth churchyard, which is described in our *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 250. The illustration (plate xiv.) shows the two recumbent figures—male and female. We are concerned with the male effigy, and have the authority of Mr. Longstaffe that it represented a member of the family of Humez of Brancepeth. The character of the armour would indicate a date in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The helm is cylindrical and flat-topped. Baron de Cosson mentions two other local effigies of about the same date, the one at Pittington, the helmet of which is round-topped, and the other at Chester-le-Street.

A very early thirteenth-century helm may be seen on an effigy in Staunton church, Nottingham, and a flat-topped cylindrical helm surmounts the figure on the curious water ewer shown in plate xxii. of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. iv. (o.s.). There are instances of this form as early as the last quarter of the twelfth century.

⁸ See helm on an effigy in Staunton church, Nottingham, about 1216.



THE WHITWORTH EFFIGIES.

(From a photograph by Mr. A. L. Stevenson.)

De Cosson gives drawings of several of these helmets in his admirable *résumé* of the specimens exhibited in 1880 (for which see *Proceedings* of the Royal Archaeological Institute). That on the seal of Henry III. has breathing holes, and that of Edward II. shows his helm to have been cylindrical, with grated aventail. The helm formerly hanging over the tomb of sir Richard Pembridge, K.G., in the nave of Hereford cathedral, and now in the possession of sir Noel Paton,⁹ is a good example of the reign of Edward III. The great jousting helm of the fifteenth century will be described later. The bassinet, lined with leather, bason-shaped as its name implies, was lighter and close-fitting; and in England usually provided with staples for a camail. It was often used under a crested helm of large size, but, as mentioned before, when the bassinet became visored it was worn heavier, and then largely superseded the great helm. The bassinet was generally worn in England in the fourteenth century and late in the preceding. This helmet is more fully described later.

The chapel-de-fer is an iron helmet of the twelfth century, with or without a broad brim. The one without brim is often termed a chape-line, and is, I take it, the small bassinet.

PLATE ARMOUR.

It was late in the reign of Edward II. when comparatively rare instances of nearly complete plain armour appeared in England, but, as shown in the section of this paper headed 'Chain-mail,' etc., the use of the gorget of mail survived up to the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is in fact impossible to lay down any arbitrary dates, or anything like a clear line of demarcation in respect to the relative proportions of chain and plate armour used by the English knights up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the fortunate preservation in our churches of a series of effigies and monumental brasses helps us greatly; there is, however, very little evidence of this kind before the middle of the thirteenth century. Breastplates, as distinguished from the old plastrons-de-fer, were to be met with in the reign of Edward II., but the general rule was still a hauberk of

⁹ This helm was, I believe, given to sir S. Rush Meyrick by the dean, a flagrant instance of how such trust property was treated in his day.

mail, with épaulières, coudières of plate, with some splint plates on the arms, all fastened with straps and buckles; the legs were still generally encased in mail, with, of course, genouillères at the knees.

The long reign of Edward III. (1327-1377) saw great strides in the direction of full plate armour. The lance rest (a hook of iron for supporting the lance shaft) was introduced about 1360.

We find full plate armour in use in Germany and Italy earlier than in England. There is ample evidence of this, but we must be careful in sifting the testimony of old chronicles. In the 'Tristan and Isolde' MS., by Godfrey of Strasburg, of the second half of the thirteenth century, the German knights are represented in white armour, helms with the bevor attached to the cuirass, the upper part of the face open, jambs of plate and sollerets à la poulaine. These knights appear with horse armour. An Italian MS. refers to the year 1315 as remarkable for the introduction of full plate armour—'every knight wore helm, cuirass, gauntlets, cuisses and jambs all of iron.'

These statements, however, must not be taken as conclusive. On the contrary, they really represent what we consider to be a late stage of mixed armour. We have an Italian example figured in Hewitt (plate xxvii.), the statue of a knight in a church at Naples (1335). He wears a hauberk of mail, with roundels at the shoulders and elbows, rounded plates strapped over the upper arm and jambs of iron. The sollerets are in chain-mail.

The reason for the introduction of the cuirass proper was the exceeding weight of the hauberk of chain-mail, in conjunction with the heavy plates often rivetted on to it and the quilted gambeson, etc., underneath; and also by reason of the inefficient protection it afforded against the lance in full career, or strokes from the greatly improved and heavier swords, or blows from the deadly battle-axe; indeed, it often happened that a portion of the chain-mail itself was driven into a wound. It was, however, far from uncommon early in the fifteenth century for a hauberk of chain-mail to be worn under the cuirass. The gambeson is a quilted tunic, often worn in battle in early times without other armour, having been made tough enough to turn a sword stroke, but on the introduction of plate armour it was of quilted linen, fortified with rings under the

arms and breastplate. I saw a most interesting gambeson of the kind in the national museum at Munich, an example of late fourteenth century date, and I believe the only one surviving ; it covers the legs, and has mail over the knees. The underclothing varied greatly at the different periods, and there is often some confusion of terms among the Chroniclers regarding these garments. Chaucer calls the gambeson a 'haketon,' the habergeon or small hauberk in his day being a shirt of chain-mail, sometimes worn over plate armour. He says :—

Next his shirt an haketon
And over that an habergeon,
And over that a fin hauberke,
Full strong it was of plate.

A MS. of this period says that esquires were not allowed a sautoir (stirrup) to their saddles. The order had a distinct status, even to its costume.

Early representations of bards are very rare ; they probably originated in the twelfth century, when they were most likely of fortified leather. Wace says that the horse of William fitz-Osbert was housed in chain-mail at the battle of Hastings, but this is incredible.

As already mentioned, German knights appear with bards in the second half of the thirteenth century, but it was towards its close, or at the beginning of the fourteenth, that it became common. The earliest official mention occurs in the statute of 27 Edward I., when housings were of chain-mail, leather, or quilted material. Nothing like a full equipment in steel plate for horses was attained before the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when according to a picture in the imperial arsenal at Vienna, 'Der Ritter sitzt auf seinem, bis auf die Hufe, verdeckten Hengst.' The material of the harness differs very much in the fifteenth century, being of full plate, fortified mail, quilted cloth, or cuir-bouilli.

Bards comprised the chamfron or chanfrein for the face, worn sometimes with a crest ; picière, breast ; flanchière, flanks ; croupière, hinder parts ; estivals, legs. The crinet, neck, appears first in England on the seal of Henry V. The horses were gaily caparisoned.

Broadly we reach the period of full plain body armour in England

early in the fifteenth century, when bevor and gorget or mentonnière, palettes, cuirass, taces and tuilles, garde de reine, épaulières, coudières, rerebrace, vambrace and gauntlets, cuisse, genouillères, jambs and sollerets were all of plate. The ingenious application of overlapping or lobster-tail plates, first applied to the solleret and rerebrace, had now extended to the shoulder and taces, and we find this system fuller developed in the fine ridged and scalloped armour, which originated in Germany late in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The shell or tile-formed tuilles, after having been in use for nearly a century, gave place to tassets of overlapping plates. New tactics in battle had to be parried by the armourer with changes and modifications in armour, for instance at the battle of Crécy the knights fought for the first time in foot formation. This innovation in tactics having been copied by the French, the armourer had to meet the occasion, and different harnesses began to be made for foot-fighting and horseback ; and somewhat later additional pieces were added to screw on to the other armour, for further protection in tilting and in battle. These pieces were devised for the protection of the most vulnerable places, on the principle that energy always takes the line of the least resistance. The great helm was now rarely used, giving place to the visored bassinet, the visor to be raised or lowered at pleasure. The bassinet was in its turn superseded by the sallad in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the latter towards its close by the armet. A monument in the cathedral at Posen gives a good idea of the armour in use in Germany in the first half of the fifteenth century—it is a figure of Lucas de Corta who died in 1475. The armament consists of the great helm with mentonnière of several laminated plates to be raised or lowered, cuirass with palettes, taces of six overlapping plates, going right across the lower body, but no tuilles, cuisse with genouillères and hinged jambs ; laminated rerebraces, and large pointed coudières. The fingers of the gauntlets are articulated, with a sharp gadling over each knuckle and sollerets à la poulaine. A brass in the church at Altenberg gives a figure of Gerart, duke of Gulich, who died in 1475, with a similar armament excepting that he wears an early form of armet ; and tuilles are attached to the taces. The armour of this period, with its pretty shell-like ridgings, is both graceful and practical, and also lithe and supple.

The armour of the second half of the fifteenth century is by far the most graceful of all the periods, combining beauty of form and contour with excellence of material and workmanship, together with an admirable adaptability for defence against the then existing weapons of attack. The main features of this remarkable period are the scalloped and shell-like form of some of the pieces. The *coudières* are excessively large, and channelled with a view to the lance glancing off them. *Sollerets* are à la *poulaine*; and the *tuille* is present. The helmet of this armour was the *sallad* with the *mentonnière*. An excellent English example may be seen on the brass of sir Robert Staunton at Castle Donnington (1458). There is a very instructive series of monumental effigies at Meissen, engraved by Hollis, of successive dukes of Saxony, showing the continuous advances in armour. Albert, who died in 1500, wears the *armet*, *pauldrons* with *passegardes*,¹⁰ and broad laminated *sollerets*. Another duke, who died seventeen years later, shows *tassets* of five lames, and 'bear-paw' *sollerets*. Duke Frederick, who died in 1539, shows *mitten gauntlets* of numerous narrow lames. *Scale armour* is but very rarely found in the fifteenth century.

Monograms are not often to be found on armour of English make, but they were common in Germany towards the end of the fifteenth century, when armour was occasionally inscribed with the year. The comparatively few instances of dated armour are intensely valuable, as we have then no inferences or doubtful ancestral legends, but the actual year of make. There is an idea I find generally prevailing that the stature of the men of the middle ages was shorter than now-a-days. After comparing many suits, both at home and abroad, I have come to the conclusion that this is not the case, but certainly the calf development is greater now. I could not fit my leg into any of the *jambes*.

From this time, end of fifteenth century, the changes were greatly matters of detail, the differences in suits being principally differences of form. *Épaulières* developed into *pauldrons*, which gradually increased in size, covering both shoulders and upper-arm, and at length extending over each breast, and then diminishing again in size. *Passegardes* were introduced to protect the neck from pike thrusts. There

¹⁰ *Passegardes* will be referred to fully under the section 'Maximilian Armour.'

are instances of them as early as the middle of the century. Sometimes they are double on each shoulder—see the brass at Qui, Cambridgeshire. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, or a few years earlier, the so-called ‘Milanese’ Maximilian armour superseded that termed ‘Gothic’ by the Germans—this armour (the Maximilian) was fluted everywhere except the jambs; pauldrons, with passegardes, and great ‘bear-paw’ or ‘cow-mouth’ sollerets. This style became *à la mode* in imitation of the prevailing fashion in dress, which was then largely puffed. The cuirass is shorter, globose, and the top cut straight. The head-piece was the armet. Sliding rivets (Almayne) gave increased elasticity to armour of this period.

It was soon found that arms of attack would not glance so well off the fluted suits, and smooth armour was again reverted to. Perhaps the only brass that is to be seen in Spain is a beautiful specimen of inlaid armour; the figure is of Don Parafan, duke of Alcola, who died in 1571. The passegarde has ceased, pauldrons extend almost over each breast, sollerets are the shape of the foot, and he wears a morion. The morion and cabasset were late sixteenth and seventeenth century helmets, while armets and burgonets were worn in the sixteenth.

By the end of the fifteenth century heavy tilting suits had attained their greatest strength, and as the sixteenth century advanced so did ornamentation. Under the emperor Maximilian skirts or petticoats of plate began to be worn—another illustration of the influence exercised on armour by the prevailing fashion in dress. These skirts were called bases or lamboys. There is an example in the Tower of London in a suit, I believe, presented to our Henry VIII. by Maximilian, and another on the Hertford tomb (1568). Horse armour had become highly decorated. Towards the end of this century, defensive armour had reached its highest point of development. Tassets gradually became lowered to cover the knee in a series of lobster shell plates. Jambs and sollerets were at length laid aside in favour of jack boots, and plate armour fell gradually into disuse, mainly owing to the new tactics rendered necessary by the general use of firearms and the growing desirability of lightly-armed squadrons and companies. There is almost nothing of plate armour of the fourteenth century remaining and but little of the fifteenth.

Now that the period of full white or plain armour has been roughly covered, I will, as already foreshadowed, follow the evolution of each important piece to its decadence, when hand-to-hand combats were rarer, and strategy in masses more developed; as the proud knight had at length become of minor importance as against the organized infantry which was now the strength of the battle; and when the use of various offensive weapons, especially the arquebus, became general. I have endeavoured to show the great influence exercised on defensive armour by the prevailing fashion in dress, by which some important pieces were sometimes rather weakened than otherwise. This mode of treating the subject will, I think, be clearer than any attempt made at elaborate contemporary classification as a whole. The suits before you and representative suits from local and foreign collections will be taken more or less in detail, thus showing the combinations of the various periods they represent; leaving a separate section for tilting suits, extra tilting pieces, and the tournament generally.

In speaking of English armour, it must always be remembered that even up to the time of Henry VIII. and the Field of the Cloth of Gold, this monarch and his predecessor, imported principally through the agency of Jews, or received in presents, numerous suits of armour, both for foot and horseback, from other countries, and notably from Germany; indeed, the trade in harnesses and arms formed a not inconsiderable item in the importations of the Hanseatic League. Not only was armour imported, but foreign smiths and artificers, principally of German nationality, known as *Almaine* armourers, were introduced. Exportation from England was not allowed without royal licence.

While gratefully acknowledging much information and infinite assistance from standard works, I have found many manifest errors, which have been both inherited and perpetuated, handed down, so to speak, through long generations of bookmaking. I have taken as little from books as possible, but have endeavoured by visiting many important collections, both at home and abroad, to compare, as far as I could, the types of fashion prevailing at the different periods, which, however, interweave among European nations, from the causes already referred to. The almost constant warfare, both in Germany and

Italy, during the middle ages naturally made the manufacture of armour more of a speciality in these countries than in England, and the effect of the Italian renaissance was especially seen in profuse and artistic ornamentation, which became at length more to be regarded even than strength itself—it was, in fact, a fine art. Much of the armour was covered with embossed figures, engraved, chased, and damascened with gold. The work of the Augsburg, Nuremburg, and Innsbruck armourers was nearly, if not quite, equal, both in design and workmanship, to that of Italy, and many historic suits until recently classed as Italian have been proved to be of German workmanship.

THE TOURNAMENT.

The word is derived from the French ‘*tournoyer*,’ to wheel round. Tournaments were first instituted as a training school for the practice of arms. Jousts or justs of peace (*hastiludia pacifica*) were single combats on horseback, and practised generally, especially in the earlier times, with blunted lances, for a prize or trial of skill, while the tourney was troop against troop. The sword was blunt and pointless, being often of whalebone covered with leather and silvered over. The length of the lance was about fourteen feet, the shaft being of ash. An ordinance of the thirteenth century provides that the lance should be blunted, but this being systematically evaded, another ordinance in the century following required the lance head to be in the form of a coronal. An early example of the coronal may be found in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. iv. p. 272. The courses to be run were generally three in number. ‘*Joustes à outrance*’ were to the death. They had their birth in Germany, in which country ‘tilting’ and ‘passages of arms’ prevailed as early as the ninth century; indeed, there was an important tournament at Strasburg in the year 842.¹¹ These warlike games, in spite of all precautions, were often attended with great loss of life, and as many as sixty knights have been put *hors de combat* at one passage of arms. They were always popular in France, and held there on a large scale. An excellent description of the arms and armour employed may be found in the *Tourney Book* of

¹¹ Nithard.

King René d'Anjou. The first regular tournament in England, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was held very early in the reign of Henry II., but its consequences were of such a nature as to induce that monarch, at the pressing instance of the priesthood, to forbid these games. So great, however, was their popularity that they continued to be held in spite of the king's fiat, but it was not before the reign of his heroic son that they became common, and were then kept in strict bounds by royal ordinances. Henry III. charges his subjects that they offend not by tourneying, and even as late as 1299 edicts were issued against the games. There were only five authorized centres for lists in England, and these were all south of the Trent. Tournaments in the northern counties required a special licence. Earls competing were obliged to pay twenty marks to the king, barons ten marks, and knights two to four marks, according to estates. Pluvinel, who wrote at the close of the reign of James I., says :—'There ought to be at each end of the lists a little scaffold, the height of the stirrup on which two or three persons can stand, viz., the knight, the armourer to arm him and his assistant, and hence he mounts his steed.' Froissart, who wrote towards the end of the fourteenth century, gives a graphic account of the tournament in his day. Judicial combats were common throughout the century.

I must confess to a lively partiality for sir Walter Scott's history, in spite of his facile imagination, and I think the graphic picture of 'The Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms' at Ashby-de-la Zouche, with 'La Roynne de la Beaulté et des Amours' gives as delightful an account of a tournament in the times of Richard Coeur de Lion, as needs be wished for. The gallant knights are distinguished by their belts and gilded spurs.

The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints, we trust.

Two grades of knights were instituted somewhat later—the banneret and the bachelor. The retinue of the former consisted of a minimum following of fifty men-at-arms, and the banneret had his banner as well as pennon. In the specification for arms and armour for the tournament of Windsor park (1278) we see what each suit

consisted of, viz., 'one coat of fence, one surcoat, one pair of ailettes, two crests (one for the horse), one shield (heraldically ensigned), one helm of leather (gilded or silvered), and one sword made of whale-bone.' The cost of each armament varied in price from about ten to thirty shillings. The shields were of wood, costing fivepence each. The total cost of the combined 38 armaments was about £80. Hewitt, in vol. iii. p. 509, refers to an elaborate treatise on tilting, written in the reign of the emperor Maximilian I., to distinguish the various modes 'where we have the Italian joust, the German joust, the *joûte à la haute barde*, the *joûte au harnois de jambe*, the *course italienne*, the *course appelée*,' etc., and there was the round-table game, etc. Tournaments had long ceased to be mere war games, but soon became even more dangerous than the battlefield.

Tilting continued in unabated vigour through the middle ages and the renaissance, and until the general use of firearms rendered such exercises no longer desirable.

The necessary limits of this paper will not admit of any detailed description of the many and curious rules, usages, and limitations, which were absolutely necessary for carrying on these dangerous games without great and unnecessary bloodshed and the loss of many valuable lives. Tournaments and tilting generally, were, however, rendered less dangerous than might have been expected by the addition of reinforcing armour, which pieces were screwed on over the more vulnerable places, mainly on the left side which received most of the blows; indeed, these extra pieces constituted a double-defence of iron, for the head, chest, and left shoulders. This was obviously necessary, when one considers the terrible impact of the lance in full career with the breastplate or helmet. These extra tilting pieces made their appearance in the reign of Edward IV.; the *garde-de-bras* was also added in his reign. It was early when suits of armour were made differently for battle and for tournaments, as William lord Bergavenny bequeathed to his son 'the best sword and harness for justs of peace and that which belong to war.'

Late in the fifteenth century there were complete tilting harnesses of such immense weight that a knight once unhorsed lay on the ground absolutely helpless, and often could not rise without assistance. His movements when on horseback were very restricted. These suits

were of such resisting power as to give practical immunity to the wearers so far as wounds were concerned ; they were far too heavy to be used in the *mêlée*, as being hurled from the saddle in such an armament was dangerous to life itself. A tilting harness with the Nuremburg mark, in the splendid collection at that city, is of immense weight and strength, and the example is specially valuable, as the date 1498 is inscribed on the cuirass. It has a volant-piece with placat or grande-garde, garde-de-bras for the lower arm and gauntlet in one piece, large spiked roundels (indicating exactly the period), lance rest, abdominal pieces and an extra heavy piece to protect the leg in collision with the barriers of the lists, taces, garde-de-cuisse, very heavy and solid, all attachable by screw and nut, great helm with horizontal bars. The tassets are laminated in this suit, and solid in another alongside of it. These harnesses are very easily recognizable by their great weight and thickness, and especially by the ponderous lance rest. The breastplate is flat on the right side to make room for it. The lower portion of this heavy armour was often fastened to the saddle. The pieces were fastened together by very strong screws. The knight could barely move in the saddle, and could only guide his horse and aim his lance. There is an account of a tournament held in the reign of Henry VIII. in the tournament roll preserved in the Heralds' college. The challengers (*Les Tenantz*), among whom was the king, numbered four. The challenged (*Les Venantz*) were nine in number.

There is an instructive series of reinforcing pieces for the tournament in the national museum at Munich. These belong to a splendid suit that was worn by the prince bishop of Salzburg (*Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau*), which will be described later. The pieces are for man and horse, the former were to screw on to the ordinary armour, to protect the body from the lance charge. The grande-garde, which is the placat, protects breast and left shoulder ; while the large vamplate of the lance shields the right side. The earliest form was simply a small roundel for the hand. The large vamplate was introduced in the fourteenth century. The heavy volant-piece is to screw on in front of the helmet—holes for vision exist on the right side only. The garde-de-bras is an additional protection for the left arm to the elbow-piece, to which it is fastened by a screw ; and the garde-de-

cuisse renders the upper leg absolutely invulnerable. The cabasset with the suit is a light helmet without flaps. The chanfrein, the steel mask for the horse's face, is strong and heavy. A projection called the queue, screwed on to the back plate, supports the butt-end of the lance. The suit and all the pieces are richly inlaid with gold, with the bishop's arms engraved on the breastplate. A representation and further description of this beautiful harness will be found later in these pages. There is a suit very similar in form and details of the pieces, in the Töihus, Copenhagen ; but the ornamentation is much bolder, having the thistle as its theme throughout. It is of French make. As in the Alnwick suit, the cuisses are in two parts, one being detachable ; and if I remember rightly the taces bear evidence of missing detachable portions. An interesting feature of this suit is that the lance rest is so adapted as to be capable of being either raised or lowered.

DETAILS OF DEFENSIVE PLATE ARMOUR.—THE GREAT HELM.

The real great helm dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but was rarely seen except in tournaments after the fourteenth century. It has been described in a previous section. It was replaced for fighting purposes by the visored bassinet, the movable aventail being added about the reign of Edward II.

The great jousting helm of the fifteenth century was made wide, very strong, heavy and large, and generally had an aperture on the left side, as in their career the knights passed each other on that side. It was crested, and rested on the shoulders, being attached to the body armour by screws front and rear. Many were very fantastic in shape. The top is flatter, and ocularium wider, than in the older forms. It fitted close to the scalp. The plates meet sharply in front, producing a ridge, the higher end forming a beak-like projection. It fell into disuse during the reign of Henry VIII.

THE BASSINET.

This helmet was round or conical, with a pointed apex. The large bassinet of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was very similar in all the countries of chivalry. It fitted close to the head, and was covered by the great helm in tilting. Before the visor appeared it was often fitted with a detachable nasal. As soon as the

helm became visored, say in the first half of the fourteenth century (see an example in Alvechurch, Worcester) it assumed a great variety of form, and often projected to a point like a beak. Other forms were concave, convex, and angular. Most of these forms may be seen in Stothard. There was also the small bassinet or cervelière, sometimes called cerebrerium. It was sometimes worn under the hood, with a small quilted cap next the head. In the reign of Henry V., the bassinet became more like the sallad. The effigy of the Black Prince shows how the camail was attached to the bassinet by a silken lace through staples.

THE SALLAD.

Visored sallads with a peak behind and slits for vision appear in the reign of Henry VI. The form is a low obtuse oval, ridged in the middle—it was never used as an under helmet. It was generally associated with armour of the second half of the fifteenth century, and always used with the mentonnière. The distinguishing feature is the neck guard, which rests between the shoulders. It was worn at an angle so that the ocularium came in the direct line of vision, and had often a movable visor. An example of the time of the Roses hangs in St. Mary's hall, Coventry. The earliest example of this form of helmet in England, that I know of, may be seen on a brass of sir Robert Staunton, at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire, who died in 1458.

CASQUETELLE.

A small helmet without bevor or visor, with a projecting umbril and flexible plate to protect the neck—the term is often applied to the part of an armet or close helmet going round the head.

ARMET AND CLOSE HELMET.

This is the most perfect form of helmet and the most familiar, so much so indeed as to render any description almost unnecessary. Its form is globular with a guard for the back of the neck, and in front round the chin is the bevor. This space between this piece and the rim of the casquetelle is filled in by a movable visor, which is pierced with narrow openings for vision and air. It thus consists of three pieces—the skull piece, the visor, and the bevor—the visor was either

in one piece or two. English armets date from the last decade of the fifteenth century, perhaps a little later. They were to be met with in Germany as early as the middle of that century. It is impossible to make much distinction between the armet and close helmet, which latter was the improved armet of the sixteenth century. Camails were sometimes used with the earliest form of armet.

BURGONET.

This is a helmet of the sixteenth century with a hollow ledge at the bottom, which fitted into the corresponding part of the gorget. It was made in close imitation of the head, and in either three or four parts. It is in fact a conical cap, with a laminated neckpiece and oreillettes. This helmet was designed to meet a defect in the armet, for there was a weak place, where the casque came in contact with the body armour.

MORION, CABASSET, AND CASQUE.

The morion first appeared in England in the reign of Henry VI. It was introduced into Europe by the Spaniards, who got the design from the Moors. It is an oval helmet, and has a large comb-like crest and almost semicircular brim, peaked at both ends. The cabasset is a helmet similar in character to the morion; it is sometimes with and sometimes without back and front peaks and oreillettes or ear flaps of steel. Both varieties were worn for foot fighting, and are often lighter than earlier helmets, and usually richly engraved. The baron de Cosson says* that "the cabasset first appears in an ordonnance of Francis I., who orders that men at arms wear the armet, light horse the sallad, and 'les arquebusiers seulement le cabasset pour viser mieux, et avoir la tête plus délivre.' The cabasset did not impede the aim, and was therefore the proper head piece of the musketeer." Casques are open helmets like the others, and of classical design.

GORGET AND MENTONNIÈRE OR BAVIER (BEVOR).

The mentonnière was used specially with the sallad—it fastens on to the breastplate by a staple and cusped catch. The upper portion, to cover the mouth and chin, is of laminated plates, which

* *Helmets and Mail*, p. 84.

move up and down at pleasure, but always from below. This piece is generally omitted in effigies, for obvious reasons, but there is an example on a brass already referred to at Qui, Cambridgeshire, of a date near the middle of the fifteenth century. The actual piece is of course to be seen on almost any suit of the period. A necklace of mail, called a standard of mail, was often worn over the plate at the neck at this period. Its object seems to have been to prevent the penetration of a lance.

The gorget, first of mail or scale work, and later of plate, is the piece for the neck, going all round towards the shoulders and closing with sliding rivets. This piece prevailed up to the decadence and after.

THE CUIRASS.

The cuirass consists of breastplate and backplate, which are usually fastened together by straps and buckles, but they are sometimes fastened by screws, especially for the tournament. It was probably introduced into England in the reign of Henry V., and its form is an excellent guide as to date. The word itself, or rather its prototype, 'quirettæ,' occurs in a roll of purchases preserved in the Tower of London (1278). The armour for the breast was considered next in importance to that for the head, and inventories of the fifteenth century frequently refer to 'pairs of plates, large, globose,' which sufficiently indicate the period. The breastplate of the fourteenth century was without the salient ridge in front called the tapul. My friend the rev. T. N. Roberts, vicar of Cornforth, co. Durham, to whom I am indebted for several hints, reminds me that it is difficult to say whether it is correct to speak of the fourteenth century breastplate as a cuirass or not. In effigies, brasses and illuminations this part of the armour is always concealed by the jupon. When the jupon disappeared (*temp.* Henry V.) the breastplate is revealed always in two pieces; afterwards (*temp.* Edward IV.) in only one piece, as a true cuirass. Baron de Cosson says that on a monument in Ash church, Kent (dating about 1335), the lacing of the surcoat at the side permits the body defences to be seen, 'rectangular plates like tiles rivetted into a flexible garment.' He also says that the only remains of an actual cuirass of fourteenth century date were found at the castle

of Tannenberg. The figure of St. George in the cathedral square at Prague has a flexible garment covered with very small rectangular plates like tiles, and over this a breastplate—not a complete cuirass. All this leads one to suppose that fourteenth-century breastplates were not cuirasses so much as additional plates of various shapes over the hauberk, the skirts of which always appear below the jupon on effigies, etc., of the fourteenth century. The tapul first appeared in the fifteenth century—this ridge after being discontinued reappears later, when it often swelled out to a hump, either over or below the navel. This indeed was a decided feature of the second half of the sixteenth century, when it had often one overlapping plate under the arm. Occasionally it was provided with transverse bars, forming a cross. The German type is very beautiful, and is usually in three plates, the second rising to a point in the middle of the breast, and the third running nearly parallel with it and converging to a point below it. At the top of the breast is a socket for attachment to the mentonnière by a cusp-headed bolt. The English form of the fifteenth century is usually in two plates, as in the Redmarshal and Downes effigies.

The lance rest is on the right breast, and on the left are screw holes for the tilting placcate or grande-garde when this is used. The Maximilian form, which followed the Gothic, is sometimes in one piece with the taces and more globular in character. In the sixteenth century the cuirass is lower and flatter, and cut straight at the top, with the tapul already mentioned. It is also provided with a ridge along the top and armholes for turning a stroke, and has often a single lamination round the arm holes. In the seventeenth century the breastplate becomes very flat and very short.

ÉPAULIÈRES AND PAULDRONS.

It is not easy to follow the development of épaulières in the earlier stages, as the shoulders on monumental effigies about the middle of the fourteenth century are usually draped by the surcoat, but the principle of laminated or overlapping plates, so early applied to sollerets, was not long in being extended to the upper arm and shoulder, where special mobility for striking and parrying was so

needful, indeed we have instances of articulated épaulières before the close of that period. These pieces, at their highest development, were admirably adapted for giving great freedom to the arm. Plates over the shoulders, as distinctive from ailettes, first appeared in England very early in the fourteenth century, but they were merely roundels or discs. Articulations, as already mentioned, came a little later. A brass of a knight of the Cuttes family in Arkesdon church, Essex (1440), is a good example of what may be termed the development of épaulières into pauldrons. Passe-gardes, generally applied to 'Maximilian' armour, are really to be found occasionally much earlier, as an example in Southerly church (1479) shows.¹² The Beauchamp brass figure at Warwick (1439) shows the passe-garde, but the general character of the armour indicates a later date of make. Pauldrons were attached to the gorget or cuirass by straps and buckles, and consisted of shoulder plates in successive lames over the shoulders and upper arm. In armour of the second half of the fifteenth century the upper plate scarcely reached beyond the shoulder, while in 'Maximilian' and later armour, they came well over the chest, assuming a resting-wing-like form before and behind. They were sometimes very large and uneven in size, that for the right arm being the smaller, for using the lance. There are instances in the sixteenth century where gorget and pauldrons are joined together in one piece. This is the case in armour called 'allectret.' In the second half of the sixteenth century pauldrons were often smaller and wingless.

PALETTES, ROUNDELS, OR DISCS

were plates attached to the armour, variously applied for the shoulders or any weak places, later specially to defend the armpits, and leave the arms free to parry or strike. They appear very early and may be seen freely and beautifully applied on a figure in Alvechurch, Worcestershire, of the earlier half of the fourteenth century. They vary very much in size, and in armour of the next century were very handsome, being ridged throughout, with scalloped flutings, and often charged with a heraldic rose, and sometimes spiked in the centre. They became very large in tilting suits, little short of a foot in diameter. The earliest application of these discs was to the elbow guard.

¹² Hewitt

REREBRACE, COUDIÈRES, AND VAMBRACE.

These pieces are the armguards—the rerebrace for the upper arm, and vambrace for the lower—they first appear in plate in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and this became general a quarter of a century later. The coudières, for the elbows, first appeared early in the thirteenth century, about the same time as genouillières for the knees : and these pieces exhibit the earliest application of plate to body armour. Both may be seen on an effigy of William Longespée the younger (1233) in Salisbury cathedral. The coudières are elementary in the early stages, with roundel, then cup-formed and laminated both above and below the elbow with shell-like side expansions to protect the inner bend of the arm, and later going all round the elbow joint. This was the completed form, but all these improvements did not come at once. The De Bohun effigy exhibits the second mentioned form. The outer guard assumes many forms, fan-shaped, bivalve, escalloped, etc. The rerebrace and vambrace do not appear in England before the fourteenth century. The effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury exhibits these pieces. The garde-de-bras, an additional protection for the left arm for tilting, attachable to the elbow plate by a screw, was introduced in the fifteenth century.

GAUNTLETS.

The earliest form after chain-mail was of cuir-bouilli, both plain and fortified with scale work, and such largely prevailed in the thirteenth century. The earliest form of plate gauntlets occurs in the middle of the fourteenth century, and had articulated fingers ; after which mitten gauntlets of laminated plates, with a separate thumb guard and peaked cuffs, prevailed. Early in the fifteenth century we find an attempt made to copy the finger nails. Late in the fifteenth century the earlier form with articulated fingers was reverted to. Gadlings, or knuckle and finger spikes, were in vogue throughout the century (fifteenth)—a truly dangerous weapon of offence for the *mêlée*. Again, later we have the fingers covered with overlapping plates, very narrow and flexible. Another form is the elbow gauntlet. We have a pair in our collection at the Castle. A locking gauntlet was invented in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the object

of which was to prevent the weapon from being knocked out of the hand, to which it was fastened by a hook and staple. This gauntlet was often barred in single combats. There is an example of this contrivance in a suit in the Tower of London.

TACES, TUILLES, TASSETS, BRAYETTE, AND GARDE-DE-REINE OR
RUMP GUARD.

Taces were the laminated plates at the bottom of the cuirass, and to these the tuilles or upper thigh guards were attached by straps and buckles. Before the introduction of tuilles it was common to wear mail below the taces often with scalloped edges, but there was often the lower portion of a shirt of mail still worn beneath the cuirass. Taces usually consisted of three and sometimes of five and even of eight lames, as noticeable in the brass of sir John Lysle (died 1407), whose armament is entirely of plate; but early examples are in one piece, and indeed late examples also. In the centre was a space for the brayette or cod piece; but this was mostly used after the introduction of tassets. An early example with taces only is to be found on the brass of sir John Drayton, but part of the lower portion is missing. Laminated taces first appear late in the fourteenth century; the brass of Nicholas Hawberk (died 1406), at Cobham, is an example. Almayne rivets gave great elasticity to the armour. The tuille is peculiar to armour dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century; it is a pointed and an scalloped shell or tile-like plate in one piece, extending down so as to cover the top of the cuisse, and was attached to the taces as a guard against an underthrust of the sword. There is an early example in the brass of John Leventhorpe, in Sawbridgeworth church, Hertfordshire (1433). It lingered long in England, as shown in the Stanley and Lementhorp brasses in Westminster abbey and Great St. Helen's church, 1505 and 1510 respectively. The Beauchamp effigy (1439) shows four tuilles. Tassets followed on these pieces, though for a time contemporaneous. They were practically the same piece as the tuille in laminated plates, but were generally attached directly to the bottom rim of the cuirass, taces being then usually dispensed with, unless in one plate, forming the connecting link. It was not uncommon to find them in two parts during the second half of the sixteenth century, as shown in the

Alnwick example (fig. 13). Tassets gradually increased in length as time went on until they reached over the knees, forming then the *cuisse* itself of laminated plates. This was the last stage before the introduction of the jackboot. The *garde-de-reine* was a projecting piece attached to the rim of the backplate—it was of overlapping plates, and protected the rump and small of the back.

CUISSE, GENOUILLIÈRE, AND JAMB.

Up to and somewhat beyond the Conquest there was probably little or no leg armour in England other than thongs, but there are early German examples. Soon after the Conquest *cuir-bouilli* was largely used, and this was followed by stockings of mail and *sollerets* of the same, as may be seen on the seals of Richard I. Even up to the middle of the fourteenth century it continued common in England to wear these pieces in chain-mail with attachable *genouillères*. An example of this kind may be seen on the effigy of Robert de Vere (died 1221) in Hatfield Broad Oak church.

The *cuisse* was the piece going round the front of the lower thigh, fastened by strap and buckle. It first appeared in France and England in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and became general towards the close. In armour of the latter half of the fifteenth century it was often embellished by consecutive triangular laminations at the top. In the second half of the sixteenth century it was sometimes in two detachable pieces.

Genouillères (defences for the knee) were the first body pieces of plate, except perhaps the *plastron-de-fer* or breastplate, and *condière*. They first appear in the thirteenth century—an example about 1250 is figured in plate xxx. of Stothard. The side of the knee became further protected by roundels late in the century, and from that time these appendages become more ornate and comprehensive. As soon as plate armour was completed *genouillères* became articulated both above and below the knee. In armour of the second half of the fifteenth century they are specially beautiful, assuming a shell-like form, often bivalve, with scalloped edges and flutings. The *chausse* or shin piece was used in chain-mail, indeed earlier still in fortified leather, and early in the fourteenth century it became plate and was termed *jamb*, first only in front attached by strap and buckle, and

later going round the leg hinged and fastened by sliding rivets. The inventory of Piers Gaveston (1313) catalogues 'three pairs of hinged jambs.' These pieces were generally plain. Both they and sollerets disappeared with the advent of the jackboot.

SOLLERETS.

Sollerets are a better guide as to date of armour than gauntlets, particularly after the fourteenth century, for reasons given under the head of the last named. The first sollerets of overlapping plates were of extravagant length. This form followed the prevailing fashion in shoes, and hence the name 'à la poulaine,' from 'souliers à la poulaine.' The long form was much modified during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth, but it reappeared later in the century again with enormous tips, the length from toe to heel being up to twenty-four inches. The instep of chain-mail was not uncommon in the fourteenth century. The sollerets of the Black Prince were of enormous length. The tips could, however, be disconnected at pleasure. The shorter form was styled 'demi-poulaine,' or 'ogivale lancette.' A variety called 'ogivale tiers-point' largely prevailed in the second half of the fifteenth century. When ridged and scalloped armour was replaced by Maximilian, sollerets were wide and short, in fact the shape of a bear's paw or cow's mouth, spreading out at the sides, and requiring very broad stirrups; but when fluted armour was discontinued the shape became gradually narrower, and at last more like that of the foot. This variety was styled 'bec-de-cane,' which differs, however, from the 'tiers-point' of the fifteenth century. Sollerets disappeared altogether with the jamb, the jackboot taking their place.¹³

SHIELDS.

The triangular shield appears in the twelfth century. Shields of the thirteenth century and later have been briefly referred to in the text, but some further reference to these defences cannot properly be omitted; though this subject is far too voluminous for more

¹³ Like many classifications of the kind, this is rather arbitrary, as we have many late instances of 'bear-paw' sollerets.

than the very roughest outline in these already far too extended pages, written for a publication in which space is necessarily very limited. Pavises were very large shields to be placed before the bowmen as a defence ; and were provided with an inner prop to hold them upright on the ground. As to ordinary shields, most of the thirteenth-century forms extended into the fourteenth ; when the bouche, or hole cut in the right corner as a spear rest, was introduced. They were pear-shaped, triangular, heart-shaped, circular, and sometimes nearly square. The material was generally of wood or leather, or both combined ; the latter often embossed. They were more or less fortified, and sometimes partly or wholly of iron. For tyros, basket-work was used. Shields generally bore a heraldic device, or other cognizance ; and were frequently curved, bossed, and spiked. The usual shield of a knight of the fifteenth century had the bouche ; was convex, and about two and a half feet long, by about a third of that broad, and pointed at the bottom. In the sixteenth century ordinary shields were seldom used, but an immense amount of fine artistic work was lavished on the pageant shields of that period.

‘GOTHIC’ ARMOUR 1450-1500.

The Gothic¹⁴ school, as the Germans term it, exhibits the highest embodiment of artistic beauty as applied to defensive armour. The armourers’ best efforts were directed not only to give increased protection to the limbs and make the armour flexible and impenetrable, but also to produce beauty of form and outline. We owe the initiation to Germany, in which country it reached its highest pitch of excellence. Gothic armour is greatly associated with the sallad, large mentonnière, tuilles, sollerets à la poulaine and ogivale lancette. The cuirass is decorative and long—it has been fully described under the heading devoted to this piece. There is an English example of this style of armour on a brass in St. Mary’s church, Thame, Oxfordshire, about 1460 ; and another on the effigy of sir Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in St. Mary’s church, Warwick ; and there are some suits in the Tower of London. There are only few Gothic suits pre-

¹⁴ The designation ‘Gothisch’ (Gothic) seems as ridiculous and inappropriate when applied to armour as to architecture.

served in this country ; our practical people having used so many up as old iron, just as they let the weather into our fine abbeys and churches by tearing off the roof-lead for the melting pot. I shall describe in detail, and give an illustration of this style in its greatest purity from an example in the collection at Sigmaringen castle, the cradle of the Hohenzollerns.

Transitional Gothic, where laminated tassets replace tuilles and merge into the next stage in various ways, is also very beautiful. In both varieties you have lovely scalloped and fluted roundels, often charged with a heraldic rose. A fine example of this description may be seen in the national museum at Munich. In other countries, especially England, France, and Scandinavia, armour of this period of home manufacture, if it may be called so, was plainer, with the details more mixed and uncertain. In the English form the cuirass is usually either in one or two plates. A description and illustration of such a suit in my own collection follows in its order.

SIGMARINGEN SUIT.

This beautiful Gothic suit (fig. 3) is said to have belonged to one of the counts of Hohenzollern-Eitel. Demmin refers to it as being erroneously ascribed to Eitel Frederick I. of the thirteenth century. This must be a mistake, as there were no counts of Hohenzollern-Eitel then ! There were two Eitel Fredericks in the fifteenth century. On consulting the *Stammbaum* at Hohenzollern I found that :—

Eitel Frederick I.	reigned	1426-1439.
Jost Nicolaus I.	„	1439-1488.
Eitel Frederick II.	„	1488-1512.

And the character of the armour conforms to the reign of the last named. There was no later 'Eitel Frederick.'

The sallad is very heavy and of the usual German form. There are traces of leather lining, and besides the ocularium are two small holes above the forehead. The mentonnière is fastened to the breast-plate by a cusped clasp ; it can be raised or lowered at pleasure, and there is a spring catch for the purpose. The cuirass is most elegant in shape, consisting of three plates, the two lower slightly overlapping, leaving a decorative margin and converging to points along the tapul

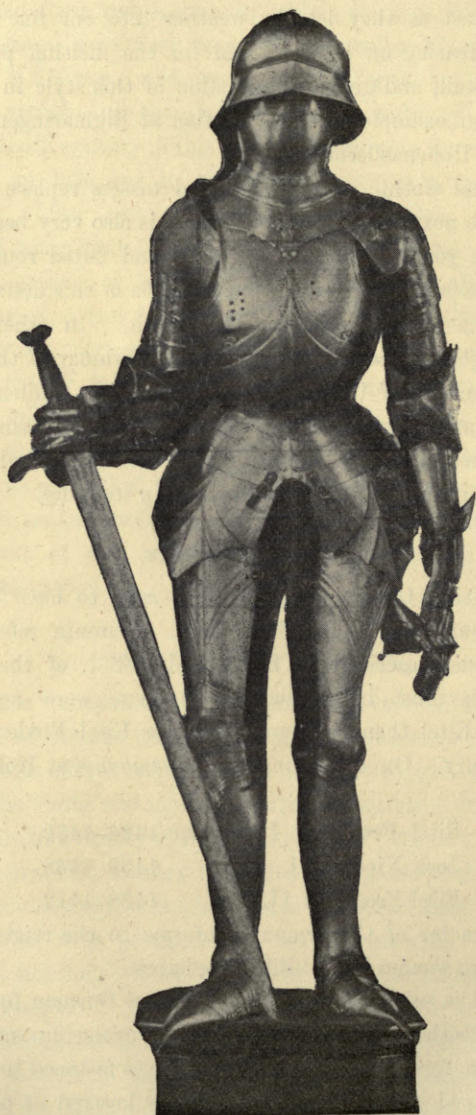


FIG. 3.—SIGMARINGEN SUIT.

at the breastbone and below. The lower plates are rivetted and add both strength and elasticity to the piece. There are holes on the right breast for fixing the lance rest; and on the left are two holes for fastening on a *grande-garde* for tilting. The taces consist of three lames, and to these the *tuilles* are attached by straps and buckles. The *tuilles* are very graceful, with angular flutings, and terminate in a point. The *cuisse*s are decorative, and the *jamb*s hinged. The *genouillières* are small, with bivalve guards. The *pauldrons* and *rerebraces* are laminated; the *coudières* pointed and held in their places by straps. The *roundels* are unfortunately missing. The *gauntlets* are articulated, with sharp *gadlings* over the knuckles and first finger joints. The *garde-de-reine* consists of three lames. The *sollerets* are à la *poulaine* in an extreme form, but the tips can be disconnected at pleasure for foot fighting. The lower part of the body is protected by a skirt of mail. I could find no armourer's mark, but judge the suit to be of either Nuremburg or Augsburg make.

MAXIMILIAN ARMOUR (ERRONEOUSLY CALLED MILANESE), 1493-1540.

Gothic armour underwent a great change about the end of the fifteenth century, during the reign of the emperor Maximilian (died 1519), when fluted armour came into general use. The helmet, the *armet*, is nearly as much associated with Maximilian armour as the *sallad* is with Gothic. There are suits of this armour in the Tower of London presented by the emperor Maximilian to our Harry the eighth. As already mentioned, a very distinctive feature of this period, which lasted only four decades, is the skirt of mail called 'bases' or 'lamboys,' which resembles a full gathered petticoat or kilt.

I give an illustration (fig. 4) of a typical suit in the Munich collection. The details are as follows, and bear out the general description of the class already given in these notes:—

The suit is fluted throughout, except the *jamb*s, which are nearly always plain. The helmet is the *armet*, and this example sufficiently indicates the date of the armour; both form and workmanship are good. Instead of the large Gothic *mentonnière*, there is a *gorget* and throat guard. The *pauldrons*, which are uneven in size, are sur-

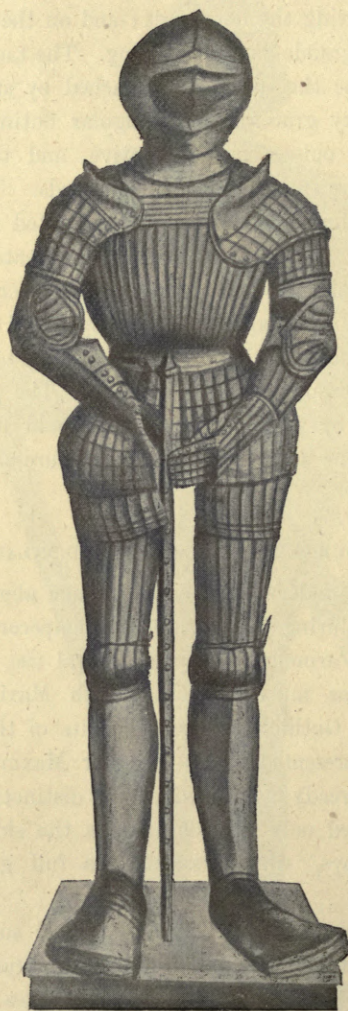


FIG. 4.—MAXMILIAN SUIT.—MUNICH.

mounted by *passe-gardes*; the left pauldron is the larger. These pieces consist of front and back plates, an innovation of the sixteenth century. The cuirass is shorter than the Gothic form, globular and cut straight at the top. The backplate terminates in a *garde-de-reine* of three lames. Gauntlets are of the mitten type, with narrower lames than in the form immediately preceding. The *coudières* are pointed over the elbow joint, with bivalve guards. *Taces* and *tassets* are in one piece and laminated, with a space in the centre for the insertion of the *brayette* or *cod* piece. The *armet* collar is laminated behind. The *sollerets* are of the 'bear-paw' form. The armour bears the Augsburg mark.

There is a remarkably fine suit of Maximilian armour in the 'Königl. Bayer. Armee-Museum' at Munich. It is not, however, quite such a characteristic example as the one already given, inasmuch as the pauldrons, besides not being winged, are without *passe-gardes*. The armpits are protected by spiked roundels. In all other respects this suit is identical with the one preceding.

DEFENSIVE ARMOUR, 1550-1620, AND TO THE END.

Defensive armour underwent a great change about the middle of the sixteenth century, viz., in the casting aside of fluted armour, for the reasons already stated, and the resumption of plain steel. The second half of the century was specially remarkable for profuse and artistic ornamentation. Armour was engraved by hand and manipulated with *aqua-fortis*, as well as embossed and damascened with gold, in a manner that has never been surpassed in any work of the kind whatever. I give descriptions in detail and illustrations of inlaid and *repoussé* suits, as well as of a plain suit, all of the second half of the sixteenth century. During this half century (sixteenth) defensive armour may be said, in many respects, to have reached the highest point of excellence; but towards its close unmistakable signs of decadence began to appear, and *cap-a-pie* suits fell gradually into disuse. This was caused by the inability of the armour to resist the then more penetrating firearms, or perhaps even still more, because the newer tactics demanded fighting more in masses and less from individual efforts hand to hand. *Tassets* were gradually lengthened

until they became cuisses of laminated plates, extending over the knees ; and the jackboot replaced the jamb of steel and solleret. A style of armour called the 'allecret' largely prevailed during the second half of the sixteenth century. The name is a corruption of 'alle-kraft' (all strength). The peculiarities of this fashion will be shown in an example from my own collection, which will be fully described later in these notes. This half armour was often worn by household troops and leaders of companies. It is very common to find, especially in family collections, some particular suit or suits ascribed to a great ancestor, but this is nearly always romance. It is an uncommon advantage to find a harness dated with the year, as some few are. There is a typical suit of this kind in the national museum, Munich, with the date 1597 inscribed. The burgonet of the suit has perpendicular bars, tapul with a hump over the abdomen, tassets transformed into cuisses to the knees. The more I see of armour, 1560-1600, the more I become impressed with the difficulty, in many cases, of fixing any approximate date, or arriving at any standard for suits covered by the period. Many suits were restored again and again, and this naturally gives rise to great perplexity. The change in armour during the first half of the seventeenth century was very great. The breastplate became flat and very short, and open helms were much worn.

Plate armour fell into discredit during the seventeenth century, and gradually disappeared. The cuirass was the last piece generally worn, and this in time gave place, except in the case of the cuirassiers, to the buff coat and jerkin.

ITALIAN ARMOUR.

The harness already referred to (fig. 5) worn by the prince bishop of Salzburg about 1600 is a beautiful suit by the Milan armourer, Lucio Piccinino. It is profusely inlaid with gold and the ornamentation is most chaste and elegant. Space will not admit of full details, indeed as regards form there is no special feature—the helmet and suit throughout is closely in touch with the elegant Italian school of the end of the sixteenth century. About this time many suits were made for both battle and tilting—a suite of

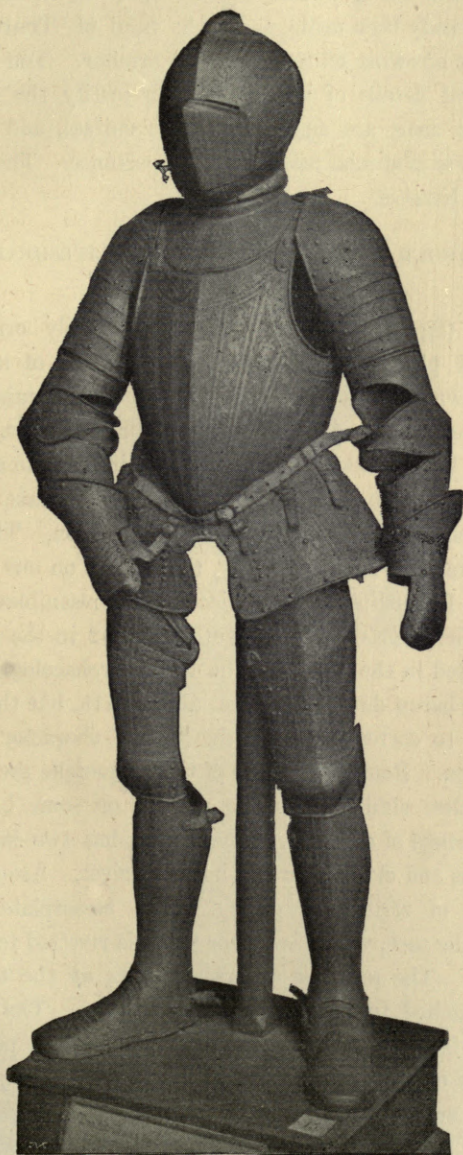


FIG. 5.—THE PRINCE BISHOP'S SUIT.

reinforcing pieces being added for the latter as in this instance. Mention has already been made under the head of 'Tournaments' of these pieces for screwing on to the other armour. You will observe that the general details of the illustration justify the date. The prince bishop's arms are engraved on the cuirass, and its historic character lends to it special interest and importance. The armourer's name is on the harness.

ARMOUR AT SOUTHDENE TOWER, GATESHEAD.

PLAIN SUIT, 1490-1520.

This suit (fig. 6) is severely plain, the only ornamentation being a ridged piping. Like almost all harnesses of its period it must tell its own tale, as there can be little else to guide us. The armet is in three pieces—the casquetelle, visor and bevor. The visor works on large brass rosettes—it projects out in front to a sharp edge down the centre and is bevelled in four slightly concave sections, in each of which are four narrow slits for air and vision. The ornamentation on the rosettes is cut unevenly, the section on one being much the smallest. In outline the headpiece closely resembles one in the collection of the baron de Cosson, No. 43, fig. 42 in the catalogue of helmets exhibited in the rooms of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1880. The baron dates his helmet about 1515, but this would be somewhat late to correspond with the general character of the suit under discussion. Round the edges of the casquetelle are a series of small twin holes, similar to those present on some bassinets, for attaching the rings of a camail. The gorget has two lames for the neck, and opens and closes by a slip-hole and rivet. Around the rim are two rows of string-like piping. The breastplate is slightly globular, and the tace, which is in one piece, is rivetted to the bottom of the cuirass. The tace has a narrow piping at the top, and the tuilles are attached to it by straps and buckles. The tuille is in four shell-like bevils and terminates in a point. The pauldrons are attached to the cuirass by straps, and piping goes all along the edges: the chest ends are bent outwards. The rerebrace is freely laminated. The coudières are round over the elbow joints, and have a straight heart-formed guard. The gauntlets have a long wrist guard and are of the mitten type, without finger articulation, but with a separate

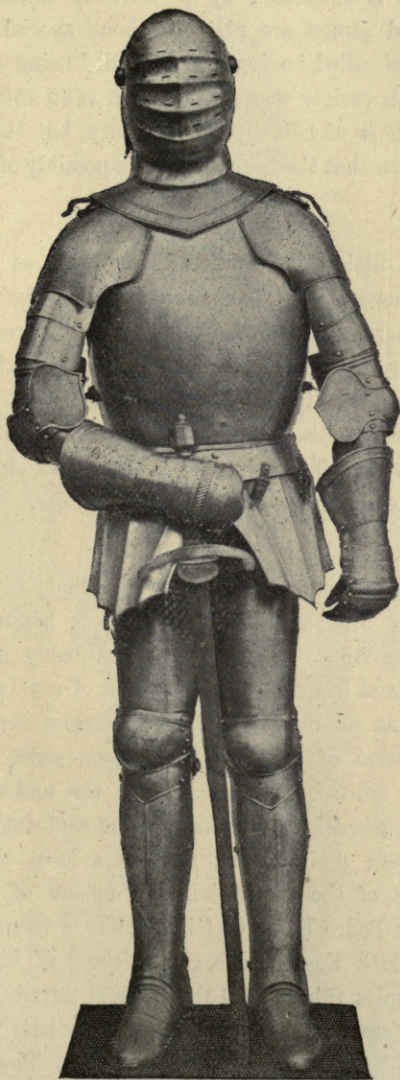


FIG. 6.—THE PLAIN SUIT AT SOUTH DENE TOWER, GATESHEAD.

thumb guard. Across the knuckles is a broad fluted projection. The lower body is protected by a skirt of chain-mail. Cuisses, genouillières, and jamba are plain, without special features. The sollerets are those called 'ogivale tiers point,' being nearly the shape of the foot, which variety was greatly worn 1460-1500. The general aspect of the suit is of late fifteenth century, but the tuille lingered long in England, so that the harness is quite possibly of early sixteenth-century make.

ITALIAN MODEL SUIT.

This perfect little suit has doubtless served as a model in the workshop of some great Italian armourer, and the style and finish could not do otherwise than reflect the greatest credit on his work. The harness is profusely and tastefully engraved with a foliated style of ornamentation. The helmet is flat-topped, with a grated visor and has a collar. There is a heraldic device, on a shield ground, in the centre of the tapul. The figure has a triangular shield. The style of engraving fixes the date within narrow limits.

THE OSUNA SUIT.

This is highly characteristic of the period it represents. The armour is freely ornamented in repoussé or hammered work, and bears traces of gilding. The suit was probably made in Italy, is very handsome, and has seen much service. I say 'probably made in Italy,' because, as previously mentioned, recent investigations have shown that several of the finest European suits, formerly classed as Italian, have since been proved to be the make of Nuremburg, Augsburg or Innsbruck armourers. Being well authenticated it has a special interest; and forming part of a local collection as well, a full statement of the details will not be out of place. The suit belonged to Don Pedro Fellez de Giron, duke of Osuna and Infantado, knight of the Black Eagle order, etc., viceroy of Sicily about 1600, and later of Naples (about 1610). It was saved from the fire at the old Giron family seat in Belgium—the castle of Beauraing, in the province of Namur, not far from Dinant. The place was burnt on the 3rd December, 1890, at half-past ten in the morning.

DETAILS.

The whole suit (fig. 7) is freely ornamented with arabesques, banded in the Italian style, interspersed with human heads, some of

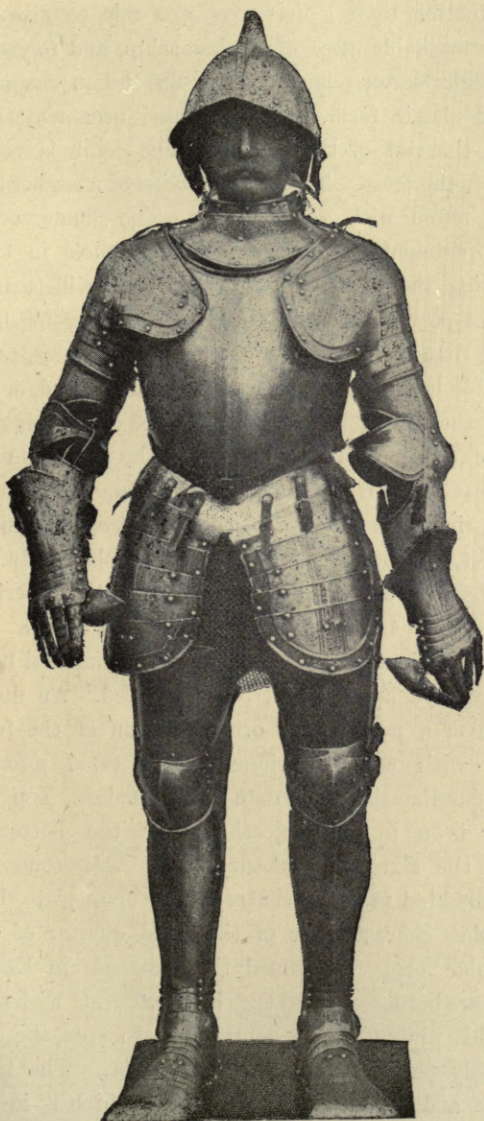


FIG. 7.—THE OSUNA SUIT AT SOUTHdene TOWER, GATESHEAD.

them grotesque ; and a series of armed figures, which demand a much closer examination than I have yet been able to give them. The helmet is a remarkable piece of workmanship, and forged in a single piece—it weighs seven pounds. It is an Italian casque of a most graceful and classic form. The repoussé ornamentation on it is banded like the rest of the armour. The comb is very high and fluted all over the crest. There are remains of a leather lining inside, fastened all round with gilded rivets. The plume socket has two holes for adjustment ; and there is another hole in the comb for firmly securing the plume of feathers. The oreillettes are provided with six holes on one side and three on the other for hearing ; and have each a round projecting eye, with fluted edges, presumably an attachment for keeping the flaps up when not required, or for fastening them across the throat. Both peaks are of overlapping plates, with fluted borders. A very similar helmet, in the possession of the baron de Cosson, was ascribed by him to 1530-1540. He writes concerning it :—‘ Many rich suits had one of these light open helmets as well as a close helmet, a fact proved by existing examples at Madrid and elsewhere.’ I have myself quoted an example in the description of the suit of the prince bishop of Salzburg, which has a close helmet and a kind of morion. The gorget has an ornamental border. Both breastplate and backplate are freely decorated. An illustration follows (fig. 8) of a part of the ornamentation of the former, which is provided with a tapul ridge. This tapul affords excellent data for approximating the date of the suit. You will observe that there is a hump projection near the bottom. In the middle of the sixteenth century there was sometimes a projection of this kind near the centre of the breastplate, but one lower down is rather characteristic of the third quarter of the century ; this particular form was termed the ‘peascod’ in England. Both these pieces are bordered round the chest and arms with a thick ridged piping. This piping was a contrivance to stop the lance instead of its possibly penetrating below the gorget. The tassets consist of six lames, and are attached to the tace, which is in one piece, by straps and buckles ; the rivets have all gilded heads. The lower body is protected by chain-mail. The left pauldron is the larger ; both have free laminations at the shoulder and upper arm. The coudières



FIG. 8.—SOME DETAILS OF THE OSUNA SUIT.

are cup-formed over the elbows, and go round the arm. The gauntlets have highly rounded articulations for the fingers, with a separate thumb plate. Both leg armour and sollerets are freely decorated in 'banded' ornamentation, with enclosed medallions, besides gilded rivets. A sharp ridge runs down the front of the cuisse, genouillière, and jamb. The genouillières are fastened round the back of the knee by straps, and on to the jombs by a reversible turning pin on the latter, passing through a hole in the former; and a turn of the screw secures the attachment. Jombs, which are hinged, and sollerets are rivetted together, with lames above the ankle. The sollerets are 'bear-paw.' All these pieces are held together by gilded rivets. The valuable series of figures interspersed among the arabesques will repay some study. The suit was probably made in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, or possibly as late as the fourth quarter, though the shape of the sollerets would point to a somewhat earlier period.

THE SELE HOUSE SUIT.

You will notice that this harness (fig. 9) exhibits many points of contact with the Osuna suit; but what a contrast in material, taste, and finish! Both suits have seen much service, and to judge by the casque, tassets, and other features, should belong to nearly the same period; but it seems likely that this suit was made by an English armourer at a later date, copied probably from an imported suit. During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and in that of her unwarlike successor, the native armourers turned out rough work; and most of the fine suits of this period still left to us were imported from Germany or Italy. The casque is barely half the weight of the Osuna helmet; it is ungracefully tall, with the usual oreillettes and plume socket. The gauntlets are curiously alike in the two suits, in the rounded finger plates and nail pieces. The tapul is the 'peascod.' The genouillières and jombs are very similar to those in the Osuna suit, and there is the same catch attachment for the leg pieces. The sollerets are large, broad, and clumsy. There is a family tradition that this suit was last used in 1650, at the battle of Worcester.

SUIT OF ARMOUR CALLED THE 'ALLECRET.'

This description of armour was largely used by the Swiss and German infantry during the second half of the sixteenth century.

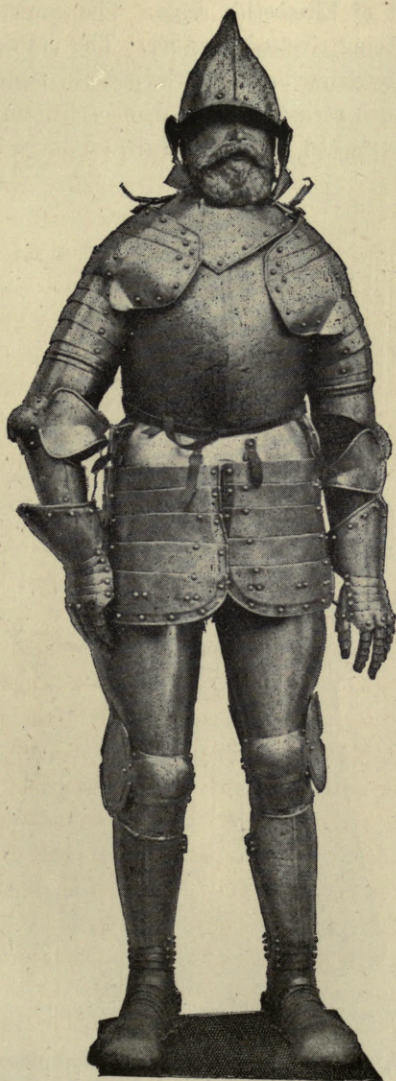


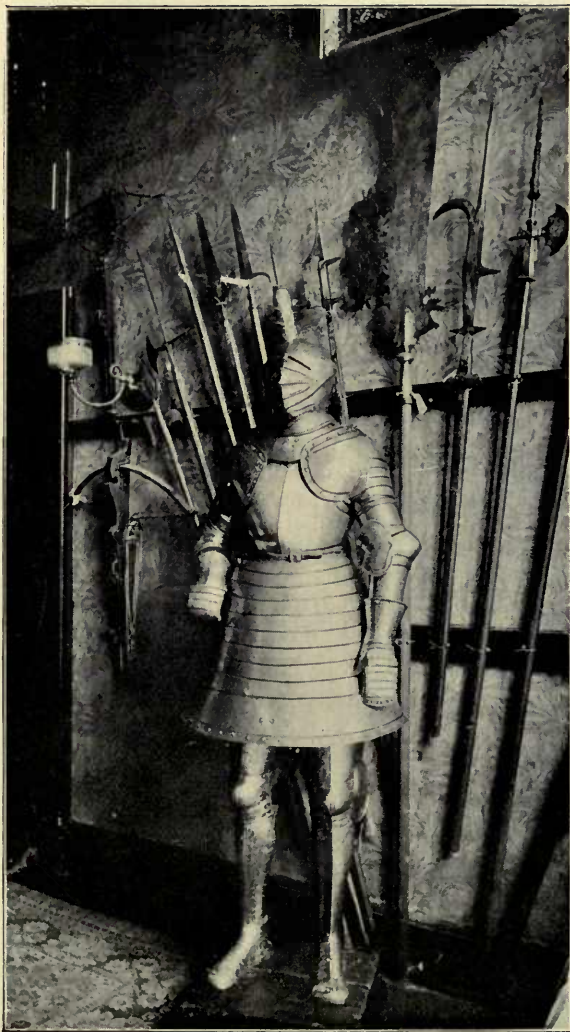
FIG. 9.—THE SELE HOUSE SUIT AT SOUTHDENE TOWER, GATESHEAD.

The suit under discussion (fig. 10) is probably of English make, of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The gorget and épaulières form one piece, being rivetted together. The cuirass is strong and flexible, and highly characteristic of the period ; the tapul projects in a hump below the centre, fixing the date of the suit within narrow limits. The taces consist of three and the tassets of five lames. The



FIG. 10.—ARMOUR CALLED 'ALLECRET,' AT SOUTHDENE TOWER, GATESHEAD.

gauntlets are of the long elbow type, local examples of which may be seen in the collection in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and at Naworth castle. The umbrilled helmet conforms to the period named. Leathern boots were worn with the suit, a common feature of the period. The brayette is missing, which is generally the case.



GOthic SUIT AT SOUTHDENE TOWER (SEE BACK).

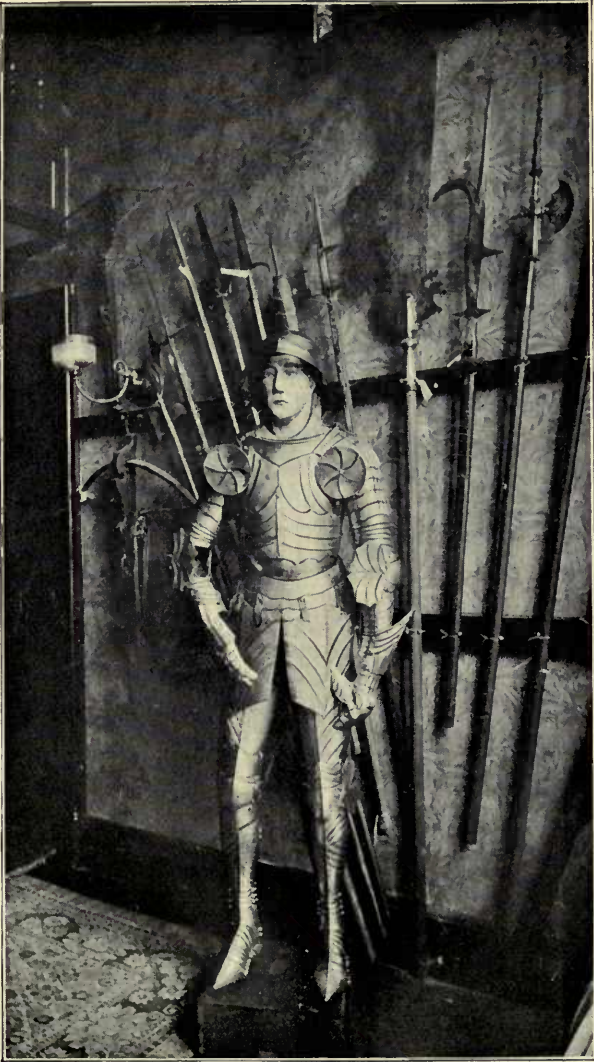
(From a photograph by Mr. Parker Brewis.)

This plate given by Mr. Clephan.

GOTHIC SUIT, 1460-1500.

This suit, like so many of its period, is incomplete. The armet with it, when I acquired it, never belonged to the suit, and there is no mentonnière. The sallad, shown on the figure, I had made for giving as good an effect as possible. The suit is otherwise complete and of fine material, proportions, and workmanship. The steel of the period is, I think, better than any later.

The details, with a few exceptions, closely resemble those of the Sigmaringen suit, fully described on page 251. There are roundels at the armpits on my suit; and these, together with the elbowguards, are beautifully ridged and bevilled. The tuilles are larger and squarer than those on the 'Sigmaringen' suit, and the sollerets are not so long in the tips. The cuirass is in two plates. The general details greatly resemble those of a suit at Vienna, attributed to Sigismund of Tyrol, which is also an incomplete suit.



TYROLESE SKIRTED ARMOUR, 1550-1560, AT SOUTHdene TOWER (SEE BACK)

(From a photograph by Mr. Parker Brewis.)

This plate given by Mr. Clephan.

TYROLESE SKIRTED ARMOUR, 1550-1560.

This suit is said to have come from a castle in the Tyrol, but I could only trace it back some seventy years. The general pose is excellent and characteristic. The armet is fluted and 'Maximilian,' and in three pieces. There is a small crest on the casquetelle and a plume-socket. The visor moves on rosettes of nine petals, and it projects sharply forward to a point; the front consisting of four deeply indented bevils, with two broad lights above them, and two smaller slits in each bevil. There is a spring-catch for closing the visor. The bevor has a small collar, and it is attachable to the casquetelle by a similar catch. The casquetelle has a collar of three lames. The helmet weighs five pounds, and is almost identical in form with one catalogued no. 47, fig. 45, among the helmets exhibited at the rooms of the Royal Archaeological Institute, in July, 1880. The date given is 1515-1530. In all probability the helmet before you was made somewhat earlier than the date I have fixed upon for the suit. The cuirass has a tapul with a projection near the base, like the 'peascod' and this feature seemed to me to be indicative of a rather later date than 1550-1560. I noticed, however, the same form on a suit with lamboys in the Ambras collection, which is attributed to the archduke Ferdinand, count of Tyrol. This armour, like that before you, is for fighting on foot. The lamboys consist of nine lames, the lowest much broader than the others; with a band, studded with rivets for an inner lining, terminating with an ornamental string-like piping. These skirts are attached to the lower rim of the cuirass by adjustable screws; and each lame is provided with a similar screw on both sides for attaching the back and front portions together. The back of the lamboys is the same as the front. The pauldrons are very large and of equal size both back and front; while the rerebrace is freely laminated. The coudières are cup-formed and go nearly round the elbow joint. The heart-shaped guards, the tops of the pauldrons, and bottom of the rerebrace are enriched by a small piping. The gauntlets are 'miton,' quite complete and of fine workmanship. The cuffs have their upper edges adorned with a similar piping to that on the other pieces, and the same design is repeated at the base of the last finger plate. Over the knuckles is a bold twisted piping, and the laminated plates over the back of the hand consist of five plates above the ridge, while those below are the same in number. The gauntlet is of the type prevailing about 1535-1540. The cuisses and jamba have a ridge running down to the sollerets, while the genouillères are ornamented with a double bevil in the centre. The knee guard is oval and bevilled in the centre. The sollerets are small and of the bec-de-cane type.

THE ARMOURY AT BRANCEPETH CASTLE.

This collection is large in the number of suits, and consists principally of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century armour.

Entrance Lobby.—This small room, which opens out into the great hall, contains two suits.

No. 1. A suit of blackened armour for a youth. The upper and lower portions do not belong to quite the same period. There is no special feature, and the date is generally from the end of the sixteenth to rather early in the following century.

No. 2. This is an important suit (fig. 11) and of rather an earlier period than the bulk of the collection. It is that of a knight, and dates about the end of the sixteenth century; luckily this beautiful armour has escaped the brush. The helmet has an umbril over the eyes. Immediately under this peak is the ocularium of two very broad slits—the visor is grated. The suit is freely studded over with rather large-headed rivets, the gorget is pointed, cuirass short with lance rest, but no garde-de-reine. To a broad rim at the bottom, tassets, consisting of nine lames, are attached by straps and buckles. Such long tassets clearly foreshadow the next stage, when these pieces were abolished altogether, being in fact merged into the cuisse to the knee. A pauldron on the left shoulder, none on the right, condrières sharply pointed at the elbow. The most remarkable and distinctive feature in connexion with this suit is the protection given to the inner arm by a series of small and very mobile laminated plates, attached to the rerebrace and vambrace by rivets. The gauntlets are articulated, with gadlings over the top knuckles. Cuisse and jamb have a high ridge running down the centre in front, the genouillères having a thicker projection, bevelled at the sides, in a line with the ridge on the other two pieces.

The Great Hall.—This noble hall is spacious and lofty, lending itself in everyway to the exhibition of the suits of armour arranged along the walls, as well as to their preservation from rust, owing to the thickness of the walls, and the free current of air running through the hall. For the easier identification of the various suits, I continue the numbers, beginning with those on the right side from the lobby, facing down the hall.

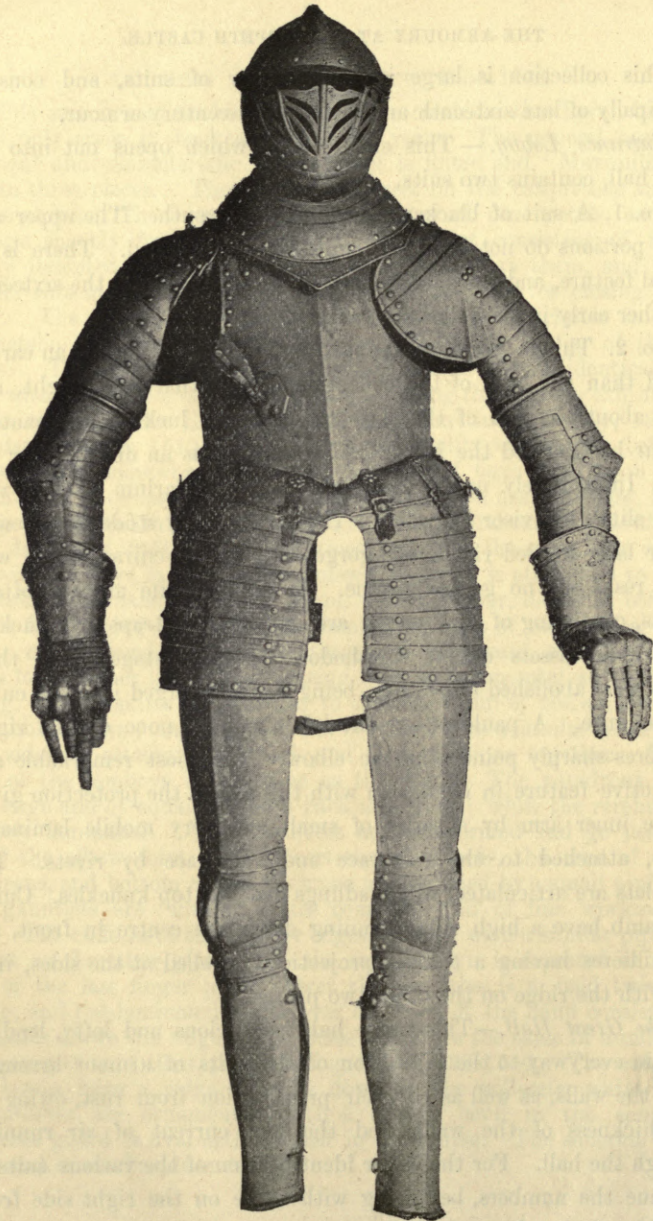


FIG. 11.—SUIT, NO. 2 AT BRANCEPETH CASTLE.

No. 3. A *cap-à-pie* suit, blackened. The helmet weighs twelve pounds. I should consider it to date rather earlier than the rest of the suit, which is late sixteenth century. The suit is quite plain, and

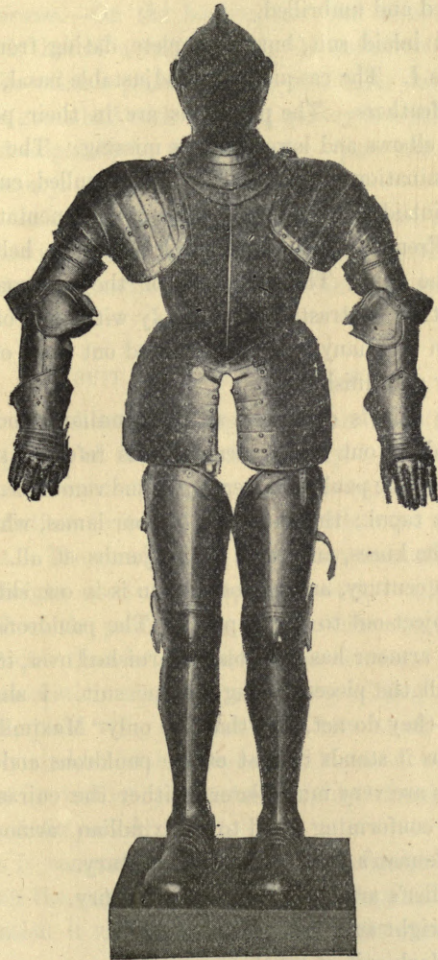


FIG. 12.—SUIT NO. 3 AT BRANCEPETH CASTLE (LORD BOYNE'S).

of English workmanship. The sollerets are the variety known as 'bec-de-cane.' Fig. 12 is a representation of this suit.

No. 4. A suit of half armour, black and white. The burgonet is open—the gorget and armour for the upper arms are in one piece.

This arrangement has already been described under the head of 'Allecret armour.' The date is 1580 to 1610.

No. 5. A suit similar in character to the last, excepting that the helmet is visored and umbrilled.

No. 6 is an inlaid suit, but incomplete, dating from early in the reign of Charles I. The casque has an adjustable nasal, with a socket for a plume of feathers. The pauldrons are in their places, but the armour for the elbows and lower arms is missing. The cuisses are in very narrow laminations to the knee. The tapulled cuirass and the pauldrons are inlaid in a very bold style of ornamentation, I should say decidedly French. I do not think that the helmet belonged originally to the suit. The character of the workmanship, finish, and ornamentation contrasts unfavourably with that of the century preceding, when Germany and Italy turned out work of such incomparable delicacy and finish.

No. 7. This suit is described as 'Maximilian,' and I had some difficulty in finding out which armour was referred to. The only fluted portions are the pauldrons, rerebrace and vambrace. The cuirass is plain, with a tapul; the taces are of four lames, while the tassets come down to the knees, and there are no jams at all. The helmet is late sixteenth century, and the ocularium is in one slit; just below it the plates project out to a long point. The pauldrons have passe-gardes. As the armour has been black varnished over, it is impossible to affirm that all the pieces belong to one suit. I should say undoubtedly that they do not, and that the only 'Maximilian' portions of the armour as it stands consist of the pauldrons and arm guards; the other pieces are very much later, neither the cuirass with tapul nor long tassets conforming at all to 'Maximilian' armour.

No. 8. A pikeman's suit, seventeenth century.

No. 9. Cavalier's armour, seventeenth century.

No. 10. A bright suit of cavalier's armour.

No. 11. A black suit of cavalier's armour.

No. 12. A pikeman's suit, seventeenth century.

No. 13. A half suit, seventeenth century, with elbow gauntlets similar to the example in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

High up on the walls of the great hall are several suits of very late armour, mostly pikeman's, and the walls are tastefully arranged with

a large collection of weapons, jackboots, etc. Some of these I hope to describe on a future occasion, in a paper which I contemplate on weapons.

Grand Staircase.—On the landing are two suits of bright half armour. One is that of a knight, with the lance rest, late sixteenth century, and the other a plain suit of a still later date. In a room connecting the great hall with the long gallery is a suit, the parts of which belonged originally to different suits—part late sixteenth, part seventeenth century.

The Long Gallery contains eighty pairs of breast and back plates of a troop of harquebussiers, of the seventeenth century. There are corresponding helmets, accoutrements, and flint lock weapons.

SUIT AT ALNWICK CASTLE.

This is a very chaste and elegant Italian suit (fig. 13), dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It is ornamented in the banded Italian style; the ground of the repoussé work, with its rich minute foliations in low relief, are gilt, while the rest of the steel remains bright. The general style of the ornamentation is alternate chevrons of bright steel and repoussé work. (Fig. 14.) The decorative work on the pauldrons and genouillères is, however, much bolder in character than on the rest of the armour. A very similar style of ornamentation may be seen on a tilting suit given in Skelton, vol. i., plate viii., and dated by him 1543. The Alnwick harness is freely studded with brass-headed rivets.

The helmet is in four pieces, and highly characteristic of the Italian school of the period.

The gorget is comparatively modern, but conveys the idea that it was copied from the original piece owing to dilapidation, and but for the ornamentation it would pass even with close observers when the suit is set up.

The pauldrons are very beautiful and laminated at the shoulders and upper arm. The rerebrace and vambrace are finely formed and ornamented, the former with laminations.

The coudières are pointed at the elbows, with side guards which continue round the arms.

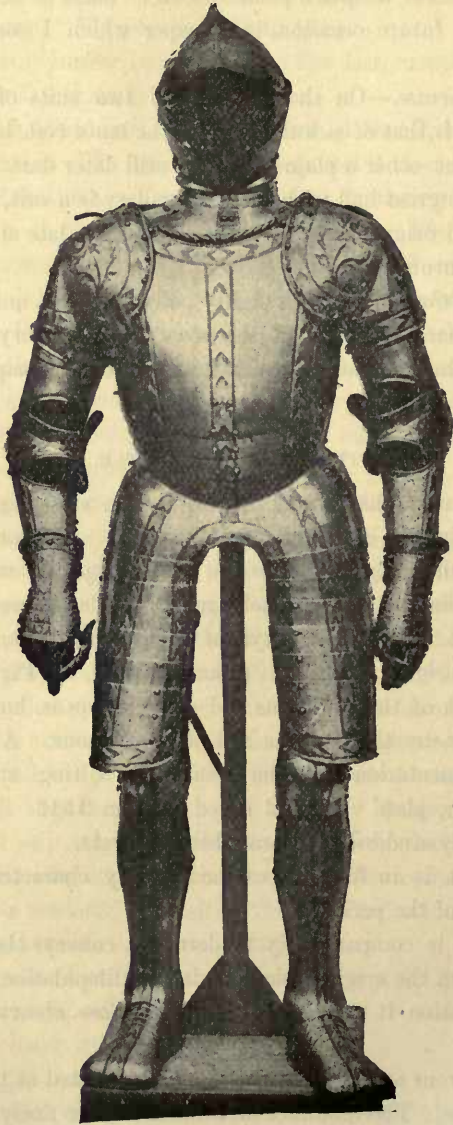


FIG. 13.—SUIT OF ARMOUR AT ALNWICK CASTLE



FIG. 14.—SOME DETAILS OF THE SUIT AT ALNWICK CASTLE.

The gauntlets are articulated, with thumb plates ; and a salient ridge runs across the knuckles. One of them, like the gorget, is of a more recent date than the main portion of the suit.

The cuirass is specially long and handsome. A broad piping borders the top and arm holes. A tapul runs down the centre, projecting to a hump towards the middle. On the right side is the lance rest, and on the left holes for affixing a grande-garde. The lower portion of the cuirass consists of three narrow laminated plates, running almost horizontally, and fastened together by brass rivets. The tassets are rivetted to the bottom rim of the cuirass. These pieces consist of ten lames, with brass-headed rivets. A special feature is that the tassets can be shortened or lengthened at pleasure, the last four lames being detachable—clearly an arrangement for fighting on foot or on horseback. The upper section is complete in itself with an ornamental rim, as is the lower one. This is a contrivance often met with in the second half of the sixteenth century. The attachment is accomplished by a screw catch and sliding rivet.

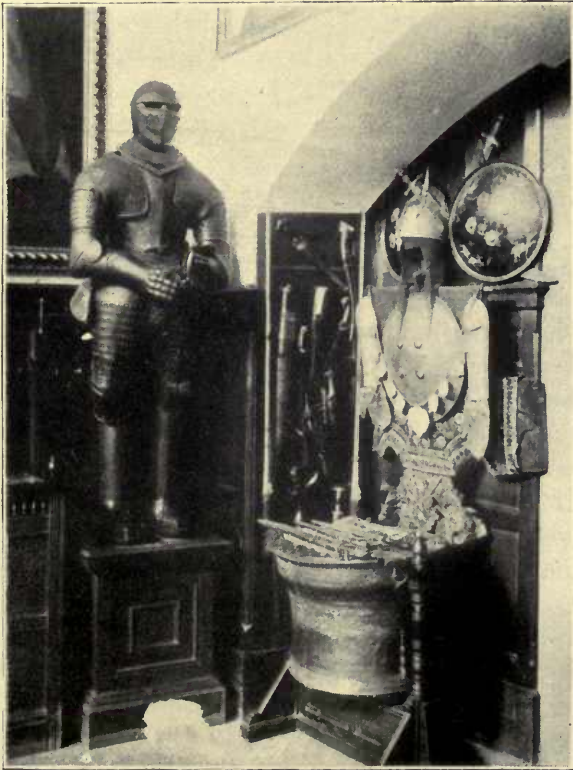
The backplate has a piped border round the top and shoulders and there are two lames at the bottom, which terminate in a garde-de-reine.

The cuisse, like the tasset is in two sections, with a similar means of attachment. The genouillières are attachable to the jambs by catch and sliding rivets. The knee-guards are small. The jambs are banded down the centre, in a line with the genouillières and cuisses. The sollerets are the variety styled 'bec de-cane,' being almost the shape of the foot. Both jambs and sollerets must be classed with the gorget and one gauntlet as restorations—they are all most beautifully done. Some details will be seen on fig. 14.

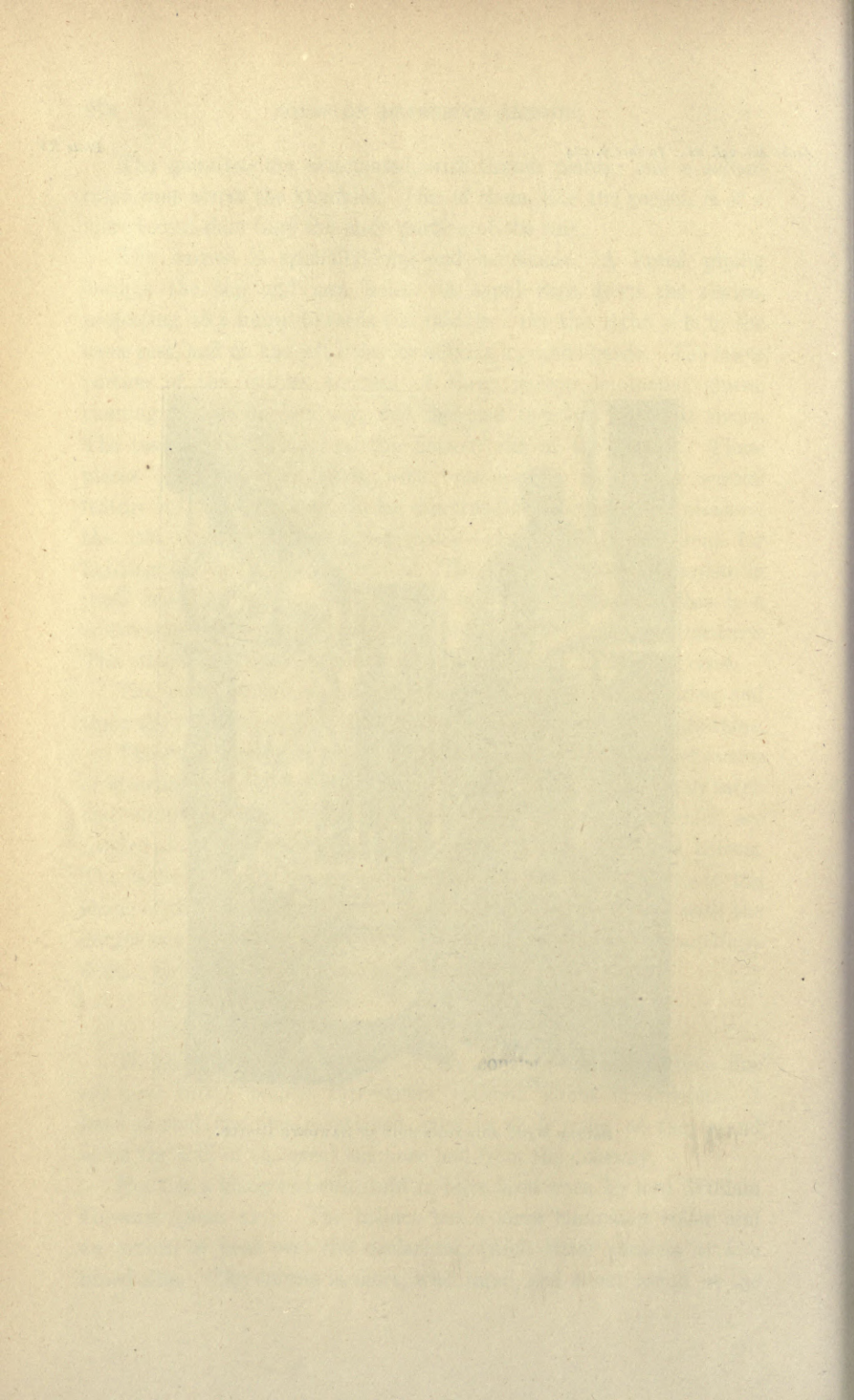
ARMOUR AT NAWORTH CASTLE.

This collection of defensive armour consists mainly of three fine *cap-à-pie* suits ; besides two others without jambs or sollerets. I have classed the first mentioned suits in their order as they stand along the wall of the great entrance hall from the doorway.

No. 1 is a blackened suit, said to have been worn by lord William Howard (plate xv.). The helmet has a large laminated collar and an umbril or peak over the ocularium, which latter consists of two broad slits. The cuirass is short, with tapul, and is cut round at the



'BELTED WILL' HOWARD'S SUIT AT NAWORTH CASTLE.



top, and bordered with a piping. The backplate has a projecting garde-de-reine of several lames. The tassets are prolonged down the leg to the knees and attached to the genouillières, forming in fact cuisses of a series of overlapping plates. The jambs are hinged, and feet clad in shoes or rather clogs of plate—one cannot dub them sollerets. I should imagine from their form and appearance that both jambs and sollerets are of recent construction, and that really jack-boots had been worn with the suit. The pauldrons are large and of equal size, freely laminated at the shoulders, and charged with a star on each breast. The rerebrace is also freely laminated, and the coudières are pointed at the elbows. The gauntlets have large laminated lower arm-guards, and are semi-articulated, with separate thumb-guards. The suit is freely studded with round-headed rivets. Taking the harness generally, I consider the date of make well into the seventeenth century, perhaps even as late as 1630. On submitting the foregoing to the right hon. the earl of Carlisle, he informed me that lord William Howard died in 1640. It is therefore quite possible that what can hardly be more than a legend may be true in fact. The earl thinks that the suit had been worn with boots, and that the leg armour had been added comparatively recently, merely for effect.

Suit no. 2 is unvarnished, and exhibits many points of contact with no. 1, the main difference lying in the sollerets, which are a common type of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century make. They are narrow and round at the toes, being in fact the variety known as 'bec-de-cane.' The gauntlets have articulated fingers, with a salient ridge across the knuckles. This beautiful suit has also an umbril over the eyes, and is somewhat slightly and crudely ornamented.

Suit no. 3 is very rich and handsome, being freely engraved and inlaid with gold—the gilding has, however, been greatly worn off. The ornamentation is somewhat rude both in character and execution and vastly inferior to either Italian or German work. There is the same feature in the upper leg armour as in the other suits. The helmet has a narrower collar, and the bevor is united to the casquetelle by a hook and eye; and there is a similar attachment for the visor, besides the spring on the right top. The cuirass is

ornamented with a medallion on either side. The subject is Saint George and the Dragon—the execution is good and reminds one of Milanese work. The genouillières are attachable to the jambs by reversible catches, which pass through the plate—they are the same catches as shown on the Osuna and Sele House suits. There is a tapul and a garde-de-reine. The sollerets are square toed, but very narrow, not ‘bear-paw,’ like the Maximilian. The armour seems to me to date from Elizabeth’s reign. Regarding the medallion the earl writes, suggesting that it is a ‘George’ badge, indicating a knight of the Garter, doubtless the ‘Lesser George.’ He also suggests the possibility that this suit may have belonged to the last lord Dacre, who died in 1566. This would of course make an even earlier date for the armour, but I cannot reconcile the transformation of the tassets into laminated cuisses with so early a date, though the sollerets being square toed would point in that direction; still this narrow form looks more like an armourer’s freak, as the sollerets of the Maximilian period and after are broad and splayfoot.

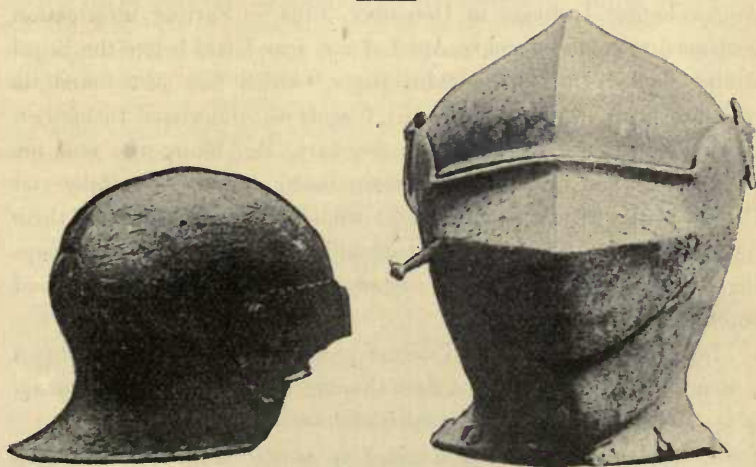
There are two other suits hanging on the wall, with no jambs or sollerets, worn with jackboots, and probably late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century armour; and besides these, some pieces of a considerably older suit, which I had not time to examine.

There is an Oriental panoply of unriveted fine mesh. The helmet has an adjustable nasal, with a bolt running down the front through a staple, and a screw for adjustment. Besides a long spiked crest are two sockets on either side for plumes. Two similar headpieces were exhibited in the rooms of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1880, and are catalogued no. 162, fig. 123, and no. 164, fig. 124. These helmets are almost identical with the Naworth specimen, having the spike crest, plume sockets, nasal and camail attachment. They are described as Persian of seventeenth century, and we may attribute the Naworth suit to the same period and nationality, always assuming that the combined armour formed one harness, which is far from certain. There are arm-guards of plate, gloves fronted with mail, and a camail directly attached to the helmet, the uppermost links going through small holes as in our own specimen in the Castle library. The shield has four copper bosses and a fine foliated ornamentation in low

relief. The rest of the suit is freely ornamented, and most interesting. With it is an embroidered leather apron, worn with the chain armour by the man, and an ornament for the front, of a camel made of silver plate. The panoply was purchased at Delhi by the earl.

THE ARMOUR IN THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

The chain-mail harness has been already described in these notes ; and with the exception of a couple of early skull caps, holed for the camail, a very interesting brayette and a few fragments, the remainder of the collection consists mainly of seventeenth-century armour. Among it is a notable example of a pikeman's harness of the reign of Charles I., and a pair of elbow gauntlets. As armour of this later period is rather beyond the scope of these notes, and as I have been obliged to pass over such among other local collections for want of space, I will not dwell longer on the Castle armour on this occasion.



1.

2.

1. Late fifteenth-century Sallad in Hexham Priory Church.
2. Late fifteenth-century Armet over tomb of the fourth earl of Northumberland in Beverley Minster.

[NOTE.—The illustrations to this paper are all from photographs taken expressly for it with two exceptions. The drawing on page 219 was made by Mrs. R. C. Clephan and that on page 225 by Mr. Eugene E. Clephan. The writer of the paper has been at the cost of all the illustrations.]

VI.—PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES AT RABY AND CALLALY CASTLES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., chancellor of Carlisle.

[Read on the 25th May, 1898.]

In December, 1890, I read a paper before the Royal Archaeological Institute on the two well-known picture board dummies, representing two grenadiers, which occupy positions on the main staircase of the County hotel, Carlisle. I showed that these figures represented grenadiers of the 2nd or Queen's regiment of Foot, now the Royal West Surrey regiment.¹ In writing of these picture board dummies I dealt with them as evidence of the uniforms, equipments, and positions at drill of the British army at particular dates, as milestones in military history, and not particularly as specimens of picture board dummies. Kind friends, however, sent me photographs and descriptions of other dummies, which I put upon record in a paper read before the Royal Archaeological Institute in December, 1894.² Further information continued to come in, and in April of this year I laid before the Royal Archaeological Institute a third paper,³ which has just found its way into print. Among the many friends who interested themselves in the subject was our energetic secretary, Mr. Blair, who sent me photographs and drawings of picture board dummies at Raby and Callaly castles with a request that I would write an account of them for this society. This I readily consented to, and, beyond mere mention of their existence, I have excluded them from the papers I laid before the Institute.

Into the general subject I do not propose to go, beyond quoting a sentence from a paper by Mr. Syer Cuming in vol. xxx. of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*:—

Among other old whimsies which sprang up during the period indicated (the seventeenth century), was that of depicting different devices on flat boards shaped according to the contour of the subject represented, and placed in such situations as would most readily lead the beholders to believe that they were gazing on realities instead of mere artistic deceptions. Holland appears to have been the natal land of this tricky conceit, which found a ready reception in England and manifested itself in a variety of forms and ways.

The deception was much increased by these figures being made

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xlvii. pp. 321-333.

² *Ibid.*, vol. lii. pp. 1-24.

³ *Ibid.* vol. lv. p. 183.

feather-edged from the back to the front. Thus, when placed a few inches from a wall, they cast a shadow which might well be mistaken for that cast by a living person.

There are four picture board dummies at Raby castle. Two of them represent grenadiers, but the figures are so dark that they photograph but badly, and the details are difficult to make out. The following is a detailed description of the grenadier:—

No. I,⁴ a grenadier, total height to top of the tuft or pompon of his mitre-shaped cap, seven feet. His cap is less in height than those of the Carlisle grenadiers, being only one foot two inches against their one foot five inches. He is dressed in a long broad-skirted red coat, piped or edged with white, now turned by age or varnish into yellow; it is double breasted, with two rows of ten or twelve buttons each running from the shoulders to the waist, but whether of white or yellow metal cannot now be discerned. Some (or all) of them are set at the ends of loops of lace. The coat buttons over on the left breast, but the lappets are turned back, showing the facings of dark blue or black (as Mr. Blair describes them)—no doubt dark or royal blue, denoting a royal regiment. There is a well-marked seam down the front of the coat. The cuffs are of the colour of the facings; they are much smaller than those of the Carlisle grenadiers, and, like them, have an ornamental band of broad white lace, but in the shape of a parallelogram, on the front of the cuff. Above the left cuff (the right is invisible being turned backwards) are five or six buttons set on a piece of lace going up the sleeve to the elbow; these have on each side of them a loop of lace, thus rather resembling a palm branch. There are no pockets in the skirts, as is the case at Carlisle. Below the waist belt the skirts are open, showing the red under-waistcoat, and below that the dark blue breeches. The lappets of the coat, turned back at the neck, show there again the red under-waistcoat. A white cravat is round the man's neck, but its ends are concealed by the under-waistcoat.

He wears long white leggings or gaiters coming high up the thighs,⁵ buttoned up the sides, and strapped under the feet.⁶

The mitre-shaped cap, one foot two inches high, is of cloth, but the colour is difficult to make out. It has a red flap or frontlet over the brow. The colour of the tuft or pompon is not to be made out. On the frontlet is the figure of a white galloping horse, the white horse of Hanover. Round the edge of the frontlet is the motto, *NEC ASPERA TERRENT*.

⁴ This description is written from a very dark photograph and a coloured sketch by Mr. Blair, F.S.A., hence the details are difficult to make out.—R. S. F.

⁵ An old man, until quite recently employed at the castle as a joiner, has (if I remember right) told me that the legs were repainted by the duchess' order not very long ago. I believe they were then in very bad condition. Probably, however, the old pattern was copied.—B.

⁶ The Carlisle grenadiers wear stockings. It is clear that during the last half of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth the English army did not wear leggings or gaiters over their stockings; but by the middle of the eighteenth century they had adopted long white leggings or gaiters coming high up the thighs, buttoned up the sides, strapped under the feet, and gartered under the knees with black garters. In 1767 the mitre-shaped caps and the white leggings were superseded by bear-skin caps and black leggings.—R. S. F.

Above the frontlet is a star like unto the star of the Order of the Garter, with a red cross in its centre, and a motto of which the last letter, N, is alone to be made out. It is probably the last letter of ICH DIEN. Above the star is a crown.

The accoutrements consist of waist belt of buff leather, with plain buckle in front; slings from the front and side carry the sword and bayonet. A buff leather cross belt passes over the left shoulder, under the waist belt, and carries a large leather pouch on the grenadier's right side, so that it cannot be seen whether it is plain or bears the royal cypher and crown, as on the pouches of the guardsmen in 'The March to Finchley in 1745.' A plain buckle is in the cross belt a little above the waist belt, and the cross belt has upon it what resembles the whistle now carried by officers of rifles, or it may be something connected with his fusil.

The arms consist of a fusil without sling, socket bayonet, and short basket-hilted sword. The details of the fusil cannot be made out.

Three royal regiments, *i.e.*, regiments with dark blue or royal facings, have the white galloping horse as their badge, with the motto NEC ASPERA TERRENT, namely, the VII. (Royal Fusiliers), the VIII. (the King's), and the XXIII. (the Royal Welsh Fusiliers), but the last alone bears the motto ICH DIEN. We may therefore set this figure down as that of a grenadier of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, of about the middle of the last century; certainly later than the Carlisle grenadiers, say latter part of the reign of George II., in whose reign the white horse of Hanover was first put on the frontlets of the grenadiers' caps instead of the colonel's crest or badge.

Of No. II,⁷ I cannot at present write so full an account; the photograph is very dark, and Mr. Blair has only given me a pencil sketch. The original figures themselves are, I understand, so dark that the details can hardly be made out. The same description will almost serve for him as did for No. I., with the following differences:—His cross belt goes over his right shoulder, and his 'grenada pouch' hangs on his right side, well to the front, so that it can be seen that it has on it the royal cypher G R under a crown and something above the crown. The cross belt has upon it no whistle or jigger, or whatever the object may be that is upon the cross belt of No. I. The sword and bayonet (if there are both) hang from the waist belt on the right side. Mr. Blair does not name the colour of the facings, but he marks the frontlet of the mitre-shaped cap as 'yellowish,'⁸ and from his sketch I gather that No. II. has a plastron of buff.

This man may possibly belong to the Buffs (3rd Foot). The date would be the same as that of No. I., possibly a little earlier. No history is known of these figures. Lord Barnard thinks they have been

⁷ No. II. is, I should say, not the work of the same artist. It is inferior in style and very indistinct. I should not be surprised if it were a mere fancy sketch intended as a pair to No. I.—B.

⁸ I have no information as to what else may be on his cap. The Buffs carry a white horse, that of Kent.—R. S. F.

a long time at Raby castle. It would be interesting to ascertain if any member of the Vane family served in the Buffs or the Welsh Fusiliers in the first half of the last century.⁹



PICTURE BOARD DUMMY, CALLALY CASTLE.

One of the other two dummies at Raby represents a peasant woman with a basket of fruit. She is five feet 6 inches in height, wears a red

⁹ Henry (second earl of Darlington) was gazetted captain and lieut.-colonel, Coldstream Guards, in February, 1749. His uncle, Hon. Gilbert Vane, served in the 1st regiment of Foot Guards from 1732 to 1745, when he was appointed colonel of the earl of Berkeley's regiment of Foot.—B.

hat or cap, and two rows of beads round her neck. The colours of her dress are now so black that it is impossible to make them out. The figure of the man is five feet ten inches in height. He wears a slouch hat, a long brownish grey coat open so as to show a white or whitish shirt, knee breeches and stockings, and has round his waist an apron or cloth, in which he carries a live (very lively) goose. It is an interesting figure, and I have no doubt that it is intended to represent one of the Irish dealers, who bring over in the autumn to the north of England large flocks of Irish geese for sale to the farmers, who fatten them up for Christmas in the stubbles. I exhibit photographs of these two figures and also coloured sketches by Mr. Blair, but these two figures and the two Raby grenadiers would profit much by being put into the hands of a competent picture restorer.¹⁰ The Raby dummies are all feather-edged from back to front.

I also exhibit a photograph¹¹ and a coloured sketch by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., of a picture board dummy, the property of the late major A. H. Brown of Callaly castle in Northumberland. It stands three feet two inches in height, is feather-edged from back to front, of canvas glued on board, and represents a partridge-plump little Dutch girl in a rich costume, holding in her left hand a small green parrot with a red head. Her underskirt is richly embroidered. Parti-coloured flowers—some roses, others woodbine—adorn her green overskirt, bodice, and cape, which last has a narrow white binding. Her cap, falling collar, and cuffs are all of rich lace. A gold chain passes four times over her left shoulder, and other chains are round her wrists. Her hair is tied up upon the top of her head with red ribbon under her cap, and her feet, small for her stout little person, are encased in white shoes. Her hands are well formed and well painted. Take her in all, she must represent a very well-to-do and important little personage, one quite sensible of her own position. I do not know of any history attaching to this charming dummy.

¹⁰ The four figures were restored by a picture cleaner last year, but the result is not satisfactory.—B.

¹¹ See representation of this on preceding page.

VII.—LEASE OF PROPERTY IN CORBRIDGE DATED 1517.¹

By WILLIAM BROWN, F.S.A., secretary of the Surtees Society
and of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

[Read on the 29th June, 1898.]

The original of the document abstracted below belongs to Mr. William Grey Robinson of Silksworth, in the county of Durham, now residing at Quedgley hall, Gloucester, by whose kind permission it is here printed.

The lease is a somewhat unusual one, as it is perpetual, though containing the usual proviso for re-entry in case of the rent being in arrear for twenty days. The rent is merely nominal, five shillings a year. There is nothing to show why the property was leased in this peculiar manner. It is hardly likely that the incursions of the Scots could have been the reason, as the battle of Flodden, fought less than four years before, must have discouraged them from attacking their neighbours. The position of the lessors is also unexplained. They were all connected with Durham. The first mentioned was a member of the family of Billingham, long settled at Crook hall, just outside Durham, endeared to the northern antiquary from having been the residence of the rev. James Raine, the historian of North Durham. Thrillesden is now Tursdale, near Croxdale.

It is possible that the lessors were trustees, and that the property demised belonged to some institution, either a chantry or gild connected with the church of St. Margaret in Durham, which would account for the rent being payable at the altar of St. Thomas in that church. The lessee, Roger Heron, lived at Halydene, now Hallington, in the parish of St. John Lee, near Hexham. He was probably a younger son of John Heron of Chipchase, to whom the archbishop of York granted a lease of Hallington in 1495 for forty years.²

The parcels leased by this deed are so numerous and so minutely described that they deserve careful attention. They are the more

¹ I have to return thanks to Mr. R. Oliver Heslop for much information, part of which appears in the notes and part is embodied in the text.

² *History of Northumberland*, vol. iv. p. 240.

worthy of note as they lay both in the urban and the rural parts of the township. The house or messuage was called Gormor-hal.³ It lay on the south side of St. Helen's lane, called lower down *quedam venella, vocata Seynt Eleyne*. A number of lanes and roads are mentioned: Scamylgate (Shamble-gate), where the fishmongers lived;⁴ Sidgate, Long-gate, as distinguished from the ordinary narrow lanes like Colwell-chare,⁵ where the *chare* may be collated with the *wynd* (pronounced *weend*) in the common fields, as both *chare* and *wynd* convey the same idea, that of the turning or winding of the lane. The road leading out of the town to Stagshaw was called Stagshaw-strett. On the way there it passed through a ford called Stagshaw-furde.

The bridge across the Tyne, as was the case at Warkworth, had an endowment for its support and repair, and twice mention is made of a burgage belonging to this bridge. The other public bodies referred to were both connected with the church, the chantry of St. Mary,⁶ and the gild of St. Andrew.

The Barkhous was the place where the bark was stored till needed.

The amount of land demised in the common field was twenty-three and a half acres, in plots varying in size from three acres to half an acre. These parcels consisted of long narrow strips, scattered throughout the common field. It was only necessary to give the boundaries on the two sides, as at either end there was the headland, *finis terre*, on which the teams turned in ploughing. As the team consisted normally of eight oxen, this headland which ran along the end of the narrow strips was of some size. Two headlands are mentioned, one containing an acre, and the other half that amount. Very precise indications are given of the position of the smaller headland. The part of the field in

³ Gormire row was, until recently, the name of the street running north from Tyne bridge through the village to Princes street. The parish council has now dropped the name Gormire row, and called the whole thoroughfare Princes street.—R. O. H.

⁴ Called elsewhere Fish-shambles-gate, the street leading to the Fishers' market. 'Willelmus Hogg tenet unum burgagium in Fischambler-gat.' *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society, vol. ii. p. 29. A tenement *in vico fori piscatorum*. *Archæologia Aeliana*, new series, vol. ii. p. 35.—R. O. H.

⁵ Tenent etiam j burgagium in Colwell-chare, ex parte australi ejusdem juxta venellam quae ducit ad Tynam. *Priory of Hexham*, vol. ii. p. 30.

⁶ As a church of St. Mary has been alleged to have existed in Corbridge, it may be well to note that the chantry of the Blessed Mary is here stated to be 'in ecclesia predicta,' that is, within the church of St. Andrew.—R. O. H.

which it lay was known as *le Flurez*,⁷ so called from its being very level. Its boundary on the west side was Thomas Carnaby's strip of land, and on the east some selions or strips of land, called 'Flurez, buttes, and wyndes,' or mounds of unploughed turf left between the strips. Where the strips abutted upon a roadway or upon unenclosed land they appear to have been called *butts*. Some of the strips at the Floors abutted upon the large holdings. Others ended at right angles to the long narrow strips. These last may possibly be the *wyndes* mentioned in the document. In the 1776 survey no narrow lanes are shown.

Interspersed amongst these strips were the demesne lands of the chief lord, the earl of Northumberland. The only other important landowners named are the priors of the houses of Austin Canons at Hexham and Carlisle.

There was a kiln for burning the lime needed for the proper cultivation of the land, and a mill for ginding the corn, which could be sold in the *menmerket* (main-market).

Many of the place-names are of very great interest. Historically the most important is Colchestre, marking the site of the Roman station, Corstopitum. The first part of the word, as in the case of the more famous place of the same name in the south, comes from the Latin *colonia*. Other of the names bring before us the chief features of the country near Corbridge. The lime trees by the burn gave rise to the name Lyndburnflat.⁸ There was still wood enough standing to harbour a stag when Stagshaw received its name,⁹ but a clearing had been made elsewhere on a hill, which was termed Lowridyng,¹⁰ the ridding or clearing in the lower part of the common field. Any piece of rising ground formed a prominent feature in the landscape, and each kind of hill was called by a different name. Besides *law*, as in

⁷ In survey, 1776, *Floors*. In this survey the floors are divided into fifteen holdings, ten of which are narrow strips and five are comparatively wide pieces. Query: Are the former the butts and the latter the wyndes? *Floors* was also the name of another part in the West Field.—R. O. H.

⁸ Lintburn-flat was the flat land lying on the Lint burn. There were also Lintburn-hope and Lintburn-sheath. The Lint burn flowed out of the west side of Shildon Lough, running into the Tyne through Howden Dene.—R. O. H.

⁹ The popular name, however, is Stane-shaw (or Stainchy). Stainchy-bank is always spoken of.—R. O. H.

¹⁰ *High Riding* and *Low Riding* are giving in survey, 1776. There is a precipitous escarpment (now quarried) between them.

Rughlaw, the terms *bank* and *hill* occur in Langbank and Hughishille. For a road or path there were different expressions ; *gate* in Scamylgate and Sidgate, *wind* in Flureswyndes, *loaning* in Lonyngdiksyde, *way* in Willedikwey, *lane* in Seynt Elynglayne, *chare* in Colwel-chare, and *street* in Stagshawstrett. The uncertainty about the aspirate, which still prevails amongst us, is exemplified by the forms Ayburne and Hayburne,¹¹ now Aydon burn, and Trollop and Throllop. Throthoppeys, Lillesaw,¹² Kiplingland, and Didiriche, now Deadridge, seem to defy explanation.

APPENDIX.

July 8, 9 Hen. viii. (1517). Perpetual lease from Cuthbert Billyngham of Crokehalle by Durham esq., John Bentley of Thrillesden, Thomas Marnduke chaplain, Hugh Wakerfelde chaplain, Robert Hervy of Durham, Hugh Rowlle of the same, John Colson of the same, Robert Crake of the same, Richard Merley of the same, and Robert Wilffett of the same, to Roger Heron of Halydene, gentelman, to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the customary services, and by paying a yearly rent of 5s., payable halfyearly at Martinmas and Whitsontide at the altar of St. Thomas in the chapel of St. Margaret in Durham, with a proviso for reentry if the rent were in arrears for twenty days and bond of 20^{li} from the lessee for due payment of the rent, of the following property in Corbrige :—Unum mesuagium in Corbrige in comitatu Northumbrie, vocatum Gormorhal, prout jacet inter burgagium Willelmi Baxter ex parte australi et quendam communem stratam ibidem, vocatam Seynt Elynglayne ex parte boreali, nunc in tenura Johannis Ladley ; unum burgagium jacens ibidem in quadam venella, vocata Seynt Eleyne, ex parte boreali ville ibidem, inter burgagium Comitum Northumbrie ex parte orientali et burgagium prefati Willelmi Baxter ex parte occide[n]tali ; unum aliud burgagium vastum jacens super finem ejusdam venelle inter burgagium gilde S. Andree in ecclesia de Corbrige predicta ex parte orientali et communem stratam, ducentem versus Stagshawe, ex parte occidentali ; duo alia burgagia jacentia in Scamylgate ex parte boreali ville ibidem inter burgagium Prioris de Hexham ex parte orientali et burgagium Rogeri Heron ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Jacobi Robson ; unum aliud

¹¹ There was a 'Hay-street' in the West Field.

¹² In the survey of 1776 the names High Lilly Lows and Low Lilly Lows occur. Probably the *lilly lea* of the ballad, 'They laid him low on lilly lea.' Herein lies an amusing piece of etymological humbug. John Ray gives 'Lillylow, a comfortable belly bleeze,' whatever that may mean. Dr. Mackay compiled a dictionary in which he manages to find a Celtic etymon for almost every English word. This *Lilly Low* he finds has to do with a 'bleeze,' so he drags in a Gaelic word like it in sound, which happens to mean flame. So there you are at once. These Lilly Lows were the hills, he infers, on which the fires of Beltane were lighted.—Q.E.D.—R. O. H.

burgagium in eadem strata jacens inter burgagium Johannis Elryngton,¹³ in tenura Willelmi Horner; duo alia burgagia jacentia in fine orientali ville ibidem super le Northraw, inter burgagium Thome Elryngton ex parte orientali et burgagium Willelmi Baxter ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Willelmi Richerdson; unum aliud burgagium vastum jacens in Colwelcbare ex parte boriali ejusdem ville inter burgagium Prioris de Hexham ex parte australi et burgagium cantarie B. Marie in ecclesia predicta ex parte boriali; unum aliud burgagium jacens in Sidgate ex parte boriali ville ibidem, inter burgagium Gilberti Huddispath¹⁴ ex parte occidentali et burgagium pertinens ponti de Corbrige ex parte orientali; unum aliud burgagium jacens in Sidgate ex parte boriali ville ibidem inter burgagium Johannis Chestre ex parte orientali et burgagium pertinens predicto ponti ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Gilberti Huddispath; unum aliud burgagium, quondam vocatum Barkhous, jacens in Scamygate ex parte boriali, inter burgagium Johannis Elryngton ex parte orientali et burgagium Comitum Northumbrie ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Edwardi Huddispath; unam acram terre jacentem in Lyndburnflat, prout jacet inter terram Rogeri Heron ex parte australi et terram pertinentem cantarie B. Marie in ecclesia predicta ex parte boriali, nunc in tenura dicti Rogeri; tres rodas terre jacentes apud Throthopeys, prout jacet inter terram Rogeri Heron ex utraque parte, nunc in tenura Johannis Harlle; unam rodam terre jacentem in Menmerkett inter terram dicte cantarie B. Marie ex parte orientali et terram dominicam¹⁵ Comitum Northumbrie ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Ricardi Huntley; quandam parcellam terre, vocatam *a hedland*, continentem dimidiam acram terre, jacentem in le Flurez, inter terram Thome Carnaby ex parte occidentali et quosdam seliones terre vocat' Flurez buttes et wyndes, ex parte orientali, nunc in tenura Roberti Belle; unam acram terre jacentem in Lonyngdiksyde inter terram Willelmi Baxter ex parte australi et terram Rogeri Heron ex parte boriali, nunc in tenura Willelmi Richerdson; unam acram et dimidiam terre jacentes in Colchestre inter terram Rogeri Heron ex utraque parte, nunc in tenura Edwardi Huddispath; unam acram terre jacentem ultra quendam rivulum, vocatum Ayburne, inter stangnum molendini ex parte orientali et terram Comitum Northumbrie ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Thome Trollop; dimidiam acram terre jacentem inter dictum rivulum ex parte australi et terram Johannis Chestre apud Stagshawfurde ex parte boriali, nunc in tenura Willelmi Dalton; duas acras et dimidiam terre, quarum due jacent apud Langbank inter terram dominicam Comitum Northumbrie ex parte orientali et terram Johannis Chestre ex parte occidentali, et dimidiam acram terre jacentem in quodam loco, vocato Sandyrod, inter terram Gilberti Huddispath ex parte australi et terram Rogeri Heron ex parte boriali, nunc in tenura Henrici Broune; dimidiam acram terre jacentem in fine occidentali de dicta Sandyrod, inter terram Prioris de Karlille ex parte australi et terram Gilberti Huddispath ex parte boriali; unam acram et dimidiam terre jacentes in Langbank, in fine occidentali ejusdem, inter terram Willelmi Baxter ex parte orientali et diversos fines terrarum diversorum dominorum ex parte occidentali, nunc in tenura Rogeri Heron; unam acram et dimidiam terre supra le Lillesaw Reynneys, inter terram Willelmi Baxter ex

¹³ An omission here.¹⁴ Also spelt Huddispath.¹⁵ *Terr' d'nie'*, and so below.

utraque parte, modo in tenura Rogeri Heron; dimidiam acram terre jacentem inter terram cantarie B. Marie ex parte boreali et terram Rogeri Heron ex parte australi, et abuttantem super fossatum strate, vocate Stagshawstrett, modo in tenura Edwardi Huddispath; tres acras terre jacentes ex parte occidentali de Willedikwey inter terram Rogeri Heron ex parte boreali et terram Gilberti Huddispath ex parte australi, vocatas Kiplingland, modo in tenura Gilberti Huddispath, Willelmi Dalton, et Johannis Harlle; unam acram et dimidiam terre jacentes apud Hayburnsid, inter Hayburne ex parte boreali et terram Rogeri Heron ex parte australi, modo in tenura Edwardi Huddispath; dimidiam acram terre de Rughlaw, inter terram Rogeri Heron ex parte occidentali et terram Willelmi Baxter ex parte orientali, modo in tenura Alicie Thomson; dimidiam acram terre jacentem super le Lymekilles, inter terram Rogeri Heron ex parte boreali et terram Willelmi Baxter ex parte australi, modo in tenura Thome Throllop; unam acram terre jacentem super Lawridyng, inter terram Rogeri Heron ex parte occidentali et terram S. Margarete in Dunelm. ex parte orientali, modo in tenura dicte Alicie Thomson; unam acram terre jacentem apud Lymekilles inter terram Prioris de Karlille ex parte australi et terram Willelmi Baxter ex parte boreali, modo in tenura Johannis Harle; unam acram terre, vocatam *a hedlund*, jacentem super terram dominicam vocat' Hughishille, modo in tenura Johannis Ladley, et inter terram S. Margarete ex parte occidentali; dimidiam acram terre apud pedem et finem australem de Lawridyng et terram Rogeri Heron ex parte australi, modo in tenura Rogeri Chestre; et unam acram terre jacentem apud Didiriche inter terram Willelmi Baxter ex utraque parte, modo in tenura Willelmi Richerdson. One tag for seal, which has been destroyed. Endorsed 'Corbridge.'

VIII.—THREE ADDITIONAL MIRACLES ATTRIBUTED
TO SAINT ACCA OF HEXHAM.

By CADWALLADER J. BATES.

[Read on the 27th July, 1898.]

Saint Wilfrid who founded Hexham and chose it as the haven of his closing years, died after all at Oundle on the Nen. The body of the intrepid champion of the Northern Church, buried in the first place at Ripon, is said ultimately to have been carried captive to Canterbury. His successor St. Acca although he seems to have ended his days in exile was laid to rest at the foot of his splendid cross at Hexham, and consequently came to hold the foremost place in the traditions of that church. The aureole of St. Eata who had occupied the Tyneside see during Wilfrid's banishment and who was buried in a small stone chapel to the south of the sacrarium, must have been to some extent dimmed by his intrusion.

Acca was trained under Bosa whom Theodore of Tarsus by a stretch of legatine power had placed in the despoiled chair of Eborius at York. On Wilfrid's restitution by king Alfrid, Acca passed into the metropolitan's service and remained his most faithful henchman to the very end. He accompanied him to Friesland and Rome in 704; it was to him that the wayworn saint first confided his vision of the Archangel Michael at Meaux. Acca's love of literature won for him from Bede the Venerable an admiration that the sublimity of Wilfrid had failed somehow to inspire. To Acca, as his diocesan, the great doctor of the Northumbrian church dedicated most of his theological works.

The 'miracles' attributed to St. Acca form a considerable portion of those relating to the saints of Hexham that were collected by St. Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, in the twelfth century. Aelred's tractate was printed by the late Rev. James Raine in his *Priory of Hexham* from a manuscript in the Bodleian library. Raine knew of the existence of another manuscript which had been in the possession

of the Savile family and sold in 1861, and lamented that it had not been in his power to obtain access to it.¹ Circumstances that would once almost have been deemed miraculous have recently given me a conditional sight of this precious manuscript; the present owner has most ably collated it for our Society with Raine's printed text, and has also furnished the translations.

The chief divergence is the addition of three 'miracles' in the Savile manuscript in a hand much clumsier but probably only slightly later than the rest; the earlier portion, at any rate, claims to have been written at the dictation of St. Aelred himself.² From its minor variations we learn that the bones of St. Acca were found at the time of their translation in 1154 in a coverlet which it had taken much work to make,³ and that the size of the bones proved the bishop to have been a tall man.⁴ Other relics too are said to have been placed at this translation in the third shrine beside those of St. Babylas of Antioch and some of St. Acca's dust, and are specified as those of the martyrs SS. Marcus and Marcellinus of the Theban legion, of the martyr Felicissimus, of the martyr Irenaeus and one of his companions, of St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, of St. Faith, virgin and martyr, and of the martyr St. Felicitas.⁵ It is interesting to note that in all probability Wilfrid and Acca passed the scene of the massacre of the Theban legion at St. Maurice in the Rhone valley in returning from Rome. Wilfrid in early life spent more than three years at Lyons, where St. Irenaeus taught and suffered, and on

¹ Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, i. p. 173n. The Savile MS. was sold again in the July of this present year (1898); an unwarranted criticism on Mr. A. B. Hinds for not having referred to it in vol. iii. of the *History of Northumberland*, 1896, appeared in the *Athenaeum* of July 23rd, 1898.

² 'Incipiunt miracula sanctorum patrum qui sancta hagustaldensi ecclesia requiescunt dictata a venerabili hechelredo abbate.' Savile MS. I recto, in red.—*Cf.* Raine, *Hexham*, i. p. 173n.

³ '(sacras explorant exuvias) operoso velamine circumamictas.' Savile MS. 11 verso. *Cf.* Raine, *Hexham*, i. p. 194.

⁴ '(reliquiis apposuerunt.) Sicut autem ex qualitate ossium dabatur intelligi procere stature fuit sanctus praesul Acca.'—*Ibid.*; Raine *Hexham*, i. p. 195.

⁵ '(cum Sancti Babile episcopi et martyris sacris reliquiis) et sanctorum martyrum marci et marcellini de legione thebeorum Felicissimi martyris Yrenei martyris et cuiusdam socii eius, sancti Germani autisiodorensis episcopi sancte Fidis virginis et martyris sancte Felicitatis martyris, partem pulveris de corpore Sancti Accae episcopi posuerunt.'—Savile MS. 14 recto et verso. *Cf.* Raine, *Hexham*, p. 200.

leaving it his way probably led through Auxerre. His collection of relics on this⁶ and subsequent occasions⁷ is especially mentioned by his trusty biographer Eddi; nothing can be more likely than that he should have conferred some part of it on Hexham.

To translate freely the three additional 'miracles' given in the Savile manuscript :—

I.

The Lord in his mercy hath shown forth his loving kindness and hath in these our days given unto his people signal evidence of the merits of our blessed father Acca. There is in the monastery at Hexham a certain craftsman of Hexham⁸ usefully employed in constructing the conventual buildings.⁹ On the solemn festival of St. Acca,¹⁰ when the ardent devotion of the brethren caused them to pass the night in the praises of God, a little girl, the niece of this person, was suddenly taken ill. In the calm of the night's sleep she was seized with sudden pains, and unable to bear the acute suffering completely disturbed the repose of the others with her immoderate cries and moans. Grievously was he put about by his niece's indisposition, for he was bringing her up as his daughter. The next morning a great swelling appeared over the whole of her body; her skin looking as if it had been burnt with fire. When the vestments of the blessed Acca were exposed in the church to be seen and kissed of the people, the girl was borne with the rest of the crowd to the service in honour of the blessed bishop. At the touch of the healing garments all the swelling passed away and her skin was restored to its former beauty.

⁶ 'cum multiplici benedictione et reliquiarum sanctarum auxilio navem ascendens.'—*Vita S. Wilfridi*, vii. Gale, *Historiæ Britannicæ Scriptores*, xv. iii. p. 54.

⁷ 'reliquiarum sanctarum ab electis viris plurimum ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Britannicæ adeptus, nomine singulorum scribens, quæ cujusque sancti essent reliquiae.'—*Ibid.* xxxii. Gale, iii. p. 68; 'moreque suo ab electis viris sanctus reliquias nominatim congregans.'—*Ibid.* liii. Gale, p. 83.

⁸ 'in monasterio hagustaldensis [*sic*] minister;' *lege* 'hagustadensi.' As an inmate of the monastery the 'minister' no doubt would be called a 'lay-brother' nowadays.

⁹ The gateway of the monastery may possibly be of this date: 'officinis' would not refer to any important works: Ducange gives 'Architectus' = 'faber qui facit tecta.'

¹⁰ St. Acca's day was the 20th of October.

II.

A certain noble, and powerful, William de Veupunt,¹¹ was wont in his campaignings to resort to the guest-house of Hexham church. It chanced once that he came thither, and being hospitably welcomed sate him down to dine. His son, a little lad, was with him, who too greedily swallowing a piece of apple, it stuck in his throat and he fell senseless. The table being removed up sprang the lord; the lady¹² also, in a great stew, with frantic cries and womanly lamentings, and with her all their household. Snatching up the child they carried him in all haste to the church, where neither with thumps nor bumps on his back and breast could they ease his choking. Gaining admission, after some hours, to the innermost sanctuary, they lay the boy beside (or *upon*) the high altar of St. Andrew, under the relics of St. Acca and his companions. Earnestly persevering in all prayers and supplications, they merited to be heard. For suddenly the boy (recovering his powers only by a direct act of God) spat out the piece of apple, all stained with blood, and speedily achieved his wholeness of health and full wellbeing.¹³

III.

In the early days of his elevation, Roger¹⁴ the archbishop undertook many enquiries and much trouble with a view to join house to house, and to couple field with field. On this errand he came to Hexham and called to him among other of his tenants one Huctred de Acum, a man well in years, with whom he long remained in converse respecting his estates which lay on all sides of the neighbourhood, their position, their rents, the terms upon which they were held, and the tenants. ‘*Qui (sic) gloriaris in malicia*’¹⁵—for he dared to speak evilly before the ruler, and with wicked craft uttered

¹¹ William de Vipont (Veteri Ponte) held Elrington, Alston, and Newbrough, by a grant of King John.

¹² Maud, the wife of William de Vipont, was the daughter of Hugh de Moreville, one of the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

¹³ The boy was probably Ivo de Vipont, who afterwards bestowed the advowson of Alston on the canons of Hexham.

¹⁴ Roger de Pont l’Evesque, archbishop of York, 1154-1181.

¹⁵ Cf. Psalm lli. 51.—‘*Quid gloriaris in malitia, qui potens es in iniquitate?*’

many cavils and slanders against the church of Hexham and the brethren. At length, upon the same day, while on his way home through the woodland of Akewood,¹⁶ after crossing the river Tyne, and in the path that leads to St. John's church, he caught his foot and fell headlong face foremost upon a prong, so that one of his eyes was torn out and flung far from him. [The pain brought him to a sense of his wickedness¹⁷] and he, the false accuser, on his way thence, stricken to the very heart with woe, pondered amid his groans—'Ill hath my mouth spoken against the blessed patron Acca and his house and lo! deserved his wrath from which I suffer.'¹⁸

APPENDIX.

The following is an accurate transcript, line for line, of the three 'miracles' as given in the Savile MS., the many contractions being amplified:—

fo. 15 verso. lin. 9.

Misericors dominus dedit be
nignitatem. & in his die
bus nostris insignia meritorum bea
ti patris nostri acce populo suo
innotuit. Habetur enim in mo
nasterio hagustaldensis minis
ter quidam architectus in constrn
endis fratrum officinis utiliter neces
sarius. In die itaque sollempni sancti
acce quo fervens fratrum devotio
in laudibus dei pernoctaverat: pu
ella parvula neptis eiusdem
ministri incurrit egritudinem
repentinam. Sub silentio enim
nocturni soporis irruerant in
eam dolores subiti, unde ipsa
inpatiens vehementis passionis:
nimiis clamoribus & eiulatu quie
tem quiescentium omnino pertur
bavit. Indoluit graviter praefatus
minister super hac sue neptis mo
lestia: quia eam paterno voto
aluit. Mane autem facto: apparuit
in toto corpore eu is tumor nimius
& inflatio enormis. & universa

¹⁶ Raine has confused 'Acuudam,' i. p. 58 (Akewood), with Acomb in foot-note *p*, and also in his Index of Places, clxxxv.

¹⁷ Text obscure.

¹⁸ The first miracle seems alluded to in MS. Cotton, Vitellius, A. xxx. 262 *b*, but is there attributed to St. Eata: 'Puella a tumore et inflatione, tactis vestimentis beati Eatae episcopi, sanatur, et superficies cutis pristino decori redditur.'—Raine, *Hexham*, i. p. 219.

fo. 16 recto.

superficies cutis quasi combusta igni. Cumque vestimenta beati acce in ecclesia contuenda & deosculanda populo exponerentur: delata est puella praefata cum reliqua turba ad officium beati praesulis. Ad tactum itaque salutarium in dumentorum: tumor omnis & in flatio in puella resedit. & superficies cutis pristini decoris restituta est indecus.

Homo quidam nobilis potens in procinctu milicie

i. de veteri ponte

willelmus de veupunt. hospicium ecclesie haugustaldensis frequentare consuevit. Accidit autem ut veniret illuc: & liberaliter receptus. discubuit pransurus. Puer etiam parvulus filius eius delatus est cum eo. Qui particulam pomi cum edatior gustaret: hesit in gutture eius. unde exanimis corruit. Amota igitur mensa: prosiluit herus. prosluit & hera cum clamoribus & eialatu femineo exestuans. & cum ea tota familia: rapientesque puerum citius intra ecclesiam detulerunt. ibique nec pugnibus nec percussibus in scapulis in pectore pueri quicquam commodi conferre poterant suffocato. Post aliquas horas admissi in interiora penetralia: secus magnum altare

fo. 16 verso.

lum corruit. evulsusque oculus eius procul ab eo proectus est. Vexatio intellectum dedit auditui. unde

ad cor

rediens praevaricator ingemuit: ingeminans frequenter. Os meum maligne locutus est adversus beatum patronum accam & domum eius. & ecce iustus meus indignatione multatus sum.

sancti andree sub pignoribus bea

eius

ti acce sociorumque puerum exposuerunt. Totis itaque votis precibus insistentes: exaudiri meruerunt.

&

Puer enim subito non nisi a deo resumtis vite viribus illam potestati particulam expuit cruentam. & integram salutem & plenam sospitatem citius optinuit.

In primordiis promotionis sue rogerus archiepiscopus multam disquisitionem & sollicitudinem habuit: quomodo domum ad domum coniungeret. & agrum agro copularet. Venit itaque ad hagus taldunum. & inter ceteros homines suos quendam huctredum de acum virum grandevum ascivit ad se. Quem conveniens super suis circumquaque circumiacentibus terris. & situ terrarum. & redditibus earum: super tenuris & tenentibus. cum eo diu contulit. Qui gloriaris in malicia: quia coram potente praesumpsit loqui in iniquitate. multas questiones & calumpnias movit subdolo ingenio adversus ecclesiam haugustaldensem & fratres. Denique eadem die per nemus de acuud domum reversurus. amne tina transmisso. insemita que ducit ad ecclesiam sancti iohannis: offendens pedepreps pona facie subito super furcu

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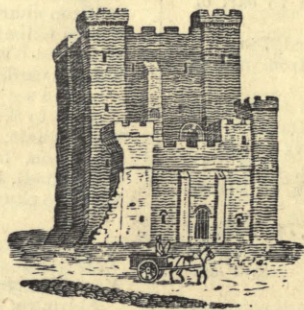
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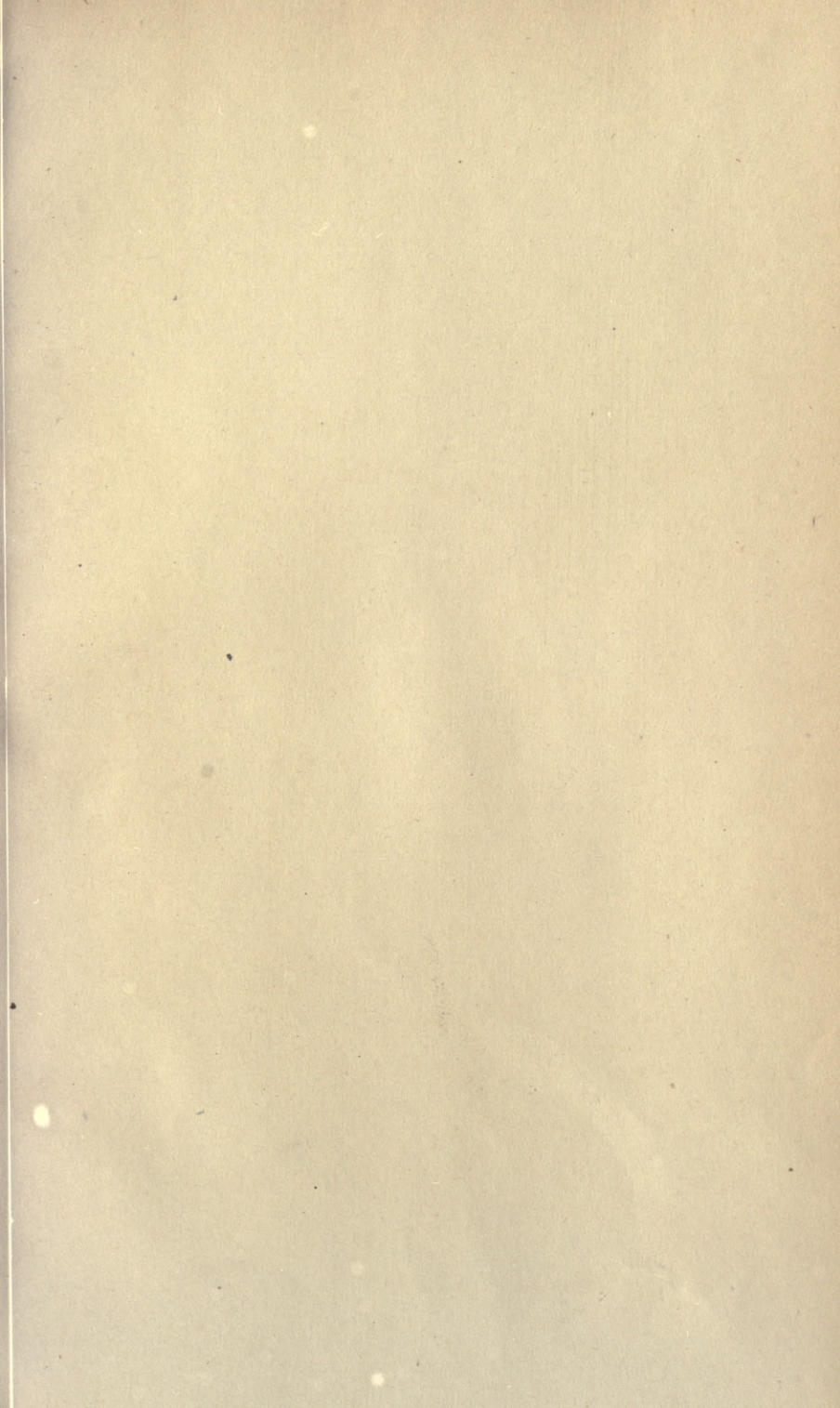
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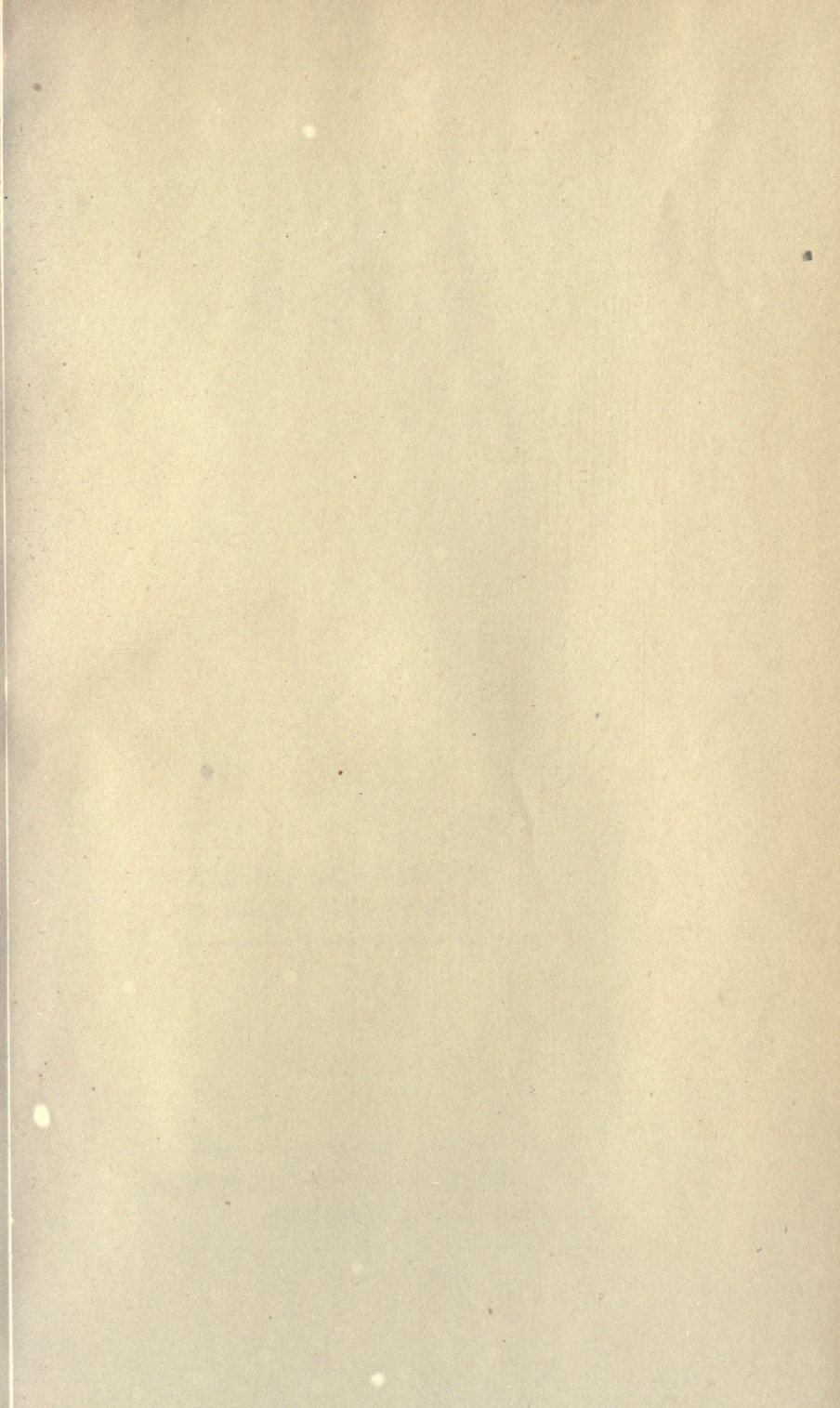
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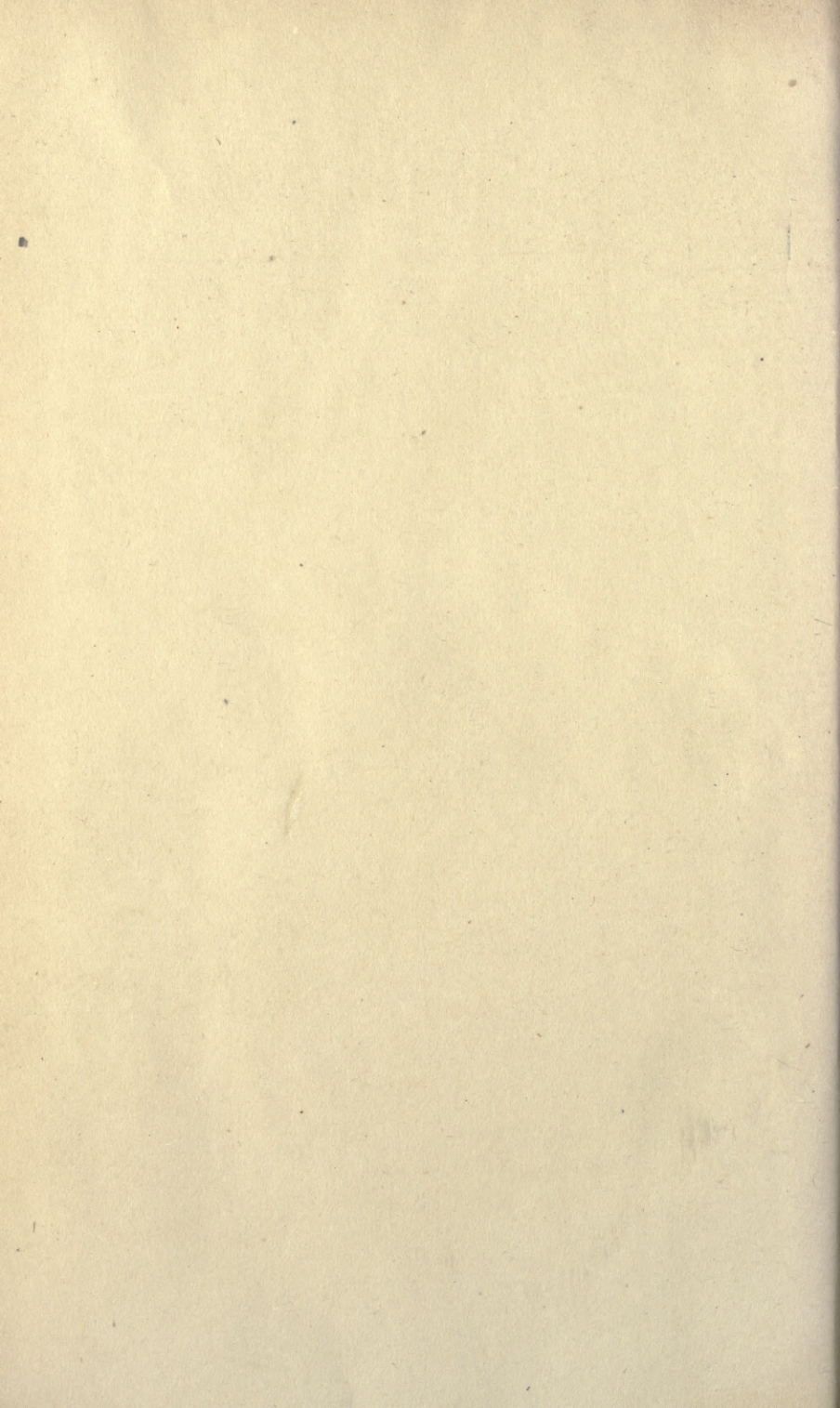
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