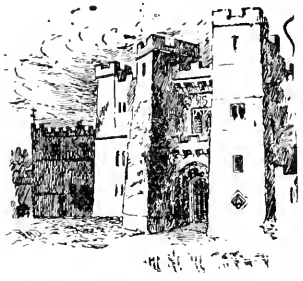
RABY CASTLE.

The Works of the Nevilles round Darlington.

THE WORKS OF THE NEVILLES ROUND DARLINGTON.

BY J. P. PRITCHETT, HON. LOCAL SECRETARY AT DARLINGTON CONGRESS.

(Read 29th July, 1886.)



THIS town, which you have honoured by making your head-quarters this Congress, is surrounded by the works of the great family of Neville, —the castles they built or enlarged, the churches (cathedral, conventual, collegiate and parish) which they founded, or built, or added to, in which they had their chantry chapels; where they were christened, married and buried, and in many of which "their sepulchres are with us until this day." But before describing these works it may be necessary to say a word or two about the family.

The Nevilles (or "Neuvilles," from the place of their birth in Normandy) came over with William the Conqueror, being, in fact, his cousins; and one of them, Gilbert, was an admiral in the invading fleet. After the conquest, Gilbert Neville settled at Horncastle, in Lincolnshire; but his descendants do not seem to have been of

great importance till the heir of Neville married, in 1176, the heiress of the Bulmers, a family owning the castles and estates of Brancepeth in this county and of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire.

In the next generation the male line of Neville became extinct, and the heiress of Neville married Fitz-Maldred, Lord of Raby, about 1227 ; and his son took the Norman name of Neville, though he was of Saxon lineage, being descended from Uchtred, the Earl of Northumberland, who married Elfgiva, daughter of King Ethelred II., called the Unready, and sister, therefore, to King Edward the Confessor.

This famous house of Neville, an anonymous writer of 1652 says, had produced, up to that date, in the male line, one duke, one marquis, fifteen earls, two Archbishops of York, one of whom was also Lord Chancellor, and innumerable lords or barons. First, the lords from Uchtred to Fitz-Maldred ; six Lords of Raby, after changing the name to Neville, before the Earldom of Westmoreland was given (1398) to them ; one Lord Furnival, two Lords Ferrars, one Lord Seymour, seven Lords Latimer, eight Abergavenny, about one hundred Knights Bachelors, several Knights of the Bath, some Knight Banneretts, one Knight of Rhodes, nine Knights of the Garter, three Lord Chancellors, besides the Bishops and Archbishop before named, who were also Lord Chancellors ; one Earl Marshal ; three Lord High Admirals, one of whom was also Lord Chamberlain of England, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Lieutenant of Calais ; four Lord Chamberlains of the Household, and several other minor offices ; besides which I may name that

though the above writer wrote after the attainder of the leading branches of the family, the barony of Burgavenny still survives in the Marquis of Abergavenny, who is premier Baron; and the barony of Braybrooke devolved on a Neville, 1797, and is still held by his descendant, Lord Braybrooke.

In the female line, besides many ladies married to Knights of the Bath, to baronets, privy councillors, Knights of the Garter, to younger sons of the nobility, and to eldest sons of peers who died before their fathers, there have been, says the writer above named, one queen (Anne, Queen to Richard III.), six duchesses (Norfolk, Buckingham, Beauchamp, Exeter, Clarence and York), fourteen countesses (four Northumberland, one Kyme, one Shrewsbury, two Oxford, one Arundel, one Derby, one Bridgewater, one Rutland, one Exeter, one Norwich), one abbess, numerous baronesses (two Lumley, one Fitz-Maldred, one Orme, four Scroope, one Manly, three Dacres of Gilsland, one Dacre of the South, one Falconbridge, one Conyers, two Cobhams, one Montacute, one Bonville [afterwards Hastings], one each of Fitzhugh, Le Strange, Clifford, Deincourt, Ross, Grey, and Lucas), one baroness (Le Despencer) in her own right; and from one, Lady Neville (Cicely, the Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III., and so grandmother of Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII.), have descended every king and every queen regnant of England and Scotland since that time; and nearly every royal family in Europe can trace their descent from the same noble and beautiful lady, called "The Rose of Raby"; and thus was the prophecy, which was traditional in the family, fulfilled, that "the descendants of Fitz-Maldred shall sit on the throne of England."

In the third generation after the son of Fitz-Maldred took the name of Neville, Ralph Neville was summoned to the House of Lords in the famous Parliament of Lincoln, 1301, by Edward I. His son, Ralph Lord Neville, was in high command at the famous battle of Neville's Cross, 1346, near Durham, when the Scottish king, David Bruce, was captured. His son John, who negotiated the terms of ransom, obtained as his share the enormous sum of 24,000 marks, equal to about £240,000 of our present money. He was a great soldier, almost constantly abroad, fighting in France, Brittany, Aquitaine, Castile and Turkey; but he was also a great builder, as we shall see further on. His son, Lord Ralph Neville, was created Earl of Westmoreland by Richard II.; and though he received numerous favours from that unfortunate king, he deserted his cause, and espoused that of Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, and was one of the chief instruments in putting him on the throne; this change of policy being, no doubt, caused by his having married, as his second wife, Henry's half-sister, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt by Lady Catherine Swynford, his first wife having been Lady Stafford, descended from Edward I. This earl was a man of enormous wealth and power. He had twenty-three children: nine by his first wife and fourteen by his second. Seven out of his twelve sons became peers, and seven of his eleven daughters became peeresses. His large estates were principally divided between the eldest son by the first marriage (who, of course, became Earl of Westmoreland), who inherited the Durham estates of Raby and Brancepeth; and the eldest son by the second marriage, who became the great Earl of Salisbury, having the Yorkshire estates of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton.

On the breaking out of the Wars of the Roses, the two branches of the family chiefly took opposite sides; the elder branch remaining Lancastrians, whilst the younger may be almost said to have commenced the war by fighting to put on the throne the great Duke of York, who had married their youngest sister, Cicely, called, from her great beauty, "The Rose of Raby."

Of the elder branch little more need be said. The fifth Earl offended Queen Elizabeth by marrying, as his third wife, the sister of his deceased second wife; and the male line came to an end on the death, in 1601, of the sixth Earl, after thirty years spent in exile, he having been attainted in 1571 for having been a leading conspirator in "the rising of the North."

The career of the main line by the Earl's second wife was more brilliant, but shorter.

The eldest son, the great Earl of Salisbury, was executed at Pontefract, after the battle of Wakefield, 1461. His more famous son, the Earl of Warwick, "The King-Maker," after setting Edward IV on the throne, and marrying his beautiful and high-spirited eldest daughter, Isabel, to the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence, quarrelled with Edward, and endeavoured to undo all he had done and set Henry VI on the throne again; part of his scheme being, no doubt, to secure the succession to his descendants by marrying his gentle and lovely younger girl, Anne, to the Prince of Wales, son of his late arch-enemies, Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. He was killed at the bloody battle of Barnet Heath, and his son-in-law, the Prince of Wales, at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471.

His younger daughter, Anne, thus left a widowed

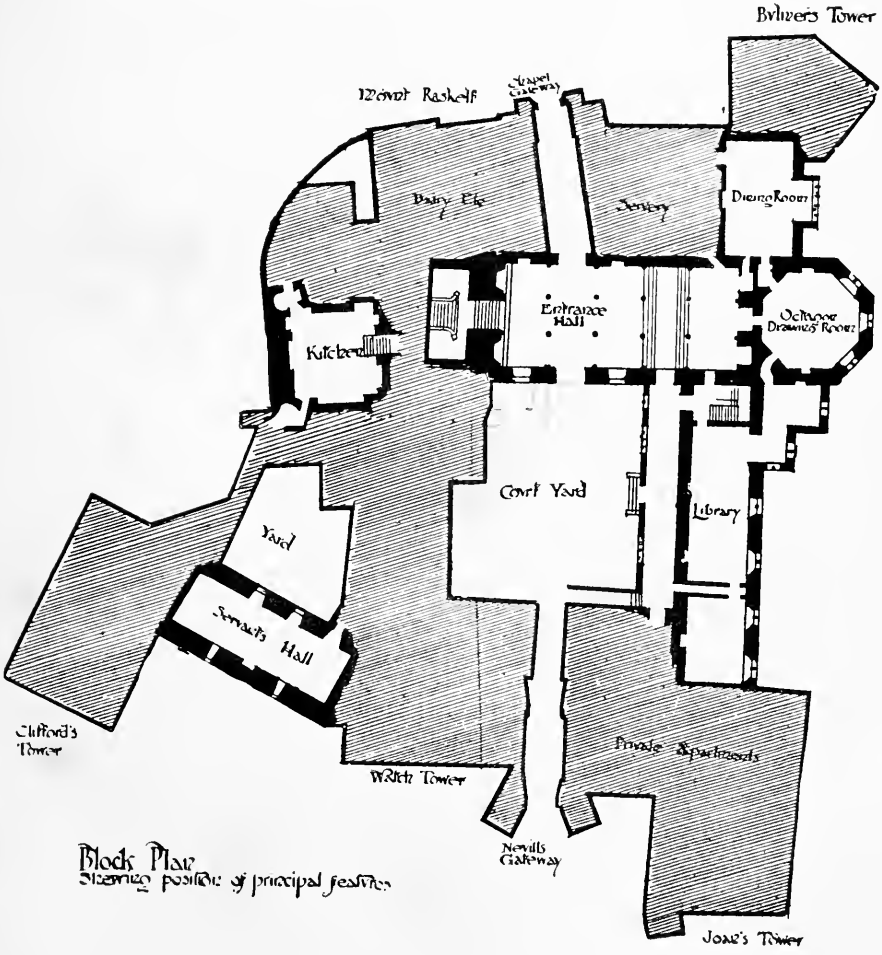
Princess of Wales, married in 1472 the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III; and their only child died at the age of eleven, at Middleham, in 1484, the last child of the last Plantagenet King.

Isabel, the eldest daughter of "The King-Maker," had one son and one daughter. The former, called the Earl of Warwick, was imprisoned by Richard III at Sheriff Hutton, and on the accession of Henry VII was taken to the Tower of London, and after eighteen years' imprisonment there was executed by Henry VII for no other offence than being the legitimate male heir to the throne, and because Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, would not allow their daughter Catherine to marry the Prince Arthur as long as the Earl of Warwick lived. So perished the last *male* Plantagenet.

His sister, the Countess of Salisbury, the last Plantagenet, was brutally executed by Henry VIII when she was seventy years old, because she corresponded with her son, Cardinal de la Pole; but through her, numerous descendants of "The King-Maker" still exist in the female lines.

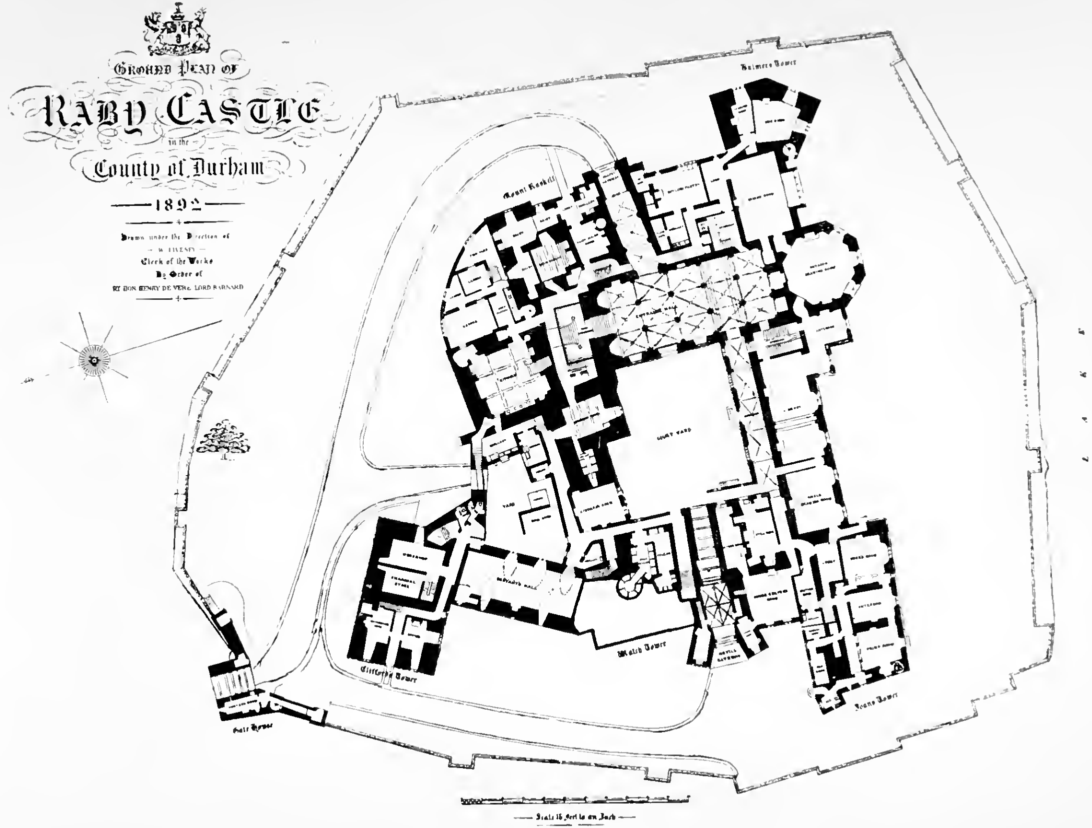
The limits of this paper prevent my dwelling on the other children of the Earl of Westmoreland; but I may name three of them,—the third son by his second wife, who became Lord Latimer, on whom he settled the estate and Castle of Snape; the sixth son, who became Lord Burgavenny,—the only peerage out of the seven enjoyed by the great Earl's sons that has survived to this day; and the youngest child of the twenty-three, Cicely, "The Rose of Raby," who married the Duke of York, and so became mother of Edward IV and Richard III as named before.

To come now to the buildings. I will first name Raby, ten miles west by north from Darlington. The name signifies a secluded habitation. Secluded it was eight hundred years ago, and secluded it is still, so secluded that, except from alterations made to suit the tastes of succeeding generations, the castle itself is as perfect now as when built five hundred years ago.



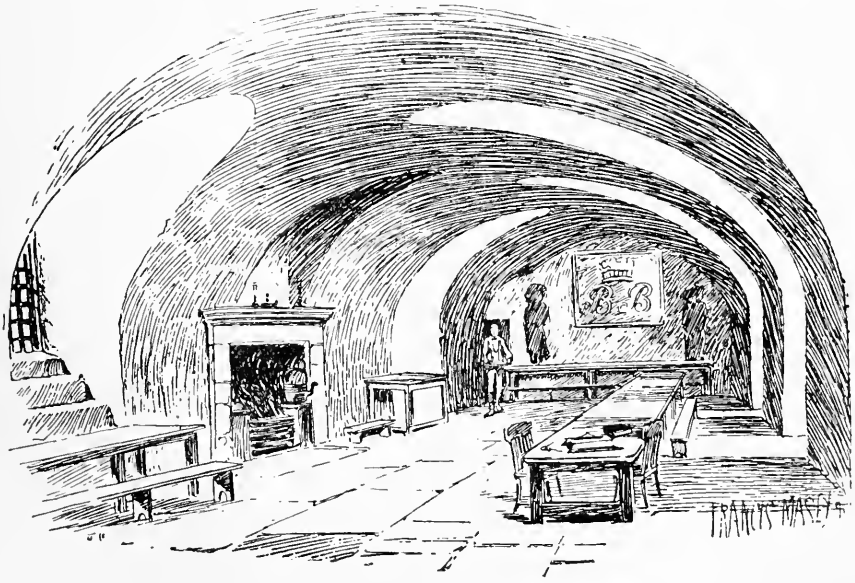
Block Plan
Showing position of principal features

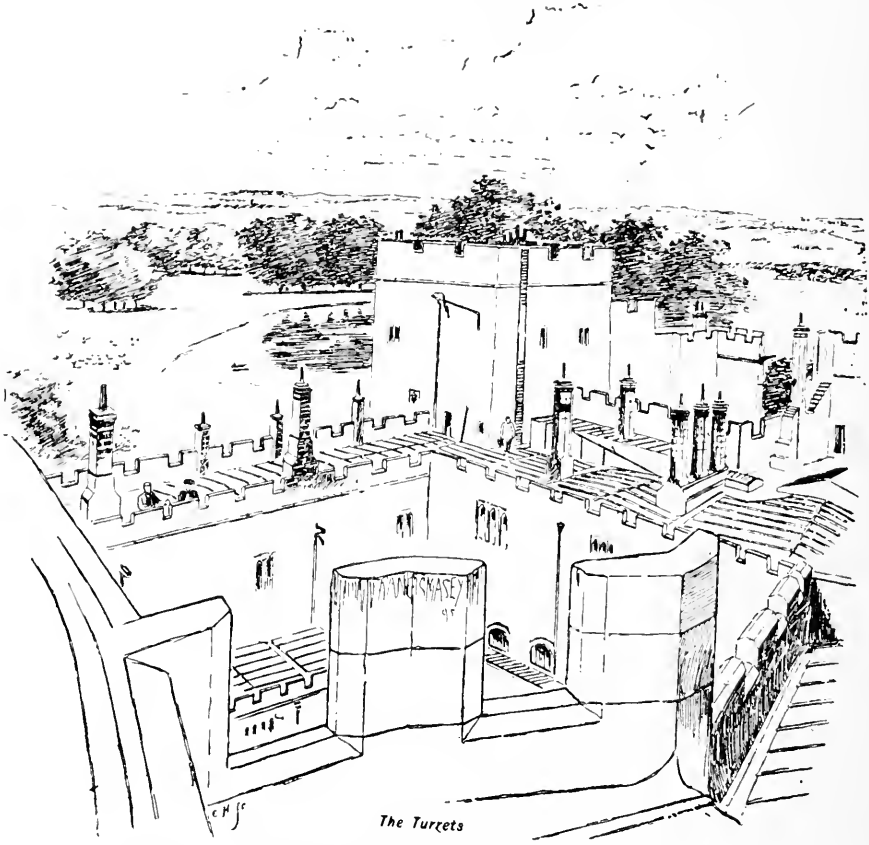
The estate of Raby was granted by King Canute, 1015-39, to the monks of Durham, and was by them granted in 1131 to Dolphinus (great grandson of Uchtred, and grandfather of FitzMaldred, who married the heiress of Neville), at a perpetual annual rent of £4 and a fat buck on St. Cuthbert's Day. Whether any of the early Norman Manor House remains, built in and surrounded by the present walls, is uncertain; but I am inclined to think that a piece of rubble wall near the watch-tower is part of an earlier building, and, judging by the irregularity of the plan, that an earlier house is incorporated, but so completely cased in as not to be traceable. License to crenellate was granted, 1379, to Lord John Neville, son of the Lord Ralph of Neville's Cross fame, and father of Ralph, the first and greatest Earl of Westmoreland. As this Lord John was nearly all his life fighting abroad, and his son was as much at home bringing up twenty-three children, most of whom were born during the life of their grandfather, I think we may call the building of this magnificent castle the work of the great Earl, just as much as the building of Sheriff Hutton and the enlargement of the Castles of Brancepeth and Middleham are his work. Such details as are left in all four works are almost identical; and as Lord John died in 1389, only ten years after the license to crenellate was given, it could not have been finished at the time of his death. The plan subjoined is copied from one recently made by the direction of Lord Barnard in 1892, the dotted lines showing an addition made when the present octagon drawing-room was added, lengthening the baron's hall above it. I am not aware when the names I have marked were given to the towers. I do not think they can be of great antiquity; as, for


Ground Plan of
Raby Castle
in the
County of Durham
1892
Drawn under the Direction of
Clerk of the Works
By Order of
Rt Hon Henry De Vere, Lord Barnard
Bulmers Tower
Mount Raskell
Court Yard
Entrance Hall
Clifford's Tower
Joans Tower
Gate House
LAKE
Scale 16 Feet to an Inch

instance, Bulmer's Tower cannot, I think, be an original name, the name of Bulmer having become merged in that of Neville two hundred years before that tower was built, as is clearly shown, if even there were no documentary proof, by an enormous letter B carved in the upper stage of the tower, and which is clearly not earlier than 1380. I am inclined to think that the letter was carved and the tower named "Beaufort," after the Earl's second marriage with Joan Beaufort. The "Joan" tower is called after the same lady, and it is the part of the castle that would most likely be used as the ladies' apartments, and it bears evidence of having been enlarged soon after it was built. The name "Neville's" Tower would hardly be given in the time of the Nevilles who built the whole castle.

The most important features of the castle are the massive and picturesque towers, the splendid baron's hall, and last, but not least, the grand kitchen. This is, I





The Turrets

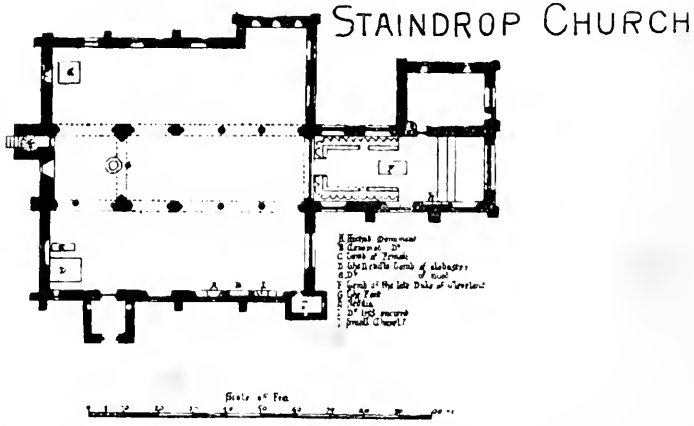
believe, the finest ancient stone groined kitchen left—certainly surpassing those of Durham and Glastonbury. This at Raby is as perfect as the day it was built, with magnificent groining supporting a very beautiful ventilating turret of stone. There are passages running round in the thickness of the walls communicating with the lofty windows, no doubt for the purposes of defence; underneath is a very fine groined crypt.

Lost to the Nevilles by the attainder of the sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland in 1571, the Castle was granted by James I to His favourite Carr, created Earl of Somerset, but on his execution, soon after, it reverted to the Crown, and was purchased, along with Barnard Castle, in 1629, from the lessees of Charles I, by Sir Henry Vane, the ancestor of Lord Barnard, the present owner, for £9,904 11s. 3d. In 1648 it stood a siege, the only record of which is the register of the burial in Staindrop Churchyard of a soldier slain at such siege.

Since this paper was originally printed the author has had the pleasure of re-arranging the fittings of the ancient chapel over the Neville Gateway, and at the same time opening out the inner half of a large window at its West end that looked into the Barons' Hall before its floor was raised, a window and door on the south side near the East end that looked into a chamber or oratory, and a window near the east end that looked south over lower roofs, and now throws light on to the Communion table. At the same time the walls and roof were richly decorated, and a painted glass window inserted at the east end by Mr. Curtis, successor to Ward & Hughes, of London.

Staindrop Church, just outside Raby Park.—This very fine church clearly shows the history of its erection and subsequent enlargements, which appear to have kept pace with the increase in power and wealth of the Nevilles of Raby. Remains of windows show it to have had originally an early Norman nave, no doubt the work of the Durham monks. In it an arcade, so as to add aisles, was very cleverly inserted, apparently about 1175, the work, no doubt, of Maldred, the father of Fitz-Maldred, who married the heiress of Neville. About 1225 the church appears to have been rebuilt, except such arcades, no doubt by Fitz-

Maldred, who, by marrying the heiress of Neville, acquired enormous estates. At that time two bays were added to the west end, with the lower half of tower, and transepts added, and chancel lengthened, and priests' rooms built. The north aisle appears to have been lengthened at the same time to the present west wall; and the south aisle extended in the same manner and widened some twenty years later, and the porch is probably of the same date. In 1343 Lord Ralph Neville, the hero of Neville's Cross, obtained license to found three chantries in



the church, and it is probable that the aisles were then altered to their present form by having larger windows inserted, and a small sacristy built at the east angle of the south aisle. The chancel appears to have been remodelled by Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, when he made it into a collegiate church, about 1422. The present large windows appear to have then displaced the earlier lancets, the walls to have been raised, the roof to have been re-built, and the present stalls and rood-screen to have been erected, some of the work being identical with that

in the stalls at St. Cuthbert's Church, Darlington. Joan Beaufort, the second wife of the Earl, erected a college or hospital on the north side of the church, and endowed it for the maintenance of decayed gentlemen and other poor persons. Not a vestige of such building now remains. The upper stage of tower appears to be of the same date, about 1420, and the font, which bears the arms of Lord Burgavenny (eighth son of the first Earl of Westmoreland) and his wife Elizabeth Beauchamp, may have been erected about 1450-1475.

But the chief point of interest in this church as connected with the Nevilles is in the monuments. Near the south door is a most magnificent altar-tomb of alabaster, erected by the first Earl of Westmoreland, in memory of himself and his two royally-descended wives. On the top are recumbent figures of the Earl and his two wives, Lady Margaret Stafford and Lady Joan Beaufort, all wearing the Lancastrian collar and badge S.S. The tomb is surrounded by most beautifully carved canopied niches, which used to contain figures; but the whole is much mutilated, though enough remains to show that it must have been one of the most magnificent monuments in the kingdom. It was originally erected in the chancel near the altar, but was removed to its present position in 1792, to make room for the marble monument to the second Earl of Darlington. It is very well illustrated in Blore's *Monumental Remains.*

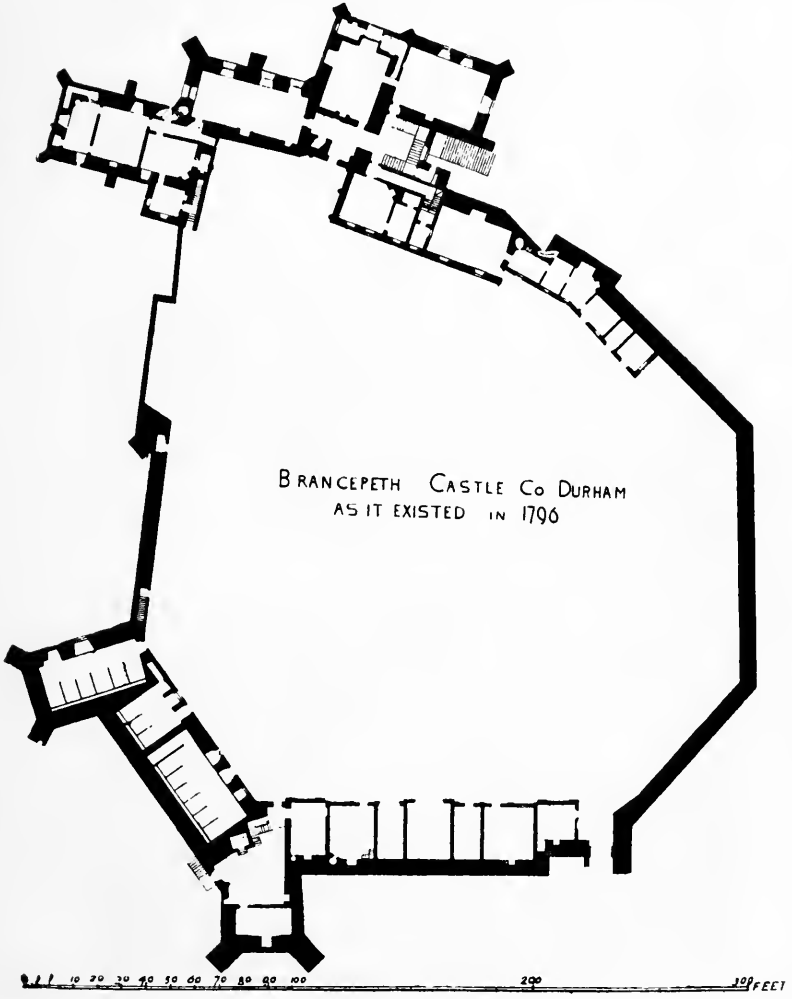
The church also contains, at the west end of the north aisle, a fine monument of oak, erected in 1560 to the fifth Earl of Westmoreland and his two wives, whose effigies are recumbent in the tomb, the space for the third wife being vacant, no doubt because Queen Elizabeth would not recognise her, as being deceased wife's sister. The sides

are occupied by figures of the Earl's eight children. This tomb used also to stand in the chancel. In the south aisle are two niches and female effigies, about the date of 1300; it is not known for certain whose effigies they are, but Canon Raine thinks two of them are Euphemia and Margery, the two wives of Lord Radulphus Neville, who died between 1330 and 1343; and the third figure, now at the west end, may be Mary Fitz-Randulph, who brought the Middleham estates to the family by marrying Robert Neville, who died about 1271, she dying 1320.

The annexed plan is copied, by the kind permission of the Rev. H. C. Lipscombe, Vicar of Staindrop, from his work on the church, published 1852.

Brancepeth Castle, fourteen miles north of Darlington.—The "Brawns'" or Boars' "path" or haunt, came to the Nevilles by the marriage of Emma, the heiress of Bulmer, with Geoffrey Neville, 1176. It is mentioned as a fortified place in 1104. It is historically interesting as the place whence Lord Ralph Neville issued with his retainers to resist the Scotch invasion, October 1346, and fight the battle of Neville's Cross. The sword said to have been used by him on that occasion is still at the castle. A great part of the castle was built by Lord Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, about 1400. The castle and estate were forfeit to the Crown on the attainder of the sixth and last Earl, 1571. In 1613 James I gave them to his favourite, Robert Carr, whom he made Baron Brancepeth; and, on his execution, for being accessory to murder, they reverted to the Crown, were sold to certain citizens of London, and, after various transfers, were bought, in 1796, by William Russell, Esq., the ancestor of Lord Boyne, the present owner, for £75,000, and the castle was enlarged and rendered fit for residence in 1818. The annexed plan

is copied from one kindly lent to me by Lord Boyne, which was, however, taken before these additions were made, and so represents the ancient work only. A great part of the original work remains, and is very like Raby in its details.



Brancepeth Church, dedicated to St. Brandon, a saint of the sixth century.—The earliest portions of the present church are about 1260, built, no doubt, by Fitz-Robert, the son of the Fitz-Maldred who united his Raby estates with those of Brancepeth by marrying the heiress of Neville, though there are records of earlier churches. Like Staindrop it has been enlarged from time to time, as the Nevilles increased in wealth. The tower and nave are Early English; the aisles and transepts, Decorated; the chancel, Early Perpendicular. The woodwork, chiefly the work of Bishop Cousins, *temp.* Charles II.

The chief interest in connection with our present subject is, like Staindrop Church, in its monuments. The colossal effigy in Weardale marble of Robert Neville, called the "Peacock of the North"—no doubt from his crest, which is still at Middleham Castle—is remarkably fine; it is 7 ft. 9 in. long, wears chain armour, with surcoat reaching to the knees; and the figures, the dragon and dog at his feet, and the foliage between them, are all very beautiful. Robert Neville was killed in fighting the Scotch near Berwick, in 1319. I shall have occasion to say more about him when dealing with Middleham Castle.

There is also an oak monument which has originally been an altar-tomb with figures surrounding it, but it has been cut in two, so that the cover, on which two fine effigies are recumbent, rests on the base, the intermediate part being lost. The figures are of a knight and his lady; and, as they both wear the Yorkist badge, it must have been erected between 1461 and 1485. The second Earl of Westmoreland died 1484, so it is most probably the monument of him and his Countess, erected just after, or even before his death. He was the founder of the Jesus chantry in this church, and no doubt this monument originally stood there.

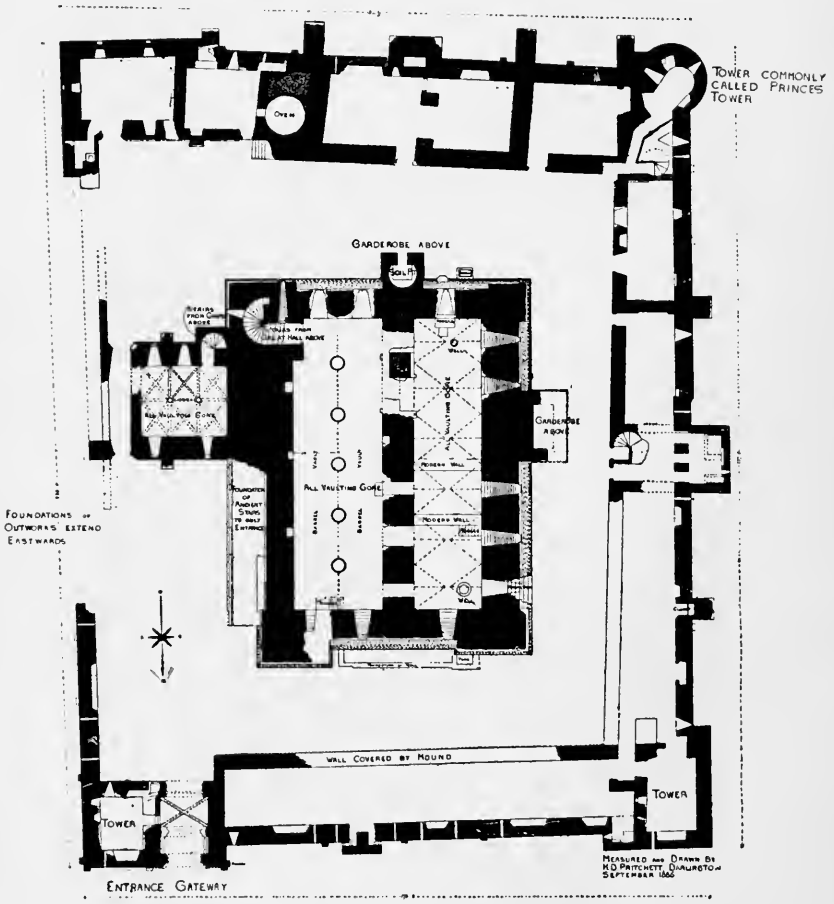
A fine marble altar-tomb, removed from the Jesus Chapel in 1876 to its present position under the tower, is supposed to be that of Matilda, wife of the third Earl, who died 1523, and their son Ralph, who died 1529.

Neville's Cross, between Brancepeth and the city of Durham, was erected, no doubt, to commemorate the battle, though an earlier erection, which gave its name to the battle, existed there, as the place where proclamations were made to the Neville tenants, possibly even a market-cross before the city of Durham existed. The upper part of the cross was destroyed 1589, soon after the fall of the Nevilles of Brancepeth and Raby, but part of the shaft remains.

Durham Cathedral, seventeen miles north of Darlington, connected with the Nevilles by the fine monuments still existing, though in a mutilated state, of Lord Ralph Neville, the hero of Neville's Cross, who was the first layman interred in Durham Cathedral in 1367, twenty-one years after the battle; and, of his son Lord John, who was also present at Neville's Cross, and who died on the forty-third anniversary of the battle, October 17, 1389. The matrix of the brass in memory of Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, son of the first Earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1457, is also there. All these monuments stood originally in the two most easterly bays of the south aisle of the nave, which was the Neville Chantry Chapel. The monuments are said to have been defaced by the Scotch prisoners confined here after the battle of Dunbar in 1650, and they have been removed so as to stand under the arches of the same bays.

Another interesting memento of the Nevilles in this cathedral is the reredos, which was erected in 1380 as a memento of the famous battle. It occupied seven masons

for a year, and cost 800 marks (£553 : 6 : 8), of which Lord Neville contributed 600. When filled with figures, as it originally was, it must have been very fine. It is now bare, though it is rumoured that figures are being sculptured to refill the spaces.



PLAN OF MIDDLEHAM CASTLE YORKSHIRE AS IT NOW EXISTS (1880)

Middleham Castle.—This magnificent stronghold, the home of "The King-Maker," is twenty miles from here, in a south-west direction, respecting which the author of *The Last of the Barons* says, "Middleham, not Windsor, nor Shene, nor Westminster, nor the Tower, seemed the court of England" in the time of Warwick, "The King-Maker," the last of the barons.

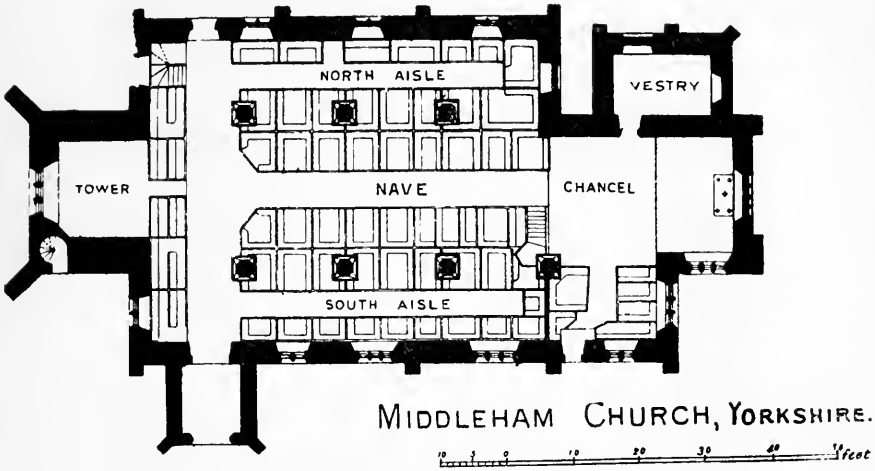
This fine castle and estate came to the Nevilles about 1260, by the marriage of Robert Neville with Mary, sole heiress of Ralph FitzRandolph, the lord of Middleham. Mary survived her husband (who died in 1271) for forty-nine years. Her only son does not seem to have been a very virtuous character, though he was the first Neville summoned to the House of Lords, and thereby made a peer of the realm. His mother did not allow him to enjoy the Middleham estate, but settled it on her grandson Robert, "The Peacock of the North," whose effigy I have described as being at Brancepeth Church. His crest, the peacock, very beautifully carved, is still to be seen in Middleham Castle; but as he died, unmarried, two years before his grandmother, the estate came to his brother Ralph, the hero of Neville's Cross. The original, central part of the castle, which appears to date about 1150, is supposed to be the work of Robert FitzRandolph, who inherited it from his grandfather Ribald, the youngest brother of Alan Rufus, first Earl of Richmond, who died in 1089. This central part, which is very massive, is, with the exception of the roof and floors, nearly perfect.

On the property descending to Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, he found it far too small for his requirements; so leaving the original castle intact, he built a larger castle round it about 1400. He settled it,

along with Sheriff Hutton, on the eldest son of his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and who, by marrying the heiress of the Earl of Salisbury, became the famous Earl of Salisbury, who was one of the principal agents in commencing the Wars of the Roses, by espousing the cause of the famous Duke of York, who married the Earl's youngest sister, Cicely, "The Rose of Raby." It was from here that the Earl of Westmoreland marched in 1455 to the battle of Bloreheath, with 5,000 Richmondshire men, to fight for his brother-in-law. Here his son, the great Earl of Warwick, "The King-Maker," kept as a prisoner-guest the son of that brother-in-law, Edward IV. Lady Anne Neville, the daughter of "The King-Maker," often lived here when she became Duchess of Gloucester, and afterwards Queen of Richard III; and here it was, in 1473, that their only child, the last child of a Plantagenet King, Prince Edward was born; and here he died, in 1484, though buried at Sheriff Hutton.

On the death of Richard at Bosworth, it was, of course, seized by Henry VII, but was never again honoured by the residence of royalty. It was sold by the Crown to the City of London, who sold it in 1661 to Mr. Wood, descendant, who re-sold it to Lord Masham. As a ruin it is still very grand; for though the outer ramparts are gone, and the moat filled up, the massive Norman keep towers above the fourteenth century work, which being not so massive, and more accessible, has naturally been more used as the quarry wherewith to build the town of Middleham.

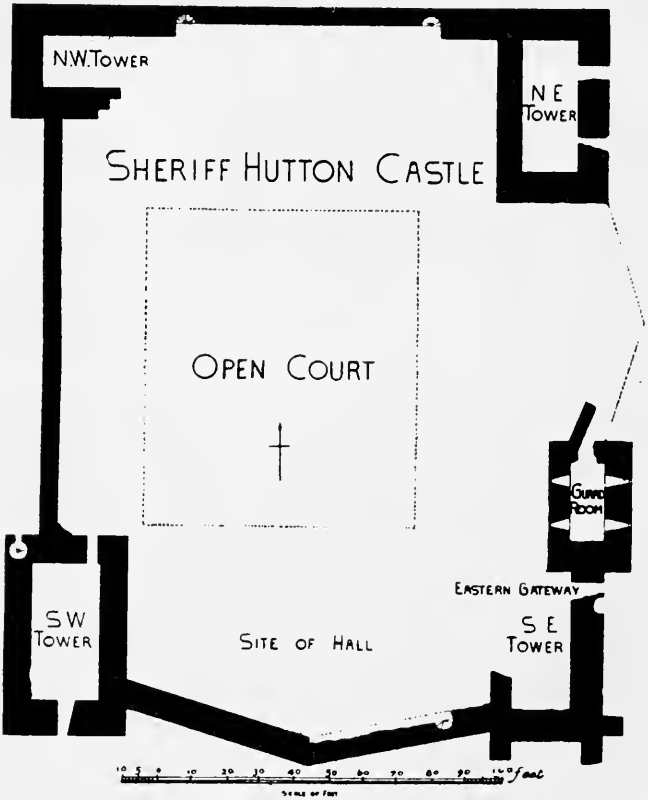
The plan opposite has been specially measured and drawn by my son for this paper, and is, I believe, the only plan ever made of this castle.



Middleham Church.—Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmoreland, endowed the church with glebe land and tithes of the town. It is a fine church, chiefly Perpendicular, and very probably was built or enlarged by the Nevilles, though they do not seem to have used it as a burial-place; the only Neville recorded to have died at Middleham, Ralph, the first Baron Neville, having been buried at Coverham Abbey, about two miles off, where some very fine twelfth century effigies of the FitzRanulphs, the early lords of Middleham, still exist.

Richard III, the husband of Queen Anne Neville, constituted Middleham a collegiate church, and granted lands to endow it; but on his death, Henry VII seized the lands; so that having nothing to lose at the time of the Reformation, the honorary constitution was left untouched, and the clergy were called dean and sub-dean, and had the power to confer honorary canonries until within a few years ago; so recently that Charles Kingsley derived his first title of

Canon from this church; and in his published *Life* some beautiful letters are given, written by him from Middleham when he went to receive the dignity of Canon.



Sheriff Hutton Castle, forty miles south-east of Darlington,—"How-Town," or town on the hill, belonging to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, Bertram Bulmer, in 1140. It came to the Nevilles in 1176, by the marriage of Geoffrey Neville with Emma, the heiress of the above-named Bertram Bulmer.

The ancient castle having been destroyed in the civil wars of King Stephen's reign, the magnificent castle, of which the ruins now remain, was built by Lord John Neville or his son Ralph, the first Earl of Westmoreland; license to crenellate being dated 1381, two years after that of Raby. So we see that two of the principal castles of the Nevilles, Raby and Sheriff Hutton, were rebuilt, and the other two, Brancepeth and Middleham, greatly enlarged by these two great Lords,—Lord John Neville, one of the greatest warriors of his time, acquiring great wealth from the ransom of King David Bruce, and from his enormous pay from the Kings Edward III and Richard II, and from John of Guant for fighting abroad; and his son, afterwards the great Earl of Westmoreland, staying at home apparently, and both during and after his father's life laying out a great part of this newly acquired wealth in the best way he could —building.

The ruins are still magnificent and picturesque, one of the towers being 100 feet high; but the place is in a sadly neglected state, being used as a fold-yard. The rooms and courts which were once graced by the presence of the royal and beautiful ladies, Joan Beaufort, Cicely Duchess of York, Queen Anne Neville, Princess Elizabeth of York, and their guests and attendant ladies, are now strewn with manure, and roamed over by grunting pigs under the very gateway bearing the Neville arms impaling those of the royal Joan. Of detail there is none left to tell the date, had not documents supplied the information; the castle having been a quarry for the village of Sheriff Hutton for many years.

The chief events of historical interest connected with this castle, in addition to its having been the occasional

residence of the royal Joan and her husband, the first Earl of Westmoreland, and of the Queen Anne Neville and her husband Richard III, are, that during Richard III's reign were separately confined here both the legitimate *heiress* to the throne (the Princess Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV), and of the legitimate *male heir* to the throne (the succession of princesses not having then been established), Edward Plantagenet, only son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence and Isabel Neville, and who, though by rights should have been Duke of Clarence, and King, was only allowed the minor title of Earl of Warwick. The fate of these cousins was very different; the poor Prince was sent for the day after the victory of Bosworth, and imprisoned in the Tower of London for sixteen weary years, and then executed by the tyrant Henry VII, for no reason beyond that of his being the rightful heir to the throne; the Princess Elizabeth left Sheriff Hutton to share the throne with the usurping Henry VII, and, by being the legitimate heiress to the Crown, transmitted her title to all the future kings and queens regnant of England and Scotland.

In the magnificent park, filled with fine timber, is to be seen the stump of an ancient decayed oak tree, still called the "Warwick Oak," the tradition being that the poor young Prince might not extend his walks further from the castle than this tree.

Sheriff Hutton Castle was, from 1490 to 1500, the residence of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was sent by Henry VII to put down the disaffection of the North, and in the next reign, another Thomas, the Duke of Norfolk, resided here for ten years; on his death, 1524, it became the residence of Henry Fitzroy, son of Henry VIII

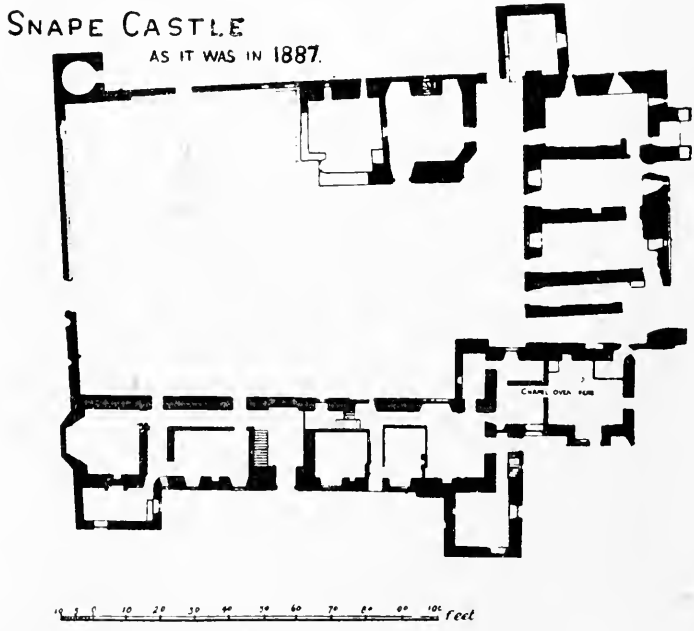
by Lady Talbois. James I visited it in 1617; but by a survey made by his orders in 1624, it appears to have become a ruin at that time. Charles I granted it to Sir Thomas Ingram, to whose descendant I believe it still belongs.

Sheriff Hutton Church, though not to be compared with the other Neville churches of Staindrop, Brancepeth and Middleham in size and dignity, is in one respect more interesting than all, in having the remains of the tomb and effigy (though sadly mutilated) of the last child of a Plantagenet king, Edward Prince of Wales, only child of Richard III and Queen Anne Neville, whose birth and death at Middleham I have before named. It seems curious he should be buried so far away from the stately castle where he died. Perhaps the explanation is that, as the King and Queen were at Nottingham Castle at the time of the Prince's death, they appointed the funeral *cortege* to meet them at Sheriff Hutton; the Queen, whose delicate constitution never rallied from the shock, being perhaps anxious to spare herself both the extra fatigue and painful emotions of going to Middleham, or Coverham Abbey. Anyhow, the modest church of Sheriff Hutton has what, so far as I know, no other simply *parish* church in the country has, the monument and effigy of a Prince of Wales. They originally stood in a chantry chapel at the end of the north aisle, and its remains are still not far off the original site. Though not large, they are sufficient to show that it was a most beautiful altar-tomb of alabaster, what remains of the canopies and statue being most exquisitely sculptured.

The only other connection between this church and the house of Neville is, that Lord Ralph Neville, the hero of Neville's Cross, maintained two priests here to celebrate

daily mass for the souls of his father and mother, and in 1349 he and his wife endowed a chantry for one priest to say mass for ever.

Snape Castle, near Bedale, seventeen miles south of Darlington, came to the Nevilles on the marriage of Lord John Neville, father of the first Earl of Westmoreland, with Elizabeth, heiress of Lord Latimer of Danby and Snape; and her son John succeeded to the barony, but, leaving no issue, the estate devolved on his half-brother, the first Earl of Westmoreland, who settled it upon his third son, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort.



The most interesting historical feature in connection with Snape Castle is, that it was the residence of the

beautiful and accomplished Lady Catherine Parr during the time of her marriage with her second husband, John Neville, Lord Latimer; she having been left a widow, beautiful and rich, at the age of sixteen, by the death of her first husband, Lord Borough. Curiously enough, these two husbands, as well as her third, Henry VIII, were widowers, having children older than herself; and no doubt it was the experience she gained here as a stepmother that enabled her to so excel afterwards in that capacity to Edward VI and Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen Elizabeth. It was here, too, that she imbibed the Protestant principles that she afterwards instilled into the Prince and Princess just named. Her husband, who was a staunch Papist, joined the first "Pilgrimage of Grace," and only saved his life by the influence of his wife with Henry VIII; it was his wife's influence also that prevented his joining the fresh insurrection the following year.

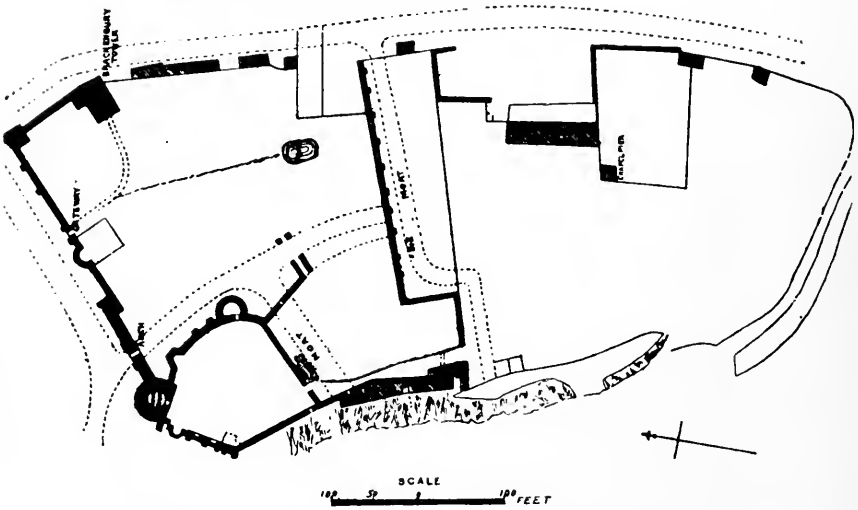
The last Lord Latimer married Lucy, daughter of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester; and his second daughter, marrying Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, brought the Castle into the Exeter family, who retained possession till a few years ago, when it was sold to the father of Sir F. Milbank, the present owner.

The Castle is now in ruins, except one wing; and the Elizabethan work of the Cecils is so cleverly grafted into the Tudor work of the Nevilles in the chief parts of what remains that it is very difficult to say how much of the original exists. The chapel where Catherine Parr used to worship is, however, preserved; and an extensive wing, the basement storey of which alone remains, is of the same date, about 1450 to 1500; probably, therefore, the work of the third Earl Latimer, father of Lord John, who married Catherine Parr.

The accompanying plan has been measured and drawn by my son specially for this paper, and is, I believe, the first ever made.

Well Church, about two miles from Snape, contains the monument of Sir John Neville, last Lord Latimer, who died 1577; also the monument of Lady Dorothea, first wife of John, the fourth Lord Latimer, who afterwards married Lady Catherine Parr.

BARNARD CASTLE.



Barnard Castle, fourteen miles west by north of Darlington. The chief part of this castle was built, 1112-32, by Barnard Baliol, son of Guy, who came into England with the Conqueror; it was lost to his descendants on the attainder of John Baliol, King of Scotland, 1296; and in 1305 Edward I gave it to Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and, on the marriage of his descendant, Anne,

daughter and heiress of Richard Beauchamp, with the King-maker, it came to the Nevilles about 1450, passing from the King-maker to his younger daughter, Anne, who became Duchess of Gloucester and Queen of Richard III, and reverted to Henry VII with the other property of the King-maker. It was held by Sir George Bowes for Queen Elizabeth during the rising of the North, 1569, and was beseiged by Charles Neville, sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland, and his confederates. It was given by James I to his favourite, Carr, Earl of Somerset; reverted to the Crown on his execution, and was sold, along with Raby, to Sir Henry Vane, ancestor of Lord Barnard, the present owner.

Richard III, whilst Duke of Gloucester, resided here with his wife, Anne Neville, and seems to have made some additions or alterations, his badge, the boar, still remaining on the soffit of an oriel window commanding a beautiful view of the Tees.

It was unroofed and dismantled in 1630, and is now in ruins. The chief points of interest are: its circular thirteenth century keep, which has a curious flat roof to its lower storey (19 feet diameter, only rising about 18 inches), of rough rubble stones running in a coil to the centre, and perfectly firm 750 years after its erection, though for 200 years there has been no roof above it; and the oriel window before named.

The annexed plan is copied from one prepared by Mr. M. Thompson, in the *Transactions* of the Durham and Northumberland Archæological Society.

Barnard Castle Church is connected with the Nevilles by having been made into a collegiate church by Richard III

when Duke of Gloucester, and some additions having been made to it by him, the boar being still to be seen sculptured at the east end.

Last, and not least, I will name *York Minster*, where the monument still exists of George Neville, Archbishop of York, who died 1478, and who was brother to the King-maker, and where Anne Neville had conferred upon her the highest honour a lady can receive, being there crowned Queen of England, on August 31, 1483.

APPENDIX.

DISCOVERIES IN THE CHAPEL OF RABY CASTLE.

Consequent on works being carried out for Lord Barnard in the Private Chapel of Raby Castle, the architects, Messrs. J. P. Pritchett and Son, have made some interesting discoveries of ancient works which were covered up when the chapel was re-roofed and re-fitted by Duke Henry about 1844. Some remarks in the popular description of Raby Castle by the lately deceased Duchess, led the architects to explore, with a view of discovering a blocked-up window on the south side; and such investigation was rewarded by the discovery and opening out of an ancient two-light window in a wall 10ft. 9in. thick, which now, opened out, throws a flood of light in a corner of the chapel where it was much needed.

The Rev. J. Hodgson, in a series of papers for the Durham Archæological Society, mentions remembering that before 1844 there were the ancient Sedilia and Piscina to be seen on the south side of the sanctuary; and that at the west end there was a six-light window, blocked up on the outside, but left as a beautiful blank arcade on the inside; and that in 1844 the Piscina was pulled down and the Sedilia and six-light window were walled up and plastered. Acting on these hints, Mr. Pritchett explored, and found a six-light west window of the middle of the 14th century, about 14ft. wide and 8ft. high, walled up with solid masonry about 2ft. thick, and, on this being taken down, the sill, head, jambs, mullions, and tracery were found nearly perfect. The interesting point in this window is that it has evidently been originally an open screen, or unglazed window, opening from the end of chapel into the "Baron's Hall," the side of which abuts on it, and it was no doubt intended that, as the chapel would be too small to contain all the Baronial household and retainers, this screen, or open window, which had shutters, could enable people in "The Hall," or general living room of the household, to participate in the service performed, before the Reformation, at the "altar" opposite.

The arches on the south side are equally interesting. They are not of sedilia, as Mr. Hodgson thought, but his error in recollection of what he thought he saw 57 years ago may be pardoned. Mr. Pritchett found a 14th century doorway, and a beautiful three-light window of later insertion, of 15th century work. This, like that at the west end, has been an open screen, or unglazed window, and, together with the door, opened into a small chamber, which has, no doubt, been a private chapel or pew for the lord and lady

of the castle, or, perhaps, for the ladies only, to see the service at the altar of the chapel, on to which this window directly looked; these small chapels or lords' pews being frequently met with in the chapels of Royal and baronial castles. The insertion of this window seems to have necessitated the removal of the 14th century Piscina, further west in the 15th century, but in 1844 it was taken out—though its place can be identified—and it has been since then left loose in the chancel, but has been re-fixed as an interesting relic. Another interesting discovery is the ancient 14th century "Aumbry" —or closet for containing the sacramental vessels—which has been found nearly perfect in the east wall. Unfortunately, the floor of the chapel, which was raised about three or four feet in 1844, now cuts across the south door and window of the Lord's Pew, and cuts in a similar manner across the Aumbry, so that all that can be done is to lower the floor about a foot at the east end and form a trap-door in floor about nine feet long and a foot wide, to enable the full height to be seen when desired.

Lord and Lady Barnard shewed great interest in these discoveries, and gave the architects instructions to expend whatever was necessary to preserve and show to advantage the newly-discovered works.

We may add that the fittings of the chapel have been re-arranged and improved, and a very complete scheme of decoration has been carried out, together with new painted glass in the east window, under the direction of Messrs. J. P. Pritchett and Son, architects, who entrusted the joiner's work to the late Mr. Hobson, of Darlington; the decorative painting and glass to Messrs. Ward & Hughes, of London; and what mason's work was required to Mr. Dodds, of Melsonby. The above-named six-light blank windows will probably have figures of north country heroes painted in the panels, and a reredos in Venetian glass mosaic has been under consideration for a future finish to what will be a beautiful little chapel.

St. Cuthbert's Church from South-West.

The Architectural History of St. Cuthbert's Church, Darlington.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

In view of the approaching 700th anniversary of St. Cuthbert's Church, Darlington, we print *in extenso* a paper read by Mr. J. P. Pritchett to the British Archæological Association, July 26th, 1886, when they held their congress here, Bishop Lightfoot being president.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON.

By J. P. Pritchett.

"This noble Church," the late Sir Gilbert Scott says, in his paper on it (p. 16), "on the whole is one of the most uniform Parish Churches he knew anywhere, and one of the most beautiful." A great deal of information has been exhumed from ancient charters and chronicles by Mr. Longstaffe, and many pages have been written by him, as well as Sir G. Scott, on the interesting "inconsistencies" in some of its details, with somewhat antagonistic theories as to the date of its completion; so that I make no claim to profundity as regards documentary research. But, having known the building for more than a quarter of a century, and taken part in its restoration, I think I can throw some light on its early history.

It is universally admitted that the present Church was at all events *commenced* by Bishop Pudsey, Count-Palatine, the great Transitional builder of the north, the nephew of King Stephen. His reign at Durham (1153 to 1194) embraced the whole time known as the "Transitional period"—transition from "Norman" to "Early English"

architecture—which Rickman dates 1154-1189; and his various works show this transition in a most interesting manner. The first of them, improvements in the Castle of Durham, shows nothing to distinguish it from the Norman style, whilst the last—St. Cuthbert's Church—is in its latest details almost pure Early English.

It is certain that an earlier Church existed here. The architectural proofs of this are the Saxon crosses and other remains found in the walls during the restoration, and now placed in the transept and in the tower gallery; and as to documentary proof, Mr. Longstaffe says there is no doubt that "such church existed about the time when Styr, son of Ulphus, gave the town of Darlington to the Church of Durham," and that "we learn from the Red Book of Durham, that in Karileph's time (1080 to 1095) the prebends of Darlington were ordained for the destitute clerks-secular, who were formerly in the church at Durham, and ejected for the reception of Monks." He shows that they were an hereditary priesthood married, and that they transmitted the livings attached to their canonries to their sons. The foundation consisted originally of a Vicar and four Prebends, named after Darlington, Cockerton, Newton, and Blackwell, the connection with three of which still exists in the appointment of Churchwardens for Darlington, Cockerton, and Blackwell. In the time of Bishop Neville, however, about 1440, a Dean was added to the College, and the name Deanery still clung to an ancient half-timbered building taken down only a few years since at the corner of the Horse-market and Feethams. The tithe-barn was said to be just behind, in the ground between the old Workhouse and Feethams. Its ancient chapel, dedicated to St. James, was only taken down a few years since: it

was Norman in style, the east end showing four circular-headed windows.

According to Longstaffe, Prior Wessington asserts that Pudsey re-built the church from the very foundation, and Coldingham fixes the date as the year in which immense exertions were made for King Richard's ransom (1192). He says, speaking of Pudsey's later years, "among all the vicissitudes of so many storms, he did not desist from the construction of his church at Dernington." But although all agree that Pudsey commenced the church, there is considerable difference of opinion as to *how much of it* he built. Some, with Mr. Longstaffe, think he completed, or almost completed, it, while others, including the late Sir G. G. Scott, think he only carried it up to the first sills, and that an interval elapsed before the work was resumed after his death. The latter opinion is grounded on the difference of style between the ground plan of the building and many of its details, and also the apparent difference in date between many of the details themselves. Sir G. G. Scott calls attention to the remarkable similarity between the plan of this church and that of the original part of St. Cross, Winchester, which was commenced in 1136 by De Blois, Bishop of Winchester, brother of King Stephen, and uncle of Bishop Pudsey, and shows how natural it was that Pudsey should copy his uncle's church, and that, had he lived to finish it, the church would have shown the gradual transition of the period, whereas there is a striking contrast in parts now placed in juxtaposition, some of them being almost pure Early English of a later date (1200 to 1225), Scott thinks, than the date of Pudsey's death in 1194. Longstaffe, on the contrary, thinks that the church, if even not finished by Pudsey, must have made very

considerable progress under William, Pudsey's second architect, who survived his master; that architecture was making very rapid changes at that period; and that the latest details are not sufficiently advanced to be later than 1205.

I think these theories may be to a great extent reconciled. There is most conclusive evidence to show that there was a considerable intermission in the work, but the question is when did that intermission occur? Are the latest details of 1194 (or two or three years later, as Longstaffe thinks), or about 1220, as Scott says? I think it is quite impossible that the church can have been built in the two or three years between 1192, the time assigned by Prior Wessington, and 1194, the date of Pudsey's death. Very few contractors —even nowadays, with railways to bring the stone and steam cranes to hoist it—would undertake to build such a church in that time, if even it went on without interruption. But, on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Longstaffe that the latest detail in the original part of the church is not later than about 1200. The explanation I suggest is that the ground plan may have been laid down and the walls of the eastern parts carried up to about the first string course (six or eight feet), and some material prepared, some time before 1192; that then a break of several years may have occurred—probably on the death of Pudsey's first architect, Richard, which Longstaffe thinks occurred before 1183; that Pudsey *recommenced* the building in 1192, which Wessington might consider the *commencement*, as there was so little then done to show; that the works were carried on by Pudsey's fresh architect, William, interrupted probably for a short time in 1194, on Pudsey's death; and that they were completed before 1200.

The rescue from oblivion of these two architects of the Transition, Richard and William, by Mr. Longstaffe is very interesting. They are mentioned in Surtees's history, but he seems to have misunderstood their ancient title, "Ingeniator," to mean trappers of vermin; but Mr. Longstaffe and Canon Greenwell clearly show that it meant to convey the idea of duties we now assign to the term architect.

The evidence in support of the above theory as to the date of commencement is this: That the ground plan of the chancel and transepts is of earlier character than 1192, is shown by its flat Norman pilasters, instead of the developed buttresses observed in the aisles, and especially in the central pilaster at the east end, showing the intention of having dual windows, as was the early fashion, instead of triplets, which I shall hereafter show the building actually had; and, further, that some of the detail, especially the almost Norman arch on each side of the chancel, is of earlier date than 1192.

That there was a suspension of work for a considerable time at about the level of the first string course was shown, when, in restoring the chancel, we found the red sandstone forming the inside facing of walls very much decayed at that level, so much so that the masons said (without knowing they were helping any theory), "the walls seem to have been uncovered during the winter, and the frost to have got in." The kind of stone used above that level is also changed, except in small patches here and there, as if the architect found it did not stand well, so would have no more of it, but that when short of better he used any that was left on hand.

The fact of a second break, but not of so long duration,

is shown in the difference of style of the mouldings, and especially in the form of the "abacus" or upper member of the capitals in some parts, the square abacus being a feature of Transitional, and the round one of Early English work. It is very curious that the square cap, the earlier type, should occur chiefly in the north transept, and in the main piers of the tower; because it is well known that churches were always commenced at the east end, and one might presume the chancel would always be further advanced than the rest of the church; but the reason may be that the architect, on recommencing the work, did not wish to use the material previously prepared, and old-fashioned, in the principal part of his church, so laid them aside, but being obliged to use them *some* time, did so when he came to the least important part, the north transept. Another difficulty occurs in the use of the square abacus in the capitals of the main piers of the towers, which one would think would not be reached till the chancel was half finished, but I think this may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the piers were then a considerable height, so that their plan could not be changed; and if even the caps were not worked, as they might have been, being a heavy item, some of the archstones may have been, so that the caps must be made to carry them.

I think there is no doubt that this part of the church was carried as high as the spring of the tower arches before other parts were so far advanced, for it is interesting to observe that the three capitals of the first stage, and two caps on the upper tier in the north transept next the tower piers have the square abacus, whilst most of the rest have round ones; also that, whilst the upper arch next the

tower is moulded, the rest on that tier are simply chamfered, like most on that tier in the church, as if on resumption of the work, probably after Pudsey's death, the funds at command would only allow of its being finished in a plainer manner. It is also noticeable that the two eastern piers of the tower are not only richer, but earlier in style than the two western piers. Anyhow, whatever the reason, the fact of these two inconsistencies adds much to the interest of the building, not only historically, but æsthetically. It is quite true that some of the arch moulds in the north transept (square on plan) do not properly fit to the round abacus underneath them, worked no doubt after them; but the variety of effect is so charming that I never go into the church without seeing some fresh beauty.

The change in design of the east end above the first string course, from dual to triplet windows, was very conclusively proved at the time the chancel was restored, although some will remember that before such restoration only four modernised round-headed windows were seen under a flat roof. As some controversy arose at the time on the question, in consequence of Sir G. G. Scott having proposed to carry up the central pilaster and make dual windows, I give the proofs which, after impartial investigation, proved to the satisfaction of Sir G. G. Scott and Mr. Longstaffe, that the change from dual windows, as first intended, to triplets, had been made when the east end was built originally. The only point in favour of the dual arrangement was the existence of a central pilaster as high as the first string course, thus showing what Pudsey's original ideas had been; but finding on closer examination, after removing the usual amount of churchwardens' cement, that the original weathering was still "*in situ*" under the

string, with the original string running through above it, I came to the conclusion that for some reason or other the design had been changed: and the general character of the details being so nearly Early English, I thought it extremely probable that the usual triplet arrangement of that period had been adopted, and looked out for historical evidence on the subject. I found that Longstaffe, in his "History of Darlington" (p. 219), quotes from Cade, the antiquary, "The east end of the quire being out of its perpendicular by taking away its leaded conic roof (after the alienation of the college trust, Edward VI) was repaired in its present humble manner by Lord Viscount Vane in the year 1748. Until that time, the stalls in the quire and architecture of the east end had a venerable appearance, being adorned with six large windows, and excellent Gothic work in stone and wainscot."

As, according to Longstaffe, Cade was famous for his knowledge of all the English and Irish Cathedrals, and for his memory as to their details, and as being born in Darlington, in 1734, he would be fourteen years old at the time when the above work was done, and was a pupil at the Grammar School close by, I thought that pretty conclusive evidence: but was glad to find that George Allan the antiquary, in a manuscript now in the Chapter Library, confirms him by speaking of the east end "being re-built with four lights, which, being very different from the old, impair the beauty," &c. In my design I showed a seventh window in the gable, and on asking Mr. Longstaffe's opinion, he, in approval of it, called my attention to the seal of the church engraved on the title page of his History of Darlington. On this seal two gable ends are shown—one agreeing with the west end, the other assuming it to be the east end

—the most likely one to be figured—exactly confirming Cade's statement, as the seventh or gable window would be demolished when the high pitched roof was removed in Edward the Sixth's time. Wishing to make assurance doubly sure, I had the modern part of the east end taken down whilst the working drawings were only in pencil, and found confirmation in Cade's statement, and my theory, at every step. As soon as the plaster was stripped off the walls the jambs of the original outer windows showed themselves, and in carefully trying the curve of the arch stones I found that some were of greater radius than others. We also found a piece of double springer perfect, and this one stone not only proved that there had been three windows in each tier, but that the centre one had been wider and the arch stilted, as it now is. This adds greater power and beauty to the composition, which agrees in every respect with the grand east ends of Whitby and Rievaulx, though both a few years later than St. Cuthbert's, and probably copied from it.

The South Transept, which was the Lady Chapel, appears to have been the last portion of this original eastern part of the church to be finished, and is extremely interesting as being one of the earliest developments of almost pure Early English; it is also rich in detail, and very beautiful. The next part built appears to be the first piers to the west of the tower, which are Early English in plan, and probably the earliest undercut clustered columns in the kingdom, and the nave and aisles, as originally finished, were no doubt built at the same time; but the three western bays, being the Parish Church, are finished in a plainer manner internally than the chancel and transepts, which were the Collegiate Church. The clerestory and west end of the nave, and the portions of the aisles that remain, viz., the buttresses

and the north and south doorways, except the bases, are undoubtedly a few years, at least, later than the latest portion of the chancel and transepts, being Early English pure and simple.

I think it is very possible that Pudsey's *original plan* did not include aisles, as the west end of the nave has transitional pilasters, whilst the aisles have buttresses a few years later in style, and the plan may have been enlarged when the work was resumed in 1192, as above suggested: this would also account for the nave pillars being rather later in style than the eastern part of the church. No doubt a division of some kind existed across the nave at or about the first piers west of the tower, but whether a stone wall, as at Tynemouth (a church of about the same date), or a wood screen, which was more common, or the division was merely denoted by a step or mark in the floor, cannot now be ascertained. The beautiful light "attached" shafts, springing from the caps of the piers above-named, and continuing to the level of the string under the clerestory windows, have always appeared to me to indicate that a wooden arch or beam, probably bearing the rood, sprung from them. It is well known that originally no women were allowed to enter the churches or even the cemeteries of churches dedicated to St. Cuthbert, such was his horror of the fair sex: but as time rolled on some sort of provision was made for them at the west end, as the Gallilee at Durham, built also by Pudsey, is supposed to have done: in smaller churches like Darlington, a screen or mark across the nave would probably suffice, and may have been at this point, though there is a tradition that a screen existed further west, somewhere between this point and the wall, which before the restoration of the church shut off the western bay, which was used

as a school. Access for the Prebends to the eastern part of the church was obtained by a door, which can still be traced in the west wall of the south transept.

The church, as thus completed about the year 1200, had the aisle walls lower than at present, with a steep roof, the line of which can still be traced by the flashing grooves in the east walls of the aisles, and had, of course, lancet windows (the sills of which can still be traced) like those in the clerestory, but the aisle walls have evidently been of a plainer character than those of the clerestory, as there are no traces of any arcading between the aisle windows, as in the clerestory. The tower—evidently finished just above the ridge of the roofs with a flat or nearly flat roof, as Brenchburn Priory, in the same diocese, and of about the same date and size—*still* remains, and I do not think the addition of a tower and spire can have been intended by Pudsey's architects, as the piers are smaller than is usual for central towers, and did not bear the weight subsequently added, as I shall hereafter show. The aisles were crossed at each pillar by stone arches, as still to be seen at St. Hilda's, Hartlepool. The corbels still exist here at St. Cuthbert's. The upper part of the tower is of the middle of the 14th century, and there is no doubt the aisle walls were raised and the present large two-light windows inserted about the same time, probably a few years later. The sedilia in the chancel are also of the same date as the aisle windows, and the badge of Prebendary Ingleby (who was also rector of Haughton-le-Skerne) an "estoile" in the latter, fixes the date as not later than 1375, the date of his death.

The spire, I am inclined to think, is a few years later still, for reasons I will presently give, but whether Ingleby completed the spire or no, it is clear that as soon as it was

finished it began to crush the walls and piers, so the four lower and three of the upper windows in the arms abutting in the eastern side of the tower had to be walled up, the internal angles being strengthened by angular pieces of masonry called "sqinces," and the beautiful eastern pillars embedded in square masses of stone. They appear to have commenced to re-build the south-east pier, the bases, and parts of the pier in the style of about 1390, being still visible in the staircase to rood loft, but they soon abandoned this and adopted the rougher plan. This and the walling up of the windows was evidently done shortly after the belfry stage of the tower was built, and the other work of Ingleby above named carried out, the small windows constructed in walling up the original westernmost, north and south windows in the chancel, are of later style, the southern one a few years earlier than the northern It is, however, most probable that was all done before 1400. There is a great difference of opinion as to the object of these "low side" windows in chancels, some antiquarians thinking they were for lepers (very common in those days) to see the rood, or to witness the raising of the Host at the altar; others that they were for giving out alms to the poor; others for shedding light from lamps inside the church to drive away evil spirits from the churchyard. Although, however, their object is not certain, it is evident they were considered necessary for other purposes than light to the chancel, which, though the lightest part of the church, has them, whilst the corresponding arms in the transept were walled up at the same time without such windows. I am inclined to think these at Darlington were to enable lepers or excommunicants to "see the rood;" they are too high for giving out alms, or to see the altar, but the splay of the south one

specially, is just such as would command a view of the "rood" on the present "rood loft." Soon after this the arch or rood loft between the eastern piers of the tower was erected; and although one would have fixed the date from its style as between 1375 and 1400, Mr. Longstaffe has fortunately discovered historical proof that it was between 1381 and 1407.

Cade, before alluded to, who published his tract about the Hell Kettles in 1791, laments "the destruction of the arms of benefactors to the fabric, cut in stone and properly blazoned over the entrance into the quire, by a late *reformer*;" and George Allan, the antiquary, also mentions them, but does not say whose arms they were. However, Mr. Longstaffe, in ferretting among Dugdale's drawings of arms in Durham Cathedral and Staindrop Church, was delighted to find also drawings of the arms above referred to. They were on five shields, and Longstaffe, after describing them, names them as—1, Eure, Lord of Witton-on-Wear; 2, Greystock, Lord of Coniscliffe and Neasham; 3, Percy, Earl of Northumberland, quartering those of Lucy, Lord of Cockermouth (and as the arms of Lucy were only quartered by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, after his marriage with Maud, Lucy's daughter, between 1381 and 1384, and the Earl of Northumberland was killed and his lands forfeited in 1407, the date of the arms and most probably of the rood loft is fixed between these years); 4, Dacre, Lord of Dacre; 5, the arms of France and England. As by removal of the former pedal pipes of the old organ, there is now a considerable space of blank stonework, it would be an appropriate thing to restore these shields in memory of the benefactors to the church who bore them. The stones on which they were carved are plainly seen.

This arch, no doubt, carried a large rood, and it was probably used as the pulpit for preaching from before the Reformation; and the organ was very likely placed upon it soon after that time, for in the Churchwardens' account (1634) there is an item "paid George Longstraffe 6d. for washing the organs"

The head of the piscina and aumbry at the east end of the church (now covered by the Mosaic) are of the same date as the north "low side" chancel window, the cusping agreeing exactly, though the sill and jambs appear to be earlier. We next come to the chancel stalls, which are very massive and bold. The date of these is fixed as between 1406 and 1437, by bearing the arms of Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham, and his badge, an eagle. The carving of some of the misereries is very curious. Five of them were destroyed to make room for a "family pew;" but when the chancel was restored I had them re-instated out of oak that came from the sixteenth century roof, introducing the arms of Cardinal Langley and the Duke of Cleveland, and copying others from Staindrop Church, which has some carved apparently by the same hand. Like the stalls in that church, these at Darlington evidently had traceried panelling above the backs, as under the modern capping mortice holes still exist, and I believe that the panels doing temporary duty at the ends of the stalls came orignally from such position, and this—which is no doubt the "carving in wainscot" referred to by Cade, before quoted, as having been removed—I had the pleasure of restoring a few years ago by the liberality of the Duke of Cleveland.

There is an entry in the Churchwardens' accounts in 1635, "Making the new stalls, £9 0s. 6d." This would be about the time the pews at Haughton were put in, but no trace of Jacobean work remains at Darlington.

St. Cuthbert's Church from South-East.

The last pre-Reformation work in the church is the "Easter Sepulchre" on the north side of the chancel, which is about 1450, and may be the work of Bishop Neville, who, as before named, appointed a Dean. The date of the vestry (anciently the treasury) may, from the character of its buttresses, be fixed about 1350. It may therefore be the work of Prebendary Ingleby, who erected the important works before named; at the same time the external door from the chancel was no doubt broken out and the narrow passage cut most recklessly in the thickness of the walls. The cornice and parapet are comparatively modern, probably at the time of Queen Anne, and the present windows are more recent still, probably inserted in 1748.

In the south transept is an effigy of a figure in the costume of the 12th century, and is supposed by Longstaffe to be Berengaria, Queen of Richard I, but this is very doubtful. I think it is an ecclesiastic.

An entry occurs in 1659, "Paid Longstaff for dressing the church after the *gaurds* —— in it, 2s." This must have been after some of the Royalist troops were on their way from Scotland to the battle of Nantwich, or to expel the "Rump" Parliament, had occupied the church.

The old font was replaced by a more ornamental one, the gift of the late Mr. R. H. Allan, when the church was restored in 1863, and given to Messrs. Thompson for use in the temporary church of St. Paul's, in North Road; it has lately been brought back, and though not restored to its legitimate use, has had all its paint and whitewash removed, and is erected in the south transept. The base and shaft are circular, of Frosterley marble, and probably as old, or even older, than the present church; though if

the moulding, which there must have been between the two, were still existing, we could tell with more certainty. The basin is of grit stone, octagonal in form, and much later, I think—probably of Ingleby's time (circa 1375), when the old one may have been broken when the aisles were raised. The font cover is of the 17th century. In the churchwardens' accounts is an entry, in 1663, "to paying expenses (3s. 6d.) of sending to Ferryhill and Brancepeth to enquire for workmen to make a font cover, when Robert Bamlet and Brian Heavyside came over, and because of their dearness we could not agree, and they had their charges, 6s." As it is not unlike some of the work at Brancepeth Church, but ruder, it may have been afterwards done by some workmen of the above-named, who imitated their master's work.

In 1662 occurs another interesting entry, "Bringing 2 loads of stone to the font, 16s. 8d. To the *mayson* for the stones and setting up of font, £2 18s. 6d." This must refer to the steps for setting the font upon, and may be the same it now stands on. It may have been upset and desecrated during the Commonwealth, and in this the year of the Act of Uniformity, it would require to be replaced. It was until 1862 in the west bay of the church, which was screened off. In the same year occurs, "Making a *clot*" (cloth) "for the pulpit, 6d.;" and "for the *Letany* seat 4s. 6d." So it is evident they put all in order that year.

The altar mentioned by Leland as existing in his time, and "being of black marble spotted with white," has long since disappeared.

Traces of piscinæ, or sinks, for pouring down water after rinsing the chalice, still remain—one in the east wall before named for the High Altar; two in the south transept (the

Lady Chapel and All Saints Chapel). In this chapel the Chantry Priest taught the boys of the parish, which was the origin of the Grammar School, and there were two in the north transept. There are aumbries attached to them, and another very curious one running three feet into the wall near the top of the staircase in the south transept.

Coming now to the modern history of the church, we find that the roofs of the nave and transepts—which are almost entirely of the original oak timbers of about 1200 A.D., the most ancient, I believe, in the diocese—were lowered about four feet in 1707 by cutting off the "eave struts" and ends of the rafters, so that they just rested on the inner face of the wall; at the same time stone parapets were erected, as shown in all the old views of the church; and flat ceilings were introduced all over the church about 1820.

In 1748 the east end was taken down and defaced, as before named in detail, and the ancient panelling above the stalls destroyed and replaced by painted woodwork, and removed into the vestry at the restoration. On July 17th, 1750, the spire was struck by lightning, and about 50 feet of the upper portion were re-built. Unfortunately the contractors were allowed to omit the beautiful roll moulding at the angles, still to be seen in the lower part, and the spire lights, which no doubt existed in the upper to balance those still traceable in the lower part; so, no doubt to make all alike, they chiselled off the beautiful canopies of those left, and completed the humiliation of the poor spire. In 1756 a new organ gallery was erected, and two galleries were erected at each end of it, at which time the old coats of arms were defaced as before named. After this, church-

wardens "improvements" went on at a rapid rate, so that before the church was restored in 1862 and following years it was a collection of galleries or lofts and family pews. Pillars and arches were cut away in most reckless style to make easy room for sleepy heads and fat carcases, the stonework inside was covered with dozens of coats of whitewash, and outside hardly any of the mouldings retained their original form, being "repaired" in cement, and the piers of the tower were cracking in a most ominous way from settlements in the foundation. However, the aspect of affairs was so serious that a faculty was obtained for restoring the church, and Sir G. G. Scott was employed by the Commissioners to carry out the work: and the works he carried out were briefly as follows:—The tower and spire were shored up with a mass of timber, and the two western piers carefully re-built: all the lofts, galleries, and staircases and modern seats were removed: the plaster and limewash and paint chiselled off the internal stonework, and all the stonework carefully restored. The roof was raised to its original height, by lengthening the spars and replacing the eave struts in their original form. Whilst the tower and spire were shored up it was wished by many of the parishioners that the rood loft should be removed, the eastern piers of the tower restored, and an organ chamber built; but the proposal was not carried out. When the restoration of the nave was about half done the Duke of Cleveland, as lay impropriator, undertook the restoration of the chancel, and commissioned the present writer to carry it out. The principal work was the restoration of the east end, as previously described. The roof was replaced by an entirely new one, and all the stone and woodwork throughout was thoroughly restored, and the church re-opened in 1865.

The bells are all modern, and bear the following dates, and some of them the names also of the founder, churchwardens, and donor, which would be too long to give :— Two are of 1755, one 1761, two 1864, one 1865, and two 1866. There is an entry in the churchwardens' book in 1638, "Casting the great bell anewe £11." This was again re-cast in 1864.

The clock just removed was about 100 years old, but I can find no particulars of it. There is an entry in 1638, "Paid John Davison making the clock £5," but this may have been the clock that was inside, over the east gallery. The old chimes were removed at the time of the restoration of the church, and some new ones put in a few years since do not seem to answer, as they are never used.

In 1791 the churchyard wall was built at a cost of £51 9s.

Such is the history of this beautiful church, but how few of those who enter its sacred walls—hallowed by uninterrupted divine worship for nearly seven centuries—are aware of its importance in the architectural history of the country, and what a connecting link it is between the Norman and the English styles—how the latter is, in fact, developed and worked out in this noble building—and how much fewer still give a thought to the splendid geniuses, Richard and William, Pudsey's architects, who accomplished it, and how few realise the enormous expenditure of labour in building a church like this at that time ; some of the stone used in the internal lining of the lower part came from the Tees—very likely about Croft—but all the rest is of Houghton Bank, about six miles off on the old North Road, and would have to be borne on the backs of horses or in very rude carts with great labour ; and how few praise

the old masons for the wisdom they showed in using only the purple bed, which has, on the whole, lasted well these 700 years, whereas the yellow bed from the same quarry used recently in buildings I could name has perished.

The simplicity and harmony of its plan (especially if I am right in my conjecture that it was originally planned without aisles), and of its leading lines, is unsurpassable. Its composition is nave, chancel, and transepts, with pilasters, forming square turrets at the angles; two tiers of windows, and beautiful arcades running round between string courses on which their pillars stand, that below the upper windows forming the abacus of the main piers of the tower, and connecting the whole composition in beautiful symmetry. Again, nothing, I think, can surpass the simple dignity of what was evidently the original conception of its detail, as shown, for instance, by the piers, caps, and arches of the tower, where you have quiet dignified foliage springing from circular shafts, and developing into square capitals to carry strong and effective arches; or take the north transept, where you have the same idea—square caps with simple foliage carrying arches of a grand common-sense section, quiet and dignified, with effective shadow, and showing the utmost refinement of thought in the beautiful way they finish—not abruptly in the cap, but with "returned fillets" and "pyramidal stops." This period in the history of the Transitional is, I think, the perfection of our national architecture; for simple dignity and true beauty arising out of sound construction, never equalled by the more ornate succeeding styles. Trace the history of architecture round by the chancel, and say if, as it developes into the almost pure Early English of the south transept, it is not finer than anything nearer than the

York transepts, and even in some aspects of its simple dignity, surpassing the almost too-much-of-a-good-thing to be found there: note its primitive "dog-tooth"—simple and quiet—afterwards developed into a much larger ornament, and done to death by miles in Early English work. Again, trace in the capital of the respond at angle of south aisle and transept, an exquisite leaf—the "Benet" or emblem of the Trinity—connecting the circular bell with the square abacus, and see in it the prototype of millions of leaves carved during the next seventy-five years on all Early English capitals, but having an artistic feeling and quiet repose, without the stiffness characteristic of most Early English foliage. Many of the caps to the windows and arcades have also the same beautiful characteristic, and the bases to the same pillars, whilst of the type from which the pure Early English or "Attic" base soon afterwards sprung, are less stiff, being formed in section of elipses, instead of the precise circles of the Early English. In the south transept are also some very elegant "pateras" of "trefoil," "quatrefoil," and interlacing patterns, the latter unsurpassed for delicacy, and the absence of the primness so characteristic of Early English work. Of the mouldings generally in the three eastern arms of the church, it is impossible to speak too highly; for, while not carried to the excess of hollow and shadow observable in pure Early English, they have sufficient to be effective without being sensational, and are so varied as not to weary by too much repetition. There are several other features about the detail unusual for the date—such as the beautiful flowers carved in the jambs of the lower east windows; the octagonal capitals in some of the arcading, especially in the north transept; some foliage very like the "Transitional

volute" usual in square caps of this date, applied in round caps in the chancel; some "engaged" shafts in the arcading, and some very curious as going up a few courses "engaged," and then finishing in detached shafts. There are also some traces of coloured decoration, especially in the north transept, and one very beautiful fragment in fresco of about the year 1200, on the jamb of the priests' door in the south transept. A curious niche in the same transept deserves notice. It is in the fourteenth century masonry, strengthening the tower pier, and is only a few inches deep, and the broken surface of the course at its base and round the edge of its ancient jambs seem to indicate a projecting bracket, and carved "ogee" canopy, and, I am inclined to think, it was intended for a figure of the Virgin. Long may all this lovely work—as perfect now as when chiselled 700 years ago—be preserved intact.

The following summary may be useful to those who wish to keep the history of the church in mind, the dates being as near as the latest investigations enable me to fix them, the reasons for so fixing them being given in the previous paper. Being strongly of opinion that English history is taught in a totally wrong manner, and should be taught so as to connect the events of our history with the erection of ancient buildings, where such remain, I append in parallel columns the leading events that occurred about the time that each portion of St. Cuthbert's was built :—

1003-1016. Styr, son of Ulphus, gave the manor of Darlington to the Bishops of Durham. Saxon church	Time of King Ethelred the Unready. Aldune, Bishop of Durham; the seat of the see recently moved (955)

existed at Darlington, but no evidence exists as to the time it was built.

from Chester-le-Street to Durham.

1180-1183. Saxon church pulled down; foundations of present church (probably without aisles) put in, and walls of chancel and transept carried probably about 6 or 8 ft. high, by Richard, architect to Bishop Pudsey.

Henry II king. Thomas-a-Beckett recently murdered. England just divided into six circuits of assize. Civil war between Henry's children.

1183-1192. Work stands.

Richard I, Cœur de Lion, has succeeded to the throne; gone to Holy Land on third crusade; has taken Acre and captured Saladin.

1192. Work recommenced by William, successor to Richard, Pudsey's architect; aisles added to the design. East end altered from dual to triplet arrangement, chancel carried on first, north transept next, south transept last, and carried up to about level of string course under upper tier of windows before 1194, time of Pudsey's death.

In returning home was treacherously made captive in Austria; released 1194; returned to find his kingdom in great distress by the intrigues of his brother John and the feuds of the Barons, and general outlawry. The time of Robin Hood, Little John, and Friar Tuck. Date of events depicted in Scott's "Ivanhoe."

1195-1200. Work carried on, but plainer in upper part of transepts; nave and west end finished; aisles finished with low walls, steep roof and lancet windows; tower only carried to ridge of nave roof.	Last years of Richard I. His brother John succeeded him in 1199.
1350-1375. Tower raised to base of spire; aisles raised to present height; vestry built: sedilia inserted by Prebendary Ingleby.	Time of Edward III and his famous son, the Black Prince. Battles of Cressy, and Neville's Cross. 1346. Battle of Poictiers, 1356. English language first used in courts of law (1362), Windsor Castle rebuilt by William of Wykeham, a famous architect, afterwards Bishop of Winchester.
1375-1408. Spire built, causing piers to give way; attempt to rebuild S.W. pier, walling up of two windows in south transept and two in south side of chancel, and erection of squince in south side with present "Lepers'" windows. Soon afterwards same thing done on north	Ed. III passed several times through Darlington on his way to and from his Scotch wars, and dated a charter from here, June 18, 1336, Darlington having been put in the direct road by the erection of Croft Bridge about this time, the only way to the South from this part of the country

side which does not seem to have gone so much; erection of rood loft (very like Croft Bridge) at cost of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and others, to strengthen the piers of tower that were giving way. Insertion of heads of piscina at east end of chancel. A close examination of the masonry shows that the present window on *North* side was inserted after the rood loft was built.

before that time having been by the ford at Neasham, or the "Pountys" bridge, close to Dinsdale Baths to the east, or Piercebridge to the west. Edward III was the last king who passed through Darlington till James I came south to claim his kingdom; and again slept here in Tubwell Row, April, 1617; and since then I am not aware that any member of the Royal family slept here till the visit of Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, a few years ago.

1406-1437. Erection of chancel stalls by Cardinal Langley.

The unfortunate Richard II king. Time of Wat Tyler's insurrection. Time of Wycliffe. 1399, Henry IV king. Rebellion of the Percies. Death of the Earl Northumberland in battle at Bramham Moor, February 18, 1408 1413. Henry V king. Battle of Agincourt, 1415. 1422, Henry VI king. Joan of Arc burnt, 1430.

1440-1450. Constitution of church changed by Bishop

Normandy reconquered from us by the French.

Neville from a vicarage to a deanery. The Easter Sepulchre built about this date.	1450. Jack Cade's insurrection. (? any ancestor of the John Cade quoted above).
1547-1553. Roof of chancel which was up to this time high pitched (as now restored) lowered to flat pitch, and the upper window in gable lost by lowering the east end; present vestry roof probably of this time.	Edward VI king. Reformation established. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, deposed, and Bishopric dissolved in this reign, to be restored in Mary's time, and again deposed in Elizabeth's; he was a humane man and would have no burnings in his diocese.
1633. The great bell re-cast.	Time: Charles I.
1634. Organs washed by George Longstraffe at a cost of sixpence	Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury. Year of the imposition of "ship money."
1635. Some new stalls, of which no vestige remains, made.	
1659. Troops quartered in the Church.	The year of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate. Troops, probably those of Royalist views, on their way to the battle of Nantwich, or to

	London to expel the Rump Parliament. The year before the Restoration of Charles II.
1662. Font re-erected, and other reforms carried out.	The year of the Act of Uniformity.
1748. East end, with its remaining six windows taken down between the angle turrets and above first string course, and four modernized windows with round heads inserted; carved panelling behind chancel stalls destroyed.	George II. king. Year of Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Three years before this time the Pretender defeated at Culloden, the last battle on the soil of Great Britain.
1750. July 17. Spire struck by lightning; 50 ft. rebuilt without the moulding at angles, and without the spire lights, which much detracts from its beauty.	
1756. East gallery erected for organ.	Year of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

From this time "lofts," "family pews," and coats of whitewash rapidly succeed each other.

1791. The wall round churchyard was built.

1820.—Erection of an organ by Flight and Robson at a cost of £500.

1862 to 1865. Church entirely restored. The nave, aisles, and transepts, under the direction of Sir G. G. Scott, at a cost of £9,000, raised by a committee, of which the Rev. J. G. Pearson (the vicar) was chairman, Mr. M'Lachlan treasurer, and Messrs. Wilson and Towns secretaries. Mr. Towns was also secretary of the Building Committee, and took a great interest in the detail of the work. The chancel restored at the cost of the Duke of Cleveland, under the direction of Mr. J. P. Pritchett. Church re-opened December 14th, 1865.

1879.—Present organ erected. The church, as it now exists, is the only ancient one in the diocese that has a *central* spire: in fact, I don't know one nearer than Edinburgh to the north, and Rotherham to the south.

The inside dimensions are as follows:—

	ft.	in.
Length of Chancel	35	6
East wall of Tower	3	6
Inside of Tower	19	6
West wall of Tower	3	3
Length of Nave	72	3
Total internal length of Church	134	0
Internal width across Nave:—		
Nave above capitals	21	9
Aisles, each 9ft. 7in.	19	2
One wall	3	2
One do.	3	5
Total width	47	6

Width across Transepts :—		
North Transept	26	0
South do.	25	9
One wall of Tower	3	3
One do.	3	0
Tower, inside	22	0
Total	80	0
External dimensions :—		
Width of Nave and Aisles above plinth	53	6
Do. Chancel	30	3
Total Length of Church to outside of pilasters	143	0
Total width across Transepts to face of pilasters above plinth	87	9
Height of Nave from floor to ridge of roof	64	6
Height of Tower to top of Parapet	82	9
Height of Spire to top of Vane	183	8

It has the longest nave in the county, but shorter chancel than several others, which may be accounted for by the fact that the collegiate or priests' part came some way into the nave, as above named.

I may mention that the double-springer before mentioned was re-used, and may still be seen above the north cap of the lower central east window ; in fact every old stone that could possibly be re-used was so.

The following notes respecting the persons named in previous articles as connected with the building may be interesting to the readers of this history :—

1003-1016. STYR, who gave the Manor of Darlington to the Bishops of Durham (who still hold it through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners), was son of Ulphus, who was

also a great benefactor to the church, he having given estates to the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peters, York, who still hold them, and show the beautiful "horn" given by Ulphus as the title deed to the estates. This horn is carved as a pendant to the coat of arms of Ulphus in the choir of York. The Greystocks of Coniscliffe, also benefactors to St. Cuthbert's Church, and whose arms were on the rood loft, claimed to be descended from the same Ulphus. In addition to giving the Manor of Darlington to the church, he gave land at Haughton-le-Skerne to that rectory.

1153-1194. Hugh Pudsey, or more properly, "Hugo de Puteaco," who built the original part of the present church, was nephew of King Stephen and of Bishop de Blois of Winchester. He was a secular priest, married, and had a family. He was austere, haughty, and oppressive, especially when King Richard I. was in the Holy Land (1190 to 1194). He was magnificent in his building schemes, and besides many works in the Castle at Durham, and in the Cathedral—including the Galilee—he built the Elvet Bridge at Durham, Sherburn Hospital, several churches and episcopal manor houses, including those at Darlington. Of the manor house at Darlington, the last part—the chapel, then the dining hall to the Workhouse—was pulled down a few years ago, and an arched doorway put together in the garden to the south of the Lead-yard, still remains. Pudsey's Bible is still in the chapter library at Durham. He caused a survey, or valuation, to be made of all the church property in the diocese, called the "Bolden Buke," still the great authority on the subject. When Richard I was preparing for his crusade, Pudsey fleeced his poor diocesan sheep,

under the pretence that he was going to join his master. Richard, hearing of this, wanted to get hold of the money, and it was eventually arranged that Pudsey receive the Earldom of Northumberland for life, and the Manor of Sadberge to be added to the episcopal property, in exchange for £11,000. On the King's return in 1194, poor Pudsey had to disgorge a great part of the money which he had extorted from his vassals, beyond the 2,000 lbs. weight which he did subscribe towards the King's ransom; but he must still have been immensely rich. He went on with St. Cuthbert's Church up to the time of his death, and outbid the King of Scotland for the County of Northumberland, and was on his way to London to pay 2,000 marks for it when he died.

1153-1183. RICHARD "*Ingeniator*," was Pudsey's first architect; his first work being the restoration of Norham Castle on the Tweed, which had been destroyed by the Scots. On its completion he took up his residence at Durham, and was to the time of his death "in high repute in all the regions round about." He seems to have been a man of greater wealth, comparatively, than architects now are. "Between 1163 and 1189, he and his heir, Thomas, exchanged land in Wolvesten with the convent of Durham for land in Pittington." (Surtees); and in the "Bolden Buke," 1183, his name occurs as owner of half of the Manor of Newton, near Durham. But Longstaffe thinks from the way his name is mentioned in the "Bolden Buke," that he was dead at the time, and that Pudsey's later works were built by his successor.

1192-1200. WILLIAM, successor to the above Richard, as Pudsey's second architect, built, I have no doubt, from

1192 to 1200, St. Cuthbert's Church above the first string course, using up such work as had been prepared by his predecessor before the works were suspended: and probably adding the aisles as first built to the plan, as above described in detail in this history. His name appears in the "pipe roll" of 1197 as owing two marks for his son, for the money which Pudsey had paid the king for the Manor of Sadberge, as named above in detail. This William was co-temporary with his eminent namesakes and professional brethren "William of Sens" and "William the Englishman," who built the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, the only Transitional work that I know of finer than that at St. Cuthbert's. Scott thinks this William the Englishman, pupil to William of Sens, was the inventor of the round capital, which was the origin of the "Early English" style, as distinguished from the Early French; and I think it is *just possible* that he may be the same William who designed the detail of St. Cuthbert's; and if so, and he was only able to come from Canterbury occasionally, it may account for the mixture of style which is so puzzling; as in his absence the builders might—as *sometimes* even now—like *their* way best, and go on with the old-fashioned square caps, &c.

1354-1375. Henry de Ingleby—who erected the sedilia, and probably built the tower and raised the aisles—was holder of two prebendal stalls in the diocese of York, and two in Lincoln, besides being Rector of Haughton-le-Skerne and Prebendary of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington; so he could well afford to spend some money on this church, and on the "Lepers" windows—very like the aisle windows here—at Haughton-le-Skerne. His will was made and proved at York in 1375, and he has the modesty to give the detail of the pluralities above-named.

1375-1408. EURE—whose arms ("Quarterly A and G, a bend S, charged with three escallop shells A") were emblazoned in the rood loft—were lords of Witton-le-Wear. In Cardinal Langley's time (1406-1437) they were possessed of a place called "Hell," near Darlington, supposed to be the present Oxen-le-Field, where the ponds are still called "Hell Kettles." In 1502, when Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, passed through Darlington on her way to marry James IV, King of Scotland (by which marriage the crowns of England and Scotland came to be afterwards united), Sir William Eure was of the company who, with the Sheriff of the county, went to meet and conduct her to the Bishop's Manor House at Darlington. In the same manor house was, up to the time of its being sold for the Poorhouse, a chest having the arms of Eure and the inscription "1575 R.E., the right worshipful Raufe Eure Thelder, 1575." He was Borough Bailiff in 1561.

GREYSTOCK, whose arms (Barry of 8 A and B 3 chaplets of 4 roses each G") were Lords of the Manor of Coniscliffe and Neasham. They claimed to be descended from Ulphus, whose son Styr gave the Manor of Darlington to the church. In 1292 they had a gallows at Coniscliffe with the right of hanging felons condemned at their Manorial Court, and seizing their goods.

HENRY PERCY, whose arms ("O a lion rampant B") were quartered with those of Lucy ("3 lucys or pikefish A") were emblazoned in the same place, had served with distinction in the French wars under Edward III, and was in favour with his unfortunate successor Richard II, who created him Earl of Northumberland in 1377. Between

1381 and 1384 he married Maud, daughter of Lucy, Lord of Cockermouth, and quartered her arms as above named. In 1399 he was so ungrateful as to desert his king's cause and join with Bolingbroke in upsetting his throne; but not liking his new master, now Henry IV, he waged war against him (1403 to 1408), when he was killed in the battle of Bramham Moor, February 18, and his lands forfeited. His son Hotspur had been killed in the battle of Shrewsbury, July 21, 1403. This coat of arms fixes the date of the rood loft as not later than 1408, though it *may* be earlier than 1381, as the earl's arms may have been added after it was built.

Dacre, whose arms were also in the rood loft, were Lords of Dacre. The heir, Thomas, was a minor till 1408, but may have contributed to the work before he was of age. A few generations later this family and the Greystocks above-named were united by marriage.

1406-1437. Thomas Langley, who erected the chancel stalls, was a cardinal, Bishop of Durham, and Chancellor of England. He obtained a charter from Henry VI, confirming all the previous charters granted to his predecessors.

1437-1457. Bishop Neville was translated from Salisbury 1437, died July 9th, 1457. He amalgamated the prebendal stall of Darlington with the vicarage to make it into a deanery, by order dated November 8th, 1439, confirmed by Pope Eugene IV, January 6th, 1441. He was a scion of one of the greatest houses of middle ages—the Nevilles—who then owned Brancepeth Castle and Raby Castle, in the county of Durham; Middleham, Sheriff

Hutton, and Snape Castles, in the North Riding of the county of York ; beside other places in different parts of the kingdom. One branch of the family were Earls of Westmoreland and another Earls of Warwick.

1416-1446. Prior Wessington, named above as the authority for stating that Pudsey rebuilt St. Cuthbert's from the very foundation, was a prior of the monastic establishment at Durham Cathedral. He laid out a great deal of money in architectural works, but chiefly in repairs and alterations of earlier buildings, including the tracery introduced into the Norman and Early English windows of Durham Cathedral, previously of great and inconvenient width.

Godfridus-de-Coldingham, mentioned above as the authority for saying that Pudsey commenced (or recommenced, as I have stated my reasons for thinking) the rebuilding of St. Cuthbert's in 1192, was a monk of Durham, and afterwards sacristan in the Priory of Coldingham. He compiled the history of the church in the diocese of Durham from 1152 to 1214.

1734-1806. John Cade, mentioned above as describing the taking down of the east end of St. Cuthbert's in 1748, born at Darlington, January, 1734, was the fourth son of Mark Cade, a shoemaker. He was educated at Darlington Grammar School, and afterwards went to the warehouse of a wholesale linen draper in London, in which he rose step by step till he became a partner, and having realised a fortune sufficient for his modest wants, retired in 1775, then forty-one years old, to Durham, and afterwards to Gainford,

where he died, December 10th, 1806, and was buried in Darlington Churchyard, where the family gravestone, 81 feet west of the church, and 13 feet south of the central path, marks his resting place. He took a great interest in antiquarian and topographical matters, and knew by heart all the features of the English and Irish cathedrals, but his hobby was Roman antiquities; in fact his zeal overran his discretion in this line, for he often claimed much later works, and sometimes even natural hills, as Roman.

Lady Charrat's Ghost.—I think I may wind up this series of notes by mentioning an amusing incident that occurred when excavations were being made in the churchyard for the bellows chamber. Some children from the neighbouring "Church Lane" came into the churchyard and said they "wanted to see Lady Charrat's bones." As I could not inform them where to find them, I asked Mr. Mountford, who has been parish clerk for so many years, what they meant; when he informed me, that when he was a boy, some sixty years ago, it was currently believed in the town that whenever a birth or death took place in the Workhouse, the ghost of Lady Charrat, who was said to have been murdered in the ancient manor house (on the site of which the workhouse stood) used to knock loudly at the door of the matron's room until she got up and attended to the human being coming into or going out of existence, and that she—a most important person apparently in the estimation of these children—was buried in Darlington churchyard, and they thought we were disturbing her grave. This is chiefly interesting as showing how traditions linger among the class—to which these children belonged—who read little and go from home seldom; and as until

within the last 100 years the vast majority of our population were in this condition, it accounts for the numerous traditions handed down for many generations, growing, as this no doubt has done by some addition, with each succeeding generation. Between 1798 to 1847 there were 8,463 burials in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, or an average of 170 a year. If the burials averaged one-fourth this rate for the 1,000 years it has no doubt been so used (not at all an unlikely number, as though the population was no doubt much less than the 5,500 it was in 1801, the first year of the census, people died more rapidly and churchyards were fewer) there will be about 40,000 persons buried there, or about eight deep; so that I think we may be excused for not being able to identify Lady Charrat's bones.

I have now endeavoured to trace the history of this church for the last seven hundred years, with a few notes of the few men, eminent in various ways, who are known to have been connected in one way or another with the work. But who can write, or even imagine, the history of the hundreds of men—serfs, personal chattels, little better than slaves—who laboured in the building at the two most important epochs in its history – the close of the twelfth and the last quarter of the fourteenth centuries—and of other men, more free, and perhaps more enlightened, who have in turns repaired, disfigured, and again restored, the grand old building? Who shall write or imagine the history of the bishops, deans, vicars, and prebends, who have during these last seven hundred years conducted in various forms Divine service there? Many, even in the middle ages, one may hope earnest and devout, though ignorant and superstitious compared with our modern light, but

others, probably careless and avaricious, as well as ignorant and superstitious. Who shall describe the various kinds of worship—each orthodox in its time—conducted within its sacred walls during the 700 years of "continuity of the Church of England." For 300 years the Popish Mass, ever increasing in pomp with the advancing wealth and arrogance of the Church, till rudely put a stop to in Edward VI's time, to be revived for a few years in Mary's reign, and finally extinguished on 17th November, 1567 (sixth year of Elizabeth), when the last Mass was performed in St. Cuthbert's Church, never, let us hope, to be revived. Then followed the service of our Church according to our present prayer book, till the time of the Commonwealth, when they would vary according to the taste of the minister who happened to officiate, till the time of the restoration of Church and State in 1660, when the present service was revived.

All this *may* be described or imagined, but who can imagine the various shades of character, of rank, and circumstances, and manner of life, of the twenty-five generations who have lived and died during the existence of this building; of the kings and queens, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, stern warriors, matrons and maidens, gentle and simple, wealthy merchants, hard working artisans, and cringing serfs, who have worshipped there; of the prayers offered—many of them soon to be forgotten—of the vows made—soon to be broken—within its walls. Many thousands have passed away, but who can tell how many thousands more will come and go before the history of St. Cuthbert's is closed for ever.

ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON.

LIST OF VICARS, DEANS AND INCUMBENTS

AS FAR AS KNOWN,

Compiled by J. P. Pritchett, chiefly from "Longstaff's History of Darlington."

The Constitution was that of a Collegiate Church, with a Vicar and four Prebends, founded by Bishop Carileph about 1084.

The following were VICARS in the years named:—

1309 Robert de Roveston
1341 Henry de Appilby
1343 Thomas de Rainham
1344 Richard de Hadyngton
1354 William de Welton
1360 Robert de Hunmanby
1398 William Hoton
1400 Richard Wytton
1411 William Hesile
1415 William Hutton
1416 Stephen Anstell
1428 Richard Wytton
The constitution changed to a Deanery by Bishop Neville in 1439.

DEANS:—

1439 Richard Wytton
1451 Sir Roland Hardgyll
1466 Sir Robert Symson
1497 Ralph Tepton
(1499 Sir Thomas Clarke, chaplain; 1503 Sir Leonard Melmerbye, curate and chaplain of All Saints' Chantry.
1533 Sir Robert Melmerby
1535—1547 Cuthbert Marshall
In the first year of King Edward VI. (1547) the Constitution of Dean and four Prebends was dissolved. The revenues seized by the Crown, an income of £16 appointed for a "Perpetual Curate," according to the legal term, but sometimes called "Incumbent," sometimes "Vicar."
1547 Cuthbert Marshall
15 0 Sir John Clapham
1561 Sir John Claxton
1571 James Thornton
1571 John Welshe
1584 John Woodfall
1601 Robert Gesford
1602 Robert Thornlinson
1606 Isaac Lowden
1612 Brian Grant
1620 Ralph Donkine
1622 Robert Hope
1636 George Vincent
1640 Claypestown
1646 John Rudd
1647—1661 Vacant during the time of the "Commonwealth."
1661 George Bell
1693 George Thompson
1712 John Hall
1727 Cornelius Harrison
1748 Andrew Wood
1772 Henry Hemington
1784 William Gordon (non resident). 1792—1820 James Topham, sub-curate.
1824 James Carr, sub-curate
1831 John Merest (William Leger, sub-curate
1846 Alexander Howell
1860 J. C. Pearson
1873 T. E. Hodgson, canon & rural dean
1894 F. W. P. I. Mortimer, rural dean