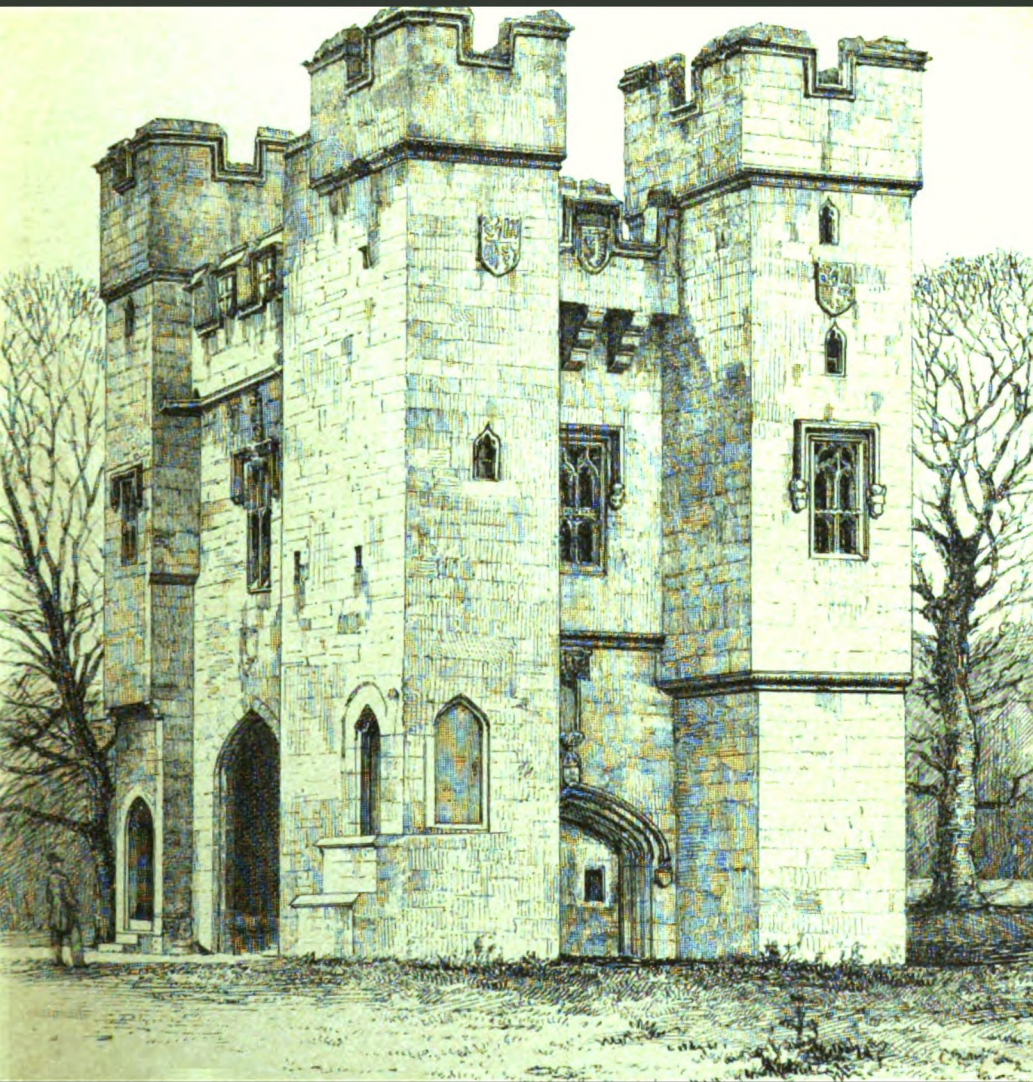

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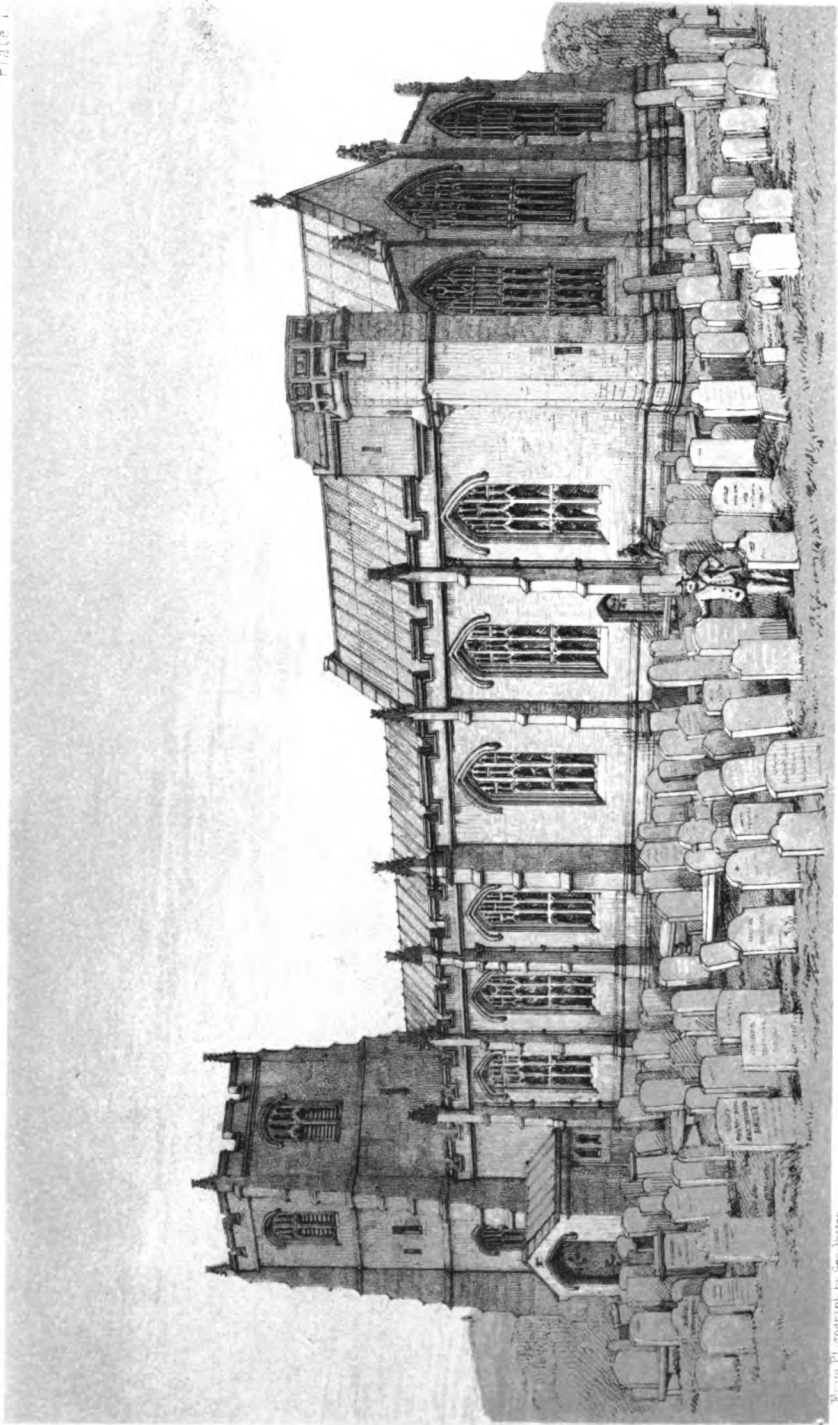
*The history of the borough,
castle, and barony of Alnwick*

George Tate

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From a photograph by Geo. H. Jones

ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, ALNWICK.

From a photograph by Geo. H. Jones

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BOROUGH, CASTLE, AND BARONY
OF
ALNWICK,
BY GEORGE TATE, F.G.S.,

Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland; Local Secretary of the Anthropological Society, London; Secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club; Honorary Member of the Hastings and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Philosophical Societies, &c.

VOL. II.



17

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PREFACE.

WHEN, more than six years ago, proposals for this History of Alnwick were issued, I expected to complete the work in one volume; but as my labours advanced I felt more and more impressed with the obligation of making exhaustive researches into new sources of information; and hence resulted the accumulation of matter, which could not adequately be condensed within the limits proposed. Friends, in whose judgment, good feeling, and support I could rely, urged the extension of the work, that the charters relating to the town, and the cartulary of Alnwick Abbey might be printed *in extenso*, and the substance, at least, of other important documents incorporated with the history.

From many different sources have the materials been derived. Wherever practicable, original authorities have been resorted to; I have gone over the old chronicles and histories; I have made researches among the public records, the manuscripts in the British Museum, the records at Durham, the court rolls in Alnwick Castle, the muniments, minute books, and accounts of the borough and of the incorporated fellowships, the vestry books and registers of churches and chapels, and among wills, private deeds, and manuscripts. With such materials I have built up the history of my native town.

The career of the great historic families of Vescy and Percy, the lords of Alnwick, has been narrated at some length; but I have brought into my story the doings of less distinguished personages, whose influence has contributed to form the character of the town. From the corporate, the church, and the court records, I have drawn largely to exhibit the state of the town and of its trade at different periods, and to shew how the inhabitants played their parts in public events—how they enjoyed themselves—how they quarrelled—and what were their customs, their virtues, and vices. While I have pointed out the origin and traced the progress of ecclesiastical and other public institutions, I have recalled to remembrance the men who, through these institutions, have helped onward the civilization of the town. In noticing the physical features of the district, I have sought, by means of the folk-lore, to shew its condition in by-gone ages. Many of the natural productions are herein recorded; and in the chapter on Geology I have given the condensed results of some thirty years exploration, so as to furnish an epitome of the geology of the county.

PREFACE.

At the present time, when the general histories of our country are marked by a free and independent spirit which bows neither to power nor to prejudice, no apology seems necessary for my endeavouring to treat local history in a similar manner. Some popular myths I may have discarded, and I may not have echoed exaggerations which savour more of flattery to the living than of honour to the dead, yet I have sought to do justice to all, to appreciate excellence wherever found, and to exalt the men, of whatever rank, who have been public benefactors. That I have kept entirely free from error is more than I expect; I claim only such results as can be achieved by diligence and an earnest search after truth.

My obligations are numerous, and it is pleasant to acknowledge them. To Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe I am deeply indebted, not only for varied information, but also for his elaborate chapter on the Vescy and Percy Heraldry. I have been favoured by Mr F. R. Wilson with a description of the Architecture of Alnwick Castle; by Mr. Robt. C. Embleton with the Zoology of the district; by Dr. Geo. R. Tate with its Botany; and by Mr. Robt. Middlemas with a list of its Mosses. Most liberally has Mr. John Atkinson Wilson placed at my service his manuscript collections relating to Alnwick; and in like manner Mr. Richard Hodgson gave me access to the manuscripts of his father—the historian of Northumberland. Algernon, the fourth duke of Northumberland, permitted me to examine a number of the baronial court rolls. Various interesting notes have been supplied by the Rev. James Everett, Mr. C. S. Bell, Mr. James Hardy of Oldcambus, and Mr. Ralph Carr of Hedgeley. Help I have received from the Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham, the Rev. James Raine of York, Mr. John Booth of Durham, and the Rev. Joseph Stevenson of the Record Office, London. For information on Canongate I have been indebted to Mr. Henry Trotter.

And now that my task is finished, I commit this work to the candid judgment of the public; and, considering the amount of original matter therein arranged, I may hope that these volumes may be regarded as a fair contribution to the Archæology, the History, the Topography, the Folk-lore, the Botany, Zoology, and Geology of the North-Eastern Borders.

GEORGE TATE.

May, 1869.

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THE
HISTORY OF ALNWICK.

CHAPTER I.

ALNWICK ABBEY.

PREMONSTATENSIAN MONKS—FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY IN 1147—
CHARTERS AND ENDOWMENTS—LITERATURE OF THE MONKS—
SUPERSTITIONS—REFRACTORY MONKS—HOSPITALITY—VALUA-
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FORSTER, THE BRANDLINGS, AND DOUBLEDAYS—DESCENT OF
TITHES—REMAINS OF THE ABBEY—HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARDS—
“HEFFORD .LAW” TOWER.

Though England suffered sadly from the ruthless and cruel oppressions of the Norman conquerors, yet some gentle influences mitigated the horrors of these mediæval times. A powerful church often lifted up her voice to warn oppressors of a coming judgment; and, aided by an imposing ritual calculated to excite religious feeling among an imperfectly civilized people, she caused many a baron to pause in his unscrupulous career, to seek remission of his sins, and even sometimes to submit to monastic discipline. Guided by such influences, Eustace Fitz-John, having completed his great castle of Alnwick, founded in 1147, Alnwick Abbey, a monastery of Premonstratensian Canons, for the salvation of the souls of himself, of his father and mother, of Ivo de Vescy, and of all his ancestors.

This order of monks had but recently been established, in 1120, by Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburgh, with the authority of Pope Calixtus. The brethren followed the rules of St. Augustine, which, however, were somewhat reformed; and hence, sometimes, they bore the name of Augustinians. White Canons they were also called from the colour of their habit, which was a white cassock, with a white rocket and cape over it; they wore a long white cloak and a square hat or bonnet of white felt, shoes and breeches, but no shirt; the abbot had red shoes, a short cloak and a pastoral staff like a shepherd's crook.

Legends give a miraculous origin to this order. Norbert is said to have, in a dream, received from St. Augustine a book of rules, curiously bound in cloth; and to have been shewn by an angel the site of the first monastery, which was called *premonstré*, from *pre* a meadow, and *montré* pointed out; and hence the first house of the order was built in a meadow, near Laon in Picardy. A different derivation is given in another legend, which relates that when Ingelran the Great was going to kill a lion, which did much harm to the country, he met him at this place sooner than he expected, and exclaimed, *Saint Jean tu me l'as de près montré*—St. John you have shewed him to me near at hand. Shortly afterwards, in 1143, the first Premonstratensian Abbey in England was founded at Newhouse, in Lincolnshire; and the next was Alnwick Abbey, called the daughter of Newhouse.* Prior to the Reformation there were thirty abbeys of this order in England.

Alnwick Abbey was dedicated to St. Mary; and its title was "The Abbey and Convent of the Blessed Mary of Alnwick." The refining influence of learning on taste was shewn in the happy choice of sites made by the monks, the learned men of their times, for the homes in which, secluded from the world, they professed to pass their lives in study and devotion. Many natural advantages had the site of Alnwick Abbey. Built on rich haugh land on the north side of the Aln, and within a convenient distance from the castle of the great baron, it was sheltered by hills from the keen northern blasts; near to it the river murmured over its rocky channel, which was bounded on the south by cliffs, while woods closing round gave a sequestered beauty to the scene.

On its establishment, Alnwick Abbey was richly endowed.

* Cave's MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 4934, Plut. cxviii., A.

The original charters, however, are lost; the first, granted by Eustace Fitz-John, had long ago disappeared; but of this and of subsequent charters there were copies, in an *inspeximus* of Henry, the sixth earl of Northumberland, which was in the possession of Sir Francis Brandling in 1639; J. Warburton, the Somerset Herald, the man who decked himself with the plumes of the great antiquary Horsley, had this cartulary in 1720, but, since then, it also has disappeared. We have, however, from a copy made by Dodsworth, preserved in the British Museum, and from other charters in the Record Office, and at Durham, pretty full information of the endowments of the abbey, and of the names of its benefactors. Valuable, and interesting too, are these charters, as illustrating the old topography of the district. Here I shall give full digests of these instructive documents.

In the foundation and endowment of the Abbey, Eustace Fitz-John, in 1147, gave the church of Lesbury, with all its appendages, and particularly with the chapels of Houghton (*Longhoughton*), and of St. Waleric, (*Alnmouth*), with all their tithes of corn, salt works, and mills; and the chapel of Alnwick with all its appendages; and all the tithes of his demesnes, and of his mills of Alnwick; and the whole vill of Hindcliffe, with the service of half of its men, in moor and plain, as the way goes from Alnwick on the left hand as far as the boundaries of Rock; and the wood of this vill, to wit, from Hindene to the Aln; and two parts of the tithes of the whole of his demesne of Tughall, in corn and mill and all other things; and in like manner, two parts of the tithes of his demesne and mill of Newham, and of all other things of the same demesne; and all the tithes of his fisheries, and of deer, wild cattle and boars, which his dogs took in hunting; and two parts of the tithes of his mares when they were beyond the parish of Alnwick; and one measure* in the burg of St Waleric (*Alnmouth*); and two parts of the tithes of Arnulf† in Haysand. Besides these he granted and confirmed to the Abbey, the church of St. Wilfrid of Gysnes (*Guyzance*), which Richard Tysons gave to it, along with one measure and two oxgangs of land in the same vill, with the haugh where the church is, and with Ridlea and Morrick-haugh, as Richard granted to these canons. He also gave as much of his woodland as they were able and wishful to cultivate, and the privilege of grinding at his mill, and of erecting a mill on his own fee upon the Coquet if they could; and also one salt work in Warkworth. The

* About half-an-acre.

† Arnulf de Heysend and Richard de Tysons are witnesses to this charter.

chronicle of Alnwick Abbey says that Eustace and his wife were the founders, and that the endowments were made to Baldwin, their clerk, to found the abbey; of which he was the first abbot.

These were munificent gifts; but the De Vescys were noble-minded men; and the descendants of the founder not only confirmed, but added largely to the endowments of the abbey.

William de Vescy, son of the founder, by three charters, between the years 1157 and 1184, granted the churches of Chatton, Chillingham, and Alnham, for the salvation of himself, of his father Eustace and mother Beatrix, and of all his ancestors. By another charter he gave his fishery of Lesbury, which had yielded a yearly rent of £10; and one carucate of land in the vill of Rugley, and the tofts and crofts pertaining to it; one carucate of land in the same vill, with common of pasture pertaining to the vill; and common of pasture at Swinley, in wood and plain.

Some little time before his death, he forsook the world, and entered the abbey as a monk, and, in 1184, was buried, before the door of the chapter house, by the side of his wife Burga. (*Chron. of Alnwick Abbey.*)

Eustace de Vescy, between the years 1184 and 1216, gave one horse to carry timber from his wood at Alnwick.

King John, when at Bamburgh, in 1201, confirmed to the abbey, by charter, the reasonable gift, which Waldeve, the son of Edward, made of one turbary, between Yerlesset and the boundaries of Lemmington, and of twenty-four acres of land with appurtenances in Edlingham, and of twenty cart loads of dead wood yearly out of his wood at Edlingham. Edward I., in 1306, confirmed to the abbey common of pasture in all the moor and pasture of Edlingham, for all their cattle, as well those of the house of Gysnes, as those of the house of Alnwick, and their granges. (*Cart. 35, Ed. 1., n. 35.*)

William de Vescy, son of Eustace, by four charters, between 1116 and 1252, gave certain land, with the growing wood, which lay on the south part of the abbey above the bank of the Aln; its boundaries extended in length from the Aln, and from the west part of Poterumburne* to the head of a broad way leading to Meswic, and by a broad high way as far as *Plumpt'* of Meswic; and from the broader entrance of Meswic, by a certain little footpath near the entrance of the said wood, they circle round Plundenburn† before descending towards the water of the Aln; and so in the length of the Aln as far as Poterdeburn. He gave one

* We have here both Poterumburne and Poterdeburne, variations of the transcriber of *Potter Dean Burn*, the ancient name of the Moor or Stocken Burn.

† *Plundenburn* has its source from the Buttery Well on Alnwick Moor, and enters the Aln near the wooden bridge, about one-third of a mile above the abbey.

acre of land in the field of Broxfield, near the boundaries of Rennington, that the canons might make their own sheep-fold, in exchange of one toft which rendered to them twelve pence yearly, and on which stood his mill of Alnwick; he also gave them common of pasture, in moor and plain, along with his men in the fields of Denwick. He confirmed the grant made by Robert Fitz-Budyne, of one of his best salt works, besides that one which Agnes, who was the wife of Ralph Fitz-Jernego, holds of him, and of common of pasture and of fuel, which are adjacent to these salt works. He also gave one toft in the vill of Chatton, containing forty-four perches (each perch containing twenty feet), and being contiguous on the east part to the house of William the Brewer.

To the same William de Vesey, the abbot and convent promised and granted that they would make strong the river gates on their land at Hilburhalgh, (now *Filberthaugh*), for the enclosure of his park; but the soil of their land was preserved to them, and necessary estovers* were granted to them, for the protection of their corn, to wit, sufficient wooden pales out of his wood to be carried by his own men, at his own charges, to enclose the said park, extending along the Aln water to the ditch of an ancient fish pond; they were allowed always to have a free entrance and outlet through a proper gate in the hedge of the park, upon the bank of the water, of which gate they kept the key; and they were to enjoy every advantage there, as well in the water as on the land, in cutting trees and branches, in mowing the grass growing there, and in carrying it away; the land between the hedge and the water was forty feet in width and estimated at an acre; but if damage was done to it by these gates, then he and his heirs would make compensation; but, if he or his heirs at any time harass the abbot and convent before Justices or otherwise, let them incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and of all the Saints.

Simon de Lucker, knight, between 1216 and 1252, gave to the abbey three oxgangs of land in the vill of Lucker, to maintain a light at the daily mass of the Blessed Mary in the chapel of the Sacred Trinity; and this grant William de Vesey confirmed. Simon also, for the salvation of the soul of himself and of his wife Juliana, granted a pasture for eight oxen or eight beasts of burden† in all his demesnes in the vill of Lucker, excepting in corn and meadows, but saving to the canons the common of pasture appurtenant to their own land in the vill.

* *Estovers*, French, to foster or furnish, is similar to the Saxon *bote*, as Fire-bote, Hedge-bote, Plough-bote, House-bote, &c., and includes the right to take wood for making and repairing.

† *Averia* usually has this meaning, but the term may include all animals constituting a farmer's stock. See Boldon Book, p. li.

John de Vescy, son of William, granted six charters to the abbey and convent, between 1252 and 1288, and gave for the pasturage, which they had of twelve cattle yearly in Walsow in his forest of Alnwick, the free pasture which lies from the hanging gate of his park of Walsow below Hindene, between the palisade and the Aln, in length as far as Strutewood, which belongs to them.* He gave a certain place in his wood called Musswelleshawe, without his park of Cawlyche, and near to the cultivated ground called Alisaundflatte, along with the whole pasture, which they might enclose, cultivate, and use for their own advantage as they thought fit; yet reserving to himself and his heirs the hunting in this wood. In 1271, he granted that the abbey and convent might enclose their own wood Smallwell,† with part of another wood of theirs nearly adjacent, so that wild animals might not come in and go out there; and they might enclose their field of Heccliffe (*Heckley*), as the way goes from Alnwick towards Rock, on the left hand, as far as the boundaries of Rock, and from thence as far as Hindene; yet so that his men or tenants of Alnwick, Denwick, and Houghton may have free entrance and exit to and from the forest of Holne, for the purpose of carrying timber; and he gave to them the same liberty in the water of the Aln, which he and his predecessors had, from Rouden Carres to the sea. He also gave his fisheries in the Tweed, to maintain the fabric of St. Mary's Church of Alnwick. In 1283, by a charter, called an exchange, the abbot and convent gave up to John de Vescy the whole common they had in the moor, which was the wood covert of Holn, and the arable land of the field of Hecclif, beginning at the gate, in the eastern part of the sheep-walk of Hindene, and so towards the east by the great green way at the head of the ridges, as far as the western corner of the arable field, which Lambert of Holn held and ploughed; this moor and pasture John de Vescy might enclose and hold for ever, but if the animals or sheep of the abbey enter into them through breaches in the enclosure, they shall be taken out without hindrance; for this remission he gave to the abbot and convent in exchange all the wood and pasture within the wood covert and beyond it, at the extremity of Hefferside, from the great stone standing on high, southward of an ancient leaden fountain, and thence descending by a sike‡ and from the end of that sike through the middle of the wood covert as far as a petary; and

* The second William de Vescy, says the Chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, gave us the wood of *Scurhood*.

† *Smallwell* is now corrupted into Smiley, as the Smiley Loaning—the road connecting the Eglingham and the great North turnpikes.

‡ *Sike*, a rill or small streamlet; *Sic*, *Sich*, Ang. Sax., a furrow, gutter, water-course; *Sijk*, Isl. a little brook.

so to the south of that petty downwards to Lambelrige, and then upwards by a highway to a fountain, accordingly as Lord John and the abbot have made the boundaries; but he reserves to the lords of the fee the hunting there, and also entrance and exit through the enclosure for his men of Houghton and Lesbury coming to the forest of Holn with carts and waggons to obtain timber or wood; but if animals or sheep from any part of the forest of Alnwick enter this enclosure through defect of the fence, they shall be rechased without hindrance; all the great way, from the gate of Hindene on the east to the head of the ridges of the arable land, remained to the abbot and his successors. John de Vesey also granted and confirmed to the abbey the fishery of the Aln water from the Rotand Carrs to the sea, as far as the low tide; and from the termination of the Aln water at the flux and reflux of the sea on both sides; and on the north part as far as the black rocks, the Cynkerage, and on the south part for the space of sixty perches of the said water.

Between 1252 and 1288, German de Folberry gave and confirmed to Ralph de Moravia and his heirs all the land with toft and croft in the vill of Folberry, which Alan, son of Hugh de Folberry, sold to Ralph de Moravia, to hold in fee at a rental of sixpence yearly; and William, the son of Ralph de Moravia, a burgess of Berwick, by charter, gave to God and the Blessed Mary of Alnwick, and to the canons serving God there, all this land, free from every secular custom or demand, excepting the rental of sixpence; and the tenants of the abbey were to grind corn, grown on the land, at the mill of Germanus de Folberry, free of multure.

About the same period, Walter de Bataill gave to the Abbey one carucate of land in his demesne in the vill of Preston, containing one hundred acres of cultivated land, with these boundaries; five acres and a half a rood in the cultivated field called Petemer; one acre and a half and one rood in Fulway; half an acre and half a rood in Redepethe; nine acres and a half and one rood in Wolflatte; one acre and one rood in Elle; two acres and one rood and a half in Titemue; one acre and a half in the cultivated field called Tostes; two acres and one rood in Saltcroke; six acres and one rood and a half in Swetemanflatte; two acres and half a rood in Crakes; eighteen acres and three roods in Alcmundflatte; one acre and half a rood in Chenhill; two acres and one rood and a half near the mill of Newham; ten acres and one rood and a half in Morflatte; four acres and a half and half a rood in Middilflatte; seven acres and three roods and a half in Meducesflatte; seven acres and one rood in Fulflote; twelve acres and a half and one rood in Hewiche; excepting the tofts and crofts of ten acres and one rood, and excepting five acres and a half in meadows, viz., three acres in Crumbe Strother, and half an acre in Salteruke, and half an acre in Thornedike, and an acre and a half in Heurby. Besides he confirmed the

grant made by his father, Henry Battail, of nine acres of land in Halleplatte, to buy wine for the celebration of masses, and of three acres in Yateplatte, for the support of the poor at the gate of the abbey. He confirmed the gift from William Bryene, of three acres in the fields of Preston; and also granted and confirmed to the abbot and canons, that their men should have and hold a common tavern on their own land in the vill of Preston. But if the abbot and canons cultivated the aforesaid lands at their own expense, then the corn of these lands should be ground at his mill of Preston without multure, after the first man whom they may find having corn ground; but if these lands were demised to farm, their tenants should grind at the Abbey Mill, if they so please, but if at his mill of Brunton, they should give reasonable multure, waiting their turn to grind; it is noted that the aforesaid lands are measured with a perch of seven and a half feet.

Alexander de Hiltone, lord of Rennington, gave, in 1290, the whole arable land and pasture called Whitfields, and that green place called the Oxmornke (*Oxnicruk* in Dodsworth's copy), together with the Mersia-lawes, as they lie in the territory of Heccliff, according to ancient customary boundaries; viz., by two crosses standing in the king's way towards Rock; but he and his men of Rennington shall have common of pasture in the same lands.

In accordance with a license given to the abbey, in 1332, by Henry de Percy, Alexander de Hiltone, in 1336, gave to the abbot and canons, the whole of the arable land and meadow, which he had in the hamlet of Broxfield, in respect of the villenage of the heirs of William de Broxfield, and which at one time belonged to Adam, son of Hugh Rybaud, of Broxfield; and also the whole land in the same hamlet, which John Tebbe at one time held for the term of his life; with all the pasturage to the said hamlet pertaining, to wit, for two beasts used in husbandry, six oxen, and two hundred sheep; these gifts were free from feudal services.

Maria, wife of Nicholas de Graham* obtained a licence from Edward II. in 1307 to enable her to give the advowson of Wooler Church to Alnwick Abbey. (*Plac. Ao. Edward II., VI.*)

Edward II. by letters patent, in 1311, granted license to the abbot and convent to acquire lands, tenements, and rents, of the value of £10 yearly; and to Gilbert de Otteleys, chaplain, that he might assign to them six messuages, ten oxgangs of land, four

* Nicholas de Graham held the fourth part of the inheritance of Muschamp to whom Wooler belonged; the land was held *in capite* to the extent of one knight's fee, and on this account he was distrained to receive knighthood; he was in the expedition against Lewellyn, prince of Wales, in 1277; and again in the Welsh wars in 1282.—*Records and Muniments, II., p. 640.*

acres of meadow, and the eighth part of a mill in Fallosen; and to Robert de Sockepeth, that he might assign to them one carucate of land with appurtenances in Alnwick; and to Richard de Emeldon, that he might assign twenty-four acres of land with appurtenances in Haysand; these were of the value of forty-six shillings and eight pence, and were to be held as part of the ten pounds.

Henry de Percy, in 1325, granted a license to the abbot and convent to receive from Robert Soppethe all the land of Broxshaw, with all the meadow and wood, and all belonging to it, on payment of six shillings and eight pence yearly to Henry, for all services due to him; he also confirmed to the abbot and convent, and their successors and their heirs of Channowgate (*Canongate*), all their pasturage with all their cattle in the moor of Alnwick and Heydene, and to take all other profits in the same, viz., in digging turves and peats and other things needful for fuel, as their predecessors and the ancestors of their men, as of right, were accustomed to do; and also to grind at the Abbot's Mill. He confirmed to the abbot and convent the liberties and easements they had in the water of the Aln, and in the West Park, and in his other woods. For these concessions and confirmations the abbot and convent agreed, for themselves and their successors, to give a solemn service yearly, on the first of March, for the souls of Henry Percy, his grandfather, and of his ancestors, and of all the faithful deceased. By his will, in 1351, he left to the abbey ten marcs, and desired to be buried at Salley, but dying at Alnwick, on February 20th, 1352, he was buried in Alnwick Abbey. (*Test. Ebor., I., p. 58.*)

John de Clyfforthe, lord of Ellingham, in 1347, relieved the abbey of the homage and fealty due to him, on account of one half carucate of land in the vill and territory of Ellingham, which was called the vill of Brentehall field, and which the abbey possessed by gift of Adam de Ellingham, who formerly held it by homage and fealty to him.

Edward II., by letters patent, granted to the abbot and convent, that they might acquire lands, tenements, and rents to the value of ten pounds yearly; and, under this authority, Adam de Colererman and Robert de Emeldon, vicar of the church of Lesbury, were, after an inquisition made at Alnwick, on May 6th, 1329, allowed to give lands and tenements to the abbot and convent. Adam de Colererman gave one toft and twenty-four acres of land with appurtenances in Alnham, held by service of two shillings yearly, of Henry de Percy, who held of the king in chief, but which lands were of the additional yearly value of five shillings. Robert de Emeldon gave one toft and a quarter of an acre of land in Alemuth, held by service of twelve pence, of Isabella de Vesey, who held of Henry de Percy, by knight's service, and he of the king in chief; this land was of the additional

value of sixpence yearly; he also gave one toft and seventy acres of land in Yetlington and Calulegh, held by service of twenty pence yearly of William de Claveryng, who held of the king in chief; and which were of the further value of thirteen and four pence yearly; and also two messuages in the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne, held by service of two pence yearly of William, the son of Galfrid, who held of the king on burgage tenure, and which were of the further yearly value of ten shillings.

These inquisitions shew that either the money value of lands and messuages was very low in the fourteenth century; or that, more probably, the valuation was kept low to enable abbeyes to extend their endowments beyond what the law technically allowed; for here we have three tofts, two messuages in an important town, and $94\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land returned of the value of only 33s. 8d. yearly, including the rents for service.

Henry de Percy, in 1373, for the honor of God the Father Omnipotent, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and of the Blessed Mary, always a virgin, and mother of the same God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the salvation of himself, his children, all his ancestors, and of his late most dear wife Margaret, when he was about to journey into countries where war was carried on, confirmed to the abbot and convent their rights and privileges.

John de Rodum, a member of the old Northumberland family of Roddam, left by will, in 1390, forty shillings to the abbey, one marc to Walter Herpscottes, the abbot, and six shillings each to John de Bolam and Henry de Rodum, who were canons there.

Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, and lord of the honor of Cockermouth, in 1427, granted and confirmed to the abbey, his hospital of Saint Leonard, near to Alnwick, on the north side of the river Aln; and the abbot and convent bound themselves and their successors to celebrate, in the chapel of the hospital, three masses weekly for ever for the souls of the founders, and to repair and maintain the chapel of the hospital; the earl reserved the payment of five marcs yearly from the abbey to his chantry, lately founded in his castle of Warkworth.

John Wyndhill, who was rector of Arnecliff, in Craven, to which he had been presented in 1394 by the earl of Northumberland, and who, probably, belonging to Alnwick, wished his remains to repose in his native place, ordered, by his will, in 1431, that his body should be buried within the church of the monastery of the Blessed Mary, of Alnwick; and he gave forty pounds of wax to make tapers to burn around his body at the solemn funeral services and at mass on the day when he was interred; he left

also one hundred shillings to be distributed among the poor and needy, on the day of his funeral, for the souls of himself, his parents, and benefactors; to the abbot who celebrated mass on that day he gave two shillings and eight pence, and to every chaplain or monk, canon or brother, who attended his funeral and the mass at his funeral, twelve pence. During three years after his death one fit chaplain had to celebrate mass for his soul, in the chapel of St. Michael, in Alnwick, and be present at all religious services performed in the chapel; to the abbot and convent he also gave one vestment of red silk, gilt, with lions upon the orphreys, and to the high altar of St. Michael, of Alnwick, one vestment of ruby silk and one great missal.*

Henry, earl of Northumberland, and lord of Cockermouth, with the consent of his eldest son Henry, in 1450, released the abbot and convent of all claims he had on account of St. Leonard's Hospital, excepting only the spiritual service; and for this remission the abbot and convent gave up to him the right of presentation of a fit person to the vicarage of the church of St. Dunstan, in the west of London; and for the salvation of the souls of himself, his father, mother, ancestors, heirs, and successors, and especially for the soul of his most excellent prince and lord Henry V., formerly king of England, he gave and confirmed to the abbey half an acre of land with appurtenances, being parcel of his manor of Leckinfield, together with the advowson, the glebe and rectory of the parish church of Leckinfield.

The countess of Northumberland, his widow, in 1457, confirmed to the abbey the advowson of the parish church of Leckinfield.

Henry, earl of Northumberland, lord of the honor of Cockermouth, and Lord de Poynings, ratified, approved, and confirmed to the abbey the advowson of Leckinfield, and remitted the arrears due, out of the revenues of the hospital of St. Leonard, for the stipend of a priest within the castle of Warkworth. In 1531, he remitted entirely all future claim for this stipend, provided the abbot and convent celebrated in their conventual church yearly for ever, solemn funeral services, on the feast of St. Andrew, being the last day of November; and on the morrow a mass for his soul; and in like manner, solemn funeral services on the 27th of October, and on the morrow a mass for the soul of Elizabeth, late countess of Sussex; and further, that they should daily pray for the good estate of himself, and of his neighbours, and of Henry, marquis of Ex— and Gertrude his wife, and of Henry, earl of Cumberland, and of Lady Margaret his wife, and sister of the earl, and of Henry Lord Montague.

* This will is one of the most remarkable of the period. All his lands and tenements he left to Ralph Percy, the hero of Hedgeley Moor; to the earl he left one cup covered with chased silver; to Henry Percy "unam crateram coopertam pounsed." Many garments, curiously described, as well as books, were left to other churches and individuals. *Test. Ebor. II., p. 32.*

The abbey also obtained the advowson of the vicarages of Shilbottle and Alnham. Prior to 1331, these vicarages and that of Lesbury had been governed by seculars, of whom the canons of Alnwick Abbey had so bad an opinion, that they charged them with being the cause of disorders and homicides. Bishop Ludovicus, however, on the petition of the canons, granted to them, in that year, the privilege of appointing to these churches, as they became vacant, some of their own professed canons, not of less dignity than a deacon.*

Thus richly endowed, this abbey ranked among the greatest religious communities in the country. Gleams of its splendour are occasionally reflected from the public records, and something of its inner life is seen in the chronicle of the house and in other documents. The abbot was, in 1294, summoned to a council of the clergy, held before the king in person; and, in the following year, to a parliament held at Westminster; and to other parliaments in the years 1296, 1300, 1301, 1305, and 1307. Along with the earl of Northumberland, he was appointed a commissioner to make terms with the earl of March. When the great controversy—Who was heir to the Scottish throne?—was preparing for trial before Edward I., the abbot was, in 1301, enjoined to search the chronicles and archives of his house for historical matter relating to the kingdom of Scotland, and to transmit his report to parliament, by the best informed member of the monastery.

The canons had ample means of enjoying themselves, and, probably, they did so; hospitable, we know they were; and, doubtless, charitable. Fit place for study was their secluded home in the vale of the Aln, yet no great or distinguished man came forth from the abbey. One poem is preserved among Cave's manuscripts, in the British Museum, written by a prior of the abbey in 1304. The title is the most interesting part of it, "*Prioris Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dunbarr; Tempus Regis Edwardi I., dictamen sive Rithymus Latinus; quo de Willelmo Wallace Scotico illo Robin Whood, plura sed invidiose Canit.*" Some modern critics regard Robin Hood as a mythical personage, and the ballads bearing his name as a cycle, consisting of common popular stories of outlaw warfare in the green wood, as they were sung on festive occasions of the peasantry. Fordun, writing about 1380, speaks of the songs sung to the people regarding the

* Reg. Eccles. Dunelm. See Hodgson's History of Northd. II., p. 115.

most infamous assassins Robin Hode and Littell John; in *The Visions of Piers Plowman*, written in the reign of Edw. III., we are told "I kan rymes of Robyn Hood;" and Wynton, in his *Rhyming Chronicle*, speaks of "Lytil Jhon and Robyn Hode" as existing in 1263. The prior's poem gives confirmation to the reality of this popular hero, and it seems the earliest record of his name; so great had been his fame in the north country, to which he probably belonged, that here he is placed by our northern rhymers on a level with the heroic Wallace. This poem is in Latin rhymes, and contains sixty cantos of four lines each, in which various ancient writers are imitated or quoted. The following verses, most of which contain matter relating to the district, will illustrate the literary character of the abbey:—

- | | | |
|--|---|------------------------|
| 1. Ludere volentibus ludens pars Liram
De mundi malicia Rem demonstro miram
Nil quod nocet refero; Rem gestam requiram
Scribo novam satiram, set sic ne seminet Iram. | } | Morus. |
| 47. Luge nunc Northumbria nimis desolata,
Facta ac ut vidua Filiis orbata!
Vessey, Morley, Sumerville, Bertram sunt in fata!
O quibus, O quantis, O qualibet es viduata! | } | Ovid'
Omer'. |
| 48. In te, cum sis vidua cunei Scotorum
Redigunt in cinerem Predia proborum,
Willelmus de Wallia dux ex Indocorum,
Gaudia Stultorum cumulant augmenta dolorum. | } | Cart'. |
| 49. Ad Augmenta sceleris actenus patrati,
Alnewyk dant Ignibus viri scelerati;
Circumquaque cursitant velut insensati;
Electi pauci sunt, multi vero vocati. | } | Veritas
Evangelica. |
| 50. Multi querunt mutuo, qualiter sit actum,
Quod novum Monasterium non sit Igne tactum,
Dona spondent Monachi, set non solvunt pactum
Sicut opus fuerat, sic Res processit ad Actum. | } | de
proserio. |
| 51. Hujus Rei Gratia captivum duxerunt
Priorem Cenobii, quem tunc invenerunt
Captis rebus vacuas domos reliquerunt,
Munifici pauci; multi qui munera querunt. | } | Ovidius. |

Documents, in Kellawe's Register, relating to the union of the churches of Wooler and Fenton and their appropriation to the abbey, shew that heavy burdens fell upon it, on account of its contiguity to the borders, for it sometimes sustained

the brunt of Scottish raids and was robbed and spoiled; the Scots, under Wallace, plundered the house and took the prior prisoner; and it had besides to give support to the king's armies, and to others coming to the monastery. The weight of such liabilities induced the mother church of Durham, in 1318, to unite and appropriate the churches of Wooler and Fenton to the abbey, but not long afterwards Edward II., inhibited the Bishop of Durham from admitting to the church of Wooler, on the presentation of the abbot, until the right was proved; the abbot, however, appealed to the king's own charter giving a license for the appropriation, and the inhibition was in consequence removed. (*Placita Ao. T. T. 6 Edw. II.*)

Superstitious these canons were; but in this they differed not from the other religious societies of the period. In the book of the life and miracles of St. Godric, written in the twelfth century, it is recorded that when the venerable abbot died, the prior went to a man of God to seek counsel concerning the election of a successor, but the holy man jocosely said "Why anxiously do you enquire? you yourself will be abbot." Forthwith the prior departed, and was raised to the dignity of abbot by the unanimous consent of the canons.

The report on the abbey, made by Taylor and Legh, in the reign of Henry VIII., states under the head *superstition*, that the canons held in veneration a foot of Simon de Montford, and a cup of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. This foot was the most valued relic. Slain at Evesham, fighting it was believed on the side of liberty, Simon de Montford was revered by the people as a martyr and a saint; by his enemies his corpse was dishonourably mangled, but the broken remains were carefully gathered up and preserved; and so strong was the belief in his saintship, that two hundred and twelve miracles were believed to have been wrought by these members. John de Vescy, his friend, who fought with him at Evesham, where he was taken prisoner, brought to the abbey, after his liberation, the foot of Montford, mutilated with many wounds; and marvellous to relate! it was in an uncorrupted state. So holy an object was enclosed by the monks, out of reverence to God the creator, in a shrine of the purest silver shaped as a shoe; and one important miracle, according to the chronicle of Melrose Abbey, was performed by this foot. A very wealthy burgess of Newcastle-on-Tyne, became so grievously ill, that he was almost entirely deprived of the power of motion; he could not move his foot out of bed, or raise his hand to his head; and so painful was his

malady, that he would allow no one to touch him, preferring to die rather than be moved! One night, as he lay dreaming in his bed, he imagined he heard a voice exclaiming, "Rise to-morrow morning, and your infirmity will be a little relieved; go to Alnwick Abbey and you will find there the foot of Simon de Montfort, which will work for you a perfect cure." Feeling his infirmity less in the morning, he rose, mounted his horse, though with difficulty, and proceeded without delay to the abbey. He entered, and made known his object to the monks, who, observing that he was lame and feeble, brought to him very reverently from its recess the sacred foot, enclosed in its silver shoe. And such, (so says the legend), was the effect of its wonderful virtue, that the mere sight of it, even before it was touched, entirely restored the cripple to health and strength. The monk who records the miracle, exclaims,—What glory will there be in this foot, re-united to the body at the resurrection, when such healing power went from it, as a dead member enclosed in a shoe! Ill it fared with one of the canons of the abbey, who, before the earl's foot reached the house, had disparaged the earl and sworn by God's eyes that he was a traitor. On the morning following, not a single eye was left in this wicked monk's head—so says the chronicle—but in each eyehole there was a deep and ghastly hollow; and on the same day he suddenly died.

We may regard as a greater wonder still, that these marvels should be believed; but such were the superstitions of the middle ages, by which the monks deceived the people, and even sometimes deceived themselves.

The abbots were occasionally troubled with the misconduct of the canons. It is recorded in the registry of Durham, that the abbot was heard in May 23rd, 1333, when he complained of the repeated contumacy of the brethren William de Hepscotes, Henry de Bamburgh, and John Bedenal, so that they had brought themselves under the arm of the law; they were, however, absolved on submission; and accordingly Henry de Bamburgh, canon, having, on the last day of July, made his submission, he was received into the church. They seem, however, to have been refractory, and they are brought under discipline. Bishop Hudfield in 1378 commissioned John Hanley, rector of Sedgefield, John Maunders, his chancellor, and William de Farnham, his official, to hear the abbot of Alnwick, respecting the propriety of conferring the benefit of absolution upon William de Hepiscotes, Henry de Bamburgh, John de Bedenhall, canons of Alnwick, and others

their accomplices and abettors, all of whom on account of multiplied contumacies and offences were under the sentence of the greater excommunication ; but if they wished to return into the bosom of the church and appeared deserving, they were to be absolved from such sentence.

Of Walter, one of the abbots, it is recorded in the chronicle of the abbey, that the time arriving when he was unwilling longer to manage the house, Robert succeeded him in 1362 ; and harassed by the various and anxious vicissitudes of the world, the brethren beseeching him and the patron urging him, he thankfully retired ; and by the license of his superior succeeding him in office, went to study at Oxford, and for four years laudably passed his time there, till at length by a raging pestilence he went the way of all flesh.

Whatever may have been the literary and religious character of the abbey, there can be no doubt of its magnificent hospitality. The chronicle records one great entertainment given by Abbot Walter de Hepescotes, who is described as a most wise father, flourishing in religious fame. " Our noble patron " it continues " Henry, the fifth Lord de Percy, in the year of the Lord 1376, on the day of the assumption of the Blessed Mary, dined in our refectory with thirteen knights, the names of whom were, Sir William de Aton, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Walter Blount, Sir Alan de Heton, Sir John Coniers, Sir John Heron, Sir John de Lilleburun, Sir Thomas de Ilderton, Sir Thomas de Boynton, Sir Ingram de Umfravill, Sir John de Dichaunt, Sir John de Swynton, Sir Ralph de Viners, and many other nobles of the country. The cloister was filled with our parishioners and the commonalty of the country ; and it was computed, that 1020 of all ages were assembled in the cloister at this entertainment ; but in the refectory there were 120 men, and at the second entertainment in the refectory there were 86." Notwithstanding this magnificent display, the abbot, Walter de Hepescotes, was entangled with many and varied anxieties of the world, arising greatly from a scarcity of corn, and more especially from almost all the oxen and sheep belonging to the abbey perishing by a pestilence, which at that time spread over the country.

Several of the lordly abbots had been connected with the baronage of England ; and some even of the barons of Alnwick became canons. Henry, the first Earl Percy, the chronicle says, took the brotherhood of the chapter in 1372, with many other knights and esquires ; and his son Henry,

along with his two brothers, Thomas and Ralph, did the same in 1373. Within the precincts of the abbey, as on holy ground, were laid the mortal remains of some of its noble benefactors. Isabella, wife of Eustace de Vescy, rested within the conventual church; the body of John de Vescy was buried in the same place, with great honour, in 1288; Henry, the second Lord Percy of Alnwick, was honourably interred within the abbey; the remains of Mary—a generous lady—the first wife of Henry de Percy, the third lord, were laid within the abbey in 1362; and when her husband Henry died, he was buried by her side.

There are a few scattered notices of the revenues of the abbey, prior to the Reformation. In the taxation made in 1292, for the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices, granted by Pope Nicholas IV. to Edward I., towards the expenses of a crusade, the temporal goods of the abbey were valued at £30, and those of the nunnery of Gyesnes at £3 14s. 6d. Other dependencies were valued as follow:—Lecebyr, with the chapels of Houton, Alnewyk, and Alnemuth, at £70, the vicarage, at £6 13s. 4d.; the rectory of Schiplinbotel, at £12 2s. 6d., the vicarage, at £5; Alneham Rectory, at £31, the vicarage, at £6 13s. 4d.; Chatton Rectory, at £100, the vicarage, at £50; Chevelingham Rectory, at £13 6s. 8d., the vicarage, at £6 13s. 4d.; Wolover Rectory, at £20; and Fenton Rectory, at £6 13s. 4d. Many, however, of the northern churches being unable, on account of an invasion of the Scots, to pay this tax, a new taxation was imposed on a portion of the province of York, by Edward II., in 1318, but even then the benefices of Lessebury, with the chapels of Alnewyk, Houghton, and Alnemouth, and of Alneham and Shipplingbotel, were returned as wasted and almost destroyed. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, made in 1534, for tenths to Henry VIII., it is stated that Alnwick Abbey is of the clear annual value, in spiritualities and temporalities, of £189 15s. 0d.

The monasteries in England becoming too numerous and too rich, their greatness was partly the cause of their downfall; for, when the spirit of ecclesiastical reform was evoked, kings and nobles looked with covetous eyes on their vast possessions. The smaller monasteries—those having lands not above £200 yearly value—first fell; and, in 1535, all their possessions were given to the king, because, as was alleged, “manifest synne, vicious, carnal, and abominable living is dayly used and committed commonly in such little small abbeys, priories,

&c." Among these, Alnwick Abbey was suppressed; but Henry VIII. refounded it, by letters patent, on January 31st, 1536; its destruction, however, was only delayed for a little while, for, on December the 22nd, 1539, the abbot, William Hawton, and the convent surrendered their property to the king, and thereby secured for themselves some small pensions out of the wreck of their possessions. The deed of surrender is a long formal document. A memorandum states that on the day and year named, the abbot and convent came into their chapter house, at Alnewyke, and before Richard Layton, one of the Chancery clerks, acknowledged this deed and all its contents. (*Close Rolls* 31, *Hen. VIII., pt. 4., memb. 2.*) There were in the abbey, at the time of the surrender, thirteen canons. William Halton or Hawton, the last abbot, had assigned to him a pension of £50 yearly, which he enjoyed in 1553; Robert Forster, a pension of £5 6s. 8d.; Roger Spence, of £5; John Hochinsonne, of £5; Robert Baker, of £5; William Hudsonne, of £5; William Sander-sonne, of £1; Richard Alkeley, of £1; and Richard Wheteley, of £1.

The following is a list of the abbots so far as I have been able to ascertain, but it is not complete:—

- 1147, Baldwin; he died in 1152, *Chron. Melr.*
- 1167, Robert, elected.
- 1190, Gilbert, *Records of Durham*; died 1208, *Chron. Melr.*
- 1208, Adam, deposed on 5th of Ides of Dec. 1208.
- 1208, Gaufridus or Godfrey, elected, *Chron. Melr.*
- 1222, Thomas, *Cart. Holn Priory.*
- 1250, *circa*, Richard; occurs in a charter endowing the chapel of St. Egid of Charleton with fifty acres of land.
- 1260, William, *Cart. Holn*; occ. 1295.
- 1283, Thomas de Kirkby, *Cart. Alnw. Abbey*; occ. 1295.
- 1290, Alaun de Staunfcrd, *Cart. de Vescy*; died 1319; brethren in 1304 William de Yerdeley, Adam de Schilton, canons, *Cart Priory Cold.*
- 1320, Thomas, *Cart. Holn.*
- 1334, John de Otteley, *Cart. Holn*; occ. 1339, 1340, *Kellaw's Register.*
- 1347, John de Alnwick, *Cart. Holn*; died 1350.
- 1362, Walter, resigned, *Chron. Aln.* Walter, lord abbot of Alnwick, witnessed a charter without a date, by which Ysonda, daughter of Widon, vicar of Alnwick, gave the mill of Sepley to Coldstream Abbey; Elorarad Teutonicus (probably of Rugley), Walter Clerk, constable of Alnwick, and Bartholomew, "my brother," are also witnesses.

- 1362, Robert de Rothbury, elected; occ. 1364, *Cart. Holn.*
 1376, Walter de Heppescotes, *Chron. Aln.*; occ. 1390, *Will of John de Rodum.*
 1400, Christopher, *Acts of Privy Council*; John Cudberde was elected prior and pastor of the church of Alnwick in 1400, *Reg. Durham.*
 1400, Anthony appointed with Ralph Neville, earl of Northumberland, to treat with George Dunbar, earl of March, *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council.*
 1420, Thomas, *Baronial Court Rolls.*
 1432, Thomas Alnwyke; occ. 1437.
 1437, John; in his charge was the hospital Trois Fontaines, founded by David I., about a mile from the nunnery of Abbey St. Bathans, *Chal. Owl., II., p. 348*; William Marschal was appointed prior July 3, 1437, *Reg. Durh.*
 1450, William; occ. 1457, *Cart. Aln.*
 1478, Hubert, *Cave's MSS.*, Brit. Mus.
 1480, Thomas, in a deed of Tynemouth Priory as trustee of Nicholas Boston late prior.
 1491, Patrick Gate, when there were twenty-two brethren within the house.
 1500, circa, Doctor Makrell, *Ministers' Accounts.*
 1525, Robert, *Ministers' Accounts*, and in 1530.
 1531, Roger Acton, *Ministers' Accounts.*
 1532, William Halton or Hawton, elected September 7.

I have not met with the seal of the abbey; the deed of surrender in the time of Henry VIII. states that it is sealed with the common seal of the abbot and convent, and subscribed with their names; but neither seal nor signatures appear. The personal seals of three abbots are, however, affixed to documents preserved among the Durham archives. One, the seal of Gilbert, about 1190, is attached to a record of proceedings taken against Stephen, canon of Gisburne, by order of Celestine, and directed to the abbots of Newminster and Alnwick, and the prior of Tynemouth, to compel him to resign to the monastery of Durham, the charters connected with Backstanesforde, which had been dissolved. On this seal are † SIGILL GILBERTI ABB. E and a figure standing bareheaded, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand. The second seal gives † SIGILL ABBATIS ECCLEIE DE ALNEWIC, and a tonsured figure standing with the pastoral staff turned inwards in the hand, and apparently a book in the left; this is attached to a note of obligation from Mag. Roger de Burton, to pay to the convent of Durham 15 marks annually, for the church of Ellingham, which he farms of

them ; it is of date prior to 1239 when Burton died. The third seal, appended to a commission of enquiry by Mag. Alan, archdeacon of Northumberland, dated 1239, by order of the archbishop of York, as to the church of Ellingham, vacant by the death of Mr. Roger de Burton, gives † SIGILL ABBATIS DE ALNEV and a hand issuing from the dexter side holding a pastoral staff outwards.

The dissolution of monasteries and the distribution of their property effected a great social revolution ; the religion of the country was changed and one-third of the land of the kingdom was transferred from ecclesiastics to a different class of owners. From selfish motives and by tyrannical means were these effects produced ; yet there ultimately sprung from them one of the greatest blessings—civil and religious freedom. The great possessions which had been seized by the king, and which ought to have been devoted to education and other important objects, were squandered away among greedy nobles, courtiers, and parasites, to be turned in many cases “ to upholding dice-playing, masking, and banqueting.” For a time the arts suffered from the ruthless destruction of many noble buildings adorned with the richest architectural beauty ; our Alnwick Abbey was overthrown by orders of the king. Even Bale, who was a virulent enemy of the monks, lamented the destruction of the monastic libraries. “ Never,” says he, “ had we been offended for the loss of our libraries, being so many in number, and in so desolate places for the more part, if the chief monuments and most notable works of our most excellent writers had been reserved. But to destroy all without consideration is and will be unto England for ever a most terrible infamy among the great seniors of other nations.” Numbers of helpless monks were thrown homeless on the world, to spread abroad disaffection and stir up rebellion ; and thousands of the poor, the idle, the thriftless, who had been relieved at the gates of the monasteries, out of a portion of their funds regarded as belonging to the poor, were suddenly deprived of support, and dispersed over the land to swell the vast numbers of beggars and thieves ; for the new owners of the monastic property ignored the obligation with which it was charged, and refused to give any portion to charitable purposes ; hence it soon became necessary to pass a poor law, throwing the support of the poor on the whole property of the kingdom. The commonalty were deluded at first with the promise, that the monastic property would be devoted to state purposes, and that they would be freed from taxation ; but ere long

this illusion was dispelled by the imposition of aids, subsidies, and reliefs. Far from popular was the suppression of monasteries in the north. The men of Hexham rose against it; and the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the rebellion led by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland had for their object the restoration of the old faith. Some of the people around Alnwick were ready to join in these risings, but the vigilance of Sir John Forster, the warden, who resided there, repressed the first attempts, and restored order to the town.

The suppression of monasteries produced a greater change in the ecclesiastical organisation of Alnwick than of most other towns; for the religious services of the parish were dependent on the abbey, to which indeed the church belonged, the minister being either the prior or one of the canons. Previous to the Reformation, there was a formidable array of ecclesiastics; there were between twenty and thirty brethren in the abbey, some half-a-score friars in Holn Priory, and chantry priests, so that upwards of thirty religious men taught and exemplified to the people of Alnwick the theology of the period. This imposing structure was overthrown, the materials were scattered, and the whole of the property by which it was maintained was appropriated to other uses, and the parish church was reduced to beggary. After the Reformation one poor curate, with a life salary of seven pounds, performed the whole of the religious duty. Subsequently out of other funds, an annual endowment of twelve pounds was appropriated to the curate of Alnwick.

Surveys and grants, preserved in the Record Office give important information respecting the possessions of the abbey at the time of its dissolution. The following is from paper surveys of monastic lands made on December 23rd, 1539; the bracketed words in the margin are in Riche's handwriting, and shew how these possessions were at first disposed of:—

PAPER SURVEYS OF MONASTIC LANDS, VOL. 399, AUG. OFF.

<p>Alnewyk nuper monasterium.</p>	}	<p>In supervisu super dissolutionem ibidem xxij^{to} die Decembris, anno r. R. Henrici xxxj^{mo} inter alia continetur, viz.,</p>
<p>[pro Ratelyff.]</p>	}	<p>First, the Scite of the sade house with Demanez therunto belonging, and one Graunge ther callyd Hekeley Graunge with Landes, Medoos, and Pastors therunto be- longing, late in the occupacion</p>

The Demanes and Graunges.	of the sade late Monastery, withe one Towre and Pastour thereunto adjonyng callyd Hefford Lawe, whiche be worth by yere	xvj <i>li</i> .
[Reserved to the King.]	Item, ther is a Graunge with a pastour thereunto belonging called Stokerskughe, nere Kylaund, con- tenyng by estimation, M ⁱ acrez of pastour, lyeng nere Riddesdale at vj <i>li</i> late by yere, and now lieth waste and unoccupied, bycause of the great Theftes by the Skottes and outlaws	nl.
[pro Ratalyff.]	Summa, xvj <i>li</i> .	
Braushawe.	Item, ther is a tenement with a littell Chappell and demane landes, medoos, and pastors thereunto be- longing, late in the handes of the sayd Monasterye, and is worth by yere	vij <i>li</i> .
[reservat'.]	Summa p <i>z</i> .	
	Item, ther be certen wooddes callyd the Abbay Wooddes sett with Oke tymbre, contenyng by estimacion O acrez, the herbage whereof is reservyd for the Spryng, and is worth by the yere	nl.
[reservat'.]	Item, ther be dyverse under- woddes in severall places growyng upon the landes of the late Mon- astery, the herbage wherof is be- longing to the Fermer of the Demanez and is charged in the sayd Demanez	nl.
The Wooddes.	Item, the sade late house hath of old Graunt of the Herez of Vessez and Persez to have somych wood in Hull Park and Westpar, for ther fier spent in the sade Monastery, as ij horsez wull cary daly from Sanc [<i>sic</i>] Elynmes to Michelmes, and so muche as one horse wull cary from Michelmes to Sanct Elynmes; the same woodd to be delivered by the Kynges Forsters ther; and also ij Bukes in Somer and ij Doys in Wynter: which in all be worth by yere	xx <i>s</i> .
	Summa, xx <i>s</i> .	

[pro Ratclyff.]	Item, ther is a water Corne Mill nere the same late Monasterye, late dymysed to William Taylor, and rentes by yere over and above all Reparacions except Grosse Tymbre	} lxs.	
The Millez nere the scite.			
[pro Ratclyff.]	Item, ther is one Fullyng Mill nere the same late Monastery, in the tenure of Robert Forster, and rentes by the yere Summa, iiij \bar{s} .	} lxs.	
Parcelles of Chatton parsonage.	Item, the Tithe Woll' and Lambe of all the parishe of Chat- ton, belonging unto the same late Monastery, lettyn by new dymysion unto Alexaundro Shaftoo, and rentes by the yere Summa, vij \bar{s} .	} vij \bar{s} .	
[pro Ratclyff.]			
[pro Ratclyff.]	Item, the Tithe Cornez of the Towneship of Shilbottell belong- ing unto the late Monastery as parcell of the parsonage of Shil- bottell, lettyn by new dymysion unto Percevall Gallon and Hugh Gallon, and is worth by the yere Summa, liijs. iiij \bar{d} .	} liijs. iiij \bar{d} .	
Parcelles of the parsonage of Shilbottell.			
Parcelles of the parsonage of Lesburye.	[pro Ratclyff]	Item, the Tithe Fishe comyng of the Cobelles goyng upon the See at Alemouth, late in the handes of the sade late Monastery, and is worth by the yere over all reprisez	} vj \bar{s} . xiijs. iiij \bar{d} .
	tithe fishe		
	[pro Ratclyff]	Item, the Tithe Fishe of Salmond gottyn in the water of Ale, late in the handes of the sad house, and is worth by the yere over and above all reprisez	} ss.
[pro Ratclyff]	The Tounes of Lesbury Haukhill and Bilton	Item, the Tithe Cornez of the Towneship of Lesbury, Haukhill, and Bilton, lettyn by new dymysion to Sir Outhbert Ratclyf, knyght, and is worth by the yere	} xij \bar{s} . vjs. viij \bar{d} .

Parcelles of the parsonage of Lesburye.	[pro Ratclyff]	Item, the Tithe Cornez of the Towneship of Longhoughton, lettyn to John Bednell and John Rodom by new dymision, and rentes by yere	} x <i>li</i> .	
	The Towne of Long- houghton	[pro Ratclyff]	Item, the tythe Cornez of the Towneship of Alnewyk, x <i>li</i> . and the tythe of Alnewyk mylles xxv <i>s</i> . vii <i>jd</i> ., late in the handes of the sad Monastery	} x <i>li</i> . v <i>s</i> . viii <i>jd</i> .
	The towne of Alnewyk		Item, the tythe, hay, woll', and lambe, with lambe, with all other Minute Tithez and ob- lacions of the same Towne of Alnewyk, belonging to the same house, as parcell of the parsonage of Lesbury, lettyn by new dimysion unto Sir George Law- son, knyght, and rentes by the yere	} xv <i>ij</i> <i>li</i> . v <i>s</i> . vii <i>jd</i> .
	[pro Ratclyff]	The towne- ship of Dennyk	The tyth Cornez of the Towneship of Dennyk, lettyn by new dimysion unto William Bednell, with the Tithe hey ther, and rentes by yere	} lxvii <i>s</i> . vii <i>jd</i> .
		Summa, lx <i>ij</i> <i>li</i> . x <i>ij</i> <i>s</i> .		

Summa totalis parcellæ prædictæ *Cl.* vs. iii*jd*. ; per me, Jacobum Rokeby, Auditorem.

At the end occur the following words in the hand of Riche:—
Fiat dimissio Cutberto Ratclyff, to begyn at Mychellmasse next,
pro fine *Cl.*—Bychart Byche.

We have more full and definite information in the ministers' accounts of the 31st and 32nd of Henry VIII. which were rendered on Alnwick Abbey, by Sir Cuthbert Ratclyff and Robert Killyngworth. The document is long; but I shall endeavour, within a moderate space, to give whatever is important, especially as it also throws some light on the manner in which the abbey property was managed prior to the dissolution.

The account of Sir Cuthbert Ratclyff contains the same particulars as appear in the preceding paper survey. Of the possessions there specified, he had a lease for twenty-one years, at a rental yearly of £100 5s. 3d. The king, however, reserved to himself the grange called *Stokerluge*, and the pasture adjacent with appurtenances near to Kydland, containing by estimation one thousand acres near Ryddesdale, and all the woods called the Abbey Woods; and all edifices within the site of the monastery, which the king had commanded to be overthrown and taken away; and the advowson of all churches.

The account of Robert Kyllingworth, however, yields the most interesting information. We find from it, that fifty-eight burgages or tenements in the town belonged to the abbey. It held most of Canongate, in which two of them were on bond or copyhold tenure. Edward Coke held one tenement in *Chanongate* by suit of court, and by payment of 4d., or of two days work in reaping corn in autumn; and Robert Storey held, on the same tenure, by payment yearly of 6d., or of three days reaping in autumn. Thirty-six other burgages were held at will and paid rents. The following are the names of the tenants in Canongate and Adnwick, with their rentals:—

The relict of Cuthbert Herison, 6s.; Rob. Forster, 6s.; Edw. Wayke, two burgages and one rood of land, 8s.; Edw. Woodman, 4s.; Rob. Alnewyke, one burgage and one rood of land, 4s.; Leonard Fayrly, one burgage and one rood of land, 4s.; Edmund Chrysteng, one burgage and one rood of land, 3s. 4d.; John Michellson, 3s.; John Skott, one burgage and one rood of land, 6s.; John Ree, 3s. 4d.; Edw. Watson, one burgage and one rood of land, 3s.; Rob. Perritt, 6s.; Thomas Penny, one burgage and one rood of land, 2s.; Gerard Spurnell, 6s.; Oswald Stanley, 4s.; Thomas Laneroke, 4s.; Thomas Sklater, 2s.; Robert Aynstay, 3s.; Thomas Hudson, 5s.; George Mayson, 3s.; Roger Herreford, 3s.; Widow Elder, 3s.; John Taylor, 3s.; John Thomson, a waste 12d.; Widow Doney, 2s.; Widow Mylne, one burgage and one rood of land, 2s.; John Robenson, 3s.; Widow Bowman, 3s.; Widow Waller, 4s.; Lionell Burrell, 4s.; Rob. Forster, two closes, one on the east part of the street and the other on the west part of the vill, 10s.; Leonard Faysley, 12d.; John Thomson, 2s.; Thomas Hudson, 2s.; Lionell Burrell, one cottage, 12d.

In Belygate, William Watson held one tenement and one rood of land at the yearly rent of 8s.; in Narrogate, Rob. Storey, one burgage, with arable land lying "in lez est maynez," 11s.; Will. Robinson, one burgage and one rood of arable land, 8s. In Bonegate were twelve burgages; Geo. Clarkson at the rent of 12d.; Lionell Burrell, 10s.; Thomas Cravost, 7s.; John Holms, 4s.; Will. Bednell, 3s.; Will. Grebe, 2s.; Rich. Chanler, one burgage with arable land, 21s.; Geo. Watson, three acres of arable land lying in the town fields, 3s.; Rich. Tayler, 2s. 4d.; Char. Heslopp, 3s. 4d.; Widow Stanton, 3s.; Rich. Browell, 4s. In Clayporte were five burgages; James Skott at the rent of 3s.; John Taylor, 20d.; James Tyndall, 2s. 8d.; Edw. Caraley, 2s. 4d.; Geo. Wynny, 3s.

Saint Thomas' Fields belonged to the abbey. By indenture made January 12th, 1530, Robert the abbot let to farm, for the term of ninety years, at a yearly rental of 20s., to George Clarke-son, of Alnwick, merchant, the farmhold and messuage at the end of Clayporte, called "Seynt Thomas Field, and of late called Mylnes Field; and also the tythe of corn and hay of the same, and the tythe of hay and grass of Howlyng Cloyse, Pottergayte Closse, Willey Closses, Greenfields in the fields of Alnwick."

To George Clerkstone was also let in 1529, for the term of ninety years, at a rent of 6s. yearly, a waste in Alnwick, near the Market Place, abutting upon a vennel called the Strait Common Lane, near the Kirk House, towards the south, and upon a waste belonging to the chantry of the Blessed Mary there to-wards the north; and also two closes in Heldith (*Aledik*) abutting on the common bogge (*Ranwellstrother or Bog Mill?*) on the east, and on the south "Super palas de Callogat," with the tithes of hay and grass.

A small close, near to Saint Thomas Close, yielded a yearly rental of 8d. A close in Hobberlaw, called Cooks Close, (*lez Cokes Closse*), with tithes and other profits was in the possession of George Alder, at a rental of 8s. yearly. Edward Urpeth had the farm of the manor of Saint Margarets, at a rent of 66s. 8d. John Mayson had in Denwick one cottage and croft, at 5s.; and Thomas Gibson one tenement, at 6s. 8d. To George Clerkstone was demised for forty-one years at a rental of 20s. the third part of the salmon caught in the Aln, from Alnwick Mills to the east end of Alnwick Church, and, from the west end of this church, half of all taken in the said water "infra a yare."* To George Carre, of Lesbury, and Elizabeth Hereford, of the Barne Yards, was demised at a rent of 53s. 4d. the salmon caught in the water; viz., two parts of the fishing from the west end of Alnmonth Church to Alnwick Mills, and from the church to the sea-side.

The perquisites of the manor court produced 16s. 2d. yearly.

The following possessions of the abbey were beyond the bounds of the parish of Alnwick:—

In Shilbottle, a tenement and the tithes of the west fields were in the tenure of the vicar, at the yearly rental of 20s., and land in tenure of William Kirbaz, 10s.; in Newton-on-the-Moor, one tenement, 2s.; in Alnam, the vicar one tenement, 15s., and two others, 6s.; Tho. Grey and others, the farm of a parcel of land called Burthall, between Charlton and Newstede, lying waste; in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, four burgages held by five tenants, one in All-hallow-bank, 6s, three others, 16s, and one close near Pandon; in Chatton, two tenements, 8s.; in Yerdley, one, 5s.; in Ewarde, one, 10s.; Lukker, one, 10s.; in Doddington, John Grey, one, 10s.; in Fletem, free rent of land from divers tenants, 100s.; Stamford, Christopher Burrell, one cottage with a husbandland of land, 4s.; Houghton, one tenement, 10s.; in Lesbury, eight tenements, 36s. 4d.; in Alnmonth, two tenements, 10s. Pigdon, 10s.; Will. Anderson, 26s. 8d.; in Bilton, John Shepherde, 10s.; in

* *Yare*, or wear, an erection from the bank of a river to the middle to catch fish; *wær*, A. S., a fence, a fishpond.

Preston, rents and farm of demeane land and tenements 40s. ; in Buston, one tenement, 4s. ; in Chillyngham, one messuage with lands and tenements, 13s. 4d. A salmon fishery, the Starte Elstell and Outwater Stell on the water of the Tweed, was demised, in 1632, to Elizabeth Langton, at £8 6s. 8d. yearly.*

The farm of Lessbury Rectory amounted to £81 0s. 4d., including the tithes of grain within the vill of Dennyk £3 6s. 8d., in the tenure of Sir Cuthbert Ratclyff; the hay tithe of Dennyk 2s., held by George Kidland; and the Littlehoughton grain tithe £2, held by John Roodom. The grain tithes of Sheledyke, 10s., and of Woden, £1 13s. 4d., were demised, in 1531, to George Bednell, of Newcastle, for ninety years, by Roger the abbot, and the convent, with "the whole mynde, consent, and assent, of there chappter house," and they are described "the hole tethe cornez and sheffes of the towne and fields of Haysand, within the paryshyng of Shilbottyll, all cornez and sheffes of the towne and feldez of Newdone where ever they lye and be within the paryshyng of Lesbury, and the tythe cornez and the tithe sheffes and tithe hay of the Overshelez and Nethershelez of the paryshyng of Alnwyke, with the tythe cornez and hay of one parcele of ground wynyng † of the said towne called Swynley Close." The grain and all small tithes of Alnwick, with tithes of the mills were held by Sir Cuthbert Ratcliff, by letters patent, at a rent of £28 13s. 4d.; the grain tithes of Estmaynez, pertaining to Lesbury Rectory, were let for 61 years, in 1547, to George Kedeland, at a rent of £1 9s. 0d. Cuthbert Rattcliff held the tithes of the fishery at Aylmouth, at rent of £6 13s. 6d., the tithe of the salmon fishery in the Alne, at the rent of 10s., the grain tithes of Lesbury, Bylton, Hakehill, at a rent of £12 6s. 8d. The small tithes of Longhoughton were in the tenure of the curate, doing service within the chapel of Longhoughton. The rent—£3 6s. 8d.—of the grain tithe, with all other tithes of the chapel of Aylemouth, were in the tenure of Roger Spence, curate of Aylemouth. ‡ The grain tithe of Longhoughton was demised Cuthbert Ratclyff, at rent of £10.

The farm of Shilbottel Rectory amounted to £15 3s. 0d. To Cuthbert Ratcliff had been demised the grain tithe of Shilbottel, at the rent of £2 13s. 4d., and all the tithes pertaining to the

* These were granted by Charles II., in 1680, to Francis Braddock and Christ. Kingscote.

† *Wynnyngo*. Lucrum, Emolumentum. *Promp. Parv.*

‡ Alnmouth Terrier.—Alnmouth, December 12th, circa 1668. To certifie wee have no Terrier nor we have no Gleibe Land excepte one But of Land which payeth twelve pence by yeare. There is not a house belonging to the Curat onely the Easter Reckonings tithe lambe and Woole geese and piggs, and tithe hay in some places, which will not amount above five pounds by yeare.

Thomas Buletson, }
William Walker, } Old Churchwardens.

chapel of Brainshaugh, at a rent of £8. The grain tithe of Whittell was demised in 1537 for 61 years to George Kedeland, at a rent of 10s. ; the grain tithe of Hasande for 91 years in 1531, to George Bedenell, at a rent of £2 13s. 4d. The grain tithe of Newton-on-the-Moor was in the tenure of John Galon, at a rent of 20s. Elizabeth Horsley and Francis Lassets had for their lives the tenure of the grain tithe of Gyzens, at a rent of 6s. 8d.

The farm of the Chatton Rectory amounted to £44 6s. 8d. The grain tithe of the vill of Chatton was in the tenure of the vicar there, and of Henry Reveley, at a rent of £10 ; the grain tithes of Hasilryg were held by Hagerstons, at a rent of £2 ; of Hetton by John Carr, at £1 ; of Lyem, by the relict of William Muschaunce and another, at £1 ; of Folberye by John Selby, at £2 ; of Wetewode by George Wetewde, at £1 13s. 4d. ; of Horton by Sir Roger Gray, at £1 13s. 4d. ; of Dodyngton by John Burrell, at £8 ; of Eworth, demised to Sir Robert Ellerker in 1534 for 41 years, at £4 rental and money paid at sealing ; of Homelton by William Bradley, at £1 6s. 8d. ; of Yerdell by Hugh Galon, at £1. All the tithes of the vills and fields of Chyllyngham, Newton, and Nesbitt, with all appurtenances within the parishes of Chyllyngham and Chatton, were demised in 1536 for 44 years, to Sir Robert Ellerker, by William, the last abbot, at a rent of £4 13s. 4d., and £20 paid down when the demise was made. The tithes of wool and lambs of the whole parish of Chatton were demised to Cuthbert Ratclyff, at a rental of £6.

The Lekynfeld Rectory was in the tenure of John Rodam, John Bedenall, and Doctor Dabell, at £4 rental. The rectory of St. Dunstan, at London, was let to Richard Williams, at £18.

Pensions were received of £1 6s. 8d., out of the rectory of Wooler, and of £1 6s. 8d. out of the rectory of Fenton.

Tithes of grain of Aylemouth, with tithes of the grain of the glebe, to the value of 3s. 4d. yearly, were in the tenure of George Clerkson.

The total receipts appear to have amounted to £256 3s. 4d. ; but this does not include the produce of the lands in Redesdale nor of the Abbey Woods. But the real value of these possessions must, even at that time, have been much more ; for it was customary on entering upon a lease to pay a large fine.

Pensions and salaries of curates and others were payable by the abbot and convent. To the Bishop of Durham £2 13s. 4d. yearly was paid, out of the churches of Wooler and Fenton ; to the Archdeacon of Northumberland 12s. yearly, out of the church of Lesbury ; Cuthbert Dalton, chaplain, curate of the church of Houghton, received a salary out of the tithes of Houghton (grain

excepted), of £10 annually; and Roger Spence, curate within the chapel of Aylemouth, a salary of 66s. 8d. yearly, out of the tithes of Aylemouth, (grain excepted). John Lylborne, chaplain and curate of Brainshaughe, had his salary secured by letters patent, from William, the abbot. Robert Forster, curate of the parish church of Alnwick, had a salary of £7. Alan Shafto, gentleman, was appointed, in 1537, by letters patent from William the abbot, as forester or principal keeper of all the woods of the monastery, with a salary of £20 yearly. Robert Collingwood, collector of rents, had a fee of 40s yearly. The seneschal or steward of all the courts of the monastery, was appointed by letters patent, under the conventual seal, at a salary of 40s. yearly; and Robert, the abbot, in 1528, ordained to this office John Bedenell, of Lematon, gentleman, and Edward Bedenell, his son, as heir to the office, for the term of their lives.* There was a chief seneschal or steward of the abbey, appointed also by letters patent, and to this office, William the abbot, in 1538, appointed Richard Crumwell, and granted him an annuity during life of twenty marks sterling, out of abbey lands.

Services to the abbot and convent were sometimes rewarded by grants out of the abbey property. Robert Abbot, in 1525, let the corn tithes of Alnham for the term of 41 years, to "our brother of our Chapter, Sir Cuthbert Ogle, clerk, for the good and faithful counsell he had given in tymes past and may hereafter give;" and "for this grant Cuthbert shall bind himself to be true and faithful." In 1536 William Abbot gave an annuity of £4 to John Aylworthe, gentleman, "on account of many benefits to us and to our monastery."

It will be seen from the preceding abstracts and documents that the abbey possessions were for some time retained by the Crown, and at first leased out to tenants for a term of years, but at low rentals. The chief leaseholders during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, were the Radcliffs, Forsters, Gallons, and Greys. As early, however, as 1542, the Court of Augmentations granted to the

* This family appears settled at Lemmington, near Alnwick, in 1497, when John Bedenell, of Lemmington, gave lands to Bertram Mitford. John Bedenell was, in 1552, steward of the court leet of Mitford; in 1568, Edward, his son, was in possession of Lemmington and Nunriding; and his son Ralph, who held the same estates, died August 12th, 1576, leaving a son, Robert, who was 16 years of age in 1582. George Bednell had Lemmington in 1663, when the rental was £230; and in 1679 he occurs as a freeholder of the Longhorsley Court Leet. In 1569 William Bednell was one of the largest owners of property in Alnwick, and in 1586 he was bailiff of Alnwick. We have William Bednell as a merchant in Alnwick in 1584; and one of the same name was chamberlain in 1632, 1633, and 1634, after which this family disappears from the town.

Cathedral Church of St Paul, London, a tenement in Shereburn Lane, London, one of the possessions of the monastery of Alnwick; and about the same period the advowson of Lekinfield had been given to Lord Latimer; for "in the accounts of the bailiffs, provosts, farmers, and collectors of the lands, late of Lord Latimer and formerly of Sir Francis Bygod, attainted, for one year ending Michaelmas, 5 Edward VI.," the rectory of Leckinfield is accounted for, as parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of Alnwick, John Bednell, John Rodham, and Doctor Dabeth being farmers of it, at the yearly rental of £4.

The site of the monastery, with all the demesne lands, Heckley Grange, and Hefford Lawe Tower and pasture, which had been let on lease to Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe, at the yearly rent of £16, were, in 1550, granted to Sir Ralph Sadleyr, to be held *in capite* at a yearly rent of 32s. Not long afterwards they came into the possession of Sir John Forster, a distinguished border warrior and warden of the marches. Queen Elizabeth, in consideration of his services to the state in the late rebellion, granted to him and his heirs for ever, in 1573, along with other estates, the land and pasture called the Abbey Walls, adjacent to Ellyngnam Moor, at a rent of 10s. annually. He was residing at the abbey in 1585; and, in 1587, he was in possession of Brainshaugh Chapel and lands, which were afterwards held by Widdrington, of Hauxley, from whom they were purchased, in 1756, by Robert Tate, of Bank House, a freeman of Alnwick; and they are now in possession of his grandson, Mr. John Tate, of Bank House. When Clerkson made his survey in 1567, there was no service in the chapel, excepting at Easter; it is now a roofless but interesting ruin; but the grave-yard is still used as a place of burial for the family of Tate.

Much of the abbey property was granted away or sold in the time of James I.; and of these grants we obtain definite information from a rental of them in the deed by which commissioners, under the authority of parliament, sold various fee farm rents on September 7th, 1652, to John Sweeting, citizen and stationer, London. (*Deeds of Sale of Fee Farm Rents. Bundle S. I., No. 2. Public Records.*) The following are the particulars:—

Edward VI., on 15th December, 1550, granted to Ralph Sadler and Lawrence Wemington the site of the monastery of Alnewike, Harkley Grange, and a tower and pasture there called Herford Lawe, to be held *in capite*, paying a rent of 32s.

James I, on June 5th 1610, granted to George Salter and John Williams, gent., their heirs and assigns for ever, the cottage and garth in West Matfen, sometimes in the tenure of John Thompson, at a rent of 16d. yearly, and also a tenement called Stockfield Hall and certain lands.

James I, February 11th, 1610, granted to Edward Ferrers, of London, mercer, and Francis Phillipps, of London, gent., the water corn mill, with appurtenances in Alnewicke, sometimes in the tenure of William Taylor, at a rent of £3 yearly, in free and common socage.

James I, on September 1st, 1609, granted to Francis Morrice, Esquire, and Francis Phillipps, gent., for ever, all and all manner of tythes of grain yearly, and from time to time arising within the township of Alnewicke. and all those tythes of a mill of Alnewicke, sometime in the occupation of the late abbot and convent of Alnewicke, by the yearly rent of £11 6s. 8d., and those tythes of hay, wool, and lamb, and other small tythes and oblations, arising in the township of Alnewicke, and sometime in the tenure of Sir George Lawson, knight, at the yearly rent of £17 6s. 8d., to be held in free socage.

James I, on May 11th, 1608, granted all the moiety of the tythes of grain in the town and fields of Langhaughton, in the tenure of Edward earl of Bedford and Lucie his wife, to George Johnson, merchant tailor, London, and John Grimesditch, gent., in fee farm rent for ever, at the yearly rent of £5, the same to be held in free socage.

The trivial grounds on which such properties were alienated are shown in the reason assigned for this grant, which was made "on the humble petition of Sir Roger Ashton in consideration of his good and faithful service as one of his Majesty's gentlemen of the bed-chambre." Was a debt, due by this courtier to his tailor for fine clothes, cancelled by this grant of abbey property?

James I, on December 20th, 1605, granted to Henry Stanley, of London, gent., and John Standish, London, stationer, in fee farm for ever, all that other moiety of all the tythes of grain in Langhaughton, parcel of Lesbury Rectory, in the tenure of George Bednall and John Salkeld, senior, to be held in free socage, paying the yearly rent of £5; and he granted to the same the tythes of sheaf, blade, and grain, in the town and fields of Dodyngton, to be held in socage, at the rent of £8 yearly, in the occupation of Sir Ralph Grey, knight, parcel of the rectory of Chatton.

James I., on October 2, 1605, granted to John Halsey and Robert Morgan the tenement in Doddington, in the tenure of John Gray, at the rent of 10s.

James I., on 15th February, 1611, granted to Francis Morris and Francis Phelipps, in fee farm for ever, all those lesser tithes and oblations in the towns of Guissings and Bernehill, parcel of the late cell of Brainshaw; rent, 42s. 8d.; in free socage.

James I., on 5th June, 1610, granted to Geo. Salter and John Williams certain possessions in Brainshawf; rent, £4; etc.

James I., on 25th September, 1609, granted to Fras. Morrice and Fras. Phelipps, in fee farm for ever, all the tithes of grain in the town of Chatton, in the tenure of the vicar there, and Henry Reveley or their assigns, being parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Alnewicke, in free and common socage; rent, £10.

James I., on 25th May, 1605, granted to Lawrence Baskerville, of London, gent., and William Blake, of the same, scrivener, all the tithes of grain in the town and fields of Horton, and in the town of Healerigge, parcel of the rectory of Chatton.

James I., on 2nd October, 1605, granted to John Halsey and Robert Morgan, gent., a tenement in Ewart, otherwise Eworth; rent, 10s.

James I., on 6th April, 1605, granted to Sir Henry Lindley, knt., and John Starkey, gent., in fee farm for ever, all the tithes of grain and sheaf of the town and fields of Chillingham, Newton, and Nosbett, in the parish[es?] of Chillingham and Chatton, late let to Rob. Ellerker; rent, £4 13s. 4d.; and all the tithes of the town of Hetton, late in the tenure of the relict of William Mousechance and William Pauper, parcel of the rectory of Chatton, and sometime parcel of the monastery aforesaid; rent, 40s; and all the tithes of grain of Lyem, parcel of the rectory of Chatton, sometime in the tenure of the said relict and W. Pauper; rent, 20s.; and all the tithes of lamb and wool in the whole parish of Alneham, lately demised to Cuthbert Ogle, parcel of the rectory of Alneham, and sometime parcel of the said late monastery of Alnewicke; rent, 20s.; to be held in free socage.

Charles I., on 24th March, 1634, granted to Fras. Morrice and Fras. Phelipps the tithes of grain, parcel of the rectory of Lesburie, arising in the towns of Lesburie, Haukehill, and Bilton, sometime in the tenure of Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe, knt.; rent, £12 6s. 8d.

Charles I., on 11th February, 1636, granted to William Scriven and Philip Eden, esquires, five small tenements in the county of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; rent, 27s. 8d.

All the above rents are bargained and sold by the trustees to the said John Sweeting, in consideration of the sum of £1873 14s. 8d.

The Denwick tithes were in 1614 granted to Whitmore and Sawyer; and part of Broxfield, the gift made to the abbey by Alexander de Hilton, was in 1610 granted to Whitmore and Sawyer.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the abbey and various lands and tithes connected with it were purchased by Robert Brandling, a descendant of an old Northumbrian family, who, in the sixteenth century, appear as sheriffs of the county, and mayors and members of parliament for Newcastle. According to an inquisition made in 1641, after the death of Sir Francis Brandling, knight, we find that Robert Brandling, his father, was in possession of the Abbey Estate, on May 18, 1608, when, on the marriage of Francis with Elizabeth daughter of Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham, he made a settlement of "the Abbey of St. Mary's Alnwick, the two Abbey Mills, the messuage called Broxfield, the tithes of Longhoughton, Alnwick West Park, Cawledge Park, and Hul Park, and lands in Jesmond and Nunnewode;" and on February 4th, 1638, Sir Francis Brandling, prior to his second marriage, settled the tithes of Alnwick, Lesbury, Bilton, Hawkhill, and Shilbottle, along with other estates, in trustees for himself for life, with remainder to his intended wife Elizabeth Wheeler, widow.*

Robert Brandling was living at Alnwick Abbey, in 1633, when he was charged with many misdemeanours, which will be noticed in our account of the church. This violent turbulent man, who was a plague to the church and a terror to the burgesses of Alnwick, was born in 1575, and died a little time after 1634. He seemed to have had large possessions, and had been twice, at least, high sheriff of the county. His son, Sir Francis, the next owner of the abbey property did not long survive him; but a short time before his death, on August 28th, 1640, he conveyed the manor of Alnwick Abbey, and all his other manors to Sir Nich. Tempest and Robert Grey, D.D., in trust to receive and apply the rents in payment of his debts; and to raise portions for his five younger children, Ralph, Robert, Francis, William, and Thomas. Charles, his eldest son, succeeded to these estates and entered to £1500 per annum besides the tithes. He appears in the county rate book of 1663, as holding Alnwick Abbey demesne, and Heckley and Denwick tithes, Brockshaw, and the tithes of Bilton, Lesbury, Hawkhill, Shilbottle, and half the tithes of Longhoughton. The Abbey Mills, the Alnwick tithe corn and petty tithes then belonged to Col. Brandling. Charles Brandling died about 1665, and the abbey demesnes descended to his sons, Robert and Ralph; and being minors, Robert was placed under the guardianship

* Surtees' Durham. p. 93.

of his uncle Francis. Robert, the *Sir Fopling*, of Kirke, lived at the abbey, and died there on September 5th, 1682. As neither he nor his brother Ralph left any issue, the heirship of the abbey estate passed to their youngest brother Charles, of Felling, who marrying Margaret, daughter of John Grey of Howick, was the progenitor of the Brandlings of Gosforth, the last of whom, connected with that place, the Rev. Ralph Brandling, is still remembered in Alnwick, from the prominent part he played in the elections of 1825 and 1826.

The descendants of Robert, the first Brandling who held Alnwick Abbey, were in course of time very numerous, and were settled in various parts of the county—at Alnwick, Newcastle, Whitehouse, Hoppen, Newham, Felling, and Gosforth; and hence the abbey property was frequently regulated by wills, settlements, mortgages, and litigation.

The abbey and the abbey lands having been mortgaged to John Doubleday, they were purchased by him in the early part of the eighteenth century. He was the son of Robert Doubleday, of Jarrow, and died on December 15th, 1751, at the advanced age of ninety years.* Being a quaker, he was interred in the quaker's burying ground, at the foot of Canon-gate, of which manor he was lord. He left two sons and several daughters, one of whom, Hannah, was married to Collingwood Forster an attorney in Alnwick, who has achieved local notoriety. Michael Doubleday the younger son, who succeeded to the abbey properties, was a majestic man, above six feet in height and massive in proportion. Like his father he was a quaker, and adopted the quaker costume and modes of speech. Eccentric he was too; sometimes laying aside his broad brim he crowned himself with a bright red cap, the top of which hung down behind his head; and as he strode through the streets, grasping by the middle a silver-headed pole as high as himself, he was an object of wonder and fear to the juvenile population. When visiting the duke of Northumberland on some business matter, he, in accordance with his religious principles, went into his grace's presence with

* His will, dated February 6, 1743, thus describes his properties—Alnwick Abbey, High House, Heckley West Side and Barns, South North and Middle Morrellese, Crowhill Close, Shoulder of Mutton Close, Clover Close, White Well Bank Closes and four Pennywell Closes, two water corn mills and ground held therewith, three closes south of the Alne commonly reported to be one-third of Storer lands, the haugh west of his house, all coal mines within farmhold of Lane Head, &c.

his hat on his head ; but the lacquey in attendance horrified at this presumption, took off the broad brim and put it aside. Business over, Mr. Doubleday retired, and bareheaded left the castle ; but, a little while after, the duke discovered the hat and becoming aware of the lacquey's officiousness, hurriedly exclaimed to him—"Run, run with Mr. Doubleday's hat and place it on his head, or it may be the dearest that ever entered the castle!" Michael Doubleday was never married and died February 23rd, 1797, aged 73 years ; though eccentric he was a benevolent man while living, and by will left £100 to the poor of the parish.* His will illustrates his character. His nephew Middleton Hewitson had lent him £500 under circumstances which excited a grateful feeling ; and though Michael Doubleday had never seen his nephew's family, he bequeathed to his grand-nephews Middleton, Henry, and Joshua £10,000 each. This quaker's funeral was pompous. There was then only a wooden foot-bridge over the Aln near the abbey ; and in consequence of a superstitious feeling against a corpse crossing the water, the long funeral procession went round by the Small Well Lane, down the north turnpike, and across the Lion Bridge to St. Michael's Church.

In accordance with his will, the abbey estates were offered for sale in London, in one lot, on July 3rd, 1798. The advertisement states that there were near to 2000 acres of meadow, pasture, arable, and wood lands, valued at £2016 yearly ; that the timber was worth £3000 ; and that the whole was tithe free. The whole property was bought by the Hewitsons. Part of Broxfield was sold by them for £3700 to William Bolton, of the Mountain ; and Heckley Fence to Ralph Annett, of Alnwick ; and the remainder was divided among the three brothers. That portion containing the remains of the abbey was soon afterwards sold by Middleton, much to the annoyance of his brothers, for £17,000 to the Duke of Northumberland ; some years later, Henry's portion, including High House farm, was also sold to the duke ; but Heckley, Heckley Grange, Broomhouse, and Brockshaw continued in the family of Hewitson till 1862, when they too were bought by Algernon, duke of Northumberland, so that now nearly all the abbey possessions in Alnwick parish belong to the Percy family.

* Thomas Doubleday of Newcastle, the author of the *Italian Wife*, of a *Treatise on Population*, and other works, is a descendant of Humphrey the second son of Robert Doubleday of Jarrow.

Before Doubleday bought Alnwick Abbey, the tithes, originally belonging to it, had been distributed among various individuals; it is now difficult to trace their succession, but some information is afforded from conveyances and wills of the Brandlings, and from other sources.

Though Sir Francis Brandling made, in 1640, provision for his younger children, they for thirteen years, during the time of the civil wars, received nothing; for the trustees of the conveyance, being regarded as delinquents, were prevented from acting. Charles Brandling, however, who enjoyed the estates, consented, in 1653, that Thomas his youngest brother should enter to Alnwick, Lesbury, Denwick, and Bilton tithes, for the maintenance of himself and his other brothers, till their portions should be paid, amounting with interest to £4450; and, in 1677, Dr. Grey, the surviving trustee, conveyed to him these tithes for the same object. Acting for the younger children, Thomas kept possession of them for thirty years, though often troubled by actions at law and equity, raised by the heirs of Sir Francis, which reduced these younger children to great straits. But Mr. Milbank having obtained a verdict for an old debt of £500 due by Sir Francis, he served an ejectment on Thomas Brandling, and after several law proceedings ejected him out of the Denwick and Bilton tithes, of which the Milbanks afterwards retained possession for twenty years. Thomas Brandling died at Alnwick without issue in April, 1700, and by will left all his estate to his nephews Ralph of Hoppen and Francis of Newcastle, merchant, and to his niece Grace Davison of Alnwick, a widow, and daughter of Robert Brandling of Whitehouse. Arrangements, however, were made in 1717, in consequence of which Sir Ralph Milbank conveyed the tithes of Denwick, Bilton, Shilbottle, and Hawkhill to Mr Ilderton, in trust for Francis Brandling of Newcastle, who it seems purchased the right of the younger children of Sir Francis. Ralph Brandling of Hoppen was a party to these arrangements, but he died before they were completed; by his will, dated 1717, he devised his share of the tithes to his nephew (son-in-law?) Edward Cook of Togston, from whom it passed to his son John Cook, who by will dated December 13th, 1762, devised his four-fifteenth parts or share of these tithes to his son Edward; but Edward dying intestate on November 5th, 1786, Jane his only daughter succeeded as heir. She married Isaac Cookson, who in 1824 sold this share to Hugh duke of Northumberland.

Other shares of the tithes of Alnwick, including those of Canongate, Stoney Hills, Hope House, and part of Lesbury passed into the family of Compton of Carham, on the marriage of Jane Forster of Alnwick, another grand-daughter of Ralph Brandling, with William Compton in 1730. They were offered for sale on May 22nd, 1769, consisting of—Lot 1, eleven-fiftieth parts of the tithes of grain and corn of the township of Alnwick, let in 1768 at the clear annual rent of £7 10s. 0d., chargeable with a fee farm rent of £1 17s. 6d; Lot 2, eleven-fiftieth parts of the tithes of corn and grain of the township of Lesbury, let in 1768 at the clear annual rent of £21 1s. 0d., chargeable with a fee farm rent of £1 2s. 7d.* They, however, do not appear to have been sold at this time, but passed to William Compton's only daughter Hannah, who in 1780 married Robert Ogle of Eglingham, grand-father of the present representative of this old and important Northumbrian family. In accordance with the will of Robert Ogle made in 1807, this portion of the tithes was sold, and became the property of the duke of Northumberland.

Francis Brandling in 1725 sold five-twelfth parts of the tithes of Alnwick and Lesbury to William Coulter of Lesbury, and they passed in succession to his son Michael in 1744, and in 1776 to his grandson Michael, who sold his share of the Alnwick tithes to Thomas Adams of Alnwick; it was subsequently purchased by the duke of Northumberland. Michael Coulter's share of the Lesbury tithe passed by will to his son William, who in 1805 conveyed it to Robert Gilson, by whom it was sold to Isaac Cookson.

One quarter of another fifth of the Alnwick and Lesbury tithes was in 1712 conveyed by Richard Brandling to Francis Forster; in 1717 it passed to Thomas Ilderton, who married on June 13th, 1717, Margaret daughter of Francis Brandling, and it descended in succession to Thomas Ilderton, Robert Ilderton of Westoe, and Charles Ilderton, attorney, Newcastle, and thence to Sanderson Ilderton of Lemmington, and afterwards to his second son Sanderson, and from him to his brother the Rev. Thomas Ilderton vicar of Felton, who is also owner of the tithes of Denwick and other portions of those of Lesbury and Shilbottle, which came into possession of his family in 1776.

The petty tithes of Alnwick were in possession of the Brandlings. Ralph Brandling of Felling in 1686 conveyed

* Randall's MSS., Durham.

to trustees, for payment of his debts, besides other property "all manner of tithes of corn, grain, wool, hay, flax, and hemp, and all other tithes, oblations, obventions, offerings, and emoluments in the parishes and townships of Longhoughton, Alnwick, Alnwick East park, Alnwick West Kalledge park, and Hull park." These and other tithes were sold in 1700 for £1500 to John Lambe, and they passed in 1705 to his son John, and in 1712 to his son John. In 1731 they were held under lease by John Weatherburn at a yearly rent of £206 11s. 0d. The Rev. William Lambe of Gateshead, brother of John, succeeded to them in 1739, and in 1759 they passed to his son Captain John Lambe. After continuing in this family for upwards of a century these tithes in 1802 came into the possession of Edward Gallon as mortgagee, and he in 1808 conveyed them to William Baird of Alnwick for £2800, free from incumbrances, excepting five-sixth parts of the sum of £13 18s. 0d. payable yearly for ever to an Alms-house in Bristol, five-sixths of the land tax of £4 9s. 6d., five-sixths of the charges of providing bread and wine in the parish church of Alnwick on four days of sacrament in the year, and five-sixths of the county rate payable on account of these tithes. The several charges at this time amounted to £23 5s. 4d. These tithes at the death of W. Baird in 1821 passed by will to his nephew William Forster who took the name and arms of Baird; and he on December 1st, 1825, by agreement with the duke of Northumberland, which was confirmed by act of parliament, sold them, excepting those payable out of lands which had belonged to William Baird, for the sum of £4800. Of these excepted lands there are 98 acres 2 roods 27 poles, including Windyedge Farm, the Shoulder of Mutton, Allerburn, Low Freelands, Goose Knowes, Willow Burn, the Burn and Watch Hill Closes. In the year 1820 these tithes produced £318 18s. 6d., viz., for Easter offerings £28, lamb and wool £33 12s. 6d., geese 12s., calves £2 18s. 4d., pigs £6 6s. 4d., hens £1 18s. 6d., gardens £29 10s. 0d., hay £81 3s. 0d., potatoes £23 17s. 0d., turnips £87 12s. 6d., Mortuaries £5 8s. 4d., Alndike tithes £18. As part of these tithes there were formerly collected mortuary dues of 10s. 6d. on the death of any person possessed of property, one penny yearly for *reek* (smoke from a chimney) from every house, and one penny for *head-money* from every person in a household; but these unpopular impositions were wisely discontinued by Algernon duke of Northumberland.

A moiety of the tithes of Shieldykes and Swinley were

offered for sale in January, 1770, the whole being then let at £28 per annum. They are now held by Fenwick and others.*

Broxfield though not in the parish of Alnwick bounders upon it on the north-east. That part of it which belonged to the abbey was conveyed by Aldred and Whitmore to Thomas Orde of West Orde; and he in 1614 sold it to Thomas Grey of Howick, in whose family it remained till 1696, when it passed to Hewit of Newcastle. John Doubleday the younger bought it, and in 1736 devised it to his father John Doubleday of Alnwick, who sold it to Maxwell of Hazon. But it returned to the Doubleday family again in 1766, when it was bought by Michael Doubleday of Alnwick Abbey. After his death it was purchased with the other abbey property by the Hewitsons. It was subsequently sold to Bolton of the Mountain; and next to John Carr of Bondgate Hall, Alnwick, from whom it descended to his daughter and her husband Edward Clavering of Callaly, by whom it was sold in 1860 to Algernon duke of Northumberland.

The tithes of Alnwick parish were commuted in 1837 as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Duke of Northumberland for the tithe of Alnwick	270	7	6
Fenwick and others for the tithe of Shildykes	, 78	3	0
Baird and Rand for Snipe House and Rugley	, 114	10	0
Rev. Thomas Ilderton for the tithe of Denwick	, 173	0	0
	<hr/>		
	636	0	6

REMAINS OF THE ABBEY.

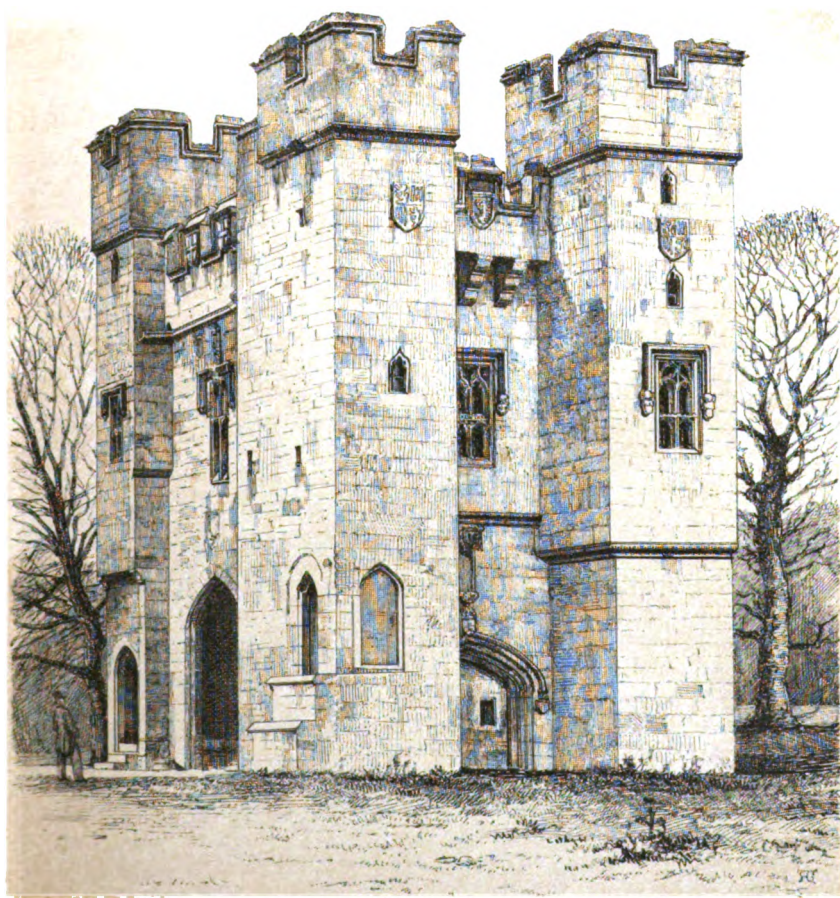
Of the original abbey, in which for centuries lordly abbots dwelt, and barons and knights were sumptuously entertained, not one stone is recognisable on its site. Nothing is left save an embattled entrance tower, which, however, had been erected as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. After the Reformation part of the building was overthrown by order of the king; and the ruins were subsequently used as a quarry, whence stones were obtained to build houses in the town. Several carved stones, capitals and portions of pillars and arches, of the Norman and Early English styles of architecture—doubtless spoils from the abbey—have recently been taken

* In the account given of the descent of the tithes, I am indebted partly to Hodgson's MSS., but chiefly to information from Mr. John Atkinson Wilson of Alnwick, who has most liberally given me access to his valuable collections relating to Alnwick, of which I have made free use in the course of this history.

out of a house in Narrowgate, which formerly belonged to the Forsters. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, there were remaining besides the tower, a mansion house and several smaller houses, forming part of a square; but all were taken down, excepting the tower, after the Duke of Northumberland obtained possession of the site. (*Plate II.*)

The last fragment of this great abbey is an oblong tower, with small projecting towers at the corners. A gateway with a round arch passes through from north to south, and on the north front above the spring of the arch on each side is a square recess, now empty, but which had probably been filled with some device; above the arch is a figure, now much wasted and defaced, which seems to have been an angel with expanded wings; a little higher still is a canopied niche which may have held a figure about five feet in height; and immediately above that are machioliations projecting from the wall and supported by corbels. On the merlons of the battlement are two shields, one with a plain cross and the other with the cross patonce, both arms of De Vescy the founder of the abbey. The windows are small with trefoil tracery. The south front is crenelated but not machiolated, and the same De Vescy crosses are placed on the battlement. In a niche above a window with mullions and transoms stands a figure of a Premonstratensian canon which is much decayed. Some carving had been within a panel above the gateway but it is now entirely effaced. More elaborately finished and ornamented is the eastern front, through which is another entrance, with a low pointed four-centred arch resting on angels with extended wings. Over this arch is a shield with the Brabant lion and three lucies quartered—arms adopted by the Percys not earlier than 1385, but which were not generally used by them till the fifteenth century; above this is a canopied niche without a figure. The same armorial bearings appear on the centre merlon of the battlement and also high up on the walls of the projecting towers. Windows with mullions and transoms are set into a stone frame-work, above which is a rectangular label resting on demi-figures holding shields. This well-built tower is a good example of the late perpendicular style of architecture; but standing alone it affords but a faint idea of the grandeur of the abbey when in its glory; it gives, however, historical interest to the beautiful scenery by which it is surrounded.

When the old Canongate Bridge was taken down, forty-six years ago, a few relics, lost probably by persons connected



1897 Photograph by G. Potter

GATEWAY OF HENWICK ABBEY.

PLATE VIII.

FIG. 3.



SEAL WITH INSCRIPTION,
DEVM TIME ET AMA.

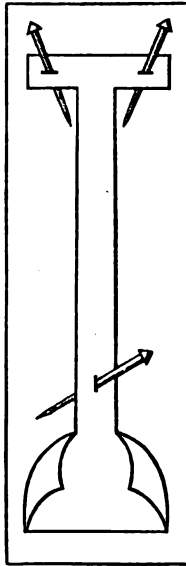
FIG. 4.



LOVE SEAL WITH THREE ESCALLOPS
AND INSCRIPTION,
+ IE SV SELE DE AMVR LELE.

Found about the foundation of Alnwick Abbey bridge. See page 41.

FIG 5.



TAU CROSS, HOLN PRIORY. See page 61.

Antiquities—
Alnwick Abbey and Holn Priory.

with the abbey, were found about the foundations of the bridge; they are now in the collection of antiquities of Mr. James Horsley of Alnwick. There are two silver fibulæ of fourteenth century work; around one is inscribed JESVS NAZAR, and on the other IHESVS NA., both meaning *Jesus of Nazareth*; and also two small brass seals, one with the half figure of a monk and the inscription DEVM TIME ET AMA—*Fear and Love God*; the other has the following inscription around three escallops:—† IE SV SELE DE AMVR LELE—*I am the seal of leal (or true) love*. This legend is usually found around little *love seals* of the fourteenth century, with the device of a pair of heads, male and female, looking tenderly at each other; but it is rare to see such seals associated with heraldry.

HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD.

The establishment of this hospital has been noticed in general terms. The original charter is lost; but of its foundation, between the years 1193 and 1216, we are told in the chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, which states that Eustace de Vescy gave to Alnwick Abbey a certain rural portion called Quarrelflat, in exchange for the land on which he founded the chapel of Saint Leonard for the soul of Malcolm, king of the Scots; and William the Lion, whose illegitimate daughter Eustace had married, gave to him the barony of Sprouston to found this chapel.

The hospital continued an independent religious establishment till 1376, when Henry de Percy, the first earl of Northumberland, obtained from Edward III. on payment of one hundred shillings a license for its annexation to Alnwick Abbey. It then became an obligation on the abbot and convent of Alnwick to sustain, perform, and support the alms, burdens, charities, hospitals, and other works of piety anciently ordained and established in the same hospital.* In one of the confirmatory charters of the second Earl of Northumberland, he imposed a new condition; that the abbot and convent should pay five marcs annually to his chantry in the castle of Warkworth; but this imposition was removed in 1457 by another charter.

This hospital was built on a flat piece of high ground, about three-fourths of a mile northward of Alnwick, and one-fourth of a mile southward of Malcolm's Cross. Probably it had

* Rot. Pat. 50 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 23.

fallen into decay, even prior to the Reformation, for all trace of buildings had been lost, the foundations being covered with vegetation till 1845, when the field called Radcliff's Close was ploughed over, and the foundations of a chapel and other buildings, carved stones, a holy water vase, an ancient well, a burial ground, a stone coffin, and upwards of twenty skeletons were exposed. The chapel was small, consisting of a nave and chancel, the former 22 feet long by 27 feet wide, and the latter 15 feet long by 16 feet wide; at the west end there appears to have been a chamber 13 feet long. Foundations of the domestic buildings are traceable near the chapel on the south side; but they had been of no great extent. The ancient well, which is about 5 feet deep, is near the chapel on the north side, probably the very well by the side of which Malcolm drew his last breath, after having received his death wound higher up the hill, where his cross now stands. He left, says the chronicle, his name to the same spring for ever, whence it is called in the English tongue Malcolm's Well. What more probable than the removal of a dying man to a spring, where his parched throat could be refreshed by the cool water?

All the fragments left of the building are parts of the original hospital, raised by Eustace de Vescy, towards the close of the twelfth century; for they are of the later style of Norman architecture; the columns are round and slender, with cushioned fluted capitals; and the arches are circular with billet, lozenge, and nail-head ornaments. By direction of Algernon duke of Northumberland, these fragments have been skilfully built up by Mr. F. R. Wilson, architect; thus not only endeavouring to preserve the relics from further destruction, but reproducing, to a certain extent, the characteristic form and features of the old original structure.

The field in which the hospital stands is called Radcliff's Close, because belonging to that family subsequently to the Reformation. It was in the possession of Francis Radcliff in 1663, along with other lands extending to the Aln, including Barbara's Bank, and also fields on the east side of the north road between the north demesne and the Broomhouse. These abbey lands appear to have come into the possession of this family soon after the Reformation; for we find Sir Cuthbert Radcliff lessee in 1539 of several of the abbey estates. They passed in succession to the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, and after his attainder and execution, they were granted to the Greenwich Hospital;

but by an act of parliament, in 1778, the Duke of Northumberland obtained them and other premises at Broxfield and a house in Warkworth, in exchange for lands at and near Corbridge.* The following are the particulars of the exchange:—

The Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital gave “Derwentwater House at the top of the Path on the opposite side of the way to the Castle Gate, Ratcliffe’s two closes in the North Demain, Alnwick, also ground, on the north side of the river above the bridge, called Barbara’s Bank, also ground called the Goose Close in Wideopen Demain in the North Demain afore said, also the tithes of corn and of hay with the stead fields of Broxfield called Fore fields in the parish of Embleton, also the tithes of hay in a Haugh and in the Gin field at Gynfen meadow both in the township of Denwick—the tithes aforesaid formerly belonged to the Monastery of Alnwick—also a burgage and garth and half an acre of land in the Hather leases at Warkworth” to the Duke of Northumberland in exchange for “part of the late common fields of Corbridge called east field containing 46a. 2r. 24p.”†

HIGHFARLAW OR HEFFORDLAW TOWER.

On high ground northward of Alnwick, at the distance of three miles, near to an Ancient British camp, stands Highfarlaw or Heffordlaw pele tower, which belonged to the Abbey. Early documents do not refer to it; but in the paper survey of the possessions of the abbey, made in 1540, it is entered as “One Tower and pasture thereunto belonging called Hefford Law.” It is a small, nearly square building, only 24 feet 4 inches by 28 feet 9 inches; and though well built in ashlar work of the durable grey sandstone of the district, it is but a poor specimen of a border pele. It is now roofless; but it had three low stories—that on the ground floor being six feet in height; the second storey was supported on beams and was 7½ feet high, being evidently the principal room, for it had a fireplace, the access being by a narrow winding wooden stair in the south-west corner; the floor of the upper storey rested on stone corbels.

* In a report on the Greenwich Hospital in 1806 these premises yielded rentals as follow:—Radcliffe’s Closes in 1715 £5 15s., in 1770 £13 5s.; Broxfield in 1715 £4, in 1770 £3; House in Warkworth in 1715 1s.; in 1770 10s.; Alnwick House in 1715 £14 10s., in 1770 £31.

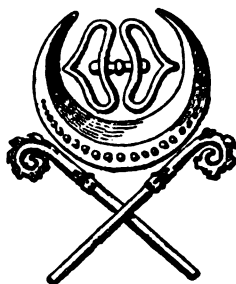
† Mr. C. S. Bell’s MSS.

Sculptured stones, set within panels in the walls, indicate the age of this pele. One in the eastern front has on it, in relief, a locket within the horns of a crescent, beneath which are two crosiers crossed, and at the side are letters supposed to be R. H. These figures are plain; but on the south wall they also appear in a more ornate style, for the crescent is beaded and the crosiers crocketed—*Fig. 1*. The crossed crosiers point to the abbot; but the crescent and locket are Percy badges, which do not appear used conjointly till the time of Henry the fourth earl Percy; and therefore the building is not earlier than 1469. The same conjoint badge is seen on the porch of Warkworth Church, on Hedgeley Cross, and on the north window of Beverly Church.* In the east wall there is a small niche with a trefoil canopy, suitable for a statute; but it is now empty.

This pele may have been erected on this lofty hill, as a watch tower and beacon, for it commands an extensive view of the country around; and it may besides have been the residence of the tenant, who farmed the lands of *Hefferside* under the abbey.

• Longstaffe's Heraldry, p. 197.

FIG. 1



ARMS SCULPTURED ON HEFFORDLAW TOWER.

CHAPTER II.

HOLN PRIORY.

LEGEND OF ITS FOUNDATION—SITE GIVEN BY WILLIAM DE VESCY ABOUT 1240—CHARTERS AND ENDOWMENTS—SURVEY IN 1539—CARMELITES—RALPH FRESBURN—JOHN BALE—LIBRARY—VESTMENTS—SURVEY IN 1587—REMAINS OF THE PRIORY.

Two miles north-westward of Alnwick, the remains of Holn (or Huhn) Priory stand on a hill, on the north bank of the Aln. According to tradition, this monastery had a romantic origin. "Among the British Barons," it is said, "who went to the holy wars in the reign of Henry III., were William de Vesey lord of Alnwick and Richard Gray two eminent chieftains in the Christian army. Led by curiosity or devotion, they went to visit the friars of Mount Carmel, and there unexpectedly found a countryman of their own, one Ralph Fresborn a Northumberland man who had distinguished himself in a former crusade, and, in consequence of a vow, had afterwards taken upon him the monastic profession in that solitude. When Vesey and Gray returned to England, they strongly importuned the superior of the Carmelites to let their countryman accompany them; which was at length granted upon condition that they would found a monastery for Carmelites in their own country. Soon after their return, Fresborn, mindful of their engagement, began to look out for a place for their convent. After examining all the circumjacent solitudes, he at length fixed on the present spot, induced, it is said, by the great resemblance which the adjoining hill bore to Mount Carmel: and indeed whoever looks into Maundrel's travels will find that the draught of that mountain bears a strange likeness to this before us." (*Grose Ant. II.*, p. 98.)

This legend is too attractive to be altogether discarded; though historically discrepant, it may have some foundation in fact, and that part of it which relates to Fresborn may be

substantially true; but William de Vescy, the lord of Alnwick, appears not in any crusade; one crusade there was in his time, led by Frederick II. of Germany, about 1238, but Englishmen do not seem to have joined it. A William de Vescy, who took part in the defence of Northumberland against the inroad of William the Lion, and who, probably, was an illegitimate son of the first William de Vescy, accompanied Richard I. in the crusade of 1191; and John de Vescy was a distinguished crusader under Prince Edward in 1270. Neither of these dates, however, corresponds with the time when the priory was founded.

Fuller tells a different, and, we think, a truer story. Ralph Fresborne, he says, who was born in Northumberland, where he possessed a large estate, and who had been bred a soldier and scholar, accompanied Richard the earl of Cornwall to the Holy Land, and there became acquainted with the friars living on Mount Carmel. Pitying their condition, and impressed with their piety and morals, he brought them over with him into England, and built them a house at Hulne, in a place not unlike Mount Carmel in Syria; for Carmel had a hill with the river Kishon running under it, and a forest beside it. The resemblance, however, must have been more imaginative than real; for Dr. Gregson, who had seen both places, told me when I was with him at Holn, that there was little similarity between the two places. In a life of Simon Stock, general of the Carmelite order, it is said, that the following verse along with others gives the date of its foundation, and was on a stone tablet above the gate of Holn Priory:—

Anno milleno ducenteno quadrageno.*

More definite and authentic information we gather from the charters granted to the abbey. These were in the possession of Lord William Howard of Naworth in 1597, and of John Warburton; but they are now known through a copy, among the Harleian manuscripts, in the British Museum. With the exception, however, of the De Vescy charters they are of little interest, as most of the others consist merely of confirmations and repetitions.† Appended to them are valuable records containing a catalogue of the library, and a list of the sacred vestments which were in the abbey. Of all that is essential and interesting in these documents, I shall give a digest.

* Acta Sanctorum.

† They are printed in Hartshorne's Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland; and the chief portions in Grose's Antiquities.

The site of the abbey was given by the second William de Vesey about 1240; the house, however, was most probably built by Ralph Fresburn; but the chief endowment came from John de Vesey, who (between 1252 and 1289) granted and confirmed to the brethren of the order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, the whole area called Holn, in his forest of Alnwick, with the oratory and houses built or about to be built thereon, which William de Vesey his father first permitted them to inhabit and possess; he granted to them and to others coming to their place for the purpose of devotion, free entrance, passage, and exit through all the ways and paths anciently used in any part of the forest leading to neighbouring or distant towns, excepting through his enclosures; liberty the brethren had to take timber from this forest to erect buildings, and old wood to consume within their houses, and to burn lime without, and to make charcoal for their church during winter; timber they might take for two years from beyond the enclosure to make one cart and all utensils necessary for their houses; and from within the enclosure they were to have hoops for their vessels and twigs for drawing the cart through the forest; the brethren had, especially for themselves and the laity coming with them, a right of way straight through the middle of the park by way of Hilburghach to pass to the palisade and over a style of three steps; but if they could not pass through Hilburghalgh on account of the overflowing of the water, then they might pass freely as they were accustomed to do on the other side of the Aln water; a free fishery they were to have in the Aln, both within and without the park; a quarry of free-stone; and a mill, built on their own area, in which to grind their own corn without multure, with a watercourse made in the great water of the Aln through a foss which they had dug in the forest, together with a pond inclosed by themselves to receive the waterflow; but their millers were yearly to swear before his bailiffs not to admit a stranger to grind corn there. The brethren were to have free pasturage in the forest and park for six oxen, two horses and two asses, in charge of a keeper, between the water and the north side of the park, in length from their garden westward as far as the pond; he gave to the brethren all the forest bees, with their honey and wax, found in Walshowe and in Holne, in the forest and in the park, for the perpetual maintenance of the light of their church; and to prevent fraudulent alienation of the honey or wax, the chief forester had yearly to strictly warn and instruct the other foresters and shepherds, by taking oath from them, to be faithful and diligent in applying to the profit of the brethren, whatever bees they might find in the park and forest. For the support of the brethren, he granted that they might buy yearly, in the market of his burgh of Alnmouth, a last of herrings in the herring season, and also other fish and things sold in that market; they were to have out of his coney warren of Houghton, *unam trussam de beneth* (bent?) at

Easter, and another truss at the assumption of the Blessed Mary; rushes they might have out of his park thrice a year to cover their houses, to wit, four bundles every time; and twice in the year four bundles out of the forest of Holne; and yearly they were to have twelve cart loads of spart (rushes) out of the whole length of Lokensenburne, within his enclosure, to cover their houses. This charter is witnessed by Thomas Abbot of Alnewyk, Sirs Robert de Hilton, Walter de Huntercombe, Ralph Fitz-Roger, Walter de Cambhowe, John de Wyderington, William de Middelton, Knights, John de Midelton Clerk, Philip de Brokesfeld, John Heryng, Robert Heryng and others.

By four subsequent charters, John de Vescy confirmed his first benefactions, and in addition gave twelve marks sterling yearly out of the farm of his Alnwick Mills; and he commanded his bailiffs to distrain the farmers, if necessary, for payment to the brethren; this gift he increased to twenty marks yearly. One of these charters is dated Alnewyk, at the feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1277. William de Vescy by three charters, dated Tughall, June 16th, 1295, confirmed all the gifts of his brother, but added nothing to the endowment; and Edward II. when at Berwick on December 12th, 1310, gave royal confirmation to these grants.

Walter de Witthill, son and heir of Gilbert de Witthill, by charter, about 1300, gave to the brethren half a marc sterling yearly for ever, out of that land which Adam, son of Bryan de Howyk, and Leticia, his wife, formerly held. Alexander de Brokesfeld, about the same time, gave one quarter of wheat, one quarter of barley, and two quarters of oats yearly for ever; the abbot and convent and the whole chapter of Alnwick witnessed this charter, and both these grants were confirmed by Edward III. at Berwick, in 1336. Thomas Heryrng, of Howyk, gave to the prior and brethren twenty shillings sterling yearly, payable out of the fourth of his water mill of Howyk, for procuring and maintaining the ornaments of the church of Holne; this also was confirmed by King Edward III. John Clifford, heir of his brother Robert Clifford, in 1347, gave to the brethren one quarter of wheat, one quarter of barley, and two quarters of oats yearly for ever, from his manor of Neusted.

Confirmations of grants were made by the first, second, third, and sixth Henry Lord Percys; but these barons added little to the endowment. Henry the second Percy, who is called "the wisest of the wise," on September 1st, 1334, on account of his special affection and devotion to the brethren, granted to them pasturage for two cows in his wood of Holne for ever; and in lieu of the pasturage of two asses, as granted by John de Vescy, he allowed it to be for two cows; so that on the whole they should have twelve head of cattle depasturing in the wood. By will, dated 1351, he left forty shillings to the brethren of Carmelites of Alnwick. (*Test. Eb.r. I p 58.*) Through the influence

of Robert De Populton the Prior, Henry the third Lord Percy, gave £105 13s. 4d. to roof the church; and, by charter in 1364, granted pasturage for eight cows and one bull, in addition to what they were previously entitled; he conceded that the brethren should enjoy in the park of Holn all the liberties granted to them in the forest of Holne, which is now vulgarly called the park of Holne; he granted that they should freely have, and for ever take, spart, hay, and every kind of grass in the whole of that wood, now called Le Freremedewe, as it lies in length and breadth near to Lokensenburn within his enclosure; but he reserved to himself and his heirs to make clearings of wood, vulgarly called Haggas, within Holne Park, and to enclose such places for a proper time. Henry Percy, by charter, dated Alnwick Castle 1376, granted to the brethren, in augmentation of the sustenance of the house, a free fishery in the waters of the Aln and of Lokynsenburne, both within and without the park; and he granted besides as much liberty in his burg of Alnmouth as his predecessors had done. Henry Percy the second Earl of Northumberland, in 1422, gave the pasturage of eight oxen within his park, in addition to the number previously granted. The last gift to the abbey was made by Henry the fourth earl, who died in 1489, and by will left £40 to the prior and convent of the house of the friars in Holn Park.

Compared with other monastic establishments Holn Priory was poorly endowed; but probably no little of its revenue would arise from the oblations, time after time, offered by religious people seeking the prayers of the brethren. From a paper survey in the Augmentation Office made in 1539, the total rental is estimated at only £16 11s. 2d., including the value of the site of the house, of twenty-one acres of land, of the pasturage of twenty-seven animals, of two water mills, which yielded indeed more than three-fourths of the whole revenue, and of tenements in the Peth, Howick, Alnmouth, and Alnwick. Very erroneous estimates have been made of the amount of the revenue; Fuller, whose statement Hartshorne and other writers have copied, had mistaken Holn for some other abbey when he says the revenues were valued at £194 7s. The following is a copy of the survey:—

Com' Northumbriæ.

The Frears of } In the survey there is contenyd as hereafter
Hull Parke. } ensewith.

THE DEMAYNES.

Firste, the Scite of the late Howse, with oon Towre within the same, with Birez and Howses of office, oon Gardyne called Kirkegarthe, a Gardyn called Priour Garthe, oon Gardyn called Kitchyn Garthe, all which conteyn in quantite oon acre, as it is inclosed

wⁱⁿ a stone wall, and is worthe by the yere over all chargez, *vs.*

Item, there is a Close called Calfe Close, contenyng *vj* acres, a close called Brede Close containng *iiij^{or}* acres, *j* Close called Swyne Close, cont' *j* acre, oon Close called Well Close, contenyng *ij* acres, whiche in all be worthe by yere, *xs.*

Item, there is a parcell of Mede lieng uppon the South Side of Hull Frithe called Frears Mede, cont' *vij* acres, and is worthe by the yere, *ijs. vjd.*

Item, the^r is belonging to thesame Howse of olde dewtye the pasturage of *xxiiijth* Kyen, oon Bull, *ij^o* Mares, w^t all theire sequele, and theire yong Catell unto they be of thage of two yeres, bothe in Wynter and in Sommer agestyd in the parke called Hull Parke, and is worthe yerely, as it is valewyd by thoothes of *iiij^o* indeferent persones thereuppon swourn, *xxs.*

Item, a tenement w^t thappertenaunces lieng in Peth, whiche the late Howse of Hull Parke had by dimission of the Castell of Alnewike, and paith for the same to Grave of Charleton *vjs. vjd.*; and is worth above thesame Rentt, *n^l*

Summa reddituum dominicalium, *xxxvjs. vjd.*

ALNEWICKE BURGUS.

Item, there is two Wattermylles ffor Cournez called Alnewicke Milles in the occupacion of two tenauntes att the Kinges will, and is worth to Farme by the yere toward reparacions and eharges, *xiiij^{li} vjs. viijd.*

Richerd Forster holdes a Burgage there and rentes by yere *iijs.*

James Thomson holdith a Burgage there *iijs.*

Richerd Tromevel holdith a Burgage there *vs.*

Richerd Calverd holdith a Burgage there *iijs.*

Libera Firma. { Williame Cley paith yerely in Quite rent for *j*
ten't in Pottergate, *xijd.*
Summa, *xiiij^{li} iijs. viijd.*

Hewike villat' { Thomas Stoye holdith a tenement there with
thappurtenaunce and rentes yerely att Martenmas
and Penthacoste, *vjs. viijd.*

Aylemouthe. { David Scott holdith a tenement w^t thappurten-
aunce and rentes yerely, *xiiijd.*
Williame Smarte holdith a cotage there w^t
thappurtenaunce and rentes by the yere att Mar-
tenmas and Pent', *xiiijd.*
Summa, *ijs. iiijd.*

Summa totalis hujus Rentalis, *xvj^{li} xjs. ijd.* Ex^r et concor-
datur cum originali per Jacobum Rokeby, Auditorem.

[*In Riche's hand:*] Fiat dimissio Radulpho Elderkar, militi,
juniori. Rycharde Ryche.

[*Endorsed:*] Sir Rauff Ellercar.

The brethren, who for more than three centuries dwelt in

their secluded home at Holn, belonged to the order of Carmelite Friars, who derived their name from Mount Carmel, in Palestine, in 1122, where they were first established, by Albert Patriarch of Jerusalem, but from whence they were driven about 1238 by the Saracens. They were also called White Friars from the colour of their vestments, consisting of a white cloak and hood, beneath which was a coat with a scapulary; but persecution for a while obliged them to wear party coloured garments, till after the lapse of half-a-century they resumed their original colour. Their rules and discipline were rigorous; they chose wild solitudes for their homes; each friar had a coffin in his cell, and he slept on straw, rising in winter at five and in summer at six o'clock, and every morning digging a shovelful of earth for his grave; on his knees he crept to his devotions; he maintained long silence, kept himself much in his cell, continued long at his prayers, ate but twice a day, never tasted animal food, and endured long fasts. Innocent the Fourth so far relaxed these rules, as to permit the friars to taste flesh. The order was never numerous; only forty houses belonged to it in England and Wales.

Little indeed do we know of the old history of the priory beyond its endowments. The lordly abbots of Alnwick oppressed their humble neighbour by appropriating the wax and oblations, which rightly belonged to Holn; but this grievance was remedied by a deed made by the abbot in 1355. Ralph Fresburn was the first prior of Holn; and he rose to be provincial of the Carmelite order, a dignity enjoyed by him during fourteen years. He sprung, according to Bale, from a Northumbrian family of some reputation; and in early life attained distinction for valour and learning. Under Richard the Lion, king of England, he fought against the Saracens in the Holy Land; but after this king's return to England, he abandoned arms and became one of the brotherhood in the monastery of Mount Carmel. While at Holn, he wrote learned epistles, pious exhortations, and other books relating to the worship of God. He died in 1254, and was buried within the priory.* Sometime afterwards Ralph Alcman, who was the principal ruler of all the Carmelites, and a man distinguished for his learning and purity of manners, lived for four years in the solitude of Holn, and wrote there some of his works; he died in 1277. Robert de Populton, who was prior in 1364, seems to have had literary tastes, for he

* Balei Scrip. Illus. Maj. Brit. p. 136, 214, &c.

gave several books to the library of the convent. He died at Warkworth Castle in 1368, and was buried in the priory. Another Northumbrian, Robert Lesbury, was provincial of the order in 1519. It is stated by Warton and others that John de Oxenedos, the writer of a historical Chronicle of some value, was a friar of Holn; but this is incorrect, for he was a monk of the abbey of St. Benet Holme. His chronicle has recently been printed by the treasury.

John Bale, the most celebrated man belonging to the order, is said to have lived and studied in the solitude of Holn Abbey; but of this I cannot find evidence. Born at Cove in Suffolk on November 21, 1495, he was, when twelve years of age, placed in the Carmelite convent at Norwich, and afterwards sent to Jesus College, Cambridge. He was an early convert to Protestantism; and in 1552 was made Bishop of Ossory. Being persecuted in Queen Mary's time, he attempted to escape into Holland, but the ship in which he sailed being taken by pirates, he was sold as a slave; he afterwards found a refuge in Basle. When Elizabeth ascended the throne he returned to England; but though dignities were offered to him he preferred private life, and contented himself with being prebend of Canterbury, where he died in 1563. He was a man of great learning, and wrote eighty-five books; but persecution had embittered his spirit, and he disfigured his writings with fierce invectives against Roman Catholics. Anthony Wood styles him the foul-mouthed Bale. His great work, however, *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum*, is a lasting monument of his learning and a valuable repository of early British biography.

The Carmelites cultivated learning. John Walden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the library of Grey Friars in London as many manuscripts as were estimated at 2000 pieces of gold; indeed it exceeded all others for the number and antiquity of copies.* The friars of Holn appear to have been imbued with a similar spirit. One of the most curious and instructive of their documents is a catalogue of the Holn library, which indeed reflects honour on the convent, for the list of books is large for the period—larger than the library of the house of Farne, and much larger than that of the priory of Lindisfarne. From such catalogues we gather what were the favourite studies of the age, and judge somewhat of its intellectual character.

Well provided were the brethren with copies of the Holy Scripture; there was one great bible complete with interpretations, in

* Leland.

boards with white leather, the gift of the Archdeacon of Northumberland; and another, given by Robert de Populton the prior, in red boards, of the value of three marcs and a half; and this Lord de Percy had to the end of his life. They had the New Testament in white boards; the epistles of Paul were in a bag; the four gospels were in boards with white leather; and commentaries on the gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, and on the Apocalypse were in red boards. They had also Bernard on the Song of Solomon, Crisostomus on Matthew, notes on Matthew by brother Symon Hoton, and commentaries on the Psalms.

Not only had they pious and moral discourses, but some treatises on the profounder questions of mystical theology. There were the Homilies of the Blessed Gregory, the Meditations of Bernard, Odo's Tractate on the Four Cardinal Virtues, Anselm's Meditations and Similitudes; Augustine on Christian Doctrine, on the Flames of Purgatory, on the Prescience of God, on Free Will, on Heresies, on the perfection of Human Justice, and on Nature and Grace. Beda on the Image of the World, on the Nature of Goodness, and on the Mortality of the Soul were in red boards.

As might be expected there were copies of the Master of Sentences by Peter Lombard, the text book of the theology of the middle ages; and besides there were nine works on the Sentences; one by Fyschakere, which was deficient in the end, was in a bag; others called Questions on the Sentences were by Thomas Aquinas—the Angelic Doctor, the most subtle and acute of mediæval writers—the dumb ox when a student; but, as was predicted by his master, he filled the world with his noise when he began to bellow.

For guiding the brethren in their ritual observances there was an abundant supply of salters, missals,* manuals of feasts, gradals, † tropariums, ‡ antiphoners, § ordinals, || collects, ¶ processionariums, ** sepultariums, †† portiforiums, ††† martyrologies, §§ and legends. |||

The greater proportion of the library was theological; but Canon Law was well represented, for on this subject there were twenty-two books, of which the authors were Raymund, Goydfrydy, and Thomas de Chebyam. Two divisions are named—"Chronicles

* Missal; the book containing everything for the service of the mass.

† Gradal; containing those parts of the mass chanted in response by the choir, and the office for sprinkling holy water.

‡ Troparium; containing responses at the commencement of the mass.

§ Antiphonarium; containing psalms, &c., one verse of which was chanted by the priest and the other by the choir.

|| Ordinal; book of daily prayer. ¶ Collect; short prayers.

** Processionarium; services for solemn processions.

†† Sepultarium; services for the dead.

††† Portiforium; small book of common prayer; a breviary.

§§ Martyrologium; services for the saints. ||| Legends; lessons for the year.

and Legends," and "Histories or Chronicles;" but true history scarcely appears; the Master of Histories, the gift of John Swynhow,* was in red boards; and Beda's Life of St. Cuthbert was the gift of Rob. Populton. Besides the Golden Legends, a compilation of the Lives of the Saints written about 1260, they had the Life and Miracles of Beda, Legends of the Saints, the Mirror of Mary with the Life of Godric; Rob. Populton had given them the Life of Silvester with others; which was of the value of twenty shillings, and which Lord de Percy had to the end of his life. There were four treatises on grammar and logic by Bruto and Precian; and only one on moral philosophy by Ysidorus.

Such was the library which directed the studies, aided the the devotions, fanned the piety, or amused the leisure of the brethren of Holn. In all there were 114 manuscripts—a large library and indeed of great value—one work alone being worth twenty shillings or about £20 of our present money. Remarkable it was, however, for what it lacked as well as for what it had. Not one treatise on mathematics, physical science, natural history, geography, jurisprudence, or art was there; not even a single copy of any Latin or Greek classical author.† As a theological storehouse it has its value; but to modern readers it would not in any degree be entertaining.

Following the catalogue of the library we have a list of the sacred vestments in the abbey; and from their number, variety, and richness, we may imagine how splendid had been the ritual services of the convent of Holn.

There was a set of robes consisting of one golden knotted cloth, interwoven with birds and leopards; a dalmatic‡ of bawdekyn§ of another set, interwoven with birds; a stole||; a priest's maniple¶ worked in the loom with shields; two altar cloths with a frontel** of ruby velvet; two cloths of bawdekyns, for the great altar, one of which was embroidered with the arms of the king of

* The Swynhows were in the fifteenth century owners of Rock and Scremerston; John Swynhow had them in 1407 and died in 1461.

† The library of Charles V., in 1365, contained 900 volumes, four only of which were classics.

‡ Dalmatic; a vestment reaching from the neck to the middle of the leg, principally used by deacons; it was first used in Dalmatia and hence its name.

§ Bawdekyn; a rich material for robes, with the web of gold and woof of silk; it came originally from Babylon, called in the east Baldacco, and hence the name.

|| Stole; a broad strip of cloth with three crosses on it, fastened on one shoulder of a priest, and hanging down before and behind.

¶ Maniple; a linen towel suspended over the right arm, generally embroidered or fringed.

** Frontel; the part which hung in front of the altar.

Scotland, and the other with lions biting dogs; one corporax* and chasuble,† with the figure of the crucifixion; one white silk napkin, for the sub-deacon to hold the paten and carry the chalice; one silver chalice, entirely gilded; one brazen table for giving the pax, gilded with the kings of Cologne, and impressed with the salutation of Mary; one tablet, figured with the form of all the saints, the gift of Lady Mary de Percy; a brazen cross, gilded, and ornamented with gems; one cloth for the pulpit, adorned with black silk, and a ruby cross; two pulvinaria‡ of ruby silk, and a third of a purple colour with little birds; a cope§ for the priest of one purple bawdekyn, interwoven with griffons, and one surplice in fair condition, and one amice;|| two copes for the choristers of one bawdekyn interwoven with sea-green griffons, and two surplices and amices; one set of robes of white samita¶ for the priest with embroidered garters, and the whole adornment of the altar, viz., a frontel and two curtains, and two cloths for the superior and inferior parts of the altar, the gift of Sir Henry Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland; a chasuble of ruby samita with two dalmatics, two altar cloths and frontel embroidered with arms and roses; and one corporax with a chasuble thrice embroidered with the arms of the lords; one silver cup entirely gilded; a set of robes of white fustian, embroidered with ruby roses for the priest and for the back of the altar, the gift of brother John Kok; a chasuble and dalmatics of one set of green variegated samita embroidered with gems; a priest's amice, adorned with gems and the shields of the lords; one altar cloth with a frontel; one corporax with a chasuble of silk cloth, interwoven with birds and golden lions; a good woollen cloth of Parisian work with shields of the lords, for the frontel of the altar; a chasuble of dalmatics of Sidonian ruby; one black cloth to cover the altar daily; a chasuble and dalmatics of one set, and a silver chalice entirely gilded; two altar cloths with a frontel embroidered with the arms of the lords; one corporax with a green chasuble ornamented around with ruby silk; two sacerdotal daily vestments of one set throughout, excepting the chasubles, of which one is of a golden cloth, interwoven with small birds; a chasuble with dalmatics of one bawdekyn interwoven with golden leopards; others are of different sets, wanting on the whole three maniples; one corporax with a chasuble; two altar cloths with one frontel of woollen loom work; one set of robes

* Corporax; a linen napkin to cover the sacramental elements.

† Chasuble; a vestment similar to a dalmatic closely wrapping round, appropriated as the Eucharistic robe.

‡ Pulvinaria; Forte plumaria. De Cange.

§ Cope; resembled a large cloak without sleeves and was worn over other vestments, it had a stiff standing collar.

|| Amice; an oblong piece of fine linen worn over the shoulders and tied with strings.

¶ Samita; a rich silk often interwoven with gold and silver thread.

of white fustian, entire excepting the maniple; one set of priest's robes used behind the altar on feast days, very good, of Indian samita, and another set for use behind another altar; one corporax with a chasuble, and two cloths for one altar; and two for another altar.

Five napkins for the great altar, three for the back altar; six white cloths marked with a ruby cross, two of them are in the new house for three altars at lent, a seventh for the pulpit, an eighth for the cross, a ninth for its veil, and the tenth for the veil of the same set; also ten ells of black fustian.

After the dissolution of monasteries, Henry VIII. demised to Robert Elleker, knight, for the term of twenty-one years, the site of the house or late priory, vulgarly called "lez Blake freres de Hull Parke" with the land and pasturage and tenements belonging to it, excepting the great trees and woods. In the 6th of Elizabeth they were granted to William Rivet; and in this record the title also is, "the house of late priory of friars preachers commonly called the Black Friars of Hull Park." It is strange that in both documents the name Black Friars is given, when their proper name from the colour of their habits was White Friars. In the same year these possessions were purchased of Anthony Rone, auditor, and Mr. Richard Ashtone, Queen's receiver, by Thomas the seventh earl of Northumberland; but on his attainer they were given by the Queen to Sir John Forster. In 1618 they were in the occupation of John Salkeld, gentleman, who must have become proprietor of part at least of the Holn property, for his name appears in connection with the priory in lists of freeholders for the years 1628 and 1663. Subsequently, however, the priory was purchased by the Northumberland family to whom the whole of its property now belongs.

While the priory was in possession of Thomas the seventh earl of Northumberland, a survey was made by Clarkson, in 1587, which has been printed both by Grose and Hartshorne. Besides telling us somewhat of the later history of the priory, and shewing its condition twenty-eight years after it had ceased to be the home of the Carmelite friars, it indicates how freely the parks around Holn were enjoyed by others, as well as by the nominal owners; Luke Ogle had fifty head of cattle depasturing in Holn Park; Sir John Forster had firewood there; and hunting was no uncommon privilege; but such liberties were to be extinguished and the park appropriated exclusively to the Earl's own cattle; "Hulne furth" was to be well hained, and the walls about "Hyndon Moore well repaired." "If the abbey were well repaired and the parks

brought into order it were," he says, "a tryme place for his lordship to lye during the sumer quarter; and his tenants would be eased in furnishing Alnwick and Warkworth Castles with provision during the other three-quarters of a year."

On the west side of the priory Sir Robert Ellerker had made a close arable; and other lands not fit to grow corn were kept for meadow ground, the wood growing thereon being oak and alder, which had been planted by him.

A wild solitude may have been around Holn Priory in the time of the friars; but the resources of art have converted it into a scene of sylvan beauty. The rugged tops and slopes of the hills have been clothed with wood, and the lower grounds along the side of the river now present broad pastures in the midst of plantations. A walk of not much more than a mile from Alnwick Abbey leads to Holn Priory through varied picturesque scenery. Taking the footpath, we cross the verdant haugh on which the abbey stands, and then up the hill, where the bank above the Aln is high; and after descending Breakback down a steep pathway cut out of the hill and overshadowed with trees, and crossing the Small Well Burn, we wander near the river along a carriage drive; and passing by the site of the old fulling mill of the abbey, we enter a broad pasture studded here and there with trees, among which is the 'Trysting Tree, an old decayed gnarled oak, with two trunks which unite at the height of seven feet, and which form a narrow arch, through which lovers standing on opposite sides might join hands and plight their troth, as the descendants of the Norse did through the stone of Odin. Then we enter a fine avenue overhung with trees, many of which are noble silver firs towering to a majestic height; here the valley is contracted, the north being bounded by high rocks, but on the opposite side of the river are here and there little clearings. Pause we must by the Lady's Well, a bright spring rising in a round stone basin, behind which was a stone seat cut out of the rock. What interesting associations have almost all Alnwick people with this lovely spot! here lovers delighted to linger; here parents and children rested and sported; what pleasing meditations have we indulged in here in the long summer evenings, when the hawthorns were in full blossom on the little haugh at the base of Hotteral bank! On we go passing near a petrifying spring, and when inclined to see botanical rarities we turn aside into the wood to look at the Toothwort (*Lathræa squamaria*), a curious parasite drawing its sustenance from the roots of trees, or to admire the Cuckoo-

pint or Wake Robin with its halbert shaped leaves which grows nearer to the river ; then up a gentle slope, we reach the priory, standing on a plateau overlooking the Aln, and which with its defiant aspect from defensive walls and towers tells, that holy place though it was, yet it needed strong military works to protect it from the ruthless borderers, who oftentimes ravaged the district and spared not even churches and abbeys.

But before entering we shall glance at the state of the priory in 1567, as described by Clarkson. "It standeth," he says, "in a very trim air on the water of the Aln, in the middle of Holn and west parks," environed by a curtain wall with a small battlement and quadrant, the entrance being a tower or gatehouse of three house height covered with slate, and within is a small curtain half quadrant. East of this curtain is the hall, at the west end of which is a pantry of wainscoat and panel work, and at the south end a little wall between the hall and garden, in which is a door for passage into the cloister chapel. From this wall was another wall to the gatehouse tower, and between it and the curtain walls were two stables ; at the end of this wall was the Farmery, the upper portion of which was a garner for corn. The brewhouse stood between this and another curtain, behind which was the kitchen, built with a round roof covered with slate. In the lower part of a cross house was a cistern of stone for water and above a fair chamber with a chimney. At the north end of the hall was the buttery and between it and the hall a passage to the cloisters. There was a broad stair of wood to the chambers nigh above the passage to the kitchen and to a loft, above the buttery pantry and passage near the hall, which was used formerly for the lord or prior's walk to see through the trellises, and as a passage to the lord's great chamber and tower. The cloister was square, the windows had been glazed, and the east and west sides covered with lead, but the windows were in decay and the lead had been taken away by Sir William Ellerker and his brethren. On the south side of the cloisters was the dorter (dormitory), and westward of it was the women's house of two chambers ; in the middle of this end of the cloisters was the chapel, but nothing was left except the seats and stalls and a little ambre, in which were kept the books and ornaments of the chapel, which had been taken away by John Recubye one of the indwellers of the park ; and at the east end of the south side is a passage to the said dorter. It is to be noted that in the time

of the friars the chapel that now is was their chapter house. The church was all down and laid into the garden, and the said dorter chapel was covered with slate, but in great ruin. Along the north side of the cloister was a house of two house height, in the lower of which were two cellars and in the upper the lord's great chamber, but in great decay. In the north-east nook of the cloister was a house of two stories, which had been sleeping apartments, as in one of the lower rooms was a fair bed of wainscoat framed work. In the west nook of the north part of the cloister was a conduit of "tryme fresshe water," which came from Friars Well in leaden pipes and ran into a leaden cistern set in the wall. A boulding-house stood behind the Farmery, with furnaces, oven, and brew leads; and northward of this and behind the kitchen buttery and great chamber, were two byres with barn and hayloft covered with lead. At the east end of the curtain was the lord's tower of three house height covered with lead; in the under part was a vault, and in the upper were two fair chambers; and "above the leads on the south side thereof is raised as it were a garret, with like battlement as the tower hath, endlong all the south side of the tower," and in the same was a house with a chimney, called the study house. The entrance into the tower was through the lord's great chamber. Two gardens were on the east side of the cloister; and through the curtain wall was a postern for passage to a close on the east side of the house, and a stair going up to the battlements, for a walk upon the wall about the garden and orchard.

So much more ruined is the priory since Clarkson described it, and so much has it been altered, and there are so much indistinctness and error in his statements of the relative position of the different parts of the building, that we can identify but few of the remains with his description. Writing thirty years after the friars had been driven from this home, during which interval the convent had been used for secular purposes, he had lost sight of the ideas which regulated the builders in the arrangement of the several parts of the priory.

The surrounding curtain wall is tolerably complete, though it has lost the battlements along the top and most of its corner turrets, yet some stone stairs remain leading to the top of the wall. We can still enter by the ancient tower on the south, through a narrow arched gateway; the under storey of which is vaulted and had been occupied by the porter of the convent; and above this are two other stories in a ruined condition reached by winding stone stairs.

Though the convent was a religious community it had its secular aspect; for, living apart from the world, those operations, necessary to the existence or comfort of the brotherhood, had to be provided for within the priory. But in the arrangements there was a distinction between the religious and secular; each was grouped apart—the secular being placed in a kind of outer court, so that the quiet contemplative life of the brethren might not be disturbed: guests, strangers, artisans, with their needful appliances, were placed there. The guest hall is westward of the entrance gateway and by the side of the curtain wall; and still further westward are the bakehouse, brewhouse, and other domestic offices in which a bath and well remain; and beyond these the farmery with the garner over it, and other erections for agricultural purposes appear to have been placed. The upper rooms of the domestic buildings had been used to lodge strangers and artisans. North of the guest hall was the chapel for religious services, attended by strangers and seculars; but this building has been much altered, and is now used as the dwelling house of the keeper of the priory. A little westward of this are ruins of the mill-house, in which a quern or hand-mill still remains.

The cloister was the intellectual and religious centre of the convent, in which the brethren walked in silence, indulging in pious meditations, or it may be not unfrequently in vain regrets at having bid adieu to the activities and enjoyments of the world; and around this centre were arranged all dependencies, needful or useful, to carry out their secluded religious vocation. These cloisters are quadrangular, and in some part of it would be the lavatory, in which the monks would perform their ablutions; for in a nook was "a condyte of tryme freeshe water" brought in leaden pipes from the Friars' Well, which is distant a little more than half-a-mile. When rubbish was cleared away in 1849, the foundations were discovered of the pillars which supported the arcade, under which the brethren, protected from inclement weather, could walk and meditate. Above this arcade on the east and south sides were sleeping apartments for the friars. The great church was northward of the cloisters, from which the principal entrance is by a doorway about the middle of the church. Even in Clarkson's time it was so ruined that the site was converted into a garden; but of this interesting portion of the priory, there still remain most part of the south wall and some portions of the west and east ends.

Remarkable is this church for its great length in proportion to its breadth, being 118 feet long and only 20 feet wide. There are five lancet windows with trefoil headings on the south, and in the west gable is a similar very long lancet window; but the east window, which is destroyed, excepting the base, was larger, being 10 feet 6 inches wide, and apparently divided into three long lancet lights. The sedilia are of elegant design and recessed in the south wall within the chancel; and near to them is the piscina. Though neither highly ornate nor impressive, these remains have the chasteness and beauty which mark the early English style of architecture; and they are remains of the original structure erected about 1240. Besides the principal entrance there was a door-way nearly opposite on the north; and another entrance from the sacristy into the chancel. The accumulated rubbish was cleared away from the floor of the church in 1849; and sepulchral slabs were exposed, on one of which is deeply incised a cross of the *Tau* form, having only a transverse beam at the top, without any prolongation of the shaft through it. Generally in crosses representing the wounds of Our Saviour, there are five nails piercing them, but in this there are only three, two of them in the position of Our Lord's arms and one in that of His feet. This type of cross is very unusual. A mutilated recumbent effigy of the Virgin and Child, now placed in the sedilia, belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century. Northward of the church would be the cemetery.

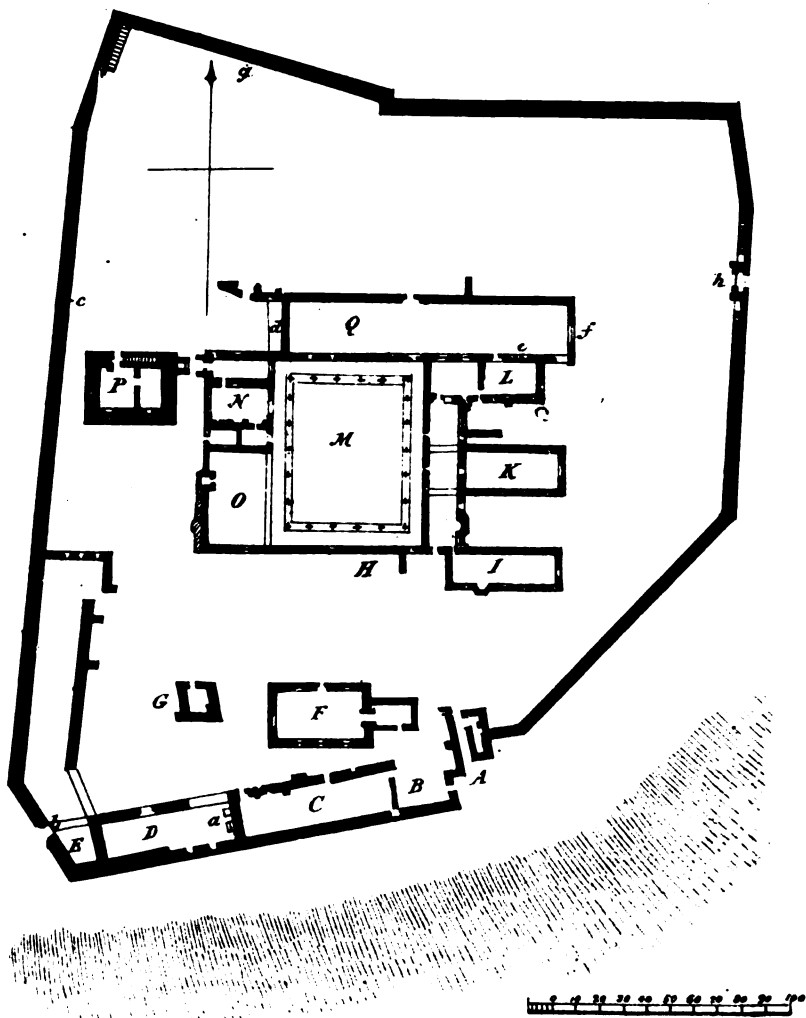
Before leaving this part we may look at the outside of the western gable, in which is inserted a monumental slab, which had been brought from the old church of Alnmouth. Sculptured on it in relief is the trunk of a tree, on the top of which is a helmet, and above that is what seems a wheel; from branches hang a horn and a sword, and on each side is a shield which had been charged with arms; those of the dexter shield are obliterated, but on the other we can trace a plain bend between three mallets. This monument has erroneously been attributed to the Forsters; and Dr. Ferrier in a memoir on this trophy, in the Transactions of the Manchester Philosophical Society, has also erred in supposing the arms to belong to De Vescy. Soame, of Suffolk, has the same arms, *Gules a chevron, between three mallets or*; but the nearest local coat is that of Denom, the old lords of Meldon, *a fess between three mallets*.

We pass from the church into the sacristy or vestry, which

is 20 feet long and 13 feet broad, and in which had been an altar and an oven for baking the holy wafer. This was of two storeys, and probably in the upper one had been the library and the scriptorium; for these important offices would be placed in this part of the priory. Other offices too would be near to it—the vestment room, the calefactorium where the friars warmed themselves after midnight services, the armariolum where they placed their lecture books. One building having a door directly opposite to the main entrance to the cloisters can here be identified; it is 39 feet long and 18 feet wide, and lighted by a large east window, and four large lancet windows in the south wall; in Clarkson's time it was used as a chapel, but in the time of the friars it was the chapter house of the convent. Southward of this is a long narrow building of two storeys, 44 feet long and only 10 feet broad, the under portion of which had probably been the principal kitchen, for in this are a large fireplace and a drain; and besides, it is near to the refectory. Southward of the cloisters, on the space now occupied as an aviary, was placed the refectory, in which the friars partook of their meals; a portion of the east wall, in which is a small door and the remains of the arch of the window, is still standing.

Eastward of this range of buildings there had been gardens, and probably too a fish pond.

In monasteries the abbot's lodgings were usually detached from the religious buildings, and in a situation a little eastward of the south end of the cloisters; but, from Clarkson's account, we may infer that the prior's tower was at the north-west corner of the cloisters, near the site of a modern tower which was erected about a century ago by the duke of Northumberland, in the pseudo-gothic prevailing at the time. Near to it, however, is an embattled tower of more interest, built by Henry the fourth earl of Northumberland in 1488, as a place of refuge for the brethren when hard pressed by Scottish marauders. It is a plain strong building, like a border pele, with the under storey vaulted; in the north-east corner is the study house in a small tower rising above the rest of the building. Visitors should go to the summit of this tower to enjoy a beautiful and picturesque view of the narrow valley of the Aln and of the rugged hill of Brislaw; for it is here that the river finds its way through the central hill-land of Northumberland. In the curtain wall a little northward is the following inscription in old English letters in relief, though now much decayed:—



- A Entrance Tower and Porter's Lodge.*
- B Guest Hall.*
- C Bathhouse, Brewhouse and Offices*
- a Bath and Well.*
- D Farmery.*
- E Malldrhn.*
- b Modern Entrance.*
- F Strangers Chapel as it was in 1760
now Keeper's House.*
- G Mill House.*
- H Site of Refectory.*
- I Kitchen*
- K Chapter House.*
- L Sacristy.*

- M Cloisters.*
- N Modern Tower on site of Priors Tower.*
- O Church Probably.*
- P Embattled Tower 1288.*
- c Inscription on Wall.*
- d Troop on Wall.*
- Q Principal Church.*
- e Sedilia.*
- f Great East Window.*
- g North Entrance now closed.*
- h East Gateway with Stairs to
the Battlements.*

Ground Plan of Holm Abbey.

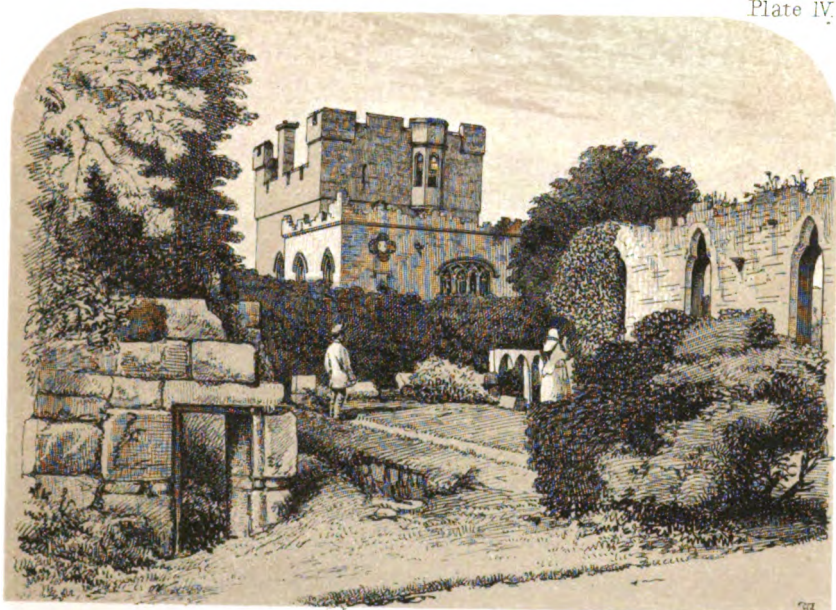


FIG. 1. Towers and Chapter House.



FIG. 2. Interior Great Church with the Bedilia.

HOLN PRIORY

In the year of Crist Jhū MCCCCXXXIII
 This towre was bildeð by Sir hen̄ Percy
 The fourth Erle of Northuberlad of gret hon̄ and worth
 That espoused Mand ye good lady full of virtue and beuot
 Daught'r to Sir William harb'rt right noble and hardy
 Erle of Pembrock whos soulis god save
 And with his grace cosarve ye bilder of this towre.

In the account of John Harbottle, receiver of the rents of the earl, we are informed of the cost of the erection of this tower. Robert Chambré and John Richardson, as covenanters in gross, were paid £17 13s. 4d.; and to the prior was paid £10 6s. 4d., as well for part of the work of the new tower as for carriage of stone and other stuff by contract, for stones, iron and the workmanship of it, for doors and windows, for locks, keys, latches, carpenters' work, and making the arch between the great chamber and the tower. The total expense was £27 19s. 8d.*

It is pleasant to notice that the remains of this interesting priory are carefully preserved and freely shewn. Few places in the county are more visited. Its romantic situation, its historical associations, and the richness and beauty of the surrounding scenery, all combine not only to delight the antiquary but also to yield much enjoyment to those who love nature and have a taste for art.

Plate III. is a plan of the priory, on which the names of the several parts are given, so far as can be ascertained. In *Plate IV.* are views of the ruins.

* Hartshorne's Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland, p. 270.

CHAPTER III.

KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

From the *Rotuli Hundredorum* we found, that the knights templars, in 1291, held property and claimed certain feudal powers in Alnwick.* The members of this military order in England were thrown into prison on January 8th, 1308, and their possessions were seized and held by the crown till 1324. The Northumbrian possessions were placed, during the pleasure of the king, in the custody of Richard de Horsleye, the sheriff of the county; and in the 2nd of Edw. II., the former sheriff, Guychard Charon, rendered an account of these possessions, from which it appears the rents of assize of divers tenants in the vills of Mildrom, Shottone, Heddon, Pakkerton, Kyllum, Langetone, Lilleburne, Welloure, *Alnewyke*, and Bamburgh amounted to 60s. 1½d. yearly.

The possessions of the templars were granted by the parliament, in 1324, to the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem. An account of the lands and tenements held by this order, in 1338, was discovered in 1839 in Malta, and has been published by the Camden Society; but while there are records relating to Chibburn and Temple Thornton, there is no reference to Alnwick. Perhaps the wasted condition of Northumberland at this time from Scottish ravages may account for the omission. Some slight notice, however, we have relating to Alnwick, subsequently to the reformation, in the ministers' accounts, in the 4th and 5th of Edward VI., of the possessions late belonging to the Preceptory of Mount St. John the Baptist in the county of York, viz:—

“Grenefilde. And of 6s. 8d. of rents and farm of three messuages beyond the vill of Alnewicke, with the whole land on the south side of Alnewicke, paid yearly at the feasts of St. Martin in winter and of Pentecost, by equal portions.

Alnewicke. And of 12d. of the farm of one cottage in

* Vol. I., p. 95.

Bellegate, in the tenure and occupation of Robert Muscrope at the will of the lord king, paid annually at the feast of St. Martin."

This account gives also, as belonging to the order, the following rents and farms of land and tenements in the neighbourhood of Alnwick, viz: in Shilbottle, 2s. 6d.; Warkworthe, 5s.; Burnewicke, 10s.; Boltone and Cookedale, 8s.; Feltonne, 4d.; a grange called Staynforthall, with lands, meadows, feedings, and pastures demised to Christopher Burrell, 40s.; Edlingham, 2s.; Holborne, 18d.; Buckenfelde, 12d.; Burton, 2s.; Milborn grange, 12d.; Chibbington, 2s.; Morricke, 2s. The rents of Bolton and Cookedale are deducted, as they were lying waste.*

The next notice of these lands is in the boulder of Alnwick Moor, which begins "at the head of Clayport on the south side at the west nook or corner of the dyke, being late lands, parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved house of St. John of Jerusalem." How far these lands extended from the end of Clayport on the south side we cannot now determine; but Swansfield is specially mentioned in 1704 as part of them; and it would appear too that some portion of Greensfield had belonged to the order; there were three different messuages which were southward and south-westward of the town.

From the baronial court records we find Swansfield was held by Francis Alder of Hobberlaw, who was living in 1636; it was afterwards in the possession of Alexander Armorer, who died in Fenkle Street in 1655; it next appears held, in 1702, by Richard Leek, in right of his wife Elizabeth; and some time afterwards it was bought by Richard Grieve, who in 1765 left it to his son, Davidson Grieve, by whom it was sold to Henry Collingwood Selby, and after his death it passed to his nephew, Prideaux Selby, who in 1866 sold it, along with other lands in this parish, to the Duke of Northumberland.

* I am indebted to Mr. William Woodman, of Morpeth, for a copy of this document.

CHAPTER IV.

ALNWICK CASTLE CHANTRY.

AGE OF CHANTRY FOUNDING—ENDOWMENT OF CHANTRIES BY HENRY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND—CHAPLAINS—SURVEY OF POSSESSIONS—ENDOWMENT OF HOWLING CLOSE.

Most of the abbeys and monasteries were founded before the close of the twelfth century, and some few in the course of the next. Such large tracts of land had been devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, that royal authority interposed; and the statutes of mortmain, passed in the reign of Edward I., materially checked the progress of large endowments. The baronage and gentry of the later mediæval times were not, however, altogether precluded from seeking everlasting fame by heaping favours on the church, or from buying the services of religion in behalf of their souls after they had gone to the world of spirits. The age of chantry founding began; and it lasted till the Reformation. To secure a perpetual succession of masses, said or sung for the repose of the souls of the founder and his friends, was the principal object of these establishments.

New and distinct buildings were not required for these services; the chantry was either in a cathedral or convent, or more usually in a parish church or chapel. In some recess of the church the altar was raised, before which the prayers were said, in accordance with the will of the founder; one or more priests performed the service and received the endowment; but in some cases a residence was built for these functionaries. There were two chantries in Alnwick, one in Alnwick Castle, and the other in St. Michael's Church.

At an early period chaplains were kept within Alnwick castle. According to the pipe roll, 1 Ric. I., thirty shillings and five pence were paid out of the farm of the honor of William de Vesci, in livery of one chaplain resident there;

so that in this rugged period, the soldiers garrisoning this border fortress would enjoy the refining and consoling influence of religious services.

An endowment was made about 1362, by the executors of Henry the fourth lord Percy, of four chantry priests, out of the surplus revenues of the church of Kirkby Overblowes; one priest had to celebrate mass in York Cathedral, and the other three in Alnwick Castle, where on Sundays one chaplain celebrated the office of the day, another that for the Trinity, and the third that for the souls of Henry and of all the faithful deceased. There were also services on every day of the week for the souls of Henry and of all the faithful, and on particular days additional offices for the Trinity, the Holy Angels, St. John the Evangelist, for Corpus Christi, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Virgin.*

The services of this chantry would be performed in "the faire chapel" which stood within the inner bailey of the castle, between the ravine and the constable's towers; in 1567 it was in good repair, covered with slate and with glazed windows, the walls being 21 feet high, the length 57 feet, and the breadth 21 feet; the ruins were swept away in 1780, when the castle was renovated in the pseudo-gothic style.

In the register of the Archbishop of York there is a record of the appointment of some of the chaplains.

March 16, 1429-30, John Irton, priest, instituted to a chantry in Alnwick Castle by the Archbishop of York after the death of John Lang. Oct. 10, 1432, John Tetteworth instituted to a chantry there after the death of Robert Taylor; John Tailor the other chaplain is ordered to induct him. Jan. 9, 1432-3, Thos. Spofford instituted to a chantry there after the death of John Sodebour; John Tettesworth to induct him. Aug. 15, 1466, Thos. Rokesburgh "canonicus regie domus de Alnewyk" † instituted after the death of Tetteworth; Thos. Spofford to induct him. Oct. 25, 1452, Robert Rokesburgh, chaplain, instituted after the death of Thos. Rokesburg; Spofford to induct him. Aug. 1, 1460, Wm. Edgare instituted after the death of Spofford; John Ireton chaplain to induct him. March 25, 1461, Robert Alnwick priest instituted after the death of Edgar. Aug. 11, 1464, Wm. de Be'le instituted after the resignation of Robert Kechyn. April 25, 1482, John Arthur instituted to the chantry *ad altare omnium sanctorum*, after the death of Wm. Beale. ‡

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, in 1535, the pension annually paid to John Rawlynson, Will. Gledeley, and Robert

* Clarkson's Survey quoted by Hartshorne.

† He was canon of Alnwick Abbey.

‡ For these extracts I am indebted to the Rev. James Raine.

Beedenell, perpetual chaplains within the castle of Alnwick, was £15.

In the certificate of chantries made by commissioners on 14th Feb., 2 Edw. VI., we find the following return:—

Alnewyke. The Chauntrys or Stipendaryes founded in one chapell within the Castell of Alnewyke benche* (*benche*) within the parish of Alnewyke. William Harryson, Roger Bednell, and Roger Raynolde Incumbents. All well Learned of honest conversation and qualytes. The sayd Wylliam Harryson having one pension of the kings majestie of £1 by yere besyds his sayd Chantry; the other two having no other lyvinge &c. No lands &c., sold sith &c.; yerely valewe £15 13s. 4d., reprises 20s. 1½d.; clere £14 13s. 2½d. Plate 14½oz. Goods unprased.

In the Inventory of Ornaments and Goodes made at the same time it is said:—

The Chapell within the Castle of Alnewyke; Item, one vestment of tanney damaske, with leves of golde, one vest of white damaske and gold threds, one coope with deacon and sub-deacon, one vest of tanney sylke with deacon and sub-deacon, one vest with olde rede satten, one vest of olde changeable sylke, one vest with barred alx, with hanging for the altar, and one vest of sylver threds, rardros and vandros for the hanging of the altar, 2 curtens of yellow sarcnet, one rardros and vandros for the alter of satten bryges, one rardros and vandros of lynnyn clothe, 2 candlesticks, 3 corporas casses, 3 masse bokes, a byble, the old crewets and a grett cheste, a porte and a sawter of parchment.

It is stated in the certificate of 1548 that there were no lands belonging to this chantry; but from grants made in the time of Elizabeth, it appears that Howling Close was part of the endowment; for Elizabeth in 1573, in consideration of the services of Sir John Forster, granted to him, along with other estates, a parcel of concealed land, † parcel of the late chantry founded within Alnwick Castle, called Howlinge Close with appurtenances, lying near Alnwick and lately in the tenure of George Metcalfe, at a rent of 13s. 4d. This land now belongs to the Duke of Northumberland.

* Benche is in the original, but it most probably was an error of the transcriber for *benche*.

† Land concealed or hidden from the king.

CHAPTER V.

CHANTRY OF ST. MARY AND ALNWICK GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

LICENSE TO FOUND THE CHANTRY—INQUISITION AND ENDOWMENT—
SUPPRESSION OF CHANTRIES—REPORT IN 1548 ON ALNWICK
CHANTRY—CHANTRY PRIESTS AND SCHOOLMASTERS—WARRANT
CONTINUING PART OF THE ENDOWMENT—THOMAS THOMPSON—
MEMORIAL OF RENTS—CHANTRY HOUSE—PETITION TO LORD
BURLEIGH—CHANTRY LANDS SOLD IN 1653—COPY OF RENTS—
EFFORTS OF THE BURGESSES IN 1611 TO PROMOTE EDUCATION
—LETTERS FROM EARLS BEDFORD AND NORTHUMBERLAND—
STEVENSON'S APPOINTMENT—HENRY LEVER—CORN TOLLS—RE-
FRACTORY SCHOOLMASTERS—SCHOOL IN ALNWICK CASTLE—
RUMNEY—BARRING OUT—STOCKDALE—REV. WILLIAM PROTER
—OTHER CORPORATE SCHOOLS—MARK FORSTER'S BEQUEST—
BARTON'S LEGACY—BOROUGH SCHOOL FOUNDED—GIRLS' SCHOOL
—GIFT OF SITE BY ALGERNON DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND
FOR NEW SCHOOLS—REORGANISATION OF ALL THE CORPORATE
SCHOOLS—MASTERS.

Most chantries possess no further interest than as illustrating the history of the past; but the principal Alnwick chantry is linked with the present, since it was more an educational than an ecclesiastical establishment, not only providing for the celebration of mass but also for the instruction of the youth of the Borough; and it was hence the origin of the Alnwick Grammar School. To estimate its early importance, we must bear in mind, that as late as 1578, there were only seven schoolmasters in the county of Northumberland, besides those at Newcastle and Berwick; viz., two at Alnwick, two at Morpeth, one at Corbridge, one at Alston Moor, and one at Woodhorn. Even persons of rank and wealth were then but partially educated; for at this period we find, that out of 146 persons of the higher ranks in the county, only 54 could sign their names to a public document.

Henry VI., on July 6th, 1448, gave a license to Henry earl of Northumberland, to William Bishop of Norwich, to Henry Percy knight, Lord of Poynings, and to John Lematon, skilled in the law, to found a chantry, to the praise and glory of God and in divine honour of the most blessed, glorious, and immaculate Virgin Mary, at the altar of the same virgin, within the chapel of St. Michael of Alnwick, for two chaplains, who were to sing praises daily there for the good estate of the king and of the founders, and of all who contributed to the sustenance of the chantry while they lived, and of their souls when they had departed from this light. One of the chaplains had to instruct poor boys in the grammatical art gratis, without exacting any money whatever, and to do other works of piety according to the regulations of the founders. The chaplains were to be competent in law, by the name of "The Chaplains of the Chantry of the Blessed Mary of Alnewik," to prosecute and defend all actions in courts of law, and to acquire and enjoy lands, tenements, and rents, to the value of forty pounds yearly, as well for the maintenance of the chantry as for the exhibition of poor boys taught grammar there, as aforesaid. The chaplains were to be named and deputed by the burgesses of Alnewik for the time being to the earl and his heirs, and by him and his heirs presented to the ordinary of that place. (*Pat. Rolls, 26 Hen. VI., m. 28.*)

This license grants liberty to found the chantry, but tells us nothing of its endowment; two other documents in the Record Office give this information.

A writ from Henry VI., on 5th April, 1460, commands his escheator to inquire, if it would be prejudicial to the king or to others, if he granted that Henry earl of Northumberland should give to the chaplains of the chantry of the Blessed Mary of Alnwick, twenty messuages in Alnwick, and that Thomas Hunter, clerk, should give five messuages in the same town, and Emma Asplon widow twenty-two messuages in the same town, eight messuages in Warkworth, and two messuages in Ellington. (*Inq. ad quod damnium 39 Hen. VI. No. 3.*)

The Inquisition was made at Alnwick, on October 20th, 1460, by William Claxton escheator, before the following jurors:—Robert Alder, Richard Butymont, John Stevynson, John Davyson, sen., Thomas Hole, Richard Shepart, John Eland, William Galon, John Andrewson, William Rydell, John Nodell, and John Edgar.* The jury found, that neither

* Both escheator and jurors were, doubtless, men of Alnwick, for most of them bear old family names.

the king nor others would be damaged, if liberty were conceded to make these grants to the chantry; that the twenty messuages of the earl were held of the king, on free burgage tenure, and not *in capite*, their value being, beyond repairs, near to five marcs yearly; that the five messuages of Thomas Hunter were held of the earl by fealty only for all services, and were worth yearly twenty shillings; and that the twenty-two messuages in Alnwick of Emma Asplon and eight in Warkworth held of the earl by fealty, and the two messuages in Ellington, were worth, beyond repairs, sixty-nine shillings. The jurors also found that beyond these gifts to the chantry, the benefactors held other lands and tenements in the county; the earl having in Alnwick thirty messuages worth ten marcs yearly, and Thomas Hunter and Emma having in Alnwick thirty messuages worth six marcs yearly; and that these were sufficient to meet all claims upon themselves and upon the messuages given up, for suit of court, view of franck pledge, aids, tallages, and other demands.

From these records it appears that the Earl of Northumberland was not the principal benefactor to the chantry; his endowments amounted to 66s. 8d. yearly, but those of Emma the widow to 69s. The whole endowment was only £7 15s. 8d. yearly; and to produce this moderate sum no less than fifty-seven messuages were granted, presenting an average rental of 2s. 7d. each; and as this rental would not be equivalent to more than 40s. at the present time, the dwellings of the burgesses must have been poor indeed—little more than low thatch-covered cottages. Forty-seven of them were in Alnwick. No additional endowment appears to have been given. From a survey of the barony made in 1624 and preserved in Alnwick Castle, we learn that of forty-four burgages in Alnwick, which belonged to the chantry, three were in Narrowgate, one with toft and garth in Bondgate, one in Common Lane and Town Wall, two in the Market Place, five in Pakes Hoole, two in Fenkle Street, two in Common Lane, eleven in Pottergate, four in Bayleygate, and ten having an area of 2 acres and 25 perches in Walkergate; and that the area of the whole was 10 acres, 3 roods, 37 perches.*

A residence for the two chaplains was built, probably immediately after 1448, in the ecclesiastical style of that period, within the borough, in Walkergate, not far from the church,

* Not having enjoyed the privilege of seeing this document, I refer to Dickson on Alnwick Chantry in Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. III., p. 81.

to which they had access by a church-way, which during the present century was shut up by Hugh duke of Northumberland. Within this chantry house, as it has been called, the poor scholars of the burgesses would receive their education. The chantry itself, however, was within St. Michael's Church, but in what part cannot be determined with certainty; for this church being oblong, has none of the recesses and nooks in which, in other churches, chantry services were performed. In such a church, however, the chantry was usually in the east end; and as there is a piscina near to the south-east corner of the chancel, it may be inferred, that the altar of St. Mary's chantry stood there; and this opinion is strengthened by the south window in the east wall of the chancel being traditionally called the St. Mary's window.

Monasteries had been dissolved and their property appropriated in the reign of Henry VIII.; but though chantries had been visited by royal authority, he did not live long enough to complete their destruction. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* made in 1534, it is stated, that "the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of St. Michael is of the clear annual value of £10 Os. 6d." But in 1547, the first year of the reign of Edward VI., chantries, chapels, and colleges were suppressed and their revenues given to the king by act of parliament. Cranmer opposed this act, hoping that a favourable opportunity might occur to convert their revenues to some beneficial religious use. Yet the professed object of their suppression was to discourage superstition, and convert the fund arising from them "to godly uses, as in erecting grammar schools to the education of youth in virtue and goodness, the further augmentation of universities and better provision for the poor and needy." But such wise and good designs were very partially carried out; and the Alnwick Grammar School was stript of most of its property. Thomas Lever, grandfather of one of the Alnwick Grammar School-masters, in a sermon preached before the king, said, that this act had served as a fit instrument to rob learning and to spoil the poor.

In the certificate of all the chantries within the county of Northumberland made by commissioners, 14th February, 2 Edw. VI., there is the following report of the Alnwick Chantry:—

"Landes and possessions belonging to the use and stipend of two Priests, the one master of a grammer scoole, and thother master of a syngre scoole within Alnewyk afforseyd. William

Hudson and Thomas Thompson both 54 years of age, well learned, of honest conversacion and qualytes, the sayd William Hudson having one pencion of Cs. by yere besyds his sayd stypend, the other having no other lyving, but onely the same stypend. And they kepe two Schooles, thone for gramer and thother for syng, to bring up children according to ther fundacion. There ys of howslyng peopl MD within the same parishe. Yerely valwe of the seyde Stypendarys as shhall appear by partycler of the same xiii. iijs. iiij*d.*, whereof in decaye yerely of the same iiij*l.*; clere viij*l.* iijs. iiij*d.* Plate none. Goodes none.

Prior to the Reformation, both these masters, influenced by the people of the town, who were much attached to the Roman Catholic faith, said mass daily in the parish church, so that they were called chantry priests; and at the dissolution of the chantry William Hudson, the singing master, who had been a canon in Alnwick Abbey, and enjoyed from its revenues a pension of £5 yearly, abandoned the school and returned his stipend as parcel of a chantry; but Thomas Thompson, the other master, unwilling that the youth of the town should be left without instruction, continued to teach the Grammar School; and he received half the sum certified as the value of the endowment; and this sum of £4 1s. 8d. has ever since been paid to successive masters of the Grammar School.

For the purpose of carrying out the provision for the maintenance of schools and preachers out of the chantry revenues, Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Keylwey, Esq., were appointed commissioners under the great seal; and they issued a warrant assigning and appointing the continuance of the Alnwick Grammar School, and that Thomas Thompson should enjoy the room of schoolmaster there, and have his wages yearly of £4 1s. 8d. The following is a copy of this warrant, which also gives valuable information of other schools and churches in Newcastle, Morpeth, Widdrington, and Berwick:—

“SCHOOLS: EDW. VI.—WARRANTS BY MILD MAY & KEYLWEY.

Wz, Sir Walter Myldmays, Knight, and Robert Keylwey, Esquier, Commyssioners appointed by the Kinges Maiesties Commyssion under the Great Seale of Englande, bering date the xxth day of June last past, towching order to be taken for the meyntenaunce and contynuaunce of Scholes and prechers and of priestes and Curates of necessitie for seruyng of Cures and mynistracion of Sacramentes, and for money and other thinges to be contynued and paid to the poore, and for diuerse other thinges appointed to be done and executed by vertue of the same Commyssion to Thaudytour and Receyvoor of the revenues of the Court of Thaugmentacions and revenues of the Kinges maiesties Crowne in the Countie of Northumberlande and the towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, and to either of them, greating. Forasmoche as it apperith by the Certificath of the particler Surveyour of landes of the seide Court in the seide Countie that it is very nedefull and necessary to haue assist-

auntes to be appointed for seruing of the Cures in the parishes of seynt Nicholas, All Halowes, seynt John, and seynt Andrewe in the towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, and that a grammer Schole hath bene continually kepte in Alnewicke in the seide Countie of Northumbr^{w^t} the revenues of landes and tenementes graunted and appointed to the fyndyng of two preestes there, and that the Scholemaster there hath hadd for his stipende and wages yerely *iiij*l*. xx*s*.*; whiche Schole is very mete and necessary to be continued: And that a grammer Schole hath bene continually kepte in Morpeth in the seide Countie of Northumbr^{w^t} the revenues of landes and tenementes given and appointed to the fyndyng of a preest there; and the Schole-master there hath had for his wages yerely *v*l*. xi*s*. x*d*.*: And that it is very necessary and nede-full to have an assistant appointed to serue the Cure in the Chappell of Widdryngton in the parishe of Wooderne in the seide Countie of Northumbr; and that it is lykewise very necessary to have an assistant appointed to serue the Cure in the Towne of Berwike. We therfor, the seide Commyssioners, by vertue and authoritie of the seide Commyssion, have assigned and appointed that the seid Grammer Schole in Alnewicke aforesaide shall continue, and that Thomas Thompson, Scholemaster there, shall have and enioye the rowme of Scholemaster there, and shall haue for his wages yerely *iiij*l*. xx*d*.*: And that the seide grammer Schole in Morpeth aforesaid shall likewise continue, and that Thomas Housbande, Scholemaster there, shall have and enioye the rowme of Scholemaster there, and shall haue for his wages yerely *v*l*. xi*s*. x*d*.*: And that William Clerke, Incumbent of the late Chauntry in the towne of Newcastle, shalbe assistant to the Cure in the Church of seynt Nicholas, in the seid towne of Newcastle, and shall haue yerely for his wages *v*l*. xv*s*. viii*d*.*: And that Robert Baker, Incumbent of the late Chauntry of our lady in the parishe of seynt Nicholas, in the seid Towne of Newcastle, shalbe assistant to the Cure in the church of Alholowes in Newcastle, aforesaid, and shall haue for his stipende and wages yerely *iiij*l*. xv*s*. iiiii*d*.*: And that Myles Swoolwele,* Incumbent of the late Chauntrie of seynt Katheryn in the Church of Alhalowes, in the seid towne of Newcastle, shalbe assistaunt to the Cure in the parishe church of seynt John in Newcastle aforesaid, and shall haue for his stipende and wages yerely *iiij*l*. x*s*.*: And that John Sadler, Incumbent of the late Chauntry of seynt Thomas in the Church of seynt Andrew in the seid towne of Newcastle, shalbe assistaunt to the Cure in the seid parishe church of seynt Andrewes, and shall haue yerely for his wages *Cvs. v*d*.*: And that Edward Thompson, one of the Incumbentes of the two late Chauntries of the Trynitie in the Chappell of Widdryngton, ^{w^t} in the parishe of Woodherne, in the seide Countie of Northumbr, shalbe assistaunt to the Cure in Widdryngton aforesaid, and shall haue for his stipende and wages yerely *iiij*l*. xi*s*.*: And that Lambert Clerk, Incumbent of the late Chauntry of our lord lady in the towne of Barwike shalbe assistaunt to the Cure in the towne of Barwike, and shall haue yerely for his stipend and wages *Ciiij*s*. x*d*.* And we, the said Commyssioners, in the Kinge's maiesties behalf, by vertue of the seide Commyssion, do require yow, the seide Receyvoor, that of suche the Kinges money and revenues as from tyme to tyme shalbe and remeyne in your handes, you do content and paye yerely from Easter last past forthward the seid severall sommes of money and wages before mencioned to the persones before rehersed, and to suche other person and persones as shall have and enioye the seide rowmes and places of the same persons, to be paide wekely, or quarterly, or otherwise, as necessitie shall require, vntill suche tyme as further or other order shall be taken for the same. And this warraunt shalbe to yow, the said Receyvoor and Audytour, sufficient discharge for the payment and allowaunce of the same accordyngly. Given the xxth day of July in the seconde yere of the reigne of our sovereign lord Edward the sixth, by the grace of Godde King of Englande, France, and Irelande, defendour of the feith, and of the Church of Englande and also of Irelande in Erthe the supreme hedde.

[Signed:] Wa: Mildmay, Robt. Keylwey, Exc. per R. Duke."

- * Or Swodwele (?), the name has been corrected.

Thomas Thompson received this salary till 1555, when, for some reason not recorded, the receiver-general of the revenue refused to pay it; possibly the change of the religion of the country, in Queen Mary's reign, may have occasioned this suspension. Thompson, however, again shewed his attachment to education, and appealed to the law courts, as much for the protection of the interests of the school as for his own claims. He appeared in person before the barons of the Court of Exchequer in the Easter term of the fifth of Queen Mary; and he recited the warrant issued by Mildmay and Keylwey and claimed, not only his arrears, but the payment of the salary to himself and to future masters of the school. He was successful; for the barons decreed the payment of his arrears, and the continuance of the salary of £4 1s. 8d. to be paid to him and his successors by equal portions, at the annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and of Saint Michael the Archangel.* Honoured be the name of Thomas Thompson for his brave and noble defence of the Alnwick Grammar School!

Among the corporate muniments are two schedules of the rents appointed by trustees for payment of salaries to the minister and schoolmaster of Alnwick; and one of them, though undated, appears from a comparison of the names mentioned there with those in a Borough roll, to have been made not long after the issue of Mildmay and Keylwey's warrant. Rents from the chantry of St. Mary of Warkworth are also included in this schedule.

A Copie or Memoriall of those rents parcell of the Chantry of——which are appoynted by the Trustoes for the payment of two Sallaryes in Alnewick, viz,

To the Minister, £12, to the Schoole Master, £04 1s. 8d. Total, £16 1s. 8d.

Alnewick—A Tenement late in the tenure of Robert Forster per annum 10s., do. Clement Armorer do. 8s., do. Thomas Pearson do. 1s. 6d., do. Will Watson do. 8s., do. Cuthbert Smith do. 6d.; Alauham Tyth—do. Cuthbert Ogle do. £1. Total, £2 10s.

Parcell of the Chantry of the Castle of Alnwick belonging to two preaching fryers and the Gramer Schoole there in Alnewicke.

A Burgage late in the tenure of George Clarkson per annum 10s., do. Thomas Clarkson do. 3s., do. Widdow Beednell do. 10s., do. Will Patson, do. 10s., do. Robert Clarke do. 10s., do. Robert Marshall do. 3s. 4d. Total, £4 14s. 4d.

A Burgage late in the tenure of John Wilson per annum 1s., do. William Read do. 6s., do. Thomas Clarkson do. 2s. 4d., do. Edward Laidman do. 1s 6d., do. George Carver do. 3s., do. Nicholas Garrett do. 2s. 8d., rent of five butts of land late in the tenure of George Alder do. 6d., a burgage late in the tenure of John Clay do. 10d., do. John Wombell do. 1s., do. Widow Claud do. 1s. 6d., do. Cuthbert Milner do. 1s., do. John Dawson do. 6s., do. John Watson do. 6s. 8d., do. Richard Taylor do. 3s. 4d., a cottage do. John Anderson

* Pascha Recorda 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar. Rot. 30.

do. 7s., rent of ten acres of land do. Oswald Stanner do. 10s., a burgage do. William Harrison do. 1s. 8d., do. Wm. Gray do. 4s., do. Thos. Gray do. 5s., do. Edward Atgood do. 7s. 8d., do. John Gibson do. 2s., two wastes do. the heires of Walles do. —, a burgage do. Robert Hurd do. 3s. 4d., do. Widow Clay do. 1s., do. John Cadland do. 2s., do. Thomas Stanforth do. 4s., do. John Watson do. 2s., do. John Scoot do. 4s., do. Edward Scoot do. 1s., do. Kidland do. 3s. 4d., do. Leonard Sayley do. 2s., do. George Piper do. 2s., do. Robert Lasse do. 2s., do. Widdow Thompson do. 4s., do. Widdow Clarkson do. 4s., do. Widdow Purnell do. 4s., do. Richard Bennett do. 6d., do. Widdow Lee do. 3s. 4d., do. Leonard Forster do. 2s., do. William Hudson do. 4s., do. William Gotterson do. 2s. 6d., do. Widdow Carsey do. 1s. 4d., do. Edward Hodgson do. 2s., do. Mayholme do. 2s., do. Widdow Atkinson do. 2s., do. Thos. Hall 6s. 8d. per annum, decay 2s.—4s. 4d., do. John Atkinson per annum 4s.; Warkworth—a burgage sometime in the tenure of Dawson and late in the tenure of John Hall per annum 2s., a burgage late in the tenure of Robt. Hudson do. 2s., do. Davison do. 3s. 4d., do. George Singleton do. 1s. 6d., two burgages do. Thomas Finch do. 3s. 4d., a burgage sometime in the tenure of — Reddell and late in the tenure of Rob. Cowbell and John Dumount do. 2s., a burgage late in the tenure of Widdow Noble do. 2s., do. John Cotts do. 6d., a burgage sometime ferme-hold late in the tenure of Thomas Ogle, Esq., per annum 12s. Total of Alnwick, £10 14s. 8d.

Parcell of the Chantry of Mary in Warkworth.

Warkworth—A tenement late in the tenure of John Wilson per annum 2s., do. Robt. Munck do. 2s., do. Rob. Leighton, do. 5s., do. Widdow Watson do. 1s., do. Wm. Finch do. 1s., do. Thomas Ersdon do. 3s., do. Wm. Johnson do. 1s. 4d., do. Wm. Hunter do. 2s., do. Widow Caudell do. 1s. 8d., do. Rob. Buringall do. 2s., do. Thomas Witham do. 2s., do. George Harrison do. 1s. 8d., do. Will. Todde do. 1s., do. Thomas Hautley do. 2s. 6d., do. Thomas Watson do. 10s., do. George Watson do. 10s., do. George Finch do. 4s. Total, £2 12s. 2d.

Lands belonging to Rood light in the parish of Warkworth.

Warkworth—A tenement late in the tenure of John Witham per annum 3s., do. John Harrison do. 1s. 8d., do. Richard Hewe do. 2s., do. Peter Hunter 2s. per annum, 12d. in decay—1s., do. John Thompson per annum 2s., do. Anthony Knell do. 1s. 8d. Total, 11s. 4d.*

Part of the chantry house and all the land attached to it, of which there was upwards of an acre, were in possession of my maternal ancestors in the latter part of the seventeenth century; but the eastern part of the house belonged to the Northumberland family. In one of the court rolls there is entered, "Walkergate, Frances son of James Turner, a burgage wast, called the School house rigg." This passed, prior to 1709, to his daughter, Widow Smith, who died June 26th, 1734; and then to her son Francis, and next to her grandson Francis, who sold it to Mr. Taylor, of Christon Bank; but

* In the Certificate of Chantries made by commissioners 14th February, 2nd Edward VI., there is the following report:—"Warkworth.—The Chantry founded in the Chapell of our Lady in Warkworth, within the paryshe of Warkworke —, Incumbent of the age of — yeeres, meanelly lerned, of honest conversation and qualytes, having no other lyving then the same Chantry. No landes nor tenements solde aithe, &c. And there be of howseling people within the same paryshe lxx, (representing a population of 1350,) yerely valewe lxxijs. ixd. Plate nona. Goods none. Moreover there be certen landes and tenements belonging to the use and sustantation of one lyght called the Roode Lyght, within the paryshe Church of Warkworthe afforesayed, and is worth by yere xijs. iiijd.

Mark, another grandson, purchased it from one of Mr. Taylor's heirs, and left it to his son, Mr Mark Smith, of Alnwick, who, above thirty years ago, sold it to the Duke of Northumberland. It was then a two storied building, covered with thatch, and let to several tenants, access being to the upper rooms by outer stone stairs. A quaint picturesque house it was, such as an artist loves to sketch. There were two rooms below and two above, and traces of other two separate rooms at the west end. In this house the two masters lived and kept school, one teaching grammar and the other singing. The fire-places in the under rooms were large; and oak beams remaining are ornamented with carving. The style of the building is late perpendicular gothic, about the same age as the south wall of St. Michael's Church; the door-way has a pointed arch; the windows were small, with square heads, excepting one which was larger, divided by mullions and transoms, and ornamented with tracery. This chantry house is now a roofless ruin. (*Plate VII., Vol. I., p. 241.*)

As only £4 1s. 8d. yearly was saved from the wreck of the chantry property, the burgesses and inhabitants of the town, feeling the inadequacy of this endowment for the important object of educating the youth of the borough, petitioned Lord Burghley to restore the whole stipend of twenty marcs to the school. This petition derives an additional interest, because giving us a glimpse of the relation of Alnwick to the surrounding district.

“To the right honorable Sr. william Sicell Knt. Baron of Burghley, lord high Treasurer of England, one of her maties most honorable privie counsell, we the Burgesses and Inhabitants of the Borough or Towne of Alnwicke in Northumberland, do wish health peace and prosperitie in our lord god everlastinge.

Wheras the Towne of Alnwicke (right honorable and our especiall good lord) had a stipend of xx markes by years given and granted, by the good devotion of the Townesmen therof out of ther severall Burgages, for the maintenance of the Gramer Schoole and Singinge Schoole in the said Towne; which a longe time continued in that estate; afterward the maisters of theis tow Schooles (at the instancie of the Townes men, beinge greatly addicted to the religion at that time established) were contented to say mass dailie in ther parish church; in so much that in processe of time, they alteringe ther names from Schoolemaisters were comonly called chauntrie Priestes. So that at the suppression of the Abbies and Chauntries, the one of them did give in his portion of that stipend as parcell of a chauntrie, the other (beinge unwillinge to frustrate the Towne of so great a benefite) imployed his part to the kepinge of a Schoole, accordinge to the first foundation thereof; of which yearly stipend of xx marks beinge wholly due to our Schoolmaister, your honor's most humble suppliantes and dailie Orators doe only receive iiiii. xxd. at her majesties Audit houlden, at Newcastle: Theis ar therfore in most humble maner to beseech your honor to sufer and permitt the said Towne, according to the first foundation thereof, to imploye the whole stipend of xx markes by years to the Kepinge of a Grammer Schole: not so much for the education of

ther children onely, but much more for the information and right bringing up of the youth of the whole countye of Northumberland; for as the said Borough of Alnwick lyeth in the midst of the said Countye (and therefore of greatest repaire and concourse of people) so hath it no gramer Schoole, within xx miles in compass and above, erected for the trayninge up of the children of that wild and rude countrie, in good learning and vertuose exercises. thus hopinge that your ho. (with your accustomed favour unto the erection of Schooles and wonted clemencie to Gramer Schollers) will consider the premisses we do most humbly committe your honour to the——this 8 day of July 1588.

Alnwick Borough Seal.

This appeal to Lord Burghley was unsuccessful.

Among other properties, granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1573 to Sir John Forster, there were two burgage wastes and four parcels of land and pasture, called riggs of land, lying in the bank beyond Clayport Tower, on the south side near to Alnwick, which were parcels of the late chantry of St. Mary in Alnwick, and which were given as concealed lands, at a rent of 3s. His right, however, to hold these lands was disputed by John Stainton, one of the Schoolmasters; for in the will of George Robinson of Alnwick, yeoman, made October 28th, 1590, we have the following curious statement:—

“Item tuchinge the controversie betwixt Sir John Forster, knight, and John Stainton, of Alnewike, for the fower rigges of lande on Claiport bancke, whiche the said Sir John Forster haith leased of his ma^{tie} as land concealed, I was collector of the chaunterie rente att that time they were clamed to be concealed lande; and for the discharge of my owne conscience and manifesteing of a truth, thus much I am to proteste, that I received then eightene pence yearlie of Thomas Ladiman, of Howicke, for these rigges as parcell of chauntries rente of Alnewick; and this I avouche to be good and true before these witnesses, James Carre, M^r. of Arte,* William Storie, George Barkas, and Walter Fawside.”—*Durham Registry*.

Chantry lands continued in the possession of the crown till the time of the commonwealth, when they were sold. The crown lands of Alnwick were purchased in 1653 by John Sweeting, of London, merchant; and the trustees, who conducted the business, appointed certain of the fee farm rents, amounting yearly to £16 18s. Od., for the payment of £12 to the minister, and £4 1s. 8d to the schoolmaster of the town; and these rents were collected and applied by the bailiff and chamberlains of the borough. The following is a copy of a document in the corporation archives which records the transaction:—

* Carre was minister of the parish.

A true copy of the rents appoynted by the Trustees for the sale of Fee farme rents for the payment of two Salaries (viz.), to the minister £12 per annum and to the Schoolmaster £4 ls. 8d. of the towne of Alnewicke in the County of Northumberland: viz.,

Alnewicke—Edward Vardy for 2 Closes per annum xs., Thomas Partus for a tenement viijs., Alexander Armorer for another viijs., John Gallon for another xvij*d.*, Sir Wm. Fenwicke pro Abby Syde *vid.*, *Alneham Tithe*—Chris. Ogle xxs.; total, £2 8s. *Canygate in Alnewicke*—Cuthbert Chessman *iid.*, Henry Golightly *iij.*s., Alexander Forster *xijd.*, The same *iiij.*d., Michael Fenwicke *xijd.*, John Atkinson *xijd.*, Richard Newbegin *xijd.*; total, 7s. 6*d.* *Walkergate*—Edward Trotter *ijs.*, Arthur Arrowsmith *iiij.*s., Henry Ogle, Esq., *ijs.*, George Chield *iiij.*s., John Harwood *ijs.*, James Turner *xvij.*d., more per annum *viij.*d., Alexander Forster *ijs.* *iiij.*d.; total, 19s. 5*d.* *Bellygate*—Margaret Clarke *iiij.*s., Widow Fargy *iiij.*s., John Swinhoe *ijs.*, Alexander Armorer *vij.*d., Willm. Fargy *iiij.*s.; total, £1. 2s. *Lady Rowe*—Thomas Yonger *vs.*, Cuthbert Pearth *iiij.*s.; total, 9s. *Clayport*—Abigail Forster *ijs.* *iiij.*d., The same *ijs.* *vij.*d., Nicholas Forster *ijs.* *vij.*d., John and Alexander Scott *iiij.*s. *iiij.*d., Jane Adston *iiij.*s., Henry Watson *ijs.* *iiij.*d., Charles Watson *xijd.*, Hugh Arrowsmith *xijd.*, Thomas Paxton *xijd.*; total, £1 ls. 4*d.* *Pottergate*—Francis Alder, gentleman, for butts *vjd.*, Alexander Armorer *xvij.*d., Margaret Carre *vs.* *vij.*d., Hugh Arrowsmith *xxd.*, George Gefferson *xvij.*d., John Gallon *xijd.*, Anthony Adston *ijs.*, Alexander Clarke *ijs.*, Robert Turner *ijs.*; total, 17s. 10*d.* *Narrogate*—Henry Johnson *iiij.*s., John Arrowsmith *vs.*, Mary Browne *ijs.* *iiij.*d., John Browne *ijs.* *iiij.*d.; total, 16s. 8*d.* *Market Place*—John Ridley, gentleman *vs.* *vij.*d., Alexander Armorer *xs.*, Widow Holmes *ijs.*, Nicholas Forster *xs.*, Jane Duell alias Duar *ijs.* *iiij.*d., George Stanton *xs.*, Widow Branning *xs.*, Alice Salkeld *ijs.*; total, £2 13s. 0*d.* *Bondgate*—Alice Salkeld *ijs.* *iiij.*d., John Gray *ijs.*, John Alnewicke *ijs.*, John Bell *ijs.* *vjd.*, Abigail Forster *ijs.*, Robert Coleman *xjd.*, Samuel Alnewicke *ijs.*, Anthony Rutledge *xvjd.*, Robert Strother *iiij.*s., Roger Moffett *iiij.*s., Alexander Armorer *xs.*, Thomas Swan *iiij.*s. *vij.*d., William Harrison *ijs.* *iiij.*d., John Hambleton *iiij.*s. *iiij.*d.; total, £1 10s. 8*d.* *Warkworth*—Katherine Dawson *ijs.*, John Wilkinson *ijs.*, Jane Jackson *ijs.* *iiij.*d., John Bard *xvij.*d., Robert Cowle *xijd.*, Jane Dinen *xijd.*, *Newbegin*—Thomas Keye *iiij.*s.; *Ellington*—Thomas Rowland *xij.*s.; *Warkworth*—George Hall *ijs.*, George Warwicke *ijs.* *iiij.*d., William Elder *ijs.*, Brian Hodgeson *ijs.*, Thomas Clough *xijd.*, Thomas Salkeld *ijs.*, John Hadden *ijs.*, William Swan *vs.*, Robert Wilson *xijd.*, Edmund Finch *xijd.*, Thomas Clough *iiij.*s., Thomas Mills *xvjd.*, Thomas Elder *ijs.*, Thomas Hunter *xxd.*, Henry Anderson *ijs.*, Robert Clarke *ijs.*, Martin Browne *xxd.*, George Cocke *xijd.*, Mrs. Thompson *ijs.* Total, £16 2s. 5*d.*

To all whom it may concern &c. know yee, that I John Sweeting of London Marchant doe by these presents constitute ordaine impower and appoynt The Bayliffe and Chamberlaines of the Towne of Alnewicke in the County of Northumberland, for the time being and their successors, to collect gather and receive the severall rents mentioned in the foregoing Schedule halfe yearly, at Lady day and Michaelmas, to be collected for the uses herein exprest (viz. £12 per annum to the Reading Minister of the said Towne and £04 01s. 08*d.* per annum to the master of the free Schole there. The first halfe yeare's rent being due at Lady day Last. Giving them the same power and authority for collecting of the same as fully and Largely as I myselfe might have, or now at present have. Witnes my hand and seale the seventeenth day of May 1654.

The two somes above mencioned are sixteen pounds and twenty pence.

John Sweeting (L.S.)

This is the very booke which Captain John Sweeting delivered unto me for the use and benefit of the free Schoole of Alnewicke witness my hand the 24 day of April 1656.

Tho. Watton.

The said Tho. Watton hath delivered up on oath that this is the same booke delivered to him by John Sweeting in the presence of us the day and year above written. John Scott, Thomas Mitcalfe, Clement Forster, Thomas

Hunter, Alexander Scott, Rob. Strother, Cuth. Chessman, Thomas Huntley, Henry Facy, John Swinhoe, Matthew Alnwick, John Harrison, Roger Moffitt, William Lainge, John Hamelton.

Creditable it is to the early burgesses of Alnwick that they appreciated education. Failing to obtain the restoration of the original endowment, they not only made exertions themselves to increase the means for the efficient instruction of the young, but also sent petitions seeking help from wealthy persons. The earl of Bedford replied in the following letter :—

“To my loveing friendes the Burgesses of the Towne of Alnwick.

I have received a large writing under the seale of yor borough conteyning partie a complainte against John Butler and partie a petition for my benevolence towards your Schole. And for that I am willing in som measure to satisfie you in both you shall understand that I could never yxprease that John Butler did in anie sorte hinder your Towne or your request to me but alwayes was more readye to ymportune me on your behalf then I held convenient. And concerning your request now I have taken order with John Butler that out of such arrearages of rentes as are to me due in Northumberland whereof he hath a perfect note I am content to allowe you twentie poundes towards your Schole at Alnewyck, which yf you shall thankfullye accept I shall think well bestowed. And so wishing you all good proceeding in your good purpose for your said Schole. I bid you farewell.

Bedford house the 30th of Maye, 1609.

Your loveing friend
E. BEDFORD.”

The reply of the earl of Northumberland, who was then a prisoner in the Tower, is characteristic, shewing a disposition to aid learning, but wisely requiring others, at the same time, to lend a helping hand.

“To my loving freindes the Burgesses of the towne of Alnwick these be dd. I haue receaued your petition of the 12 November, I am very gladd to decerne your forwardnes in doeing soe good a worke, as to draw learning into your towne, and soe by consequent civilitie : my hands shall not be tyed from giving helpe to your purposes, since it is soe good an ende, but I pray God I fynd it not with you, as I found of them of Rothebury for repaying the rest of the churche, whiche when I had condissended to contribute largely, the rest of the country would doe iuste nothing : I will hope for better successe in this, and that it is the cause why I will sett downe under myne owen hand, what I will give towards this charitable worke, that it may be a witness against your selves if you procede not there in. What soe euer it be that any one man shall give, towards the buylding of the Scoule, or hathe given, I will give as much if not more ; Whoe soe euer shall bestow any yearly annuite for the maintenance thereof hereafter bone fide, I will give twice as mutche. The nominating of the scoller I expect to have in whiche I know I shall be as carefull as yourselves to chuse a fitt man. The ground plott of the worke intended I desier to see in a drawght, for soe shall I geesse what will be your charges in the building thereof, and mens helps will be drawn on thereafter. Now you know my mynd I will rest, and wishe this matter good proceeding
When I shall perceave the foundation
NORTHUMBERLAND.
of the worke begunne to be laid, then
shall my contribution beginne

This 30 of November, 1610.”

Application was also made to Lord Haddington ; for in the account of 1611 there is entered : “for wyne and sugar

when we dyd goe to my Lord of Haddington for our schoole *vs. vijd.*" A survey was then made for the intended school, the building of which, however, was not carried out till 1630, when a school was erected in Pottergate near to the tower, on the site of a burgage which had been purchased by the corporation.

After Thompson, we find, in 1577, two schoolmasters, John Stanton and Ralph Grey, the former being also parish clerk, and both appearing in person at the chancellor's visitation of the church. In the corporation records we next meet with Mr. Thomas Vicars as schoolmaster; he was paid "for his quarter's waidges ending at Michaelmas last past in anno 1611, *ls.*, for his Christmas quarter, *xlvs. viijd.*" The various companies or fellowships contributed to the support of the school, in proportion to their capability; and in this year there were received "of all the fellowships of the towne, except the buchery, which the towne hath layde out for that is *xs.*, every trad according to his rat *vijli.*" Strangely enough the butchers were equally distinguished in 1852; for this was the only fellowship, that refused to join in a procession, when the foundation stone of the Corporation new schools was laid by Algernon the duke of Northumberland.

Mr. Vicars was appointed vicar of Lesbury; and he figures subsequently in ecclesiastical proceedings against Robert Brandling who called him, in Shilbottle Church, "scab scounderell, priest or felon." He appears to have left the school with no great honour to himself; for, in 1613, it was ordered by the four-and-twenty, that "Letters be written to the Bishop of Durham and to Mr Auditor Paddon and to the receiver, to prevent the payment of the schoolmaster's fee and allowance not to be made hereafter to Mr. Thomas Vicars, and that one of the burgesses shall before the end of June next be sent, by warrant under the town seale, to finde out and bring hether a sufficient learned schoolmaster, and shall have his charges borne and paid him by the *iiij* receavors out of the towne revenues, for which this shall be their warrant." At this period the brightest pages of our corporate history open out before us.

We boast much of the efforts made in our own day in behalf of education; but the four-and-twenty of the borough, two centuries and a half ago, were also deeply impressed with its importance. Wise and noble minded men they were; and the orders they passed, and the phraseology they used, evidence that they had enlightened and comprehensive views;

and it is to be noted, that the burgesses too concurred in these views, and agreed to tax themselves to defray the cost of a comprehensive educational system. Two masters, both learned and discreet men, were to teach the school, which was to be open to the children of the *commonalty* as well as of the burgesses; convinced that literature and school learning promoted religion and morality, the course of instruction included not only Greek and Latin, arithmetic, writing, and reading English, but also poetry, or the literature of the period. The master had a salary of £20 yearly and the usher twenty nobles.* The following quaint but expressive order gives the particulars of the scheme:—

Alnwick } At the generall gild there held the vii day of June 1613. Itt
Burgh. } is ordered and decreed by the XXIII with the generall consent of
all the Aldermen and Companies of the towne and of the Freemen
and burgesses of the same as followeth. Viz.

First to the end and intent that the honor and glory of almightie God may be increased, evill maners supplanted and the youth of this borough well instructed and informed in literature and schoole learninge, Itt is ordered declared and decreed by one mutuall and publique consent, That there shalbe with all due and convenient expedicion, a Schoolemaster sufficient learned and skillfull in the latyne and greek tonges and perfect in the learninge of poetry, prepared and provided, being also a man of solidd witt and discreet government and placed to be the Schoolemaster of the said Burgh.

And that there shall likewise be provided in like due tyme a fytt learned and discreet personne whose shalbe placed as ussher to the said Schoolemaster. And that the said Schoolemaster for his fee and salary shall have yerelye payd unto him XX*li*. Sterling by quarterly payments viz. XX merks at the least out of the townes revenues, whereof III*li*. per annum payd by his Majestie to be accompted parcell, allowing and rebating the deducts payd thereout to his Majesties officers. And XX nobles Sterling, being the residue of the said some of XX*li*. Sallary, shalbe collected by the anniversarie Aldermen and by them payd to the said Schoolemaster out of the soms which the companies and Freemen of the said towne have granted for that use, as particularie ensueth hereafter. Also itt is ordered and decreed that a yerelye fee and sallary of XX nobles sterling shalbe payd to the said usher: viz. five merks parcell thereof out of the townes revenues, and five merks residue out of the reymayne of the said some so granted by the said Companies of fremen, by quarterly payments and in maner as the Schoolemaster is to reseave his Sallary.

And as touching the disbursing and laying out of these soms and payments by the treasurers or receavors of the Townes revenues, or by the Aldermen as the case may requyer to the said Schoolemaster or Usher for the tyme that shall be, this shalbe sufficient warrant.

Lastly to thond itt may appeare what somes the said companies fremen and others have granted to those aforesaid, And for what tyme, By these presents itt is declared and ordered by there publique consent also particularly by every of them in open gild, That the said soms shalbe payd by the Companies and personnes aforesaid, for terme of VII yeres next after thinstitution and installment of a Schoolemaster, by Companies personnes and yerely payments as followeth, and is hereafter sett downe. And it is moreover ordered and decreed by generall consent of the XXIII and of the Aldermen and Companies aforesaid of the said fremen and others, That the Alderman of

* A noble is of value 6s. 8d.

every company, who for the tyme shalbe, shall answere and paye the some or soms graunted to this use by any of his Company. And shall have powre to dystrayne every sutch of theym as eyther refuse at any tyme hereafter to make payment of sutch soms as sutch personne hath graunted, or shalbe by his Company taxed or imposed upon him. Jo. Browne, Frances Alder, John Alder, John Scott, Will. Grene, Willm. Hunter, Thomas Partis, Rolfe Fryer, John Wilkynsonne, Gawayn Salkeld, Willm. Gallon, George Stanners, John Butler, James Grona, George Alder, Edward Stanners, William Graye, John Clarke, Willm. Bevely.

Under this arrangement, Robert Stephenson, B.A., became schoolmaster in 1614, and John Renoldson, an ancestor of the family of Rennisons, appears to have been usher. But the master had other duties to perform, for he was also monthly preacher in Alnwick Church; and the following copy of his appointment gives an additional illustration of the educational and religious movements in the town:—

TO ALL CHRISTIAN people to whome this present writtinge Indented shall come to be redd hard and sene, We the free burgesses and whole comonaltie of the Towne of Alnewick within the County of Northumberland Sendeth greating in our lord god Everlastinge, KNOWE ye that wee the aforesaid Burgesses and Comonaltie have with our whole assent and consent Lawfully elected and chosen our wellbeloved in Christ, Robert Stevenson Bachelere of Arts to be our Schoolmaister and monthly preacher, within the said Towne and Church of Alnewick in the Countie aforesaid, TO HAVE hold use and exercise the said rome or place of Teaching of Schoole and monthely exercisinge or preachinge upon Sundaies yearlye and every yeare, frome and after the day of the daite of this present writtinge Indented, for and induringe the full and whole tearme of three yeares nowe next ensewinge and followinge and fully to be compleat ended and rune, Yealdinge and payinge therefore yearlye and every year duringe the said tearme of Three yeares abovesaid unto the said Robert Stevenson or his lawefull assignes the full and just some of Twenty and three poundes of lawfull currant English monie every year quarterlye, That is to say five pounds fifteen shillings per quarter to be paid by us the above said burgesses and comonaltie of the said Towne or by foure sufficient honcet burgesses, such as their shalbe yearlye and every yeare during the said tearme of three yeares abovesaid appoynted nominated and chosen for us and in our names and by our consente, to pay the same for us the said burgesses and comonaltie, but the said Robert Stevenson or his lawul assignes as abovesaid being lawfully demanded, that he the said Robert Stevenson for himself covenanteth graunteth and promiseth by those presents to and with the abovesaid burgesses and comonaltie and all and every of them: That he the said Robert Stevenson shall and will duringe all the said tearme of three yeare above specified: well truely and faithfullye indeavour and apply himself to educato and instruct loarne and Teach for the yearly wages above specified all and every the youthe and children of the said Burgesses and comonaltye of the Towne of Alnewick abovesaid such as are apte and willinge to loarne and understand the Lattine Tongue arithmetick writtinge and reading English and such like for the better oduating and bringing upp of the said children to the glorie of God and their owne preferment hereafter, And further he the said Robert Stevenson covenanteth promisseth and graunteth to and with the said burgesses and comonaltie: That he the said Robert Stevenson shall and will use and exercise monthlye and everye monthe once duringe the said tearme of thre yeares abovesaid, the exercise of preaching and teaching in the pulpit within the church of Alnewick abovesaid upon Sundaies monthly, for the more better odifing exhorting and teaching or instructing of the said burgesses and comonalty of the Towne of

Alnewick: And shall not absent himself from the said Schooll or teaching and preaching above the space of eight daies during the said term, without the speciall licence or consent of the said burgesees and comonalty or some of them appointed by them to give licence for them and in their names. In Witness whereof the parties, that is the burgesees abovesaid, as also he the said Robert Stevenson to eyther parte of those indentures interchangeably have sett to their handes and seales to these presents This Eighth day of August in the Twelveth year of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James by the grace of god king of England france and Ireland, and of Scotland the xlvijth, defendor of the faith (1614).

Sealed signed and delivered in the presence of Rob. Clerke balliv ibm.
Robt. Stevenson. (Seal.)

1614.—Frances Alder, John Scott, John Grene, Willm. Hunter.

Memorandum it is agreed before the insealinge of these presents by the parties hereunto. viz.

Mr. Robt. Stevenson on his part and behalfe promisseth and covenanteth, that if he shall be any way beneficed duringe the time of yeeres in these presents mentioned in this or any other place in this County of Northumberland, that then the saide Mr. Robt. Stevenson shall abate of his same yearly pention aforesaid to the Burgesees of Alnewicke for ——— five pound sterlinge of his said yearly pention.
Rob. Stevenson.

We have a record of the quarterly payments made by the fellowships in 1616 to the school; the fullers gave 1s. 8d., the cordiners 3s. 4d., the weavers 3s. 4d., the glovers 3s. 4d., the tanners 5s., the tailors 10d., the butchers 10d., the merchants 4s. 2d., the smiths 2s. 6d., the wrights 2s. 4d.

Robert Stephenson was appointed curate of Alnwick Church about 1616; and we next find Mr. Falder schoolmaster in 1626 with a salary of £18 yearly, besides the endowment of £4 1s. 8d., and an allowance of 10s. yearly for his charges in going to Newcastle to receive the king's money. He appears to have been the same person as John Falder who succeeded Thomas Viccars as vicar of Shilbottle, and who was ejected in 1648, restored in 1660, appointed to Lesbury in 1666, and died in 1675; "a man" it is said, "of good learning and an unblameable life." Yet like some of the other schoolmasters, he was troublesome, and dragged the corporation into a lawsuit, which in 1636 was referred to arbitration; and in consequence we have—"Paid to Jane Adston for the arbitrators and Chamberlains dynners and others at the meeting in the telebooth, between Mr. Falder and the towne xxs.; More allowed in Anne Scott's hand for wyne the same day the Arbitrators mett xiis. vid." A payment of £3 to Mr. Falder brought this quarrel to an end.

In 1637 Mr. Henry Lever, a man of more distinction and loftier character than any of his predecessors, was appointed schoolmaster and monthly preacher. To him were paid in 1639 £1 13s. 0d. to make his preaching money £6; and "at Michaelmas parte of the Schoolemaster's wages £1 13s. 0d.;" and in 1640 £3 14s. 3d., by consent of the four-and-twenty.

Henry Lever was of honourable descent. His grandfather Thomas Leaver was chaplain of Edward VI., and during Mary's reign was a refugee at Frankfort; but returning to England in Elizabeth's time he became master of Sherburn Hospital, and an intimate friend of Bernard Gilpin the Apostle of the North. Henry Lever seems to have remained in Alnwick about seven years. About 1644, he removed to the rectory of Brancepeth, as successor to Dr. Cosin; and there he officiated till 1659, when, through the means of Alderman Barnes, he entered to St. John's Church, Newcastle, where he was minister till his ejection, along with other Nonconformists, in 1662. After this he seems to have had no settled congregation; but preached occasionally as opportunity offered. He lived a short time at Shindcliffe and then returned to Newcastle. When indulgence was granted to the persecuted Nonconformists in 1672, he had a call from a congregation in Darlington; but in the summer of 1673 he died in peace, saying—"If God had no more for him to do, he could as willingly die, as go to bed and rest." A good conscientious, large-hearted man was Henry Lever; his principles were moderate, and his manners affable and courteous. Bishop Kennett says of him—"He was remarkable for his generosity and liberality." He had been twice married but left no family; an estate which he possessed he left to his nephew Robert Lever, another Nonconformist minister, who was ejected from Bolam, and afterwards lived with the Nonconformist family of Middleton at Bel-say.*

After the removal of Lever, the school appears to have been vacant for some time; for in the account of 1658 we have the following entry:—"There is likewise to be accounted for to the Towne during the vacancy of a Schoolemaster for what is settled upon the Towne by Mr. Sweeting, the purchase of the late king's interest, out of which it was paid, Sixteen pounds thirteen shillings, four pence by yeare for one yeare and halfe's tyme duringe the vacancy." At this period the £12, now paid to the curate of the church, was regarded as a school endowment.

In 1649 the corn tolls of Alnwick Market were appropriated to the school. They, however, belonged to the town long before that time; for in the earliest accounts preserved, the amount produced by them is entered to the credit of the town. In 1611 we have—"Item received from Thomas Grene and John Wanles for the Quarters rent of the Corne due to be paid at Michaelmas last past 1s." They were then called the *Custom Corne*, and were let to three or four of the four-and-twenty, in succession as farmers of it; in 1629 they were

* Calamy's Memorials, and Clephan's Nonconformity in Newcastle.

let for £13 yearly, with this order—"the same is to be letten yearly to three of the xxiiij, as they are set down in a book by their order." The rent was then applied to the general purposes of the town. The following grant from the earl of Northumberland is but a confirmation and regulation of an existing right :—

Algernon Earle of Northumberland Lord of the Honor of Cocker mouth and Petworth, Lord Percy Lucy Poynings Fitzpaine Brian and Latimer, and knight of the most noble order of the Garter To all to whome these presents shall come Greeting. Whereas the freeholders, sworne upon Inquiries within my Courte called the Knight Courte att Alnewick, have heretofore used to present the Inconveniences happening from time to time by undue measures used within my Markett at Alnewick; and with all sett doune in their presentments the meanes that they thought fitt to bee used for reformation of the said Inconveniences; And whereas the freeholders, sworne as aforesaid, att the Knight Courte holden att Alnewick the Eight day of October in the Seaventeenth yeare of the late Queenes Majesties Raigne and in the life time of the Earle my Grandfather deceased did presente, That heaped measures were inconvenient for the said markett, and thought it fitt that streked measure from thenseforth should be used; And for the playcing and establishing of the Streked Measure accordingly did further thinck it fitt, that a place should be appoynted in the Markett place there, where the measure should be kept, and the Corne and Graine should bee measured, which place soe appointed should be sett doune att the Discrecion of the Bayliffe and Burgesses of the said Towne; And the Bayliffe and Burgesses to take in consideration of their charges to be employed in and about the preparation of the place and Measures and the maintenance thereof, from time to time, according to the rate and proporcion of a penny for every Bowle of Corne or Graines that should bee sold in the same Markett; Whereupon the then Bayliffe and Burgesses became sutors to the late Earle my father to give his consent and allowance of the premises, which hee did accordingly under his hand and seale, bearing date the tenth day of May in the Three and Thirtieth yeare of the late Queene Majesty's raigne according to the tenor of the said presentment; And whereas also the present Bayliffe and Burgesses have bene sutors to mee to give my consent and allowance of the premises for and towards the maintenance of a free Schoole in the said Towne; These are therefore to signifie unto all men that I the said Algernon Earle of Northumberland, for what in mee is and soe farr as lawfully I may, Doe freely and fully ratifie and allow the said premises to the use aforesaid or to anie other publique use for the good and benefitt of the said Towne. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal att Armes, this fifteenth day of August Anno Domini 1649.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

These tolls were, from this time till their extinction in 1856, let for the benefit of the successive grammar-school-masters; they were collected at the rate of one penny for every old boll of barley or oats and one halfpenny on every new boll of wheat or peas delivered in the borough, whether sold openly in the market, or by sample to millers or merchants. At some periods they yielded above £20 yearly. But in the present enlightened century, when so much is said and done for education, several farmers grudged this small tax, organised an opposition, and refused to pay it, unless compelled by action at law. From many shirking payment, the rental of

these tolls had sunk to £5 yearly; and the common council finding that this small sum could not be enforced without expensive lawsuits, which they were advised might cost them more, even if they were successful, than the entire value of the toll, did not attempt to compel payment; and in consequence this endowment is practically extinguished.

Mr. John Steward or Stuart was appointed schoolmaster of the free school, and George Alder under usher, at the common guild held on June 21st, 1665. Again the burgesses taxed themselves to maintain the school, for this guild ordered, "that there be payd out of the Trads, viz. every quarter as followeth: the Trade of Merchants per annum £1, the Glovers £1, the Tanners £1, the Cordwainers £1, the Butchers 10s., the Taylors 10s., the Wrights and Coopers 10s., the Smiths 10s., the Weavers 6s. 8d., in all £6 6s. 8d." Stuart became curate of Alnwick church in 1667, and his appointment as schoolmaster was revoked, annulled, and made void on March 12th, 1672; and Mr. Lancelott Strother was settled and authorised to teach the grammar school. Former times in some respects are not widely different from the present; history sometimes repeats herself. Stuart libelled the new schoolmaster and the inhabitants of the borough, and hence the following resolution:—

"June 22, 1674.—Att the Tole booth it is then ordered, that whereas Mr. John Stuart and Mr. Howey have lybelled and written against Mr. Lancelot Strother our schoolemaster contrary to this our former certificate and against the Inhabitants of this Towne alsoe, That we the fower and Twenty on the behalfe of the freemen of this Boroughe shall maintaine justifie and allow as well the said certificate as the said Mr. Lancelott Strother in all things against the said Mr. John Stuart and Mr. Geo. Howey as well touching our free schoole, as touching their the said lybelling or writing against the said Mr. Strother and the inhabitants of this Brough." Signed by 25 names.

Strother had not given satisfaction; for, in 1677, it was agreed by the present and late chamberlains, all the eight being present, that he should "continue Scowle master till May day next and no longer without a new agreement." He disappears from our story before March 21st, 1680, when Mr Cuthbert Chessman, of Warkworth, was chosen "our Schoolemaster of the free School." The corn toll at this period produced £11 10s. yearly. Chessman's tenure of office was not long; for, in 1686, Mr. Matthew Wood received the appointment *quam diu se bene gesserat*; and in the following year a new school-house was built, having the following inscription over the door:—

Hæc Schola primo in usum municipium
Alaunensium ædificata Anno Dom. 1687.

Nunc demum instauratur Anno Dom. 1741.

A very unfortunate appointment was this; Wood proved to be negligent and insolent, and therefore the four-and-twenty changed the tenure of office.

"Dec. 23, 1689.—Whereas" say they "complaints has been this day made against Matthew Wood our schoolmaster, for being negligent and careless in his managing the Free School, as also in his insolent and saucy expressions in saying the Towne of Alnewick was not able or in their power to putt him out, It is therefore this day unanimously ordered and agreed, that the former order made to make him schoolmaster *quam diu se bene gesserat*, shall be voyd and of none effect; And that he shall only for the future continue free schoolmaster dursing the pleasure of the said Four and Twenty."

On February 1st, 1690, he was discharged, and he received six months notice of his dismissal; and on June 7th, Mr. Arthur Alnwick, son of Mr. Matthew Alnewick, was appointed "Schoolmaster of our Free School." A very refractory troublesome man was this Matthew Wood; he would not take his dismissal; and he set the governing body at defiance. Great animosity and confusion arose from there being two schoolmasters; it was worse than having two kings; and to restore peace to the town both Wood and Alnwick were discharged; and a prosecution ordered against Wood to compel him to leave the school. Matthew Alnwick, acting for the borough, served upon him an ejection, and thereby got rid of him. Thomas Davidson was appointed master on February 2nd, 1691; but though Wood had by force of law been driven out of the schoolhouse, he was not altogether conquered; for he had the audacity, as the four-and-twenty thought, to set up an opposition school, in a singular place—in Alnwick Castle. This the four-and-twenty could not tolerate; and they put forth all their power to crush the refractory schoolmaster. Here is their most extraordinary order:—

"1 July 1691.—Whereas wee Chamberlains and four and Twenty doe find an ancient order in our Town's books of Alnwick dated the 17th day of July 1667 Touching any schoolmaster shall be sent recommended or Imposed upon the Towne and Burrough without these and the like authority of this Towne, that noe Freeman or Burgesse shall demiso sett owne to any such schoolmaster any house Burgage or tenement of his within the said Towne and Burrough to inhabit or teach in upon paine of xxxixs. xid., and that for soe many times and soe often as such freeman or Burgesse shall be notified to the contrary by the authority of the said Towne and Burrough; and that no freeman or Burgesse whatsoever within the Town and Borough he doe suffer his children or relations to be brought upp or Educated by any other, than what is brought in and appointed by the Town then aforesaid, upon the penalty and sume mentioned aforesaid.

It is unanimously agreed by the Chamberlains and four and twenty the first day of July 1691, that whereas the Chamberlains and whole consent of the four and twenty have elected and chosen Mr. Davison our present schoolmaster of our free schole of Alnwick, and whereas Mr. Matth. Wood be lately discharged from our free schole, and out of contempt have sett up schole in

Alnwick Castle wee doe hereby order and agree, that whatsoever freemen doe put any children or friend or Burgagemaster put any children to the said Matt. Wood to be educated contrary to our order, that they shall pay for every such offence xxxixs. xid., or if any freeman or Burgag Master Intertain the said Matthew Wood shall pay for every such offence the like penalty. Given under our hands the day and yeare above written.*

William Gair, Thomas Craster, Roger Buston, Luke Hindmarsh, Robt. Collingwood, Lorance Forster, Wm. Hunter, Mark Forster, John Burrell, Ra. Grieve, Wm. Stanton, Nicholas Forster, Tho. Lindsay, David Millaken, Robert Hambleton, Rich. Shankes, Thomas Sanderson, Matt. Scott, Geo. Alder.

An unscrupulous man was Wood; for after his dismissal he contrived to obtain the endowment, to which he was not then entitled. Thomas Davison, the new schoolmaster, set forth, in 1693, that he had been defrauded by Matthew Wood of the king's salary the first year, and the chamberlains paid to him four pounds out of the town's revenues. Mr. Joseph Ritson was, on March 28th, 1702, "chosen to be our schoolmaster, to teach our grammar school, viz., our freemen's sons;" but, taught caution by experience, the four-and-twenty engaged him on the express condition of his leaving peaceably if discharged, after six months notice. Two years afterwards he was appointed minister of the parish church.

William Wood succeeded and continued master till his death in 1720. Mr. John Wilson was on May 12th, 1721, "chosen Latin Master of our Latin School," and officiated till July 1736, when he was appointed curate of the parish. Of the schoolmasters subsequent to Lever little is known, none of them being distinguished; but of Abram Rumney, who was elected in 1737, we have notices from "Euphemia the Friend of his age," † and in the autobiography of his pupil—the eccentric Rev. Percival Stockdale.

Abram Rumney, born in 1717, was educated at Appleby under Mr Yates, a master of high reputation, along with his younger brother Joseph Rumney, who was afterwards vicar of Berwick. After leaving school he was engaged by Dr. Tomlinson of Newcastle, who was blind, to act as amanuensis and to read to him; and as Dr. Tomlinson was a scholar of cultivated taste, his comments on what was read tended to form the intellectual character of Abram Rumney, and to lead him to a critical study of classical literature. Such were his qualifications, that when only 22 years of age, he carried the election of Master of the Alnwick School over many competitors; and in this position he remained till his death, forming the minds of the better class of the young of the

* This order has been printed by Hartshorn, from a copy I gave him, as well as other information, which, however, is not acknowledged.

† Ralph Hason Dawson, an amiable good man, who died at Alnwick, March 28th, 1848, aged 77 years.

town and neighbourhood, during the long period of fifty-five years.

Euphemia's production is more a eulogy than a memoir; yet we may take his estimate of Rumney's professional ability as correct, for it is confirmed by a harsher judge. "In the discharge of his duties Mr. Rumney could not well be exceeded. His professional talents were such as not only procured him a large number of pupils from the town and vicinity, but also induced most of the first families in this part of the country to place their sons under his tuition." Euphemia attributes to Abram Rumney most of the virtues which adorn humanity; he possessed integrity of soul, a natural sweetness of temper, sociality of disposition and a grateful heart; unlike others of his profession he was free from dogmatism and pedantry, and he had the charity which thinketh no evil. "In religion as well as in other things he thought a good deal for himself, independent of any prescribed forms or articles; disturbed by neither bigotry nor fanaticism, he always maintained a gentle and steady flame, the truest criterion of firm religious principles." The picture is flattering drawn by a professed friend; but Stockdale, who knew Rumney in his best days before disease enfeebled his frame, throws in a few darker shades. "With regard to abilities and learning Rumney was a very good schoolmaster. He had likewise good moral qualities, not without a mixture of the selfish and disagreeable. To his scholars he was peevish, morose, and severe, and he shewed a glaring partiality in favour of the rich and powerful against the poor and weak." Stockdale himself, however, was so vain and peevish and so apt to estimate others through the medium of his own prejudices, that his ill-natured criticisms should be received with suspicion.

The rare old days for scholars—the *barring out days*—have succumbed before this utilitarian age. They who acted in such scenes linger over the remembrance of them; boys then played the part of men and went into heroics, and set authority at defiance. In this wild freedom and boisterous rebellion there was abundance of fun; and when a master was good humoured and not too much of the pedagogue, little harm, if any, resulted from the temporary juvenile eruption. As a boy I have taken a part in such privileged lawlessness, and seen a pedagogue come in a towering passion with black scowling looks and thunder against the door, and with the aid of smith and carpenter break locks and smash windows, after which followed loud bullyings and severe floggings; the rebellion was quelled but the moral influence of the master was weakened. These freaks were however, carried to a greater extent a century ago. Stockdale describes a *barring out*, which took place a little time before he left the school; it is a record of a custom now almost extinct.

"We had in Alnwick an annual custom of locking the door of the school against the master; of shutting him out (of *barring*

him out, was the term) on St. Andrew's day, about three weeks before Christmas. It was likewise a custom of the scholars, during the exclusion of the master, to form a set of articles (which the young *rebels* termed *orders*) proposing a number of play-days, and other indulgences for the ensuing year; to which, while their monarch did not assent, he was not to be readmitted into his kingdom. Mr. Rumney, as I recollect, had not been barred out for some years; and I was eager to renew a spirited and daring achievement.

We instantly prepared for the siege; and our master was received, at the head of Pottergate Street, with a discharge of squibs, crackers, pistols, and other insignia of the "pomp, pride, and glorious circumstance of war." We kept rousing fires in the school; we passed the nights in deeds of violence; in terrifying the neighbours; in robbing them of their ducks and fowls; in short we were, in epitome, the complete heroes of a French revolution. Our Saturnalia lasted for a week; perhaps the master enjoyed his ease as much as the scholars enjoyed their riot. The parties at length agreed to a truce; our orders were subscribed; and the school door was opened to receive its lord. We looked out and kenned him long before he was near us; we observed that he stepped into a saddler's shop; this was a tremendous omen; it struck paleness into the troop of insurgents; but it was a consolation to determined desertion.

He entered the school; and marched up to his throne with a solemn and awful air. He exposed on his desk a dreadful implement of flagellation. Horror shot through the broken ranks. It produced not, however, the sanguinary effects which we expected. "Charles Brown, as you are my head scholar, I must deem *you* the ringleader of this infamous conspiracy; take your books, and go about your business." I immediately advanced to my master, and made the following laconick speech.—"Sir, I promised to Charles Brown, that if *he* was dismissed on this occasion I would follow him; and I am determined to keep my word."—"Get you gone," returned my master, "you impertinent jackanapes."—I obeyed, with lightning's speed. All imitation is contagious; others had deserted and followed us, to avoid the discipline of the saddler's shop. I have forgotten how it ultimately fared with the other culprits; but I remember that Brutus and Cassius, the last of the Romans, were the last received into favour. I lingered the latest (for about a fortnight); I signed a paper which had been signed by the other friends of the sedition, expressing our penitence, and promising our future obedience; and thus my pardon was obtained and ratified."

Charles Brown the leader of this rebellion was afterwards for several years, an eminent physician in Newcastle; but of him Stockdale has not much good to say. He tells us that Dr. Brown shortened his days by intemperance, and that he was a notorious cock-fighter.

During forty years Mr. Rumney had been troubled with gout, an attack of which terminated his life on Dec. 21st, 1798, aged 77 years. He was buried in Alnwick Church, but a tombstone has been erected to his memory in the church-yard by his youngest daughter, Ann Fenwick. He was thrice married; his first wife being a daughter of Dr. Harle, the Presbyterian minister of Alnwick. After his death his widow and two daughters lived at Heckley; one daughter died unmarried in 1835; and the other who was married to John Fenwick, a solicitor in Newcastle, died in 1864. Mr. Rumney's eldest son John was a surgeon, and emigrated to America, and for more than twenty years was settled at Alexandria, in Virginia. He served in the war of independence as colonel, doctor and surgeon in the army.* He enjoyed the friendship of Washington; and when he died in 1784 at the age of 43 years, Washington, from Mount Vernon, wrote a consolatory letter to his father, saying that his son was "an amiable man in whom his country had lost a worthy citizen."

Long before Mr. Rumney's time, the grammar school had lost its character as a free school for the *community*; it was then only free for the sons of freemen; and it ceased too, during his time, to give a comprehensive education to such pupils; for the instruction to them was confined to the Latin and Greek languages, other schools having been established by the corporation to teach English, writing, arithmetic, and mathematics. As salary he had the king's money, as it was called, or the old endowment of £4 1s. 8d., the corn tolls, which then realised about £15 yearly, and £10 additional from the town revenues. In 1759, an order of the four-and-twenty appears "allowing him to depasture his horse on the town moor;" and another, in 1779, April 24th, was passed, to increase his salary from £10 to £21; and this additional sum was paid till 11th September, 1781, when the order was reversed under pressure from without. At that time the corporation was in an uproar; a lawsuit was threatened by the freemen against the governing body to redress grievances, one of which they stated to be the advance of salary to the schoolmaster! The freemen had sadly degenerated since the time when they willingly taxed themselves to maintain their schools. The chief source, however, of income to Mr. Rumney, was the fees paid by non-freemen's sons for their education; for he had the privilege of taking as many pupils on his own account as he pleased. The Craftsman, writing in 1782, says:—"Now this Schoolmaster which had this small augmentation of £11 made to his salary, has conducted our

* Chastellux' Travels in America, I., p. 66.

Grammar School for the space of 45 years with credit and reputation, has all along borne an unexceptionable character, nay, has invariably for all that time supported the character of a scholar and a gentleman."

Percival Stockdale being one of the most distinguished alumni of the Alnwick School some notice may be given of his career. He was a voluminous author; and, though his works are now neglected, he enjoyed some reputation during the last century as a poet and literary writer. His curious autobiography derives no little interest from the accounts he gives of Burke, Dr. Johnson, Garrick, and Goldsmith, into whose society he was introduced; but all throughout his work we see the disappointed man, gifted with considerable ability and learning, yet failing to achieve anything great, or even to win respect, because of his own imprudence and irregular and dissolute habits. He was born at Branxton on October 26th, 1736, the only son of the Rev. Thomas Stockdale, the vicar. He entered the Alnwick Grammar School in 1745, and continued for five years under Abram Rumney; and he admits that he was there well taught and acquired an ardent love of knowledge. Subsequently he was three years at the Berwick Grammar School; and in 1754 having obtained the Wilkie bursary he entered the University of St. Andrews; but here, from his quarrelsome and drunken behaviour, he was reprimanded and nearly expelled. After his father's death in 1755 he obtained a commission in the Royal Welsh Fusileers, and was present at the naval action with the French off Minorca; but not wishing to go with his regiment to India he resigned his commission in 1757. He was now in great difficulties, but the Sharps were kind and maintained him in their own houses; and after he was ordained deacon in 1759, Mr. Sharp employed him as his curate in London; yet he satirised those good friends, because when "he was guilty of great faults," they withdrew their support. After this he wrote translations for the booksellers; but he admits that he was idle and "advanced fast in folly." In 1762 he became curate to Mr. Thorp, vicar of Berwick, "waging," he says, "for five years determined war against his own credit and happiness." After being in Italy for two years he returned to London very poor; but through the influence of Dr. Hawksworth he obtained employment from booksellers, and his translation of Tasso's *Arminta* gave him reputation and gained the approbation of Dr. Johnson. A life of Waller, his most successful work, was published in 1772, and in the following year his poem of the Poet appeared. For several years his life was irregular and unhappy; but in 1781 he with some difficulty and as a favour to the Duke of Northumberland, obtained ordination as a priest, and a degree from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Preferment came at last in 1784, when he was presented with the vicarages of Lesbury and Longhoughton. On this occasion his characteristic vanity is dis-

played; for after chronicling his induction in the register of Lesbury he adds, "Un grand nom vaut plus que toutes les epithetes." He was twice married, but he never refers to either of his wives in his autobiography. While his first wife was living, he went to the continent with Miss Christiana Buck; whom, however, he married after his first wife's death; but from her, too, he separated. After being settled at Lesbury, a hoax was played upon him. He was informed by letter that his wife had died, and that her remains had been sent by a ship to Alnmouth, for burial at Lesbury. Rejoiced at the news, he went on board the vessel on its arrival; but to his horror, he met with a living instead of a dead wife. Thomas Collingwood, an apothecary in Alnwick, wrote a farce on the subject entitled "The Dead Alive again," which was acted. Even after his promotion to Lesbury, Stockdale was still unsettled, and wandered away to Gibraltar and the coast of Africa in 1787, and did not return till 1799, after which he lived at Lesbury, a cynical, discontented man, till his death on September 14th, 1811, aged 78 years. He was buried at Cornhill.

Stockdale published several poems, sermons, and political tracts, few of which are now read. Six of his sermons attempt to shew that the practical morality of the Scriptures and of the most illustrious philosophers of Greece and Rome are essentially the same. The reputation he gained by the life of Waller induced the booksellers to apply to him first to write the lives of the English Poets with critiques on their poems; but much to Stockdale's chagrin, Dr. Johnson was ultimately entrusted with this important work. While at Lesbury, he, in 1807, published his lectures on the truly eminent poets, perhaps the best of his works, and one which may even now be read with interest. Rambling, tedious, and egotistical, it yet contains some vigorous writing, but is chiefly remarkable for the long account he gives of Chatterton, for his defence of Milton and Grey against the treatment of Johnson, and for its criticisms, often bitter enough, on Johnson's estimate of the poets. To north-countrymen his autobiography, published in 1809, will be amusing.

"The Rev. William Procter late of Bowes in Yorkshire, was appointed master of the grammar school to teach the Latin and Greek Languages;" on July 9th, 1794, the conditions being similar to those under which Mr. Rumney held the appointment. During forty-five years did this amiable man and able scholar teach the grammar school, and during forty years was he also curate of Alnwick parish; he is therefore entitled to a niche in our gallery of Alnwick worthies, especially as an example of progressive advancement rewarding diligence, faithfulness, and efficiency in the discharge of duty.

The Rev. William Procter, A.M., was born at Long Preston,

in Craven, on October 4th, 1762. While but a boy his father died; and his mother married again a prosperous stock farmer, living at Longcliffe, in the parish of Giggleswick. He was sent to the grammar school of Giggleswick, then under the charge of the Rev. William Paley, father of Dr. Paley, author of the famous and useful works on Natural Philosophy, the Evidences of Christianity and Moral Philosophy. Here he made such progress in classical learning that he became the favorite pupil of his master, who urged his wealthy relations to send him to Cambridge; for Mr. Procter might have had the same exhibition from the school that Dr. Paley held twenty years before. But as this proposal was not agreed to by these friends, he, at the early age of twenty years, accepted the mastership of the endowed school of Bowes. On December 13th, 1784, he married Mary Aislabie, then only 18 years of age. He was ordained deacon in September, 1791, and in the following year priest, as assistant curate to the Rev. Joseph Parker, of Bowes. While preparing for orders he had the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Zouch, an eminent divine. He was a candidate for the Richmond grammar school when the Rev. James Tate, one of the most eminent schoolmasters in his day, was elected.

He removed to Alnwick in 1794; and though the endowment of the Alnwick school was less than that of Bowes, yet the neighbourhood was better for obtaining pupils, and for bringing up a family—a serious consideration with him, as he had then five children. For many years he laboured hard in the school, and his teachings were appreciated; for besides many day scholars his small house was crowded with boarders. He was an able classical teacher; I judge from experience, having enjoyed the benefit of his instructions. What he taught he taught well; not for shew, as has been too much the modern fashion; but carefully, it might be slowly, yet effectually grounding his pupils in the grammatical structure of language. A kind teacher he was too; we had no floggings, no harsh reproofs, and but few punishments; he ruled gently, and he was free from favouritism, the common vice of schoolmasters. How kindly he treated the poorer boys; how he encouraged them in their studies, finding for them from his own stores books, tattered and torn sometimes, but of essential importance to them as they could procure no better. He was indeed a master whom all loved and revered.

Many of his pupils filled useful and important stations in after life, and some distinguished themselves. The late John Baird, an eminent surgeon in Newcastle, and Robert Weddell, of Berwick, solicitor, were his scholars; and it was through his persuasions, that the father of the one and the uncle of the other, who intended to bring them up to their own trades, sent them into the professions which they adorned by their ability. Mr. Thomas Tate, F.R.A.S., Mathematical Master of Kneller Hall College, was also one of his pupils.

Of a barring out in Mr. Rumney's time an account has been given, and of this custom as it existed at a later period, I have been favoured with the following description by the Rev. William Procter :—

"The Ancient Saturnalia of Barring-out was in full force in Alnwick Grammar School when Mr. Procter became master. Once a year the big boys came earlier than usual to the School, and having fastened the doors and windows, refused admission to the master till he should have signed the Articles of Play, which they had prepared, enumerating all the holidays and half-holidays during the ensuing twelve months. These Articles were usually carried by a deputation to a neighbouring householder, whom the boys elected as their Bondsmen for the year, and who seldom refused to conciliate their goodwill, by taking the Articles to the master, and asking him to sign them. If the Articles contained nothing unreasonable, they were signed at once, and the boys dispersed to enjoy that day's play independent of the Articles, with hearty cheers for the master; but if the master refused to sign them, the Bondsman negotiated between the two parties, till they came to an agreement, which sometimes caused the Barring-out to last the whole day. Next day and for the rest of the year the business of the School went on as usual, without the slightest symptom of rebellion against the authority of the master, the ring-leaders of the Barring-out being the foremost in yielding and promoting due obedience."

So much was Mr. Procter esteemed by the inhabitants of Alnwick, that when the curacy of Alnwick became vacant by the death of the Rev. Samuel Hall, they presented a strong petition in his favour to the Bishop of Durham, who, in consequence, conferred on him the living in July 1799. Other and more lucrative preferments followed; in 1811, the Duke of Northumberland presented to him the vicarage of Longhoughton; and recommended him to the Lord Chancellor for the vicarage of Lesbury, to which Mr. Procter was inducted in August 1812. At this time he obtained the degree of Master of Arts from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and was appointed chaplain to Baron Percy. Notwithstanding these promotions his home and his affections were at Alnwick, where he still continued to teach the grammar school and to live in the old house connected with it.

Esteemed he was as a minister as well as a schoolmaster. He was regarded by his people as a "faithful, fervent, and affectionate expositor of God's word and doctrines." He belonged to a class of clergymen of whom we have now too few examples—clergymen whose sympathies were with the generality of their people, who mingled freely with them as one of themselves, and who thereby found entrance into their affections. The Rev. L. S. Orde describes him in his funeral sermon as "seeking access to your hearts by unostentatious simplicity and unfeigned earnestness; by precept and by example inviting and encouraging you to tread those paths of religion and virtue which alone could conduct you and him to the mansions of everlasting peace."

That he had gained the affections of his parishioners was manifested by their presenting to him a handsome testimonial, with the following inscription on a tea urn :—

“Presented by the parishioners of Alnwick to the Rev. William Procter, A.M., in token of their respect for him, and of their esteem for his zealous services, as incumbent of the parish of Alnwick, during the period of 36 years, 29 March, 1836, along with a Silver Salver, Coffee Pot, Tea Pot, Cream Jug, and Sugar Basin.”

In the same year his old scholars joined in presenting an equally gratifying testimonial—a handsome Silver Candelabrum of four lights, on which is the following inscription:—

“Viro Reverendo Gulielmo Procter, A.M., Scholæ Grammaticæ Alaunensis, jam XLII annos Magistro, hanc columellam argenteam luciferam; monumentum amoris haud obscure adumbrans munera, quibus mentes literis humanioribus illuminavit, animos caritate accensit, corda sursum direxit; Discipuli ejus emeriti, benignitatis vere paternæ memores, D. D. D. A. S. MDCCCXXXVI.

After spending a long useful life in the faithful performance of his duties, Mr. Procter died in the Old Grammar School House on the 19th of March, 1839, aged 77 years, and was buried near the porch of St. Michael's Church. A monument within the church has been erected to his memory. His widow died at the house of her son, the vicar of Alwinton, on July 8th, 1852, in her 86th year, and was buried in the grave of her husband. His eldest son George, who had been a surgeon in the navy, was distinguished not only for his medical skill but for various scholarly attainments. Of his other eleven children, all of whom reached maturity, there are still living the Rev. Wm. Procter, incumbent of Doddington, lecturer of Berwick, rural dean of Bamburgh, and author of a volume of discourses and several theological tracts; Thomas a retired merchant; the Rev. Richard Procter, rector of Kenninghall in Norfolk; the Rev. Aislabie Procter, vicar of Alwinton with Holystone; and one daughter Martha.

After the death of Mr. Procter, changes were made in the grammar school, which led to greater changes still some fourteen years afterwards, so that it is needful now to notice other efforts made by the corporation to promote education, in addition to that given in the grammar school. Originally, as we have seen, the education in that school was comprehensive; but, as in grammar schools generally, the range became narrowed, and for freemen's sons it was restricted to Latin and Greek. As this limited education did not supply what was required by the freemen, one at least of the corporate trades employed a teacher of its own. The tanners, headed by their alderman Matthew Alnwick, engaged Robert Anderson to teach their children, in 1676, at a salary of £4 10s. 0d. yearly, “every man and woman toward this paying into the

trade, their month money, and 1s. for every childe at the schoole."

The want of elementary education had been seen by Mark Forster, merchant; and by his will, dated 20th September, 1726, he gave to trustees a rent charge of £15 yearly, issuing out of various lands, viz., Longhaugh, Lough close, Peetimere close, land in Aldike, great and little Haw, &c., but now fixed on Lough House lands, "upon trust, as to £10 thereof, to pay the same yearly into such master as shall, as often as occasion, be chosen by the chamberlains and the four-and-twenty, to teach the children of the poor freemen and widows of freemen in reading the English tongue"; and he also gave to the same trustees a house in Clayport Street "for the use and in trust for such masters, who must be of the communion of the church of England." Captain Benjamin Barton, of South Side, Edinburgh, who was a native of Alnwick, left by will, dated 10th December, 1737, £100 to be paid to the parson of Alnwick; the interest of £50 of which had to be distributed yearly among the common poor of the town; and the interest of the other £50 had to be paid for schooling *unfreemen's* children of the town. Some difficulties had to be overcome in obtaining this bequest; and the corporation spent £4 9s. 1d. in recovering it. The executors, however, paid the legacy to the chamberlains, "so that the interest thereof may be secured and paid according to Barton's will; and the chamberlains and common council covenant for themselves and successors to pay and distribute to the common poor of the town 50s. yearly at Whitsuntide, and 50s. yearly for the schooling of unfreemen's children." Edward Forster was the first master appointed, on April 22nd, 1727, to teach the school under the provisions of Mark Forster's bequest, and the chamberlains nominated the pupils. The school was held in a room in the house on the north side of Clayport, next to the old tower; it was open to all the younger children of freemen for elementary education; and here, too, were taught the unfreemen's children, under Barton's bequest, till the death of the last master, George Young, in 1822, when these functions were attached to the Borough School.

The necessity of more extended means of education forced itself on the attention of the corporation; and in 1783 it was agreed to alter the grammar school in Pottergate, to make it fit for a school to teach writing and arithmetic, and to convert the two rooms above into the grammar school.

Then, as now, there was a party in the corporation who thwarted educational progress; and it was not till 1790 that

the project was carried out, and Mr. R. Spooner, of Winscombe, appointed master to teach writing, arithmetic, and the elements of mathematics, at a salary of £50, with an usher to teach reading at a salary of £25. The master had besides, perquisites for hansel and coal money, not exceeding 2s. yearly for each scholar. Under these arrangements the following masters rapidly succeeded each other:—Mr. Taylor of Lanchester, William Forster, Thomas Hart, Richard Fletcher Heslop of Rothbury, and Alexander Campbell.

On June 20th, 1799, George Dixon, of Darlington, was appointed master of the free mathematical and English school, at a salary of £80 and the usual perquisites, with the obligation of finding an usher. During his mastership the school, usually called the Borough School, was largely attended; he was a man of ability as a teacher, and very diligent, too, in attending to his duties; but he was harsh, and a severe and frequent flogger. He was succeeded in 1818 by James Ferguson, of Longhoughton, at a salary of £75, which in 1825 was advanced to £110, with endowments and perquisites, but with an obligation to keep an usher. He was a respectable mathematician, and for 35 years a conscientious and diligent master. He died April 21st, 1859. For this school a new building was erected in Infirmary Street in 1828. Another school was established in 1808 to teach sewing, knitting, and similar arts to the daughters of freemen; the first mistress was Barbara Southern, who belonged to the Burgher congregation. As few sons of freemen had been attending the grammar school while the instruction was confined to the classics, new arrangements were made after the death of Mr. Procter. It was resolved by the common council, that in addition to the classics, modern languages, algebra, geometry, &c., be taught to thirty of the older scholars taken from the Borough School. William Ferguson, who had been usher in that school, was in 1839 appointed (under the new arrangements) master of the grammar school; the salary including endowments and dwelling house being worth about £48 yearly, but with the privilege also of taking, at first ten, and afterwards fifteen other pupils on his own account.

When the common council, through the operation of the Commons Inclosure Act, were relieved from the control of Alnwick Moor, which was placed under trustees, they were also relieved from the expenses of its management. A grave question came therefore before them—How they could apply any surplus revenue so as to yield the best results to the free-

men and to the town? The leading men of the body had before them the noble conduct of their early predecessors, who valued education and made wise provisions for its advancement; and imbued with a similar spirit, and considering that the most important privilege the freemen had heretofore enjoyed was from their schools, they decided that the wisest appropriation of corporate revenue would be to education. The state of the existing schools had for some time been deemed unsatisfactory; and now came the opportunity of improving them. There were four distinct schools, taught by three masters and one mistress; but the school rooms were small and inconvenient. A committee examined the whole subject, both as to the revenues of the borough and the state of the schools; and they reported that the education given was neither so comprehensive nor efficient as could be attained by the proper application of the means now available; and they advised that new schools be built, that adequate salaries be given to competent masters, and that the system of education be rearranged, and the whole placed under the superintendence and direction of a head master; it was recommended that one master should teach classics and modern languages, including English grammar and literature and similar subjects; that another master should teach mathematics, science, arithmetic, and related subjects; and that a mistress should give instruction to the girls in female arts and good manners.

This report, which was drawn up by myself, was unanimously adopted by the common council. Algernon, duke of Northumberland, gave a site for the new schools.

The deed of conveyance states that the duke having been "applied to by the Chamberlains Common Council and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Alnwick to grant them a piece of freehold land, as a site for a Borough School, for the Education of the children of the Borough of Alnwick, and of the youth of Alnwick and its neighbourhood, their existing Schools being too small and inconvenient" grants "all that piece or parcel of land containing on the whole 4337 square yards being parcel of a field or close called Grey's East Close," "parcel of Barndale Estate conveyed to Hugh, duke of Northumberland 15 Feb. 1838," upon the condition "that the same piece or parcel of ground and the buildings now erected or at any future time to be erected thereon shall for ever hereafter be kept and used for and appropriated solely to the purpose of maintaining thereon in good repair and condition School Houses, Master's House, and offices for the Education of the children of the Freemen of the Borough of Alnwick and its neighbourhood, and further that the same shall not be appropriated to or for any other use or purpose whatsoever, without the consent of the Duke of Northumberland his heirs and assigns, by writing under his or their hand and seal; and also that no buildings shall be erected upon the said piece or parcel of ground, within the space of 70 feet from the extremity of the western boundary thereof without such consent aforesaid. And also that the stone walls built by the said Chamberlains Common Council and Freemen of Alnwick, and enclosing the said piece or parcel of ground, shall for ever hereafter be by them and their successors kept and maintained in good repair and condition."

The foundation stone of the new schools was laid by the Duke of Northumberland on 15th September, 1852. The occasion was considered important; and the chamberlains and four-and-twenty, and all the corporate trades (excepting the butchers!), the masters of the school and the scholars, and a number of other friends of education walked in procession, accompanied by music and the banners of the fellowships, from the Town Hall to the castle, where they met the duke, and thence conducted him to the site. That every freeman might enjoy himself on this auspicious occasion, five shillings were given to each, out of the corporate funds; and the chamberlains and common council celebrated the event, according to the old English fashion, by a dinner.

The new school is a spacious and elegant building, of which Mr. Thomas Robertson, of Alnwick, was architect. There are five rooms intercommunicating; the head master's room is 30 feet by 20 feet; the second master's 35 feet by 20 feet; the preparatory master's 40 feet by 20 feet; the mistress' room 35 feet by 20 feet; and a class-room 18 feet by 16 feet. A house also was built near to the school for the head master. The cost of these buildings, with school fittings, amounted to £1761 2s. 10d. They were opened on August 1st, 1853.

In the selection of masters the common council were at first not more fortunate than their predecessors had been in the olden time. The plan originally proposed was not carried out. The school was divided into upper and under schools; and instead of one school worked by masters with special qualifications, the old system of four distinct establishments was, in effect, continued; and this evil is not yet remedied.

The appointment of a head master was not harmonious; but, by a majority of one, George Meaby, B.A., was elected in 1853 to that situation, with a salary of £150 and a free house and garden, and the privilege of taking boarders; the master of the grammar school was placed as second master with a salary of £100 and a free house and garden; there were besides a preparatory master, and a mistress for the female department, each with a salary of £60. Mr. Meaby resigned his situation in 1856; and the second master was elected his successor; but this election also was not harmonious. The school was after this placed under government inspection; but after the inspector gave his first report on the state of the school, and the common council concurring in his report, the head master resigned, and Robert Demaus, A.M., of Edin-

burgh, was next elected. He had been a Free Church Presbyterian, but he became Episcopalian that he might be eligible for this appointment; for, as it is necessary that one master should belong to the communion of the English church, the common council on this occasion decided that the head master should be an Episcopalian. Finding, however, that this change in his profession was disapproved of by his Free Church friends, and wishful to return into the bosom of the church he had abandoned, he resigned his situation. The circumstances were unfortunate and threw the common council into disorganisation, and evoked party and personal animosities which led to the perpetration of follies neither creditable to the body nor advantageous to the school. By a majority of two, Henry Maye, who had been educated at a national school college, was appointed head master in 1858. But the school still did not prosper; it was drifting into the character of a national school. This master resigned his situation in 1863. More harmonious was the next appointment; for David Allison, A.M., of Aberdeen University, was elected head master by a large majority on June 5th, 1863. The second master, Mr. Thomas Muxlow, B.A., was appointed in 1858. There are also two mistresses, one for the older girls and the other for the preparatory school. The school has since improved in efficiency and risen in public estimation, as is shewn in the increase in the attendance of non-freemen's children.

The school is now attended by 98 boys and 76 girls; their ages being as follows:—

	Under 6.	6 to 9.	9 to 12.	12 to 14.	Above 14.
Boys,	10	23	34	22	9
Girls,	6	24	18	17	11

Besides the usual elementary subjects, practical mathematics, algebra, euclid, French, German, Latin, and Greek, are taught. The total expenditure is about £450 yearly, exclusive of the value of the head master's house; the salaries of teachers amount to £370, and the other expenses on the average to £80 yearly. But the value of the endowments is about £21, and the school fees paid by non-freemen amounted in 1866 to £132 5s. 10d.; so that about £300 yearly is paid for education out of the borough revenues.

The pupils attending the corporation schools belong to various religious denominations, and the governors of the school consist of both Episcopalian and Dissenters; the education given has therefore been free from sectarianism;

and, indeed, during the greater part of this century theological teaching formed no part of school routine. With the religious opinions of the teachers there has been no interference, some of whom have held Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and even Johanna Southcote opinions. Only one endowment was restrictive—that left by Mark Forster, worth about £17 yearly, which is payable to a master in communion with the Church of England; but the obligation extends no further, and this endowment has been accordingly appropriated, as there is always at least one master in the school belonging to that church. When the schools were placed under government inspection, their unsectarian character was made known to and admitted by the inspector; but after a graduate of a Scotch university, who was a Presbyterian, was elected master, an attempt was made through this inspector to question the validity of the appointment. The four-and-twenty, however, boldly and unanimously resisted this aggression, and would not allow any unauthorised interference with their freedom of action or any change in the liberal character of their school. They, on December 8th, 1863, unanimously passed resolutions affirming that the corporation schools were not connected with any religious body, and that the education imparted in them shall be entirely free from sectarianism. They also resolved that, in accordance with former orders, two non-freemen's children shall be admitted and taught in the second school on account of Barton's bequest. Government inspection was sought in the hope that it would have a beneficial stimulating influence on the character of both masters and pupils; but some inspections seemed so strangely conducted, that little confidence was placed in the fairness of the reports; and when one of the inspectors and the committee of education stooped to receive and act upon charges against the school and the managers, sent by some one whose name they refused to mention—charges which were proved to be unfounded—the four-and-twenty refused further inspection, and stated "that they may bring the case directly before my Lords through a different channel, to ascertain direct whether they sanction anonymous censures to be passed on a public establishment."

It must be admitted that the expectations of those who, for many years, devoted much time and labour to raise these schools to such a position as to give to the youth of the district an education fitting them for any station in life, have not been fully realised. The original scheme has not been

carried out; there are still four distinct schools; and the teaching power has been diminished: for while a few years ago there were three masters, one mistress, and two assistants, there are now only two masters and two mistresses; the superintendence, too, is little more than nominal. An attempt was lately made to improve these arrangements but without success. This, like all other schemes for improvement, has had to contend with difficulties and obstacles; but these might have been overcome if the four-and-twenty had been united, earnest, and persevering; but when an anomalous body is influenced by clamour and faction, and allows itself to be swayed by little self-interests and petty jealousies, no rapid progress can be expected. Though not achieving what was sought, these schools are still valuable to the freemen and to the town; for the masters are well learned in their profession, conscientious, and diligent, and a large number of pupils receive there the benefit of a good elementary education. I have faith in progress. Even the most stolid bodies must be moved onward by our increasing civilization. The earnest efforts made to raise our educational standard cannot be altogether lost; the seed scattered, it may be in a cold soil, will doubtless in a generation or two be fertilised by new influences, and up will spring noble desires and principles, which will impart to our schools new life, and bring them up to a level with the better class of educational institutions.

CHAPTER VI.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

NORMAN CHURCH—REPARATIONS IN 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES—
HERALDRY—EARLY MONUMENTS—BELLS—EFFECT OF REFORMA-
TION—VISITATIONS AND STATE OF THE CLERGY ABOUT 1600—
ACTS OF HIGH COMMISSION COURT—ROB. STEPHENSON—PRO-
CEEDINGS AGAINST ROB. BRANDLING—ORDINANCE FOR PREACHING
MINISTERS IN 1645—GILBERT RULE—VISITATIONS AFTER THE
RESTORATION—ECCLESIASTICAL OFFENCES—CURATES APPOINTED
BY THE FOUR-AND-TWENTY OF THE BOROUGH—BOND FROM
CHARLES STEWART IN 1682—CORPORATION AUGMENT THE
CHURCH LIVING—AUGMENTATION DISCONTINUED IN 1781—
ENDOWMENTS—CHURCH FOUR-AND-TWENTY—CHURCH RATES—
REPARATIONS IN 1781, 1811, 1863—MEMORIAL WINDOWS—
MONUMENTS—PARISH CLERK—LIST OF INCUMBENTS—ANNALS—
CHARITIES.

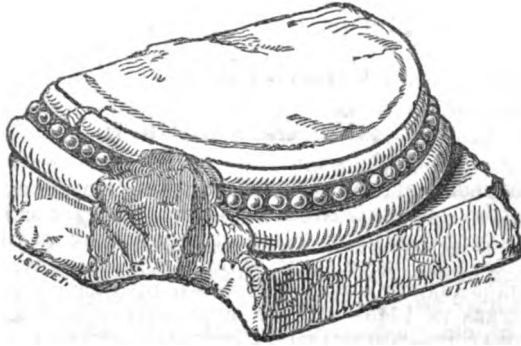
The first notice of a church in Alnwick is in the charter by which Eustace Fitz-John endowed Alnwick Abbey, and among other gifts granted, in 1147, the chapel of Alnwick, with all the tithes of his demesnes and mills of Alnwick to found the Abbey. A chapel was then in existence, and it may have been so from an early Saxon period; but it was subordinate to the parish church of Lesbury*; and being thus merely an appendage, either to Lesbury or to the abbey, it has no separate history till after the Reformation. Before that event the officiating minister was not a parish priest, but either the prior or one of the brethren of the convent.

This church is dedicated to St. Michael, and stands on the south bank of the Aln, one furlong distant from the castle, and just beyond the ancient walls of the town. Of the church co-eval with Eustace Fitz-John there are no recognisable remains in the present building, excepting a few stones sculptured with the diaper pattern, built into the wall above the chancel arch; but basements of round pillars with plain

* Vol. I., p 38.

mouldings and a beaded ornament, which were in 1863 discovered buried up within the church, are also referable to the late Norman style of architecture which prevailed in the first half of the twelfth century.

FIG. 2.



BASE OF A NORMAN PILLAR.

Old foundations, too, were then exposed, which proved that this Norman chapel consisted of a long narrow nave and a small apse, terminating thirty feet beyond the present chancel archway.

Prior to the middle of the fourteenth century the church had suffered severely, probably from Scottish ravages; for about that time the existing nave was built, the earliest portion being the plain massive octagonal piers and pointed arches of the south arcade, and a decorated window of poor design in the west gable which has recently been destroyed. Soon afterwards a north aisle was added, the foundations of which were exposed during recent restorations, shewing that it was of less width than the present aisle; and to this period also belongs the small cusped window at its west end. Somewhat later still, about 1380, this aisle was enlarged to its present width and the north wall was built, in which are four short windows of three lights and trefoil heads, with simple tracery and a segmental arch above, all referable to the time when the decorated was passing into the perpendicular style. Clerestory windows of the same period, which have been destroyed during modern restorations, were on the north side of the nave.

The greater part of the church, however, belongs to even a later period; for the chancel, the south wall, the north arcade of the nave, and the tower are in the perpendicular style,

which prevailed in England from about 1380 to the middle of the sixteenth century. There were six massive piers in this arcade, all hexagonal with bolder capitals and richer mouldings than those of the earlier period. The faces of two or three piers were pannelled by two sets of deep longitudinal mouldings. The piers of the tower are semi-octagonal, but plain; and all the mouldings of the nave arches are simple and flat. Heraldry and some documents enable us to determine a little more definitely the age of these works. Crescents and lockets are sculptured on one of the chancel pillars, on the dripstones of a west window and of the porch arch, and on exterior pinnacles. Though these Percy badges were adopted by the first earl of Northumberland, yet they did not come into general use till the time of the fourth earl; and therefore the works with which they are connected can scarcely be referred to an earlier period than the middle of the fifteenth century. It has been fashionable to attribute whatever has been done to the church to one or other of the lords of Alnwick. Hartshorne says "much was evidently done by the second earl to the chancel of the church," and that "the armorial bearings render it simply necessary to state the fact." But this position is more than questionable; for if these bearings prove that a Percy did the work, then it would also follow that Vesey and Bek had come forth from their graves to contribute their aid, as their armorial bearings, too, are sculptured on the restorations of this period. The fact simply is, that the builders, whoever they were, placed these bearings on the church because they were the badges of the successive lords of Alnwick. The only record of a gift to the church from an early Percy, which I have seen, is in the will of the third Henry in 1351, of two pounds to the parish church of Alnwick. Others did the work of repair and restoration. William de Alnewyk, Bishop of Norwich, doubtless a native of Alnwick, left by will in 1449, ten pounds towards the fabric of the church; and also a missal, an antiphonar, vestments, and a chalice for the priests officiating there.* The remarkable charter of Henry VI. in 1464,† not only tells of the state of the church, but also by what means it could be restored, and on whom this important duty devolved; for he granted to the burgesses of Alnwick a port at Alnmouth, with tolls on exports from it, and a fair and market at Alnwick, that, besides doing other works, they might "make and repair their church." This strong phraseology evidences that the church

* Vol. I., p. 275.

† Vol. I., p. 238.

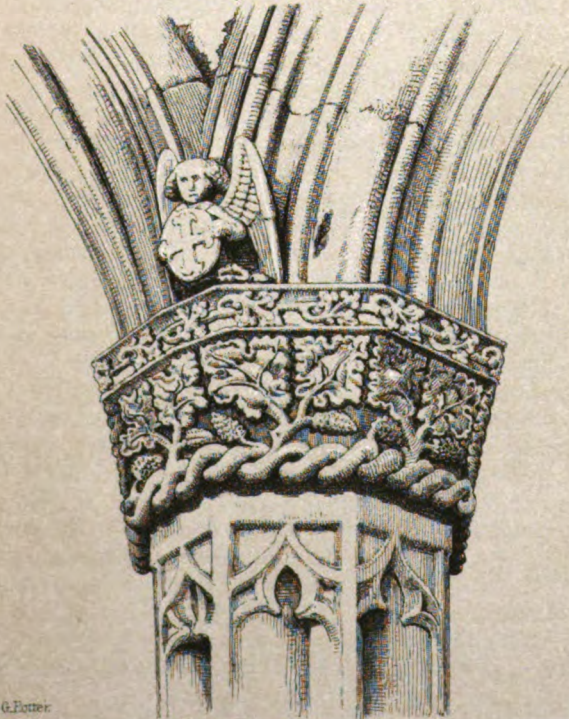
was so ruined, as to require extensive reparations; and, therefore, it may be inferred that subsequently to 1464 the greater portion was rebuilt. And so well did the burgesses, aided by the royal grant, perform this duty, that they made their church one of the finest examples of the perpendicular style of architecture in the north. Since that time it has not been increased in size, or altered much in its general arrangements and character. It was an oblong interior of nearly the same breadth throughout, and unbroken save by pillars and arches which divided it into a nave and chancel both with two aisles; the length on the north side was 138 feet 6 inches, and on the south side 136 feet 4 inches; the breadth at the east end was 62 feet 4 inches, and at the west end 57 feet 3 inches. The chancel was 57 feet long.

We may look a little closer at the chancel arcades. The shafts of the piers are octagonal, each face being in appearance pannelled by two filleted bowtel mouldings, with cusps at the head of the shaft. Four of the capitals which are also octagonal are elaborately sculptured; and while the design of the whole is similar in character, yet the details are somewhat different in each. On that of the south-west pier twisted twigs encircle the bell, and from them spring vine leaves and bunches of grapes; above the abacus is an angel holding a shield, on which is the *cross moline* of Bishop Bek. Similar leaves and fruit ornament the next capital on the east; but at the base or neck there is a rope pattern, and on the abacus are branches and foliage. The ornamentation of the northern arcade is similar; but the abacus of the eastern capital, instead of foliage displays a *crescent between lockets* on each of the eight faces; above is an angel holding a shield, on which is a St. Catherine wheel. Very beautiful are all these capitals both in design and execution; yet they are marked by the stiffness and flatness of the perpendicular style of architecture. The mouldings of the pointed arches, though with more small beading than is usual, have also the flatness which marks the period; yet are they effective, and harmonise well with the other works. (*Plate V.*)

A glance we may now take of the exterior. As in most Northumbrian churches, a tower is attached to the west end of the south aisle, of three stories, massive, somewhat squat, embattled and wearing a belligerent aspect. From each corner rises a crocketed pinnacle. The foundations of this ponderous building penetrate from thirty to forty feet below the surface. The chief entrance is by a porch at the west end of



CHANCEL OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.



From Photographs by G. Ettore.

Arch. Camb. 1877. After Ettore.

Enlarged sketch of Capital.

the nave; and besides the crescent and lockets on the dripstone, there has been some heraldic device on a panel above the door which is now illegible. A small door admits into the chancel. Six lofty well-proportioned windows of fine designs are in the south wall. They are similar to each other, with three lights divided into compartments by transoms and tracery. Three windows of larger size are in the east wall; the centre one is modern, but the other two are restorations recently made of the ancient windows; the northern one has four and the southern one five lights, divided by transoms and tracery; the latter, called the Mary window, is remarkably beautiful in design. In the north wall of the chancel are three other perpendicular windows, but less elaborately ornamented; but the nave windows in the same wall are of late decorated age; a small door, now blocked up, anciently admitted into the chancel, and another larger door, probably with a porch was at the west end; but the present doorway and porch and the vestry on this side of the church are modern. Several of the windows had been more or less filled with stained glass heraldry, figures, and inscriptions. The buttresses which are thin are terminated by crocketed pinnacles; and an embattled parapet, with the same kind of mouldings as those on the parapet of the curtain wall of Alnwick Castle northward of the barbican, extends from the tower to near the end of the chancel. The remains of a curious turret, skilfully constructed and unique in character, still rise above the chancel wall on the south-east corner; in this was a chamber to which there was access from the chancel by winding stone stairs, and other stone steps led to the summit; but this peculiar feature in the church has, during recent reparations, been mutilated, and a window divided by mullions, and the east wall of the chamber, and a battlemented southern wall have been completely destroyed. Its use and object are doubtful; it may have been a watch tower with a beacon on the top to warn the brethren of the abbey of approaching danger, of which notice might have been given either by the castle on the one side, or by Heffordlaw pele on the other; or, as Mr. George Skelly has suggested, it probably had been used as an occasional residence by one of the chantry priests who performed services at the altar of Saint Mary. Somewhat of stiffness there may be in the ornamentation of this church; it may want the elaborate finish of southern buildings of the same age; and the critical eye could detect the roughness of north country workmanship even in the finest

window; yet, viewed as a whole, few churches are more pleasing; genius is shewn in the design, its proportions are grand, its ornamentation is beautiful and well harmonised, while the eastern turret stamps it with a character of its own. (*Plate I.*)

In the course of time the stained glass has been broken, or perhaps some of it may have been destroyed, along with other ornaments of the church, in 1547, when visitors were appointed by parliament to remove all monuments of idolatry from walls and windows of churches; yet since that period other memorials have been mutilated and removed. At the Heraldic Visitation of 1615, there were a dozen coats of arms in the church; viz:—of Alder; Rodham; ye Birdes; Percy and Lucy; Vescy plain cross; Percy and Lucy impaling Nevil; Poynings quartering Fitzpayne; Percy ancient; Vescy or Latimer; G. a cross patonce O; V. a bend between three escutcheons A., each escutcheon having an engrailed bordure O.; Anderson of Alnwick; G. a bend A. Most of these coats have been destroyed; but there still remain the *Vescy Crosses* the *plain* and *patonce* on the dripstone of the west window of the tower; the *Cross Moline* of Bishop Bek on shields above the pillars of the south arcade of the chancel; and the Percy *locket and crescent* are, as we have already noticed, in several parts of the church. In the stained glass of one of the south windows, there are portions of a coat which appears to be *sable chevron between three birds argent*. A few other mutilated designs in coloured glass still remain; but they give little information; there are figures of heads, of flowers, of a nondescript bird playing on a harp, the letters IHS. and IHC. and a few imperfect inscriptions in black letter characters, the longest being, *Tho— ejus ac Janete et Esebella*; but who they were no one now can tell.

A few monuments within the church belong to the pre-reformation period. At the east end of the chancel are three figures now placed in a recumbent position on a modern base. The oldest and most interesting is that of a female, five feet three inches in height, beneath a trefoil canopy of the decorated style; an angel, now mutilated, had been on each side of the head smoothing her pillow, and at her feet is a dog; a coronet is around the head and a wimple under the chin. The wimple helps to determine the age of this monument, and to form a supposition as to whom it memorialised; for the wimple was in use from the reign of Henry II. to that of Edward III. A lady of distinction she doubtless was; and



Fig. 1.

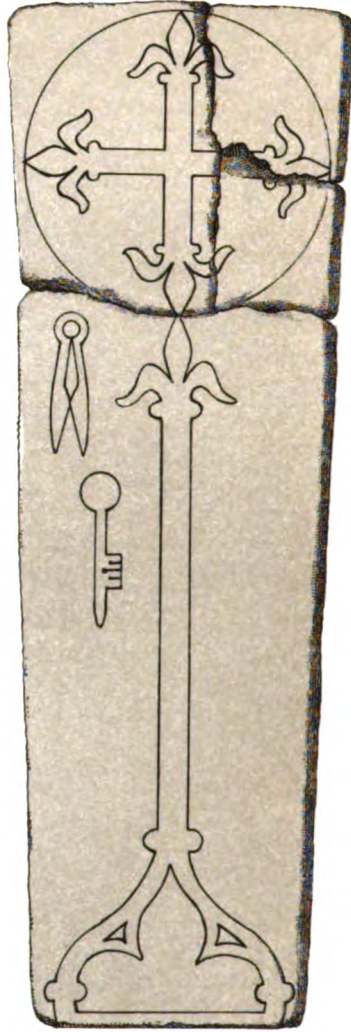


Fig. 2.

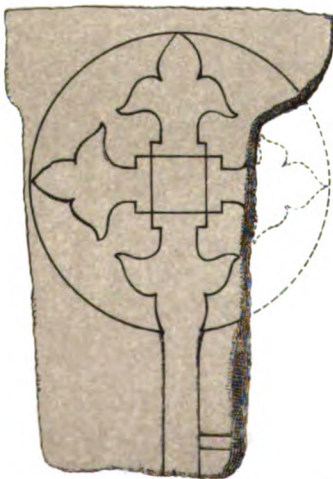


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

SCALE ONE FOOT

it is not improbable that this may have marked the tomb of Lady Isabella, who was living in 1314, the widow of William the last Vescy baron of Alnwick, and whose place of sepulture has hitherto been unknown. (*Plate VII., fig. 1.*) Another tomb has on it the figure of a layman, four feet eight inches in height, with a fine oval face, under a trefoiled canopy crocketed; attached to his belt is a purse, indicating, it may be, one of the auditors of the barony; the age is about 1350. Another figure of a monk, of somewhat later date, is five feet four inches in height, and has a broad coarse face, with the head resting on a kind of pillow called Caraeux, and the hands joined in the attitude of prayer; an animal at the feet, much broken, may have been a dog or a lion.

Two statues which were found in 1818 buried within the church, are now placed below the tower. One appears to be that of Henry VI., who, notwithstanding his weak intellect, was revered in the north; it is five feet in height, but the head is a modern renovation. He is clothed in a gown and cloak open in front but crossed over the breast, and these had been painted scarlet and crimson; in his right hand is a sceptre which is broken, in his left an orb, and from a girdle around the waist hangs a rosary. This figure stands on a square pedestal, on which are sculptured in relief two grotesque animals facing each other, the lion and antelope, badges of the house of Lancaster. The other figure is naked and probably represents the martyred St. Sebastian, as the neck and body are pierced with arrows, and the feet bound with cords.

Other early sepulchral monuments have been found buried below the floor of the nave, or beneath rubbish on the north side of the church, or used as sills to north windows. Symbols were employed at early periods to indicate sex and occupation; the sword marked the burial-place of a warrior, and the shears and key that of a female. The incised cross slab—*Plate VII., fig. 2.*—with a sword on the left of the cross memorialises a warrior of the thirteenth century; and belonging to the same age are the fragments—*Plate VI., fig. 3.*, and *fig. 1.*—with the shears on the right side. The cross, *fig. 2.*, is complete with the key and shears on the right side, and is a fine example of a fourteenth century sepulchral slab, its age being well determined by the O G arch at the foot, and the trefoils at the head, and it doubtless tells of a lady of some distinction. The fragment, *fig. 4.*, is interesting from the bosses forming the cross, such ornament being seen in Saxon work; but the style

of the letters and the trefoil would, I think, point to a much more recent period. Doubtful also is the age of another fragment, which is inscribed VXOR·SIMŌIS, *the wife of Simon*; for while the M is Lombardic the other letters are Roman; I would not refer it to an earlier period than the fifteenth century, and it may be later; for in Scotland Lombardic characters were used on sepulchres in the sixteenth century. Besides these is a fragment with a Maltese cross, and another with a horse shoe.

There are three bells in the tower; all had been ancient, but the largest, called *The Big Bell*, was melted down and recast in 1764; the other two, having ancient inscriptions, are of more interest. From a careful examination of the bells themselves, and of casts and rubbings of the letters, the reading of these inscriptions can now be given with accuracy. The larger of the two, which is two feet three inches in diameter at the mouth and two feet high, has an inscription in Lombardic letters, which vary in height from half-an-inch to one inch and a half, one part of the inscription being on the haunch of the bell and extending about two-thirds of the circuit, the other part being on the waist and filling the entire circumference; and hence it may be inferred that the lower line begins the inscription which is concluded by the upper line; it is as follows:—(*Plate VII., figs. 4. and 7.*)

ADIVTORIO † POPVLO † DEI

MI † CHAEL † ARCHANGELE † VENI † IN †

Michael the Archangel! Come to the help of the people of God. The Archangel invoked was the guardian Saint of Alnwick, to whom the church was dedicated. This is probably the oldest bell, but not, I think, older than the thirteenth century; for earlier inscriptions only gave the name of the saint.

The other bell is two feet in diameter at the mouth and one foot ten inches high; the letters are similar to those on the St. Michael bell, but better formed, more regular, more ornate, and larger, being one inch and three-quarters high. The inscription is in two lines, one around the haunch and the other around the sound bow; it runs thus:—(*Figs. 3 and 6.*)

AVE † MARIA † GRACIA † PLENA

ORATE † PRO † AIA † DE † JOHANNE † VALKA—? †

The first N in Johanne is much worn, but still traceable; but the final letter after A is completely obliterated. Excepting the surname the whole is, therefore, intelligible, and may be rendered, *Hail Mary full of Grace! Pray ye for the soul*



Fig. 3. St. Mary Bell.



Fig. 4. St. Michael Bell.

AVCI MARIAGRACIAPLERAE
ORABE PROFAIKTIOBADDQ FVALKB

Fig. 6. Inscription on St. Mary Bell.

XPINZORIO POPYEODAI
MIAKRAH * ARBEADCEKIVDIXID

Fig. 7. Inscription on St. Michael Bell.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

of *John Valka*—? Lombardic characters were generally used for inscriptions in England till about 1350, after which black letter appears, though in Scotland the use of the former was continued even in the sixteenth century, of which examples are given in Dr. Stuart's magnificent work on the sculptured stones of Scotland. It is difficult to assign a precise date to this bell, which is probably, however, not earlier than the middle of the fourteenth, nor later than the middle of the fifteenth century. To refer memorials of unknown origin to notable families is a favourite fancy; and hence this inscription has been strained to link it with *John de Vallibus*;* but though *de Johanne* is false Latin, and bell-founders erred both in spelling and grammar, yet we cannot think they would blunder in two letters, and besides this omit the *de* which was in mediæval times usually placed before the name of *Vallibus*. We must, therefore, connect this bell with some humbler person; it most probably memorialises a wealthy church-loving burgess of Alnwick who lived there near to five hundred years ago, but who achieved no distinction; he may have been a *Valkar* or *Valkan*; or as it would be written in modern times a *Walker* or *Walkan*—possibly a fuller, of whom neither history nor tradition has left a trace.

In the vestry is an ancient large oak chest, the front side of which is seven feet long and two feet ten inches high, and curiously carved. A hunting scene is represented in an upper compartment, with stag and doe and hounds, and huntsmen winding horns; in others are grotesque animals, chiefly winged dragons. The carving, which is rude, had been executed in the fifteenth century; but it may not be of native production, for chests of similar design and workmanship were imported from Flanders.

Some time in the fourteenth century *Widon* is described vicar of Alnwick. *John Cudberde* was elected pastor of the church in 1400; and in 1437 *William Marschal* was ordained to the same office; both had been canons and rose to be priors of the abbey. At a visitation in Alnwick church by *Archbishop Savage*, of York, in 1502, there appeared *Sir† Thomas Riddell*, *Sir Robert Harrison*, *Sir Thomas Hather*, *Sir*

* The family of *Vaux* or *Vallibus* was important in the north. *John de Vaux* witnessed a *Holn* charter in 1310; *John de Vallibus* was returned a knight of the county in 1306 and 1316. *Raphe Delavale* was a commissioner of the Earl of Northumberland in 1595; *Edward* lived at *Holn Abbey*, 1627; *Thomas, Edward*, and *Arthur Delaval* were owners of property in Alnwick in 1667, 1689, and 1695 respectively.

† The title of *Sir* was frequently given at this period to priests.

John Alnewicke, Sir William Algude, Sir Edward Mackson, Sir Thomas Archer; it is not stated who was chaplain of Alnwick, but Sir Thomas Alnewicke is recorded as vicar of Lesbury. Sir Thomas Wynfield was chaplain of Alnwick church in October, 1531; and on the fourth of that month, he was instituted vicar of Lesbury, where he died in 1556.

By the reformation the old ecclesiastical arrangements of the country were disorganised, and many chapelries were almost entirely stripped of their endowments. Henry Brinkburn, a merchant, tells us "where they had always one or other vicar that either preached or hyred some to preach, now there is no vicar at al but the Fermer is Vicar and Parson altogether, and only an old cast away Monke or Frere which can scarcely say his mattens, is hired for 20 or 30 shillings meate and drinke alone without any wages. I know more than D vicarages and parsonages thus well and gospelly served after the new gospell of England."

Alnwick church being a mere dependency on the abbey was reduced to poverty; for the alienation of the abbey property dried up the sources from which the church drew her nourishment. A niggardly endowment of £12 yearly was given to her from chantry lands, to which, indeed, she was not entitled, for these properly belonged to the grammar school. Probably, however, this scanty income was increased by free will offerings of the burgesses; for we know that early in the seventeenth century the four-and-twenty of the borough appointed the minister, and were not neglectful of the religious interests of the parish, giving not only a salary to the minister, but also occasionally appointing a monthly preacher.

The first incumbent after the reformation was Robert Forster, who had been one of the canons of Alnwick Abbey; and out of the abbey property he was paid a salary or pension of seven pounds, which, however, appears to have ceased with his life; and afterwards, about the year 1547, the £12 endowment was made out of the chantry lands. Thomas Davidson, who died prior to 1577, is next recorded as minister.

According to the inquisition of Bishop Barnes in 1575, "Ailnewicke was served by a stipendiary priest; and so also were Ailemouth Brinkburn and Haliston." The district around was then studded with chapels, many of which have gone into ruin and been abandoned as places of worship; there were chapels at Chevington, Alwinton, West Lilburn, East Lilburn, Bolton, Bewick, Branton, Rennington, Rock, South Charlton, and North Charlton. At the Chancellor's

visitation held January 29th, 1577, in Alnwick chapel, Cuthbert Anderson clerk, curate, and John Stanton parish clerk were present; and John Stanton and Ralph Grey, schoolmasters, appeared in person; but none except John Stanton had a license. Fifteen ministers of the deanery of Alnwick were excommunicated for non-attendance. At the general chapter, held on 31st of July in the following year, by the venerable Mr. Henry Dethicke, the gospel of Matthew was the task set to be performed by the clergymen "to give prooffe of their progresse in learninge and studyng of the scriptures." Cuthbert Anderson the curate of Alnwick performed it duly; but it was so imperfectly done by William Hearon the vicar of Aluham, Roger Cook vicar of Branxton, and Thomas Savage curate of Lowick, that they were admonished to be prepared with it at the Michaelmas synod. Ninety-nine were cited to this chapter, and seventy-three appeared; but only twenty-three performed the task sufficiently, and twenty-two in an imperfect manner; so low was then the literary condition of the clergy—the instructors and guides of the people. Cuthbert Anderson appears again as curate at the visitation of 1585.

James Carre, M.A., was minister on October 28th, 1590, when he witnessed the will of Geo. Robinson; and in his own will in 1593 he calls himself minister of the word of God in the parish church of Alnwick. He was born at Gigleswicke, where one of his family founded a grammar school, and he graduated at Cambridge; by will he directed that his body should be buried within the church of St. Michael the Archangel on the north side of the chancel.* John Willis was curate in 1604, and Gawen Sulkeld, Matthew Alnwick, and Francis Alder were churchwardens; in 1609 he occurs as witness to a deed by which Francis Alder gave a reserved rent of 10s. yearly to the church.

Some early visitations shew the condition of the church: in 1595 "There Bible is rent and torn"; in 1604 they had not the new communion book; in 1606 they wanted the paraphrases of Crastinus; in 1608 they used no perambulations; they wanted the book of —?, a bible, two books of homilies, a covering for the font, a table of the ten commandments, the degrees of matrimony, a seat for the minister

* Northern Wills, II., p. 1593. He had property in Craven which he left to his brother and others; to his dear mother he gave £20 and a gold ring which was given to him by the King of the Scots; to nine others he left gold rings, one to "John Wylls the writer hereof"; "to mine host Henry Watson he gave £10; to every one within mine hosts house 12d.;" besides several other legacies.

and cloths for the communion table; the windows of the church and chapel were all decayed; and there was still no register on parchment.

Unlearned though the clergy were, yet the church through her courts exercised great powers, and endeavoured to repress immorality and enforce attendance on her ceremonial observances. In 1600 John Lawson, John Chibburne, William Rickabie, John Hall, Peter Heslop, Thomas Moffatt, Ralph Ranulston, and others of Alnwick were presented for being slow and negligent in coming to the church. In 1606, George Fenwick and his wife were brought before the ecclesiastical court, held in Alnwick, because they had not received the communion since Easter last; and George Alnwick and his wife were in 1603 tried for the same offence. Anna Adams of Walkergate and her servants and others were presented for binding beans on a Sunday in time of prayers; this seems to have been a troublesome case, for it was three times before the court, the proceedings extending over two years. George Shepherd and his wife and servants, for shearing corn during evening prayer, were to do penance in the church, clothed in linen garments; and Thomas Briggs, a burgess, for covering his stack on Sunday during evening prayer, had to confess his sin in the church or be excommunicated.

Most of the cases, however, were for licentious conduct; and so numerous were they and of so aggravated a character as to give a bad picture of the morality of the period. Fornication, concubinage, adultery, and even incest prevailed. For such offences Robert Walker, in 1599, did penance three Sundays in the church for suspicion of having been guilty; John Dnell and Mary Lumsden had to purge themselves by the testimony of four persons; and Juliana Howe had to do penance on two Sundays in the church and in the Market on the Sabbath.*

From the corporation records we learn that in 1612 Mr.

* From a volume, deposited in the Diocesan Registry at Durham, containing minutes of the practice of the Consistory Court in 1590, I am able to give the "processus ex officio in causa fornicationis. I. Detectio. II. Citatis quorum nomina. III. If he confesse the facts accept the confession and inacte it. IV. Enjoine him to do penance either in the nexte Market Towne or in the Church &c. accordinge to the Schedule that must containe the same. V. To bringe certificate that he hath doone it by a daye. VI. Otherwise suspende him ab ingressa Ecclesie with agravation of censure upon further contempte. If he denie the facts either upon confession of the same or if you vehemently suspecte him injoine him his purgation cum 3^a 4^a 5^a manu suorum compurgatorum." I am indebted for this extract to Mr. Booth of Durham. Canonical purgation was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1662.

Alder was preacher. Robert Stephenson, B.A., after being schoolmaster and monthly preacher was about 1616 appointed minister of the parish, which office he held till he died in 1638.

From the acts of the High Commission Court within the diocese of Durham, we may form some idea not only of the character of this curate but also of the people in the town. He was far from being a good type of a clergyman; but he had learning, and he could preach, which some of his neighbouring ministers could not do. For example Thomas Burtleton, vicar of Longhoughton, was brought before the court charged with sundry misdemeanours; he had been drunk from time to time even during divine service, and he had converted the surplice into shirts and other profane uses; William Burrell, of Seaton House, testified that Burtleton had been vicar for twenty years and yet he was no preacher, for he had never heard him preach, and during the last seven years he had never preached a sermon—"albeit they had many sermons, which the parishioners themselves procured and sometimes paid for the same, as namely to Mr. Stephenson, Curate of Alnwick, whoe often came unto them, when he could be spared from his owne cure."

Though Stephenson could preach, yet he was quarrelsome and low in his habits. He brought, in 1633, Christopher Walmsley of Rennington into this court for irreverent words spoken to him in the open street at Alnwick, before a great concourse of people; and Walmsley was condemned to acknowledge his offence publicly at the Market Cross in Alnwick in his penitential habit. This was a common ecclesiastical punishment at that period; and oftentimes were the breakers of ecclesiastical law seen standing either in the parish church of Alnwick or at the Market Cross, clothed in white linen apparel, with bare heads and feet, holding in their hands a white rod, and making confession of their offences.

The wedding of John Falder clerk, to Jane Forster on May 28th, 1635, was followed by proceedings in this court, which were not ended on July 23rd, 1639; and yet the case was nought but a drunken squabble. After the wedding Robert Stephenson, Thomas Forster, Esq., John Forster, gent., William Carr, gent., and others had adjourned to a tavern kept by Ann Scott; and Thomas Forster and Robert Stephenson were pleasantly drinking wine together and smoking their pipes; but they appear to have drunk too much, for Forster puffed smoke into Stephenson's face, and sharp words

were interchanged. John Forster, brother of Thomas, after dancing, took part in the fray, and with the back of his hand struck Stephenson over the face and made his nose and mouth bleed. John Forster was acquitted, and Stephenson had to pay £3 taxed costs for his unjust vexation; but Thomas Forster was condemned to pay a fine of £50, sentenced to be excommunicated, and ordered to acknowledge the wrong before Mr. Thomas Faulder and Mr. John Faulder, clerks, and Mr. Facy and the churchwardens of Alnwick. The fine was afterwards released as he was a young man; the costs, however, were not paid, and Mary Stephenson after her husband's death sought redress at the court.

The most extraordinary of the proceedings relate to Robert Brandling, a rich man, the owner of Alnwick Abbey, who was as remarkable for his immoralities as for his absolute defiance of ecclesiastical authority. A troublesome man he was to the burgesses as well as to the church. His career of annoyance began as early as 1624; and for ten years or more he was engaged in contests in the church and in the streets, in the Star Chamber in London, and in the High Commission Courts in Durham. In the corporation accounts for 1629 we have "charges given at the beginnige of Mr. Brandlinges suite at Durham with the Towne viijs." Successful they had been there, and Brandling was excommunicated. He had, however, great wealth, and being also lay impropiator of the parish he possessed formidable power. He dragged the burgesses before that dreadful and arbitrary court the Star Chamber, and so terrified the townspeople that they sought redress from royal authority. In November, 1630, the burgesses and townspeople of Alnwick presented a petition to the Privy Council, and stated that Robert Brandling, a gentleman of great estate, but exceedingly turbulent and contentious, though bound to good behaviour in the Crown Office and excommunicated at Durham, notwithstanding had made it his daily practice to abuse the church and churchmen, and violently assault divers persons with armed troops; they, therefore, pray for protection against one who has several times laboured to take the life of his own children, and who at the present has exhibited a bill in the Star Chamber against sixteen burgesses of Alnwick, intending to deprive them of their means and livelihood; and that he might put in practice his wicked intentions he has procured himself to be sheriff this year, which will be to the utter undoing of his majesty's subjects.

He was in consequence commanded to appear at the council board to answer some informations for taking the office of high sheriff upon him to undo and oppress the county; but the justices of the peace came to his rescue, and certified to the board that he had executed the office formerly with good approbation and without public complaint; and they say his absence from the county would be prejudicial to the public service.*

The burgesses were seemingly glad to escape from his clutches, for in 1631 they "Bestowed of Mr. Robt. Brandling in wyne and sugar xx*d*," possibly to mollify his temper; and then we have "Item given Mr. Robt. Brandling for our composition with him in the Star chamber £5."

From depositions before the Archdeacon of Northumberland, preserved among the records of the Consistory Court of Durham, it appears, that Robert Brandling claimed the pews on the north side of the chancel of Alnwick Church; but George Young, who had been for seventeen years serjeant to the bailiff of Alnwick, testified that Edward Delavall, Robert Muschampe, and John Facy, who had been successively deputy constables of Alnwick Castle, had sat in these pews where the earls of Northumberland and their officers had usually sitten. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Robert Brandling sat in the uppermost seat on the north side of the chancel, which was commonly called the Earl of Northumberland's seat, and said he "would sit there doe any man what he could." Determining to maintain his lord's rights, John Facy, on the 4th September, sat in the earl's seat; but Richard, the son of Robert Brandling, finding him there endeavoured to put him out; but this being resisted, Richard "did sit before him in the same seate upon his booke," and swore divers times, "that the Court of Durham should not trye it;" and not content with this outrage Richard Brandling after the service, as soon as he was over the church stile, took his horn and did blow and sound the same all along the street of Alnwick.†

Robert Brandling was dragged before the High Commission Court, on Aug. 9th, 1633, charged with committing adultery since March 27th, 1625; for offences prior to that time he could not be called to answer, as he then received letters patent from the king pardoning all his offences; "he was likewise charged with shutting and locking upp of the

* Cal. of State Papers, 1629 to 1631, pp. 394 482.

† Surtees Durham p. 93.

chancel doores at Alnwick, to prevent the ecclesiastical officers to keep their courts there, which they ought to doe both by law and custome, and his disgraceful and contemptible speeches unto them, and some other times his leaving open the chancel doors." To these charges Brandling on September 5th gave a written answer, but, as he would not sign it, he was fined £20. He was taken into custody and sent to gaol, from which he escaped; and he afterwards treated the court with contempt. For this insufferable affront he was first fined £500 and again summoned to appear, both by intimation at his dwelling house and in Alnwick Church; and another £500 fine was imposed for contumacy. He was then excommunicated "for his manifest contempt of law;" and another fine of £500 followed; again was he summoned to appear, on March 4th, 1635; and not appearing on April 1st, he was pronounced contumacious, and another penalty of £500 was imposed. After this, in the absence of the offender, the trial went on and evidence was heard, and strange evidence it was.

The witnesses against him were William Hunter of Alnwick, gent., aged 38, Thomas Robson of Felton, yeoman, aged 32, Ralph Gibson of Shilbottle, yeoman, aged 54, Michael Hunter of Alnwick, yeoman, aged 35, Francis Greene of Alnwick, glover, aged 28, Rob. Adstonn of Alnwick, yeoman, aged 66, John Harwood of Alnwick, gentleman, aged 44, George Alder of Alnwick, gentleman, aged 60, John Falder of Alnwick, clerk, aged 28, Nicholas Horne of Shilbottle, yeoman, aged 52, William Watson of Alnwick, yeoman, aged 48, Robert Embleton of Shilbottle, yeoman, aged 30, John Clerk of Alnwick, yeoman, aged 24, Cuthbert Smith of Alnwick, gentleman, aged 54, John Ogle of Alnwick Abbey, gentleman, aged 26, Thomas Viccars of Shilbottle, clerk, aged 60, Patrick Makilwyann of Lesbury, aged 66, George Clifton of Alnwick, gentleman, aged 60, John Spence of Alnwick, yeoman, aged 52, Robert Stevenson of Alnwick, clerk, aged 44, &c.

We give a condensed summary of this evidence, which fills thirteen closely printed pages, whence it appears that Robert Brandling was an immoral man; for although married he was the father of several illegitimate children. He seems to have been a bad churchman; and as lay impropiator of the parish, he exercised his power in annoying the minister and other church authorities.

When the church officials came to hold courts Brandling "fast locked up the doores leading to the chancel;" and when Mr. Robson the official for Northumberland ordered the churchwardens to break them open, Brandling "bid them if they durst meddle therewith;" and therefore the court was held in the body of the church, Brandling railing against the officers, telling them they were oppressors of the people—"but, quoth he, if ever I be a parliament man this shall be amended." The doores were kept locked up for some time, so that when there was a communion

service the minister and communicants were obliged to creep through a hole in the doors or climb over them to reach the communion table. A survy trick he played on Mr. Archdeacon and his officers, who had obtained access to the chancel and were holding a court, when he locked them up and kept them in durance vile for three or four hours, "and divers of the people were forced to creep thurrou at oppenn places where they could, and they whoe were without did crye and speake unto the officers at their several calls."

Brandling had a strong hostility against Stephenson the curate, whose social habits, doubtless, laid him open to blame. "Upon divers sondaies and holydaies, he said, he would sue the minister for the marriages, christenings and burynges in that parish, and alsoe for the churchyard, and if he recovered them of him and could get nothing for his charges, he would lay him in goal and have his bones." Early on a Sunday morning he came into church, before prayers, along with one Farley, a Scotsman, and informed Stephenson that he wished Farley to preach; but this being refused, he called Stephenson "base rascal, idle drunken rogue," who "replying in evil terms," he there in the church did in a very violent manner "jump him in the breast with a little staff, and struck him over the shoulder." On another Sunday Brandling came to the church before prayer and seated himself with some others on one side of the chancel, and on the other side, where the earl of Northumberland's officers usually sat, he placed his inferior servants and millers, and caused them in time of divine service to sit with their blue caps on their heads. Some time about 1625, after Stephenson had finished his sermon in Alnwick church, and was proceeding to administer the holy communion, he was interrupted by Brandling who called him "rogue, rascal, villain, traitor," to the great disquiet of the communicants. The streets, too, were the scene of the violent outbreaks of these quarrelsome men; on a working day Brandling met Stephenson "in the towne gaite" in Narrowgate, near Spence's door, and many ill words passed between them; and Brandling called him drunken rogue, base rascal, and spat upon him, and endeavoured to thrust out his eyes with a horse rod, and drove him back against the window in the street. Another Alnwick clergyman, who was afterwards vicar of Shilbottle, John Falder of Alnwick, and son of Thomas Falder, clerk, came under the lash of Brandling's foul tongue, who called him a drunken rogue, rascal, hedgrogue, and the son of a hedgrogue, and endeavoured to pull off his hat in the street, and said he would draw both him and his father at horse tails, and banish them the country. Lesbury and Shilbottle parishes witnessed similar scenes. Brandling, it is said, "hath much laboured the subversion of divers ministers' dwellings near him, for he hath by vexatious courses and causeless suits brought many pleas and

troubles against Thomas Viccars of Shilbottle, Mr. Makclwyan, Mr. Stephenson, and Mr. John Falder to make them compound with him and betray into his hands the rights of the church."

Brandling continued contumacious and would not appear before the High Commission Court, and on May 14th the following sentence was passed upon him:—

"He shall be imprisoned duringe his Majesties pleasure. For his adulteries and contempt of jurisdiction, and of ecclesiastical persons and officers, he shall make public submission in penitentiall manner in Alnewick church and Saint Nycholas in Newcastle upon Tyne on severall Sondaies, accordinge to a schedule. For his lockinge of the chancell doores when as the Court was to be held, and for causeinge the same to be left openn and then lockinge in the officers, he shall make openn acknowledgment of the same at the next episcoppall and archidiaconall visitacions, within the said church or chancell of Alnewick, accordinge to a schedule. For his laieinge violent handes upon the clergie, he shall be excommunicate ipso facto, in his parish church according to the statute. He shall paie his Majestie, for a fine, £3000. Lastlie, he was condemned in costes to be taxed by one or more of the commissioners."*

Some little time after the death of Robert Stephenson, in 1639, we find Henry Lever monthly preacher as well as schoolmaster, and he continued in this capacity till 1644.† An unintelligible minute appears at this time in the corporation accounts—"1641 paid to Thomas Davison for presenting for the Town to the Company of Grossers for maintenance for a Lecturer to the church £3."

The character of the men of the Commonwealth is still viewed by some through the haze of party spirit; yet many of them were great men, and earnest in forwarding the cause of morality and religion. The ordinances which were made in 1645 for the maintenance of some preaching ministers, so far as they relate to Northumberland, evince wisdom and liberality.

Die Mercurii, 23rd April, 1645.

"Whereas, there is a great want of a preaching able ministrey in the Northerne parts of this Kingdome, which want hath been in great part occasioned because in many places there be very small and inconsiderable Livings, especially in Cities and Townes of greatest importance, the Lords and Commons doe therefore order That six godly, able, and learned Divines, to be approved of by the Reverend Assembly of Divines, shall be sent into the County of Northumberland, Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Town of Barwicke upon Tweed; one of which Divines shall reside and preach in the Towne of Alnwick in the County of Northumberland, another of them in the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, and another of them shall reside and preach in the Town of Barwick upon Tweed, another of them

* Acts of High Commission Court, p. 68.

† See pp. 84, 85.

shall reside and preach in the Town of Ovingshum, in the County of Northumberland, another shall reside and preach in the Town of Belford, another of them shall reside and preach in the Town of Carram; each of which Preachers shall have the yearly maintenance of one hundred and fifty pounds, to be yeerely paid unto him out of the possessions of the Deane and Chapter of Durham, the same to be paid at two daies or times of the yeere; that is to say, at or upon the 29 day of September, and the 25 day of March, by even and equall portions, the first payment thereof to begin from the 29 of September 1644."

After this we find John Smith minister. The Oliverian survey made in 1650 states—"Alnewicke. That the parish of Alnewick is a viccaridge, and the late King Patron; Mr. John Smith a preaching minister serveth the Place, and that there was paid by the same late king to the minister twelve pounds per annum."* Mr. Smith had not remained long; for in the corporation accounts of 1655 there is entered—paid to Mr. Brown late minister £1 3s. 4d. Rude treatment he may have received in these troubled times, for troops were then quartered in the town; there was paid 15s. to "Mr. Brandling and Mr. Coleman for goeing with a letter to Mr. Collonell Brandlinge in the ministers behalf." Mr. Swinhoe rode with the bailiff to Morpeth about Mr. Brown; and the minister himself received "on goeing to Newcastle 20s. and 20s. more."

Gilbert Rule, the most notable of all the Alnwick ministers succeeded; and, as he was incumbent at an eventful period and as his career was one of vicissitude and interest, I shall give an abstract of the life of this remarkable man.†

GILBERT RULE was born in Elgin, in October, 1628, about the period when the great struggle for constitutional liberty assumed a crisis, by the Commons House of Parliament passing the petition of right. Little is known of Mr. Rule's early life; he was educated at Aberdeen, and he must have been a diligent and successful student, for we find him at an early age a regent in Glasgow University—an office similar to that of tutor in the English Universities. The reputation with which he taught at Glasgow soon led to the higher appointment, in 1651, of sub-principal of the King's College, Aberdeen.

About 1655 he was appointed minister of the parish church of Alnwick; and he laboured in that parish with success, and apparently in peace, till 1660. According to Calamy he was very useful there, and much beloved by the generality of the people.

* Arch. Æliana, III., p. 7.

† A more extended life written by myself was printed in 1860.

After the death of the Protector Oliver Cromwell a mighty change came over England. Kingly authority was re-established, Episcopacy assumed the ascendant, and Mr. Rule soon felt the change. Major Orde, who was one of the churchwardens, and who had previously been very friendly to him, began to harass him. We have two accounts of this interference; one in the books of the Alnwick corporation, and the other derived from a letter written by Mr. Rule himself. As the record in the corporation books presents a curious and interesting picture of a memorable period, we give it entire.

“September the twelveth Anno 12 Caroli 1660.

Whereas mr Gilbert Rowle a Scotsman, who purtends himself a Minister and the preacher of this parish, did in the pulpitt of this parish Church to the face and Audience of the whole congregation on the second of this instant, being the Lords day in the fornoone, declare publicly against the Book of Common Prayer haveing it then in his hand, affirmeing and asserting that it was not owned by God, nor warranted by his word, that it was ymposed and obruded upon the people, and was absolutely unlawfull, the English Masse taken word by word out of the Popish Masse, with many other aseverations tending much to sedition and breach of the publique peace and the endangering of the subjects within this parish, as to their due allegiance and faith to our Gracious Souvraign, by having their affections poisoned by such factious and seditious principles. And whereas some of parishioners in the afternoon of the same day thought it not fitt, that the said Mr. Rowle should any more exercise that pulpitt untill he had given satisfaction to Justice for what he had so publicly donne, And thereupon did that afternoon prevent his use of that pulpitt by shutting the Church doors and taking away the key, for which they are by a party in the same parish certifyed against in order to a punishment if it shall be found deserving it, wee the fower and twentieth of this Burrough doe hereby think fitt and soe order, that John Scott with one more be sent to attend this next assize, as well for prosecuting of the said mr. Rowle as what else shall be then found necessary touching the whole business. Matt. Hunter Bailiff, John Scott Clem. Forster Cuth. Chessman Thomas Mitcalfe Thomas Forster Alex. Scott John Swinhoe Lancelot Scott Henry Facy John Vardy John Hamelton Thos. Hunter John Fargie Francis Herrott Roger Moffitt Robert Pearett John Harrison Matthew Strother John Taylor Tho. Cowerth Willm. Lainge Robert Strother George Watson Laucelot Strother Thomas Gare.”

This order is in the handwriting of the bailiff who was also an attorney and steward of the manors of Algernon Percy, and who, on his tombstone in Alnwick Church, is described as most faithful to the Mother English Church. Evidently “the fower and twentieth of this Burrough” had rapidly imbibed the views and were ready to act on the intolerant policy of the restored government, and even to persecute the man whom, doubtless, they had previously supported and respected. This, however, is no strange feature of the Corporation.

Mr. Rule’s account furnishes additional particulars of this parish conflict. Major Orde, the zealous churchwarden, when the congregation was assembled and Mr. Rule in the pulpit and going to begin the worship, came and presented to him the service book, and desired him to read it. Mr. Rule, after some debate took it and laid it aside, telling Major Orde that he would

either read it or give reasons to the contrary; he then prayed, and instead of expounding a portion of scripture discoursed for about half-an-hour against the service book; and, after another prayer, preached as usual. When he returned in the afternoon he found the doors shut and the congregation gathered without. Under these exciting circumstances, taking for his pulpit one of the tombstones, he preached in the churchyard to a very numerous audience. A few weeks afterwards Major Orde indicted Mr. Rule at the Newcastle assizes for "depraving the Common Prayer," and gave in articles against him from what he had said in the pulpit, which had been written down from his own mouth by one of the Major's associates. A special warrant was obtained from the Judge to apprehend Mr. Rule, who, when he had notice of it, went and spoke to the Judge in his chambers, gave bond for his appearance at the next assizes, and obtained a *supersedeas* to the warrant. Such proceedings produced, as is usual in religious contests, much excitement in the parish, and gave rise to memorials, canvassing, threatenings, railings, and party feeling. Mr. Rule was beloved by the people, and a memorial was signed by several hundreds of the parishioners certifying his peaceable carriage amongst them; but the hot zeal of Major Orde led him to go from house to house threatening the people who signed this memorial, and he even went so far as to rail at Mr. Rule in the public streets.

Before, however, the next assizes Mr. Rule's chief persecutor had gone to his own last assize; for as Major Orde was returning home he fell from his horse near Ovingham and was taken up dead. Mr. Rule appeared at the assizes and was acquitted; but he links this melancholy death with the issue, as if providence had interfered to save him. The jury agreed that Major Orde was dead before he fell; and it is said "this awful providence struck such terror into Mr. Rule's persecutors that they meddled no more in the business." There is more of presumption than piety in such reflections; yet they were not uncommon at this period.

Mr. Rule continued his labours as minister of the parish of Alnwick till the dark St. Bartholomew's day 1662, when, holding fast to his principles, he was one of the two thousand ministers who were ejected from their livings, because they would not scandalize themselves and their religion by subscribing to a creed which they did not believe.

Prevented by persecuting laws from preaching the gospel, Mr. Rule bravely betook himself to another profession that he might earn an honest living. After his ejection he first went to Scotland, but soon afterwards proceeded to France and Holland, where he studied medicine, and took the degree of Doctor at Leyden University. On his return to England he settled at Berwick, and practised there for some time as physician and apothecary with much success, and gained the esteem of the people.

Notwithstanding the force of the penal laws, truth cannot be driven out of the world, and no means short of utter extermination can altogether silence her adherents. There were Nonconformists at Berwick, but they, like the persecuted christians of early ages, assembled under the friendly shade of night, and Dr. Rule met with them and frequently preached to them.

When here he narrowly escaped serious punishment. He visited as a physician the Laird of Houndwood, who lived in Scotland beyond the liberties of Berwick, and his duties required him to stay there all night. The Laird and his family assembled in the evening for family worship, and Dr. Rule expounded to them a chapter of the Bible and prayed with them. Though no others were present, this in these horrible times was a criminal act, and information having been given, the Laird was fined 100 marks, and Dr. Rule too would have suffered if he could have been seized; but being aware of the danger he avoided passing into Scotland. But to what treachery and violence will not mean bigots resort, to entrap those who dare to differ from them, pretending the while that they are doing God service? Acting in this spirit, the Earl of Home, who had often sadly worried Nonconformists with his troop of horse, attempted by a base stratagem to seize Dr. Rule. He caused a letter to be drawn up, purporting to come from Mr. Carr of Ninewells, in Berwickshire, begging the Doctor's immediate attendance with such medicines as were fit to relieve him from an extreme attack of cholick. The letter was despatched by one of Lord Home's servants disguised as a countryman. Medicines were prepared by the Doctor, his horse was brought to the door, and he was about to start on his journey, but the messenger had more feeling than his Lord, and perceiving how the Doctor was rushing into danger, he was touched with remorse and informed him of the abominable plot; for Lord Home lay in ambush with his troop of horse ready to catch him as soon as he had crossed the Border; and thus for a time Dr. Rule was saved from his relentless persecutors.

Under such discouraging circumstances Dr. Rule manfully breasted trials and difficulties, and maintained himself for several years by his labours as a physician in Berwick, waiting for the better times when he could return to his vocation as minister of the gospel. Charles II. relaxed by his own authority the penal laws against Dissenters, and by proclamation declared he would grant indulgence to Nonconformists and Recusants to preach and worship under certain conditions; but to the disgrace of many Presbyterians, these concessions were looked on with disfavour, because Roman Catholics would be partly benefitted by the indulgence. Dr. Rule, however, belonged to the more moderate party, and took advantage of the proclamation; and in 1676, became indulged minister of Prestonhaugh,—now Prestonkirk—in Scotland. While here he violated, it seems, one of the conditions of the indulgence. Looking back through the vista of

nearly two centuries into these evil times, we can scarcely believe that a good man was tried, convicted, and imprisoned, because he had preached and baptized beyond an assigned district. Yet such is the fact! The proceedings against Dr. Rule are preserved in the register of the acts of the Scottish council, and have been given by Wodrow. Dr. Rule was libelled before this council for keeping conventicles and baptizing children without the parish of Prestonhaugh; he did, it is stated, upon 1st April, 1680, take upon himself to hold and keep a conventicle within the Old Kirk of Edinburgh, called St. Giles, where he did preach, expound scripture, and baptize a child of John Kennedy, apothecary, and another of James Livingstone, merchant, in Edinburgh. The council found the charge proved by the admission of the defender; and notwithstanding the services were performed with the consent of Mr. Turner, Episcopal minister of the Kirk, John Kennedy was fined 100 and James Livingstone 200 pounds Scots. A heavier penalty fell on Dr. Rule; he was suspended from the benefit of the indulgence, and imprisoned first in Edinburgh and afterwards, during his Majesty's pleasure, in the Bass, a great rock about three miles from the East Lothian coast, not above one-sixth of a mile in diameter, but rising upwards of three hundred feet above the sea. A fortress there was used by the Stuarts as a state prison, and here, amid the plaintive cries of solan geese and numberless sea fowls which tenant the rock, Dr. Rule was incarcerated for three months. His health began to suffer not only from the loneliness of the place but from the humid sea air which was unsuited to his constitution. A petition was therefore presented to the council, reciting facts, and stating his valetudinary condition, and praying that his case might be taken into consideration. He was in consequence released from this inhospitable prison; but his liberty was gained on the condition of his giving a bond under the penalty of 5000 marks to depart out of the kingdom in eight days.

Banished from his native country, Dr. Rule returned once more to Berwick and practised again as a physician. He soon, however, became minister of a congregation in Dublin, where he preached for some time with acceptance.

The changes introduced by the Revolution—which restored to Scotland the Presbyterianism which she loved and venerated, which was an element of her national life, and which was interwoven with her traditions, and associated with her great men and heroes—were favourable to Dr. Rule, and opened the way to his return to his native land. He was called by the people on the 8th of December, 1688, to Edinburgh, and became in 1689 a minister of the Grey Friars Church. Additional honours and power were soon conferred upon him, for on September 26th, 1690, he was appointed principal of Edinburgh University; an office of influence and distinction which is now held by Sir David Brewster, one of the foremost of Natural Philosophers. Dr. Rule

performed the duties of principal with great reputation, and he also took a leading part in the church courts, where all measures affecting the interests of the Presbyterian body were discussed and decided. He appears indeed to have been, during the latter part of the 17th century, one of the most notable of the Scottish ministers. He was sent to London as one of the commissioners from Scotland, and, according to Calamy, he was there much noticed and respected by King William III.

Spending a troubled life, engaged frequently in the exciting struggles of unsettled times, compelled repeatedly to change his abode, persecuted and imprisoned, Dr. Rule could not have the leisure and composure requisite for the production of literary or theological works which would float his reputation down to posterity. That, however, he possessed good abilities, that he was respectably learned, and that his character was excellent may fairly be inferred from the high and honourable position he attained in the latter part of his life. Calamy says he was a man of great candour and moderation, and generally esteemed and beloved. Wodrow speaks of him as the learned and worthy principal of the College of Edinburgh, whose memory is savoury in the church. But perhaps a higher tribute is paid to his ability and power by the frequent and bitter attacks made upon him by Episcopalians, who, viewing him as a leader and authority in his own party, undervalued his talents and strenuously endeavoured to lessen the influence of his writings and character.

Most of his writings were on the controversies of the day; they have ceased to interest and are now only found in the libraries of the curious. His principal works were "Animadversions on Stillingfleet's Irenicum," "A rational defence of Nonconformity, in reply to Stillingfleet's unreasonableness of separation," and "The good old way defended against A.M. (unro) D.D. in his inquiry into the new opinion of the Scots Presbyterians." So highly were his abilities and judgment estimated, that some of these were undertaken at the request of the General Assembly of his church. His answer to Stillingfleet is written with moderation and is quite as able as the work to which it replies. An attempt was made by the Jacobites to satirise and ridicule the Scottish Presbyterians in a book published in the early part of last century, entitled "Scottish Eloquence displayed;" but the work is coarsely done, and instead of wit and humour we have scurrility and abuse. Foolish and profane stories are told of the preaching and prayers of the ministers. Some of them may be true; most appear the exaggerations of malice or ill-will; but for the truth of few is any evidence adduced. Such methods of treating opponents may gratify morbid tastes, but cannot refute error or advance truth. Dr. Rule figures as the leading hero in this book; and though nothing is alleged against his character, his writings are sneered at and ridiculed; it is objected against him that he admits many Presbyterians are neither moderate nor

sober, and yet he blames the cruel persecutions they suffered; he is reproached with deserting the old cause, that he might be thought moderate and sober. Garbled extracts are given from his writings, and phrases and sentences, detached from their context, are strung together; yet, notwithstanding this treatment and various quibbling and trifling criticisms, it is sufficiently evident that though Dr. Rule was a strong Presbyterian, he was the advocate of moderate measures, and disapproved of the violence of extreme parties. "May not," says he, "two nations trade together and be governed by the same laws, and yet bear with one another as to church ways." It must, however, be admitted that there are portions of Dr. Rule's controversial writings, of which good taste and feeling must disapprove; he speaks in no measured terms of the characters of "prelatical incumbents whose lives are scandalous and unfit to edify the people and do rather harden them in wickedness." Hence, probably, the bitterness with which he was assailed. Unfortunately the evils of persecution do not end with bodily suffering; for while it brutalizes the oppressor, it is apt to sour the temper, to strengthen the opinions and prejudices, and to increase the fierceness of the spirit of the victim.

That Dr. Rule was a laborious student, even late in life, is shown by a sobriquet which was bestowed upon him. Dr. Campbell, who was professor of Theology, was his greatest friend; and both were regarded as ornaments of the university. But their habits of study were different; Dr. Rule continued his studies far into the night; Dr. Campbell began his early in the morning. Living in the same street, with their library windows opposite to each other, the candle of the one was often seen shining when that of the other was newly lighted. Hence Dr. Campbell was called the morning star and Dr. Rule the evening star. In 1702, a short time prior to his death, the salary of principal of the university was limited to 1600 marks, to which no addition was to be made.

Dr. Rule, having lived to a good old age, and maintained his principles in good as well as in evil times, was at length stricken down with mortal sickness. He bore, it is said, his illness with exemplary patience and serenity of mind. The ruling passion in him was strong in death; not long previous to dissolution, his mind began to wander, and he imagined that he had yet one more sermon to preach to the people of Edinburgh. His friends endeavoured to dispel the illusion, but without effect; he still insisted on rising from his bed and going to the pulpit to perform this last duty. At length, however, he agreed to preach in the house; he was raised in bed, his gown was put on him, and the Bible was brought; he then went through all the parts of Presbyterian worship; a psalm was sung, and he prayed; he then read out his text, explained it and applied it closely; he prayed

again; another psalm was sung; and after pronouncing the blessing—"The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.—Amen," he fell back and expired. "A pleasant end," says Wodrow, "of this great man, just as it were at his work."

His death took place when he was about 75 years of age, a little prior to May 12th, 1703, when William Carstairs was elected successor to Dr. Rule as Principal of Edinburgh University.

Dr. Campbell was deeply affected by his death, and said with emotion—"the evening star has gone down, and the morning star will soon disappear." He too died in the autumn of the same year.

Dr. Rule was married and had at least three children when in Alnwick; his residence was in Canongate, and his children were christened in Alnwick Church and their names stand thus on the register :—

1658, August 1.—Gilbert, son of Gilbert Rule, of Canongate: 1659, October 6.—Ann, daughter of Mr. Gilbert Rule, of Canongate: 1661, April 21.—Andrew, son of Mr. Gilbert Rule, minister.

He had another son, Alexander, a minister in the church of Scotland, who is referred to in the singular autobiography of Elizabeth West. "I remember one Sabbath" she says in 1698, "as I was in the college kirk, there was one Mr. Alexander Rule who preached. He was a son of worthy Dr. Rule, and although this Alexander proved in a very little after to be a very naughty and abominable person, yet he was God's messenger to me that day." He had been on Feb. 2, 1694, elected professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh; but on Dec. 26, 1701, he resigned to the council "because he was resolved to follow another course of life, and for other weighty reasons."* In what respects he was naughty we have no information; but he seems to have been at least improvident, for on May 13, 1715, he was imprisoned for a debt of £12 10s., Scots (£1 10s. 0d. sterling), but a month afterwards he was liberated by consent of his creditor. In the autumn following he was again doomed to tenant "the Heart of Mid-Lothian" for a debt due to Robert Gibson, "barber and periewig-maker, of £8 Scots, and he was not released the 9th of December following."

With the restoration came a revival of the Archdeacon's visitations, and seemingly a wonderful activity in exercising church discipline. From the records preserved at Durham I have culled the following list of sins or supposed sins dragged before the Archdeacon's courts at Alnwick and in the North of England, exhibiting a troublesome inquisition into morals and habits, and curiously illustrating the manners of the period :—

* Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, II., p. 11.

For being a fornicator—for incontinency—incest—suspicion of adultery—supposed to be unmarried—Peter Lawson and his wife living asunder and not being separate by law; *such cases are very numerous*; for being married according to Quakers' fashion—not married according to the Church of England—clandestinely married in a private house.

Negligent comers to church—not coming to church before prayer is ended—staying from divine service and defaming others at the same time—neglecting to hear divine service and not kneeling at the name of Jesus—for striving and making discord in the church—railers in time of divine service—irreverent speeches in the church—molesting Jane about her seat in the church—abusing the churchwardens in time of divine service—nonpayment of clerk's wages, Eastor reckonings, church and minister's dues and church soss—not paying for repairs of the church, and throwing scalding hot water at the churchwardens—refusing to contribute to the buying of bread and wine for the holy communion—for speaking evilly of the minister behind his back, abusing his mother, and giving defying language to the minister—for snatching at the Common Prayer Book in Mr. Tallentire's hand when he was about to bury her son—beating the sexton in the churchyard—John Carr, gentleman, Ralph Carr, gentleman, and Edward Sheppard, yeoman, of Lesbury, for taking away Alnmouth Church leads, the bells and stones from the same—Maria Moor for taking down all the lead of the chancel with other ornaments of the Lesbury Church.

For Sabbath breaking—playing on the Lord's Day at nine holes, football, cards, &c.—keeping people in the house tipping on the Sabbath Day—keeping disorderly houses and drinking during divine service—selling ale or beer in time of evening service on Whitsunday—saying they might plow on a Sunday as well as on another day—ploughing on a general day of humiliation, on Easter day, on Annunciation day—absenting themselves on holidays from churches—working on a holiday—keeping shop open on St. James's Day—working on St. Matthew's, on St. Patrick's, on St. Luke's, and on St. Michael's days—suffering one of his servants to carry whins on the King's birthday.

Not sending children to be baptized—not coming to church to render thanks for safe delivery from child-bed—refusing to come to church to be catechised—William (of Warkworth) for carrying his children to Alnwick to be baptised—burying their dead in their own yards and refusing to bring them to Christian burial.

Common railer—common drunkard—a sower of discord—an extortionate person—Thomas Dod of Rothbury for a deoboist contumacious person—for cursing and scolding—curser and railer against his neighbours—for detaining £4 given by his father's will to the poor—not proving a will or taking administration—Marian O Smotherly for detaining a legacy of £50 left by George Warwicke to the school of Warkworth, having paid neither use nor principal; she pleaded that she had not sufficient funds from the testator, but that as soon as she receives them she will pay the legacy; and therefore she was absolved—receiving rent for houses formerly known to be alms houses—an unlicensed school master—for practising chirurgy without license—exercising a midwife's office without license.

For papists—popish resuants—for a Quaker and interring and suffering to be interred children and other people in his yard—a fanatic—a sectarist—schismatics—suffering conventicles in his house—for Independents—for anabaptists, all of whom have stood excommunicate for six months—a papist for entertaining in his house a Romish priest, to whom very many publicly resort—nonconformists and excommunicate persons—not coming to church and suspected of keeping private conventicles—for being lately subverted to popery—anabaptists of Eglingham—for contemning of the church government, and will not communicate with the other inhabitants and parishioners at prayers or preaching.

Charles Stuart was elected minister of the parish of Aln-

wick in 1682, by the chamberlains and four-and-twenty of the borough; and as they also appointed the parish clerk and bellman, they bound the minister not to interfere with this appointment, under a penalty of forty pounds:

"Whereas" says the bond," the above bounden Charles Stuart hath desired a certificate under the towne seall of Alnewicke in order to establish him Minister of the Parish of Alnewicke, And whereas it hath always been the custom, that the Parish Clarke and Bellman have always been chosen by the Chamberlains and four-and-twenty of the said Burrough of Alnewicke, If therefore the said Charles Stuart shall not at any time or times hereafter displace the present parish Clarke or Bellman, or after their desesease chose elect or appoint any other Clarke or Belman, without the consent of the Chamberlains and four-and-twenty for the time being first had and obtained in writing under their hands, That then this present obligation to be void and of non effect or else to be in full force."

He died on May 31st, 1683; and David Cant was elected his successor by the four-and-twenty, and entered into a bond similar to the above. After his death on December 23rd, 1686, James Forster became minister in 1687. James Gledstains next appears elected by the four-and-twenty in 1692; but at this time a rival power had sprung up to dispute with the four-and-twenty of the town the right to appoint a minister. It was customary to append to appointments the borough seal; but the new authority, to give the appearance of validity to their usurpation, forged a seal and attached it to the document certifying their choice. Hence we have the following resolution:—

"We whose names are hereunder written meet and doe Certifie that the Towne Seal that was sett to Mr. Gledstain's Certificat was a true Seal, and by the consent of a four-and-Twenty, and that the pretended Seal was not publickly sett to before the four-and-twenty upon Mr. Pollock's account, nor never noe order made for to grant any Seal for Mr. Pollock. Witness our hands the 17th day June Anno Dom. 1692. Wm. Stanton, Nicholas Forster, Tho. Lindsay, Ro. Claxton, Tho. Vardy, Ed. Gallon, Lan. Foster, Luke Hindmarsh, Thomas Craister, John Robeson, John Strother, Roger Buston, Ralph Raynoldson, John Alnwick, Jon Raynoldson, Mark Forster, Geo. Alder."

After this, on October 21st, 1692, the chamberlains and four-and-twenty order and agree—

"That the minister shall be consulted to call the four-and-twenty of the parish with the Towne to the Church, That there shall be assesses Laid one for the repaying of the Chamberlains the disbursements, that they Layd out about bringing in of our Minister, and if that the parish will not contribute to the said charge, that then the four-and-twenty shall allow and pay the said charges to the chamberlains." This charge amounted to £8 6s. 2d.

Fourteen shillings were paid by the corporation in 1693, for Mr. Gledstain's cow's grass; and coals too seem to have been supplied to him. After James Gledstains' death on April 16th, 1694, two candidates were brought forward for the curacy of the parish, Mr. Forster and Mr. Doncan; a poll

of the four-and-twenty was taken, and is recorded in the corporation books : thus runs the record—

"The votes whether Mr. Forster or Mr. Doncan shall be our parson. *For Forster*: Mr. Marke Forster, Mr. Richard Strother, Mr. Jon Vardy, Edward Gallon, John Carr, Robert Claxton, Nicholas Forster, Wm. Stanton, Adam Thompson, Matthew Swinhoe, Johes Hunter, Franc Clarke, David Millikin, Roger Buston, Nich. Hunter, Geo. Richardson, Jon Remoldson, Geo. Turner, John Humble, Wm. Gaire, Clemt Forster, Wm. Humbley." *For Mr. Doncan*: Mr. Tho. Vardy, Tho. Woodhouse, Luke Hindmarsh, John Alnwicke, Rob. Collingwood, Ra. Weatherburne, Tho. Lindsay, Robt. Strother, Jon Robinson, Tho. Craister, Ra. Grieve, Matt. Scott."

Hot strife there was at this election ; and the triumphant majority turned in wrath upon Ralph Grieve, who seems to have been the leader of the opposite party, and all of them voted, that he should be expelled from the four-and-twenty. Mr. Forster, however, did not accept the curacy, and the eccentric George Doncan became minister of Alnwick, but he did not stay long.

Notwithstanding his oddities he became a favourite with the four-and-twenty, for they memorialised the duke of Somerset to confer on him the living of Longhoughton ; and in 1697 petitioned the bishop of Durham to grant him a license of non-residence. He was too short time in Alnwick to admit of the development of his eccentricities ; but soon after his removal to Longhoughton he began to chronicle in the register books, the characters good, bad, and indifferent, of those who were married, or had children christened, or who were interred within his parish. A dogmatic, cynical man he was, strongly attached to his own church, and with little kindly regard to those who differed from him. This register is the most extraordinary in the north of England ; and for extracts from it I must refer to a paper on the Vill, Manor, and Church of Longhoughton, in the Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. IV., p. 74.

The old feeling of hostility to Scotland still lingered even in the minds of the four-and-twenty ; but probably some more advanced townsmen were ready to receive amongst them a Scotsman of ability and piety. This, however, could not be tolerated ; and the following order was passed :—

"Sep. 29, 1697. It is agreed by the Balife, Chamberlaines and four-and-twenty, that whereas there was a faire vote whether an Englishman or Scotsman shall be chosen our minister ; It was unanimously Agreed on, that An Englishman shall be our Minister, And that the Chamberlains shall writt to Mr. Arthur Alnwicke, that if he please to accept the place to come downe with all expedition that the townsmen may hear him. But if Mr. Arthur Alnwicke doth not accept of the Living, that then it is unanimously agreed that none but an Englishman shall be our minister and that Mr. Brunton shall be him, as witness our hands. Wm. Locke, Bailif, Mark Forster, John Vardy, Richard

Strother, Tho. Vardy, Wm. Stanton, Matt. Alnwick, Ro. Claxton, Adam Thompson, Robert Harrison, Henry Swinhoe, Matt. Scott, John Humble, John Neall, Fran. Clarke, Roger Buston, Ra. Ronaldson, George Turner, Wm. Gaire, Ra. Grieve, David Millican, Mark Grumwell, John Hunter, Rich. Shankes, Wm. Huntley, John Burrell."

The ministers of the church at this time were men of no distinction, and there were frequent changes; but at this we need not wonder, for the salary was so poor that the curacy would be taken only by inferior men, or as a step to something better. Necessary, it was therefore to adopt means to augment the living, that men of ability might be induced to remain in the parish. The church, however, was then the church of the town; the patronage of it belonged to the corporation; and an interest was felt in its welfare by the burgesses. Both the four-and-twenty and the corporate trades lent their aid. The chamberlains and four-and-twenty met on June 17th, 1697, and "most seriously considered the smallness of the living and appointed eight of their number to inspect the common, and set apart land to the value of £15 yearly for this object." This was not done, but for what reason does not appear; it was, however, agreed in November, 1699, to give £14 yearly to "Mr. Alnwick our present minister as a gratuity to be paid half-yearly." The company of merchants also contributed from 20s. to 40s. yearly out of their box; the tanners ordered "that forty shillings be given every year to our parson during our pleasure;" and the skinners, in 1692, agree to give "20s. yearly for three years to Mr. James Gledstone, clerk, our present minister."

The living was vacant again in 1702, when the chamberlains consulted with the clergy "in order to procure an able minister for our cure, and also an able schoolmaster." Mr. Joseph Ritson, who had been appointed schoolmaster in 1703, was on the 27th of March, 1704, elected minister. After his death on April 29th, 1712, Richard Werge was minister, but he resigned the living on March 25th, 1718, having accepted preferment in Essex. John Lambton was elected his successor, and signed an agreement not to interfere with the appointment of parish clerk. He was, in 1720, allowed to hold and enjoy the lane that lies between Hunter's croft and Walkergate closes at 1s. 6d. per annum. He died in 1722. The following order is interesting as shewing the value of the living at this time, and the means adopted to obtain an able minister:—

"April 29, 1722. Whereas there is now a vacancy in the Curacy of Alnwick by the death of the Reverend Mr. Lambton and the Revenues belonging to the Curacy being only about £40 and there being no probability of an able

minister offering himself to serve the said cure for the small stipend. It is therefore agreed and ordered by the four-and-twenty of this town and Burrough that Public notice shall be inserted in the Newcastle Courant signifying that in case any minister, that shall be approved of by the four-and-twenty of this town, offer himself to serve this curacy he shall have twenty pounds per annum paid him yearly out of the townes revenues by two halfe yearly payments soe long as such person shall continue minister of this place, and whereas the Reverend Mr. Lawson viccar of Warkworth hath made a proposal for a conference with the town with respect to his serving this cure, we agree that the four Chamberlains together with Mr. Mark Forster Mr. Edw. Grey Mr. Richard Grieve Mr. Wm. Forster and whom else of the four-and-twenty as shall think fit, shall confer with the said Mr. Lawson, and before any agreement be made shall report such conference to the four-and-twenty for their approbation."

On the following 7th of May Leonard Darant was chosen minister, and he signed the usual agreement not to interfere with the appointment of a parish clerk. The new authority tried again to wrest the power out of the hands of the old four-and-twenty of the borough. "The four-and-twenty of the parish" so says our record, "pretending to choose Mr. S——," but the four-and-twenty of the town being unanimous in favour of Darant, they resolved that "if the bishop would not grant him a license to be their minister, or grant it to Mr. S. or any other person not to their good liking, there shall none of the town's revenues be given to such person." The old body triumphed, and being evidently delighted with the result, they ordered that the £20 in augmentation of the living should be paid to succeeding curates, recommended by the four-and-twenty of the borough.

In 1737 the Rev. John Wilson, who had been master of the Alnwick grammar school, was appointed curate. He died in 1744; and was succeeded by the Rev. William Stoddart, A.M., who was licensed curate on February 18th, 1745. By petition to the four-and-twenty in 1749 he represented that the duties of the parish were grown so large that he could no longer perform them without endangering his health. Divers well-meaning persons had entered into a subscription to enable him to hire a curate as assistant, to preach a sermon every Sunday afternoon from Lady-day to Michaelmas. These subscriptions amounted to £22 2s. 0d. from eighty-three persons in sums from 2s. 0d. to £5 5s. 0d. each. Richard Grieve gave £5 5s. 0d., Rob. Claxton £2 2s. 0d., Chris. Carr £2 2s. 0d., Rob. Carr £1 1s. 0d., Tho. Strother £2 2s. 0d., Edw. Gallon £1 1s. 0d., Wm. Hindmarsh 7s. 6d., Geo. Thew 2s. 0d. For the same object and out of personal regard to Mr. Stoddart the four-and-twenty agreed to pay him yearly out of the revenues of the town £30, so long as he kept a curate and was not master of the public

grammar school, and provided the subscriptions were lodged in the town's box ; and this sum was paid till 1758 when it was withdrawn because the conditions of the grant were not observed. The order for its withdrawal was, however, soon rescinded, and the gift was continued till 1781, when the last payment of " Parson Stoddart's year's Donation of £30," was made ; and after this the church disappears from the corporate records.

There is nothing in these records nor in the church books to shew, why or in what manner the four-and-twenty of the town and borough ceased to enjoy the patronage of the living, which they had held for perhaps a couple of centuries. It may have readily been given up by them because not worth having, since they were obliged to grant an augmentation out of the town's revenues to induce men of ability to undertake the charge. The corporation, however, was revolutionised in 1761, and important changes were gradually creeping over its character ; it was losing or rather divesting itself of its public functions, and dwindling down to a little private body, enjoying public property, but shirking public duties and obligations. The first to feel the change was the general body of the freemen, who endeavoured to influence the four-and-twenty to contract more and more the range of their public action, and to divide the spoil among the exclusive few who had monopolised corporate privileges. One of the first things fiercely assailed was the donation to the clergyman ; its legality was denied, and in the list of grievances laid before the four-and-twenty in 1781, by some of the freemen headed by H. C. Selby, at that time an agent of the duke of Northumberland, it is stated as a grievance that " an annuity has been paid to the minister of Alnwick." Actions at law were threatened, and ultimately entered into to remedy such supposed grievances ; and this pressure from without led to the discontinuance of the annuity. The *Craftsman* in his critique on this part of the memorial says—

"That it was begun and continued with a good intention ; namely as a help to a poor curacy (for you know the living of Alnwick is nothing more) and to induce men of parts and ability to accept of it ; and there never was a better or worthier object of generosity or regard than the reverend and respectable gentleman who now supplies the cure. However it is certain that the four-and-twenty in order to shew their inclination to please the Freemen did immediately, upon the said remonstrance being presented, make an order to discontinue the Donation." This was but a sorry ground for so important a decision ; probably the

Four-and-Twenty quailed before their formidable assailants, open and concealed. The patronage after this was exercised by the Bishop of Durham.

Leaving the guidance of the corporate muniments we resort to the church books for further information. These records, however, have been carelessly kept and are very imperfect. There are two books, one, the oldest, marked No. 2; but a book older still was in existence in 1846,* when extracts were made from it, commencing with 1693; one extract dated 1703 refers to one old and one new church account book. The earliest entry in the No. 2 book is 1744, after which there are a few others chiefly relating to poor rates down to 1748, when a gap occurs till 1764.

On the death of Mr. Stoddart in 1783, the Rev. Samuel Hall succeeded as curate; he was also vicar of Chatton, and died in 1799. The Rev. William Procter was licensed curate on July 18th, 1799. During the latter part of his incumbency, in the year 1835 or 1836, the perpetual advowson of St. Michael's Church was ceded by Van Mildert bishop of Durham to the duke of Northumberland, on terms very much to the advantage of the latter. The living at that time was worth £220 yearly, and the price paid for this alienation of the patronage was the gift of a parsonage house and the ground connected with it, amounting to 3 acres 1 rood 1 perch. After the death of Mr. Procter on March 19th, 1839, the Rev. Leonard Shafto Orde was appointed incumbent; and during his time the new Episcopalian church of St. Paul's was built, and the parish divided into two districts, each under the charge of an independent minister. Mr. Orde resigned the curacy of St. Michael's in 1846; and so highly were his services valued, that Dissenters as well as Churchmen united in presenting him with a massive silver candelabrum "in recognition of his distinguished ability and unwearied zeal." The Rev. Court Granville succeeded in 1846; but he resigned in 1854, and he also received from the parishioners a testimonial of respect. After this the curacy was offered to the Rev. L. S. Orde, and he again became minister of St. Michael's Church in 1854, but he resigned the incumbency in 1859, when he was appointed colleague of the Bishop of Edinburgh, in the charge of the Episcopal chapel of St. Paul's, Edinburgh. A public address was presented to him in the Town Hall from the parishioners "expressing their high approbation of his

* If diligent inquiry were now made by the church authorities surely this record might be recovered.

zeal, fidelity, and ability as a minister in Alnwick during fifteen years." The Rev. Court Granville again succeeded as curate in 1859, and he still holds the incumbency.

After the Reformation the endowment of the church was very small—only £12 yearly, as we have seen, out of the wreck of the chantry—and so it continued till 1718, when a grant of £200 was obtained in augmentation of the living from Queen Anne's Bounty, on the condition of £200 more being raised by subscription; but the subscription amounting to only £190, "a bond was given by the parish or some members" to the trustees of the Bounty, to pay the interest of £10 yearly to the minister; and accordingly the churchwardens have ever since paid 10s. yearly out of the church rate. Even with this augmentation the revenues of the church in 1722 amounted to only £40 yearly. Mark Forster in 1724 left a house and garden in Clayport Street to the successive ministers of the parish. "In 1738 the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty purchased for the living for £400, 18 acres 0 rood 14 p. of meadow land in Alnwick in three closes called *the Golden Acres*."* From parliamentary grants and Queen Anne's Bounty £600 was obtained in 1812; and in 1814 Lord Crewe's trustees gave £200, the bishop of Durham £200, and from Queen Anne's Bounty another £600 was granted. "In 1815 the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty bought for the living 3 ac. 2 r. 26 p. of meadow land for £400." This land is in the Green Batt and is called the *five acre close* or *stoney free land*, and according to the Ordnance Survey contains 4 ac. 0 r. 16 p. In 1816 another £600 was received from parliamentary grants and Queen Anne's Bounty; but from the same source other grants must have been obtained which are not recorded in the church books; for stock is now invested for the living, in the three per cent consols, amounting to £3915 16s. 7d., which yields yearly to the curate £117 9s. 4d.

A few small endowments of the church have been lost. Among the corporate muniments are two deeds relating to an endowment, which are of some interest as shewing the close connection between the corporation and the church at an early period—

Robert Audyr of Alnewyke with the consent of his son and heir John Audyr conveyed on Mr. 3, 1455, to Robert Dauson of Warkworth one burgage and croft in Bondgat, lying between the burgage of John Sawer on the East, and the burgage of Thomas Claxton on the West, reserving to Robert

* They contain according to the Ordnance Survey 17 ac. 3 r. 2 p. In 1835 they were let for £60 yearly.

Audyr and his heirs for ever the annual rent of ten shillings. This deed is witnessed by John Cartington Steward of the Baronial Courts, John Roxbrought Bailiff, John Audyr, — Botemond, John Eland, Thomas Chambers, Thomas Noblet. The other deed was made Nov. 13, 1609 by Francis Alder de Hobberlawe, kinsman and next heir of Robert Alder lately of Alnwick deceased, who under the name Robert Audyr made the foregoing conveyance; and it gives the reserved rent of ten shillings to the churchwardens, John Butler, merchant, Matthew Alnewicke and Jacob Grene, tanners, and William Reveley, butcher, and their successors for the maintenance of the parish church. The house and croft out of which this sum was payable is described as in the tenure of John Akinson le postmaster, and as being situate in Bondgate between the burgage of Francis Alder on the east and of Ambrose Moffatt on the west, and as extending from the royal Street on the south to the Castle Mote on the North. Francis Alder attaches his own seal; but the churchwardens procured that the common seal of the borough of Alnwick be put to this deed. (*Sigillum commune burgi de Alnewick utrique parti hujus presentis scripti apponi procuravimus.*) This deed is witnessed by John Willis, clerk, minister of the parish church, John Atkinson, postmaster of Alnwick, and others. In 1723, Archdeacon Thomas Thorpe, D.D., states that Mr. William Stanton charged his dwelling house with ten shillings for the repair of the church; and in 1732 the churchwardens' account says—"spent when received Mr. Stanton's 10s. which he said was always accustomed and wod not pay it without it 6d." Dr. John Sharp records its regular payment in 1762. All these payments seem to arise out of the property left by Alder; for in 1667 William Stanton had a burgage in Bondgate near to that of Roger Moffatt. In a terrier dated 1806 there is recorded as church property a rent charge of 10s. yearly on houses and garden in Bondgate Street, belonging to Stanton Neale, shoemaker.

At the Archdeacon's Visitation of 1723 it is recorded that 6s. 8d. yearly had been paid *time out of mind* towards the repair of the church out of Alndyke Estate. It was regularly paid in 1762; and it is mentioned in the terrier of 1806.

For the same purpose 2s. 6d. yearly was paid from Cutty's Bank in 1702; it occurs again in 1762; and in the terrier of 1806, there is mentioned a charge of 10s. 6d. yearly, from the Duke of Northumberland, from Catheugh Bank.

In the will of Richard Grieve, of Alnwick, gentleman, made March, 1760, I find the following bequest:—

"I give devise and bequeath unto the minister of the parish church of Alnwick for ever the sum of Five pounds of lawful money of Great Britain towards the augmentation of the living of Alnwick aforesaid to be paid yearly by two payments in the year, that is to say, Michaelmas and Ladyday by two equal payments; and I do hereby charge all the said two closes in Alnwick low fields situate next to a lane called Fisher's lane with the payment thereof, and with power to distrain for the same on nonpayment thereof."

How have these endowments been lost? A grave question for the church authorities!

The following is an estimate of the total value of the curacy at the present time:—

Old endowment paid by the woods and forests £12, less by auditor's fees £0 17s. 2d.—£11 2s. 10d.; Parliamentary Grants' Fund £117 9s. 4d.; average rental of house and garden left by Mark Forster £8 10s. 0d.; rent of Golden Acres £45 0s. 0d.; rent of Five Acres £16 0s. 0d.; from churchwardens £0 10s. 0d.; average fees £14 18s. 7d.; Parsonage House and grounds £50 0s. 0d.; total, £260 10s. 9d.

One source of revenue has been dried up. Private rights

were formerly recognised in the church, and when any of them lapsed, the sittings became as it were church property, and were let by the churchwardens, the proceeds being applied to church purposes. Forty-two sittings were let in 1791 at a rental each of from 3s. to 3s. 6d. yearly, producing £16 10s. 10d. "The gentlemen of the Four-and-Twenty" in 1836 allowed pew doors to be locked; and sixty sittings were then let at rents varying from 6d to 9s. 9d. and producing yearly £12 5s. 0d. The inconsistency of individuals having private rights in public property came to be seen; men learned in canon law pronounced the claim illegal; and, therefore, during the incumbency of Mr. Orde these private locks were wrenched from the pews, and the system of letting was abandoned. If, indeed, private individuals can hold and do as they please with sittings in any part of the parish church, the idea of its national character is destroyed, and it becomes then a place of worship for the favoured few, and not for the community.

The management of the church is now in the hands of the minister, churchwardens, and, as they call themselves, "The Gentlemen of the Four-and-Twenty." There are now four churchwardens, who are usually in office for two years, one yearly being appointed by the minister and the other by the four-and-twenty; but this has not been the invariable practice; in 1799, at a parish meeting, six churchwardens were elected, and on May 29th in the same year a parish meeting examined, allowed, and approved of the churchwardens' accounts. This four-and-twenty is what is called a self-elected body; as one member dies or resigns the others fill up the vacancy; but such a body of course in no degree represents the opinion of the parish. The manner in which elections were made is shown in the following very curious resolution passed April 23rd, 1811:—

It is agreed upon that Mr. Gerard Selby be elected as soon as the Resignation of John Shell, who is looked upon as no longer competent to hold that office, shall be obtained: And that Mr. James Elder be elected to supply the next vacancy. Upon reconsidering that business it appears that F. T. Strother is in a similar situation with Mr. John Youngusband, and consequently has vacated his office of a four-and-twentyman, Mr. James Elder is therefore at this meeting elected to that office.

Its origin is unknown; the earliest reference to it is in the corporation records of 1692, and the earliest list I have seen is the following:—

A true list of the Four-and-Twenty of the Church, 1693.—William Archbold, John Shepherd, Cuthbert Shell, Thomas Shepherd, Robert Potts, John Archbold, John Weatherbourne, John Hall, Marline Millbourne, James Vardy, jun.,

George Story, Ralph Thew, William King, Edward Shepherd, Ralph Thew, Thomas Marshall, George Selby, William Millbourne, Thomas Story, William Morrison.

Antagonistic was this new body to the ancient authorities of this town, as may indeed be inferred from its composition; its members were of an inferior grade, few or none of them holding property in the town, and it did not include a single name belonging to the four-and-twenty of the borough. From an early period the latter body, which was composed of the principal inhabitants of the town, regulated the church; they appointed minister, clerk, and sexton, instituted legal proceedings affecting the church, and their seal was appended to church documents; it therefore seems strange that their authority should have been superseded by an inferior set of men. Gradually, however, the new ecclesiastical body became a power; and we find in the next list preserved, in 1750, that no less than fifteen of the number were also members of the four-and-twenty of the borough.

The modern church four-and-twenty now lay on church rates, but they have not uniformly exercised this power; for in 1798, a church rate of one penny in the pound was imposed at a *public parish meeting*. Popular feeling was hostile to a self-elected body taxing persons for the support of religious services they did not attend; and several members of the four-and-twenty participated in this feeling; when, therefore, a church rate of one penny in the pound was proposed at a four-and-twenty meeting in 1838, and John Lambert and John Carr brought forward an amendment to call a public vestry to consider the propriety of laying on a rate, four only voted for the motion, and twelve for the amendment, including the three churchwardens. A public meeting was therefore held on April 26th, 1838, when the proposal for a rate was defeated. Since that time there has been no more appeals to public vestries; but "the gentlemen of the four-and-twenty" have performed the duty of laying on church rates. Much, however, is it to their credit, that while the rate is usually moderate in amount, it is in effect voluntary, as it is not enforced. During the last thirty years it has never exceeded 1½d. in the pound; some years it was only one half-penny; but the average has been about one penny. The following abstract for the year 1862 to 1863 shews the character of the expenditure:—

	£	s.	d.
Balance,	0	9	0½
Expenses at Visitation,	2	9	6
Beadle,	14	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Ringing Bells,	12	0	0
Stationery, two years,	8	5	6
Wine and Bread,	4	1	3
Washing Surplice,	3	8	0
Curate,	0	10	0
Repairs, Cleaning, &c.,	13	0	11
Total	58	14	2½

Strange anomalies there are in the church rate. The abbey lands north of the river are not assessed. A case for the opinion of counsel was drawn up in 1822 to ascertain their liability; but in 1832 the order "for taking legal measures to enforce payment of church rates from the abbey lands was rescinded;" so that extensive and valuable lands once belonging to the church, but now in the hands of laymen, contribute nothing to its maintenance; yet other abbey lands such as St. Margaret's and portions of St. Thomas' lands are rated. But the most extraordinary exception is that of the North Demesne or Pasture which never belonged to the abbey; perhaps it has been regarded as a kind of commonable land over which the public had privileges, and hence was freed from ecclesiastical taxation. A rate of one penny in the pound amounted to £96 18s. 8d., and of this £71 7s. 7d. was collected; three hundred and sixty persons refused to pay their rates, which amounted to £22 11s. 1d.

The offertory has recently been introduced; the collections for the last year have been as follow: Offertory £63 11s. 5½d.; on sacrament days for the poor £42 12s. 0½d.; for public purposes, the organist, choir, schools, infirmary, £24 7s. 7½d.; total, £130 11s. 11d.

We must notice now recent alterations and restorations. After Hugh, the first duke of Northumberland, had renovated his castle, he in 1782 repaired the chancel of the church. Italian artists did the work; a new decorated window was placed in the middle of the east end; the ceiling was plaster work, fan-groined with pendants and minute florid ornamentation; oak screens with elaborate tabernacle work enclosed the space where the communion table stood, and where, too, were placed canopied oak stalls for the lord and his family. Banners torn into shreds, sham coats of mail, and other appendages of baronial and military rank, which had been used in the funeral processions of the first and second dukes, were afterwards hung from the walls. These reparations have been called *superb*, but they did not harmonise with the brave old style.

At this period, too, little galleries were in different parts of the church; one for the grammar scholars, and one each for the families of Grey, Forster, and Brown. In 1791 forty-two sittings were let in these galleries, adding £6 16s. 10d. yearly to the revenues of the church; the Grey gallery in 1793 was pronounced a nuisance, but its removal being resisted by some descendant of the family a lawsuit was the result, the expenses of which and of the removal of the gallery cost the parish a rate of three pence in the pound.

The following inscription, according to Wallis, was behind the royal arms over the chancel arch:—

*Sumptibus Edvardi comitis cognomine Bedford;
Cognita præclari sunt hæc insignia clara.*

Anno Dni. 1600.

The arms have been removed and placed above the entrance door; but the inscription, which has been destroyed, was probably part only of a longer one, placed there by the third Earl Bedford in memory of his father, Lord Francis Russell, who was buried in Alnwick church, and who had been intimately connected with Alnwick by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Forster of Alnwick Abbey. Lord Russell was eldest son of the second earl, and when attending a warden meeting at Hexpathgatehead or Kemmelspath, was slain on Windy-gyle, a mountain ridge among the Cheviots, by a sudden attack of the Scots led by Sir Thomas Carr, of Ferneyhurst, on July 27th, 1585, the day before his father's death.

During the eighteenth century and for some time afterwards, the attendance at the church appears to have been small, the great majority of the people of Alnwick being dissenters; but there came a gradual revival of energy in the church, produced, it may be in some degree, by reflex influence from other religious bodies. As early in this century as 1811 the church four-and-twenty say, that it had been "satisfactorily ascertained that the accommodation in the church was insufficient for several of the parishioners who wish to attend divine service, but for want of seats are driven to the dissenting meeting houses." It was not, however, till 1817, in the time of the third duke, that this complaint was in some measure remedied. On September 8th, 1817, the following curiously worded resolution was passed by the same body: "that a committee be appointed to anticipate and prepare a scheme to be submitted to the next meeting as projecting the detail which it may be advisable to adopt under

the perception of subscriptions be given to aid the work" of repairing and enlarging the accommodation. The church was accordingly repaired, altered, and resealed in 1818 at a cost of £2189 8s. 10½d., which was defrayed by £1018 8s. 1d. from the sale of seats, by a donation of £300 from the Duke of Northumberland, and by £871 0s. 9¼ from church rates. Seats on the floor of the church were sold at prices ranging from £13 to £52 each; seats in the gallery from £15 to £56; and single sittings from £5 to £10, according to the supposed respectability of position.

Considerable changes were made; the accommodation was increased to 1200 sittings; the little galleries were removed and a great clumsy gallery erected at the west end, to make way for which, alternate pillars were taken down from the nave arcade, and instead of pointed gothic arches, wide circular arches of no style at all were substituted. Still the church was decent looking and comfortable, and an ordinary voice could be heard from the pulpit in any part of the structure. Antiquaries imbued with the taste for pure Gothic architecture, which has been growing during the last thirty years, sighed over the destruction of some of the fine old features of the church.

When Algernon, duke of Northumberland, was enlarging and adorning his great castle he expressed a willingness to restore St. Michael's Church; and the inhabitants of the town in a numerous signed memorial expressed their approval of this proposal. It was not, however, till 1863 that the design was carried out, under the direction of Mr. Anthony Salvin, Architect. Various portions of the structure were renovated and strengthened; the four piers which had been taken from the nave arcade and the pointed arches were restored; windows of the perpendicular style were put into the east and west ends of the church, in place of a modern decorated one in the east and an ancient decorated one in the west; two large perpendicular windows in the south wall and one in the east were entirely renewed; the transition north windows were reduced to their original length; the gallery was removed; the plaster and stucco work and oak screens were swept away; the banners and imitation armour taken down; and the whole of the nave and aisles resealed with open pews. The communion table was removed back to the east wall, enlarging the chancel to the extent of one-third, and the chancel aisles were filled with oak pews, which have been appropriated by the duke to his officers, tenants,

and servants. The central part of the chancel was separated from the aisles and nave by a stone wall, along the north and south sides of which is a row of stalls for the duke and his family. The reconstruction of the chancel devolved on the duke, as owner of most of the tithes and abbey property in the parish; but the cost of the other reparations, which amounted to £945 9s. 5d., has been defrayed by a voluntary rate and public subscription.

In its present state the church whether viewed externally or internally is a noble temple, harmonious in its parts, grand in its proportions, and beautiful and varied in its ornamentation. But the recent restorations are not faultless; the expediency of destroying the old west window, which had a historic value, is questionable; the new east window, a stiff copy of others, is bad in its proportions—it is short for its width and lacks the dignity and beauty of the two other eastern windows; the taste of everyone was offended by the stone wall which enclosed the inner chancel; for it had no beauty of its own and it adorned nothing. Subsequently, however, in 1867, this wall was reduced in height.

In 1867 the three east windows of the church were filled with stained glass in memory of Algernon, duke of Northumberland; one by public subscription, another by the Percy family, and the third by his widow. Though the public subscriptions amounted to £692 only £230 have been devoted to the production of a memorial window, which is far inferior to that in St. Paul's Church, and which, too, is generally considered not good enough, either as a decoration of the church or as a monument to the duke. For this memorial the large central window, which is 23 feet high and 13 feet broad, has been selected; it is in the perpendicular style and has five principal lights, divided into compartments by transoms, with elaborate tracery above the spring of the arch. In the centre of the upper tier is a full length figure of Christ with his right hand uplifted, and in the side compartments are figures of the Evangelists. In the lower tier beneath each Evangelist is his emblem—the angel, the winged lion, the winged bull, and the eagle, in the midst of a faint yellowish diaper pattern; and in the central compartment is a representation of St. Michael, the guardian Saint of Alnwick, killing the dragon. The figures are well drawn but the colouring is poor; that of Christ is feeble indeed. Saint Michael sadly lacks energy; and appears more like a lady's boyish page gaudily tricked out, than a warrior

bold; while the olive snake at his feet has little of the formidable power of the horrible mediæval dragon; the representation differs greatly from the stern stiff figures on the old borough seal. As there is still a considerable amount of the public subscription unexpended, it is hoped that this window may be replaced by a work of art ornamental to the church and fitly memorialising the late duke. The other two windows might adorn the vestibule of a castle or hall, but they are out of place in a church; some of the colouring, especially in the northern window, is strong and startling. The southern window is filled chiefly with decoration, and a few mottos scattered over a groundwork of a diaper pattern; the northern one gives in very bright colours the heraldry of Percy and Grosvenor, along with little designs of an anchor and cable, and a gunboat. At the bottom of the central window is the following inscription:—*Dedicated to Algernon, 4th Duke of Northumberland, by his friends. A.D. 1866.*

Few modern monuments in the church require particular notice, as most of them are tributes of affection, to persons in no way distinguished, paid by relatives, who were rich enough to defray the cost of a memorial. Pretty extensively had the interior been used as a graveyard; and certain families not only claimed a right of sepulture there for themselves, but even granted it to others; "By leave of John Shell here lyeth the body of Mr. Montague Isaacson, of Fenton, Esq.;" and "Dorothy Willis, interred here by consent of Richard Grieve, Esq."

We shall walk round the church and briefly note the mural tablets, all of which are marble. Beginning with the west wall we have an elaborate monument to Henry Collingwood Selby, his wife, and daughter; and one to Eliz. Bolton. On a buttress is one to Captain Robert Crisp, upwards of 35 years adjutant of the Northumberland Militia, who died Sep. 27th, 1840, aged 72. On the north wall are tablets to Robert Patterson, and to his son, drapers; to John Lambert and his family; to the Rev. Wm. Procter, A.M.; to John Kerr, a solicitor, who died Sep. 24th, 1831, aged 72, and to his wife; to John Yellowly; to Sir David W. Smith, Bart., commissioner of the Percy estates, who died May 9th, 1837, aged 72, and to his wife and daughter; and to Sarah Jenkins. On the south wall are tablets to William Baird, and to John Forster, draper; a monument with a long latin inscription to Alexander Bain, professor of civil law, Edinburgh, who died at Alnwick, May 10th, 1737, aged 52; then follow

tablets to Edward Herens Blackburn, commissioner of the duke of Northumberland, who died August 7th, 1839, aged 53; to Collingwood Forster; to Mary Hewitson; to Eliz. Dodds; to Jane, wife of Charles Forster Charleton; to George Selby, who died June 10th, 1815, aged 69; and to Lieut. General Burrell, the first British governor of Hong Kong, who died at Alnwick, January 4th, 1853, aged 78. A tablet to Stanton Neale, recording his bequest to the poor, is on the wall between the nave and south aisle.

On the floor of the church the most remarkable epitaphs are on Matthew Hunter and Doctor Harle, which will be given hereafter; and in the western part of the north aisle was the following quaint memorial, which is now much worn:—"Wonder not Reader. who Soe obscured Lies. A loyall Subject of most unvalued Price. Soe have. We known such iewels Hid. in Mould. And Sweetest. Flowers the Shadiest Leaves Enfold. Know Reader. in thos Sacred Ashes. there Lies under Couerd. A loyallest of Men. uiz. Richard Chaleton. who departed. the 23 of March Anno Dom. 1664." The oldest epitaph discernible is to "James Forster, departed to the mercy of God, September 9 Anno Dni. 1602;" another of the same family tells us "Here lyeth under buried the body of Nicholas Forster, merchant, departed to the glory of God, the — day of Fabr. 1659." Vanity has adorned some of the tombstones; for those of Edward Leak, merchant, who died March 24th, 1699, aged 35; Frances Bowes; Adam Thompson, an attorney, who died January 20th, 1704; Mark Forster; Martin Grey, an attorney, who died October 14th, 1743, aged 58; and William Ord, display armorial bearings. Other tombstones record the burial of members of the following families within the church:—Alnwick, Anderson, Archbold, Baron, Bowes, Brandling, Carr, Claxton, Davidson, Dawson, Falder, Farquhar, Gallon, Grieve, Guy, Hall, Hindmarsh, Isaacson, Mercer, Moffatt, Potts, Punshon, Rand, Salkeld, Scott, Stanton, Strother, Weatherburn, Willis, and Younger.

Few tombstones in the churchyard are remarkable. On the oldest, which is now lying on the east side of the porch, was the following inscription, mostly now obliterated:—"Here lyeth under buried the body of Edward Alnwiki, who departed February 12th, 1597."

The churchyard was enlarged on the north side in 1829, by the gift of one quarter of an acre from the duke of Northumberland, who seems, however, to have received an equivalent

by the closing of a very ancient and convenient footpath—the Church Lane from Walkergate—but which the “gentlemen of the four-and-twenty,” without either rhyme or reason, designated “useless and a nuisance.” Even after this, the area was only 2000 square yards. The churchyard had, however, anciently extended further west than at present; and on that part it was adorned by ash trees, six of which were cut down in 1797, and the proceeds applied towards repairing the church. According to a terrier of the church five more were standing in 1806; but when three of these were cut down by the churchwardens in 1833, the lord of the manor claimed them and threatened legal proceedings. One great tree was left—the monarch of all the trees in the parish—remarkable for its size, venerable for its age, and hallowed by its associations. For centuries it had looked down on the thousands of worshippers on their way to the old church, and it had seen thousands more carried past it to their last home. All loved that tree; and when as boys we climbed up its huge trunk we were careful not to harm it. Long it had lived, but a high wind at length blew it down on Ash Wednesday, the 17th of February, 1836. Before its fall this ash tree—the *Fraxinus excelsior*—seemed sound; but it was found that its heart was decayed and its roots were gone, for the soil was not disturbed by its fall. The circumference of the trunk was 13½ feet at the lower part and up to the height of 7 feet, where it divided into two great branches, one of which was 10 feet 6 in., and the other 9 feet in circumference; even at the height of 40 feet one of them was 6 feet in girth. Its cubical contents were estimated at 300 feet. A very old tree it was; from the pith to the bark there were 200 rings; but as it had been decaying for a century or more, its age would not be less than 300 years, and even probably nearer to four centuries. In 1765 it was called “The Church Yard Tree;” but its popular name of Boome Tree, which is a pleonasm, *boome* being the Saxon of tree, tells of its antiquity, and carries us back to the time when the Anglo-Saxon of our forefathers was commonly spoken, the second name having been added when the older speech was becoming an unknown tongue. This churchyard was closed against interments on July 1st, 1855, excepting in the case of husband or wife, where one of them had been buried therein before that day.

The following is a list of the incumbents of St. Michael's Church:—

Wydon was vicar of Alnwick church in the fourteenth century.

- John Cudberde, a canon, ordained prior and pastor of the Alnwick church in 1400.
- William Marschal, a canon, ordained prior and pastor of Alnwick church in 1437.
- Thomas Wynfield occurs as chaplain in 1531; afterwards vicar of Lesbury, where he died in 1556.
- Robert Forster, was curate, with a salary of £7, in 1540.
- Thomas Davidson died in 1577.
- Cuthbert Anderson, curate in 1577.
- James Carre, M.A., occurs October 28th, 1590, died about 1593.
- John Willis, curate in 1604—1612.
- Mr. Alder, preacher in 1612.
- Robert Stephenson, B.A., monthly preacher in 1614, minister of the parish about 1616, died in 1638.
- Henry Lever, monthly preacher in 1639 till 1644.
- John Smith, preaching minister in 1650.
- Mr. Brown, late minister in 1655.
- Gilbert Rule, minister of the parish about 1655, ejected 1662, died, principal of Edinburgh University, in 1701.
- John Stuart, A.M., curate in 1665, buried in Alnwick, Jan. 13th, 1681.
- Charles Stuart, elected minister of the parish in 1682, died, and buried in Alnwick, May 31st, 1683.
- David Cant, elected 1683, died, and buried in Alnwick, December 23rd, 1686.
- James Forster occurs in 1687.
- James Gladstains, elected in 1692, died and buried in Alnwick, April 16th, 1694.
- George Doncan, elected in 1694, left for Longhoughton 1697.
- Arthur Alnwick, elected in 1697, occurs 1701.
- Joseph Ritson, elected in 1704, died and buried in Alnwick, April 29th, 1712.
- Richard Werge, about 1713, resigned in 1718.
- John Lambton, elected in 1718, died in 1722.
- Leonard Darant, elected in 1722.
- John Wilson, elected in 1737, died in 1744.
- William Stoddart, A.M., licensed in 1745, died in 1783.
- Samuel Hall, curate, 1783, died in 1799.
- William Proctor, curate in 1799, died in 1839.
- Leonard Shafto Orde, curate, 1839, resigned in 1846.
- Court Granville, curate in 1846, resigned in 1854.
- Leonard Shafto Orde re-entered in 1854, resigned in 1859.
- Court Granville re-entered in 1859, and is now minister of the parochial district of St. Michael.

There are three libraries belonging to the church; one obtained from the Society of Parochial libraries prior to 1723, at a cost of £22, raised by subscription; another containing about 140 volumes of theology, given by the associates of Dr.

Bray, for the use of the clergy of the deanery; and a third supplied by Archdeacon Bowyer, for the use of the parishioners. These libraries are very little read.

PARISH CLERK.

The parish clerk in the olden time was appointed by the four-and-twenty of the town. John Stanton, one of the Grammar School masters, filled the office in 1577. As the appointment of ministers also rested with this four-and-twenty, they took a bond from the successive incumbents, binding them not to interfere with the appointment of either the parish clerk or sexton. There was sometimes a contest for the office; in 1712 there were two candidates, John Lindsay and William Orde, the former having 18 and the latter 15 votes. In 1724 Edward Clark was ordered by the four-and-twenty "to be and continue parish clerk so long as he shall behave himself well." On his death, however, in 1748, the four-and-twenty of the church set up an opposition claim to make a new appointment; but the incumbent carried off the prize from both; and since then the patronage of this office has been exercised by the minister.

In 1712 there is the following entry in the corporation books:—

List of Fees due to the Parish Clerk of Alnwick.

	s.	d.
"For every marriage as followeth (to wit) when their names are given up to be published 1s. and when married 1s. more ..	2	0
Of every person married by a License	3	0
For every child that shall be christened	0	1
For every woman that's churched	0	1
Of every person buried in the church yard	1	2
Of every person buried within church	1	4
Of every household within the parish att Easter	0	4

We do also agree that the minister of the parish shall have the keeping and profit of the Register book."

It is stated in the terrier of 1806, that the clerk has sixpence for every plough kept in the parish.

A few detached annals from the church books may be of interest.

"1713. Jan. 2, paid James Dixone for a fox head 1s.; Jan. 19, for a fox head 1s.; 1714. Mar. 28, Will Ward for a fox head 1s

1725. To Roger Neebitt in part of bill of costs of Brandling £1 11s. 0d.; to Jno. Reveley for executing two processes on Mr. Brandling for not paying church sess 10s. 6d.

1764. The church steeple was repaired and the large bell recast; and to defray the expense a rate of 3d. in the pound was imposed by the churchwardens and the gentlemen of the four-and-twenty.

1765. The churchwardens were ordered to provide at the expense of the parishioners proper vestments for the parish clerk and sexton to officiate in during the time of divine service.

1793. The churchwardens to be allowed 2s. each and no more when they dine together at visitations.

1793, Nov. 11. A rate of three farthings in the pound to be laid upon the part of the parish in Coquetdale ward to pay £3 to each person chosen by lot to serve the militia.

1796. Eight men required for the army, and bounties are to be given and a rate of five pence in the pound laid on to pay expenses.

1796. Twelve men to be raised for the Navy by the parish of Alnwick and parochial chapelry of Framlington.

1796. Graves are to be dug $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and the Sexton have 2d. more—in all 8d.; 1814, the sexton to have 1s. 6d. instead of 1s. for digging a grave.

1818, Sep. 4. Three pews in the north gallery were allotted and set aside for the scholars of the free Grammar School of the Borough of Alnwick.

1842. Return to the Archdeacon; the Baptisms commence Aug. 19, 1845, the Marriages March 4th, 1846, the Burials Aug. 5, 1846."

CHARITIES CONNECTED WITH THE CHURCH.

Hugh Potter, who had been steward of the Baronial Courts of Alnwick, bequeathed, prior to 1669, the interest of forty pounds, to be distributed yearly, on Good Friday, to the poor of the parish. This money was paid to the Chamberlains of the Borough. The first record regarding it, is in the minutes of "the Common Gueld held for the Mannor and Burrough January the Seaventh 1669," which say "It is this day ordered that Mr. Thomas Mitcalfe, Mr. John Vardy, Mr. John Falder, and Nicholas Widdowes is to tender into the hands of the foure-and-twenty, in the Comon Gueldhall, at Mayday next ensuing, the forty pounds which was left to the poor of the parish, or to give security for the same." This money continued to be lent out in sums of £5 to several members of the four-and-twenty; but, in 1693, John Swinhoe not having for several years paid his interest on £5, he had to be sued; and George Turner was ordered to give better security for the amount in his hands. But in 1696 it was agreed that "they shall call in all the moneys that was left by Hugh Potter Esq., against Lamas day next ensuing;" and we have next the following record:—

"November 5, Ao. 1696,

The day and yeare above written, the present Chamberlains with the consent of the four-and-twenty, hath purchased of Mr. Matt. Alnwick, the Close called the Boge Close and Another close called the Broad hepe Closes alies Pye close att the price off fifty pounds, for which the Chamberlains is to Assigne over the bonds belonging to Potter's moneys unto Mr. Alnwick, which is thirty five pounds at new years day, and to pay out of the Town's box five pounds more att May day next, which makes up Esqr. Potter's forty pounds, and to pay the other ten pounds out of the Town's Rents att all Sts. day next; and the said Mr. Alnwick is to make A good Estate to the said Chamberlains for the use of the Towne as Consell shall advise or devise betwixt this and new year's day next, and this is the full agreement, as witness our hands the day and yeare above written. Matt. Alnwick, Mark Forster, Richard Strother, John Vardy, Thomas Vardy."

The yearly sum of £2 8s. 0d. has ever since been paid to the churchwardens on Good Friday, for distribution among the poor, on account of this bequest.

Mark Forster, in 1733, left by will £5 yearly to the poor of the parish, now charged on Lough House estate, in possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and paid yearly at Christmas.

Benjamin Barton, in 1731, left the interest of £50 to the poor of the parish; and on this account £2 10s. 0d. are paid at Whitsuntide by the Chamberlains to the Churchwardens for distribution.

Mary Taylor, by will, Dec. 3, 1807, left to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the parish £100 in trust to distribute the interest thereof, at Christmas, among poor persons residing in the parish. This sum, invested in 1845 in the 3½ per cent annuities amounting to £112 19s. 11d., was transferred to the official trustees of charitable funds.

Stanton Neale, a shoemaker and a Methodist in Alnwick, by will made Feb. 25th, 1814, after leaving legacies of £50 each to two relations, and larger legacies to several Methodist friends, bequeathed to Luke Hindmarsh, sen., his fourth of the tithes of grain and corn on Longhoughton, and his houses in Alnwick, and a ridge of land in Lough House. The tithes were charged with payment of £10 yearly to the poor of Longhoughton; and "he gave to the curate and churchwardens of Alnwick an annuity of £10 issuing out of his messuages, burgages, or tenements, and real estate in the town of Alnwick, to be paid the day before Christmas yearly, and to be by them distributed among the poor of the township of Alnwick on Christmas day, with a power of distress to recover the annuity in case of non-payment." Dying on Feb. 28, 1814, within a year and a day after the will was made, these charitable legacies were void by the statute of mortmain; but Luke Hindmarsh, appears to have considered himself morally bound to carry out the testator's will, and he paid these legacies to the poor till his death. The property on which they were chargeable passed by will to his three sons, and part of the properties were sold by them; but neither the father nor sons took legal measures to secure the perpetual payment of the charity. The shares of his brothers were bought by William Hindmarsh, who, however, continued the charitable payments till his death in 1842. That part of the property still unsold passed by will to his four sons; and, in 1853, payment of the Alnwick charity was refused. Sometime after that, the shares of the younger brothers were purchased by Mr. Luke Hindmarsh, who since then has voluntarily given to the churchwardens £10 yearly to be distributed among the poor of the town. The property on which the charity was charged is now held by three owners, the Duke of Northumberland, Mrs. Prudhoe, and Mr. Luke Hindmarsh.

Barbara Crawford, of Alnwick, widow, bequeathed £125 to the minister and churchwardens upon trust, to invest in the funds, or other sufficient security, and to distribute the interest yearly on new year's day among the poor. This bequest, invested in 1836 in new 3½ per cents, amounting to £111 6s. 4d., has been transferred to the official trustees of charitable funds.

Henry Collingwood Selby, of Swansfield, lent, in 1828, to the Alnwick Corporation, when building a new school, the sum of £300, at 4 per cent per annum interest. After his death on Feb. 9th, 1839, the interest, amounting to £12 yearly, has been, in accordance with his will, distributed among the poor of the parish on new year's day, in sums of 3s. or 5s. to each person; six pounds of the amount are distributed by the chamberlains and the other six pounds by the incumbent and churchwardens.

Captain Hall, R.N., left by will to the minister and churchwardens of St. Michael's Church of Alnwick, the sum of £1000, the interest of which was to be distributed by them among the deserving poor residing within the parish, every year on new year's day. This bequest was on June 1st, 1858, invested in the 3 per cent consolidated annuities, amounting to £1020 8s. 2d., in the name of the official trustees of charitable funds.

Nicholas Forster, of Alnwick, merchant, by will, made March 3rd, 1700, bequeathed to his mother, Katherine Forster, the land bought of William Archbold in the Town Head, to be at her disposing. "Item: I give and bequeath to the poor within the towne of Alnwick twenty shillings yearly, to be paid them always upon the Fryday before Easter, out of the said purchased estate, bought of the said Mr. William Archbold." This charity was paid regularly till 1762. It is now lost, perhaps because it would be void by the law of mortmain, as the testator died on March 2nd, 1701, less than a year and a day after making the will.

CHAPTER VII.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

After the Reformation one church and generally one Episcopal minister served the parish during three centuries, notwithstanding the population had gradually increased from 2,250 to upwards of 7,000. Doubtless the influence of Gilbert Rule had sown the seeds of a vigorous dissent; and Alnwick being on the border land received, time after time, immigrants from Scotland, who brought with them an attachment to the religious opinions and forms of their native land, which passed down through some generations of their descendants; and hence during the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, a large proportion of the people of Alnwick were dissenters. Various causes, however, produced increased energy and zeal in the church, and the establishment of day and Sunday schools in connection with it helped to infuse into the young an attachment to the Church of England, and to increase the attendance on her services. A desire sprung up for another church more accessible to residents in the southern part of the parish; and hence a memorial, headed by the incumbent and churchwardens, and signed by 800 names, was presented to Hugh, duke of Northumberland, setting forth the great want of church accommodation in the parish, and requesting him, as patron of the curacy of Alnwick, to take the matter into his serious consideration. The duke responded to this memorial by erecting, at his own cost, the church of St. Paul's in the Green Bat, on the southern outskirts of the town, just beyond the old town wall. The foundation stone was laid by him on October 28th, 1845; and the church was consecrated for public worship on October 16th, 1846, by George Maltby, bishop of Durham. The cost of the building amounted to £12,000.

The act, passed in the 1st and 2nd years of the reign of Wm. IV., cap. xxxviii., under which St. Paul's Church was built,

requires, that one thousand pounds, at least, by way of endowment for the church, shall be secured upon lands or money in the funds, in addition to pew rents and other profits—that for the repairs of the church a fund shall in like manner be secured, in amount equal to five pounds upon every hundred of the original cost of the building, and a further sum reserved annually out of the pew rents, after the rate of five pounds for every hundred so provided—and that one-third of the sittings be free. In accordance with this, the duke of Northumberland made an endowment of the minimum sums of £1,000 for the church, and of £600 for its repair; it is also obligatory to reserve for repairs £30 annually out of the pew rents.

The duke, who became patron of the living, purposed to increase the endowment, so that it might yield annually £200 to the minister; and also to erect a dwelling house for his use. The building of the parsonage was indeed commenced on the site of the Secession Meeting House, which had been swept away for this object, and the walls were carried up a few feet; but the duke died before the completion of his plans; the additional endowments were not made; and his successor not carrying forward the scheme, the incomplete parsonage was pulled down, and the site was converted into gardens. Charlotte Florentia, the duchess dowager, resolved, however, to finish one part of her husband's design; and on January 20th, 1849, bought for £2080 Croft House, "as a residence for, and to augment the stipend of the officiating ministers of St. Paul's Church." She also bought a site for a Sunday school, at a cost of £211 10s. Od., and presented it to the church, with an additional donation of £32. This school was erected by public subscription, the plan being furnished gratuitously by Mr. F. R. Wilson, architect.

The church, of which Mr. Anthony Salvin was architect, is of the decorated style of architecture which prevailed during the time of Edward III.; but it possesses no original or peculiar features. It consists of a nave, aisle, and chancel. The nave is 95 feet long, 31½ feet wide, and 62 feet high to the apex of the roof, which is high pitched and open, having the timbers stained in imitation of oak, and arched ribs resting on sculptured stone corbels. There are on each side five clerestory windows of two lights. The two nave aisles are each 14 feet wide and 30 feet high, and lighted by four windows at the side and one at the east end. The chancel, which is 33 feet long and 53½ feet wide, is raised six inches above

the nave and is flagged with encaustic tiles ; a reredos has been placed, by public subscription, to the memory of the Rev. Edward Brien, who while assistant curate was drowned in 1859 when bathing at Alnmouth. In the north aisle, to the memory of the founder is an altar tomb of Caen stone, on which lies a full length figure of the duke, robed as a Knight of the Garter, with a ducal coronet on his head and a lion couchant at his feet ; shields with the arms of Percy and their alliances adorn the sides of the tomb, and try to tell to this prosaic generation, by heraldic symbols, the descent of the family. Between the aisles of the nave and chancel are arcades of lofty pointed arches supported by light and elegant clustered piers. There is no florid ornamentation, the mouldings being plain, yet the effect of the whole interior is pleasing.

The most impressive object is, however, the great east window, which is 22 feet high and 14 feet wide, with five lights adorned with beautiful flowing tracery. After the death of the founder, it was resolved to erect by public subscription a memorial window, "in token of the general esteem in which his memory was held." Subscriptions were made amounting to £816 2s. 1d.; and in 1856 the window was finished. Mr. Dyce made the cartoon, for which he was paid £500; the execution of this design in glass at Munich, by Max Aimüller cost £790; and other expenses made the total cost £1,639 5s. 0d., the deficiency being paid by Algernon, the succeeding duke. Both in design and execution this memorial is probably the finest in England. The colouring is exceedingly beautiful, soft and well harmonised. Unlike other windows, which present a different subject in every light, this is filled with one subject which is happily arranged, so that the mullions do not materially break the picture ; and, wisely too, hard mediæval conventionalisms and violations of perspective have been avoided. The story, which is distinctly portrayed, is taken from Acts chapter xiii. and verses 44 to 48, where we are told Paul and Barnabas, after speaking the word of God at Antioch among the Jews, turned to the Gentiles. The scene is placed within a gothic recess, pierced with windows, through which the blue sky appears. In the centre light the apostles stand on the raised step of a throne or canopied chair of state ; and having turned from the envious and blaspheming Jews, they are addressing the Gentiles, who gladly receive and glorify the word of God. Over all is a canopy of delicate workmanship ; and the tracery

lights are filled with patterns, the colouring of which, however, wants the softness and beauty of the principal subject. In the lower part the various coats of arms worn by the Northumberland family are given, along with the following inscription: "*In the year 1856, this window was placed by public subscription to the much valued memory of Hugh, the third duke of Northumberland.*" Though the work of a German manufactory, this window is still English; for Mr. Dyce, in his cartoon, not only gave the general design, but also the precise colour and line and shade of every part, even to the minutest details; nothing was left to the Munich artists but faithfully to execute this English picture in glass; and this they have done with great skill.

Turning now to the exterior there is less to admire. The design is lumpy—presenting a great mass of building without much beauty. The tower at the west end, though one hundred feet high, appears clumsy and out of proportion; for it is dwarfed by the effect of the high nave with a high pitched roof.

There are 1000 sittings in the church; and of these 350 have been appropriated to the duke and his tenants; 330 are free; and the others, which are let at from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. each, produced in 1867 £70 1s. 6d.; the collections, made morning and evening, amounted to £36 16s. 5d.; and donations to £11 14s. 0d.; making a total of £138 11s. 11d., which was expended as follows:—in augmentation of the assistant curate's stipend £15 14s. 10d.; in salaries to organist, bell ringer, pew opener, and others £55 3s. 0d.; for gas, by which the church is heated, £20 14s. 0d.; coals £5 9s. 6d.; washing surplices £1 18s. 6d.; sacramental wine, and for choir, Sunday school, and tradesmen's bills £33 4s. 5½d.; making a total of £132 4s. 3¼d.

The annual value of the living is given in the clergy list at £200; but this is exclusive of the value of Croft House and grounds, which are estimated to be worth yearly £78 10s. The original endowment, however, only amounts to £30 yearly; and it may therefore be inferred that the successors of the founder have so far respected his intentions as to make up the difference between £30 and £200, by a voluntary contribution of £170 yearly. Besides this, the patron of the living has paid £100 yearly to an assistant curate.

The district assigned by the bishop of the diocese is as follows:—

"All that part of the parish of Alnwick comprised within the following boundaries: (that is to say) beginning at that part of the parish of Alnwick

situate at the west end of Hayden Forest, where the Alnmouth and Hexham turnpike road enters the parish of Edlingham, and proceeding eastwards along the centre of the turnpike road through the said forest of Hayden by and along Clayport Street, Market Street, and part of Bondgate Within, until the said boundary reaches Hotspur's Tower, otherwise called Bondgate Tower, from thence along the centre of the turnpike road on the south-east side of the said tower until the boundary comes opposite to the private lane leading to the gardens of Alnwick Castle; thence down that lane for 23 yards; and from thence proceeding south-eastwards along the gardens and yards of the dwelling houses on the north side of Bondgate without the tower, and including such houses, gardens, and yards, and also including the nursery ground of Hugh, duke of Northumberland, the small field in the occupation of Mrs. Pringle, and a field called Goose Knowes, belonging to Elizabeth Gallon, until the boundary reaches the point where the north-east corner of the said last mentioned field joins the Queen's highway leading to Denwick: and from thence down the centre of the said last-mentioned Queen's highway until it reaches the river Aln at Denwick bridge; and from thence down the said river until it joins the parish of Lesbury, near to Hawkhill bridge; and from thence continuing along the ancient boundaries between the parishes of Alnwick and Lesbury, until it reaches the boundaries between the said parish of Alnwick and the parish of Shilbottle; and from thence continuing along the same until it reaches the ancient boundaries between the parish of Alnwick and the parish of Edlingham; and from thence continuing along the same until it reaches the point of the west end of the said forest of Hayden where the said boundaries began.

And the bishop declared that the said district should be under the minister who might be duly licensed to serve this church."

Since the erection of St. Paul's Church, a portion of the northern part of the parish has been added to the ecclesiastical district of South Charlton; and in 1861, the population of the several ecclesiastical districts was as follows:—

St. Michael's district	. . . . .	3965
St. Paul's do.	. . . . .	3277
South Charlton do., within the parish of Alnwick	. . . . .	108

7350

After the establishment of a public cemetery, Algernon, duke of Northumberland, undertook to guarantee the fees of the Church of England ministers and clerks, customarily paid for burials, so that all deceased parishioners might be interred free from any ecclesiastical charges; and it was arranged that the minister of St. Michael's should on this account be paid annually £7 13s. 4d., and the minister of St. Paul's £6 1s. 8d., each paying to the clerk his proportion, which for St. Michael's would be £3 11s. 7d. and for St. Paul's £2 16s. 11d.

The area attached to St. Paul's Church is not a parish but a district. The act under which it was erected defines its powers and privileges; the church is deemed a perpetual curacy, and the district assigned to the minister is under his

immediate care "so far only as regards the visitation of the sick and other pastoral duties, and shall not be deemed a district for any other purpose;" fees, dues, offerings, and other endowments, which by right or custom belong to the incumbent or clerk of the parish, shall be paid to them, except such as the bishop, patron, and incumbent shall assign to the minister of the district church; to him, however, has been assigned fees for marriages in St. Paul's Church and for burials of members of that church; and since 1866 no church rates have been collected by the churchwardens of St. Michael's for property within the district of St. Paul's; but the churchwardens and vestry of that district have no power to lay on church rates, which indeed would be unnecessary, as the act has provided for the maintenance of St. Paul's, from endowment and pew rents. A vestry meets yearly; but is composed not of parishioners, but of renters of pews, who elect one churchwarden, while the incumbent appoints the other.

The Rev. Charles Charlton, the first curate of St. Paul's, entered on his public duties on October 18th, 1846, and continued minister till his death on January 12th, 1868, in the forty-ninth year of his age. A good, conscientious, kind, and charitable man he was, and faithful and diligent in the performance of his ministerial duty. He won the esteem of all, and his death was deeply lamented.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY NONCONFORMITY, AND POTTERGATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

NONCONFORMISTS IN 1662—SPIES AND PERSECUTIONS FROM 1662 TO 1686—ANCIENT BURIAL GROUND—DR. HARLE—HIS SUCCESSORS—TRUST DEED—REV. G. ANDERSON, A.M.—SEPARATION FROM THE NORTHUMBERLAND PRESBYTERY—SUCCEEDING MINISTERS.

A minister so able and earnest as Gilbert Rule must, during his incumbency, have influenced the theological opinions and tastes of the people of Alnwick ; and it may be inferred, that not a few would cling to Presbyterianism even after the dark Bartholomew day, and despite of persecution would dare to worship in obedience to the voice of conscience. The records of Durham Bishoprick tell us of a small band in Alnwick who, immediately after the passing of the act of Uniformity in 1662, were presented at the Archdeacon's court, charged with being Nonconformists. " M. Blount, Elizabeth Brandling, Francis Brandling, Matthew Blount, Edmund Craster and his wife, John Neall, glover, William Neall, butcher, and his wife, John Tate and his wife, Robert Boswell and his wife, John Watson and his wife, Richard Leeke and his wife, Jane Turner, widow, Andrew Carr, Gawen Anderson and his wife, William Anderson and his wife, and Deborah Stanton," then suffered persecution.

These were dark and evil days ; for over the truth-loving Alnwick Nonconformists hung spies and informers, fines and imprisonment. As the early Christians met in some obscure upper room, so did they meet in secret to worship God, and receive instruction from some wandering persecuted minister, until the penal laws were relaxed, when they could, without danger, assemble together openly. The county records of a somewhat later date inform us where these Nonconformists assembled, and who were the wretched spies that betrayed them. Robert Blount in 1682 was presented

for a conventicle in his house. "In 1686 Thomas Boswell, of Alnwick, gentleman (!) informed of George Neall, of Barne Yards, Nathaniel Salkeld, of Alnwick, and his wife, and divers other persons, at the house of George Neall, in the Barne Yards, parish of Alnwick, who assembled themselves together, under the colour of exercise of religion in other manner than according to the Church of England." Another information of the same date states, that the same and other parties from Alnwick Barne Yards, Beanley, Longhoughton, &c., "at the house of Clement Gourley, in Brocksfield, assembled." The despicable informers, on this occasion, were Andrew Donkin, of Alnwick, apothecary,* John Swinhoe, of Alnwick, Barbara Reavelly, of Alnwick, and James Elliott, of Alnwick, who seems to have taken a list of those present, as he gives the names of forty persons and upwards. Warrants were immediately issued against these Nonconformists, many of whom are described as yeomen; and most of them were bound over in their own recognisances of £40 each and two sureties of £20, to appear "when they shall be thereunto required by the proclamation of our sovereign lord the king, or by his majesty's signification of his pleasure to his attorney-general for the time being or otherwise, as his said majesty shall think fit." Even without fines the fees and expenses would of themselves be a heavy penalty. The magistrates who took an active part in the proceedings, were Ralph Widdrington, of Cheeseburn Grange, "a bigotted Roman Catholic," and Colonel John Salkeld, of Rock; but the popular feeling in the district rose against them; Salkeld's house was attacked and his windows broken, and other acts evinced the prevalence of the same feeling.

The number of the prosecutions shews, that Nonconformists were at this period no inconsiderable body in Alnwick and in the district around. At the Alnwick Sessions, 6th Oct., 1660, 215 persons were indicted for not frequenting their parish church as required by law. At the sessions of 1682, "Mrs. Margaret Bell and her son Mr Samuel Bell, of Wooden, in the parish of Lesbury, were presented to be dissenters—soe reputed; likewise Mrs. Sarah Forster, of Low Buston, Jane Johnsen, of the same place, Mr. John Thompson and his wife, and William Mill, of Warkworth, and John Davison, of Eslington, so reputed." At the Alnwick Sessions, October 1682, 175 persons were indicted for not frequenting their parish church as required by law; many of them had been

* Buried Nov. 7, 1700, Mr. Andrew Duncan, chirurgeon.—*Church Register.*

indicted before, so that the expenses and fine of 5s. for the first offence and 10s. for the second, would form a heavy penalty, suffered in behalf of freedom and the rights of conscience. The grand jury at Morpeth, in April, 1683, "humbly desire that all dissenters be presented and disarmed being dangerous to the public peace and Government." Two Alnwick men appear among these persecutors; William Archbold, of Calledge Park, a bailiff of the Northumberland estate, and Matthew Alnwick, of Alnwick, a notable man in the corporation; and besides these we have Lancelot Strother, of Newton-on-the-Moor, Anthony Strother, of Bilton Banks, Rowland Archer, of North Seaton, and Edward Adams, of Longhoughton, who had it seems been an attendant of the Barn Yard conventicle. In accordance with this humble desire, no less than 525 persons, male and female, were, at the October sessions of the same year, held at Alnwick, indicted for non-attendance at their parish church, and proceedings were taken accordingly.* Happily the glorious Revolution in 1688 put an end to these persecutions; and soon afterwards numerous places were licensed for public worship, among which were Chatton, Hareop, and Dunstan in this neighbourhood.

Of the early nonconformists in Alnwick we know little beyond their names. "They lived to God and not to fame." Richard Leek was a merchant, and possessed a considerable amount of property; in 1671, according to a book of rates, he had two burgages in Market Ward, where he lived, two in Bailiffgate, freelands in Bondgate, and a rig in the Crofts, Swansfield. His name is perpetuated in Alnwick, as his land is called Leek's field to this day. His son, Edward Leek, merchant, who died in 1699, lies interred in the chancel of St. Michael's Church. Robert Boswell, Mrs. Elizabeth Brandling, and a few other nonconformists held property in the town. To one of them John Tate, whose widow in 1671 had a house and kill in Pottergate, the protestant dissenters worshipping there are probably indebted for the church and manse, which have for a long period been enjoyed by that congregation. The garden adjoining has been used as a place of sepulture; for in 1816 a tombstone was dug up, which is now preserved in the grounds adjoining the meeting house, bearing the following epitaph:—

* I am indebted to the MSS. of Mr Christopher Seymour Bell, for extracts from the county records.

JOHN. TAIT. LAID. I THIS. PLASE
 THEE. ONLY
 FFOR. TRVTH. AND
 O WITNESS. GARTH AND. GE
 HERE : JACOB LIKE
 HIS. BLISSD. BON. TO. INTERBE
 NO. WHERE. ELSE. WOWLD
 BVT. INS BOWGHT. SEPVLOHERE
 E : T. IPSISSIMI. IOAN IS : UXOR
 1669
 VIVIT. POST. FUNERA. VIRTVS.

POTTERGATE MEETING HOUSE OR CHURCH.

Soon after the Reformation the nonconformists of Alnwick found a settled home in Pottergate meeting house. An old dish-like pewter plate is a relic of this early period, and is now used when public collections are made ; but originally it was devoted to receive offerings for the poor, as round its rim is the following inscription :—" Heb. xiii. 16, Luke xii. 33. Remember the poor, 1689." There is, however, no record of a regular minister in this church till 1693. A memoir of the first dissenting minister in Alnwick, of whom we have information, will not be uninteresting to those, who have a respect for learning, earnestness, and piety.

LIFE OF DR. HARLE.

One hundred and fifty years ago, Dr. Harle, a middle sized fat man, with little activity and briskness, but with a countenance very comely and pleasant and a soul much more so, was one of the most notable men in the old town of Alnwick. But, however useful and distinguished in his day, his name would have been forgotten long ere this, if it had not been linked with that of a much greater man. Dr. Harle is now known to us, because the Rev. John Horsley, author of the great work, *Britannia Romana*, preached his funeral sermon, sketched his life, and wrote his epitaph. Horsley's memorials of Harle, published in 1730, contain a dedication to Mrs. Mary Harle, whom he calls his kinswoman, a life of Harle, and a sermon on his death ; and two sermons and some hymns and psalms by Harle himself.

Jonathan Harle was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne ; but it is not known in what year ; probably, however, two or three years prior to 1670. The surname seems to have been of two syllables—Har-le—for Horsley in his manuscripts and letters writes it Harley, one letter from Harle himself is so signed, and we have entered in the Alnwick church register of burials—1712, Mary, daughter of Mr Jonathan Harley.

Of his parents, their character and station in life, we have no record ; they appear to have been nonconformists, and able to

give their son a learned education. His family had belonged to the East Riding of Yorkshire; and one sister, who survived him, and from whom particulars of his early life were obtained, was the wife of Mr Wilson, a merchant in Beverley. He lived in Newcastle till he was seven years of age, when he was removed to Hull, and placed under the care and instruction of Mr. Pell. With him he remained ten years, and made uncommon progress in classical learning. At this early period, his temper and behaviour were engaging, so that he gained the love of all that knew him. Of Mr. Pell we know little; but he was much attached to his pupil, and highly estimated his abilities; when young Harle left, he wept over him; and some Latin verses, which Harle had written, were so much admired, that for a long time they hung in the school, as an honour both to the master and scholar. He returned to Newcastle when about seventeen years of age, and in the interval between his leaving school and becoming a preacher, he appears to have enjoyed the instructions of Dr. Gilpin, an eminent minister in Newcastle, on whom Horsley passes a warm eulogium. Mr. Harle highly esteemed him, and, in one of his poems, thus says of him:

"How oft we with admiration hung
On the angelic Gilpin's powerful tongue,
Who in perfection had the mighty art
To form the soul and captivate the heart."

Mr. Harle was qualified, by his learning and piety, for the ministry, at an early age, and when but young began to preach; "few," says Horsley, "began younger and yet few were so well furnished." His first field of labour was at Brig in Lincolnshire, where he preached for some time, but only as a probationer or licentiate. Afterwards he removed to Morpeth, where there was a congregation of nonconformists, and here he was ordained by the other ministers living in the district. There seems to have been something like the meeting of a Presbytery, for he had to give evidence of his qualifications for the office; and the subject of his thesis was "*De gratiæ irresistibilitate.*" Dr. Gilpin, who was present at his trials, states that he managed the question exceedingly well, and to their great satisfaction. Mr Harle was therefore ordained on the 21st of February, 1693.

In the following year, on September 10th, Mr Harle received a call from the dissenting congregation at Alnwick, which he accepted, and he continued to preach on alternate Sundays at Morpeth and Alnwick, until the Rev. John Horsley entered on the charge of the Morpeth congregation.

Not long after Mr. Harle's settlement in Alnwick, he married Mary Ledgard, daughter of Thomas Ledgard, a merchant and alderman of Newcastle; and this union was a source of happiness to both. When settled in a quiet country town, there are few incidents to diversify the life of a modest dissenting minister,

unless we could connect him with the intellectual and religious history of the period. This, however, we cannot do with Dr. Harle; for Horsley's memoir gives us no information of the state of the town or of the condition of the people among whom he laboured. Some extracts are given from Dr. Harle's private papers; but these are pious meditations centreing in himself, and containing nothing definite respecting the world beyond. We learn from other sources, that in 1715 there were twenty-five dissenting congregations in Northumberland, and only one—that of Pottergate, in Alnwick. Dr. Harle passed the remainder of his life in the faithful and unostentatious discharge of his duties; and though his reputation for learning and ability caused attempts to be made to induce him to go to the south, he preferred Alnwick as the scene of his labour.

He had, however, another means of usefulness and influence besides preaching. Like several other nonconformist ministers of this period, he combined the duties of a physician with that of a minister. Lomas, who was ejected from Wooler, and Rule from Alnwick, betook themselves to medicine as a means of living. Dr. Harle acted from a different motive. It does not appear where he got his medical education. Hodgson was told that he had studied in Germany, but of this there is no evidence or even probability, for he never seems to have been out of his own country; his instruction had probably been obtained from some nonconformist practitioner. That, however, he was well skilled in medicine is sufficiently proved, for in 1710 he was examined by the Edinburgh college of physicians, and they certified that he was "a man of good learning and sufficiently qualified for obtaining a degree." On their recommendation, he received the degree of doctor of medicine from the Edinburgh University on the 28th December, 1710, and his name stands first in the new university register.

Dr. Harle was highly esteemed as a physician, and was consulted by persons of all persuasions; yet, though he practised nearly forty years, so singularly unselfish was he, that he would not accept of remuneration from his patients. After he obtained his degree, his friends pressed him for the sake of his family to take fees from those who were able and willing to give them; but he would not alter the resolution he had formed, of making medicine and everything subservient to his nobler design of doing good to immortal souls, believing that his practising gratuitously contributed to his spiritual influence; and his wife's approval of this course proves, that she too was amiable and high-minded; for, from the narrowness of their income, she was the more constrained to manage her household with prudence and economy. To us, in these modern times, when all appear hastening to become rich, and when money-power is a great test of excellence, there appears a wonderful simplicity in his self-denial, and the doctor himself evidently felt that, even in his own day, he was

exposing himself to the world's scorn; for, says he—"Blessed be thy name O Lord, for my unacquaintedness with the world, for although I may be accounted *one of the world's fools* for it, yet I am free from the snares in it, and it teaches me a dependence on that God, who does all things for me. But if when thou multiplied concerns thou increasest my knowledge in them, then do thou increase my grace, that I abuse not that knowledge, for I would rather be without them than have them with the entanglement of my conscience." We cannot but admire and reverence the man, who is guided by the exalted principles which gleam through the outpourings of his contented and humble mind.

Dr. Harle was a studious man during the whole of his life, and merited the estimation in which he was held for his great learning. Not only was he well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but he had also a knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. Some portion too he had imbibed of his friend Horsley's antiquarian tastes, as appears from Horsley's notes and letters:—"Dr. Harley gave my son an eagle stone which was found at Stamford, the outer shell or stone includes the inner as a shell does the nut. There was not long ago found upon Coquet Island, a Roman coin of the Emperor Valerian; it was first given to Dr. Harley and then presented by him to Dr. Mead. The curious entaglio that was found at Flodden Field, probably had been Roman, and the woman upon it partly clothed and partly naked was supposed by Dr. Harley to be Britain; the clothed representing that part which was conquered and become provincial, the naked part signifying the unconquered barbarian part of the island. Mr. Gordon gives a figure of this entaglio, but takes little notice of Dr. Harle's explication of it, mentioning another, which in my humble opinion is very improbable."

Dr. Harle maintained an extensive correspondence with Horsley and other literary friends. According to Horsley, these letters were much valued, as they contained somewhat that was new and entertaining, and often a great number and variety of beautiful thoughts that were very diverting and instructive. In early life he published "A discourse of Infant Baptism by way of dialogue." "Perhaps," says Horsley, "there is no book extant of so small a compass, in which the controversy is handled with more judgment and clearness." Not long before he died, he published a more important work on a subject which his attainments, both as a theologian and a physician, qualified him to illustrate: it is entitled "An historical essay on the state of physick in the Old and new Testament, and the apochryphal interval; with a particular account of the cases mentioned in scripture, and observations upon them. To which is added a discourse concerning the duty of consulting a physician in sickness. 1729." This treatise, in Horsley's opinion, was not so

well digested and connected as might have been wished, and yet contains a good deal of learning and shows a variety of reading. It had, however, the merit of originality. It was the precursor of Dr. Mead's "*Medicina Sacra*," which was not published till 1748. The hymns and psalms published after Dr. Harle's death possess no great merit; but two posthumous sermons, one on the "*Frailty of Man*," and the other on "*Conformity to Christ*," leave a favourable impression of his power as a preacher. They are in the style of the period, textual discourses made up of a number of divisions and sub-divisions arising out of the passage taken as a text—a method which is still followed by some, but which, under the semblance of logical order, not unfrequently covers superficial knowledge and commonplace sentiments. Dr. Harle's discourses, however, are the productions of an earnest and thoughtful mind, and contain many judicious and serious observations and exhortations; they evince great knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, the language of which is interwoven with his thoughts and expositions. The style is somewhat quaint, the sentences are often long, tedious, and occasionally involved; the meaning, however, is generally clear enough, and some passages are vigorous and impressive.

Dr. Harle, from some constitutional peculiarity could not, even from infancy, taste fermented or spirituous liquors without suffering injury. He was therefore compelled to restrict himself to water as a beverage. Notwithstanding this necessary temperance, his studious and sedentary habits brought on painful diseases; and gout and gravel were the tortures of his life. At length gout attacked his stomach and head and terminated his life on the 24th of December, 1729. As during the course of his life he had been a pattern of contentment and meekness, so during his illness he was calm and patient. Horsley visited him a few days before his death, and was much affected by the exemplary conduct and last counsels of his dying friend.

Dr. Harle's portrait has been drawn by a friendly pencil; but after making allowance for the partiality of friendship, he was, if not a great, yet a superior character. He was a learned man, an able and faithful minister, a skilful physician, a kind friend, and an affectionate husband and father. He adorned the doctrines he taught, not more by his integrity, which as "*a rich jewel set in the midst of a great many others shone with redoubled lustre*," than by his meekness and benevolence, his candour and moderation, and by the cheerfulness and even pleasantry of his conversation. His death was universally lamented; and on the day of his interment a tribute of respect was paid to his remains by all classes and persuasions. He had been thirty-six years minister of Alnwick, and he must have been upwards of sixty years of age when he died.

He was buried at Alnwick; and the following inscription remains to his memory in the chancel of the church:—

Jonathani Harle, M.D., fidei evangelicæ summo amatore et concionatori, medico peritissimo et omnigenæ literaturæ politioris scientissimo: mortuo x. calend. Jan. M.D.CCXXIX. Hujus sepulchreti dominorum permissu B. M. H. M. P. C.* Maria maestissima conjux.

He left a widow, three sons, and a daughter to mourn his loss. His widow died December 14th 1766; his son Jonathan succeeded him; of a younger son George, born in 1705, I have seen no record; but another son Joseph, entered as an apprentice to a merchant in 1733, and settled in this town as a grocer in a house in Clayport, which belonged to him; and died January 22nd, 1765.

The Rev. Jonathan Harle was elected his father's successor in 1729; but several of the members dissatisfied with this appointment, seceded and formed another church, the origin of the congregation now assembling in Sion chapel. Mr. Harle continued minister of the Pottergate congregation till his death in 1743. He, like his father, had a taste for antiquities; and a letter of his, printed in Nichol's Literary Illustrations, shews that he was acquainted with Horsley, Dr. Mead, and Dr. Stukely, and discussed with them antiquarian subjects. He was succeeded by John Waugh, who left some little time after 1748 for a church in Scotland. Mr. Ferrier followed; and he too was translated to Scotland in 1758; John Calder was the next minister, but he removed to London in 1769; William Burn succeeded, and left in 1774 for Minto in Scotland; Robert Robertson appears next as minister, and after having the charge for twenty-two years, he crossed the Border and became parish minister of Ednam in 1796. Of these various ministers nothing of interest is known.

Before Mr. Calder left, he made a conveyance of the meeting house, the manse, garden, and vestry to trustees. In this deed there is no recital of any previous conveyance. Calder's conveyance is the charter of the congregation, and defines the character of the church; and therefore an abstract is given.

The Rev. John Calder, minister of the gospel, on Nov. 9, 1769, conveyed to Collingwood Forster, gent., Henry Richardson, surgeon and apothecary, Nicholas Davison, surgeon and apothecary, John Yelloly, Nathaniel Arthur Gair, surgeon and apothecary, George Brown, merchant, Richard Turner, butcher, Matthew Gibson, barber, John Young of Cannongate, tailor, all of Alnwick, and William Hay of Alemouth, merchant, Richard Robson of Field House, William Garrett of Shilbottle, husbandman, all that edifice now used as a meeting house of protestant dissenters, and the little building south of it commonly used as a vestry; and also all that dwelling house, stable, and

* Bene merenti hoc monumentum ponendum curavit. (HODGSON.)

garden behind the same, on trust, as a meeting house for the worship of God, by the church, society, or congregation of protestant dissenters, formerly called or known by the name of the congregation or people belonging Dr. Harle, afterwards to Mr. Waugh, and now to John Calder. The premises were to be enjoyed by John Calder, so long as he was minister, and by successors called thereto and approved and qualified in opinion or otherwise, provided they be able and protestant ministers of the gospel, who in judgment and practice as to church discipline shall be presbyterian, and provided also they are approved of by not less than three-fourths of the trustees for the time being. When the number of trustees shall be reduced to eight or seven, then the remainder shall elect others, being protestant dissenters of good credit and reputation, to make up the number to twelve.

There is some obscurity in this deed, for it is not stated who are to call the minister; it gives, however, wide scope for the exercise of freedom of opinion, for no theological test is imposed; all required from a minister is to be a protestant dissenter, and to practice presbyterian discipline. The call it may be assumed must come from the congregation; but whether from members only, or from seat holders as well, is not defined. Here, however, is introduced the *veto* system, though in a different form from that in the Scotch Church; for in Scotland the *veto* is given to the people; but here it rests with one-third and one more of the trustees; so that four persons might effectually obstruct the appointment of a minister elected by the people.

All the original trustees had died prior to 9th November, 1808, excepting William Hay, of Lesbury, and Nicholas Davison, of Alnwick; and they then, by two deeds, created a new body of trustees, for precisely the same objects as are specified in the original deed, which is fully recited. The new trustees were the Rev. Wm. Goldie, Robert Pringle, doctor of medicine, William Wilson, surgeon, George Wilson, surgeon, William Leithead, cabinet maker, James Russell, cabinet maker, William Curry, merchant, John Leithead, gentleman, all of Alnwick; John Mole, of Embleton, farmer, and Robert Wintrop, of Alnmouth, weaver. All these trustees were dead prior to June 10th, 1857; but it appears from a stamped deed, called a memorandum, made in accordance with the provisions of an act of 13 and 14 Victoria, that the following twelve trustees were elected at a meeting, duly convened, on June 10th, 1857, viz.—Rev. John Walker, William Somerville Millar, doctor of medicine, Alexander McCleish, wood bailiff, Thomas Short, tailor, Henry Hunter Blair, bookseller, Joseph Nicholson Hartridge, Robert Hall, shoemaker, William Bell, innkeeper, William Rennison, painter, Charles Scott, cabinet maker, Thomas Robertson, roper, all of Alnwick, and Robert Clark, of Broomhouse. In

this memorandum the congregation are said to be "in connection with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England."

After the removal of the Rev. Robert Robertson, William Goldie, a licentiate of the church of Scotland, was appointed minister in 1796, and held the charge till his death in 1844. During his ministry the congregation was small. A few years prior to his decease, the Rev. George Anderson, A.M., was elected and ordained his colleague and successor in 1828. An able earnest man was Mr. Anderson; and the congregation under his ministrations greatly increased. He had studied at the feet of Dr. Chalmers, and caught a portion of his fervid spirit and somewhat of his style of preaching. After being settled in the town, he took a considerable interest in its public movements; he spoke with effect at the important reform meeting in 1832; he entered with energy into the proceedings of the Scientific and Mechanical Institute, and taught classes and delivered lectures there; and by these acts he placed the dissenting minister abreast of the times, and proved that he could look beyond the narrow range of sect and party. Of this amiable man I have pleasant recollections. Domestic misfortune clouded his latter days in Alnwick. He resigned his charge on 11th June, 1837, and went to Australia; but after the lapse of a few years he returned to Edinburgh, where he died.

Up to the end of Mr. Anderson's ministry the Pottergate congregation had been connected with the Northumberland Presbytery, which embraced most of the dissenting congregations in the county, excepting those belonging to the Secession and Relief Synods. But this Presbytery was rather a voluntary association than a Presbytery strictly so called; for it possessed no power over individual congregations and ministers; it could advise but not enforce. A small matter led to the severance of the Pottergate congregation from it. Mr. Anderson complained to it, that the Rev. Joseph Rate and his son Eneas had attempted to entice from him some of his hearers; and the Presbytery unanimously passed a resolution conveying a slight censure on Mr. Rate; but after Mr. Anderson had left the town, the members at a private meeting, received from the Rates a protest against the decision. This secret proceeding the Pottergate congregation considered so unfair and irregular that they condemned it, expressed approval of Mr. Anderson's conduct, and withdrew from the Presbytery *as then constituted*.

The Rev. James Scott, a licentiate of the church of Scotland, was elected minister on September 10th, 1837; and on December 18th of the same year, the congregation resolved to join a Presbytery which might be formed, in Northumberland, in accordance with the principles of the church of Scotland. During the ministry of both Mr. Anderson and Mr. Scott the congregation increased; and the long narrow meeting house was found too small and inconvenient. There was a flush of prosperity in the church; and this old structure was enlarged and reseated. A plain building is this reconstructed meeting house, with no pretensions to architectural beauty, yet it is commodious, and contains 450 sittings. A debt was incurred by these improvements; but such is the power of voluntary effort in the support of religion, that the whole incumbrance has been removed.

Mr. Scott was a curious example, shewing how small a stock of learning is necessary to keep up a popular reputation, when aided by a confident manner and a vigorous elocution. Some half a dozen times I have heard him preach; yet four at least of these sermons were essentially the same, though preached from different texts; one was "Hope in God," another "Seek the Lord," another "Trust in the Lord," another "Fear the Lord." The introduction was different in each; but the body of the sermons, was hope in, trust, or seek, or fear the Lord, *first as your prophet, second as your priest, and third as your king*; then came an address to the young, to the middle aged, and to the old, or a description of the good man's ascent to heaven, and the evil man's descent to a place of punishment.

The disruption of the Free Church from the Established Church of Scotland was a great boon to many of the ministers of the Northumbrian presbyterian congregations. Most of them were translated to the more genial clime of Scotland, to fill up the gaps which had been made in the Established Church by the secession of some of her ablest and best ministers. The Rev. James Scott enjoyed this privilege, and removed in 1843 to the parish church of Banchory Terman in Scotland, from which he was expelled for misconduct, a few years afterwards. His future career is of no interest.

He was succeeded by the Rev. George Pittendreigh, who remained but a short time; for he was presented to an extra parochial chapel in Edinburgh in 1845. The next minister, the Rev. John Thomson was attached to the Free Church of Scotland; but on receiving from the colonial committee of that

body an appointment in St. John's, New Brunswick, he resigned the charge of the Pottergate congregation on October 10th, 1848, and was succeeded on July 25th, 1849, by the Rev. Alexander Gibson, who died at Alnwick on July 31st, 1850. The Rev. John Walker was next ordained minister on January 28th, 1851, by the Presbytery of Northumberland, in connection with the presbyterian Synod of England; but he left in May, 1858, to become a chaplain to the garrison of Chatham, where he died in 1865.

The Rev. Alexander F. Douglas was inducted by the same Presbytery to be minister of the Pottergate church on Oct. 26th, 1858. He was educated at the presbyterian theological College in London, and held for three years the charge of the Presbyterian church at Workington in Cumberland. Under his ministrations the Pottergate congregation is prospering; there are 354 members belonging to it, and the usual attendance is about 300. In the Sunday school there are 80 children and 12 teachers, and a library, which was instituted in 1863, now contains 250 volumes.

The records of this church are very scanty; of minutes of the session and congregation none is earlier than 1837;* and the baptismal register, which has been imperfectly kept, does not commence till March 12th, 1760. The largest number, twenty-nine baptisms, are entered for the years 1791, 1816, and 1854; during the first twenty years of the present century the average number was 20. John Calder says—“I baptised a vast number of children between October 1759 and October 1769 whose names are not inserted in this register.”

* There is a well written sketch of the History of the English Presbyterian Church in Alnwick, by Henry Hunter Blair, session clerk. 1864.

CHAPTER IX.

BONDGATE AND SION MEETING HOUSES.

BONDGATE MEETING HOUSE BUILT 1735—REV. JOHN SAYERS—REV. JAMES MURRAY AND BAILIFFGATE SQUARE MEETING HOUSE—MICHAEL BOSTON—DR. SIMPSON—VINT—RESTON—RATE—SION CHAPEL BUILT—TRUST DEED—DISUNION—PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER APPOINTED—INDEPENDENT MINISTERS SUCCEED—STATE OF THE CHURCH.

The appointment of Jonathan the son of Dr. Harle, to be minister of the Pottergate congregation created dissatisfaction among several of the members, who in consequence seceded, and formed themselves into a distinct congregation. Their first minister was the Rev. John Sayers, who, in 1731, came to Alnwick from Cumberland, where he had been a minister for twenty years. The congregation first assembled for worship in Bondgate Hall, which then belonged to Robert Widdrington, of Hauxley, one of the original members; but on March 13th, 1735, they bought a parcel of ground, part of a waste burgage on the north side of Bondgate, commonly called the Burnt Walls, which was conveyed by Robert Anderson, of Upper Shields, yeoman, to Robert Widdrington, of Hauxley, gentleman, Joseph Yellowly, of North Charlton, husbandman, John Walker, of Bilton Walk Mill, fuller and dyer, Joseph Baron, of Alnwick, merchant, Nathaniel Yellowly, of Alnwick, linen draper, Henry Richardson, of the same, apothecary, Andrew Burn, of the same, gentleman, and Thomas Kennedy, of the same, merchant. These, doubtless, were the principal men who had originated the congregation. A meeting house was built on this site in 1736.

Mr. Sayers continued minister nearly thirty years; but from blindness and other infirmities incident to age becoming unfit for public duty, he had several assistants in succession, the last of whom, the Rev. James Murray, was engaged in 1761. The manners and personal appearance of the new assistant

were singular and far from prepossessing ; for he was careless in his dress, and when preaching spoke loudly, and with a broad Scotch accent, and frequently paused in the course of his sermon and took snuff ; but though he improved in manner and gave proof of ability, he failed to secure the approval of the old minister and the more aged members of the congregation ; and he was therefore dismissed. A large number of the younger members, however, became attached to him ; and considering him ill-used, they separated from the Bondgate meeting, and called him to be their minister. First they worshipped in the Town Hall, and then in a malt kiln in Fenkle Street, and at last built for themselves a meeting house in Bailiffgate Square, on a lease of forty-one years ; and here he laboured with success till 1764, when he removed to a dissenting congregation in Newcastle.

The Rev. James Murray, one of the most eminent of the dissenting ministers in Alnwick, was born at Fauns in Roxburghshire, about the year 1732 ; and he studied in Edinburgh University. Before coming to Alnwick he was tutor to the family of William Weddell, of Mousen, near Belford, one of whose daughters, Sarah, he subsequently married. In early life he was famed for wit and humour, and had a reputation as a scholar ; but it was not till after his removal to Newcastle that his peculiar and varied talents were brought into action. Like the covenanters, from whom he was descended, he mingled politics with theology, and entered with keenness into the political warfare of his times ; bringing satire, ridicule, and humour, as well as reason, to his aid, when he made fierce onslaughts against corruption and error. His first political publication was an answer to John Wesley's pamphlet, "Taxation no Tyranny," which he treated with no mercy. He became famous by his sermons to asses, to doctors in divinity, to ministers of state, and by his lectures to lords spiritual ; and these are still read. He was also the author of the History of Religion ; a History of the Churches of England and Scotland ; a History of the American war ; Lectures on the Book of Revelations of John the Divine ; Lectures on the Patriarchs, &c. He died in Newcastle on January 28th, 1782, aged 50 years. Thomas Bewick, the celebrated wood engraver, says of him ; " he was a cheerful, facetious, sensible, pleasant man, a most agreeable companion, full of anecdote and information, keen in his remarks, but carefully kept off hurting the feeling of any in the company." His son, Dr. Murray, was one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Institution in Newcastle.

After the removal of Mr. Murray, Michael Boston was ordained minister of the Bailiffgate meeting on October 28th, 1765. He was son of the Rev. Thomas Boston, of Jedburgh, one of the founders of the relief church, of whom Dr. Bogue said "he was next to Whitfield the most commanding preacher I have ever heard;" and grandson of Thomas Boston, the author of the "Fourfold State," which at one time was to be seen in almost every cottage in Scotland. The Bailiffgate congregation flourished; and the attendance became more than the place could conveniently accommodate; it must, however, have been imperfectly seated, as it was the custom then, for women especially, to take with them *crackets* or stools, on which they sat during divine service. A better feeling grew up between the Bailiffgate and Bondgate congregations; and at length it was agreed that they should unite; Mr. Sayers resigned his charge, and accepted from the congregation an annuity during his life; and Mr. Boston became the minister of the united congregations. Mr. Sayers lived only six weeks after the breach was repaired, and died on April 1st, 1767.

The old Bondgate meeting being now too small, it was in 1768 taken down and rebuilt on an enlarged plain; but in November, 1770, Mr. Boston removed to a relief church at Falkirk in Scotland. On the December following, the Rev. Thomas Monteith was called from the relief church at Dunse; and he continued minister till his death from paralysis on May 12th, 1786. During his incumbency the congregation flourished; £130 of debt was paid off; and they had still to pay rent to the duke of Northumberland for an unoccupied house in Bailiffgate, as he would not clear them of the lease. The seat rents then averaged £105 10s. yearly, and an additional sum arose from collections after every service. Three times in the year was the Holy Communion administered, the number of communicants on each occasion being on an average 350.

This congregation being now the largest in the town was important, and desired an experienced minister. Most of the old members, who had called Mr. Boston, were still living; and having a favourable recollection of the Rev. Dr. Simpson, who was his brother-in-law, and who had preached to them, a correspondence was entered into with him that he might accept the charge. Mr. Michael Hindmarsh, on the part of the congregation, conducted the correspondence, which gives interesting information of the price of food, &c., in 1786.

The rent of a convenient house to accommodate a family of ten persons was about £9 yearly; a cart load of coals from Shilbottle, weighing 16 cwt., cost 3s. 5d.; pure milk was one penny a quart; the best beef and mutton averaged 3½d. per pound; a good housemaid's wages were from 50s. to 60s. yearly; and a horse could be kept for £10 a year. Dr. Simpson, who was then a minister in Hoxton, London, seems to have been a shrewd Scotsman, and careful about the conditions of the appointment. Terms, however, were arranged, and a call was given to him to become minister, signed by upwards of 500 of the people. The proceedings of the congregation at this crisis reflect great credit on their good taste and liberality; they dealt kindly with the daughters of their deceased minister; and at every step, the managers sought to obtain the full and free expression of the opinion and feeling of the people, and to be guided by it. When conducted in such a spirit, popular election is seen in its most advantageous aspect. This body of Christians must have been then guided by wise and good men.

Dr. Simpson, however, was not the fit man for this church, and his conduct caused some of the members to leave, and others to complain to the elders, who, by a letter, which indicates the religious tone of the congregation, remonstrated with the doctor, telling him that his conduct in attending and countenancing various public amusements and indulging in other improprieties is such a conformity to the world, as is inconsistent with the profession of any Christian, much more so a minister of the gospel; that he had neglected to visit the sick—a shameful omission of his ministerial duty; that he had left off annual religious visitation and the annual diet of catechising; and that he had departed from a religious course of lecturing, contrary to the practice of his predecessors and the wishes of the congregation; and they offer to cooperate with him in any method “towards revival of religion amongst them, of the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom amongst them in the present state of infidelity and profanity.” After this he did not stay long in Alnwick; but removed on July 10th, 1789, to Pittenweem in Fifeshire. No respect was shewn to him when he left; perhaps his keenness had been carried too far, for the congregation resolved “that Dr. Simpson should be fully paid for the time he had preached among us, *but no further.*”

Repeated changes in ministers are trying to the temper of a congregation, however good and wise the members may

be. Party spirit can break out in the religious as well as in the political world ; and unfortunately the Bondgate congregation split into factions when they came to choose another minister ; the peaceful calm of this Christian church was broken by stormy passions, and the meeting house was the scene of angry conflicts. The Rev. John Reston, relief minister at Biggar, was recommended to the elders as a fit successor. Shrewd men these elders were ; they sent one of their number to Biggar to hear him preach, and make inquiries as to his character ; but Mr. Reston was from home at the time, and the deputy had to return without accomplishing his object. Some delay, in consequence, occurred in arranging for Mr. Reston to preach at Alnwick, that the people might judge of his gifts. Meantime a young man, who was still but a student of Idle college, which belonged to the congregational denomination, preached in Bondgate meeting house, and many of the people were so pleased with his services, that a strong desire arose to call him as their minister. This young student, William Vint, who was born at Thrunton, near Whittingham, was the son of a shepherd, and had been trained under the teaching of the Rev. James Somerville, of Branton, a remarkable man, who was minister of one of the largest dissenting bodies in Northumberland, and who had sent forth from his church several ministers of the gospel, some of whom achieved eminence. In consequence of this movement, Mr. Reston was withdrawn as a candidate ; and a congregational meeting decided to call Mr. Vint, by a majority of 205 members against 92. Being, however, still but a student, Mr. Vint could not, in accordance with the college regulations, enter on the charge, till after the lapse of another year. How curiously is this made use of by those opposed to the call ; “ the aged,” they say, “ tottering on the brink of the grave cannot consent to sign away their privileges which they hope for from a stated ministry, as they, in all probability, may be deprived of them, before they can reap any advantage from them ;” “ servants who know not but they may remove from their place before they can enjoy the privilege of a stated gospel ministry object to the signing away their privileges, which they have not the view of enjoying in case of a removal.” Such was the strange logic used in a conflict of religious sections ! Notwithstanding these objections, the call was presented to Mr. Vint ; but not being the voice of an undivided church, he declined to accept the charge. He was afterwards settled as minister of the Independent Church at Idle in Yorkshire ;

and having a reputation for scholarship and theological knowledge, he was appointed tutor of the Idle academy, in which young men were instructed in language, philosophy, and theology, to qualify them as ministers of the congregational denomination.

The party feeling in the congregation was now so strong, that the friends of Mr. Reston did not bring him forward as a candidate. Wisely they agreed to hear other candidates; and an effort was made to restore peace to the church by the election of a minister *approved of by all*. The choice fell upon the Rev. David Pyper, who was lecturer in the West Kirk, Edinburgh; and he was ordained minister of the Bondgate congregation on June 25th, 1791; but his stay was short, for he left on December 7th, 1793, on being presented to the parish church of Pencaitland in Scotland. The way was now cleared for the Rev. John Reston; and he was called and inducted minister in December, 1793, and continued in Alnwick till October 29th, 1800, when he removed to Edinburgh.

At this period the Bondgate congregation had reached the maximum of its strength; it then consisted of about 600 members. The meeting house was an odd-looking place, an unadorned high house of three stories, with oblong windows; internally there were two galleries, one above the other, so that the occupants of the upper one looked down from a giddy height upon the people below. The congregation was content then to be simply protestant dissenters, bound by no everlasting tie to any particular sect, but free to choose their ministers from any nonconformist body. Most of their ministers had been connected with the Relief Church; but when they came to Alnwick, they came to a free congregation claiming the right of independent action. Mr. Reston had told them on his resignation, that a minister would be sent from the Relief presbytery to announce the vacancy, and that if they continued connected with that body their ministerial communion would be confined to it; but the congregation would put on no fetters, and they unanimously declared—"that we will not sacrifice the Christian liberty we have so long enjoyed for the sake of any connexion whatever;" and feeling aggrieved by a decision of this presbytery in reference to the removal of Mr. Reston, they severed their connection with presbyterianism; and in accordance with the recommendation of one of the leading members, Michael Hindmarsh, became more decidedly an independent society.

They applied to Mr. Haldane, the leader of the Scottish congregationalists, to recommend to them a preacher; and in compliance with this request he sent to them Joseph Rate, who was elected minister, and, on the 1st of April, 1801, ordained "pastor of a dissenting congregation, Alnwick." The ordination was conducted according to the congregational usage; Mr. John Aikman preached the introductory discourse; and after Mr. Rate "related the manner in which it had pleased God to bring him to the knowledge of the truth and to devote himself to the ministry, and made a confession of his faith, he was solemnly set apart to the pastoral office by prayer and imposition of the hands of James Haldane and Greville Ewing." But the election was not unanimous. Mr. Hudson, of Brislee, and others objected to Mr. Rate, because he was a methodist and itinerant preacher; for he had been employed by the Haldanes as an itinerant lay preacher and distributor of tracts among the "neglected heathens" in the north of Scotland, and in the villages around Edinburgh. Of slender abilities, meagre learning, and a poor preacher, he was, however, very diligent in visiting his flock.

The meeting house in Bondgate being in bad repair, it was sold; a site for a new one in St. Michael's lane was purchased; and a place of worship called *Sion Chapel* was erected, containing about 700 sittings, and having a clumsy gallery around three sides of the building. It was opened on June the 30th, 1816, by religious services, which were conducted by the Rev. Edward Parsons, of the Independent chapel, Leeds, and the Rev. William Vint, theological tutor of the Independent college, Idle. The site and building cost £1972; by the sale of the old meeting house, by subscriptions of the members, and collections from other congregations, £1550 were raised, leaving a deficiency of £422; but, such has been the liberality of this congregation, that the whole of this debt was gradually paid off, and totally extinguished in 1849.

In the trust deed, dated August 31st, 1816, Ralph Annett sells to the elders and members of this society of protestant dissenters, for £150, that piece of ground behind a messuage of Ralph Annett in the Market Place, upon trust, to permit a meeting house, &c., to be built and occupied as and for a place of religious worship by the society of protestant dissenters usually assembling at Bondgate meeting house; and permit elders, nominated by the men subscribers to the said meeting house, or the major part of them, being members of the said society and communicants therein, at any meeting for that purpose assembled, to receive voluntary subscriptions towards the support of the public worship, or support of the minister for the time being officiating; and permit to officiate such minister as the major part of the subscribers, men or women, being members of the society and communicants therein, at a meeting

duly assembled for that purpose, shall from time to time elect, to officiate as their minister or pastor in the said meeting house, according to the usual order and customs of the societies of protestant dissenters. Power is given to the trustees, by the authority of the majority of male members at a meeting, to mortgage, sell, or exchange the property, and invest the money for the benefit of the society; and if the society is totally dissolved or dispersed, and public worship discontinued for two years, the trustees may dispose of the premises for such purposes, either religious or civil, as two-thirds of the members, who have been subscribers for one year, shall appoint in writing. When the trustees are reduced to five, the vacancies shall be supplied, to make the number twelve, of so many protestant dissenters by profession; such appointment being made by a majority of men subscribing members or communicants; and of such meetings notice is to be given after divine service; but they are not to be held earlier than the Wednesday after such notice.—*Enrolled in Chancery, 29th April, 1862.*

As Mr. Rate advanced in years, he lost his early fervid dissenting spirit, and developed strong proclivities towards established churches. Unfortunately for the congregation he endeavoured to change its character and link it with the church of Scotland; and by what were deemed unfair and irregular means he succeeded in procuring the appointment of Thomas Dewar, a licentiate of that church, as his assistant and successor. Dewar's call was signed by only 146 persons; and so unpopular was the appointment, that his ordination instead of being made, as is usual, in the presence of the congregation, took place at Edinburgh before a few Scottish kirk ministers. By such arbitrary proceedings the peace of the congregation was broken and a fierce controversy raged; pamphlets appeared on both sides, as well as some curious descriptions of the scenes acted within the chapel during the struggle. Two able pamphlets written by the late Ralph Morton, one of the most earnest and intelligent of the members, are of value for historical notices of the congregation. Many members were driven from the body at this crisis. The Rev. Thomas Dewar entered on his duties on May 18th, 1839, but he resigned on August 30th, 1843, on being appointed minister of the south church of Aberdeen.

Freed, by this time, from the influence of priestly dictation, the congregation, in accordance with their principles, elected as their minister, on November 12th, 1843, George Richards, a student of the Independent college of Airedale. The Rev. Joseph Rate resigned, on January 7th, 1844, the pastoral charge of the church, which he had held during forty-three years; and he died on December 5th, 1846, aged 70 years. The Rev. George Richards continued minister till November 1st, 1849, when he accepted a call from a congregation in Howden, Yorkshire. The Rev. Robert Greener became pastor on February 10th, 1850, and laboured diligently as a

faithful minister till his death, on January 8th, 1865, in the forty-first year of his age. He was greatly esteemed as an amiable, good man, and as an able preacher; for his sermons were distinguished by originality of thought, and beauty of style. The present minister, the Rev. J. T. Shawcross, of Burnley, who had been educated at Airedale college, having been unanimously called, became pastor of this church on October 15th, 1865.

A return made to the churchwardens in 1829 states, that there were then 833 persons belonging to the congregation; and according to the registrar-general's report, there were on March 30th, 1851, present at the morning service in the chapel 273, and at the evening service 132; the average attendance during the preceding twelve months being in the morning 300, and in the evening 200, and the total number of persons belonging to the congregation 518. The baptismal register commences February 17th, 1762; but there were earlier records from 1731 to 1762, which were lost many years ago.

Though not numerous, the members of this church have been remarkably liberal in the support of religion. Besides contributions to missionary and benevolent societies, and keeping up the fabric of their chapel, and providing for the celebration of praise by an organ and choir, and paying other incidental expenses, they give to the minister £170 yearly. During the year 1866 the chapel was considerably altered and improved; the whole of the interior was remodelled, the clumsy gallery taken away and a smaller one placed in the south end; the pulpit has been removed to near the north end, and a gallery for the organ and choir placed behind it. These alterations cost about £500. A house, too, has been bought as a residence for the minister, costing with alterations above £600. Such is the power of voluntaryism, where religious privileges are valued.

CHAPTER X.

UNITED SECESSION CHURCHES.

ORIGIN OF BURGHER MEETING HOUSE—REV. JOHN MARSHALL—REV. DAVID PATERSON—FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY—RELIEF CHURCH.

The presbyterian congregation now worshipping in Clayport has been in existence for 114 years, and it was originally connected with the Burgher Associate Synod of Scotland. The Scotch church had, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, lost much of its early attachment to the calvinistic doctrines of her formularies; she had become lukewarm, and tolerant of doctrinal errors. Cold moral essays were delivered from the pulpit, instead of sermons glowing with evangelical fervour; and ministers were forcibly intruded into churches against the will of the people. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, in a synod Sermon, preached at Perth in 1732, exposed with much zeal the defections of the church in doctrine and discipline; and for this offence, he and three other ministers, who held the same views, were expelled from the established church. A few weeks afterwards the four ejected ministers formed themselves into a distinct church under the name of the Associate Presbytery. This secession in Scotland was in some respects similar to the rise of methodism in England; it was a resuscitation of the religious life of Scotland from the lethargy into which it had fallen. Able earnest men were these seceders; learned too, and having a profound reverence for gospel truth; yet they were but narrow-minded; and while fiercely denouncing intolerance in others, they were far from being guided by a spirit of toleration themselves. A dispute in 1744 about a trifling matter—the taking of the burgher oath—rent the little church into twain; one division was designated the Associate Burgher Synod, and the other the Associate Anti-Burgher Synod. Each called the other bad names; one party was stigmatised as schismatics, and the other as apostates; and the anti-burghers went so far

as to pronounce against the burghers the highest ecclesiastical censures.

Possibly the decadence of the religious spirit in Alnwick may have led to the establishment of a burgher congregation there. The persons who originated it were natives of Alnwick, who for some time had attended the church of the Rev. John Fisher, a burgher minister in Glasgow, and a few resident Scotchmen in Alnwick, with some others who had belonged to the church of England, but who had become dissatisfied with its services. These parties, on October 20th, 1753 petitioned the Associate Burgher Presbytery of Edinburgh to send preachers to them, and to proceed to the election of elders, so that they might be formed into a church. The Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, in accordance with the appointment of the presbytery, preached at Alnwick on the last Sundays of November, and ordained the following elders, who had been elected by the congregation, viz., Henry Richardson, William Scot, and Ralph Taylor. The congregation met for worship at first in Delaval's or Dr. Forster's close at the head of Canongate; and next in an old house at the head of Canongate, now part of the gas works. It had been, it is said, a Roman Catholic religious house; and before it was altered, it had some ecclesiastical features in its old windows. In this place the sacrament of the Holy Communion was first dispensed by Mr. Brown, and here the congregation continued to assemble till 1761, when a new meeting house with about 300 sittings was built in Ogle Terrace, Clayport Street.

John Marshall, the first minister, was ordained in 1766. He had been connected with the burgher congregation of Stichell, near to which, I suppose, he had been born on September 24th, 1740. He studied divinity under the Rev. James Fisher, who was the theological professor of the Burgher Associate Church. Well qualified was he for the charge of this infant congregation; for he was a good scholar, and his mind was stored with historical knowledge; "A saintly man" he has been called, and I believe with good reason, though, probably, judging from the character of those who were moulded under his ministry, he had somewhat of the narrow and dogmatic spirit, which marked the early seceders. As a father among his people he entered warmly into all their interests; in times of distress and sorrow especially, he was amongst them with his kindness, sympathy, and active benevolence; regular he was too in holding what were called diets of examination at the houses of his members, for the purpose of instructing the young. As a preacher he was not popular, for

he spoke with hesitation ; but his congregation highly appreciated his lectures in the exposition of scripture, which made a deep impression, from the richness of his historical illustrations and the wisdom of his practical maxims. For some time after his settlement in Alnwick "he was passing rich on fifty pounds a year ;" but as he was married and had a large family to maintain, he taught the classics to a limited number of pupils. John Lambert, an accomplished man, was one of his scholars ; and William Allers Hankey, who was afterwards head of a great banking house in London, treasurer of the London Missionary Society, and a leader of benevolent institutions, lived with him as a pupil several years.

Under his faithful and affectionate ministry the burgher congregation prospered ; but it was chiefly composed of the humbler classes. On looking over the register of baptisms from 1785 to 1800 I find, that of 231 baptisms, there were 65 children of labourers, 30 of shoemakers, 30 of weavers and stocking-makers, 12 of tailors, and only 4 of farmers, and 2 of grocers. There must, however, have been a considerable accession of members towards the close of his ministry ; for the baptisms averaged then 25 yearly. The meeting house in Ogle Terrace being too small for the increasing congregation, a new meeting house was built in 1803, with about 550 sittings, on a piece of vacant ground in the Green Bat, to which the duke of Northumberland laid claim as lord of the manor, and of which he granted a lease at a nominal rent for forty years. Mr. Marshall died on February 21st, 1805, in the 39th year of his ministry, and 65th year of his age. No man's memory has been more cherished than his ; often, many years after his death, have I heard his pointed sayings quoted, and his saintly character described by those who in early life enjoyed his ministrations. The Rev. Percival Stockdale, the eccentric vicar of Lesbury, had a high regard for him, heightened probably, for Stockdale was a vain man, by Mr. Marshall recommending from the pulpit his pamphlet on "Cruelty to Animals." "In matters of religion," he says, "perhaps Mr. Marshall had his unfair prejudices ; and very few men of the sacred functions are without them. But he was a man of great probity and virtue ; and practically and earnestly attentive to every object which he thought intimately connected with his duty." The following epitaph was written by Stockdale :

On the Rev. JOHN MARSHALL, a pious and most amiable dissenting minister.

In earth the mortal frame of Marshall lies ;
His God rewards his virtues in the skies ;
Our saint, from active youth to languid age,
Taught, and exemplified the sacred page.
Oh ! for thy sake, may heaven preserve the verse
That joins the grief which now bedews thy hearse :
May I with palms immortal crown thy shade !
For what thy words enforced, thy life displayed.*

* Memoirs of Stockdale, II., p. 329.

Mr. Marshall's family consisted of two daughters, who died unmarried, and of three sons; John, who was a surgeon, died in Jamaica, and Thomas and William settled as tradesmen in Berwick, where they died; Thomas filled the office of mayor of Berwick.

The Rev. David Paterson, the next minister, was ordained in 1806; and for thirty-seven years influenced the tastes and character of the congregation. He was born in December, 1775, at Newhall, Selkirkshire, where his father occupied a small farm, and was an elder in the burgher congregation of Stow. While in early life tending his father's flocks among the lonely hills of that pastoral district, he nursed the imaginative faculty, which ere long found expression in plaintive sonnets. He was sent to the Selkirk grammar school in 1791; and in 1793 he entered the Edinburgh University, where he studied during four sessions. He attained distinction in the logic and moral philosophy classes, then taught by Dr. Finlayson and Dugald Stewart; and an essay by him on taste was pronounced by the professor to be the best ever read in the logic class; he advised the writer to keep it the Horatian period, and then when revised and published, the world would, he said, possess a better philosophical theory of taste than had been previously given. This essay, Mr. Paterson told me, was lent to several persons and was ultimately lost. While in Edinburgh he was a member of the famous Speculative society of which Brougham, Dr. Thomas Brown, Horner, Leyden, Murray, and Erskine were distinguished ornaments. Dr. Cairns in his life of Dr. John Brown says, that Mr. Paterson "was supposed to have outstripped Brougham and Horner and other leaders of a debating society to which he belonged, in metaphysical acuteness;" but this is a delusion; for it is very doubtful whether Mr. Paterson ever took part in any discussion; though I have often heard him refer to his connection with this society, of which indeed he was proud, he never referred to anything achieved by him there. While listening to the keen debates, the burgher student was, however, sometimes startled by the daring recklessness of such leaders as Brougham and Brown, in bringing to the test of reason the principles lying at the basis of all religion.

After completing his literary and philosophical course in Edinburgh, he attended for four sessions, the lectures of Dr. George Lawson, at Selkirk, who was professor of divinity to the burgher body. During the last year, he became acquainted with John Brown, who was afterwards professor of exegetical theology to the United Secession church, and one of the ablest of Scottish theological writers. Brown regarded Paterson with enthusiastic affection and admiration; and indeed expressed the opinion that of all the burgher students Paterson possessed the greatest genius. When Brown wrote verses he imitated the style of his friend, whose poetry he regarded as so *beautiful*, that his own additions

“seemed to him like the Asiatic cruelty of binding a dead carcase to a living body.” So great was their friendship, that, when probationers and preaching week after week to vacant congregations, Brown, who had been licensed when young and had a poor stock of sermons to start with, occasionally borrowed a sermon from the better filled storehouse of his friend; but unfortunately one of these borrowed sermons was preached within a few weeks at Newtown St. Boswell’s both by Mr. Paterson and Mr. Brown, much to the amazement of the congregation. “Ah! sir,” said an acute shoemaker to Mr. Paterson, who told the story with great glee, laughing heartily the while, “we kenned your sermon again.”

After wandering as a probationer for about five years, Mr. Paterson received calls from the congregations of North Berwick and Alnwick; and preferring the latter, he was ordained there in August, 1806. His reputation as a man of ability had gone before him, and under favourable auspices he entered on his ministry in Alnwick. His preaching, as compared with that of others at this period, began a new era there; his discourses were more polished in style, more refined in sentiment; they wandered more into the regions of philosophy, and dwelt less on technical theology than on the broad principles of Christian truth and morality. Many thoughtful persons of various opinions were attracted by his preaching. He, however, never realised the high expectations of his friends. Dr. Brown, it is said, considered that the praises lavished on his essay on taste spoilt him; for vain of this achievement, he made no great effort afterwards to cultivate his genius. Wandering about from place to place so long, broke up his habits of study; and soon after he came to Alnwick he was surrounded by friends and flatterers, with whom he was often around the social board; so much so, that the hospitality to the new minister made the congregation famous; this too was inimical to a student’s life. Professor Lawson, a man of very simple manners and tastes, looked with a fatherly eye to Mr. Paterson, and having heard of these social doings resolved to administer a rebuke. On the Monday after the sacrament, the professor, the minister, and some of the elders and managers were, as was usual at that time, invited to dine with one of the principal members. Good dinners were always provided on such occasions; but in honour of the professor, the display on the table was unusually bountiful; and all save the professor did justice to it. “Will you allow me to help you to some fine beef, doctor?” said the host. “Na, thank ye,” was the curt reply. “There’s roast turkey and fine ham, will ye take a little of them, doctor?” “Na, thank ye,” was the perverse response. Delicacy after delicacy was in like manner offered and refused. Disappointed and annoyed the generous-hearted host anxiously said “I am sorry there seems nothing to suit you here—what would you like, doctor?” “Have ye got an egg? awl tak an egg,”

was the reply. The egg was procured, and formed the whole of the professor's dinner. His rudeness overshot the mark, and created disgust; never again did he appear in Alnwick, and the feasting went on with unabated vigour.

Mr. Paterson not being much of a student after he settled in Alnwick, his ordinary sermons and lectures, as time moved on, changed in character and style, being simpler and freer from affected prettiness, but more theological and commonplace. Some of his unadorned evening discourses and addresses at prayer meetings were, however, luminous expositions of scripture. His prayers both in public and in the households he visited were remarkably impressive and beautiful; for every want of humanity, for every desire of the heart, for every ascription of glory to the Supreme, he found appropriate scriptural expression; few hearts could withstand their softening influence, and they left impressions on the young which the rude rubbings of subsequent years could never entirely efface.

Mr. Paterson shone in a conversation. A little spare man he was, and somewhat bent, with grey eyes, linty locks, a fair complexion, and cynical expression of countenance. As he walked or rather tottered slowly along, with his right hand in his breast, he had an absent look as if conning over some task. But in company, among genial friends, his eyes brightened up and his countenance relaxed into pleasantry, as he pointed some moral, or uttered some maxim, indulging the while in a hearty laugh at his own witticism. He imitated the oracular style of Dr. Johnson and Robert Hall, and was fond of antithetical and pointed sayings. At the annual social gathering of the Fellowship Society, he was seen to advantage, when the young and aspiring members of his congregation listened with rapt attention to his sparkling fancies and brilliant remarks.

Mr. Paterson never displayed much of the priestly spirit. Like others of the burgher body when it was small, he disregarded clerical costume. In the earlier periods of his ministry he would ascend the pulpit in a black or coloured neckcloth, and with light coloured trousers; and his friend, the more stately and formal Dr. John Brown, preached dressed in light coloured knee breeches and Hessian boots. Since, however, the body has become formidable by union, a more clerical costume has been assumed, and the manners of the state clergy more closely copied.

Buckle, the philosopher, is puzzled with the character of the Scottish people, who while strongly attached to a narrow and intolerant theology, and led by their clergy, yet are imbued with an ardent love of civil freedom. Mr. Paterson would also have puzzled our theorist; he had the same theology; and though he could introduce into the pulpit metaphysical speculations and literary criticisms, yet he looked with suspicion on modern scientific generalisations as tending to infidelity, and occasionally denounced them as vain philosophy; but notwithstanding he was

warmly attached to the cause of liberty ; and when he took part in public movements, he was ranged on the side of reform and progress ; he never truckled to power, nor shirked the manly expression of his opinion ; and in this he stood in favourable contrast with some of the Northumbrian presbyterian ministers.

Living in a small country town, few events of interest chequered his career. He was honoured with the appointment of Moderator of the Associate Synod in 1812. After the disruption of the Scotch church, there was a disposition on the part of the Scottish universities to confer literary honours on dissenters ; and Mr. Paterson, through the influence of Dr. Lee, his cousin, received at that time from the Edinburgh university the honorary degree of Master of Arts. For a few years before his death he complained of spasms in his breast ; but his attendance at the funeral of one of his elders had overtaken his strength, and on reaching home he was seized with difficulty of breathing and other bad symptoms ; and soon after retiring to rest, he began to breathe heavily, and then came a few more gentle heavings, till he breathed his last, on the 22nd of November, 1843, in the 64th year of his age and the 38th of his ministry. Dr. Balmer, of Berwick, preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published.

Mr. Paterson's character was strongly marked ; it was not cast in the mould of a weak pietism, usually attributed to a good minister ; but was manly and free from pretence and hypocrisy ; and yet, like all such characters, it was studded over with sharp angularities. Vain he doubtless was, and occasionally strongly prejudiced ; like Dr. Johnson he was a good hater, and could censure in unmeasured terms ; not very tolerant was he with his opponents ; and perhaps too his habits were too social ; notwithstanding he stands forth as an able, good, conscientious man, honest and straightforward, truthful and independent, charitable up to the extent of his means, and a warm generous-hearted friend. The influence of his teaching and character over his congregation and over the town was, during thirty-seven years, very considerable—great indeed as that of any other man in his own generation.

As an author, Mr. Paterson never produced anything to maintain his early reputation. Sonnets by him were circulated pretty widely in manuscript, and were admired by his friends, but they contain little originality or vigour ; and though the rhymes are flowing and pretty, they are pervaded by a morbid sentimentalism. As they have never been printed, one sonnet may be given.

The howling winds of dark November rise,
 And toss the yellow leaves from shaking woods,
 Cold drenching rains pour down from lurid skies,
 The red swollen river rolls in foamy floods ;
 The sullen spirit of the tempest roars
 Through the vex'd forest, stooping to the blast.

The bending willows dash their oozy shores,
 Nature presents one melancholy waste :
 Thus man's frail pleasures wither and decay,
 His mortal honours droop at every gust
 Of chill adversity, and flee away,
 Till all his glory moulders in the dust ;
 Yet the cold ashes of the wintry grave
 Rest there in hope : benignant heaven will save.

A volume of his discourses in 1814 was favourably reviewed in the *Christian Instructor*, by his friend John Brown, who places them in the same class as those of Allison, the author of *Essays on Taste*. But an ill-natured review in the *Eclectic*, by Dr. Jamison, of Slateford, dealt harshly with both style and matter. Many beautiful passages are scattered throughout these discourses ; but they, like his poems, are often disfigured by a weak sentimentalism and a redundancy of epithets ; into no subject does the author enter deeply ; he exhausts nothing, but rather lightly skims over the surface, saying pretty things as he passes along. Subsequently he published an elaborate discourse on the Arminian controversy, in which occur many acute metaphysical observations ; pamphlets on Unitarianism and on Voluntaryism ; discourses to the young ; but perhaps three discourses on a Future State furnish the most favourable examples of his peculiar powers. A life of Dr. James Beattie and essays on Human Improvement written by him appeared in the *Newcastle Magazine*. The former besides giving a pleasing account of a poet, philosopher, and good man, contains criticisms on poetry and a review of the Scottish Common Sense philosophy. The essays were originally delivered as sermons on the afternoons of several successive Sundays ; and that they should have been preached to a burgher congregation proves the independence of his mind ; for they indulged in criticisms on philosophy, on art, on poetry, on the drama and kindred subjects, which rarely find their way into evangelical pulpits. True the men of the stricter sort listened with astonishment and then grumbled ; and not a few were startled when the preacher, in his most self-complacent manner, boldly said—“ Above all read Shakespeare, the darling child of Nature.”

Mr. Paterson married when advanced in years, and left a widow and three children, all of whom are now dead. No descendant of any minister of religion has ever taken root in Alnwick.

Under Mr. Paterson's ministrations the congregation flourished. In its best days the number of members exceeded 350, and not less than 1000 persons were connected with it. There was a debt on the meeting house when he became minister, but this, before his death, was entirely cleared away. Besides paying his salary of £146 yearly, and other incidental expenses, the members maintained a poor fund, and contributed largely to missionary societies ; in some years more than £100 were raised for this object.

During the whole of Mr. Paterson's ministry a *Fellowship Society* composed of young men met weekly, when from fifteen to thirty regularly assembled. It was founded on March 28th, 1802, and though its objects were directly religious, it stimulated inquiry into other branches of knowledge, which had an important influence on the character of the congregation. Simple and unpretentious was this association; the world knew little of its movements, yet it contributed to help onward the civilization of the town. A few men, whose intellectual life was quickened there, deserve a passing notice. Among the earlier members were *Robert Weddell*, the antiquary, of whom an account will be given hereafter; and *John Mason*, whose essays were admired for their literary taste and shrewdness. After leaving Alnwick he settled in Kelso, where he cultivated literature and poetry, and became a leader in public movements; he commenced in 1822 the *Border Courier*, which, however, in its politics was in advance of those in the district; he was the author of a *Border tour*, and of the *Kelso records*, published in 1839; two volumes of tales by him were spoken of very favourably by Sir Walter Scott. He died at Kelso, May 31st, 1844, aged 57 years.

John Douglas Loraine, born at Alnwick, on February 10th, 1799, entered the society in 1815, while an apprentice to a printer. He subsequently studied at the Independent College of Idle, under Dr. Bennet; and about 1825 became minister of a large and influential Independent church, in Wakefield. Cotemporary with him was *Benjamin Slight*, who some time after leaving Alnwick, studied under Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, and became minister of an Independent church at Tunbridge Wells. *James Duncan*, who was born in Alnwick, on April 18th 1803, entered the society in 1819. Subsequently he passed through the literary and philosophical classes of the university of Edinburgh, and the theological course of the Secession church, with great distinction; in Professor Wilson's class he gained the first prize for poetry, and his essay on *Conscience* was pronounced the best of the session. He was ordained minister of the United Secession church, at Warkworth in 1836; and in 1854 removed with his family to Canada, where he is minister of a presbyterian congregation. A few sermons and poems have been published by him, but they afford no adequate representation of his mental power. *George Bell* entered the society a few years later, and afterwards attended the Edinburgh university and Secession Divinity hall, and became minister of Carlilol street Secession church, Newcastle, in 1834, where he has since laboured, highly esteemed for the faithful and useful discharge of his duties. At this period, too, *Thomas Tate*, F.R.A.S., was for several years a member. Two more may be noticed of a later date. *James Fettes*, who was born in Alnwick, January 9th, 1819, joined the society about 1836; and, while working as a whitesmith, cultivated language, poetry, and theology. In 1840 he published *Zuleika*, a ballad, and the

Dream, a poem. He subsequently studied in the Edinburgh university and in the Divinity hall of the Free church, and became a minister of that body. He was for several years minister of the Free church of Ladhope, Galashiels; and in 1865 took the charge of a Presbyterian church in the Isle of Man. He is the author of the Ladhope lectures and other sermons, and of translations from the German.

Thomas Pearson, who has attained distinction as the author of a prize essay on infidelity, was born in Alnwick in 1815, the son of a shoemaker. After being taught reading, writing, and arithmetic at a common school, he was at an early age apprenticed to a printer and bookbinder. He became a member of the society about 1832; and was then a dull shy lad, with little either of physical or mental vigour; his essays did not rise above mediocrity. He was, however, ambitious of becoming a minister; and for that object he worked hard for many years, contending with great difficulties—with poverty, defective education, mechanical employment; but, helped by some members of the congregation, he was enabled to attend the Edinburgh university. At intervals he engaged in teaching; and through the influence of Mr. Paterson he obtained the appointment of a teacher in Heriot's hospital, which gave him the means of passing through the theological course of the Secession church. His college career was undistinguished. He was in May, 1845, ordained minister of a small Secession congregation in Eyemouth, where he continued till his death, on June 10th, 1854, aged 40 years. A prize of one hundred guineas having been offered by the Evangelical Alliance for the best essay on Infidelity, its aspects, causes, and agencies, Mr. Pearson entered the lists and carried off the prize. His work is very elaborate, and is a remarkable instance of what diligence can achieve; it has a considerable reputation among what are called Evangelical Christians, and has been extensively circulated; a merchant in Glasgow presented a copy to every minister and student in the United Secession body; and of a people's edition 20,000 copies have been printed. Though declamatory and diffuse as if the writer were preaching, this essay contains much information of the opinions of many modern writers who do not come up to the orthodox standard, with replies to their reasonings from a Calvinistic stand-point; the tone is, however, dogmatic and intolerant, and it is difficult to say what may not be included under the stigma of infidelity; Chambers's publications have not "the evangelical element;" and that innocent-looking periodical, the *Family Herald* is latitudinarian; *diluted poison* runs through it, and it gives "the teachings of an infidel philosophy." Scientific men fare little better—"the heathen," says he, "daily went his round of religious observances, but it was merely a round of formalism. Much of the same thing constitutes the religion of many of our men of taste and science."

About a year after the death of Mr. Paterson, two candidates were proposed as his successor, John Ker and Mr. Lauchland, the former of whom was elected by a majority of eighteen at a congregational meeting. The Rev. John Ker was therefore ordained minister in 1845. Soon after this the duke of Northumberland gave notice to the congregation to quit the meeting house in which they had worshipped for forty-three years, and he gave £50 to defray the expense of removing the materials of the structure. The site of a new church was purchased on the south side of Clayport for £400; the building cost £1220; and it was opened for worship in February, 1847. The whole amount has been raised by subscriptions and collections, by the sale of a portion of the ground, and by a bequest from George Oliver of £400; so that the congregation is free from debt. This church has sittings for about 700 persons. Though not in the best taste, it is nevertheless, in its architecture, greatly in advance of the barn-like erections in which dissenters were content to worship. It has ecclesiastical features, but with its crenelated towers, somewhat of a church-militant aspect. Some great advantages it possesses over many churches of a purer style and grander appearance; it is well lighted and ventilated, capable of being heated at a moderate cost, comfortable to sit in, and free from obstructions to sound. After the union of the Secession and Relief bodies in May, 1847, this congregation has been called *The First United Presbyterian Church of Alnwick*. Mr. Ker left the congregation for a larger and wealthier church in Glasgow in 1851.

The Rev. William Limont was ordained in December, 1851; and under his charge the congregation has prospered. The number of members in 1864 was 324; the attendance varies from 300 to 400; the ordinary yearly income has been £220; and for missionary and benevolent objects upwards of £50 are raised yearly; in the Sunday school there are 80 scholars, taught by 13 teachers; and besides, there is an advanced class taught by the minister; a library established about 78 years ago now contains 1000 volumes; the Sunday school library numbers 150 volumes. And in addition to this the congregation has, with assistance from the synod, purchased a house in Percy terrace for £730, as a manse for the minister.

The trust deed, made in 1855, requires that a pastor or minister, a lay elder, and a deacon of the congregation shall be a protestant dissenter from the Church of England, and hold the doctrines of the fall and redemption of human nature, of justification through free grace by faith in our Lord Jesus

Christ, and of the necessity of regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Godhead. The congregation, consisting of those persons admitted to the communion of the church, may separate itself from its present denomination, and join some other body, either presbyterian or congregational or of the methodist persuasion, by resolution at a congregational meeting of three-fourths of the members on the roll; whatever relates to the election or deprivation of a minister and other spiritual officer must be decided according to the rules of the denomination with which the congregation at the time may be connected; but trustees, managers, and other officers are to be chosen at a congregational meeting. The accounts have to be laid yearly before a congregational meeting, with the consent of which the trustees may mortgage the property; and, if the congregation be reduced and unable to bear the expense of maintaining public worship, congregational meetings may authorise the trustees to dispose of the property and direct the application of the proceeds.

Second United Presbyterian Church.

The need of a new congregation in Alnwick having been urged on the Relief presbytery of Kelso, that body viewed the proposal favourably, and a supply of preachers was sent and a chapel opened in Percy street in 1837. The attendance on the services was considerable; and a sufficient number of members united to form a regular church in connection with the Relief Synod of Scotland. Their first minister was the Rev. Peter Glassford, who was ordained in 1838. A new chapel was erected in Lisburn Street in 1840, containing about 400 sittings, at a cost for the site and building of £611 10s. 0d, and all the debt upon it was cleared off in 1860.

The trustees by deed, dated May 8th, 1840, are "to permit the meeting house to be used as a place for the public worship of God by protestant dissenters called the Relief congregation of Alnwick, at present in connection with the Relief Synod, who hold Christ alone as Head of the Church;" and this is declared a fundamental trust, which, however, can be altered, or the property sold, provided two successive meetings of the congregation, specially called, at which are present a majority of the members in general as of the communicants, are in favour of the proposal. The appointment of ministers, elders, and trustees is vested in a majority of those who have been members during twelve months.

Mr. Glassford left in 1842, on receiving a call from the Relief church in Leitholm, in Berwickshire. The Rev. David Donaldson, the present minister, succeeded him, and was ordained in February, 1843. He was educated at St. Andrew's university, and is the author of three discourses, published in 1852, which are both able and eloquent. This congregation is now called *The Second United Presbyterian Church of Alnwick*. The number of members is 147; and connected with it are a Sunday school, and libraries for the congregation and the school.

CHAPTER XI.

METHODISM.

EARLY METHODISM—WESLEY'S VISITS TO ALNWICK—NOTICES OF EARLY CONVERTS—CHAPEL BUILT IN 1790—DECLINE OF METHODISM—REV. JAMES EVERETT—ORIGIN OF THE METHODIST NEW CONNEXION—REV. ALEXANDER KILHAM—EARLY SUPPORTERS IN ALNWICK—REV. JOHN GRUNDELL.

The history of methodism in Alnwick is peculiar and instructive. Originating with the impressive preaching of Whitfield, Wesley, and their converts, it rose to be a power in the town, not only producing religious reformation, but giving also a singular development to the intellect; yet its sway was transient, for it began to decline after the year 1815. Alnwick, however, could not be considered a genial soil for the permanent nurture of methodism, as no small portion of the people were descendants of Scotsmen, who were attached to the metaphysical system of Calvinism and to the presbyterian form of government. But during the middle of the eighteenth century, the Episcopal church had little spiritual life, and to many who were carelessly slumbering within its walls, the voice of methodism was a loud call to repentance and amendment of life.

Whitfield visited the town sometime about 1750; his marvellous eloquence attracted crowds and awakened religious feeling. When he preached he stood on the north side of Bondgate, opposite the house of the late Michael Paterson, then a low thatched house; a vast assemblage was gathered around him and on the hill side in front; and his powerful voice not only reached the whole of his great congregation, but was even heard, it is said, as far as the Bow alley.

John Wesley first visited Alnwick on July 19th, 1748, and on his way preached at Morpeth and Widdrington, the scene of Horsley's labours, and then at Alnwick, taking his stand at the market cross; the following day he preached at

Berwick to an immense concourse of people ; and as he was returning to Alnwick he preached at Tuggall, and after leaving Alnwick, at Longhorsley and Newcastle. His second visit to the town was on September 9th, 1749, when he preached as before, connecting with the journey Berwick, Alnmouth, Widdrington, Morpeth, Plessy, and Newcastle. On a rough and stormy day he returned to Alnwick ; and as on the former occasions, preached from the market cross. His third visit was on Monday, April 22nd, 1751, and he preached at Morpeth and Alnwick on the same day. Rain prevented him taking his stand on the cross ; but some friends procured for him the Town hall. Along with Christopher Hopper, one of the first converts to methodism in the north, he went northwards as far as Edinburgh, complaining of the weather being piercingly cold, and probably enough feeling it the more, from his cold reception among the Scots. On his return, he preached on the Sunday at the Alnwick cross morning and noon, and at Alnmouth in the evening. He visited the town again on May 11th, 1752, and complained that after nine years labour by himself and his precursors a society could not be formed ; and in 1753 that the society was harassed by the presbyterians.

The first methodist preacher settled in Alnwick seems to have been Mr. Trembath, who, in the early part of 1744, preached every fortnight standing on a horse block in front of the old thatched public-house at the bottom of the Market place ; and in the intervals he itinerated in the country around, attracting by his preaching large congregations ; one result was, that a few associated together for prayer and religious conversation. John Haime was another itinerant preacher who addressed the people from the market cross. But soon afterwards the little society found a local habitation, their first place of worship being in a house occupied by Mr. Dand on the north side of the Market place. The society removed in 1750 to two other rooms, which they rented from Thomas Grumble, in a house in Bondgate, a little southward of the Corn Exchange ; and here, like the early christians, they worshipped in an obscure upper chamber, reached by a flight of stone steps on the outside. At length, however, the society built a chapel of their own in the Green Bat, at the corner of the Correction house yard, on the site of which now stands the court house for meetings of the petty sessions and county courts. Very different from this stylish modern erection was the humble Methodist chapel, which was built

of brick by James Bowmaker—a square house of no great height, of that lowest style of dissenting architecture which has been sneered at for its barn-like look; yet within such unadorned places have been lifted up the voices of many sincere and devout worshippers of Him, who dwells not alone in temples made with hands. Fine names seem to have been unknown in these days; for this chapel was called *the new room*; and in it John Wesley preached on the evening of June 26th, 1755, having in the early part of the day preached in the Market place at Morpeth. This chapel was supplied according to the itinerant plan of methodism. Among the early converts were James Bowmaker, Edward Stanley, William Hindmarsh, one of an old race of tanners, Thomas Gibson, George Vardy, James Hindmarsh, and Robert Rand.

Thomas Gibson, a baker, was a prominent character in this group. He was both a class leader and a local preacher; and though with eccentric notions and hasty in his temper, he was strict in his morals. One of his daughters was married to Collingwood Lindsay, who was long clerk to the magistrates; and their only daughter became the wife of Nicholas Wood, an eminent colliery agent. If we could recal Thomas Gibson to life he would appear a strange figure to this generation, dressed in plain drab cloth, his head surmounted by a large bush wig, and that covered by a three-cornered hat. I have been told of some eccentric passages in his discourses; one may be given. "My brethren what a useful animal the sheep is! its flesh feeds us; its wool cleeds us; the horns of its head make buttons for our coats; and the very shank bones make snuff mulls."* *Edward Stanley*, who was born on September 10th, 1735, and heard Trembath preach in the Market place, was a class leader and local preacher; and of his class James Everett was a member in 1803. He married a cousin of James Bowmaker, and was the father of a distinguished race of methodists. One of his sons was a minister in the body, and rose to be president of the conference; and another son was governor of Woodhouse Grove school. Mr. Everett says "he was a man of great simplicity of mind, easy in his habits, and correct in his morals." *George Vardy*, who was a schoolmaster, was also an aspirant after ecclesiastical honours; and he was weak enough to express his wish to George Whitfield, when on a visit to Alnwick, who, however, was honest enough to tell him, "that the wish itself was indicative of his unfitness for office, that he was inflated with pride, and ought to be satisfied to be kicked about like a football." He died in 1769, aged 49. *George Gordon*, introduced

* *Cleed*, to clothe, *mull* or *mill*, a snuff box of a cylindrical form; both are northern local words.

division, embraced Calvinism, and left the society with sixteen others; but, however, before he died he returned to methodism and died in his first faith. *James Hindmarsh* took a prominent place in the society; but he was unstable and driven about by various winds of doctrine. Burning zeal marked the commencement of his religious career; but cooling down he entered the "Castle Inn," of Alnwick, and afterwards another inn at Dunbar; but in both he failed. He returned to Alnwick in the midst of his misfortunes, and was re-admitted into the Methodist society. Wesley, satisfied with his restoration and competency for the ministerial work, appointed him governor of Kingswood school; and he afterwards became an itinerant preacher; but still changeable, he veered about to Swedenborgianism, and united himself to the community of New Jerusalemites. *Mary Johnson*, who was a model of christian demeanour and piety, deserves remembrance as the mother of Robert Johnson, who was an admirable preacher, and lived and died engaged as an itinerant methodist minister.*

Such were some of the early products of methodism in Alnwick; and on the whole they speak favourably of this great religious movement. There may have been in the public services of a few somewhat of rudeness and oddity, approaching indeed to the burlesque, somewhat of overstrained feeling, and it may be, too, a little of pretension and hypocrisy, among some of the members; yet what great change in society is altogether free from attendant defects and follies? The plainness of speech used by these men, their uncouth phraseology and figures, the strong, even extravagant, appeals to the feelings, impressed rude uneducated minds with the dread of a judgment to come, and with the necessity of repentance and amendment of life, which would not have been influenced by more refined processes. Marked too was the effect of methodism in the development of intellect; while the great mass were awakened to think and reflect, several, drawn from obscurity and taught and moulded by the varied agencies of the society, became men of talent and rose to stations of dignity and usefulness.

The society so prospered and increased, that in 1786 a new chapel and minister's house were erected on ground between Clayport street and the Green bat, in what is now called the Chapel lane. More refined had the society become as they increased in wealth and numbers; and therefore the new chapel was in a better style than was commonly seen in dis-

* I am indebted to Mr. Everett for several of the notices of early methodism in Alnwick.

sending places of worship ; it was then the largest and most tasteful chapel or meeting house in the town, and capable of sitting at least 600 people. It was opened by the Rev. John Grundell. Wesley continued, in the course of his evangelistic labours, frequently to visit Alnwick down to May 10th, 1790. On the last visit, only a few months before his death, he addressed the young from the communion table, among whom was James Everett, then only six years of age, who has in his possession an interesting memorial of this visit ; an autograph document of the venerable Wesley, the heading and his signature being written by himself in a trembling hand. It is as follows :—

Alnwick, May 10th, 1790.

We, whose names are underwritten, design, with God's help, to subscribe as follows weekly towards the lessening of the debt of the preaching-house—
John Wesley 2s. 6d., John Stamp 6d., Ralph Annett 1s., Luke Hindmarsh 6d., John Pringle 3d., Samuel Purvis 2d., James Gough 2d., George Wilson 6d.

The descendants of none of these men, save those of *Samuel Purvis*, are now connected with methodism in Alnwick. Two sons, however, of *John Stamp*, John and William, became regular methodist ministers, and William, who is still living, rose to the dignity of president of the Conference in 1862. *Ralph Annett* was an important tradesman in Alnwick at this period ; but he subsequently left and joined the New Connexion ; one of his daughters married the distinguished agriculturist, John Grey, of Milfield hill. *Luke Hindmarsh*, a tanner, also joined the New Connexion, and was one of its local preachers. *John Pringle*, a pious kind-hearted man, was the founder of the large business now carried on by his nephew, under the firm of Edward Thew and Son.

Methodism was now a great power in Alnwick and in the district around ; many of the leading tradesmen in the town and farmers in the country were among its members, and its services in the chapel were well attended. Besides the regular minister sent by Conference, there were several laymen, who like evangelists preached in the villages around the town ; and this system had a marked influence in developing local talent. The Wesleyan body began to decline in 1798, when a number of the members left and joined the Methodist New Connexion. Still the Wesleyan services were well attended, when a minister of ability was sent to the circuit. I can remember being in the chapel when Sykes was minister, sometime about 1813 ; and my boyish fancy was charmed with the splendour of the chapel and the crowded congregation. But after him came preachers,

whose want of ability and indiscretion, lessened the congregation. One called Kane was especially noted for his absurdities, which are still remembered. On one occasion a little before the battle of Waterloo, he cried out in prayer—"Unhorse the monster Bonaparte; Lord! unhorse him, and cut down his bloody Frenchmen like mushrooms in a foggy morning." Taft and his wife, both of whom preached, came afterwards, and they helped to scatter the congregation; but other causes were at work to produce this result. The leading members of the body, in accordance with the view of John Wesley, still kept up a kind of connection with the Church of England; their children were baptized in that church; they partook of her communion, and they attended on certain occasions her services; so that when a religious spirit was revived in the Church, the younger generation of methodists, not feeling the same associations around methodism as their fathers felt, gradually dropped away from the connexion, and became entirely attached to the Church of England. So much did this once powerful body dwindle down, that the chapel was divided into two stories, and the upper one only was used for worship. Scarcely twenty attended the morning service, but during the last few years some revival services have again partially recruited this society.

REV. JAMES EVERETT.

Of all the men who were influenced by methodism in Alnwick, the Rev. James Everett was the most able and distinguished. He was born at Alnwick in a small room with a stone floor, behind the Red Lion inn in Bailiffgate, on the 16th of May, 1784. He was the grandson of James Bowmaker, one of the first band of methodists in Alnwick, whose first wife was Jeanie Keith, a correspondent of Wesley, and associated with Grace Murray in the management of Wesley's orphan house in Newcastle, as early as 1744. His mother, the daughter of James Bowmaker by a second wife, was a remarkable woman, strongly attached to methodism, with a kind heart, genial disposition, and anxious on all fitting occasions to do good. James Everett's first teacher was John Bruce, the father of Dr. Bruce, the author of a work on the "Roman Wall." But though trained by so good and pious a mother, he was a somewhat reckless youth; bold, daring, fond of mischief, and it may be indulging too much in what are called worldly pleasures. Such marked and vigorous characteristics furnish, however, the materials out of which great and good men are formed, when their powers are properly directed. He was at this period fond of hunting and fishing; but he also cultivated drawing and music, his favourite instrument being the German

flute, on which he would play for hours on the summer evenings in one of the towers of Alnwick Castle. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a grocer and flax dresser; and when about nineteen he was, by the preaching of one of the methodist preachers, impressed with divine truth, and he joined himself to the Methodist connexion and began to preach in the neighbouring villages. After completing his apprenticeship he removed to Sunderland where he found employment, and became a class leader and local preacher. He cultivated his mind with such diligence and success that, being recommended to the Conference, he was in 1806 appointed one of the regular Methodist ministers, and preached in various circuits. Besides performing the round of duty prescribed by the Conference, he became acquainted with some of the master spirits of the towns in which he was located; he read extensively and furnished his mind with a store of general knowledge not usually found among Dissenting ministers; he formed a large library, and having antiquarian and æsthetic tastes he collected paintings and relics of the past. Though as a preacher he was popular, yet being, in range of information, in taste, and in liberality of feeling, greatly in advance of many of the ministers of his connexion, he was not honoured with much official distinction, and he was never president of the Conference.

While stationed at Sheffield in 1817 he formed a close and affectionate friendship with the poet James Montgomery, with whom he was associated in writing hymns for Sunday schools, and of whom he, in conjunction with John Holland, published a memoir in 1814. Mr. Everett too was an intimate friend of another great man, Dr. Adam Clarke; with him he travelled through Shetland in 1827 and through Ireland in 1830; and in 1843 he published an able memoir, entitled "Adam Clarke portrayed." As a writer of memoirs he was very successful; of "The Village Blacksmith; or piety and usefulness exemplified in a memoir of Samuel Hick," near to 30,000 copies have been sold. He also wrote the lives of William Crister the Wallsend miner; of the Rev. Daniel Isaac the polemic divine; and of William Dawson, a Methodist local preacher, who was remarkable for originality and fervid though rude eloquence. Many pamphlets were published by Mr. Everett in defence or illustration of methodism; but some larger histories came from his prolific pen, among which are "Sketches of methodism in Sheffield," "Wesleyan Methodism in Manchester," and his latest production, in two volumes, 1864, "Methodism as it is, with some of its antecedents." The romantic associations around the Border land called forth his poetic power, and besides other poems, he produced in 1821 "Edwin, or Northumbria's royal fugitive restored;" a metrical poem of Saxon times.

Though strongly attached to the principles of methodism he was not blind to the defects of its administration; for the exercise

of supreme power by an oligarchy of one hundred ministers, without any mixture of lay representation, cannot be free from partiality and oppression. For some time prior to 1847 these defects were discussed in various pamphlets, especially in a series called *Fly Sheets*, which were written with great power and cutting sarcasm, and evinced a thorough knowledge of the principles and history of methodism. No man was more capable of producing them than Mr. Everett, and to him most of them were attributed. Such independence and daring could not, however, be tolerated; but there being no proof of authorship, this ecclesiastical oligarchy, setting at defiance the rule of civil life, which scouts any attempt to make a man criminate himself, tendered to every Wesleyan minister for his signature, a declaration reprobating the obnoxious *Fly Sheets* and repudiating all connection with their authorship. Mr. Everett and some others refused to obey this unreasonable command; and they in consequence were by the Conference expelled from the connexion. Others seceded; the Wesleyans lost 100,000 members; and a new body was formed whose government was more free and tolerant, and more in accordance with the requirements of a voluntary church. It has since united with another offshoot of methodism, and is now called "The United Methodist Free Church;" and of this Mr. Everett is a distinguished ornament. His labours as a Methodist minister have been extraordinary; from 1804 to 1864 he had delivered 12,918 sermons exclusive of numerous public addresses, and travelled 324,341 miles. After such labour he was well entitled to enjoy repose; but though he has retired from regular ministerial work, and is now living at Sunderland, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he still occasionally preaches and addresses public meetings. In 1863 he preached in his native town with an earnestness, eloquence, and wisdom, which made a deep impression on his audience. When in the prime of his strength I heard him speak several times; in his platform addresses he mingled wit and humour with his graver passages; but his sermons were dignified and eloquent, full of sparkling thoughts and rich imagery.

He married in 1810 Miss Hutchinson, of Sunderland, with whom he lived happily fifty-five years.

Of Mr. Everett, as a man of remarkable genius, an orator, poet, and historian, his native town may well feel proud.*

BETHEL CHAPEL—METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.

Alnwick has been closely connected with two disruptions in the Wesleyan Methodist body; in the last we have seen that our distinguished townsman, the Rev. James Everett, was the principal leader. But fifty-three years prior to that,

* A sketch of the life of Mr. Everett is in the *Pulpit Analyst*, No. 14, among the "Remoter Stars in the Sky of the Church," by George Gilfillan.

the leading spirit of another secession lived in Alnwick and wrote there the pamphlet which was the proximate origin of the Methodist New Connexion.

Wesley never separated entirely from the Church of England, to which he regarded methodism as supplemental; and hence, as a rule, its preaching was during uncanonical hours, and its members received the sacraments from clergymen. And so it continued during Wesley's lifetime; for he retained in his own hands supreme power over the ministers, the chapels, and organisation of methodism. A little prior to his death, this monarchy was changed into an oligarchy; for by deed he conveyed his powers to a conference consisting of one hundred ministers, who were authorised to fill up vacancies as they occurred; but in this body there was no lay element. Under the fostering influences of methodism there had, however, sprung up many acute and intelligent minds capable of judging for themselves; and hence after Wesley's death these arrangements were brought to the test of reason and scripture; and it was contended, that the people had a right of representation in the Conference; of having public worship at the most convenient times, without being restricted to the intervals of church service; and to receive baptism and the Lord's supper from their own ministers. The Rev. Alex. Kilham was the most earnest and prominent advocate of these views; and for writing a pamphlet in their defence he was tried and condemned by the Methodist Conference held in 1792. Strange it is, that at this Conference the sacramental question was disposed of by lot! and stranger still that Mr. Adam Clarke, afterwards the famous Dr. Adam Clarke, drew *the lot* which declared—"Ye shall not administer the sacrament the ensuing year!" Notwithstanding this oracular response, the lot was set aside the following year.

Mr. Kilham was minister of the Wesleyan chapel of Alnwick in 1795 and 1796; and his offences against Wesleyanism culminated there by the publication of the "Progress of Liberty," in which he criticised the movements of the Conference, and sketched a liberal plan for the future government of the body. The leading methodists in Alnwick held similar views; and when he was about to be dragged before a district meeting two of them, Ralph Annett and Luke Mattison, were members of a committee formed to give him support. In a long printed address, this committee asserted, that "the methodist preachers rule their people without consulting them, which is contrary to reason, revelation, and the natural order

of society." Notwithstanding this, Mr. Kilham on account of his publication was expelled from the Wesleyan body by the Conference which met in London in July, 1796. Similar was all this to what took place in 1849 when Mr. Everett shared the same fate. A new Methodist society was therefore formed based on the principles advocated by Mr. Kilham, called the Methodist New Connexion, and sometimes Kilhamites after the founder. It retains all the doctrines and ordinances peculiar to methodism, but with a more liberal church polity. The first Conference was held at Leeds in 1797, when there were present seven preachers and ten lay representatives. Many of the methodists of Alnwick approving of the movement, formed themselves into a society in connection with this Conference. Besides the names of Ralph Annett and Luke Mattison, we find those of Moffatt and Luke Hindmarsh who were local preachers, Robert Hudson and Michael Gardener among the early supporters. At first they assembled for worship in a house in the Green bat; but a new chapel was built for them in St. Michael's lane, which was opened in 1804 by the Rev. John Grundell, who continued minister from 1804 till 1808. A remarkable man with a remarkable history was John Grundell. Born at Sunderland in June, 1761, he became blind while a child; and yet by perseverance he so improved his mind and accumulated knowledge, as to become an able and acceptable preacher. His first sermon was preached when he was only nineteen years old, in the Market place of South Shields; subsequently he preached in various places, sometimes under the direction of John Wesley; but on the disruption he joined the New Connexion. He had a commanding voice, was mighty in the scriptures, and was highly esteemed in Alnwick, where the chapel during his ministrations was crowded with hearers. He died December 1st, 1815, at North Shields, aged 54 years. His friend Mr. Kilham, whose life he wrote, died at Nottingham, not long after the new society was founded, on Dec. 20th, 1798, at the early age of 36 years. The Bethel chapel has been regularly supplied with preachers, several of whom have been able and useful ministers. From printed accounts it appears that in 1861 the Bethel society consisted of 60 members; it possesses a library containing books on general literature as well as theology; and it has a Sunday school of sixty scholars taught by twelve teachers. A site has recently been purchased in Bondgate without, on which to erect a new chapel for this society.

CHAPTER XII.

ROMAN CATHOLICS—QUAKERS—UNITARIANS.

Of the Roman Catholics in Alnwick there is little information to be had. They were numerous in the district for some time after the Reformation; indeed the old religion held dominion over the northern counties longer than over the southern parts of the island.* The fearful retribution which followed the Pilgrimage of Grace doubtless lessened materially the number of Roman Catholics; and if the horrible process of hanging men by hundreds could teach truth or ameliorate humanity, the northern counties must have been purified and freed from error; but we may blush for the christianity of the Elizabethan period.

The records at Durham supply the following list of "Roman Catholic recusants in 1677—Robert Brandling of Alnwick Abbey Esq., John Smythworth alias Smarfitt of Alnwick gentleman, Edward Strother of Alnwick gentleman, Mary wife of James Rutherford de eadem yeoman, Anne wife of Henry Facy de eadem, Robert Anderson de eadem yeoman." An earlier list, dated June 20th, 1674, headed "Northumbrian Recusants," may include nonconformists as well as Roman Catholics: viz., Edward Strother of Alnwick gentleman and Mary his wife, Anne wife of Henry Facey, Elizabeth and Frances Brandlinge, Mary Sanderson widow, Robert Stephenson, Jane Watson widow, Elizabeth Hunter, and Jane wife of John Scott, all of Alnwick. Living in the neighbourhood there were, Robert Clavering of Callaley Esq., and his wife, George Collingwood of Eslington Esq., Robert Beadnell of Lemmington gentleman, Robert Hartridge gentleman, and Robert Trumble and his wife Abberwick, Ralph Weddell of Bolton yeoman, Henry Ogle of Harop gentleman, Robt. Milne of Edlington yeoman, Robt. Smers of Broompark yeoman.

During the eighteenth century the number of Roman Catholics in Alnwick was small. At one time they assembled

* See Vol. I., p. 280.

in the old thatched house next the Plough inn in Bondgate ; but their numbers increasing the Rev. William Strickland, one of their priests, built for them a chapel in a yard behind a house on the north side of Bailiffgate. It was a humble edifice ; but after ecclesiastical taste had revived, a new chapel was built with a frontage to Bailiffgate, in the early English style, finished with a pediment and a large cross in the middle of the front wall and high pinnacles at the four angles of the building. The cross and pinnacles were too slender for their height, and one of them having been blown down by a high wind, the others were taken down to prevent accident ; since this mutilation the exterior has an unfinished appearance. There are about 300 sittings in this chapel, and funds for its erection came from Stony Hurst college.

Until 1855 this chapel belonged to the society of Jesuits and the ministers were of that order. The following priests appeared in succession, the earlier names being taken from the church register :—“ 1770, January 15th, Mr. George Parker reputed Romish priest buried ;” Rev. William Strickland ; “ 1790, December 8th, Rev. Nicholas Thompson Roman Catholic minister Alnwick buried ; 1793, November 8th, Rev. Thomas Nixon Roman Catholic minister buried ; 1802, died March 9th, the Rev. Charles Howard minister of the Popish chapel Alnwick, aged 80 years ;” Rev. Peter Robert Vergie ; Rev. John Beaumont ; Rev. James Fishwick ; Rev. Joseph Sydney Woollet. In 1855 the Rev. Joseph Gibson, priest of the mission under the Roman Catholic bishops of Hexham and Newcastle, became minister of this chapel, which at the same period was transferred from the society of Jesuits to the Bishop. During the present century this body has considerably increased in number ; but almost exclusively by the immigration of Irish people. An efficient day school is maintained, partly supported by government grants.

QUAKERS.

A few Quakers were in Alnwick and in the district around it in the seventeenth century. Ellen Hebron, of Old Bewick, in 1662 was presented at the archdeacon's court for being a Quaker ; and Edmund Craster, of Alnwick, was dragged, in 1681-2, before the sessions “ for a Quaker meeting at his house in Alnwick.” A Quaker meeting house was in Alnwick Abbey in 1728, and another at Embleton in 1717. Thomas Story, in the Journal of his life, says : “ On my way to Scotland in 1717 I staid at Joshua Middleton's, Newcastle, where I lodged

and visited some of my old acquaintance and friends till the fourth day morning; and then went to Alnwick Abbey to John Doubleday's, where I lodged; and on the 5th was at their meeting at Emelton, which consisted of about 8 persons; and yet the Lord's promise was in some degree made good to us; for we had a comfortable time in his presence. 20th March, 1728, I set forward from Berwick towards Alnwick Abbey, my old friend Samuel Robertson and his son going along with me. That night we lodged at an inn about 12 miles from Berwick, and the next day went to the abbey, dining by the way near that place, with our friend John Doubleday, jun., where we were kindly received by him and his wife, she being the daughter of Robert Barclay, sen., of Wice, and granddaughter of the famous and honourable Robert Barclay of the same place. In the afternoon the said John Doubleday, his father being absent, ordered notice to be given through the town of Alnwick of a meeting at his father's house at the abbey next day, where we lodged and where his father had provided a meeting house chiefly to suit such occasions, and several of the more respectable sort of inhabitants were there; but the Quarter Sessions of the Peace sitting in the town that day occasioned the meeting to be thinner than it otherwise might; though a comfortable and very open time was given us." A Quaker burying place there was by the river side at the foot of Canongate, in which some of the Doubledays were interred; but this grave yard has been ploughed over and is now part of the Dairy grounds. This religious body took no root in Alnwick, and became extinct many years ago.

UNITARIAN CHAPEL.

Dissensions in the Bethel Methodist New Connexion chapel, and a change in the religious views of the minister, the Rev. William Probert, and of some of the members caused the formation of a new religious society in Alnwick. The dissentients met first on June 31st, 1816, in a school room, and afterwards in the Town Hall till February 2nd, 1817, when a chapel of their own, which cost £405, was opened, situated in Coward's or the Correction house yard. It is called in the trust deed *The Independent Arminian Meeting House*; but the views of the members were generally Arian, and they gradually developed into Unitarianism. During several years, this new body attracted considerable popular attention; for as in other new sects, the members were

imbued with a proselytising spirit, and while keenly defending their own dogmas, they were not sparing in their onslaughts upon orthodoxy. Fierce controversy raged and produced noisy debates and polemical pamphlets and volumes, some of which called forth replies from the Rev. William Procter, the Rev. Joseph Law, and the Rev. David Paterson. The most prominent champion on the side of unitarianism was the Rev. J. S. Hyndman—a man endowed with an acute and metaphysical intellect. Public debates in the chapel created some interest, and a report of them by James Crozer, one of the combatants, gives curious illustrations of the character and results of religious controversy. Mr. Probert continued minister till 1822, and while in Alnwick published a translation of Aneurin's *Gododin*, and afterwards a translation of Howell's *Welsh Laws*. He was succeeded by the Rev. J. S. Hyndman, and then followed the Revs. John Wright, T. Stewart, J. T. Cooper, W. McKean, and J. Mitchelson. During the last thirty years the public religious exercises have been conducted by Mr. James Stott, to whom the congregation, sometime about 1852, presented a token of their approbation, gratitude, and respect; for "although engaged during the week in the arduous and laborious duties of a gardener, he had yet found time for attendance, religious consolation, and support to the sick, the infirm, and the aged."

The chapel, a plain building, originally contained near to 400 sittings; but, as the society dwindled down, it was reduced in size; and, according to the report of the registrar-general, contained, on March 30th, 1851, 210 sittings, and was attended in the morning by 38, and in the evening by 58 persons. By the trust deed, the management is entrusted to a majority of the men members, and the election of a minister to a majority of the men and women members, who have attended the chapel and paid seat rents during twelve months; two-thirds of the members attending a meeting called for the purpose, can apply the building to any purpose, civil or religious, they determine upon, if religious worship be discontinued for three calendar months. Though much diminished in numbers, the members still regularly meet for worship on Sundays.

Happily, the storms of polemical controversy have passed away; each sect worships in peace the Great Father of all, and the various members of society carry on together the practical business of life, without troubling themselves with curious inquiry into the orthodoxy of their neighbours' creeds.

CHAPTER XIII.

SCIENTIFIC AND MECHANICAL INSTITUTION.

Prior to 1824 the working classes had access to few books in this town; and these few were chiefly treatises on theology. Science to them was a sealed book. The establishment of a Mechanics' Institute in 1824 therefore began a new era in Alnwick. Dr. Birkbeck was the father of such institutions; but the powerful advocacy of Lord Brougham brought them under the consideration of the most secluded nooks in Britain, and led to their formation in Newcastle, Morpeth, and other places. Mr. T. H. Bell issued an address to the inhabitants of Alnwick in September, 1824, suggesting the formation of an institution "for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the practical science among artizans and the operative members of society generally;" but the honour of originating the Alnwick Institute belongs to Matthew T. Johnston,* then an articled clerk with John Lambert, and brother of Dr. Johnston, of Berwick, the distinguished Border naturalist. Associated with him in this work was the Rev. John Pears, A.M., a schoolmaster in the town; but the most important help was given by Mr. Lambert, through whose influence many gentlemen in the district liberally supported the scheme. A public meeting, numerously attended, and presided over by Mr. Pears was held on November 18th, 1824, when it was resolved—

"That such institutions for the instruction of mechanics at a cheap rate in the arts they practice, as well as in other branches of useful knowledge, is a measure calculated to improve their habits and condition and to add to the prosperity of the country, and that they are most likely to be beneficial when supported and managed by mechanics themselves; that a mechanics' institution be established in Alnwick, and that its object shall be to procure information for the operative classes by establishing a library consisting of books entirely confined to science, and in forming classes for the mutual instruction of the members, and in obtaining lectures on the different branches of science."

* Matthew T. Johnston was a man of considerable ability, but withal speculative and eccentric; he entered into practice as a solicitor in Wooler, and displayed great acuteness and research in conducting the important trial regarding the tithes of Ford; he afterwards resided in Newcastle, and was connected with iron mines near Bishop Auckland; he emigrated to America where he died in 1866.

The duke of Northumberland became patron, Earl Grey president; and there were besides fourteen vice-presidents, twelve committee men, two secretaries, and two treasurers—a formidable array of great names to head the undertaking. Subscriptions amounting to nearly £300 were obtained, and ninety names were enrolled as members. A library of 200 volumes was immediately obtained, scientific apparatus was bought, and fair seemed the prospects of success.

Three eras may be recognised in its history; and in this, the first, the library to most members presented a dreary list—no history, no biography, no travels nor voyages, no general literature, no poetry, no fiction. Dr. W. F. Bow,* one of the first secretaries, delivered a valuable course of lectures on chemistry. The Rev. W. Telfer, A.M., went through a course on astronomy; and detached lectures were given by Mr. W. Leithead and Mr. T. H. Bell. Mr. Robert Castles Embleton, an able and accomplished Border naturalist, one of the founders of the Berwickshire Naturalists' club, who was secretary in 1827, while but a medical student lectured on electricity and galvanism; and since these early days, he has often aided the Institute, and time after time delivered lectures, which have tended to diffuse a taste for natural history in the district. Though at this period the range of subjects taught was narrow, let us not blame the founders because they did not adopt more liberal schemes. They had to struggle with difficulties; for some then looked with suspicion on Mechanics' Institutes as likely to produce insubordination and irreligion, and among these was even one of the members for the county; and others yielding somewhat to the spirit of the age, yet put a ban on politics, moral philosophy, and religion, and among these was the patron; and a rule was adopted excluding books treating on these subjects. The effect of this was not felt much at first; but after the gloss of novelty had worn off, and the Institute had to depend for support mainly on its own merits and its adaptation to the wants of the community, it became apparent, that the restrictive rule was of itself sufficient to stop its progress; for in a small town the number of those who would be content with books only on mathematics and science could never be great—never sufficient to maintain a permanent society. Party feeling, too, crept into the

* Dr. Bow practiced in Alnwick several years, and was one of the physicians of the Dispensary; he had previously been surgeon in the 27th and 77th regiments. He was author of a work on Fever. He removed from Alnwick to Musselburgh on account of his health; died in Edinburgh, June 2nd, 1850, aged 56; and was interred in Alnwick church yard.

Institute, personalities were introduced at meetings, the committee were disrespectfully addressed, and even the minute books were disfigured with satirical and scurrilous doggerel rhymes. From the operation of these causes it dwindled down; its property was ill-kept, its finances were in an unsatisfactory state, and its dissolution and the division of its property were even discussed by some. Such was its disorganised condition when, in 1828, I first became connected with its management. Clearly new life must be infused into it to preserve it from total decay. Prior to this it had been governed by a committee; but on December 2nd, 1828, it was resolved that the members themselves should, at monthly meetings, order books and manage its affairs; and at the first meeting held, under the new constitution, the restrictive rule was so far disregarded that Blackwood's, the New Monthly, and the Newcastle Magazines were ordered. The adherents of conservative inefficiency pronounced this revolution, just as men now in larger spheres of action stigmatise greater measures of progress; but notwithstanding prophecies of great impending evils, another special meeting, Mr. George Tate in the chair, determined to abide by the former resolution; and then the secretaries resigned and others left the society to be out of the way of the crash, which they imagined would follow. Since the time of Agamemnon, as well as before, there have been brave men; and a few there were still left in the Institute to breast the storm; sixteen agreed to continue members for one year at least—only sixteen! yet sufficient to begin a new era; books of general interest were added to the library, among the first of which were Hume's History of England, Lockart's life of Burns, Gibbon's History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and Goldsmith's works. From such beginnings the Institute rose from its fallen state with renovated strength. But another unexpected crisis came; scarcely had the bark passed through the rocks of Scylla, than it was drifting into the equally dangerous whirlpool of Charybdis. A lecture controverting Christianity and the principles of religion was delivered by one of its officers; and a party, not content with the unsectarian character of the society, justified such prelections on the plea of *free discussion*. Obviously, however, polemical disputations were inconsistent with the objects of a Mechanics' Institute; and its best friends thought that if tolerated, there might follow an unseemly conflict of factions and the ultimate destruction of the society. Being then a

secretary, and in some measure responsible for the course pursued by the Institution, I deemed it my duty to propose resolutions, which were adopted by the great majority of the members, in order to prevent the recurrence of such disorganising proceedings. After that the society, freed from polemical squabbling, prospered; gradually it rose in public estimation, and became an important influence in the town; and so it continued during the second era of its history.

At first the Institute met for a short time in rooms in a yard leading out of Fenkle street, and then in large rooms in the chapel yard. But at a special meeting held on February 1st, 1831, it was unanimously resolved on the motion of Mr. George Tate, seconded by Mr. Hall Pringle —

“That the room which the Institution now occupies being inconvenient and ill-adapted to the increasing prosperity of the society, this meeting deems it expedient that a building should be erected for its use; and that as there is an eligible site for such a building in the Green bat, in a field belonging to John Lambert, Esq., application be made to him to ascertain the terms in which he would dispose of it to the institution.”

Frankly did this large-hearted benefactor to public institutions, in reply, offer the site as a gift and a conveyance of it free of expense. Nor did his generosity stop here; for he so helped the scheme, by other donations, and by his personal influence, that sufficient subscriptions were obtained to warrant the society proceeding with the erection of a building of their own, which was designed by William Smith, architect. The foundation stone was laid on June 22nd, 1831, by Mr. Lambert, in presence of a numerous assemblage; and it was publicly opened by him in July 2nd, 1832, by an address in which he forcibly pointed out the beneficial influence of Mechanics' Institutions on man as an individual, and as a member of society; both events were celebrated by an entertainment in the Town hall. The Institution contains good dwelling rooms for the librarian on the ground floor, and on the second story a room 36 feet long by 20 feet broad, used for library, classes, reading, and lectures. Ample space there is behind on which other rooms may be built, when additional accommodation is required. The erection cost £553; subscriptions were obtained amounting to £278, leaving a deficiency of £275, which was advanced by Mr. Lambert. Time after time the members made contributions to clear off this debt, which by the year 1859 was reduced to £100; but on an appeal for help being made to the public in 1862, the Institution was entirely freed from incumbrance.

By the trust deed, dated June 24th, 1831, John Lambert, of Alnwick, Esq., "being impressed with the conviction that the diffusion of useful knowledge is conducive alike to individual happiness and national prosperity, and being desirous of increasing the utility and promoting the welfare of the Mechanics' Institution established in Alnwick," conveyed a parcel of ground in Greenbat close, containing 373 square yards, to John Carr, Mark Smith, George Tate, William Davison, and Anthony Lambert, "in trust for the use and benefit of the members of the Mechanics' Institution established in Alnwick." On December 4, 1860, William John Carr, Hugh Lisle, and Thomas S. Buddle were appointed trustees in place of John Carr, William Davison, and Anthony Lambert, who were deceased.

So valuable had been the aid given by Mr. Lambert to the Institute, that the members, at a special meeting held on July 3rd, 1833, unanimously resolved to present to him an address, in which they expressed their esteem for his private character, their high regard for his generous support of public institutions—and especially their gratitude for his services and gifts to the Institution—they recognised him as one of its earliest friends, to whose exertions its first establishment was greatly indebted—he had dauntlessly persevered in promoting its interests, when coldly looked on by some and traduced by others, or when borne along in the full tide of public approbation, and they regard the elegant edifice, which through his assistance had been built, dedicated to science and art, as giving increased facilities for intellectual improvement and placing the society on a firm basis. A warm friend he continued till the close of his life.

Placed now on a firm basis, the career of the Institution during this second era was somewhat different from that of similar bodies. Not descending to seek popularity by means inconsistent with its leading object, there was notwithstanding a fair attendance of members, the number ranging generally from 140 to 179. The income in 1853 was £109; in 1852 it was £87 0s. 6d., when £52 2s. 5d. were spent on books, and 235 volumes added to the library. Books on all subjects excepting on polemical theology were admitted into it. But the men, who at this period had the principal direction of the society, earnestly endeavoured to make it a school of science and the people's college, where an imperfect education could in some measure be remedied, and where students could find information in every department of knowledge. The library, consisting of 4000 volumes, will bear comparison with most other libraries, in the proportionately large number of valuable works of which it is composed. Various other means, however, were employed for the same object; scientific apparatus was procured; and attempts were made to form a

museum; classes were established, some taught by masters, and others for mutual instruction; lectures were delivered occasionally by professional lecturers, but chiefly by members of the Institute; some in a familiar style in the lecture room, others more elaborate in the Town hall to larger audiences; and in some years a series of lectures and addresses were given in one evening, at what were called *Soirees*, presided over by such men as Earl Grey, John Lambert, the Hon. Admiral Grey, the Rev. L. S. Orde, and Prideaux Selby. On December 2nd, 1851, when the Institution had increased in numbers, the management was entrusted to a committee. Better I cannot show its character during this era than by giving first a list of the lectures delivered; which will also tell its own story as to the men who have influenced the intellectual character of Alnwick; and then by a few extracts from the annual reports.

*William Leithead** on Natural History—Electricity and thunder storms; *Thomas Tate* on Gravity—Kepler's Laws—Laws of motion—Physical astronomy—The Cartesian system of the universe—Central Forces—The Steam Engine—Mechanics and Natural Philosophy—Mathematical evidence—Physical Optics; *George Tate* on the formation of Dew—Physical Geography—Mineralogy and Crystallography—Extinct organisms—Volcanic action—The succession of life upon the globe—The Boulder formation of Northumberland and Glacial action—Causes and effects of high tides—Cephalopods, recent and fossil—Sturgeons and Palæozoic Fish—Structural Botany—Ancient British Sepulchres—The Minerals and Rocks of Northumberland—The progress and diffusion of science during the nineteenth century—The Geology of the Borders—The Natural History of Coal and on Fossil Plants; *William J. Carr* on Chemistry—Electricity, electrotype, and the laws of Galvanic action—Galvanism and the Electric Telegraph—Astronomy—Glaciers—The Mechanical and Chemical properties of the Air—Optics and the laws of light and vision; *Thomas Dodds* on the Cottages of Northumberland; *Thomas Davison* on Optics; *Robert C. Embleton* on Natural History—The Organisation of Reptiles—The bibliography of Botany and the physiology of Plants—Plants and the Poets—The Circulation of the Blood; *Arthur S. Moffatt* on Chemistry; *William Smith* on Architecture; *William Telfer, A.M.*, on the Science of Music; *the Rev. George Anderson, A.M.*, on Co-operative Societies—on Geography; *G. W. Tate* on Hydrostatics; *William Ferguson* on the English language—The Indo-European languages—The early peopling of Europe; *Robert Dunn* on the Oblique Arch; *Dr. Ransford* on the Structure and Functions of the human body; *Ralph Carr, of Hedgely*, on the Composite names in Northumberland of Anglo-Saxon derivation—The Sports and Pastimes of the northern nations—The aspects of forest vegetation; *Rev. L. S. Orde* on Education and Mechanics' Institutes; *F. R. Wilson* on Gothic Architecture; *the Ven. Archdeacon Coxe* on the minor poets of the Elizabethan age—Bishop Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*: *Prideaux Selby* on Sidney Smith's character and writings—On Addison; *Wm. Sidney Gibson* on Poetry and the Fine Arts, their affinities and power; *the Rev. John C. Bruce, L.L.D.*, on the Roman Wall—George Stephenson.

* *William Leithead*, a native of Alnwick, is the author of a treatise on Electricity; and of another work on Cosmical Force, in which are ingenious speculations which have been used by the author of "The Vestiges of Creation" in support of the transmutation theory.

The following extracts will indicate the objects aimed at by the society, and its tone, character, and influence :—

1836.—The experience of twelve years in this town has probably moderated the sanguine expectations of some and allayed the apprehension of others as to the operation of Mechanics' Institutions on the working classes. If their influence has not been so decided and extensive as was anticipated by the former, they certainly have not had that disorganizing effect which was feared by the latter. The persons attending these societies have, to say the least, been as good members of civil society as any other class. A greater extension of knowledge than has taken place, could scarcely with reason have been expected, when the amount of the means employed is considered in reference to the many obstacles counteracting their operation. The transition from a state of intellectual apathy, in which many yet remain, to that of active inquiry and scientific knowledge, the result desiderated by the advocates of the unlimited extension of education, is so great, that it can only be the effect of progressive advances, which can neither be rapid nor violent. Such institutions as this are calculated to carry on the progression—their tendencies are manifested not so much in the creation of erudite thinkers and original experimentalists, as in the diffusion among all classes of an acquaintance with the various branches of philosophy and science; and accordingly, while this society can point to a few individuals who have attained a degree of proficiency in mathematics and science, from the impulse originally derived here and through the means here supplied, it can refer to a much larger number, who have acquired through its assistance a taste for reading, and a desire for general knowledge, which have been of essential service in strengthening the mind and furnishing it with information—in forming correct habits—and in giving an aptitude for the successful exercise of mechanical and business talents.

1839.—The members of this Institute who have tasted the pleasures and experienced the advantages of scientific study, need no arguments to urge them to persevere in the course, which they, wisely for themselves and beneficially for society, have adopted. It is, however, to be regretted, that there are still some, who, swayed by political fears, or misled by religious prejudices, hesitate to support the extension of knowledge. But, at the present period, when the minds of the industrial population are deeply agitated by political speculation, the peace-promoting influence of Mechanics' Institutes cannot safely be neglected. The departments of science—undisturbed by storms which convulse other regions—are calm and serene; and the pure atmosphere, which circulates around them, tranquillizes and braces the intellectual and moral system. If, therefore, the studies, pursued in this Institute, do not altogether allay the undue excitement, which may be produced by other causes, they will at least give that knowledge of principles and those habits of thought, which will qualify the members to judge for themselves, and preserve them from becoming the victims of rash and dangerous schemes. Science is as much the friend of religion as of social order. In expounding the laws and phenomena of Nature it gives proofs of the existence and illustrations of the character of the Supreme Being, which prepare the mind for the admission of the highest truths of religion. As Nature, to use the language of Bacon, is “another revelation,” and comes from the same source as revealed religion, she cannot deliver opposing sentiments or produce a different spirit. To say that science is an obstruction and hindrance to religion is, therefore, in effect to represent the Deity contradicting himself. Humbled by the boundless and wonderful manifestations of Divinity—freed from prejudices—open to the reception of all truth—and awakened by the illimitable progression of knowledge to the hope of a higher destination—the ardent student of science can neither be puffed with pride and conceit, nor duped by irrational enthusiasm; but he will in general be the sincere and devout worshipper of the Great Source of all power and goodness. “By the love of

delightful contemplation of the works of creation, for their own sake only,' says the accomplished and profound Mrs. Somerville, "the mind of man is raised from low and perishable objects, and prepared for those high destinies which are appointed for all those who are capable of them."

1849.—One quarter of a century has passed away since this Institution was founded—a new generation has sprung up to manhood who knows not, from experience, the difficulties which formerly beset the path of the student. Twenty-five years ago, the industrial classes had access to few books, and these few were almost exclusively on religion; nor did any public library in this town contain works on science. Mark how great the change! The privileges of this Institution are within the reach of all; and in its library, which now numbers 2400 volumes, many of the best treatises on every department of human inquiry may be found, excepting only the excluded subjects of party politics and polemical theology. Indeed the library will bear a comparison, in the character of its works, with any other public library of similar extent; for in the choice of books, while even the lighter branches of literature have not been neglected, it has been the great object of the members, at their meetings, to provide if possible for any proved want, and to keep pace with the progress of knowledge by procuring the best, even though the most expensive, treatises on philosophy, history, art, and science. With such advantages, if the rising generation be not wiser and better than their predecessors, they must sadly neglect the means of improvement which are here supplied.

1850.—This simple record of the proceedings for the year gone by shews, that the society has been neither inactive nor inefficient; but whatever there may have been of energy in action or good in result is attributable to the members themselves since they have the regulation of their own affairs, and on them, during the last twenty-two years, the management has entirely devolved; and it is a subject of reasonable gratulation that, while some Institutes have been rent by internal faction, and others diverted from their original purpose—while some have become enfeebled and others extinct, this Institution has moved steadily forward, improving its position, and increasing its means of usefulness. This result is due, in no small degree, to the care with which the society has avoided intermeddling with subjects, which would be of doubtful advantage to the members, but which might introduce among them the elements of strife and division. No political party—no religious sect has had any dominancy. Undisturbed by the passing controversies of the day, the members have not been tempted to withdraw from those studies of literature, art, and science, which it is the peculiar duty of an Institute to promote. But the freedom from sectarian bias, which has hitherto been enjoyed by this society, has also involved freedom from all attempts, whether direct or insidious, to sap the foundations of religious belief. Science, as expounded here, has been shewn in connection with the great truths which form the basis of morality and jurisprudence, and which are essential to man's present as well as future happiness. It is indeed a miserable, a heartless, and a false philosophy, which would represent nature as casting a dark shadow athwart the path of humanity; but rightly interpreted, as has been done by the master minds of all ages, nature is seen shedding a radiance over that path; for true science, by disclosing the providential government of the Almighty Creator, and by revealing arrangements and laws, as good as they are wise, imbues the mind with the love of truth and virtue, inspires it with the hope of immortality, and impels it onward to the attainment of a higher excellence.

During part of this era, from 1830 to 1841, Mr. Thomas Dodds, surgeon, was associated with myself as secretary; and he heartily co-operated in all schemes to promote the efficiency of the society. In his lecture on the Cottages of Northumberland, he was the first to direct the public atten-

tion to their deficient sanitary condition; and in this he was the precursor of Dr. Gilly. His early death on February 6th, 1841, at the age of 41 years, was deeply lamented.

This second era came to a close in 1858. Doubtless Mechanics' Institutes have not realised the expectations of their founders, and have not transformed working men into philosophers. Nevertheless they are not failures: for other beneficent results have been achieved. Probably the Alnwick Institute has done as much as most of such societies in fostering a taste for scientific research; some men, who have attained a scientific reputation, there received their first impulses to study, and among not a few a taste for natural history has been created; but more important still, because embracing a larger number, has been the elevating influence on the intellectual character of successive generations of young men. Alnwick is a nursery to larger towns; and many of the members, occupying in various parts of the world respectable and useful stations in society, attribute, in no small degree, their success in life and the formation of their characters to the influence of this Institution.

The third era began in 1859. A marked town is Alnwick in its social arrangements, which might well "point a moral or adorn a tale." There was *The News room* for a select few, held by permission of the duke of Northumberland in the Assembly rooms—so exclusive, that three black balls keep out any candidate; and there was also a news room for tradesmen, who, however, could not maintain it, and so they sought to attach one to the Mechanics' Institute. A majority of the members concurred in this project; and in January, 1859, a news room was opened in this Institute. Several of the older members liked not the change; nevertheless it was in accordance with the prevailing fancy for popularising such societies; and, by amusements, drawing towards them a larger number of members. It has, however, led to the introduction of playing games of chess and draughts in the reading room and of quoits in the garden behind—a proceeding inconsistent with the objects of the Institution. The news room is well supplied with papers and periodicals, and is well attended both by tradesmen and mechanics. Changed somewhat, however, is the character of the Institute; there is less hard reading and study than formerly; and the lighter literature of the day is more in demand. The lectures, which are chiefly paid for, have been on popular literary subjects, the most attractive being theatrical

readings and musical performances. The Institute prospers ; in 1866 the number of members was 210 ; the income from subscriptions and fines, £91 11s. 4d., and 8s. 10d. from lectures ; 112 volumes had been bought and 23 volumes presented ; for books and binding the expenditure was £25 4s. 3d., for newspapers £17 19s. 5d., for gas, coals, &c., £38 0s. 5d., and for repairs £15 13s. 5½d. The amount devoted to books is, however, disproportioned to the other expenditure.

The library is well classified and arranged ; there are the following number of volumes in the respective classes :—

1. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Engineering, Mechanical Arts, &c.	351
2. Chemistry, Electricity, Galvanism, and Natural History, including Physiology, Medicine, Agriculture . . .	328
3. Architecture, Drawing, Antiquities, &c.	309
4. Geography, Voyages and Travels, County History, &c.	93
5. History, Biography, Chronology, &c.	642
6. Intellectual Philosophy, Ethics, Education, Belles Lettres, and Miscellaneous	555
7. Poetry	273
8. Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, &c.	228
9. Magazines, Reviews, &c.	806
10. Novels and Romances	343

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Twelve monthly and two quarterly periodicals are taken in ; and the news room is supplied with nine daily and eleven weekly papers.

The energetic secretaries of 1866, Mr. F. R. Wilson and Mr. Edward Allen, made a successful effort to collect and place in the library books either relating to Alnwick and the surrounding district or written by persons connected with the district ; and it is gratifying to notice that during the present year another movement has been made in the right direction ; for through the influence of a lecture delivered by Mr. Buckmaster two classes have been formed, in accordance with the conditions of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education ; one for drawing, with 53 pupils, and the other for mathematics, with 28 pupils. An effort is now in progress to obtain subscriptions to add new rooms to the building belonging to the society.

My own official connection with this Institution ceased on November 1st, 1859, when after serving as secretary upwards of thirty years, and devoting the best energies of my life to forward its objects, I retired from office, leaving the men of a new generation to develop the society so as to meet the wants of the present age ; and most earnestly do I say—*God speed*—to every effort made there to raise the intellectual and moral character of my native town.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALNWICK LIBRARY—SAVINGS' BANK—INFIRMARY—DUKE'S, DUCHESS'S,
NATIONAL, AND RAGGED SCHOOLS—GAS SUPPLY—RELIEF OF
THE POOR.

Alnwick Library.—About the year 1783, a proprietary library was established with 75 shareholders, each contributing £4 4s. 0d. and paying annually 10s; and reading members were admitted each paying 14s. yearly. Well supported it must have been for several years; for a considerable library of good standard books was formed; but in the course of the present century it lost its vigour; readers diminished, especially after the commencement of the Mechanics' Institute, shares were abandoned, and in 1833 there were only 59 proprietors, and 4 readers; and an income of £32 6s., which was nearly absorbed by rent, salary of librarian, and the purchase of a few periodicals. Under such circumstances, it stood in the way of something better; and after an unsuccessful attempt to transfer the books to the Mechanics' Institute, this library was dissolved in 1834, and the books were divided among the proprietors.

At a public meeting held February 21st, 1834, it was resolved, that a new public library be founded, that the property and the management be vested in a patron, president, vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and a committee, and that each member pay one guinea annually or a donation of ten guineas. In the first year there were 78 members, and a library of 275 volumes was at once formed; so successful was the scheme, that in the year 1836, 600 volumes were added, among which were the publications of the Record Commission. During the earlier period of its history, the committee endeavoured to obtain by purchase or presentation standard books of history, biography, science, and general reference. In the year 1866 there were 4411 volumes in this library, consisting of 395 volumes of history, antiquities, &c., 448 of biography, 571 of voyages and travels, 246 of science and natural

history, 1531 of novels, 160 of poetry, 534 of miscellaneous literature, 334 of magazines, reviews, reports, &c., 71 of encyclopedias and dictionaries, and 121 of the public records. The average yearly income has been £72 ls. 11½d.; the average number of subscribers during the first ten years was 86, but during the last ten years only 47; the number of subscribers for the year ending May, 1866, was 41, and the receipts for that year was £43 13s. 3d. The library is open daily from 11 a.m. till 2 p.m., as a reading room and for giving out and receiving books.

The present state of this library is scarcely creditable to the literary character of the town; for though starting with fair prospects and at first prosperous, the number of members is small, and the additions to the library in recent years, consisting chiefly of novels and light literature, shew a degeneracy of taste. The rooms occupied by it are small and inconvenient. Mr. Luke Hindmarsh has been treasurer since its establishment; the late Mr. Robert Busby was secretary till his decease, and that office is now filled by his son Mr. George Busby.

Savings' Bank.—The savings' bank was founded in 1816, chiefly through the exertions of William Burrell of Broompark and John Lambert of Alnwick. Earl Grey presided at a public meeting held on October 19th, when resolutions were adopted for its establishment; and it was opened for the receipt of deposits on December 23rd, 1816. Forty-eight gentlemen were appointed as a committee, fourteen of them being called managers; of the original number only one survives—our respected townsman Mr. Mark Smith. Managed by so many of the principal inhabitants of the district, this bank has always been regarded as a safe place for the investment of the savings of the industrial classes; and hence the number of depositors has been considerable, evidencing also the thrifty habits of the people in the district. In the first year 359 deposits were made amounting, to £4374 14s. Od.; and afterwards the numbers and the amount went on increasing. In the year 1867 996 deposits were made, amounting to £7357 3s. Od.; the repayments were 672, amounting to £12,820 16s. 11d.; the total number having deposits was 1880, and the total amount deposited £85,362 13s. 5d. This money is invested in the bank of England in the names of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; but the interest received being 3½ per cent. per annum, and 3 per cent. being paid to depositors, a fund is created out of which

the expenses of management are paid. The secretary receives a yearly salary of £120; an auditor is paid £20 yearly; in 1867 other expenses amounted to £87 16s. 11d., making the total cost of management for that year £230 16s. 11d.

With part of the surplus fund a small old house with a frontage into Narrowgate and Fenkle Street was bought, in 1835, for the use of the bank. It was pulled down and an ornamental building with fine carved work—after a design by William Smith, architect—was erected, the whole costing about £1300; but, notwithstanding this large outlay, the premises proving too small and inconvenient for the business of the bank, the fine new building was sold in 1851 for £270; and, the surplus fund having increased, spacious and well built premises in St. Michael's lane were purchased for £700; alterations and improvements cost nearly an additional £200. Ample accommodation there is here both for the business of the bank and residence of the secretary. The surplus fund now amounts to £378 16s. 11d.

A post office savings' bank was opened in Alnwick on November 11th, 1861.

Alnwick Infirmary.—No institution has been of more benefit to the poor of the town than the Alnwick Infirmary, which was founded on June 9th, 1815, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town and district, William Burrell, Esq., in the chair, as a dispensary “to administer advice and medicine to the poor, to promote vaccine inoculation and to afford aid in cases requiring the greater applications of surgery.” William Burrell of Broompark, and John Lambert of Alnwick, may be regarded as its principal founders; both were energetic in its support; and the latter was an efficient secretary and treasurer from its establishment to his decease in 1849. Liberal support at the outset was given to the scheme; the donations and subscriptions during the first year amounted to £2081 5s. 0d.; and of this sum £1637 were invested in the public funds. A house in Fenkle street was used as the dispensary till 1819, when a large new and somewhat elegant building was bought for this purpose from the trustees of William Bolton, at a cost of £900; and at this time a fever ward was added to the establishment.

This building is in a convenient and healthy situation, standing detached, on the western outskirts of the town, with a frontage to Infirmary street. On the ground floor in the front are the dispensing and committee rooms, and behind are rooms for the resident surgeon, the matron, kitchens, &c.;

and on the floor above are surgical, medical, and fever wards for indoor patients, with other conveniences. Ample is the accommodation for the ordinary wants of the district; but it has been found inadequate when there are outbreaks of epidemic disease. In 1849 the name was changed from Dispensary to Infirmary, which, indeed, it had been almost from its first establishment; and at this time the rules were revised so as to increase its usefulness. The subscriptions and donations continued to be in excess of the expenditure up to 1839, when £4900 were invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent consols. The institution having then the reputation of being a rich body, donations were seldom made and the subscriptions were lessened; so that debt accumulated and it became necessary to sell stock funds and to seek additional public aid to clear off the incumbrance. The financial position of the Infirmary is now, however, greatly improved; and much credit is due to the energy and ability of the honorary secretary and treasurer, Mr. John Atkinson Wilson, for this gratifying result. The income for 1867 amounted to £419 12s. 11d., and the expenditure to £416 7s. 5d.

The regulations are similar to those of other infirmaries; governors are constituted by a yearly subscription of one guinea or a donation of ten guineas, and they have the privilege of recommending patients, who are attended to by two honorary physicians, two honorary surgeons, and by a house surgeon who resides at the Infirmary. The following table of the number of patients who have been admitted into the Infirmary in each year since its establishment, shews the extent of its usefulness:—

Years.	Patients.	Years.	Patients.	Years.	Patients.
1816 ..	259	1834 ..	603	1851 ..	655
1817 ..	313	1835 ..	606	1852 ..	827
1818 ..	275	1836 ..	582	1853 ..	994
1819 ..	406	1837 ..	784	1854 ..	1289
1820 ..	352	1838 ..	550	1855 ..	1855
1821 ..	524	1839 ..	600	1856 ..	1816
1822 ..	434	1840 ..	1053	1857 ..	2291
1823 ..	499	1841 ..	727	1858 ..	1561
1824 ..	500	1842 ..	901	1859 ..	1141
1825 ..	432	1843 ..	736	1860 ..	1152
1826 ..	420	1844 ..	796	1861 ..	1103
1827 ..	412	1845 ..	850	1862 ..	1449
1828 ..	488	1846 ..	757	1863 ..	1651
1829 ..	685	1847 ..	757	1864 ..	924
1830 ..	734	1848 ..	1268	1865 ..	1038
1831 ..	750	1849 ..	1048	1866 ..	1134
1832 ..	1078	1850 ..	1085	1867 ..	1008
1833 ..	749				

The honorary surgeons have been James Haswell from 1815 to 1816, George Wilson from 1815 to 1856, Philip Dennis from 1816 to 1852, John Davison from 1852 to 1855, Frederick Easton, M.D., from 1856 to 1858, Thomas Fender appointed 1855, Henry Candlish, M.D., from 1864 to 1866, Alexander Main, M.D., appointed 1867.

The honorary physicians have been Dr. Wightman from 1815 to 1817, Dr. Cope from 1818 till 1825, William Forrester Bow, M.D., from 1821 to 1844, Charles Dennis M.D., from 1825 to 1828, William Wilson, M.D., from 1838 to 1852, George Wilson, M.D., from 1844 to 1864, Edward Hedley, M.D., from 1852 to 1867, Frederick Easton, M.D., appointed 1864, Henry Candlish, M.D., appointed 1867.

The house surgeons have been William Robertson, from 1815 to 1821, Geo. Busby from 1821 to 1822, Thomas Head from 1823 to 1829, Thomas Fender from 1830 to 1839, A. Fulton from 1839 to 1840, Edward Smiles from 1841 to 1854, George Ralph Tate, M.D., from 1855 to 1858, Thomas Call 1858, Francis Green 1859 to 1860, Henry Candlish, M.D. from 1860 to 1863, Alexander Main, M.D., from 1863 to 1866, David C. M'Vail appointed in October 1866.*

By will dated March 14th, 1857, George Hall of Clive Cottage, Alnwick, Esquire, a commander in the royal navy made a bequest as follows:—

"I give to my executors the sum of five hundred pounds upon trust to invest the same in government or in real security and to pay the interest thereof to the committee of the present Ragged School at Alnwick for the benefit of that institution; but if it should be given up and discontinued for six calendar months then I direct the capital to be transferred to the trustees of the Alnwick Infirmary to be added to the bequest next hereinafter mentioned. I give to the trustees of the Alnwick Infirmary the sum of five hundred pounds upon trust to invest the same on government or real security and to pay the interest thereof to the treasurer of that institution; and in case the said Ragged School shall be discontinued in manner aforesaid, then I request the said trustees of the said infirmary to receive the legacy of five hundred pounds so bequeathed by me for the benefit of the Ragged School aforesaid, and to pay the interest thereof to the treasurer of the said infirmary, making in that event the sum of one thousand pounds trust money."

The Duke's School.—Hugh the second duke of Northumberland, on October 25th, 1810, laid the foundation stone of a school in the Green bat, for the education of two hundred poor boys, in commemoration of the jubilee of George III. It was opened on August 12th, 1811, and ever since has been maintained by the successive dukes of Northumberland. At first it was conducted on the Lancastrian system of education; and its first master, Mr. John Beilby, who was an able teacher, had been trained at the Borough Road School. Since the establishment of National Schools in Alnwick, the school arrangements have been altered; and it now gives an advanced education to eighty boys, whose ages on admission are not less than nine years. At present there are in the school 31 boys between 9 and 12 years of age, 36 between 12

* Dr. M'Vail has recently invented an ingenious instrument called the *Spirograph*, which is moved by clock-work, and records in writing the movements of respiration; an account of it appeared in the *Lancet* of March 7th, 1868.

and 14, and 13 above 14 years of age. The average attendance is 75. Pupils are admitted to the school by an order from Major Francis Holland, who is manager. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, navigation, grammar, geography, history, chemistry, mechanical drawing, vocal music and occasionally latin are taught; and the pupils attend St. Paul's Church on Sundays. Small plots of garden ground are allotted to meritorious scholars, to encourage industrial habits; and lectures on natural history, and occasional excursions to the sea-side and woods and fields have formed in some a taste for scientific observation. Mr. Thomas Collinson has been master of this school since August 23rd, 1851, and under his able teaching numbers of good scholars have been prepared for the duties of life.

The Duchess's School, now held in a house within the Dairy grounds, was founded by the second duchess of Northumberland for the instruction of girls, chiefly in reading, sewing, knitting, and domestic work; writing and arithmetic are now also taught. It is supported partly by the produce of the industry of the pupils, but chiefly by the successive duchesses of Northumberland. The pupils are marked, by wearing a kind of livery of green, black, and white, the fashion of a bye-gone age. They attend the morning and afternoon service on Sundays at St. Michael's Church.

National Schools were established in Alnwick in connection with the Church of England, "with the intention of bringing sound religious and secular education within the reach of all classes, and to impart it at the cheapest rate under trained teachers and with the best methods." School rooms and dwelling rooms for a master and a mistress were erected on a site in Barndale near Pottergate tower, at a cost of £1408, which was defrayed by public subscriptions and government aid. The schools were opened on November 26th, 1849, with an attendance of 95 boys and 132 girls, each pupil in the junior classes paying 2d. and in the senior classes 3d. weekly. In 1854 two class-rooms were added; and in 1860 an Infant School in connection with these schools was opened; but the funds proving inadequate for its support, it was closed in 1865. The education is given by a master, a mistress, and two pupil teachers; and in 1867 there were 125 boys and 95 girls on the school roll, the ordinary attendance being 110 boys and 75 girls. The income for the year 1866 was £276 11s. 9d., arising from voluntary contributions amounting to £85 11s. 7d., school-pence £83 15s. 8d.,

and government grant £107 4s. 6d.; the expenditure was £254 2s. 7d.

Ragged School.—This school was originated in 1848, “with the view of providing destitute children with the elements of a secular and religious education, and of assisting them to enter on a course of honest industry.” Instruction is given by three paid teachers; one is master of the school; a tailor instructs a class of boys in his art; and a female, assisted by a committee of ladies, teaches sewing and knitting to the girls. The religious instruction is according to the rules, “unsectarian in its character, founded simply on the bible, and embracing the great truths of faith and duty on which all evangelical christians are agreed.” There are a day school, an evening school for those who are at work during the day, and a Sunday school; in 1867 the day school had an average attendance of 80, the number on the books being 92; the evening school had an average attendance of 90, out of a roll of 150 boys and adults; and the Sunday school had an average attendance of 50, out of a roll of 90. Connected with the school are a library and a penny savings bank. The expenditure for 1867 was £100 17s. 7d.; and the income £124 12s. 4½d.; of which sum £22 10s. 0d. was a legacy from the late Captain George Selby, R.N.; £10 a legacy from William Horsley; and £15 6s. 0d., the annual interest on a bequest left by Captain George Hall, R.N.

This school supplies the wants of a class not provided for by other educational societies; “out of 253 scholars attending it, 47 are fatherless, 13 are motherless, 4 are orphans, 22 are illegitimate, 40 have one or both parents drunken and dissipated, and the remaining 127 have parents so poor that they are unable to pay the smallest school fee.” The average attendance of such scholars is about four years. “Comparatively few,” it is reported, “have turned out badly; many are doing well; some young men as mechanics and labourers, and some young women as wives or domestic servants. A few have attained higher positions in society, but the great majority are met with in the ranks of industry.”

This school is now held in a large building in Lisburn street, erected in 1838, for an Infant School, which had been established by the decision of a public meeting to commemorate Queen Victoria’s coronation, and which was hence called *The Alnwick Victoria Infant School*. The site of the building was given by John Lambert; but the scheme had to struggle with difficulties, arising out of sectarian feeling; for

a party claimed that the Church of England formularies should be taught in the school, and, as this was not done, refused to give support. Nevertheless the school struggled on for fourteen years, taught by mistresses who had been educated at Normal Training colleges; but as funds could not be raised for its permanent efficient maintenance, it was discontinued in 1853. The trustees of the building agreed, in February, 1854, to allow it to be used as a Ragged School.

Gas Supply.—An Oil Gas company was formed in 1825, with fifty shares at £25 each; and a lease of ground at the head of Canongate, on which to erect the necessary works, was obtained for forty-one years from the duke of Northumberland, at a rent of sixpence a year. The lease was extended in 1852 to thirty years at a rental of £5. In 1859 the company, at a cost of £656, bought property adjoining the works, which were then considerably extended.

The manufacture of gas from oil proved unremunerative; and the company soon began to make it from coal; but so unskilful had been the management, that for several years no dividend was paid; and the shares fell so low in the market, that some were sold for £5. The company was registered as a Joint Stock Company on September 11th, 1849; and it obtained a certificate of incorporation, under the Joint Stock Companies' Act, on November 5th, 1856, with a capital of £3000 in 50 shares. In accordance with this certificate, it is managed by seven directors, all of whom must live within one mile of Alnwick; they meet yearly four times, and according to a bye-law each is paid 10s. for attendance at every meeting; another bye-law determines that every shareholder must be a consumer of gas, and that no one can hold more than three shares. The original number of shares has never been increased, and there are now only thirty-three shareholders; but the original amount of £25 for each share has time after time been nominally increased, by, it is understood, sometimes adding to the original amount imaginary dividends which had not been realised—first to £40, next to £60; and on February 31st, 1867, to £100. A dividend of 10 per cent. has for several years been paid on the nominal amount. When the nominal value of a share was £60, as much as £120 was paid for one; and since raised to £100, a share has brought £140 in the market.

The supply of gas is a monopoly in the hands of this company; and during many years while the dividends were large, the gas was bad and the price high; so much so, that, urged

on by the complaints of the public, the Board of Health in 1860 appointed a committee of inquiry; and they reported that the gas was high in price and impure, and of a low illuminating power, not exceeding the ratio of 14, while that of Berwick was 29; "in large towns competitive companies are useful in remedying the evil; but in such towns as Alnwick, the committee are decidedly of opinion that the supply of gas should not be at the mercy of a private body, but should devolve on the Board of Health. Water is thus supplied; and gas, now a necessity of modern civilization, and directly connected with the functions of the Board as a means of lighting the streets, should also be regulated by a body under popular control." Since that time, however, and after the extension of the gas works, the price has been reduced to 4s. 3d. per thousand cubic feet, and the quality so improved that the illuminating power is now usually a little more than 20. There are now about 440 gas consumers in the town, and an annual consumption of 10,000,000 cubic feet of gas.

Relief of the Poor.—Our early records respecting the relief of the poor, though brief, are of some interest. Prior to the Reformation the poor were partly supported by the charity of well-disposed christians, but chiefly by the monasteries and religious houses, at whose gates alms were daily distributed, thereby relieving distress, but doubtless also encouraging improvidence and idleness. After the monasteries had been dissolved, and their enormous revenues seized by an unscrupulous king, and partly distributed among hungry courtiers, the principal source for the relief of poverty was dried up, and the land was overrun with beggars. Partial measures failed to remedy this evil; but the comprehensive poor law, which was passed in the 43rd year of Elizabeth's reign, provided relief for the impotent poor, and employment for such as were able to work. This act, however, does not seem to have been in full operation in Alnwick till the close of the seventeenth century; beggars still went from door to door seeking charity; and even in 1697, instead of a compulsory poor rate, voluntary contributions were sought for by the churchwardens or sydemens, and paid by them to the bailiff or chamberlains of the borough. The following order made by the court leet shews, what means were then adopted to prevent begging and to relieve the poor:—

1697.—Whereas the poor doe dayly and weekly goe about from house to house within the Towne and Burrough of Alnwick to receive alms, for the preventing of which we do order that the

Churchwardens or Sydemen shall goe from house to house and take under his, her, or their hand or hands, what they or every one in particular is willing to give freely weekly or monthly for the relief of the said Parish, and for the preventing of the said poor from goinge about to seek almes within the said Borough, betwixt this and the first day of January next to the Bailiff or Chamberlains, upon paine to forfeit the sum of 6s. 8d. for every neglect of the Chamberlains or Sidesmen.

The employment of the able-bodied poor appears, at this time, to have been in the hands of the worshipful magistrates of the county; for, as we have seen, a Correction house for criminals and a Workhouse for the poor were, in 1686, connected together; thereby stamping poverty with a disgrace which did not belong to it, and shewing that these men had but a feeble perception of moral distinctions.

From the church books we learn that, in 1744, there were two overseers of the poor for the *township* of Alnwick, Wm. Coward and George Walker, who then passed their accounts and returned £13 6s. 1½d., the balance, to William Hindmarsh and Alexander Nicholson, the new overseers. Few paupers were then in Alnwick—only forty-one, thirty of whom were women and children, the weekly allowance ranging from 4d. to 1s. 6d., giving an average of 8½d. each, and an aggregate weekly payment of only £1 6s. 2d. No encouragement was then held out to improvidence and idleness; and tradition says that there was a manly feeling of independence among the people of Alnwick, which led them to be industrious and frugal, and mutually helpful of each other. The expenditure for the poor was very moderate in amount as appears from the following accounts:—

		Receipts.			Disbursements.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1744	..	82	11	8½	67	10	2
1745	..	83	10	11½	80	17	4½
1746	..	74	18	3½	82	10	11½
1747	..	83	7	9½	83	6	8½
1748	..	86	12	3½			

These, however, refer to the *township* of Alnwick alone; for prior to 1768,* every township in the parish separately maintained its own poor; and hence there were twelve

* From the Parish Book we obtain the price of provisions; in 1768, one dozen horn spoons cost 2s.; George Cockburn supplied one bushel of wheat for 5s.; Edward Hudson 21lbs. of mutton at 2½d. per lb.; George Thew 34lbs. of veal at 3d. per lb.; in 1759, John Thew 24lbs. of beef at 1½d. per lb.; a load of coals cost 2s. 9½d.; in 1771 Martha Grey 65 gallons of beer at 2d. per gallon; 3 dozen fish cost 2s. 4d.; in 1778, 8 coffins cost £2; a chaise to Rothbury 7s.; John Dand 6 pairs of breeches for 36s.; 1783, John Horsley a pair of clogs 1s. 2d.

overseers in the parish. In 1765 we find the following election of overseers for the townships of

Alnwick, Mr. Thomas Gibson, the younger ; Mr. Gawen Scott ;
 South Side, Mr. John Gibson, Mr. Rob. Smart ;
 North Side, Will. Appleby, Thomas Bryson ;
 Denwick Town, Mr. John Potts, Mr. Thomas Thew ;
 Abbey Lands, Will. Annett, Thos. Taylor ;
 Canogate, John Marshall, Ralph Taylor.

But in 1768 four overseers, Mr. John Yellowly, Mr. John Dores, Mr. Robert Smart, and Mr. Edward Crozier, were appointed for the *whole parish* ; and thenceforth the distinction of townships ceased, so far as relates to the support of the poor.

“The gentlemen of the four-and-twenty,” as they called themselves, had till 1787 done for the parishioners what the parishioners had a right to do for themselves, and appointed overseers of the poor as well as churchwardens, and probably, too, imposed poor rates, as they still continue to impose church rates. But in 1787 the overseers were elected at a public meeting ; and on March 20th, 1798, the interference of this four-and-twenty with the relief of the poor was brought to an end ; for it was then determined “at a meeting of the churchwardens, overseers, and parishioners, and inhabitants of the parish that a rate of twopence in the pound be laid on towards the necessary relief and employment of the poor ;” and it was also ordered “that in future all meetings relating to the poor be called for the churchwardens, overseers, and inhabitants of the parish.” The old connection, however, between the church and poor was kept up during the eighteenth century ; and much of the business relating to the poor was done at meetings within the church. In 1791 the churchwardens, overseers, and four-and-twenty met weekly after divine service “to take steps relating to the poor as to them shall seem meet.”

The first notice in the church books of a workhouse is in 1785, when the parishioners agreed “to purchase a house or houses to maintain the poor and employ such poor persons and take the benefit of their work and service.” After this the workhouse was in the square in Clayport street, near to which now stands the United Presbyterian church ; it had been but a poor structure, for in 1793 it was thatched with heath. Contracts were entered into to keep and employ paupers in the workhouse ; and the price paid for each pauper during the last seven years of the eighteenth century, ranged from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 9d. per week.

Pauperism increased in Alnwick. In 1787, when we have

the first record of the rates for the whole parish, the amount raised was £858 3s. 9d.; but in 1796 the amount increased to £1263 12s. 0d. In 1803 the rate was 3s. in the pound, and the total amount £2288 19s. 4½d. But the most oppressive times were shortly after the termination of the great European war; in 1816 the rate was 4s. 4d. in the pound, and the total assessment £4092 0s. 11d.; in 1817, 4s. 6d. in the pound and the amount £4217 4s. 9d.; but the year 1818 was the saddest and most oppressive of all; the season had been inclement, and the corn, scanty in quantity, was also bad in quality, so much so, that when baked into bread, to use the phrase of the time, "it was so mawtent that it might be supped with a spoon;" in that sad year, the rate was 5s. 3d. in the pound, and the total amount £4884 16s. 3d. The following table gives the amount yearly of rates till 1820:—

Years.	Rate. s. d.	Amount. £ s. d.	Years.	Rate. s. d.	Amount. £ s. d.
1787 ..	..	858 3 9	1814 ..	3 0 ..	2944 16 0
1796 ..	..	1263 12 0	1815 ..	3 0 ..	2977 8 6
1798 ..	..	1275 19 11½	1816 ..	4 4 ..	4092 0 11
1803 ..	3 ..	2288 19 4½	1817 ..	4 6 ..	4217 4 9
1808 ..	2 ..	1813 19 6	1818 ..	5 3 ..	4884 16 3
1812 ..	2 9 ..	2712 13 4½	1819 ..	3 9 ..	3492 2 2
1813 ..	3 9 ..	3692 16 11	1820 ..	3 6 ..	3231 9 8½

Subsequently to 1820 the relief of the poor was administered by a Select Vestry, consisting of the overseers, churchwardens, and twenty ratepayers, elected yearly at a parish meeting; but since November 15th, 1836, all that relates to this relief has been under the direction of the Board of Guardians of the Alnwick Poor Law Union. The following table gives the yearly amount paid to the treasurer of the union out of the poor rates of Alnwick parish since 1837:—

Years.	Amount. £ s.	Years.	Amount. £ s.	Years.	Amount. £ s.
1838 ..	2608 2	1848 ..	3552 10	1858 ..	3794 19
1839 ..	2024 4	1849 ..	3163 11	1859 ..	3476 2
1840 ..	2109 13	1850 ..	3533 9	1860 ..	3169 9
1841 ..	2421 1	1851 ..	2598 18	1861 ..	3289 10
1842 ..	2356 2	1852 ..	2783 9	1862 ..	3389 15
1843 ..	2410 3	1853 ..	2774 17	1863 ..	2967 0
1844 ..	2432 8	1854 ..	3321 0	1864 ..	2538 5
1845 ..	3458 10	1855 ..	3424 19	1865 ..	3008 17
1846 ..	2663 7	1856 ..	2925 14	1866 ..	2843 4
1847 ..	2452 14	1857 ..	3422 15	1867 ..	2210 14

The Alnwick Union consists of 62 townships and parishes, and has an area of 98,935 acres, property of the rateable value of £126,075, and a population of 21,053. The area of Alnwick parish is 16,749 acres, the rateable value £26,013, and

the population 7350. In 1864 the expenditure of the whole Union was £9069 14s. 4d. or 1s. 5½d. in the pound; and that of Alnwick parish was £2647 or 1s. 11½d. in the pound. There were then 83 guardians, elected and official; but Alnwick elected only seven or one-twelfth of the number, while its rateable value was more than one-fifth, its expenditure three-elevenths, and its population one-third of that of the whole Union. Such are the anomalies of our legislation; as a result of which not only has Alnwick been debarred from having its fair share of guardians; but even the choice of representatives has been narrowed; as the Board has fixed the day of meetings to be on Saturdays—the most inconvenient time for those who are usually entrusted with the management of the town's business. Meetings are held on the second and last Saturdays of every month at 11 a.m.*

A large workhouse was built in 1810, "for the better accommodation of the poor," on the north side of Greenbat; but this was sold after the erection of a workhouse for the *whole Union* in 1841, on land south of the town near to the Railway Station.

* Since 1862, when the irremovable or union poor began to be charged on the rateable value of the several townships, the expenditure of Alnwick parish has been diminished; and it has been further decreased by the operation of the union chargeability act, of 1865, which apportions the cost of *all paupers* according to the rateable value of the several townships. Hence we find the expenditure of 1867 was only £2084, out of which £545 11s. 4d. were paid for county and police rates.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CORPORATION.

EARLIEST ACCOUNT—WHO WERE BURGESSES? ANCIENT RIGHTS OF FREEHOLDERS, STALLINGERS, CLAIMS OF HOBBERLAW, ST. MARGARET'S, CANONGATE—ADMISSION TO FREELEGE, APPRENTICE ORDER, HONORARY FREEMEN, LEAPING THE WELL—GOVERNMENT OF THE BOROUGH, BAILIFF, CHAMBERLAINS, FOUR-AND-TWENTY, CLOCKS, WEIGH HOUSE, WINE AT AUDITS, SOCIALITY, CHARITIES, CLERKS, HERDS, MOOR GRIEVES, SERGEANTS, BELLMAN, ALDERMEN, GUILDS.

Many illustrations we have already gleaned from the borough records of historical incidents and old customs; but we shall now endeavour to unfold the history and character of the corporation itself, which, until the middle of the eighteenth century, was in effect a municipal body, exercising, by prescriptive authority, most of the functions and powers of other municipal corporations. As we follow its movements and changes some not uninteresting information may be elicited of the play of passions and interests, of former usages and customs, and of the influences, which have changed the character of the town.

The muniments of the borough consist of the charters already set forth,* of conveyances, bonds, leases, agreements, cases and legal opinions, and of orders and accounts. The bulkiest documents are the orders and accounts, which commence in 1594; those earlier than 1658 are in loose sheets and very imperfect, many having been lost or destroyed; but the evidences of the town were pretty numerous in 1611, when they were contained in four boxes. There had been an older book, which is referred to in the following account, the earliest now existing:—

The account of Henry Watsonne, baylif, for one year ended at Michaelmas last past in anno domini 1594.

Money by him received of revenues and profits of the Towne the summe off *xxixl. xs. id.*

* See Vol. I., pp. 96-98, 237-241.

To money by him disbursed for the use of the Towne xxxiii*l.* i*s.* x*d.*

And so the Towne is indebted to me, Henry Watsonne, the sume of iiii*l.* xi*s.* x*d.*

And so the Towne is indebted to Edward Alnwick at that tyme the sume of vs.

And so the Towne is indebted to John Scott at the tyme the sume of vs.

The Towne is indebted to Raiphe Clay as appeareth by the *ould book* xxxs.

From an early Norman period the burgesses of Alnwick were an incorporated body, having a common seal, and holding, in their corporate character, a large extent of land in the thirteenth century. But as the freemen now are a narrow exclusive class, widely different from the burgesses of the olden time, we shall first inquire

WHO WERE THE BURGESSES OR FREEMEN OF ALNWICK?

Anciently they were those who held or occupied burgage houses. The name of *borough* itself is a relic of the Anglo-Saxon age, coming from *byrig* or *burh*, which was applied to both large and small places fortified by mounds or walls and governed by an elective burgh reeve. Madox says that "they were deemed townsmen, who had a settled dwelling in a town, who merchandised there, who were all of the hans or guild, who were in scot or lot, and who used and enjoyed the free liberties of the town." Whoever in fact resided in a town and contributed to the local burdons were burgesses. The corporate name of *The Burgesses of Alnwick*, which appears in the De Vesey and other charters, continued in use till the middle of the seventeenth century. The franchise was therefore originally partly a property and partly a personal right; residents in a town either possessing or occupying a burgage enjoyed it; but when population began to fluctuate and strangers came to towns, the franchise gradually diverged from its original free course; in most of the smaller boroughs it took the direction of property, and the enjoyment of commons passed along with the burgage, as at Alnmouth, Warkworth, and Rothbury; but in larger towns it became a personal right; and this course it took in Alnwick, and was handed down by descent or by apprenticeship, irrespective of its early property basis; so that the usage was at length established of confining the franchise to the sons and apprentices of freemen; yet while stallingers* or foreigners were excluded from

* Stallinger, a curious north country word used in the corporate records as early as 1613, seems to be derived from *stallage* or *stallings*, the money paid by those who were not burgesses, for setting up a stall or booth in the market or fair. I find it applied, in the cordiners' records in 1688, to those who came into the trade by composition, and who enjoyed a few trading privileges, such as selling wares at market, while they were not allowed to do so in shops. In other towns, as at Dumfries and Sunderland, it is applied to an intermediate class between the community and the freemen. Jamieson gives the following quotation—"Ilk Stallenger sall either agree with the Provost of the burgh in the best forme as he may, or ilk mercat day sall pay him ane halfe pennie." In Alnwick, however, the word acquired even at an early period a more extended signification, and *stallinger* or *foreigner* designates all persons who are not freemen.

corporate privileges, they were still compelled to bear their full share of local taxation. These changes were not achieved at once, but were the work of time. In the records of the baronial courts and of the corporation we find evidences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not only of burgages admitting to the freedom of the town, but also of a transitional state between the old freer franchise and the narrow modern monopoly. Connected as the freelege was with a burgage, the admissions were made at the burgh courts. The following extracts from these records shew the ancient custom.

10th October, 1474—Thomas Gunell came into court and took of the lord two burgage wastes situated in Alnwick, between the burgage of Thomas Boys on the west part and the burgage of John Barker on the east part, and also one other place called Cocheriall, lying in a certain street called Walkergate, to have and to hold to the said Thomas, his heirs, and assigns for ever, rendering thence to the lord and his heirs for the two burgages 10d. and 2d. yearly according to the custom of the manor there; and further performing to the lord all services thence due and accustomed by right; and then he made fealty and gave a fine of 16d., and was admitted to *the freedom of the town*, his surety being Robert Reed; by grant made by John Cartyngton, steward to the lord. 10th October, 1474—Robert Rede and Robert Tailior came into court and petitioned for *the freedom of the town* there, and it was granted to them for money as in the margin [3s. 4d.]; pledges, Thomas Jaxson and William Naddell. 7th April, 1477—George Monton petitioned for *the freedom of the town* and it was granted for money [16d.]; pledge, Robert Ellesden. John Strother petitioned for *the freedom of the town* and it was granted for money [20d.]; pledge, William ———. 1501—Robert Atkinson was admitted to his lands and to *the freedom of the borough, in as large a degree as other burgesses have*; and he performed fealty. Another person is also admitted to this freedom on the same day, though it is not said he was admitted to a burgage.

Freeholders continued to enjoy the right of common till, at least, the time of Henry VIII.; for in the following curious agreement, made in 1525, it is admitted that Richard Alder, of Hobberlaw, had a right to pasturage on Alnwick Moor as a *freeholder and commoner* :—

Thys Indenter mayd the third day of Auguste In the xviith yere of the reigns of our Sovereign Lord kynge herre the VIIIth, betwene the ryghte noble herre therle of Northumberland And hys Tennints and Fermers within the lordshyp of Alnewyke in Northumberland off that oone partie and Rycherd Alder of hobberlawe gentyلمان of that other partie, witnessethe, that whereas debate and stryfe hath bene hertofore betwene the said tennints and fermers aforesaid and the sayd Rycherd Alder afor and upon a parcell of ground on Alnewyke More whyche the sayd Rycherd Alder hath lately inclosed part of ytt Tyllled and manered as his awne propre severall grownde, contrare to righte and usage ther used without tyme of mynde, for that the sayd Tennints of the righte noble Erle, by the sayd space, have evermore hertofore have had Bitt of Mowthe with their Bests and Cattall all tymes of the yere at there libertie and pleasur as wyth in ther Common and the lord's wasts, yet yt ys considered for certain considerations that the sayd Rycherd Alder for thys yere next ensuyng shall and may sawe the forsaide parcell of grownde that now is tyllled and to fence the same only for the savegarde of hys corne, and no more grownde, nor in no other wyse and that to be devysed doone and ordered by iiij indiferent persons suche as Sir William Lyle knyghte shall apoynte and name within the lordshyp unto suche tyme that the sayd

crope of corne ther for that onoly zere growinge be carryed and led away after corse of the zere, doth require and that done the sayd Rycherd Alder covenanteth and promisseth and graunts unto the sayd Erle of Northumberland and hys formers and Tennints aforesayd in Alnwyke that neither he hys hers nor assignes at no tyme tharafter shall occupy tylle Inclose and manowr the sayd parcell of grownde, nor no part ther of, nor otherwyse use nor occupy the same but as a freeholder and commoner unto suche tyme that the sayd Rycherd Alder make a substantiall and dew prove afore the Councell lerned off the sayd righte noble Erle, that the parcell of grownde is the ryghte Inheritance and severall grownde of the sayd Rycherd Alder, and that to be testyfyed and wytnessed under the sayd Councell's seall and synne manuall, In wytness whereof either partie to other partie of this present indenter enterchangeably hath putt ther sealls the day and yere abovewritten.

Owners of property, however, did not give up their old privileges without a struggle. The right of common on Alnwick moor was claimed by the tenants of St. Margaret's, and so doubtful was the question in 1610, that the Earl of Northumberland advised the burgesses to make Mr. Paschall, the tenant, one of their fraternity, on account of the controversy as to right. This had not been done; for we find that Thomas Collingwood, the owner of St. Margaret's, sent sheep and cattle on the moor in 1611; but the corporation resisted this supposed encroachment; and the following extracts from the accounts tell the story of the dispute, and furnish an interesting example of the manner in which the early accounts were kept:—

1611—Payd the charges about pynding and dyrecting of some fremen toucheing the impounding of Mr. Collingwood's Cattle of St. Margate the 17th and 24th of June and for drinkeing sylver gyven to them at ij or iij severall tymes, xij*d*.

Item to William Watson and Charles Watson the 25th of June for goeing to St. Margate's to see Mr. Collingwood's sheepe was in the More, because they were taken out of the fold when we knew not 25th of June, iij*d*.

Item to William Forster for kepeing the sheep in the fold by the dyrection of us Aldermen the xi of July 1611 the shepe that was taken from St. Margate's gyven to William Forster by butler, iij*s*.

Item bestowed upon the Watsons of Claypot when they did goe willinglie dyvers tymes to Impounde Mr. Collingwood's Cattle at our house of the more at Mr. Grenes, xij*d*.

Item to William Forster and to Geo. Stanners for kepeing the Shepe in the fold, iij*d*.

Item the 4 day of September to Charles Watson for going to Mr. Collingwood's with a warrant, x*d*.

The dispute was carried by Mr. Collingwood to the assizes for trial; for there is entered "to German Stanton for a Cobby of Thos. Collingwood answare to Yorke 2*s*. 6*d*."; and then comes law charges at York amounting to £5 13*s*. 1*d*. The judgment was, however, in favour of the corporation, and after this we hear no more of Mr. Collingwood in the corporation records.

The tenants of Abberwick also attempted to share in the common; but at the Burgh court, held 6th of November, 1618, they were amerced in sums from 3*s*. 4*d*. to 6*s*. 8*d*. each "for depasturing with their sheape one Alnewick Moare."

According to an extract from a castle document "Haydon forest was all along enjoyed by the freemen of Alnwick, and several intercommoners; viz., Hobberlaw, Greensfield, St. Margaret's, Canongate, and by Rugley and Snipe House farmers; viz., Rugley had a rake or right of common upon Alnwick Moor for all cattle which they bound up to stobb and stake in winter; and Snipehouse had a rake or right of common upon Freemen hill, Blakelaw hill, Hesley closes, and other grounds adjacent."—*Hodgson's MSS.*

Although the distinction between freemen and stallingers had by the beginning of the seventeenth century been pretty well established, the freemen were not so restrictive as their successors; for they still allowed to others modified privileges in the town common. In 1618 the following order was made by the court leet:—

1618—Whereas ther is suche intrudinge in the forest and common of Ayden by the Stallingers within the brought (*Borough*), we think it most needful and convenient, for the avoydinge of such intruders, that they shall paye yearly for every horse, meare, and folle or colte, for every one of the aforesaid horse, colt, guilding, or mare or folle the sum of 2s. per annum paid; and also for every kyne, oxe, quye, or stotte, to paye for every one of these, 12d. per annum; for every five shep or four gaits 12d. per annum, to be paid and leyed to the use and good of the common purse and Burgesses of the Brough of Alnwycke yearly.

One might expect that as civilization advanced, the minds of the freemen would become more liberalised; but experience shews that privileged orders are the last who are influenced by the impulses from increasing knowledge. They had made the claims of property and of the stallingers to succumb to them, and they next attacked the rights of the Canongate freeholders. From time immemorial, probably from the period when the Saxons first settled on the banks of the Aln, the people of Canongate had rights over Alnwick Moor; for we find that in 1346 Henry de Percy *confirmed* by charter to the abbot and convent of Alnwick, for *Channowgate*, common of pasture for all their cattle on the moor of Alnwick and Haydene, and to take in the same, all other profits in glebes, in turbaries, in pits, and other things suitable for fuel. This, it will be observed, was not a *new* grant but a *confirmation* of an existing right. But in 1620 the big town of Alnwick boldly asserted its exclusive rights to the moor, and trampled on the claims of the little town of Canongate.

"The 6 day of June, 1620—Received of Patrick Howbourne of Cannigate by us Gawen Salkeild Nicholas forster Robert frier and John Gray being Additors for the towne the summe of five shillings lawful English money for trespassinge in the forest of Aden which belongeth to the free burggosses of Alnewike and no man els." Thomas Swan of Canongate at the same time paid 2s. 6d. for trespassing with three sheep; and another inhabitant of Canongate paid "one penny for one bay meare trespassing."

The claims of Canongate were not finally extinguished, however, till April 17th, 1654, when at the court leet and court baron of the borough the following order was made:—

"It is at the same Cort presented, that divers of the Inhabitants of Cannowgate, adjoining on this Burrough, are willing to submit to the priveledges of

the said Burrow, and pay the americiaments imposed on them at last Cort for their trespassing with their goods in the common of Alnwick, anciently called the forrest of Eden, and are willing to pay for every Stint * 3s. 4d., which shall goe and depasture for the future on the said Common, and to come from tyme to tyme at Mayday to the Chamberlains, for the tyme being to book their Stints, as they shall putt in to depasture thereon. And therefore ordered, that not only the Inhabitants of Canogate, but those within this Burrough that are not Freemen, may have such convenient stints as shall be thought fitt and approved on by this Cort, paying such rates and bookeing them as aforesaid, provided no particular person be admitted to more than four stints, and that all there other goods which shall be found depasturing, and not see booked, shall be from tyme to tyme brought to the Common pound and there deteyned, till they shall be released by due order of lawe or good satisfaccion given to the Burrough for there trespass and damage."

This brought to an end the claims of the Canogate freeholders, and placed them on the same level with foreigners and stallingers; but it is said in another extract from the castle records—"that the townsmen had forced Canogate inhabitants to take a little parcel of ground at Wake's well or fountain in full consideration for their demands on Alnwick Moor."—*Hodgs. MSS.*

Encroachments notwithstanding were often made on the common; for the public could not reconcile themselves to the belief, that they had been entirely robbed of their ancient rights.

In 1674 fines of 12d. were imposed for cutting and carrying away "Rhamnos anglice whinnes" from the forest of Eden. Benjamin Barton, a turbulent man, often brought before the Court, was fined 3s. 4d.—"quod Villificavit villipendere priveledgium Burgensium de Alnewike in foresta de Eaden." In 1690 James Elliott was amerced 6d. "for digging in the Marsh or limited place in Alnwick common or Moor;" and Charles Wilson and James Watson turf casters were each amerced 3s. 4d. "for setting the Towne Moore on fire to the great loss of the inhabitants and freemen of the towne of Alnwick."

As time passed on more stringent regulations were adopted for restricting to freemen the advantages of the town common; and on May 2nd, 1671, the Four-and-Twenty made the following order:—

1671, May second—It is then concluded and agreed upon, by the consent of the foure-and-twentie, that from this day forwarde shall noe chamberlayne or Moor Greeve receive or take any forraniers stalledgers or Incommers goods that shall inhabit within this Manor and Burrough of Alnwicke, to have any Eatage Stinteing or depasturing within Alnwicke Moor, otherwise called Ayden forest, and that by this order we doe consent and agree, that it may be lawful for our Moor Greaves or Moore herds to drive and impound the goods of any forrayner for eateing or trespassing in the said Moore or Forrest, and for their security we doe all joyneto keepe them indemnified."

Notwithstanding this, several stallingers trespassed on the

* A *stint* or *stent*, from *stinten*, A.-S., to limit, is a bound or limit, and defines either the amount of an assessment or of pasturage. In Aberdeen, in 1581, "the whole committie all in aue voce grantit and consentit to mak aue olkkie stent and contribution"—and persons were chosen "to stent and set the said contribution."—*Aberdeen records.* For pasturage in Alnwick Moor, one horse, or one cow, or one ox, or five sheep, or five goats, was reckoned one *stint*, or *stent* as it is commonly pronounced.

moor, reluctant to yield up public rights to a dominant body; but in 1672 the Chamberlains drove off the goods of John Mill of Snipe House out of the common, and impounded the sheep of Oswald Clarke and others which had trespassed; and in consequence O. Clarke of Snipe House, Thomas Metcalfe of Alnwick, J. Vardy of St. Margaret's, J. Alder of Hobberlaw, and J. Forster of Rugley, were obliged to sign a deed, acknowledging that they had no just right of any liberty of the common of Alnwick, but only as freemen of the town. The last claim to a right of common on account of property was made by Henry Forster of Angerton, the owner of Hobberlaw in 1712; but the dispute was decided in favour of the corporation, and Forster released his claim and paid £20 costs; and since that time the freemen have enjoyed a monopoly of corporate privileges. Freemen *living out of the town* exercised a right to the common up to 1689; when the following order was made:—

1689, July 1.—Whereas our Towne moor or forest of Ayden is over-stocked by several of the freemen that lives out of the towne of Alnwicke, to the great damage of the freemen who inhabit the said towne and (*Burrough*), and lett them; for the preventing of any damage hereafter, It is this day unanimously ordered by the Chamberlains and four-and-twenty, that noe person or persons, that is fre of the said towne and do:h not inhabit within the said towne shall have any manner of priveledge to depasture or feed his or their cattle or beasts in the said moor or forest of aylen, according to our ancient grants and the custome of the towne of Newcastle and Barwicke-upon-Tweed; And it is further unanimously ordered, that every freeman that hereafter shall be made fre shall immediately upon admittance subscribe this order.

The stint order passed by the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty in 1737 extends the privilege to freemen living within the *parish of Alnwick*; and this bye-law still regulates the enjoyment of privileges on the moor by freemen, even since its inclosure under the Commons Inclosure Act.

Restricted as the corporation had become to a fractional part of the inhabitants of the town, the old name *burgesses* was not applicable; and hence, sometime before 1687, the privileged body were called *freemen*.

ADMISSION TO THE FREELEGE.

Admission to the freelege was attained by birthright, or by apprenticeship to a freeman, or by election by the Four-and-Twenty. All the legitimate sons of a freeman are now entitled to be made free, wheresoever born or whether before or after their father's admission to the freelege; and this has been the usage during at least the last two centuries. Every freeman can take apprentices to his own trade, who at the expiration of seven years servitude are entitled to become free; and this privilege was also enjoyed formerly by freemen's widows;* but the exercise of

* 1664 Robert Shanckes was taken apprentice to Jane Hadston, widow. 1685 Robert Lesly was taken apprentice to Mrs. Kath. Forster. 1696 Charles Matthewson was taken apprentice to Mary Craaster. 1715 Joseph Thompson was taken apprentice to Elis. Collingwood.

these rights has been regulated, time after time, by bye-laws made by the Four-and-Twenty. The earliest order in reference to apprentices is the following :—

1672, July 3.—It is ordered by consent of the four-and-twenty, that every apprentice shall be obliged, after one yeare of his entrance into his apprenticeship, to repaire to the comon guild,* whensoever assembled, and there shall record his time of entrance and the date of his indenture in the towne booke by the chamberlanes, and that afterwards he shall serve within his master's house at meat, drinke, and lodging for seven yeares complete, upon paine of everye one that taketh any such apprentice contrary to this order which hath been made, as appears to us by our predecessors in the year 1628, and now confirmed by us the day and yeares above said. Several abuses hath been formerly committed by those that doth live in the country in takeing prentices and offering them to be made freemen in the towne of Alnwick therefore it is agreed, that for ever hereafter noe man shall take an apprentice without the said apprentice shall serve his master lawfully in his owne house for the terme of five yeares.

This order had the effect of excluding any freemen living in Bailiffgate or Canongate from taking apprentices, because though part of the town, they were not within the borough. The following order, revised in 1843, now regulates the admission of apprentices to the corporation :—

In conformity with the ancient usage of the borough, no apprentice shall be entitled to his freedom unless he has served, *bona fide*, by indenture, for seven yeares, to a freeman residing and carrying on trade within this town and borough on his *own* account, and for his own benefit ; or, in case such master shall die, leave the town, or discontinue his trade before the term expires—unless such apprentice has been regularly and legally assigned to, and has completed his apprenticeship with another resident freeman carrying on trade in manner as aforesaid ; and if there shall be no freeman of the same trade then resident in the borough, then the free trade or company in which the indentures are enrolled, may meet and decide in what manner, and with whom, the apprentice shall complete his servitude, and such free trade or company shall report their decision to the chamberlains and common council, to be confirmed or disannuled.

Though the connection between a burgage and the franchise had been severed sometime in the sixteenth century, admissions to the freelege continued to be made, at least occasionally, at the courts leet down to the year 1676. The earliest entry in the records of this court, under the changed conditions, are as follow :—

Freemen made the 6th November, 1608—Henry Younger is mad fre as his father's eldest son. Thomas Cawart is made free as an apprentice and to pay 5s. the 29th daye of November, William Watson, merchaunt suretie and William Watson the weaver.

The following are among the earliest admissions recorded in the corporation books :—

1611—Thomas Hunter for his freledge money 5s., Jacob Becke for his freeledge money 5s. ; 1613—John Potts for his frelage money 5s.. John Clarke for his frelaidge 5s. ; 1617—Ringwood Alder for his freeledge, pledge Robert Fryer 20s.

* In a similar order made April 20th, 1692, the apprentice is required to " repaire to the *priest guild*."

The 19th day of December, 1630—Freemen's money mayd at Easter Coarte, viz., Edward Younger and William Lamb 10s. Itm freemen's money mayd at Michaelmas Coarte, vizt., Roger Sympson 4d. Itm of John Swinhoe for his freeledge money 5s.

The admissions were pretty numerous in the seventeenth century; in 1645 "three were made" at the Easter Court, and seven at Michaelmas; and six at the Michaelmas Court in 1646. The records of 1654 tells us of the court fees—"John Crayster is admitted a freeman as eldest son to his father Robert Craister, blacksmith, and hath paid 4d. to the baliffe, to the steward 4d., to the foreman 4d., and 4d. to each sergeant, and a pottle of burnt wine to the jury." There are, however, other admissions to the freelege which were not made by the court leet—"October 23, 1655, Edward Reaveley is admitted as he was ane apprentice to John Swinhoe and hath paid to the chamberlains 5s. Robert Adston is admitted as eldest son of his father Robert Adston and hath paid his duties." "1656—James Falder is admitted as freeman as ane apprentice to Nicholas Forster and hath paid to the towne 5s, and a pottle of wine." "The 30 October, 1674—John Huntley apprentice to Edward Humbleton, shoemaker, was admitted freeman of the brough of Alnwick and paid the towne 5s.; the bailiffe, Mr Locke, 8d., the two sergeants 8d., and the foreman of the then court 4d., in all 6s. 8d. and a pottel of wine and taken his oath; this 10s. was given to Isabella Lindsay to help to suker a child which was found in the highway." Subsequently to the year 1676, all admissions to the freelege have been made by the Four-and-Twenty. In that year Thomas Partice was "admitted a freeman of the towne and brough having taken his oath and paid a pottle of wine by and before the *four-and-twenty*." But a distinct law was made on the subject, on "the 7th August, 1677—it is then ordered by this fouer-and-twentie, that the order being made in this booke in 1674, being then left to further consideration, is now firmly established and confirmed, And that noe freeman's sonnes, apprentices, or other person shall be made free of this brough, but by the good-will and consent of the fouer-and-twenty of this town and to be sworne."

The form of the freemen's oath has varied; in the earlier part of the seventeenth century when the admissions were made at the courts leet, it appears to have included fealty to the lord of the manor; but subsequently it was as follows:—

You shall faith and true allegiance bear to our sovereign lord the king, shall swear that you shall maintaine from time to time and att all times hereafter as need shall require all the immunities, freedoms, rights and privileges of this towne and burrough, and in all things shall behave yourself as a good and faithful freeman of this towne.

But when articles were proposed to bring to an end the great lawsuit between the earl of Northumberland and the corporation, the Four-and-Twenty agreed in 1759, "that for the future, fealty

shall be added to and continued in the oath, if his lordship insists thereon ;" his lordship did insist, and this absurd and useless clause was added to the oath.

The fees of admission were from 1611 to 1677, 4d. and a pottle of burnt wine from the eldest son of a freeman ; 5s. and a pottle of burnt wine from younger sons and apprentices, in addition to the court fees ; in 1677 the fee of the second son of a freeman was reduced to 2s. 6d. ; and in 1687 the pottle of wine was converted into a money payment of 2s. 6d. In 1687 the fees were, for the eldest son 5s. to the town, and for younger sons and apprentices 7s. 6d. ; but in 1700, 9s. were added to all these fees, on account of the expense incurred by the corporation in making and upholding some great dikes or fences across the moor ; and these amounts continue to be paid at the present time, out of which, however, 1s. is returned to each young freeman to drink the health of the Chamberlains. Notwithstanding the entire disconnection of the freelege from the effete court leet, an official from the castle makes application for 8d. to the bailiff, and 8d. to the sergeants for every admission. Freemen are now admitted at the age of sixteen years ; but this custom has varied ; unmarried persons were not so favourably treated ; for on April 20th, 1753, it was " ordered that no person or persons whatsoever shall be admitted a freeman of the Town under the age of nineteen, unless he or they be married ;" but this bye-law was rescinded on April 24th, 1775.

Admissions to the freelege have been made during the last century, usually on the 24th day of April ; but the ancient custom was not confined to that day. During the seventeenth century, we find admissions in every month of the year ; as for example, in 1689 one was admitted on March 29th, three on April 24th, one on July 1st, two on October 18th, and one on November 6th.

The Four-and-Twenty are the sole judges of the eligibility of a candidate for the freelege ; they must be satisfied as to his birth or sufficient servitude.. Some time early in the seventeenth century, the steward of the lord of the manor attempted to admit a person to the freedom without his having been made free by the jury of the court leet, who were then the Four-and-Twenty ;* but they resisted this usurpation of power, and would not stay in the court, while the steward " did administer the oath to him he would have made a freeman without their consent." For this boldness the steward endeavoured to punish them ; but " as the fynes which were sett upon their heads were unlawful and unreasonable," they could not be enforced ; and the steward was defeated in his unwarrantable attempt to create freemen. Claimants to the freelege on insufficient grounds were sometimes rejected. Sparingly, however, was this power used, for it was

* " The freemen exclude all freeholders who are not freemen from Juria."—*Extract from MSS. Alnwick Castle, Hodgson.*

subject to the control of the courts of the realm ; so that if either the Four-and-Twenty or the companies were to refuse admission when there was a legal right, they might be involved in serious law expenses. On two occasions the Four-and-Twenty were ignominiously defeated ; they rejected George Grieve in 1770, and John Bolton in 1776 ; but both sought a legal remedy, and, by command of the judges of the land, the corporation was compelled to admit both, and to pay besides heavy legal charges. If the increasing civilization of the age do not teach both the four-and-twenty and the companies a liberal interpretation of their laws and usages, such cases should warn them against a narrow and selfish exercise of power.

The Alnwick corporation, like similar bodies, occasionally honoured men whom they respected, by admitting them to their *personal* freedom ; but this harmless exercise was put an end to by the articles of 1766. I fear, however, that the corporation were then as not a few are now, worshippers of rank ; in 1677 an order was passed limiting such elections to persons having the dignity of *esquire* ; humble worth or genius found no place of honour in the Alnwick corporation. Probably enough the Four-and-Twenty had a keen regard to their own interests ; and, doubtless, favours were either received or expected from the men they delighted to honour. These elections were, however, not very numerous ; the following is a list of them :—

1671, Oct. 25—John Clerke, Esq. ; 1673, May 9—Robert Brandling, Esq. ; 1688, July 10—It is unanimously agreed by the Chamberlains and fower-and-twenty, that out of their Intire Love and Affections to Mr. William Locke Balife of the Towne of Alnwicke have admitted him to be A freeman in the Towne of Alnwick. Att the Request of his Grace the Duke of Somerset, George Clarke by the consent of the fower-and-twenty have admitted him to be a freeman in the Towne of Alnwicke for his personal freedom. 1689, Jan. 17—William Strother of Balmro Esq., John Bickerstaff of Chirton Esq., Roger Fenwick of Shoreston Esq. ; 1690 April 25—Thomas Forster of Edderston Esq., John Forster of Bambrough Esq., Richard Forster Esq. ; 1697—Oswald Clarke at the request of Thomas Beach auditor ; 1697, Oct. 5—Charles Howard Esq., Captain George Fletcher ; 1700, Oct. 11—Thomas Forster Esq., Ferdinando Forster Esq., Thomas Collingwood Esq., Robert Lisle Esq. ; 1701, Jan. 17—Edward Haggerston Esq., Mr. John Clavering, Captain John Strother, Captain Philips, Mr. Thomas Procter, Edward Cork Esq., Mr. Ralph Brandling ; 1707, Oct. 9—Sir John Delavall, Sir Francis Blake, William Lorraine Esq., Edward Delavall Esq., Richard Mitford Esq., Mr. John Bockton, Bartram Scott Esq.

Freemen were in proportion to the population of the town more numerous formerly than at the present time. In the middle of the seventeenth century there was about 250 freemen ; in 1750 about 300 ; at the jubilee in 1821, 270 received one guinea each ; in 1835 there were 247 freemen and 39 widows ; in 1851 there were on the freemen's roll 285 freemen and 43 widows ; and on this roll in January 1868, 246 freemen and 41 widows ; the non-resident freemen are estimated at 126. From 1741 to 1762 the yearly admissions averaged $10\frac{1}{2}$; from 1792 to 1812 nearly 13 ; and during the last thirty years nearly $11\frac{1}{2}$.

It may relieve the tedium of dry details to reprint here a description of the closing ceremony by which the young freemen were enfranchised, from time out of memory, till the year 1854. This description was written by myself and printed as long ago as 1845 in the *Provincial Souvenir*, edited by my friend the late W. Wallace Fyfe. It is no fancy sketch; but a picture drawn from personal observation and experience. Belonging to a family of freemen, I was imbued with the spirit of the old traditions and usages; and I describe the custom as *seen and felt by a freeman*. The old spirit, however, is now laid for ever.

LEAPING THE WELL, 1845.

In the north of England are some little nooks, quiet sequestered spots, yet uninvaded by railroads, and but little troubled with fitful and feverish excitement, where the broad mummeries of olden times still flourish fresh and vigorous. Alnwick, an ancient town, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Aln, amidst beautiful and romantic scenery, is one of these tranquil retreats, famous for its noble Castle, the seat of the Percys, and singularly curious on account of the ludicrous ceremony which annually initiates the young freemen to its corporate privileges.

Alnwick, though not a municipal, is an incorporated borough, with its constituted authorities, its chamberlains, four-and-twenty, aldermen, stewards, moor-grievés, &c. Belonging to the body is a large tract of land, nearly 3000 acres of which are uninclosed and uncultivated, to a great extent overgrown with whins, heather, and ferns, and broken up by quarries, coal-pits, kilns and bogs. Alnwick Moor, in consequence, wears the aspect of a dreary and neglected waste, reflecting, in these boastful days of agricultural improvement, disgrace on every party whose conflicting interests retard improvement, and allow so wide a tract of marshy undrained land in the immediate neighbourhood of the town to deteriorate its climate.*

About 300 resident freemen have the privilege of depasturing cattle on this common, besides having educational and other advantages. These rights are attained by birth or servitude. Annually on St. Mark's eve, the 25th of April, the town bell sounds a notice to the members of the corporation; † the town hall is thrown open; the four-and-twenty, or common council, presided over by the chamberlains, are assembled to receive candidates for the freelege; and numbers of freemen and of stallingers, as the non-freemen are called, crowd into the Hall. Quiet though the town generally is, the freemen are not always peaceable; these annual meetings are sometimes a scene of uproar and confusion; ever and anon grievances, real or supposed, are occurring, which rouse popular anger, and cause a condemnation, loud and severe, to be passed on the governing body. Such of

* An act for its inclosure was passed in 1852.

† 1645, Given to the bellman for warning them to go to the moor, 2d.

of the claimants as establish the right to their freedom, to the satisfaction of the Four-and-Twenty, pay certain fees, swear loyalty to the Queen, fealty to the lord of the manor, and obedience to the Common Council, and are then enrolled in the borough books. The number of young freemen annually admitted varies; in one year only two, and in another as many as thirty were "made free;" perhaps ten may be the average number. Here, in other towns, initiation would end; but here, in Alnwick, the ceremonies commence, which are regarded as more enfranchising than the legal preliminaries.

Marshaled in order, the oldest freemen's oldest sons walking first, the young freemen leave the hall; and preceded by the town's waits playing on violins,* by the moor-grievs and the herd who are gaily ornamented with crimson and blue cockades, and followed by a crowd of noisy urchins, they march through the town. Economical retrenchments have shorn the procession of some of its splendour, for until the last dozen years the town's waits were decked out in a gaudy livery—blue turned up with yellow, trimmed with silver lace, and silver buttons, having as a crest St. Michael, the guardian saint of Alnwick, killing the dragon. Each young freeman in succession takes his fellows to an inn or public-house, where they enjoy themselves over punch and music. The company is joyous, if not happy; and after two or three houses have been visited, their spirits wax warm, high enthusiasm is excited, and the daring and glorious feats, which each will achieve on the following day, are described in vaunting terms. All, pretty comfortable, separate late in the evening, to dream of the morrow.

St. Mark's morn, long anxiously looked forward to, is at length ushered in. By early dawn, the friends of each young freeman have planted before his dwelling a holly tree, marking out to others, in a highly picturesque style, his residence, and emblematic of the unalterable truth and fidelity he will maintain to his "brother freemen." Early in the morning the town's waits go through the town, and by their music warn the freemen to prepare for the feats of the day; and at half-past eight o'clock the toll of the town bell again summons them together, to ride the boundaries and go through the well.†

* 1645—Given to the ways the last St. Mark's day, 1s. 1666—pd Jon bone for playing before the freemen on St. Mark's day, 1s.

† Formerly every freeman, old as well as new fledged, were bound to ride the boundary of the moor; on April 24th, 1688, "It is unanimously agreed by the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty, that upon the Town's waits giving warning about the Town every St. Mark's day in the morning, that every Freeman shall upon penalty, pay 1s. per man, to be levied upon their goods and chattels, the overplus paid back to the owner, that doth not attend the Chamberlains at the Tolbooth, and from thence accompany them to ride the bounder of our moor around, except they shall give a lawful excuse." The ancient custom, however, had been, as appears from the court leet records, for Freeholders to perambulate the bounders. On April 23, 1667, "Nathaniel Salkeld, John Salkeld, and

Mounted on horseback, and with drawn swords in their hands, the young freemen assemble in the Market place, and preceded by music, and accompanied by the borough authorities, by the under-bailiffs of the castle, carrying ancient armour, and by a numerous cavalcade of friends, they ride towards the moor. On arriving at the place where Clayport Tower once stood, the swords are sheathed and given up to some friend. In times of border warfare weapons would be necessary to defend the freemen against Scottish marauders; yet so strong is the attachment to ancient usages, that even in "these piping times of peace," the custom has long outlived the circumstances which rendered it necessary. Arrived at the moor, away fly the new-fledged freemen, guided by the experienced moor-grievés and accompanied by a non-freeman as a witness,* along the boundary line, from which they diverge into Hobberlaw estate and enter into a field called the *Handkerchief*, where every one dismounts and turns a stone. When about two miles from the well, the more daring riders break away from their leading-strings, and recklessly gallop along the broken ground, up hill and down hill, through whin bushes, over ditches and dykes. Heaven preserve the riders! Tailors, cobblers, shopkeepers, men who were seldom if ever before on horseback dash onward, fearless of consequences, incited by example, dreading the laugh of scorn, and determined for once to show their courage. It is many years since I rode the boundaries; I was young and inexperienced; intuition had not informed me of the difference between the sides of a horse, and as people rarely go right by chance, a hearty laugh my friends enjoyed at my expense, when I attempted on that morning to mount on the wrong side. Sagely cautioned by my friends, I was determined to keep my courage cool; but I had counted without my host, for after tasting the customary glass at St. Margaret's Green, my brethren set off at full gallop; my horse, well bred, in good condition, and more ambitious than myself, started off too, and in spite of all my efforts careered along with the foremost. I shall never forget my sensations when dashing down a steep hill near the Moor House, where a few years before one of my predecessors had his shoulder dislocated, I rolled to and fro on the saddle like a ship in distress, expecting every minute to be thrown off and trampled on by the horses which were near me. I clung on with desperation, but while ascending the next hill breathed more

Edward Gallon, for not perambulating the boundaries on the day of Saint (Mark?) according to the custom of the manor" were each fined 3s. 4d.; and in 1711, forty-two freeholders were presented as defaulters on St. Mark's day, among whom were Henry Harle, Mr. John Doubleday, and the heirs of Henry Collingwood.

* 1793—12d. was paid to Peter Common and Mark Paterson to ride the bounders, and they attested they saw the Chamberlains and freemen of Alwick ride the boundaries of the common and moor called the forest of Ayden, exactly as the metes and bounds. 1734, April 25—paid Wardell for guiding the Freemen from the Well to Twinleys 1s.

freely, and even entered into the spirit of the race. On we were sweeping at a fearful pace—the well was but a short distance—the honour of being first there was almost within my reach, but some awkward ditches and dykes were in my way; over one or two I passed safely, but on leaping a dyke which led into a ploughed field, I was sadly shaken, nearly pitched over the horse's head, and I lost my stirrups. By a desperate effort I pulled up to re-adjust my feet, but, alas! another rider had successfully passed the gap, and was rapidly advancing; my spirited beast again started off, and I, poor wight! fell on my mother earth. Some danger I ran of being trampled on by one of my "brethren," but fortunately the ground being soft, I, nothing the worse, started up, and on foot arrived safely at the well among the foremost riders. The awful gap which was the cause of my downfall unhorses many a freeman; on the day on which I fell, some four or five were sprawling about in different parts of the field.

The famous *Freeman Well* is four miles south-west of Alnwick, and is situated on the declivity of a high hill, called the "Freeman Hill;" it is fed by a powerful spring, and is properly dammed up, sometime before the 25th day of April, by rustics employed by the corporate authorities.* When filled with water it is about one hundred feet long, from six to fifteen feet broad, and from three to five feet deep. To impede the progress of the freemen in plunging through the well, turf dykes are built across, and straw ropes fixed from side to side; and that these traps to catch the unwary may not be visible, the rustics take care to stir up the mud from the bottom, so that the water is rendered a disagreeable puddle. Hundreds of spectators are crowded about the well, on dykes, on rising ground, eagerly, and some anxiously watching the approach of the young freemen. Many friends of each freeman are there to cheer him up. Fathers are there, not mothers—they stay at home to cook the dinner; brothers, sisters, aye and sweethearts, strangers from distant places allured by curiosity, and many of the townspeople are there. Loud cheers welcome "the winner of the boundary to the well;" laughter and sarcasm greet those who come creeping in last. All arrived, each freeman, as best he can, strips off his ordinary garments, and clothes himself in white; on his head is a white cap, profusely, and more or less elegantly, according to the taste of his female friends, decorated with ribbons of various colours. The more wealthy have chaises into which they retire, but, as no house is sufficiently near, the humbler classes find a dressing room at some "dyke back."

Marshaled in order at the east end of the well by the Chamberlains of the borough, the young freemen present a gay and

* 1717—Paid for damming Freemen's well 1s. 1733—Paid to Snipe House servants for damming the well 1s.

gallant appearance. On the word of command being given by the bailiff, the waits commence playing, the shout is raised by the crowd clustered round the well, and the oldest son of the oldest freeman first leaps into the puddle, and the other young freemen spring after him. Each hurries through, cheered on by his friends. But "plague take the boors," exclaims one who, in the enthusiasm of the moment, has forgotten the hidden traps—a dyke has tripped him over, and down he plashes over head and ears. Another immediately behind stumbles over him. No marked courtesy is shewn to each other—one will drag his neighbour back and plunge over him; all flounder on impeding each other's progress, and besmeared with mud. The spectators enjoy the fun. "Had along Airchbould," shouts one, "Weel dun, Geordie," cries another. "Ah, ah! Heimars, ye have catch'd it there," exclaims a third. All are expected to go, honourably, straight forward through the well;* but some, afraid of a ducking, run along the side, and jump in as near to the opposite end of the well as they can. When I was standing waiting for the order to leap, I observed one of my companions shoving himself along the edge of the well. "Ah, Cuddy, that's not fair," I said. Cuddy shook his head and muttered. I had leaped in first, and was successfully wending my way, when my neighbour sprung from the side upon my back, and down we both went over head several times, yet both struggling desperately to advance onward. Ah! my beautiful cap tastefully trimmed by fairy hands was lost in the puddle. Many on a cold day sob and sigh when they first plunge into the well; but only one instance is known of a freeman refusing "to take the water." This poor fellow's fears were so great that he swore he would not leap in, and that the bailiff wanted to drown him. Persuasion, laughter, scorn had no effect, till one of his "brother freemen" seized him by the waist and threw him in, and thus compelled him to wade through. Occasionally the weather is cold and stormy, and *then* the poor freemen are to be pitied. Forty-eight years ago, nine or ten had prepared to take up their freelege; but bitter, biting, stormy weather came on a few days before the 25th of April, and cooled the courage of most of them; for only two ventured to go through the well that year. The snow was deep on the ground, the well was frozen over and these

* "1692.—Paid to John Reed for drink at the Freemen's Well, 10s."—*Corporation accounts*. The ceremonial was the same more than a century ago; it is thus described in 1756; "The Chamberlains, and a person not a Burgess and the new made freemen, each with a sword at his side annually on St. Mark's day ride the bounders of the Borough or Town; and a vast concourse of people came from the neighbouring parts of the country to see the ceremony of leaping the well as it is called; for all the new made freemen are obliged when they are riding the boundary and come to a certain Bog or Quagmire in Alnwick Moor to dismount and to put on a White Waistcoat, Britches, Night Cap, &c., (which are generally made of linnen), and then they wade or waller through this Bog or Quagmire, from the one end of it to the other."—*Corporation MS.*

two bold youths could not pass through until the ice was broken. The western end of the well being steep and slippery, the friends of the freemen are waiting there to pull them out as they arrive at the brink. Oh, what a contrast to their former gay and cheerful appearance! Now they are dripping, cold, miserable-looking, and ludicrously besmeared with red clay mud! Each retires again to his robing room under the open sky, changes his clothes, takes a drop of "something comfortable," and all is once more light-hearted, joyous, and even enthusiastic.*

The entire "boundaries" may be about fourteen miles round; the well not being nearly half way, the young freemen have a long journey to perform after their aquatic feats. The boundary line is here more wild and rugged than the way to the well, passing for several miles over the summits of high hills to the west of Alnwick, which in some places rise to more than 800 feet above the sea level. Mounted again, the moor-grievances take the lead. For some distance the freemen's property is divided from that of others by cairns or heaps of stones. On arriving at these primitive landmarks, the freemen dismount and cast a stone on each heap. At the last of them, called "the three huzza cairn," all dismount and give three hearty cheers. This has been immemorially the custom; it may be to commemorate some victory obtained at this spot over border freebooters. On one of the prominent heights stands "Twin-law Cairn." The road to it is dangerous, being both marshy and rocky. Several large stones have been dug out of the surface soil to erect a boundary wall, and as the holes thereby made are concealed by the long heather growing around them, they form traps for the horse's feet. The young man who was first to the well, when I "went through," was mounted on a capital horse, which had "win the boundaries" several years in succession; and being a practised rider, he was determined to carry off all the honours. He was galloping recklessly up Twin-law hill, when his horse's feet sunk into one of these treacherous holes, and both horse and rider fell. I was but a little distance behind, and on reaching the spot I found my friend stunned and bleeding on the head. He soon recovered his senses; but he had narrowly escaped from a fatal accident; for when the horse had sprung up its hoof had obliquely struck his head, cut the flesh and grazed the skull. The spirited youth, chagrined at having lost the Twin-law race, gallantly mounted again, despite loss of blood and sickness, to take his chance for the chief honour of the day.

* The Borough Sergeants formerly were present to see that the custom was fully performed; but one of them suffered from his officiousness; the court rolls tell us:—"1732, May 1—Henry Johnson one of the Borough Sergeants, who at the leaping of the freeman's well was ordered by the Bayliff of the Town of Alnwick to see and inspect John Wallance and others to goe fairly thorow the said well, according to Ancient Custome, the said John Wallas caught hold of the said Henry Johnson and assaulted him and pulled him into the said well and abused all his Cloaths to his loss and damage of, presented by Henry Johnson aforesaid."

On the Twin-law a herd's house formerly stood, where the young freemen, along with the borough authorities, regaled themselves, and where the bailiff called over a roll of the Alnwick freeholders; absentees paid an *ession* penny. Not a vestige of the house now remains, the social glass is discontinued, but still the useless formality is gone through.

Away again start the freemen—the great object of desire is before them—"to win the boundaries" as it is specially called. Very ambitious men here take a fresh horse; but this is not deemed fair. For a while the moor-grieves take the lead, and all ride leisurely; but as bodies in descending increase in velocity, so as the freemen are approaching the goal, their spirits become more ardent—their efforts to move onward more eager and impetuous. First one breaks into a gallop, then another leaves his guardians; and soon all are speeding their way over ditch, through morass, up precipitous hills, down rocky steep. Danger scares none now; even the timid and cowardly are impelled onward by a borrowed courage.

Thousands, on a fine day, are assembled at the end of the boundary, clustered on the Stony-peth and Cowloan hills, eagerly straining their eyes to catch the first glimpse of the freemen. "Yonder they are," many shout at once, as several horsemen are seen riding on the heights in the distance. "It isn't them, it's somebody taking the cut," exclaim others. After repeated mistakes, at length horseman after horseman is seen for a minute or two rapidly moving along the summit of the hill. A shout resounds from all quarters, and many a conflicting opinion is given as to the first rider; but the young freemen are soon hidden by the irregularity of the ground.

From "Tom Shadford's Monument," nearly the highest ground in the Moor, there is a continuous declivity to the Moor Burn; yet down this steep the freemen ride furiously, here among bogs and heather, there through whin bushes; sometimes among quarries, at others near to sand-pits. The danger is considerable, especially to unpractised riders. Providence must surely watch over the young freemen as carefully as it does over children, for no fatal accident has ever thrown a dark shade over the proceedings of this day. Often, it is true, severe falls occur; six horses and their riders were, on one occasion, stretched, at a short distance from each other, on the bare crags, or plunged into the bogs of the "Horse Close." One reckless boasting freeman has immortalised himself by giving birth to a proverb—"Neck or nought, as Johnny Wardle said," is applied to any desperate undertaking; for Johnny, mounted on a blood horse, after having cleared the "Freemen's Gap," was galloping heedlessly down the hill, and repeatedly crying out "neck or nought, neck or nought," when lo! horse and rider dashed over into Paul's Rest quarry, where, though he escaped with life, the horse's neck was broken.

After a tedious suspense, a horseman appears galloping at a fearful rate, by the side of the park wall, down the declivity towards Plunden Burn; others are close upon his heels. The assembled spectators watch the daring riders with breathless interest, and even painful anxiety. Until the Moor Burn is passed, danger is not over; one youth, more unfortunate than Tam O'Shanter's mare Meg, who only lost her tail before reaching the "keystane o' the brig," was thrown off before passing the middle of the stream, and had his collar-bone broken. This critical point turned, all is pretty safe; up Stony-peth, and along the Cowloan—bad riders and good riders spare neither whip nor spur. The interest of the scene is now at its height; cheered on by the favourite cry of "had along Airchbould," or "had along Cuddy," the riders redouble their efforts. But, monstrous! what horsemanship! bodies rocking to and fro, and legs and arms sea-sawing in all directions! Rottenrow reached, the victory is won, and a hearty huzza rewards the successful competitor. The interest felt in the foremost riders is too deep to admit of much levity; but on the laggards, the craven-hearted, the lads whose "faithers take care of them," are lavished contemptuous rebukes, and jeering commendations. Poor souls! they are to be pitied; they slink away into the crowd, sheepish-faced, and cowed down. I fear that the days of the farce-making moor grieves are over. These officials now ride horses too respectable-looking. Harry and Ellick—jolly boys they were, but not remarkable for "brotherly affection,"—are now off the stage; they formerly rode galloways, which had bone and skin and abundance of shaggy hair, but little of flesh and blood. Oh! the scene was glorious when these worthies had cleared the burn; one would sometimes seize hold of his colleague's bridle or his horse's tail—each would run in the way of the other; both would be furiously lashing their steeds, which, unused to such extraordinary inflictions, and being moreover cross-grained, would shy off the road, and occasionally, after the manner of jackasses, wheel round and round. The indescribable gallop of the galloways, the mettle of the men, the "had along Ellick," and "had along Harry," the laughter and the shouting, presented a scene rich enough to drive away melancholy for an entire month.

At the north-western entrance into the town, near the old church, the young freemen resume their drawn swords, and marshalled in order, preceded by the waits, followed by a cavalcade of friends and accompanied by a mixed multitude, they ride around all the pants and the market-place, where they again deliver up their swords. Afterwards, while the waits are playing the ancient tune of "Chevy Chase," the freemen enter into the noble castle of the Percys; and on the castle green they and their friends are regaled with strong ale by the representatives of His Grace the duke of Northumberland. After leaving the

castle the house of each young freeman is visited in succession; and, around the holly trees, they pledge each other's health in a glass of wine or spirits. The scene is lively and picturesque, and embodies before the mind some of the merry characteristics of the olden time. The public proceedings are closed in the market-place over a crown bowl of punch, after which, each freeman retires to his own home.

"When wur Tom and wur Bill gan through the well, the pot shall boil," is the expressive language of the warm-hearted mother, years before the day arrives. And does not the pot boil that day! A little hoard is saved, and the best that can be commanded is prepared. Assembled with his friends around the festive board, this is, perhaps, the most joyous day in a freeman's existence. How proud is the father of his son! the tear of exquisite delight starts into the mother's eye! how hearty the congratulations of relatives and acquaintances! all the incidents of the day are talked over and over again—how well he rode—what dangers he escaped—what accidents befell him, and how famously he came in. No freeman of any soul would blot that day out of his memory.

This day, with all its adventures, rollicking, and enjoyment, does not end the ceremony. On the afternoon of the following day the young freemen again meet together, and, preceded by the waits and moor-grievés, perambulate the town, visiting in succession each other's houses, where they enjoy themselves over punch, cake, and music. The last scene of this singularly wild and ludicrous drama is acted in the market-place, where, amid the cheers of the populace, they partake of a parting glass, and with many a warm and hearty shake of the hand they bid each other farewell.

Of the original institution of "going through the well," there is no record in history, nor any documentary reference earlier than 1645. Tradition has uniformly stated that King John, when hunting in Alnwick Moor, or Ayden Forest as some part of it was anciently called, was laired in a bog or quagmire where the well now is, and was in consequence so enraged, that, as a punishment to the inhabitants of the town for their slovenliness, he took from the borough its charter, but was prevailed on to grant a new charter, with the condition that every burgess on his admission to the freedom, should plunge through the same bog on the anniversary of the day when Royalty stuck fast in the mire. The absurdity of the enactment accords with the character of a capricious and stupid tyrant; and the tradition is incidentally confirmed by the itinerary of King John, which states that he was at Alnwick in the year 1209, on the 24th day of April. As the freemen have from time immemorial "gone through the well" on the 25th of April, it is, therefore, extremely probable that the ceremony was instituted during this royal visit.

Strangers laugh at the ludicrous custom, and wonder why, in these days of intelligence, it is still continued; some few of the freemen, who consider themselves depositaries of modern illumination, speak of it as a barbarous relic of Gothic ages, which ought to be utterly destroyed. Perhaps this sweeping condemnation results from a shallow view of the case, and from overlooking the sentiment and feeling of which the ceremony is but the occasion and visible expression. Ancient customs may, it is true, outlive circumstances which rendered them useful, and the tone of society to which they were adapted; and hence, the revival of old barbarous sports, not in keeping with an advanced civilization, seems irrational and incongruous, and tends not to dignify, but to degrade humanity. But "going through the well" has lived in unimpaired vigour for more than six centuries, through many political and social changes; and notwithstanding the cold rationalism of the present time, and despite of the outward absurdity of the ceremony, it harmonises with the sentiments and feeling of those concerned, and presents to them a scene of as deep interest now as at any former period.

"Going through the well" is an important era in a freeman's life. It publicly marks the period when the youth shoots into the independence of manhood; it is, therefore, looked forward to with high expectation by every free-born son and freeman's apprentice. Among the earliest subjects of conversation of deep and thrilling interest between the fond mother and her boy is this anticipated event. All the scene is vividly pictured—the holly-tree—the well—the riding the boundaries—the dinner—the company assembled; and forthwith the little fellow mounts a stick for a horse, and in mimic sport "goes through the well," by plunging into some muddy pool. Visions are indulged in which may never be realised, but which, for the time, are nevertheless delightful. As the day when the young Roman assumed the *toga virilis*, the manly robe, was spent in feasting and rejoicing in the family, so is the day of a young freeman's enfranchisement one of inexpressible enjoyment; casting aside for a while the cares of life, he and his friends sport like spirits free from mortal incumbrances. That day is indeed a green spot in a man's life, refreshing to look back upon; and none but a freeman can estimate its influence over the current of his thoughts.

"Old Ned Grey" was as cheerful and kind-hearted a soul as ever lived; the merry twinkle of his eye and the broad smile ever on his countenance were but the beamings of the constant sunshine within; his humorous jokes and droll "auld langsyne" stories gave life to every company; yet he was wont to declare, even in his joyous moments, "Two supremely happy days I have spent—aye, the happiest of my life were those when I was married, and when I went through the well."

Annually on Michaelmas day the various trades or companies into which the freemen are divided meet for social enjoyment. On these festive occasions, many a long story is begun with "When I went through the well;" each brother freeman narrates his adventures, what befel him, what triumphs he won; he lives the day over again. "Going through the well" together causes freemen to regard each other with much interest; it seems a charm—an invisible tie—binding together persons of different habits and stations. The freeman who, after years of absence, visits his native town, is sure to find out some one of his well associates. Often do I find myself inquiring after those who plunged through the well with me; and few occurrences gave me an intenser sorrowful feeling than the melancholy and premature death of one of my compeers, the victor of the day—a noble-hearted young man who, a few years afterwards, was drowned when bathing in the sea at Alnmouth. Men there are so selfish and so completely wrapt in themselves as to care for none of these associations; but all who have a spark of generous sympathy kindle into enthusiasm when they meet with any who braved the dangers, gathered the honours, and shared the enjoyment of going with them through the freeman well. Until this ceremony loses its spirit and becomes a mere form, devoid of sentiment and feeling, I would hesitate to dry up an abundant source of pleasing association; and with all its ludicrousness—with even some of the small evils occasionally arising out of it—I would venture to hope that the revolutionary waves which are sweeping away the customs of olden times, may still spare to "Canny Annick and its ten miles roond" the picturesque and joyous spectacle of "going through the well."—1845.

Though the boundary of the moor had been ridden round by successive generations of burgesses from time immemorial, no ancient lord of the manor appears to have sought to snatch a portion of the common from the people, from any imperfect performance of this usage; it was reserved for the first of a new family to take advantage of an accidental mistake, some little time prior to 1762. His agents were sent to catch the freemen tripping on St. Mark's day when the boundary was ridden. The morning was misty, and the young freemen mistook their way; and through this blundering not less than 50 acres, tradition says 120 acres, were appropriated by the lord. Of this strange transaction there can be little doubt; for in the proposals made to the duke by the Four-and-Twenty for the improvement of the moor, some fifteen or sixteen years after the appropriation, the following clause occurs:—

"That about fifty acres of that part of the moor that adjoins Brislee Hills were inclosed and planted by Mr Call or some other of his Grace's agents several years ago, without any manner assigned, notice given, or application

made to the freemen for or about the same; the freemen in riding the boundary that year having by a mere accident left out the said quantity, owing to a great haziness in the air, which rendered it impossible for them to distinguish the boundary; which mistake was immediately taken advantage of by his Grace's said agents, and the said ground has been ever since held and enjoyed by his Grace."

This land consisted of parts of the Horse close, the Far Beacon hill, and Brislaw hill as far as the Park wall; it has been designated *Naboth's Vineyard*, because taken by a rich man, the owner of thousands of acres; and that name it bears to this day, many of the freemen indeed believing that a curse rests upon it. A racy account of this appropriation was given in the *Craftsman* in 1781. Extraordinary it may seem that the Common Council did not resist this aggression; but probably their powers were then fully taxed to maintain the great law suit with the EARL, which struck at the very existence of the corporation; and besides they had as a leading spirit amongst them, the notorious Col. Forster; mystery hangs over the transaction. The land too on both sides of the west road from Clayport to Howling lane or Town head was part of the moor; it was ridden round by the freemen; and even so late as 1772 we find £4 16s. 7d. paid by the corporation for paving from Clayport head to the Town head; way-leaves were granted over it by the Four-and-Twenty in 1766 and 1798; and Gallon was allowed to enclose part of the bank as a footpath, on condition of his making it and keeping it in repair.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BOROUGH.

At the present time the governing body of the corporation are the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty, or the Common Council; and the corporate name now is "The Chamberlains, Common Council, and Freemen of the Borough of Alnwick." This title is comparatively modern. Because in the olden time it was simply *the burgesses of Alnwick*, it has been argued, stupidly enough, that there was then no governing body, and that all business was done by the whole of the burgesses at noisy guild meetings. Under the simplest general name may, however, be comprehended all the component parts of a corporation—the bailiffs, the Chamberlains, the Four-and-Twenty, the aldermen, and indeed every functionary necessary or expedient for the proper management of a town. All such officers may not have existed from the beginning of its history; for, doubtless, officers would be created as the public wants required; and time would give stability to such appointments. One thing, however, is distinctly recognisable in the early records of Alnwick—the public character of the corporation—its identity with the town—its comprehensiveness, as including the holders and occupants of burgages, the settled inhabitants who paid scot and lot. If there be therefore any force in the argument from the

name *burgesses*, to prove that the management of corporate business should be taken from the small body of Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty and given to the freemen, who are now but a fractional part of the community, then it would more conclusively follow that the burgesses, the owners of property, and the householders of the town should be entrusted with the management of the public property, which in olden time belonged to the community. Our existing corporation is, doubtless, not in accordance with the spirit of the age; nor if we go back to mediæval times will we find good systems of government; these indeed are the result of an improved civilization, which unfortunately has not materially influenced the Alnwick corporation, as peculiar repressive powers have checked the development of its old institutions into forms adapted to the wants of the present age.

Bailiffs were in early times the head officers in the town. The royal charter for pontage is, in 1377, addressed to bailiffs and good men of the town of Alnewyk. Their origin and name are Norman; * and they were at first more the officers of the lord of the manor to watch his interests, than the heads of a community and the guardians of public rights. In the red book of Alnwick there is mention of a *præpositus* of Alnwick in 1474, a name equivalent to a reeve, provost, or mayor; and John Grey was *prepositus* in 1541. From 1535 down to 1697 there is evidence of a bailiff appearing as a member of the corporate body. In the earliest account Henry Watson, bailiff, as we have seen, was one of the four auditors or Chamberlains. After this we find no reference to this officer till 1644, when the corn tolls were granted to him and the burgesses. Matthew Hunter attended the meetings of the Chamberlains in 1665, when, with the consent of a common guild, Hesleyside was let to Clement Forster. He had advanced money on the town's behalf in 1661, and "at a Guild and Meeting of the Towne and Burrough of Alnwick, it is agreed, that the rents be paid the bailiffe, Mr. Matt. Hunter, to reimburse him £30 he had paid on the Towne's behalf." † If we are to credit his epitaph, ‡ one of the most remarkable in Alnwick church, he was a man of great learning and ability; he could speak Italian, Latin, French, and Spanish as well as the natives; he was faithful to his king and most obedient to the mother church. He was an

* From the French *bailli*, derive † from the Latin *bajulus*, a governor or tutor.

† We give this curious epitaph at length:—HIC JACET MATTHIAS HUNTER. LEGVM. ATTORNATUS VIR. DIGNISSIM. DOCTISSIM D. REGI. FIDELISSIM. MATRI ECCLESIAE. ANGLICANAE. OBDIENTISSIM. QVONDAM. SENESCALLVS SINGULORV. MANERIORVM. AD PRAENOBILEM. ALGERNOOVN. PERCY. PERTINENTV. QVONDAM BALIVS. DE. ALNEWICK. SPATIO 15. ANNORV. OBIITQ. IN CASTRO IBID. VIIMO. DE. IVNIL. ANNOQ. DOM 1665. HE BREATHD ITALIAN. LATIN FRENCH. AND. SPANISH. ALL WITH. ONE. BREATH. AS. IF THEY. MEAND. TO. BANISH. THEMSELVES FROM. HOME. TO LIVE. AND DWELL. WITH HIM AS. IF. THAT. BE. THEIR COVNTRE. MAN. HAD. BFEN. URNA. TENET. CINERES. MENTEM DEUS ALTHERA. FAMAM. HVNTAR. AMIS... LUCTUS, UBIQ. BONOS.

attorney, and held the offices of steward of all manors of the barony, and of bailiff of Alnwick for 15 years, and died at Alnwick Castle in 1665. Michael Hunter appears as bailiff from 1669 to 1672; William Locke from 1672 to 1700; Francis Anderson signs an order as bailiff regarding the schools in 1703; and after that the bailiff of Alnwick is seen no more. According to Hall and Humberston's survey in 1567 there were three bailiffs, each with a salary of 60s. 8d. yearly; one the foreign bailiff, another bailiff or provost of the castle, and the third bailiff of Alnwick. The following list of such officers is derived from the court rolls and the corporate records:—

Thomas Archer castle grave of Anewicke 1443; Thomas Coke castle grave of Anewicke 1443; John Roxbrowght bailiff, 1455; Matthew Bell prepositus of the Borough of Alnwick 1474; Robert Scotton bailiff 1474; John Carleton bailiff *circa* 1500; William Naddell bailiff 1506; John Brown bailiff of Alnwick 1535; John Grey prepositus 1541; William Salkeld 1541; William Grey prepositus of the castle 1569; William Bednell bailiff of Alnwick 1580; Henry Watson bailiff of Alnwick 1594; Robert Clerke baillivus *ibidem* 1614; Robert Watson baylifft buried 1650; Matthew Hunter bailiff 1653 died 1674; William Locke bailiff 1677 died 1700; Francis Anderson 1703.

Chamberlains.—Four Chamberlains are now the chief officers of the corporation; and in the name we have an allusion to the *Camerarius*, who in Anglo-Saxon times kept the king's treasures. Such officers, under one name or other, existed from an early period in Alnwick; they appear in the oldest account in 1594; but down to the year 1620 they bore the name of auditors or collectors; and in the following record of 1599 we have a distinct notice of the authority by whom they were appointed; "auditors and collectors of the town of Allanwick for this year beaing appointed by the xxiiij, the 14 of January, 1599, be thes following:—Henry Watson, Willm. Hunter, Thomas Gren, John Ransoldson." In the account of the disbursements of Gawan Salkeild, Nichs. Forster, Robert Hunter, and John Grey, they are said to have been "appointed as Chamberlanes of the towne of Alnewick, by Mr. Thomas Fotherley, his lo learned steward;" and they in 1620 acknowledge the receipt of five shillings, "beinge Additors for the towne." The steward of the court, however, only swore them into office; the election and appointment were made by the Four-and-Twenty according to *ancient practice*, as it is called in 1701; but a definite law was passed on the 12th October, 1629, by which

"The common guild and Twenty-four ordered, that every yeare at the Michaelmas courte, before the courte houde one day or two at least, The Chamberlynes then in being shall call the xxiiij for the Towne together at the Towle booth, and there elect the 4 chamberlynes for the succeding yeare then next following, and the same so elected to give there names to the foreman of the jury, And there to be sworne at the said Michaelmas Court, And the Chamberlynes offending against this order shall pay for every defalte 6s. 8d. *Toties quoties*: To the good of the hutch."

The swearing in at the courts leet does not seem to have

been maintained; for the elections, subsequent to this bye-law, were made at times different from those when such courts were held; on December 19th, 1633, the Chamberlains were elected and chosen; on March 30th, 1674, Robert Adston was sworn one of the Chamberlains; and on November 12th, 1686, and in subsequent years, the Chamberlains were elected and chosen in November. An aggression was made on the ancient custom by the articles of 1762, which say that "eight persons out of the Common Council ought to be annually returned to the lord's court at or soon after Michaelmas, and four of them appointed Chamberlains by the lord's steward at the Michaelmas court leet."

In the palmy days of the corporation, the Four-and-Twenty appointed as Chamberlains the men who possessed ability and business talent, irrespective of routine; but modern usage gives the office to members of the Four-and-Twenty in succession. Usually the tenure of office was for one year; but the same Chamberlains held office for three years, from 1655 to 1658; and Matthew Alwick and John Salkeld enjoyed the dignity for six years. From 1671 to 1677, probably, however, on account of pending lawsuits. "On October 17th, 1690, it was ordered by the unanimous consent of the Four-and-Twenty that the present Chamberlains, vizt., Mr. Matthew Alwicke, Mr. Henry Swinhoe, Mr. Rob Harryson, Mr. Adam Thompson, doe continue Chamberlaines for the year next ensueing, they having disbursed severall sumes of moneys which is in arreare and due to them, and they are hereby impowered and elected and chosen for Chamberlaines." The primary duty of the Chamberlains was to collect and disburse the revenues of the town, subject to the control and direction of the Four-and-Twenty; they called meetings of the Four-and-Twenty and presided over them, and they carried into effect the orders passed by that body. They besides did the work and sustained the dignity of the town. Though not magistrates, they sometimes exercised a kind of magisterial authority.

The 12th day of October, 1629—It is ordered by the comon guild and Twenty-four, That if there be any faults or wronges done in or amongst any of the Trades of the Towne in their severall companyes or betwene Trade and Trade or one partye and another of Trade soe that if the Aldermen or Alderman of that Trade cannot agree and governe them according to the orders of the Towne and Trade, then they shall appeale to the Foure Chamberlynes and to none other officer or magistrate whatsoever; and the said 4 Chamberlynes shall punish the same accordingly to their descretions; And whosoever that offendeth against the sayd order, And doth not Abye the sayd end of the sd. Chamberlynes shall pay for every default 6s. 8d. *Toties quoties* to the good of the Comon Hutch.

Important public officers they were, for at least a century and a half, till the articles of 1766 stripped them of their authority and reduced them to comparative insignificance.

The *Four-and-Twenty* or Common Council was the supreme authority of the town and borough of Alwick. Other officers

were under their control; and even the bailiff, when he busied himself with the affairs of the town, acted in accordance with their decisions. How they first came into possession of power is not certainly known; but of their antiquity there can be no doubt; in one of the earliest corporate records of 1599, they appeared as the *xxiii*; and ever afterwards until 1766 they had the chief direction of the affairs of the town. At an early period the court leet jury of the burgh of Alnwick and the *Four-and-Twenty* may have been the same body; and when the number of the latter was extended indefinitely, the jury very probably was chosen out of it. The connection, however, between the two is shewn in a corporate record which says—"a note of the *xxiii*, as the addition is putt to them for making up the number at the court houlden the 27th day of April, 1647;" and this is followed by twenty-eight names. Even in the eighteenth century an extract from a castle record states "that the freemen exclude all freeholders who are not freemen from the juries."

Though designated *the Four-and-Twenty*, the number constituting the body was indefinite till the early part of the eighteenth century. At a meeting in 1623 twenty-four were present; in 1647 twenty-eight; "a true account of the names of the *Four-and-Twenty* taken the thirteenth day of January, 1667," gives fifty seven names; in 1690 forty-three names are signed to an order; at the election of a minister of the parish in 1694 thirty-five voted; and in 1709 there appeared thirty-eight members. Their number was first limited on October 4th, 1717, when it was "ordered by the Chamberlains and *Four-and-Twenty*, that noe man be admitted a *Four-and-Twenty* man for the future, till the death of another, and that upon the death of any of the present *Four-and-Twenty* soe many new ones shall be chosen in the Room or stead of such dying;" signed by thirty names. Sometime about 1734 the number was reduced to twenty-four, and so it has continued till the present time. The election to vacancies has invariably been made by the *Four-and-Twenty* out of the freemen of the borough. There is no evidence of a choice ever having been made by the suffrage of the inhabitants of the town or by the privileged freemen; but when the electing body was so numerous as fifty and more, in a population not exceeding 3000, there was somewhat of a popular element in the election; and the result would indeed, in the seventeenth century, more adequately represent public opinion and feeling, than an election at the present time by the freemen, who are now relatively less numerous and important. "*The Four-and-Twenty*" was the sole designation of the governing body till 1710, when on the 26th of March an order was made "Att a Common Council or *Four-and-Twenty*." Why this new title was adopted does not appear; but probably, as the Jews desired a king to be like other nations, so may the *Four-and-Twenty* have dubbed themselves a *Common Council* to be like other corporate towns.

The Four-and-Twenty as a body exercised a control over each member and over the freemen. An order made August 7th, 1677, enforced a fine of 1s. on those who did not appear at the Tollbooth at and upon the ringing of the bell three times, being lawfully summoned;* and on September 29th, 1697, the following extraordinary resolution was passed, at a time when there was much dissention, arising out of the election of a minister for the parish church:—

It is unanimously this day agreed by the Bailiff, Chamberlains, and Four-and-Twenty, that whosoever shall disclose any thing discoursed of in the four-and-twenty hereafter shall be expelled and never after have any vote in the Towns concerns. Signed *Wm. L. Ball.*, the Chamberlains, and *Four-and-Twenty*.

Members supposed to have been guilty of corporate offences were sometimes expelled from the body. Ralph Grieve for his "misdemeanours, abuses, and ill-behaviour to the town" was driven out of the Four-and-Twenty in 1694; and in 1711 Robert Hamilton was "expelled as he had done several things contrary to and in breach of his oath as a freeman." Both he and Ralph Grieve in 1712 "made their submission and were readmitted paying 6d. a piece." Hamilton, however, was quarrelsome and irreclaimable; and so in the following year he was "expelled out of the number of the Four-and-Twenty and never again to be warned for abusing Mr. Mark Forster, one of the Chamberlains, and reflecting upon all the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty." Thirty-six years after this, Richard Grieve, on account of his political conduct, shared the fate of his father.

Freemen too were punished by the governing body in proportion to the magnitude of their offences; three of them in 1670 were fined 10s. each "for abuse in the presence of the Four-and-Twenty." Brute force, a favourite argument with freemen, seems in 1687 to have been brought to bear on this body; for they ordered that if any apprentice or other person should come to their meeting place to disturb or threaten the Four-and-Twenty, he should be fined 10s.; and when in the following year "thirteen men did come and disturb the Four-and-Twenty and did break down the stair head, they shall each pay 40s. before being made free." The higher penalty of corporate execution was sometimes inflicted; and the spirit of such a proceeding was curiously exhibited in 1700. William Stanton, of Stoney hill, a freeman, had, contrary to his oath and to order, *coloured* goods belonging to his servants and others, and in his name depastured them on the moor, and afterwards had taken them out of the common pinfold; he had impounded freemen's beasts and put them to unnecessary charges; he had refused to contribute to the expense of an inclosure dyke and endeavoured to disclose the

* The town bell is still rung twice, before every meeting of the Four-and-Twenty—an echo of the past reminding the town of the departed greatness of this ancient body.

rights of the town to freeholders adjoining the moor, pretending they had a right of intercommoning upon it; and he had also been guilty of other irregular and vexatious practices, tending to ruin the town and its ancient rights; and, therefore, on June 18th, the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty declared both him and his heirs disfranchised for ever, unless within seven days he gave submission and paid such fine as they might impose. Stanton, however, "persisted in his litigious humour against the town's freedom;" and on July 12th another disfranchisement bolt was fulminated, which made him submit and sign a bond to pay all recognisances and fines; still he was contumacious; but the Four-and-Twenty, determined to conquer, met in great force—thirty-seven of them assembled—and ordered that he should pay "a fine of £12, and £3 particular being occasioned by his vexatious suits and unadvised proceedings." Stanton finally yields, and on October 8th pays a fine of £8; and on April 29th, 1701, it is declared that "Wm. Stanton and the Four-and-Twenty is fully agreed concerning all former differences that have been depending, soe that all things whatsoever is void."

The corporation act passed in 1661 required all persons holding office in a municipal corporation to take the sacrament in the church, and to subscribe declarations abjuring the solemn league and covenant, and the lawfulness of taking up arms on any pretext against the king. With this intolerant law the Alnwick Common Council were not troubled till 1775, when they were compelled to qualify, thereby bringing a pretty heavy tax on the corporate funds. This qualification, which in that year was completed at Alnwick by an adjournment of the sessions to that place, cost £7 10s. 4½d.; in subsequent years the Chamberlains were obliged to go to Morpeth with their witnesses; and the following account for 1760 has an interest as not only shewing the steps in the process, but also the mode and expense of travelling:—

1759, Dec. 13—Paid for the certificates and stamps for chamberlains to qualify at the Sessions, 6s. 8d.; 1760, Jan. 6—Paid expenses at Warkworth with Mr. Forster receiving the sacrament to qualify at the Sessions; 17th—Paid Mr. Forster for Mr. Dixon's trouble at the commission £2 2s. 0.; expenses at Morpeth when the chamberlains qualified 12s. 0.; Court fees and Turnpikes for the Post Chaises 12s. 0d.; the witnesses expenses at Morpeth 6s. 6d.; Matthew Robinson one of the witnesses for his trouble 2s. 0s.; for his Horse-hire and Turnpikes home 3s. 3d.; Mrs. Grey for her post chaise £1 1s. 0d.; the Driver 1s. 0d. and 1s. 0d. spent at Mrs. Grey by Mr. Carr and Mr. John Richardson on their return home; Mr. James Robertson for the other post chaise 14s. 6d.; the Driver 1s. 0d.; sum total £6 7s. 6d.

After 1760 the qualification was made at Alnwick and the expense was lessened; but the corporation supplied the sacramental elements—"1774, October 29th, paid for bread and wine for the sacrament to be received to-morrow by the Chamberlains for the purpose of their qualifying at the sessions next week 1s. 6d." This ceremony was continued till 1782, when Sergeant

Addair's opinion was taken, "in which it was made clear, that neither the Chamberlains nor Common Councilmen elect were by law to receive the sacrament after their election, or to qualify at the sessions." Notwithstanding this, dissenters were excluded from the Alnwick Common Council till 1806, when Michael Hindmarsh, a congregationalist, was elected a member. Now there are nine professed dissenters in this select body.

The functions of the Four-and-Twenty, of whom the Chamberlains are a component part, were, prior to the articles of 1766, numerous and important. Besides admitting members to their own body, and freemen into the corporation, making bye-laws, calling guilds, and exercising the power to disfranchise; besides generally managing the corporate property and directing the application of the revenues, they bought, exchanged, sold, and mortgaged lands and other property; borrowed money on bond and by way of annuity; lent money; let lands from year to year and on lease; regulated the stintage of the common; let stints to stallingers; worked coal mines and quarries on Alnwick Moor; inclosed lands from this moor and cultivated them; became trustees of charitable bequests; appointed the master of the Grammar School and maintained schools; appointed the minister, clerk, and sexton of the parish, and market keeper; paid a salary to the minister; appointed corporate officers; appointed highway surveyors; * made extraordinary provision to keep the parish free from paupers; † provided the town with water; cleansed the streets; paved and kept in repair the Market place and some of the streets of the town; ‡ maintained highways and helped to make turnpikes; § made and kept in repair the Bow

* 1675, April 9—Mr. Ralph Grieve, Nicholas Woodhouse, Matthew Chesman, and John Hunter are then elected and chosen by the fower and twenty to be surveyors of the highways for this present year; whoe to that purpose have taken their oathes to operate and perform the same.

† July 1, 1669—Ordered unanimously by the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty, that the constables sumons all and every such person and persons as are come to live within the town and parish of Alnewicke within one year last past that they and every of them upon fryday next shall enter into bond to the Chamberlain or Churchwarden, that neither they nor their family shall be troublesome to the parish, and that all such as hereafter shall come to live within the parish shall also give sufficient bond that neither they nor their family shall be burdensome or chargeable to the towne as aforesaid.

‡ 1630—Paid for laying the powle or gutter round about the Towne 8s. 6d., for flagg stones to it 16d., for leading sclates to it 13s., for bringing fogg to it 18d., to the pavers for repaying the Cawsyes £2 10s. 6d. 1726—Bondgate Causeway. 1747—Paid Newcastle Pavers for work done to the town £8 16s. 4d. 1753—For stone channell made in Clayport bank £9 19s. 8jd.

§ 1620—For survaing of Hakell brigg 10s. 1622—Mending the Cawsy at the gally hill 5s. 10d.; 1644—Making the kasy at gallo hill 19s. 10d. 1679—Mending Stoney peth 20s. 1687—Spent in a treat with Mr. Clavering and Mr. Salkeld about the Highways 4s. 3d. 1729—Paid for paving the Highway to Aledick £26 7s. 2d. The corporate revenues were frequently applied to the highways till 1753, when the Four-and-Twenty shuffled off this public obligation.

bridge, * the Market cross, the pillory, the stocks, the shambles, the pinfolds; maintained a guard house, clocks, weigh house, fire engine, † a Tollbooth or hall for the town; made and collected assessments for train band-men, ‡ for the pants, pinfold, and highways; § bestowed charity; bought corn and sold it again at a reduced price to freemen; granted certificates under the borough seal; || promoted public amusements; gave entertainments to important personages; celebrated public events and festivals; treated the lord's auditors with wine; took the lead in public movements, and while abundantly enjoying themselves generally acted on behalf of the town. ¶ This summary shews the public

* 1620—The Bellman for the brige end 1s.; 1626—Mending the brige of the bow borne 6s., for shuling of the myre from the bow brige 6d.; 1633—For casting and dressing the bow burn 14s. 6d.; 1642—Paid for 22 dayes for the building of the bow bridge £1 13s., for 9 dayes 3d. per day for drinke, 6d. for drinke at the bargain, to James Winnow for making two centres for the bridge 2s., to George Ledgerton for labouring thre dayes 2s. 4d., for leading of stones to the bridge 13s. 1646—For the Turnstile of the Bow bridge 2s. 8d.; 1755—Work at the Bow Bridge £5 18s. 4d.; 1761—Paving High Street near Bow Burn Bridge 18s. 10d.

† 1750—Unanimously ordered to purchase one fire engine with 80 yards of leather pipe and 60 good leather buckets, to be paid for out of the Town's revenues. For this engine, &c., £69 14s. 6d. were paid. Another engine was subsequently added, a keeper of the engines appointed, and a neat house built in 1811 on the Freeman rig, wherein to keep the engines and appendages. The difference of spirit between the old Four-and-Twenty and their successors is shewn in the recent conversion of the Fire Engine house into a dwelling house, and in giving the fire engine to the Board of Health.

‡ July 31, 1691—It is unanimously Agreed by the Chamberlains and four and Twenty that a seas of 30s. (*sic*) of the pound be collected and Leveyed for paying of our Traine band men whoe were Summoned to paer by the debity Lieutenants of this County with six dayes pay &c. to be at Morpeth upon monday the Twenty Seventh of this Instant, which accordingly they did; and whereas there wants two musketts and two swords, it is ordered that the same be forthwith bought and the Chamberlains to be countable for the same, and if the same s.sment fall short that then the Chamberlains shall be paid by the Towne; or if the old musketts will serve that they shall be mended or new Locks bought.

§ In 1729 a highway rate was laid on by the Four-and-Twenty, to be collected by the constables.

|| 1611—Received of James Speare 2s., and of Raiphe Selby 2s. 6d. for the towne seal. A certificate under the borough seal was deemed important, and one was forged in 1692.

¶ 1611—To them that carried away the prisoners 4s. 8d.; 1619—Calling the burgesses to bring in their kenings 4d.; 1620—Wine and Sugar for my Lord Bishop 4s. 6d.; 1630—Two severall tymes bestowed off Sir William Muschamp in Wyne 4s.; 1633—Bestowed on Sir John Fenwick 3s.; 1633—For my voyage (William Grene) to Callalie to Sir John Clavering in the Great Storm for calling up the market 10d.; 1638—Paid for one pottell of burnt wyne and one quart of sack bestowed on Sir John Clavering 3s.; 1658—Bestowed of the high Sherife in wine and bear £1; 1664—For carrying Ratlef to Morpeth gail 10s.; 1672—To carry one Potter a madman to Felton 2s. 4d.; 1659—Disbursed for the use of the Town for coals and candles for the guards £1 13s. 11d.; 1664—For horses going to Charlton with a Captain 2s., for the same Captain, quarters having the kings pass 4s. 6d.; 1681—For carrying water and for watchers when the houses in Walkergate was burnt 3s.; 1638—Layd out for buying of Armes £2 1s. 8d.; 1688, Ap. 11—For candles and expenses in quartering soldiers 1s. 6d. for candles

character of the corporation, and how its ancient importance contrasts with its modern dwarfed condition; yet while the freemen have monopolised that part of the corporate property which the lord of the manor has left untouched, they have contrived to cast from their shoulders those obligations with which this public property was formerly chargeable.

The following list of the Four-and-Twenty, with the year of their admission or first occurrence in the corporation, as far as existing records give evidence, will furnish materials for family history and be of interest, as shewing who, for at least three centuries, were the principal inhabitants of the town. Most of them attained the dignity of chamberlain; but the names of those who do not appear to have held that office are marked with * :—

John Scott, 1578.	William Grenne, 1613.	William Hunter, 1623.
<i>Chamberlain in 1594.</i>	Gawayn Salkeld, "	*Cuthbert Clarke, "
*Richard Clay, 1578.	Thomas Partis, "	*Charles Watson, "
*William Shell, "	*John Clarke, "	*William Shell, "
*John Brown, "	*John Butler, "	John Scott, jun., "
George Alder, 1585.	John Grenne, "	William Watson, "
<i>Chamberlain in 1613.</i>	*John Hall, "	merchant, "
Ralph Claye, 1585.	*William Gallon, "	*Cuthbert Lawson, "
<i>Chamberlain in 1594.</i>	Edward Stanners, "	Thomas Scott, "
John Alder, 1585.	*Roger Rotherford "	Thomas Hunter, "
<i>Chamberlain in 1612.</i>	John Wanles, 1618.	Lyon. Robinson, 1629.
Henry Watson, 1585.†	Robert Fryer, 1619.	Michael Hunter, 1631.
<i>Chamberlain in 1594.</i>	Nycholas Forster, "	W. Watson, weaver, "
Edward Alnwick, 1594.	George Salkeld, "	Wm. Wyddous, 1632.
Thomas Gren, 1599.	*John Scott of Towne	William Scott, "
John Rannoldson, "	Head, 1623.	William Beadnell, "
William Hounter, "	*John Arrowsmith, "	Gawen Swann, 1634.
George Stanners, "	*Henry Younger, "	Hugh Arrowsmith "
James Greene, "	Lucke Alder, "	William Carr, "
*J. Wilkingsone, 1613.	*Wm. Watson, jun, "	John Salkeld, 1635.
Francis Alder, "	*John Scott, vintner, "	William Salkeld, "
*Richard Watson, "	Robert Adston, "	*Robert Hodstone, "
*William Reveley, "	John Robinson, "	*Charles Watson, "

to the guard and for ale spent in quartering of Solders and to the Constables for ale at the Tolbooth 3s. 6d., for straw to the guards in the fields 1s. 6d. About this period the expense incurred by soldiers was considerable. 1693—To Esq. Fenwick bottle of sack for his counsell about the soldiers abuses 2s. 6d. In 1704 the Chamberlains were allowed £4 4s. yearly for soldiers' passes. 1706—Laid out about the fire 30s. 9d.; 1664—Paid to Jan Wilson for Ashett to cover the body of the corps that did in Bongat tower 3s. 4d.; 1745, Nov. 12—Paid Rob. Renwick for whipping a woman for stealing a quarter of mutton from Tho. Fenwick by order of Mr. Brown 2s.; 1726—Newspapers for one year 65s.; apprehending a vagrant sent to gaol 8d.; Mar. 31—For a Tarr Barrel to Burn Measuld Pork 1s.; 1723, Ap. 13—To Soldiers to goe out of the town to Charlton for Quarters in the time of the election 5s.; 1727—Five half guineas given the five companies of soldiers when the king was proclaimed £2 12s. 6d.; 1748, July 1—Wm. Coward for illuminating the Townhall 13s.; 1794—The Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty agreed that the town should be lighted with lamps and proposed for this purpose to give £10 the first year and £5 afterwards, the inhabitants also contributing; all the corporate trades approved of this scheme.

* Judgment Roll.

† Conveyance of Tollbooth.

Henry Midcalfe, 1639.	Edwd. Hambleton, 1665.	*Ralph Anderson, 1690.
John Gallon, „	*John Christyane, „	*John Humble, „
Arthur Adstone, 1640.	Oliver Lawe, „	*Richard Shanks, „
Lancelott Scott „	Nicholas Forster, „	Clem. Forster, „
Thomas Salkeld, „	*Lawrence Forster, „	*Ra. Weatherburn, „
Robert Strother, 1642.	*William Adston, „	*Robert Strother, „
John Craster, „	*Anth. Rutledge, 1667.	John Strother, „
A. Arrowsmith, 1645.	*Thos. Richardson, „	John Vardy, „
Richard Widdons, „	John Strother, „	*Robt. Hambleton, 1691.
*Michael Younger, 1647.	John Salkeld, „	*William Huntley, 1693.
*John Fargy, „	*John Barker, „	Barnabas Falder, „
*George Watson, „	*Roger Smith, „	*Mark Grumwell, 1697.
*John Grey, tanner, „	*Robert Shanks, „	John Burrell, 1700.
Anthony Adston, „	*Ralph Grieve, „	Edward Grey, „
John Wardell, „	*George Alder, „	Richard Grieve, „
George Stanton, „	*John Burrell, „	*Matthew Forster, „
Alexander Scott, „	*John Alnwick, „	*Edward Watson, „
Thomas Huntley, „	*Thomas Craster, „	Edward Standley, „
*Henry Johnston, „	*William Hunter, „	*Thomas Craster, „
*Thomas Coward, „	*Edward Reveley, „	*John Turner, „
*John Gray, mer-	Robert Claxton, „	*Wm. Boswell, „
chant, „	*James Heslerigg, „	*Thomas Lindsay, „
Thomas Younger, 1648.	Thomas Heryson, „	*John Swinhoe, „
Thomas Medcalfe, 1653.	Thomas Lindsay, „	*Thomas Vardy, „
Clem. Forster, „	Robert Anderson, „	*Thos. Clemenson, „
Cuth. Chessman, 1655.	Robert Adston, 1669.	*James Standley, 1707.
Henry Facye, „	*Ralph Ronaldson, 1674.	Arthur Strother, „
John Scott, „	Thomas Vardy, 1676.	*Thomas Gair, „
John Swinhoe, „	Mark Forster, „	*Thomas Rickabie, „
John Harrison, „	Richard Strother, „	*Wm. Hunter, jun., „
*William Laynge, 1656.	Thomas Falder „	*John Wood, „
John Vardy, 1658.	John Carre, 1677.	*John Ward, „
Mat. Alnwick, „	*John Raynoldson, „	*Henry Herryson, „
Thomas Forster, „	John Neale, „	*John Anderson, „
*Francis Hearret, „	*Arthur Strother, „	*Francis Anderson, „
Roger Moffatt, „	William Stanton, „	Robert Claxton, „
Robert Pearret, „	*John Duer, „	*William Ord, „
*Thomas Carr, „	*Henry Swinhoe, „	Robt. Richardson, „
*John Taylor, „	*David Milliken, „	*Henry Wilson, 1709.
*John Davison, „	George Turner, „	George Milliken, „
*John Grey, glover, „	John Talor, „	*James Anderson, 1712.
*John Grey, wright, „	John Gibson, „	William Gallon, 1713.
Lancelot Strother, „	Robert Herryson, „	William Forster, „
*Wm. Huntley, „	Matthias Scott, „	Arthur Gair, „
*John Hambleton, „	Adam Thompson, 1686.	*John Nicholson, „
John Falder, „	*Thomas Alnwick, „	*Nich. Woodhouse, „
*Lancelott Scott, 1660.	Luke Hymers, 1688.	David Scott, „
*John Walker, „	Thos. Woodhouse, „	John Richardson, „
*John Gibson, „	William Gair, 1689.	*Thomas Buston, „
*Matthew Strother, „	*John Hunter, „	William Stanton, 1718.
*John Hamelton, „	*Robt. Collingwood, „	Robt. Hindmarah, „
*Thomas Gare, „	*John Robinson, „	*Roger Buston, 1723.
*Thomas Hunter, „	*Thos. Sanderson, „	William Brown, „
Edward Gallon, 1663.	*Roger Buston, „	*John Woodhouse, „
*James Craster, „	Nicholas Forster, 1690.	*John Strother, „
Nich. Woodhous, 1664.	*John Falder, „	Thomas Strother, „
Nathan. Salkeld, 1665.	*Matthew Swinhoe, „	Christopher Carr, „
*Francis Alder, „	*Francis Clarke, „	*Henry Forster, 1727.
*John Forster, „	*Nicholas Hunter, „	*William Shanks, 1730.

*John Falder, 1730.	*John Smith, 1780.	Richard Carr, 1828.
Robert Clarke, "	Thomas Strother, 1783.	M. Hindmarsh, "
Edward Gallon, 1736.	William Baird, "	John Robertson, 1830.
*John Carr, "	Wm. Hindmarsh, "	Coll. Jos. Falder, 1832.
John Baron, "	Joseph Baron, 1785.	John Arthur, 1833.
Robert Carr, "	Ralph Annett, "	*Joseph Daglish, 1837.
John Scott, "	John Gibson, "	John Morrison, "
John Forster, "	William Wilson, 1786.	Edwd. Thew, jun., "
Wm. Hindmarsh, 1737.	John Sanderson, "	Henry Fairbairn, 1838.
*John Gibson, "	Ralph Henderson, 1787.	Thomas Vernon, "
*George Shepherd, "	John Forster, 1789.	William Strother, 1839.
Robt. Richardson, "	Edward Stamp, 1791.	John Bell, 1840.
*Thomas Butler, 1739.	James Gladstains, 1792.	Robt. Straughan, "
John Gallon, 1741.	Henry C. Selby, "	Luke Hindmarsh, 1841.
Edward Kirton, "	Edward Moor, 1793.	George Tate, "
Thomas Mills, "	Luke Mattison, 1794.	Thos. Robertson, "
Robert Rickaby, 1742.	George Burrell, 1795.	Mark Smith, jun., 1842.
Edward Bell, 1744.	Vincent Shepherd, "	Mich. Brankston, "
Colling. Forster, 1746.	Ralph Smith, 1796.	George Thew, "
John Grey, 1748.	George Embleton, 1797.	John Lockey, 1843.
Nicholas Brown, "	F. T. Strother, 1798.	William Thew, 1845.
George Selby, "	J. Weatherburn, 1801.	Wm. Dickman, "
Richard Strother, 1752.	Jos. Falder, "	Wm. Richardson, "
*T. Weatherburn, "	Wm. Hindmarsh, 1802.	John Bolton, 1846.
Thos. Woodhouse, 1761.	M. Hindmarsh, 1806.	*Robert Falder, "
Thomas Lindsay, "	Hump. Morrison, "	Wm. Rennison, 1847.
*John Gallon, jun., 1763.	William Lindsay, 1809.	Sam. Thompson, 1850.
Edward Brown, 1764.	Edward Stamp, 1811.	John O. Stamp, "
*John Watson, 1766.	Edward Thew, "	Robert Hunter, "
Joseph Falder, "	Thos. Anderson, 1812.	John Dickman, 1851.
Joseph Brooks, "	George Turner, "	Robert Gardner, "
James Grey, 1768.	Thos. Moffatt, jun., "	Charles Arthur, 1853.
Luke Hindmarsh, "	Mark Smith, 1815.	*John Tate, "
John Anderson, "	John Athey, "	John W. Bowey, "
*Thomas Jameson, 1769.	Coll. A. Richardson, "	Wm. Turnbull, 1857.
John Grey, jun., "	Thomas Rankin, 1816.	Ralph Rennison, 1858.
Robt. Richardson, 1770.	Thomas Lindsay, 1817.	Jos. Archbold, "
Thomas Rickaby, "	William Thew, 1818.	John Drysdale, "
Thomas Moffatt, "	William Strother, 1819.	George Dickman, 1860.
Ralph Elder, 1773.	John Lindsay, 1821.	Mich. Hindmarsh,
Thomas Hardy, "	Luke Hindmarsh, "	jun., 1862.
John Falder, 1775.	William Baird, "	George Skelly, 1863.
Edward Gallon, "	Joseph Athey, 1823.	John Fairbairn, 1864.
Arthur Gair, "	Geo. Hindmarsh, "	Geo. Thompson, 1865.
William Peacock, "	Henry Gibb, 1824.	Wm. Robertson, 1866.
Mark Taylor, 1779.	William Gibb, 1825.	William Wright, "
Thomas Hardy, "	Andrew Bolton, 1827.	
Thomas Gibson, 1780.	John Dickman, "	

Of some of the functions of the Four-and-Twenty examples have been given either in the course of this history or in the notes; but others require additional illustration.

A clock had been maintained by the town from an early period. In 1611 it was under the charge of the clerk of the parish, to whom was paid "for the clocke keepinge iij^s. vid." In 1693 John Hunter had "Have Banks for keeping the town clock carefully and in right order." A good clock was ordered in 1717 "to be set up in place of the old one;" Mr. Ogden was paid for clock

and bells, and we find besides "given to Mr. Ogden and in all to learn Shanks to ring the bell 1s." This clock in 1771 was removed to Pottergate Tower, and was replaced by that which now tells the hour of the day to the people of Alnwick. David Hastings—a man famous in the town for his ingenuity—supplied this clock at a cost of £121 2s. 0d. Little at that time could be done without drink; on 18th October, 1771, there were paid 13s. "for reckoning at Ann Watson's with the Chamberlains and others to *wet* the clock, which was this day opened;" and to Mr. T. Rickaby £4 16s. 2d. "his bill for drinks, whets, and chearers, given to the workmen and labourers, &c., for making alterations in the clock house and setting up the new clock, the weather being very cold." Until the last few years two public clocks have been maintained by the Four-and-Twenty; but the Pottergate Tower clock, old and worn out, has ceased to tell the hour of the day; it is still within the tower and presents its gilded face, with the pointer always standing at 6 o'clock, burlesquing, as it were, the wisdom of the corporation. To a clock keeper a salary of £10 10s. 0d. is paid.

A *weigh house* for the use of the town has been maintained, weights and measures provided, and a keeper appointed by the corporation. For the measures in 1659, £4 4s. 6d. were paid and 4s. for bringing them home; and in 1684 the weigh house was demised at the yearly rent of 20s. to William Huntley, who was authorised to charge for every hide weighed 1d., and for every stone of wool or other commodity one halfpenny. A standard brass measure of one bushel was supplied by the Exchequer in 1685 to "Matthew Alnewicke and John Salkeld, clerks of the Markett for the Towne and Markett of Alnewicke, to be kept and used within the towne and Markett for the commonwealth's profit and ease of all his majestie's subjects there inhabiting and thither resorting." At this weigh house the freemen have the privilege of weighing any goods free from charge; but others pay the ancient fees.

Wine at the audits.—At the present period the Chamberlains for the year are honoured with an invitation to dine with the steward and jury of the Michaelmas court leet; but in the days of corporate independence, the Four-and-Twenty treated the officers of the lord of the manor, even in Alnwick Castle itself, with no meagre supply of wine and other spirituous liquors. Besides being curious in themselves, the accounts show what kind of wines were used and what their price. Among the earliest records the custom appears.

Item in wyne and sugar the 24 September 1611 when Mr. Constable and Mr. Fotherlye came to the castle 2s., for a pottle of brunt sack at the Baylyer voyage 2s. 4d.; 1618—Wyne and sugar to the Auditors 4s.; 1633—On the officers at the Audit 4s.; 1635—For a gallon of burnt wyne bestowed on the Lord's commissioners 4s.; 1639—A gallon of wyne and sugar bestowed on Mr. Peary 4s., for 2 pottles of burnt wyne bestowed on the officers at Michaelmas 4s.

Wine at this period was four shillings per gallon, and sack 1s. 2d. per quart; but in 1694 wine had advanced to five shillings; from 1658 to 1691 it was six shillings; the best brandy in 1691 was 2s. per quart.

1658—Wine bestowed on my Lord's officers 6s.; 1672—A gallon of Claret to the Aditors 6s., one gallon of Burnt Clarett att Michaelmas Auditt 6s.; 1680—3 bottles of Greeke wine 8s. and 4 of Claret 4s. 8d.; 1681—8 bottles of Redd Porte 9s. 4d., 2 of Sack 5s.; 1686—Wine at the Additts £1 12s. 0d., *The Porter at the Additts* 2s. 6d.; 1691—For 6 quarts of wine at the Aditt 9s. 4d., 1 bottle of Sack 2s. 8d., carrier 8d., *one bottle broke at the Castle* 4d., given to the porter 1s.; 1697, Oct.—At the Auditt for 1 bottle of Claret 2s. 6d., 2 bottles of Champane wine 4s. 8d.; 1714—3 bottles of Canary 7s. 6d., 2 bottles of Red wine 4s. 4d., to Mr. Coles man 2s. 6d.

The treat to the auditors gradually increases in liberality; and before the custom was discontinued, the expenditure for it had sprung up to the yearly sum of £9 19s. 6d.

1718—To the Castle 3 quarts Canary 7s. 6d., 3 quarts White wine 6s. 6d., 3 bottles Claret 7s. 6d., to Mr. Coles Servant 2s. 6d., to his Groome 2s. 6d., to the Porter 1s., to the music at Arthur Gair 2s.; 1728—Sent down to the Castle 6 bottles of *Arrack Punch* 18s., 4 bottles of French wine 10s., 2 bottles of White wine 4s., Wm. Potter 1s., Rob. Warde 1s.; 1748—1 dozen of French Claret £2 5s. 0d. paid to servants at the Castle 11s.; 1751—3 dozen Claret £6 6s. 0d., 6 bottles Port 10s., 3 bottles Bezeor 7s. 6d., Mr Seymour's servant 10s., Andrew Walker 10s., The Porter 3s., Mr Scotts Servant 5s., Spent at Mr Markland 20s. 6d.

It had been customary too for the principal inhabitants of the town to accompany the Chamberlains to the castle and to partake of the good cheer provided by them within its walls. In the last account we have a reference to this usage; "1753, 15 June—Paid the reckoning at Geo. Walker's when the Chamberlains met with the Gentlemen of the Town, to go to the Castle at the Audit 4s., paid the Commissioner's servants 10s., paid Mr. Mills for wine at both Audits 42s." After this the custom ceased; the new baron had commenced war against the town, which disturbed the friendly relation between the auditors and the Four-and-Twenty.

Of the *Sociality* of the corporation, of its extraordinary diligence in seizing on every event which might furnish an apology for jollification, some illustrations have already been given in Vol I., pp. 321, 322; but in the middle of the eighteenth century the love of enjoyment at the public expense became intense; and the expenditure for drink and feasting seems profligate and extravagant to the sober-minded and economical burgesses of the present time; some examples of this may be given:—

1758—Reckoning spent at the Angell on 26 May on account of the victory gained by the King of Prussia over the Austrians 26s. 8d. 1758, Aug. 23—Paid 1 guinea for to treat Captain Daniel's soldiers on account of the news of the taking of Lewisburgh by Admiral Boscawen the 26 July last £1 1s. 0d. Sep. 5—Paid Mr. Robertson at the Angell for the treat on account of the taking of Lewisburgh £2 17s. 5d. 1759, June—Paid the Sergeant of Captain Daniels company to treat the soldiers firing on the Prince

of Wales coming of age this day £1 1s 0d. Paid treat given by the Chamberlains on the same occasion 3s. 6d., ringing bells 1s., Tar barrels 6s. 6d. additional reckoning 10s. 1759, Nov. 20—Treat at the Angell by order of the Chamberlains on the news of Quebec being taking 37s., for tar barrels 10s.

1760, Dec. 6—Half the treat at the proclamation of his present Majesty £2 13s 11d. and for the treat given by the chamberlains on the news of the King of Prussia's victory over Marshall Dann last month £2 9s. 0d. and tar barrels 1s. 1761—Paid the town's treat on his Majesty's birth and coronation days £15 3s. 6d., Musick, tar barrels &c. £2 3s. 6d.

The tavern expenses in 1762 were £28. Altogether this was a dark period in the history of the corporation; the town should have been draped in black, for in this sad year its independence was destroyed; and yet as Nero fiddled when Rome was in flames, so did the corporation riot and feast when its glory departed.

1762, Aug. 14—Rejoicings at birth of Prince of Wales £8 7s. 1d.; Jos. Turnbull's bill to the Chamberlains is curious—to 11 bottles Port £1 2s., Punch £3 1s., *Bumbo* 13s., Porter and Ale 13s 2d., 2 punch bowels brook 6s. 6d., 1½ doz. Wine Glasses 9s., ¼ doz. Ale Glasses 2s., servants 5s., 1 pint Port 1s.; *Bumbo* occurs again in 1788. 1763, April 5—At the proclamation of peace £15 19s. 4d.; 1763, Aug. 26—Treat at Lord Warkworth's majority, for music 15s.; Black Swan £5 7s 4d., Gunpowdar 5s. 4d., Thos. Patterson ringing the Bells 2s. 6d.; 1764—Treat on Lord Warkworth's marriage £6 13s. 6d. 1766, Oct. 5—Paid Jos. Turnbull for the treat given by the Town to Colonel Dixon and the officers belonging to the Northumberland Militia (with 3 musicians at 5s. each) £32 1s 9d.; 1770—To the same officers a treat given by the town £15 11s. 7d.

The Chamberlains were in the habit of transacting corporate business at taverns, where their wits were brightened by good cheer; in 1771 thirty such meetings were held, costing the corporation £26 2s. 2d. This practice was continued till the year 1842, since which time there have seldom been any charges for tavern expenses.

Charity the corporation sometimes exercised, it may be, to cover the multitude of their sins in eating and drinking. Some cases are curious:—

1637—Given to Edward Athie in bread the Sunday before St. Bartholomew day 8d. 1642—Given for a winding sheet to a woman who dyed in the Market place 3s. 1693—Given to a poor woman to bury her child 6d., and to a poor woman by recommendation 6d. 1697—Paid to 20 poor men by Mr. Locke's orders to get them beds and something to relieve them 3s. 4d. Ellen Strother for a poor sick man 3 days 1s. 10d. 1724, Oct. 5—Paid to a Gentleman passenger that was ship wreckt when the overseers of the poor had no money in their hands 5s. 1730, May 1—Given to the Indian Prince 1s. 1732, June 15—Given to the Governor of Damascus, or procurator of the church of Damascus 20s. 1740, Oct. 27 - To John Bapisto Bayetto for the relief of his brother and family who are slaves in Barbary 5s. 1741—Coffin for a poor man 2s. 6d. 1742, Jan. 1—Given to some very great sufferers by an inundation of water in the County of Cambridge, for which they could not obtain a brief 1s. 1755—Paid for a present to Latori Josepho Abiasai Prince of Palestine, a Christian who had been expelled his country deprived of all his effects by the Turks 42s.

More largely was charity dispensed by the Four-and-Twenty among poor freemen and widows, chiefly by buying corn about

Christmas, and selling it again at a low rate. From 1767 to 1785, about £24 were yearly expended on this charitable object. What is now done for the poor generally by public subscription, was then done by the corporation for the poor freemen, when hard winters pressed heavily; and yet when doling out charity, the Chamberlains must have some indulgence; for in 1784 they spent 16s. 6d. at the Queen's Head, when they met with the aldermen of the trades "to consider about buying corn to sell it again at a low rate to the poor freemen and widows."

Clerk.—The oldest records bear evidence of a lawyer having kept the corporate books; and John Ranoldson seems to have acted as clerk in the early part of the seventeenth century. Subsequently, however, the accounts were kept by the Chamberlains each of whom had a salary of £1, with additional allowances when the duties were more onerous than usual. A *Clerk* first appears by name in 1693 when "Ralph Grieve was paid for writings, orders, and other business for the town as clerk 3s. 4d." In 1752 Robert Richardson was regularly appointed *Town Clerk*, with a salary of ten guineas, to receive the rents and make disbursements as ordered by the Chamberlains, and also to billet soldiers and pay the passengers. By the articles of 1762 the title of town clerk was abolished, and the officer reduced to clerk of the Chamberlains and Common Council. Robert Richardson succeeded his father in 1768; but falling into disfavour with the Four-and-Twenty, he was discharged in 1787; an overcharge in his accounts was disallowed and a balance was due from him; but being contumacious, he would not deliver up the town's muniments until law proceedings were threatened. While in disgrace he had his revenge; for John Bolton having unsuccessfully sought admission to the freelege, Richardson took up his case, and so skilfully managed it, that the Four-and-Twenty, his former employers, were ignominiously beaten, and compelled to admit Bolton to the freelege. John Lindsay for a short time was clerk; but on his death Robert Richardson was re-appointed in 1791; and being now "master of the situation" he dictated terms to his employers; and took office on the condition that he should be discharged only when thirteen of the Four-and-Twenty declared themselves dissatisfied at any meeting. He died in 1792; both he and his father during their term of office received large sums from the corporation for law charges. William Forster succeeded to the office on November 9th 1792; the Rev. William Procter, on February 10th, 1796; Ralph Smith, on Nov. 3rd, 1812; John Lindsay, on December 28th, 1826; Coll. A. H. Richardson, on December 5th, 1836; George Tate, on December 10th, 1850; and James Archbold, on April 20th, 1858. Since the decadence of the public character of the corporation, and the severance of the moor from the authority of the Four-and-Twenty, the office has become unimportant.

Of *Herds* some account may be given, as the terms of their engagements bring before us old conditions and usages. In 1611 there were a *neet hyrd* and a *hyrd of the Mooreshouse*, which was on the top of Twinlaw. In 1686 we have the *far moor herdship*, the *high moor herdship*, and the *low moor herdship*. To Andrew Blyth in 1687 the high moor herdship was letten, and he had five shillings and ten stints, and the lower parts of Clayport tower, and the butt and two balks in the low field. William Bird had the low moor herdship, and among other conditions, he had to keep the sheep all the year and "give skin and Birne * to every one according to the custom of the Country."

The herds were paid partly by salary from the Four-and-Twenty, by stints and by payments from individual freemen having stock upon the moor, till 1823, when the freemen were relieved from fees, and the salary of the whole herdship was raised to £90 yearly, with the privilege of depasturing four cows on the moor. So discontented and quarrelsome, however, were the freemen, that this inoffensive arrangement was made the occasion of uproar and litigation. William Hardy, a nailor, was leader of the malcontents; and under his guidance forth they went, and seized two of the herd's cows, which were grazing on the moor, and drove them to the pinfold. Nothing could be achieved by this foolish enterprise, save annoyance to the Four-and-Twenty, who, however, defended their authority; and the case was tried at the court of common pleas, where Hardy was defeated and charged with taxed costs; and as these were not paid, he was consigned to prison. A majority of the Common Council in 1825 consented to his liberation, on condition of his giving security for payment of half the amount, "being satisfied that better cannot be done." The issue teaches the folly of being led by thoughtless, turbulent men; for the money wasted on this trial would have formed a fund sufficient to have paid for ever half the salary of the herd; the law expenses of the corporation amounted to £880 7s. 2d.

Moor-Grievs were ancient officers, appointed by the Four-and-Twenty, to see that no cattle or sheep depastured on the moor but such as had a right thereto, and to impound all trespassers; and as they were supposed to know the ancient boundary, they guided the freemen in their annual perambulation. From the court leet records we find there were in 1618 four moor-grievs and two keepers of Hesleyside and the Bog; in 1614 they are *Curatores Foreste de Eaden*. In more recent times there were two moor-grievs; but the office was discontinued when the moor was inclosed.

The Bellman or Borough Servant, an ancient officer, formerly wore the town's livery; "1639—Item at our first entry given out for a coate and the making of it to the bellman 8s;" he appears

* Birne, a mark burnt on the noses of sheep, from A.-S. *byrn*, burning.

also to have been designated *sergeant*, who in 1611 received 4d. for "forwarning the xxiiij;" an appointment made in 1675 defines his duties:—

It is ordered that Robert Thompson be the common Bellman for this Towne during the fower and twenties pleasure and that he shall carefully and decently sweep and keep and cleanse the church and the leads thereof together with the church garth and dikes thereof, the Towne's bridge and market place and shall observe the just commands of the chamberlains and fower and twenty in all other things touching the good and usual custome of this town; and that he shall have all the usual profit excepting six stulls to John Grey.—By an order passed in 1681 none but a freeman can be appointed to this office.

Aldermen.—Other authorities there were in the borough besides the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty, but possessed of less dignity and power; over every fellowship or trade presided an alderman, who bore a similar relation to his company, that the Chamberlains did to the whole corporation; and they performed some important functions at an early period. In 1613 they levied, by authority of the Four-and-Twenty, twopence from every freeman towards the repair of the Mart House and making a fold there; and paid the amount to the collectors of the town's revenue. In the same year it was ordered by the Four-and-Twenty,

That the Wardens of the severall companies, 2 and 2 wardens joininge together, shall weekly as their tymes fall search and view the mure and bring away the cattle of Stallengers and forreners there and take order that non be kept there by the herd or otherwise; And for this purpose the Aldermen to hold their places and wyne herein as followeth; viz., the merchants and Glovers, Item the Cordwainers and Tanners, Item the smiths and taylors, the walkers and weavers, Item the wrights and butchers, And the merchants and glovers to beginne this weeke, the residue in turne at supra, Upon payne of such as make default to forfait x^s. to the townes use.

Item it is ordered that the like view and weakly search be made for the wyning, using, and providing of the coles by the townes farmers thereof, this to be done weekly in this respect by the aldermen in their turnes, as is before ordered touching the mure upon the like for future.

The functions of aldermen are now merely formal and unimportant.

Guilds.—When faction ran high, and there were bitter conflicts between a party of the freemen and the Common Council, it was vehemently argued, that because guild meetings had been held long ago, the management of the corporate property should be given to the whole body of the freemen. This argument, however, from ancient usage, was found to have no force; for such guild meetings had been in disuse upwards of a century. The question as to the character of the ancient guilds is now therefore simply historical, and the decision of it involves no practical result.

Until inclosures were made from the moor to increase the revenues of the town, the income of the corporation was small and insufficient; and hence it was necessary to impose taxes both

on the freemen and on the inhabitants. Meetings of the freemen were occasionally held, that they might concur in a tax upon themselves, and in other schemes for their own or for the public good. Some persons, by attaching a limited meaning to the word guild, have represented such meetings as more numerous than they really were.

Guilds were of Saxon institution, and were originally associations for reciprocal aid and defence, and mutual suretyship; they were called *gegyltan*, fellows or brothers of the guild, the root *gylt** meaning one who shares with others in paying or in worship; and, therefore, though most *gylds* were of a secular character, some were religious associations. Every member of a *gyld* contributed his share to the common fund necessary for the maintenance of its privileges; and hence *gyld* acquired the meaning of a tax, as for example, the *Dane-geld* or Dane-tax. Anglo-Saxon *gylds* were originally small bodies similar to if not the same as tithings; larger associations made up of ten guilds or tithings formed the hundred.

Every incorporated trade in the town was a guild; the whole community united as a corporation was a guild; the Four-and-Twenty acting for the town was a guild; and to the meetings of these various bodies the term *gyld* or guild was indiscriminately applied, so that it is needful to examine the incident of each recorded guild before determining in what sense the term is used. The corporation records speak of guilds, general guilds, common guilds, private guilds, public guilds, and a common guild-hall.

The earliest notices in the borough accounts shew the connection between guilds and taxation; 1611—"received in guild money and guild grots £3 7s. 4d.; 1613—received guild money £2 5s. 4d.; 1617—received the guild money at May-day last £2 6s. 6d." In 1613, at a meeting called a *gyld*, orders were made by the Four-and-Twenty taxing the freemen for the repair of the Mart House, letting lands, &c.; and another order was made "by general consent of the Four-and-Twenty and of the aldermen and companies and of the freemen *and others*," authorising the aldermen to distrain for payment of the taxes imposed; "a general guild" made orders for the maintenance of the schools "by the Four-and-Twenty, with the general consent of all the aldermen and companies of the town and of the freemen and burgesses of the same." During the seventeenth century the term *guild* was applied to the more important meetings of the Four-and-Twenty, when the whole would be expected to attend; and it seems that some of these meetings were openly held in the *Common Guild Hall*, in the presence of the freemen, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town, just in the same way as magistrates and other bodies

* Mr. Wedgwood derives this word from the Danish *gilde*, a feast, Welsh *gwyll*, Breton *goel*, *gouil*, a feast or holiday. Certainly feasting was an important function of the old guilds.

acting for the community, hold their meetings openly; and no doubt the concurrence of the freemen and of others was sought on important questions affecting their interests. But then at this period the Four-and-Twenty professed to exercise their power for the *good of the town*. Would those who advocate the revival of guilds, at the same time revive the old public spirit of the corporation? To shew the character of these old guilds a few illustrations from the corporation records are added:—

“At the Comen meeting” held Nov. 24, 1623, the Chamberlains with the consent of the Four-and-Twenty let Hesleyside and the Bog. In 1629 “the custome Corne is lett by the consent of the Chamberlains and Comon Guild;” and “the Comon Guild and Four and Twenty” made regulations for settling disputes between different companies.

The following record of “a generall gilde” is of interest; it will be observed that the conduct of the Chamberlains is described to be “to the great contempt of the *whole towne*:”—

“The 29 of December 1631 Whereas at the general gyld this day, The owlde chamberlynes for the year bye past, vizt. John Scott, Thomas Parteis, William Watson and Michaell Hunter was ready and attending to give an accompt of there receipts and disbursements for the yeare bye past to the new ones that is sworne for the yeare to come, vizt. to William Beadnell, William Wydous, John Wanles, and William Scott. They the said Willm Beadnell, Willm Wydous, and William Scott haith obstinately refused to receive the same to the great contempt of the whole Towne and comon gyld. Therefore we whose names are heare under written of the Coman gyld and foure and Twenty Doe order, that John Scott, Thomas Parteis, William Watson and Michael Hunter, the last Chamberlynes, shall continue for one yeare now next coming and all other things shall be and continue, as they did in the custodies who had any thing of the Towne the last yeare, and under the same rent, and the new Chamberlynes thre of them, vizt., Willm Beadnell, Willm Scott and Willm Wydous to pay to the owld Chamberlynes for the contempt and refusing to doe and performe, as They were sworne, for the use and coman good of the Towne the some of Twenty shillinges every of them to be fined at the Lord's next Easter Courte, by way of action in the owlde Chamberlyes names.”

In 1633, “the Chamberlains, the 24, and the Comen Guild” agree that every freeman pay 4d. yearly to repair Pottergate and Clayport towers, and that “the wood which groweth in the bogge and Hesleyside is by the consent of the 24 and the comen guild sold” for £10. In 1649, “granted then by the Chamberlaynes with the consent of the Four-and-Twenty, upon voate then passed in publique guild,” a lease of Hesleyside for seven years, the terms being £5 in hand and £5 yearly rent; but in 1655 we have “granted by the Chamberlains *with the consent of the towne*” a lease of the lime pits for 21 years, the terms being 16s. in hand and 4s. yearly. In 1655 “the Baliffe and Chamberlains of this Town and Burrough of Alnwick agreed and condescended unto, and they with the consent of the common guild doe hereby demise” Hesleyside. Three guild meetings were held in 1658 to compel contumacious Chamberlains to account for the town's revenues; but no freeman seems to have been

present. The accounts were sometimes produced at public guilds ; in 1662, it is said, "the former Chamberlains' account was received and allowed in publique guild."

Guilds were held in 1665 and 1669 ; but they appear to have been merely meetings of the governing body ; but from 1687 to 1712 guild meetings of the whole of the freemen were held by authority of the Four-and-Twenty ; not, however, for the general business of the town, but to sanction inclosures from the moor to tax freemen to dike the inclosure, and to regulate the stintage under such changed conditions. After this time the term *guild* ceased to be applied to the meetings of the Four-and-Twenty ; and during the next one hundred and twenty-eight years no guild of the freemen was summoned ; nor till 1840, when proposals for the division and improvement of the moor were submitted by the Four-and-Twenty to the consideration of the freemen.

Why, it may be asked, the long disuse of guilds ? Probably because the increased revenue from the inclosed lands rendered taxation no longer necessary. Other causes were operating. A gradual change had crept over the freemen of the eighteenth century ; they were losing the character of a public body, and seeking to absorb the whole of the corporate property ; but though the Common Council were to a certain extent similarly influenced, yet some of the more sagacious and far-seeing men were averse to the conversion of all the town's rights into private property. They looked too with suspicion on the movements of the lord of the manor, and entertained the belief that by throwing more power into the hands of the freemen, they would endanger the remaining rights and privileges of the borough. Quiet men disliked guilds, which tradition said presented scenes of uproar and confusion ; and they doubted whether wise and just measures would be adopted by meetings swayed by passion and prejudice ; the appeal they thought might be from Philip sober to Philip drunk. Experience had shewn that those who had appeared at similar meetings and had advocated views not accordant with a narrow and selfish policy, had to endure the abuse of evil and unbridled tongues. So bad a fame indeed did guilds enjoy as to become proverbial ; often when boys were engaged in noisy, uproarious play have I heard the exclamation—*Bairns what a guild ye are making !*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CORPORATION CONTINUED.

PROPERTY; THE MOOR, INCLOSURES, FAR MOOR HOUSE, FREEMAN HILL, CAWDMACROOK, HAYDEN CLOSE, HERD'S CLOSE, FORSTER'S CLOSE, COLLIERY, HAVRE BANKS, HESLEYSIDE, THE BOG, BUTTS, PITTS, RIDGES, &C, PINFOLD, TOWN HALL, POTTERGATE TOWER—LOSS OF THE FREEHOLD AND ROYALTIES OF THE MOOR IN 1762—LEGAL WARFARE IN 1777 AND IN 1815—CORPORATION REFORM, 1833—DIVISION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE MOOR, 1840 AND 1848—CULTIVATION OF THE MOOR—REVENUE.

PROPERTY.

Alnwick Moor, Hayden, Hayden Forest or Moor, the metes and bounds of which are set forth in the old boulder, printed in Vol. I., p. 100, belonged to the town from an early Saxon period; and from 1594, when the town records commence, till 1762, the corporation exercised over it powers of ownership. Prior to 1687, when the whole was a common pasture, it contained about 3,550 acres; and till 1693, it seems that every freeman had an unlimited right of pasturage, for we find that in that year a public guild was summoned "to the purpose and reall intent to concord for equal stinting," because "the common was sadly abused by great oppressions of stock." But this evil was not remedied till May 3rd, 1711, when a common guild ordered that—

"Whereas time out of mind the freemen or Burgesses of the Town and Burrough of Alnwick have had and now have the freehold and Inheritance of Alnwick Moor or the forest of Aidon, and whereas severall of the freemen or Burgesses do putt and depasture on the Moor great number of stints, while others of the freemen or Burgesses have noe stints there, which inequality is contrary to reason and justice,—it is ordered that henceforth every freeman and freeman's widow shall and may have to goe and depasture upon the moor two stints and noe more, and that it shall be lawful for such as have noe stints to depasture on the moor, to let their two stints to other freemen or freemen's widows."

The privilege was extended in 1723 to three stints or beastgates; and in 1725 to four; but every freeman who had that number paid 2s. 6d. to the Chamberlains, to enable them to give 2s. 6d. to every poor freeman or widow who had no stock on the moor. Freemen were deprived of their power to let their stints in 1747;

but in 1755, and from that time till the general inclosure of the moor in 1851, every freeman and widow could depasture thereon four stints or beastgates.

The town's revenues were, however, increased by letting stints to non-freemen. In 1644 stallingers could have four stints on payment of 3s. 4d. each; and in 1670 there were 57 stints, which were charged from 1s. 3d. to 2s. each. In 1702 Snipe House paid £4 and other farms £3 16s. 6d. When, however, in 1710, the Four-and-Twenty ordered that two stints might be let to every stallinger, a horse being charged 6s. yearly and a cow 4s., some of the freemen rose against authority and drove away from the moor the stallingers' cattle, and consigned them to the pinfold; but the Four-and-Twenty crushed the rebellion, and imposed a fine of 39s. 11d. on any freeman impounding such stints. Again in 1712 the Chamberlains were authorised to let thirty stints for the benefit of the town. Occasional deviations we find from ordinary usage: "On Jan. 26th, 1684, Mr Thomas Barker, auditor of the duke of Somerset, requested that Edward Vardy his tenant of Rugley have liberty for the cattle of him and noe others to goe and depasture in the forest of Hadon belonging to the Burgesses under the yearly payment of 2s. 6d. to the Chamberlains;" and the Four-and-Twenty "for this and more especially for that the said Edward hath three sons Burgesses" granted the request. A touch of kindly feeling appears when it it was on "Mar. 13, 1702, ordered that Rob. Dixon shall have Lydia Gair of Bondgate two stints, always provided that he keep and maintain one of her children."

Inclosures from the Moor.—Foundations of very old dikes shew that portions of the moor had at an ancient period been inclosed, tradition says, for the protection of cattle from Scottish marauders; but permanent inclosures were not made till the seventeenth century; the first being the division of the moor into two parts, in 1687, when a general guild ordered as much of the moor to be inclosed as would feed two stints for every resident freeman, who contributed his full proportion to the building of a hedge for the inclosure. A more important resolution was passed on June 24th, 1698, which assigns as the reason of the inclosure, that *the revenues of the town should be augmented for the good of the town, for the maintenance of its rights and privileges, and for other good uses:—*

Whereas the Revenues belonging to our Towne are very small and inconsiderable, and wee being minded to augment and Increase the same, for the good of our said Towne, and for the maintaining and upholding of its rights and prevelidges, and for other good uses, it is this day unanimously agreed, that whereas A former order was made, that wee should Inclose our Common, and it is now agreed, that soe much of the said Common shall be Inclosed and lett to farme, as followeth, (that is to say), that two hundred Acres of our said moor next adjoining to our moor house or freeman's hill which is thought most convenient, and alsoe that a dike or hedge be drawne from the Towne head close as far as the Standing Ston or further if thought convenient,

and from thence over to the freemans Gape, for to keep every freeman or freeman's widdow as many stents as may (*be*) hereafter also agreed upon, and in case such freeman or freeman's widdow have noe stents of there owne, that every freeman or freemen's widdow shall have the liberty or advantage to Lett there stents, as they can agree for the same, to a brother freeman or freeman's widdow and to noe other person whatsoever, provided that noe freeman or freeman's widdow shall have any benefitt of the said Inclosed ground, except they contribute and pay their proportion towards the building or hedging of the aforesaid Dike, provided always that every such freeman or freeman's widdow shall live within the Towne of Alnwickes. *Signed by 88 names.*

A dike across the moor, dividing it into an inner or lower moor and an outer or upper moor, was finished before April 22nd, 1700. The moor was now an inclosed pasture; and could in no sense be called a waste; and besides other two portions were totally separated from the common—the Moor House farm and Hayden close, both of which were let to increase the revenues of the town.

Far Moor House Farm is on the south part of the moor, about three miles from the town. At first it contained about 200 acres and was conjoined with the herdship of the moor; in 1710 it was let for 7 years at a rental of £12, the tenant being allowed to depasture 12 stints on the far moor. With an additional 40 acres it was let in 1744 for 13 years, at a rent of £33 for the two first years and £36 for the remainder of the term, the tenant having also the privilege of depasturing 20 stints of horses and black cattle and 10 stints of sheep on the Town Moor. This farm in 1772 contained 250 acres 2r. 22p., and was let at a rent of £110, to Thomas Horsley, gentleman, of St. Margaret's.

Hayden Close, or *Hawden's Close*, as it is improperly called, adjoins Rugley Moor and St. Margaret's Green, and contains 14 acres 1r. 28p.; it was valued in 1757 at £4 5s. 0d. yearly; and in 1772 at £7 14s. 11d.; it is now let at £22 yearly.

Herd's Close was inclosed in 1705 under authority of the following order:—

Jan. 4, 1705—Ordered and agreed by the Chamberlains and Four and Twenty that there shall be a House built in the Stobby moor, where the present Chamberlains think convenient, for a House for a herd: And that the herd shall have liberty to Inclose a Close, from the Suth corner of the townhead high field Close downe by the highway as far as the north corner of the said close.

This close contains 13ac. 1r. 10p., and was enjoyed by the herd as part of his salary till 1762, when it was let by the Four-and-Twenty at a rental of £9; the rent is now £40 yearly.

Freeman Hill and Cadmacrook were inclosed in accordance with the following resolution:—

The 6th day of December, 1710—It is agreed by the Chamberlains and Four and Twenty of this Town and Burrough of Alnwick, that the Chamberlains shall lett to farme, to such persons as they thinke Convenient, such reasonable parcels of Alnwick Moor on the south and west side of the farr moor house, as the said Chamberlains together with Mr. Mark Forster, Mr

Thomas Woodhouse, Mr. Wm. Stanton, Matt. Scott, Edw. Standley, Henry Harrison and John Strother shall thinke convenient, and shall also Lett to farme a parcell of ground on the south east side of Hobberlaw green, to such person or persons as the Chamberlains with the said Mark Forster, &c., or any of them shall think fitt; before the premises be Lett to farme another Four and Twenty is to be called.

Freeman Hill inclosure, containing about 400 acres, was in 1711 let to John Archbold, of Cawledge Park, one of the bailiffs of the lord of the manor, for 15 years, at a rent of £10 the first year and £26 afterwards, the Chamberlains consenting to build "a good and sufficient Sitthouse and Byar;" but Archbold had to lead all materials, and also inclose the premises. Wm. Morrison and others in 1757 took this farm for fifteen years, paying £400 as consideration of the lease, a pepper corn rent for 6 years, and £80 yearly during the remainder of the term. Freeman Hill and Far Moor House along with 92ac. 32p. of heather land set off from Alnwick Moor, purchased in 1853 by the corporation from the Inclosure commissioners and in all 704 acres, are now let as one farm at the yearly rent of £280.

Cadmacrook or Intake, on the south-east of Hobberlaw Green, and containing 42 acres 2r. 25p., was let on July 10th, 1711 to Robert Moody for nine years, at the yearly rent of £9; but in 1713 it was let at the same rent for twenty years, the tenant consenting to build a house. The rent is now £105 yearly.

These inclosures raised in 1711 a storm among some of the freemen which threatened to overwhelm the corporation. John Weatherburn was the leader of the malcontents; and John Wilson, Wm. Clarke, Rob. Shanks, cooper, and Henry Clark "did on Thursday, the 29th of March, assemble themselves together with Jno. Weatherburn at Alnwick Castle, and swear to stand by and assist him against the Towne to obstruct the late inclosure let to Moody." The scenes of the old times of border warfare seemed again enacted; there were midnight aggressions, pulling down dikes, midnight watching, powder and shot to resist the enemy, and ale and bread to sustain the martial spirit. "Idle and disorderly persons," say our records, "enemies to the well-being and good government of our Town and Burrough, on two several times in the night privately pulled down great part of the Inclosures." The accounts tell something of the history of this rebellion:—

1710—Given Rob. Moody in all when he told that R. Shanks and Wm. Clarke threatened to pull down the Town's dikes at Hobberlaw Green 2d, Given David Kinghorne the same 2d; given Jno Wainsley's maid for telling me that Captain Wilson and his sons swore many solemn oaths in John Smith's house that they would pull down the Towne's Moor dikes 1s; paid for watching the dikes 2s. and ale 8d; for our herd Kinkhorn and Standley for watching the hedges 2s., for ale and bread 9d; Aug. 17, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Gunpowder 4d., shot 1d., that Moody's Brother gott when Tho Weatherburn was taken at the dikes, for ale to Standley when Moody went to the Justices 8d., for three warrants 3s.; Geo Alder watching the Intake dikes 7s. 6d. 1711—Justice Burrell for 6 warrants 3s.; man 3 days att Moor dikes 1s. 6d., Hutson

for 2 days 1s. 2d.; May 4, John Watson for watching the Dike 8s. 6d., serving 2 warrants 8d.; Aug. 31, two men 2 days at Dikes 2s. 4d., constables and horses 1s. 6d.; Sep. 2, Gilbert Handley for watching Moodys for 1 night 10d.; Horse and Constable to Justice Burrell 10d. 1712, May 10, to Wm Embleton for watching 4 nights the dikes 2s.; Paid Standley for the drink severall times in watching dikes 2s. 10d.; May 2, James Standley and others for watching the dikes 7s. 6d.; Aug. 22, Powder and Shot for Standley 1s. 2d.

Energetic measures the Four-and-Twenty took to put down these violent proceedings; they met on 28th April, 1711, in great force; thirty were present, and by resolution, expressed "their abhorrence of soe villanous an act," and "solemnly protested and declared that none of them had directly or indirectly assisted or had been in any way privy to the pulling down of the inclosure, and that they will endeavour to discover the offenders, and by purse and person contribute to their prosecution." They even went so far as to threaten to disfranchise those who would not sign this protestation or declaration. Two days afterwards they summoned a meeting of the freemen, and obtained 122 signatures to a declaration approving of the orders for "Inclosing and letting to farme a parcell of ground beyond the farr Moor house."

Weatherburn was at length caught in the act of demolition; the reign of physical force ended, and the strong arm of the law interposed to restore order. Weatherburn was prosecuted; and he brought an indictment against Moody, who, however, was defended by the Four-and-Twenty. The cases were protracted till 1713, when Weatherburn made his submission, and gave a bond to pay expenses according to award; he was mulcted to pay £16 9s. 3d.; but at the assizes he could only produce 21s. 6d. Like all similar reckless proceedings among the freemen, this caused for a time much turmoil and annoyance, money was wasted in law expenses, all parties suffered more or less, but the chief punishment fell on the head of the lawless aggressor.

The Quarry Hills, containing 4 acres, on the north-east side of the moor, and near the spot where William the Lion was taken prisoner, were part of the common, but of their inclosure there is no record. They, however, belonged to the town, and were let in 1709 for thirteen years at 30s. yearly to Thomas Lindsay. Along with 3 roods and 10 perches, taken from the moor next the Stocken and Holn Park, they were given to the earl of Northumberland in 1762, in exchange for 4 acres 2r. 1p. of ground near to Snipe House. This transfer of valuable land, close upon the town, for a less quantity among the moor lands, four miles distant from it, has given the Four-and-Twenty of that period a great reputation for Gotham-like wisdom. "Out of the Quarry Hills it is thought the castle stones were wrought on the north side of west demesne."—*Castle MSS.*

Other exchanges were subsequently effected with the dukes of Northumberland; one in 1776 gave corporation lands near the

Freemen Well, having an area of 7 acres 3r. 6p., for land at Hill Close and Harecrag, containing 3 acres 3r. 6p.; and another in 1811 gave to the duke 1 acre 1r. 15p. of ground adjoining the Stocken, for an equal quantity of land from fields south-west of Ratten Raw tower.

Forster's Close.—Collingwood Forster, the chief instrument in effecting the compromise of 1762, had his reward from the lord of the manor; but the Four-and-Twenty also paid him in a very irregular manner for his achievement; they gave to him and his heirs "as a compliment all estate right and interest of the Chamberlains Common Council and Freemen of this Borough in a part of Alnwick Moor containing 3 acres and 12 perches adjoining the Greensfield and Intake." They gave, however, what they had neither the legal nor moral right to alienate; yet this land was enjoyed by Forster and his descendants during sixteen years. Collingwood Forster was a member of the Four-and-Twenty that disfranchised Richard Grieve in 1748; and when George Grieve applied for his freedom in 1769, the wrath against the father seems to have been nursed during twenty years, and was discharged on the son; for on the plea that his father had been disfranchised he was refused admission to the freelege; thus visiting the supposed iniquity of the father upon the child. George Grieve was as brave as he was able, and he sought legal redress; and though one counsellor had given an opinion to the Four-and-Twenty favourable to Grieve's claim, yet these vindictive men determined to go on; they ran short of funds and resolved—"whereas there is at present a great demand for money to carry on the mandamus case between the corporation and Mr. George Grieve, the Chamberlains be authorised to borrow £60 on bond." As might have been expected, the decision was against them; and they had to pay, besides their own expenses, £104 7s. 3d., the taxed costs of their opponent; £200 more they were obliged to borrow. Collingwood Forster had opposed both father and son. But the time came when George Grieve had his revenge; for when he took up his freedom in 1772, and rode the boundary of the moor on St. Mark's day, he along with other young freemen broke gaps in Forster's Close, and rode round it as parcel of the common. The fence, however, still remained; but on Oct. 21st, 1778, he invited the freemen to meet him in the Town Hall; and it was then resolved to remove the fence entirely; and on the following day George Grieve, aided by numbers of the freemen, effectually pulled it down, and restored this land to the common. To aid in paying the expenses of the inclosure, this land was sold in 1853 to Mr Robert Straughan for £230.

Colliery and Quarries.—Great beds of excellent building stones crop out in the moor; there are two beds of limestones, one of which produces the best lime in the county; and several coal

seams, such as are worked with profit in the neighbourhood of Berwick, in the lower part of the Mountain Limestone formation, range across Alnwick Moor. Prior to 1576 the burgesses worked coal seams there; and in 1613 weekly inspection was made by the aldermen of the winning of the coal by the town's farmers; in 1611 there was paid "for the cole Rent for one half yer ls.;" and received "from James the Coyllier for the rent of the coals ivl." The colliery was worked on a more extensive scale from 1658 to 1672 by the corporation; in 1658 £10 12s. 1d. are entered as disbursed for the colliery, the wages of colliers being then 1s. 4d. and of labourers 6d. per day. To procure coals for the town the incorporated trades lent their aid; "Defrayed out of the box," say the merchants, "the 11th of Oct. 1661, the sune of iiiij*li*. for the use of the colpit;" and in 1662 £4 2s. 8d. This object, so important to the poor of the town, could not be carried out without a struggle, for the eleventh earl of Northumberland, who probably never visited the town, caused the colliers to be arrested in 1669; but the Four-and-Twenty of that day had the spirit to defend the town's rights; we have entered, paid "for the defence of a suit at the suit of the erle for the towne more coles 22s." A case was submitted to S. Rawlinson, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor; and he gave the following opinion:

Upon perusal of this case and the two ancient deeds relating thereto I do conceive that the Burgesses of Alnwick have not only good right of common, but also to dig and sink pits for the winning of coals, limestone, freestone, and other stone and for turf and the like, and, in case of any action brought, may defend themselves at law.

The suit was not prosecuted; and the colliery continued to be worked by the corporation, much to the advantage of the town, though with little profit to the corporation itself, till 1762. On September 7th, 1669, the Chamberlains "let for two years to John of Eglingham Coleburn Colyer all that Colyere or Colmine opened or not opened in the common of Alnwicke" at the yearly rent of twelpepence; he had to use his best skill and within two years sink to the best or main coal, and at the end of the term "he shall have the first offer or proffer at a rent of £5 per annum cheaper than any other man shall really proffer or would give." The corporate companies continued to aid the colliery when new sinkings were made; and contributed £8 3s. 4d. in 1680, when under the direction of John Natrix, the borer, more than £40 were expended. Being for the benefit of the town generally as well as of the freemen, the Four-and-Twenty passed a stringent order on May 22nd, 1693; "Whereas by a former order," they say, "every severall trads of the Towne was to pay out of their respective trads moneys for carrying one of the winning A coolerry in our comon, it is therefore agreed; that every respective Trad that have not paid in such moneys, then upon refussall of such Trad, the Chamberlains shall sue every such alderman for such offence in the sum of xxxviii*js*. by way of

action." A curious payment was made this year for the colliery—"given Esqr. Roddam for the Laine of his Rollers and Rope 1 bottle of best brandy 2s. 6d." At this time too Armstrong and Thompson had leave to sink and dig for coals at the yearly rent of 6s.; but "they are to afford to the freemen as good measure as Sir John Clavering's Cooliers gives at Lemmonton, and not to exceed six workmen at the wall." The famous Mark Forster entered on the colliery in 1710, and received £8 8s. 0d. for sinking the upper pit; and to the colliers was given *when they colde the pitt 1s.* To Robert and George Thompson were let in 1712 the mines, pits, and veins of coal of Alnwick moor, except that part lying north-east of Reigham Craggs, for 12 years at a rent of 1s. for the first year, and £5 yearly afterwards, they being required "to keep the colliery going to serve the inhabitants of the town and to sell them a sufficient bushel of coals for one penny." Edward Grey, who had a lease in 1725, for twenty-one years, at a rent of £5 yearly, engaged to supply the freemen at the rate of 1d. for four pecks (of the measure of a peck used in Alnwick Market), and the freemen in preference of other persons. The price charged in 1747 was the same, and 10 bolls were carried to the houses of freemen for 4d., the colliery and limekilns being then let for 21 years at the yearly rent of £4. Above £30 were expended in 1752, "for sinking the second new pit at the town head and a drift between the two new staple pits." Over various parts of the moor pits had been sunk; as many had been filled in as seventy in one year; and in 1753 one was filled in at the town head on the highway, and another at the bottom of Clayport bank.

By the articles of agreement in 1762 the coal mines of Alnwick Moor were taken from the town and given to the earl of Northumberland. They are now worked to a limited extent by a tenant of the duke of Northumberland, to burn lime at Hobberlaw; but none is now sold for domestic use. Though not of the best quality, some of the seams were extensively used for domestic purposes when they belonged to the town; and being supplied at a moderate cost, they were the means of diffusing light and warmth in many a poor dwelling. Much of this coal was brought into the town in *pokes* or sacks on the backs of asses and galloways.

Sandstone and Limestone Quarries.—Prior to 1762, not only were the freemen entitled to work stones of any kind on the moor, but the Common Council granted the same privilege to the public generally on liberal terms. A small revenue was derived from this source. In 1668, 30s. were received for the town's quarries; the limestone quarries produced 75s. in 1715, and £10 in 1741. Two freestone quarries on the moor, called the Town head and Stoney peth, were let in 1747 to Matthew Mills and others for 21 years, at a rent for the first three years of a pepper corn, and

afterwards at £2 yearly; the freemen were to be supplied with walling stones at 14d. for twelve cart loads, and with split slates at 5s. for "one fother or wainload thereof;" it was reserved, however, that any freeman might work stones for his own use. Viewing themselves as public officers, the Common Council charged moderate sums to non-freemen for liberty to have building stones, the acknowledgment given generally ranging from one penny to sixpence. *Even to the duke of Somerset, lord of the manor, they granted a licence or liberty to get freestones on the moor.* The articles of 1762, while recognising the rights of freemen to stones, took away from the Common Council the power of granting the privilege to non-freemen.

Stottefaldhalch and Ranwell-strother, parcels of land in the field of Bondgate, were, as we have seen (Vol. 1, p. 97), granted by William de Vescy to the burgesses in 1290; but under these names they do not appear in subsequent records, though doubtless they are the same lands as have since been designated Havre Banks, Hesleyside, Bog, and Broadheaps. They were on the south side of the Aln, extending from near the castle wall down the river, which bounded them on the north, for about a mile. As the larger portion of these lands has passed away from the town, I cannot state their exact area; but I calculate it to have been not less than fifty acres.

*Havre** *Banks*, the western portion of these lands, nearly adjoined the castle, and first appear in the corporate records in 1629, when a rent of 10s. was paid for them. In 1648 they were let for seven years, at a rent of 13s. 4d., with a fine of 26s. 8d. Matthew Alnwick had them in 1678 for 25s., "which he was allowed for keeping the clock;" in 1705 "Havre Bank next Leak's field" was let for 24s. One of the most discreditable acts of the Chamberlains and Common Council was the sale of these lands to the earl of Northumberland; thus runs the condemnatory record:—"1761, Sep. 29—Recd. of Mr. Maddison, the consideration money for the sale of the east and west Havre-banks, the Town's rigde in the mill close, and a small piece of the west end of Hesleyside to the earl of Northumberland £108 15s. 0d." Mischievous influence without and treachery within led to the alienation, for ever, of this valuable public land, near the town, which had been in possession of the burgesses nearly five centuries.

Hesleyside † extended eastward from Havre Banks down the river. In early times it had been partly covered with bushes and trees, for the wood upon it was sold in 1613 for £20. From the farmers of Hesleyside £1 13s. 3d. was received in 1611. It was let for seven years in 1623 at a rent of £4; in 1622 the rent was only £6; in 1679 it reached £10, and halted there till 1722,

* *Havre* may be from *Hæfer*, Anglo-Saxon, *Hafr*, Isl., a goat—the goat bank.

† From *hæst*, A. S., the hazel which had grown on this land.

when it moved upward to £12—so slow was the progress; but in 1760 it was £21; and in 1776, when Hesleyside passed away from the corporation, the rental was £36.

This ancient town land, along with a small ridge at its east end, called Long Haugh, and another small ridge at the south side of it, containing in all an area of 33 acres 5 perches, were on September 30th, 1776, given to the duke and duchess of Northumberland in exchange for a portion of Stanley Flats, which contained 25 acres 2r. 6p. The policy of this exchange has been much doubted by those who wished that the town should economise its natural resources; for Hesleyside being bounded by the river, it was thought that the water power might, with great advantage to the community, have been applied to manufacturing purposes.

The Bog, the modern name of one of the corporation farms, is a translation of part of its old name, *Ranwell Strother*, for *Strother* signifies a marsh or bog. As early as 1613 it is in the corporation accounts called "the boege;" on November 23rd "the Bogg is demised and letten to Gawen Salkeld for one whole year at the rent of fifty-three shillings and fourpence;" and in 1633 the Bogg and Broadheaps were let on lease at a rental of £3 6s. 8d.; the value gradually rises, and in 1662 the rent was £6, and in 1673 £8 yearly. The clerk of the corporation in 1694 had not been a profound mathematician; for he chronicles the following order, making a unit to consist of a unit and a half:—"Jan 31, 1694—The Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty demised the *halfe* of the Bogg and Broap heps unto Mr. Mark Forster, on *halfe* unto Mr. Richard Strother, on *Quarter* Mr. Matt. Alnwicke and Wm Gair on *Quarter* betwixt them paying the yearly rents of £8." To these lands two closes were added by purchase of Matthew Alnwick in 1696, for the sum of £50, partly for the purpose of investing £40, which had been left to the poor of the town by Hugh Potter. The conveyance of these closes "to the present Chamberlains, their heirs, and assigns for ever," written by Ralph Grieve, cost the corporation 8s.; they are described "as lying within the Town fieldes of Alnwicke; the one within the Town's Bogs, known by the name of Boge close; the other, within the said Town's fields, called the Broad Heap Close or Pye Cruck Close, next Stanley Flat on the south-east."

With this addition the Bog and Broad Heaps, containing 38 acres 1 rood 33 perches, were let in 1696 at £11 yearly, the rent of the two closes being £3; so that at this time land was purchased at $16\frac{2}{3}$ of its yearly rental, about one half of its present value. In the course of half a century the rental was doubled, for in 1741 the rent was £22 15s. 0d.; at which it stood still for thirty-eight years. Stanley Flats were added to this farm in 1766; but since then 2ac. 1r. 4p. were taken from it and conveyed by the corporation to the North-Eastern Railway

Company for £438 10s. This farm containing 61ac. 1r. 9p. is now let for £160 yearly.

The Town Butts, Pitts, and Ridges, and the Greenbat.—The town wall belonged to the town, as well as a strip of land along the side of it. Various names are given to this range—the *butts*, *the town pits*, *the tanners' pits*, *the lime pits*, *the town's ridge*. *The Greenbat*, a corruption of Greenbutt, extended from Bondgate to Clayport Tower, and the *Arrowbutts* ran southward from Pottergate Tower; and both had been open public grounds for the practice of archery. The following somewhat obscure orders shew that authority was exercised over it by the corporation:—

“1710—Rob. Hamilton has inclosed a part of Green Batt into a close, which he farmes of John Catter and his wife for the convenience of water, I promise to pay yearly to the Town of Alnwick sixpence for the Liberty thereof, soe long as he farmes the said close and doe promise to putt downe the same inclosure sooesoon as I cease to be Tenant of the Close.—Rob. Hamilton.”
 “1741—John Dores is to have and enjoy the Intake in the Greenbat for 21 years, paying 6d. yearly and 14s. for arrears.” 1753—The Chamberlains and Common Council grant to Mr. Thomas Strother liberty to erect a shedd in the Green Batt for laying wood and Timber thereon of the breadth of eight yards and thirty yards in length, paying yearly to the Chamberlains for the time being for the same.”

Early references there are to corporate property along the line of the wall; “in 1611 received of James Grene of Clayport for his pit 6d;” in 1650 the lime pits were let for 21 years, the terms being 16s. in hand and 4s. yearly. “Tanners' pits” were let in 1658 at 6d. yearly. In 1673 “Two lime pits and one water pitt are let for 7 years at 6d. yearly to John Raonaldson.” It was agreed by the Four-and-Twenty in 1721 that Mr. Nicholas Woodhouse shall have and enjoy the Town pits and also the land belonging to the town between Clayport and Pottergate Tower, at a yearly rent of 17s. 8d.; and he agreed to build a dike between the town's ground there and Mr. Mark Forster's crofts, liberty being reserved for all freemen to pass and repass with horse or carriage along the beaten road or pale between Pottergate and Clayport towers. After the surrender of corporate rights in 1762, the independence of the Common Council was shaken, and they became reckless in their treatment of the borough property. Most unjustifiable was their sale of these Town pits on April 24th, 1766, when it was ordered:—

“That the Chamberlains do execute a conveyance under the Town's Seal to Mr. Thos. Woodhouse his heirs and assigns of the Lime pitts and grounds used therewith extending from Pottergate Close on the north to a road or Gateway leading into a Tan Yard belonging to Mr. Woodhouse and Mr. Gibson on the south, on Mr. Hindmarsh's Tanyard on the west and the Town's rig on the east (except the well and way leave for the use of the Town and way leave to Mr. Hindmarsh's Tan Yard) in consideration of £5 purchase money agreed upon.”

The Town Well and the way to the Well, which are close to the line of the town wall, still belong the corporation; and they on

November 11th, 1855, were let on a lease of 99 years, at a yearly rent of 10s., to Mr. Thomas Archbold, the owner of the adjoining property. *The Town's Ridge*, now called the *Freemen's rigg*, also remains in possession of the corporation. A neat building for the fire engines was built on it in 1811; but in 1855 it was converted into a dwelling house, and along with the ridge which is now a garden, is let at a yearly rent of £9.

Walkergate Haugh, Dye House, and Lane.—In the seventeenth century the corporation had property in and near Walkergate, and haugh land extending along the river. There was on Sep. 13th, 1679, "lett unto Matthew Alwicke fuller and dyer all that wast dy house in Walkergatthaugh" for 21 years, at the yearly rent of 2s. 6d. The dyehouse haugh is thus described in 1709; "from Canogate burne on the west, the river Ale on the north, Walkergate lands on the south, and the River Ayle on the east;" it was let for 6s. 8d yearly, and in 1729 at 10s. For the lane near Walkergate, Matthew Forster promised to pay 2s. 6d. yearly; and in 1713 "the lane above Walkergate was let to Thomas Lindsay at 1s. 6d. yearly. None of these properties now belongs to the corporation; but how they have been lost I have not been able to trace. There were also *town pits* near Ratten Raw, which in 1710 were let to Luke Hindmarsh at 5s. yearly. *Fairbairn's Field*, too, which was opposite Alnwick Abbey, has passed away from the corporation without a record of its alienation. The castle MS. says "there is a piece of waste ground near Alnwick mills joining to Canogate and Potterdean burn, which was formerly enjoyed by his Grace's millers by feeding their mill horses there and casting flags there for covering the mills as often as there was occasion. Now the Chamberlains let it to farm for 20s. yearly." At the *West burn* there was also an intake let in 1729 to John Woodhouse and William Ord for eight years at 1s. yearly.

The Pinfold has from time immemorial belonged to the town. In 1611 there is "paid out for redding of the pinfold iiijd." The Chamberlains in 1675 were authorised by a meeting of the Four-and-Twenty "to assess the free Landes and farm Landes of the Towne for the repair of the Pinfold, and to distraine refusers' goods." The old pinfold was outside of the walls, near Bondgate Tower; it was removed to the end of the street; and after the tenantry column was built it was removed, at the request of the duke of Northumberland, to the Greenbat; it is still the property of the corporation, by whom a pinfold keeper is appointed, who besides his salary is entitled to fees on account of animals impounded.

The Town Hall, which is conveniently situated in the Market place, came into the possession of the corporation on May 24, 1585. It rejoices in having four names; in mediæval times here stood the lord's brewhouse, where the burgesses, on paying

certain fees, brewed their ale and beer; the receipt for quit rent still calls it a *brewhouse*; when it became public property it bore the name of the beer houses; after this it was the Tolbooth, and on being rebuilt in 1736 it rose to the dignity of the *Town Hall*.

It was in the possession of Robert Brown in 1523; and, on the 24th of January, he and his wife Custans and his daughter and heir Margaret Carre, along with her husband, conveyed it to Edward Tomson a Tanner in Alnwick for £10. The dimensions are stated to be 60 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, bounded on the south by John Anderson's burgage, and on the north by a burgage of Alnwick Abbey, abutting on the Market on the east, and on the royal way on the west. Fifty-seven years afterwards, the Abbey burgage was a waste and in possession of James Castell, while the other was in the hands of William Shell. The Beer houses passed to Isabella, wife of Edward Thompson, and she by will left them to her grand-daughter Margaret the wife of Edward Bellye; and they on the 11th of October, 1677, sold them for £27 to William Graye of Alnwick yeoman, who, on May 24th, 1685, conveyed them to William Beadnell Bailiff, and George Alder of Hobberlaw, Ralph Claye, John Alder and Henry Watson burgesses of Alnwick and their heirs, for the use and behoof of the whole burgesses of Alnwick and their successors.

These beerhouses were, as the *Tolbooth*, appropriated to public purposes, for holding meetings and for a guard house. At the General Quarter Sessions held at Alnwick, Oct. 1st, 1684, the grand jury presented "The Toll boothe, going to ruine, much oute of repaire, and that it may be speedily amended. being the public meeting place for holding sessions and keeping the Countye Courts."* There were two stories and a cellar; and part of the lower storey was let out as shops. In 1668 John Falder paid for his shop 20s., and Mr. Metcalfe 10s.; "the backe of the Tolbooth" yielded a rent of 10s. In 1695 "two shops and one cellar under Alnwicke Tooll both were let for 7 years for £10 in hand, and 50s. yearly for three years." Before being taken down in 1728, the rental of the shops was £4 and of the cellar 30s. The old Tollbooth was doomed on Oct. 4, 1728, when the following order was passed:—

At a meeting of the Four and Twenty of this Town and Burrough of Alnwick, It's agreed that the Tollbooth or town house be taken down and rebuilt at the expense of the town and that Mr. Edw. Grey Richard Grieve Mr. Wm. Forster and Mr. Rob. Claxton the Chamberlains of the said Burrough, for the year ensuing, do contract and agree with workmen for rebuilding the same in the most beautiful comodious way, that shall be judged upon, and that they shall be reimbursed out of the Revenues of the town what shall be expended thereabout with Interest att 5 per cent. for so much as they shall lay out, after all the moneys belonging to the town which shall be in their hands shall be laid out; and for that purpose they shall state accounts every three months with the four and twenty.

The erection of this new Town hall cost £730; the clock spire was raised in 1767; the *grand beau window* for the south shop was made in 1770, and in 1771 "the small spires were put on the tower" after a design by Mr George Hastings. In the under floor are shops and dwelling rooms, and the public weigh house,

* Sessions records. C. S. Bell's MSS.

with a vault below ; and on the second floor are the public hall and two rooms adjoining, in which are held meetings of the quarter sessions, of the Common Council, of the freemen, and of the public. The public hall which is reached by an external flight of stone stairs is 50 feet by 30 feet, and is well adapted for public meetings. The clock tower has four vanes one at each corner, and from it rises a dome supporting a larger vane in the centre.

Pottergate Tower, one of the ancient gates of the town came into possession of the corporation in 1630, when it was conveyed for a sum of money to the Chamberlains of the borough. It was extensively repaired immediately afterwards ; and fourpence per head per annum was imposed on the freemen for the maintenance of this and of Clayport tower. Other claimants to this property, however, sprung up ; and it became a source of dispute and litigation for many years. To satisfy the claims of Mr Stevenson money was paid in 1650 ; and on the 28th of May in that year, Ann Clark and Mary Stevenson conveyed to the Chamberlains all the interest they had in the tower. The troubles of the town were, however, not yet at an end ; John Bell and Barbara his wife who, according to the baronial court records, was a fierce termagant, rose in rebellion ; and the power of the sheriff had to be exercised in 1665 to give the borough possession of the tower. This, however, did not conquer the Bells—their acquiescence had still to be bought ; and “on 13th January, 1667, John Bell and Barbara his wife, for a competent sum of money, release to Thomas Forster, Edward Gallon, Lancelott Strother, John Falder, John Pearitt, and to all the other freemen of the Burrough of Alnwick and to their heires,” their interest “in all that port or tower situate in Alnwicke called Pottergate Tower” ; and they gave a bond to Michael Hunter and Thomas Forster to deliver peaceably to them Pottergate tower, and to make a conveyance on the 1st of May next. This, however, the Bells would not do ; and there was more law ; in 1670 Matthew Alnwick was paid £2 10s. 4d. “for answering the suit about Pottergate Tower.” At length a conveyance was made by them on the 3rd of July, 1671 ; and John Bell, of Alnwick, Glover, and Barbara his wife, for a competent sum of money, conveyed to Thomas Metcalfe and his heirs their tenement of Pottergate. On the back of this deed, Thomas Metcalfe declares, under his hand and seal, that the purchase of the tower is made by him of “meer and soccial trust and confidence, And to and for the only proper use and behoofe of the Chamberlines and the Burgesses of the Burrough and Towne of Alnwicke and their successors, and to and for noe other use intent or purpose whatsoever.”

Property adjoining the tower on the south was also, on the 24th of November, 1672, conveyed by John and Barbara Bell, to Matthew Alnwick, of Alnwick, tanner, for money paid ; and he

in 1691 conveyed it to the Chamberlains of the town for the use of the freemen. This property is described—

All that Burgage and wast Burgage next thereunto adjoining, on the west, situate on the south side of Pottergate, with one garth or yard in the back side thereof, and having Thomas Jefferson's burgage on the east, and the Tower on the west; and also all that Thorney hedge commonly called the double dike, together with the Arrow Butts bounding on Robert Pearith on the east, Three Sellyons or butts of land, belonging to Matthew Alnwick on the west, and three limepits on the south; and also all that Stone Wall adjoining Pottergate Tower, with all the ground the wall stands on.

Surely all these legal proceedings should have laid the ghost which had so long haunted the corporation. The Bells knew not, however, when they were beaten—still there was law—warrants were in 1672 taken out and served upon John Bell, at a cost of 13s. 5d. This wearisome contention lasted for nearly half a century. Barbara fought on alone even after the death of John; and in 1677, at the last assizes there is paid 27s. 6d. "to the judge's clerke of the assizes, for takeing of our Indictment against me (Matthew Alnwicke), which was for defending the Town's rights of the fre Scoule against Barbara the wife of John Bell." The quarrelsome Barbara at length leaves this troubled world; for we find that in 1685, Matthew Alnwicke was allowed £3 out of his growing rent, "for conveying a house in Pottergate, late in the possession of Barbara Bell, *deceased*." And so she departs out of our story.

Of the appearances of the old Pottergate Tower we know nothing; but in 1767 arrangements were made for rebuilding it; Mr. Bell, who had been architect of the Town hall spire, first made a plain plan, which Joseph Brook engaged to complete for £270; then the plan was made ornamental which involved an additional cost of £64; and at last the tower was surmounted by a spire, which added £94 more to the expense. The architect was paid £33s. for his plan, and £10 10s. for his inspecting the building; and the whole when completed cost about £580. On April 28th, 1768, the foundation stone was laid, when there were "music and drink, wine and punch to treat the company." The old clock was removed from the Town hall to this tower in 1772.

This tower which was sixty feet high, was in the pseudo-Gothic style of the period; but its grand peculiarity was the spire—a lanthorn, resembling that of St. Nicholas' Church in Newcastle. Doubtless, purists in architecture could find abundance of fault with the work; yet the men of Alnwick, belonging to the generation now passing away, regarded this tower as the chief ornament and wonder of the town. How, when a boy winding my way to school up the steep of Pottergate, did I gaze with affection and admiration on this beautiful tower crowning the crest of the hill! and I cannot help denouncing the ruthless men who robbed it of its glory. There were high winds in the winter of 1812, which, say the Common Council, damaged the tower and made

the upper part unsafe; and therefore they ordered that the spire be taken down and the upper part finished with an open battlement as before, and four corner turrets and vanes. But the reason for the demolition was insufficient, as the damage could have been completely repaired; and plans were laid before the body both by Mr. Henry Hunter and my father, shewing that it could be done; but jobbery seems to have been in the ascendant; and this beautiful spire was pulled down by order. From an architectural drawing, made by my father, I am able to present a view of this tower, as it was before it was destroyed in 1812. (*Plate IX., Fig. 1.*)

NINE YEARS' LEGAL WAR—ENDING IN THE LOSS OF THE FREEHOLD AND ROYALTIES OF THE TOWN'S MOOR.

Prior to 1750, the borough of Alnwick had to a considerable extent freed itself from feudal bondage; and, during at least a century and a half, exercised the rights of proprietorship over Alnwick Moor. No doubt these freedoms from baronial oppressions had been gained gradually, just as the great barons themselves had achieved deliverance from the arbitrary exactions of royalty. The only privileges the earls of Northumberland enjoyed from the moor, during that century and a half, was the right to waifs and strays; but they could not take even building stones from the moor, without a license from the Chamberlains.

When Hugh Smithson became earl of Northumberland and fixed on Alnwick Castle as his northern seat, the town, as we have seen, was a recognised corporation, and its public affairs were to a great extent governed and influenced by the Four-and-Twenty, who were then its principal inhabitants. The baron had little property in the town itself, and no great extent of land in the parish, beyond his demesne and parks; there was then therefore a number of landed proprietors in and around Alnwick. To the new baron, a keen, shrewd, business man, an independent corporation close to his castle would seem an intolerable nuisance, which must be abated, if not entirely put down. Having none of that traditional kindly feeling, which many of the old Percy Lovaines entertained towards the town, with which they had for centuries been connected; he could set to work with less reluctance to destroy the corporation or lessen its importance. Possibly among the intricate net-work of feudal law there might be meshes to catch part at least of what was sought; still there was no chivalry, no conservatism, no reverence for the order and well-being of society in trying to overturn institutions to which time had given a sanction, and to wrest property from a public body who had enjoyed it for a long period.

The first notice of the coming storm appears in the corporation accounts; August 28 1753—"Paid the Reckoning at Mr. Hindmarsh's when the Chamberlains were inspecting the papers relating to the Town Moor 5s. 6d;" and the storm raged



POTTERGATE TOWER AS IT WAS IN 1812.

on for nine years, and swept away in its course some of the valuable privileges of the town. Before entering into law the Common Council took the opinion of eminent counsellors; and anxious to avoid expensive litigation they submitted their case for an opinion to the earl. This, however, was useless. A compromise was attempted in 1755; for on May 1st we have "paid the Reckoning at the Angell at a meeting of the Chamberlains and Mr. Thynne about proposals for an accommodation with the earl 8s. 6d." This also failed to lull the storm.

The grounds, in which the earl based this aggression on the town, are stated in a case submitted by him to counsel.

He claims the soil and royalties of Alnwick Moor, because a grant, in the reign of James I., under which the Percy family held the barony and manor, included all royalties and mines, and expressly the coal mines within the Borough of Alnwick—because a lease in Queen Elizabeth's time was granted, at the will of the lord, to Roger Smith and the Burgesses of Alnwick of the coal mines *infra villam et campos de Alnwick*, within the township and fields of Alnwick, at the yearly rent of £6 13s. 8d.—because markets and fairs, tolls and wastes of the town, and all other royalties belong to him—because Alnwick Moor is a large waste ground, in which common of pasture and fireboot were granted by the De Vescys, subject to the payment of 2s. yearly for depasturing during the fence month—because courts are held by him in Alnwick, and one at Twinlaw on the boundary of the moor, which the borough men attend as a jury, when the boundary is rode by them with the bailiff of the lord of the manor and new made freemen—because the freemen have no charter nor jurisdiction—because that at two courts of survey held by commission from the earl, in 28 Eliz. and 12 James I., the jury, who were Boroughmen of Alnwick, found that the Burgesses had common of pasture and turbary only within the waste ground or forest of Aydon—because the duke of Somerset, who married the heiress of the earl of Northumberland, was only tenant for life, and during his possession of 66 years, it is apprehended, many great omissions happened in respect of the care of the rights of the lord, the borough enclosing part of the Moor, and letting the same to tenants, and giving licenses to work coal mines and dig quarries of stone, and insisting they had a right to do so—because the herdsmen of the moor, who is commonly sworn at the lord's court, gave notice to the bailiff of waifs and estrays—and because the burgesses petitioned King James I., in the name of the Bailiff and Burgesses of Alnwick, praying to be incorporated under the name of the Bailiff and Burgesses.

In reply to this, the Common Council state:—

That the Burgesses are a Corporation by prescription, and long before 1670 were in possession of the soil, herbage, &c., of Alnwick Moor—they plead the act of limitations of 32 Henry VIII., and the act of 21 James I. limiting actions—they have a Common Seal, which has been set to leases, and was used in the time of Edward IV.—they are strangers to the demise of the coal mines to Roger Smith and the Burgesses, but, if any such lease was made, they apprehend it would extend only to coal mines on or under the enclosed lands within the manor, and not to any part of Alnwick Moor, for the word *campus* means an enclosed field, which would be contradictory to calling the moor a waste; there were other collieries besides those in Alnwick Moor, and it can be proved, that coal mines have been worked within the *fields* of Alnwick by the respective owners of freeholds—they deny that the bailiff rode the boundary with the freemen, or that a court was held at Twynlaw, but the bailiff met the burgesses at Twynlaw, the boundary of the moor and of the barony

towards the west, and merely called over the names of some of the freeholders within the Borough—and they assert that they used no greater liberties than they did before the death of Josceline the eleventh Earl.

Only the first stage of this case went before a court; the first bill of the earl sought a discovery of deeds, its great object being to compel the production of the three grants of the De Vescys to the burgesses; and this question was tried in July, 1757. The Common Council had felt the importance of the crisis, and they engaged a great array of legal talent on behalf of the town; they had the Attorney-general, Mr. Perrott, Mr. Wilbraham, and Mr. Hoskyns. On the side of the earl appeared the Solicitor-general. The defence was that the corporation had possession of their property more than 60 years, and it was pleaded that the statute of 32 Henry VIII. only allows 60 years to writs of right. The Attorney-general remarked—"At the same time when the grants were made, great lords acted as princes and like them set forth dominion, as the king did in his grant to his burgesses of Newcastle. The prerogative then ran high, and every corporation was then forced to renew their grants, and great lords followed the same course. These bills would greatly affect the northern estates and counties, and would be dangerous, because as they have taken confirmations out of greater caution, the inspection of their titles for flaws in order to have them set aside in a court of equity, would be very unjust and unreasonable." The judges, however, set aside the plea of the corporation and granted an injunction, on the ground that the corporation had not pleaded that they were seized in fee, and because it is admitted that the corporation holds under a rent, and that the earl was lord of the manor, and therefore no adverse possession. "All this, however," it is remarked, "was merely technical, and did not touch the real question at issue."—*Squire's MS. notes.*

The case now became more complicated; the charters had to be produced and subjected to legal criticism. With what keenness the earl pursued his object may be seen from the trivial character and inconsistency of some of his own pleas, and from the inaccuracy of others; but the decree had gone forth—*Carthago delenda est*—and no stone was left unturned to accomplish it. The public records were searched, and a document discovered, which operated favourably for the earl, as it gave a plausible argument to his emissaries within the Common Council, and frightened the more timid.

An amended bill was produced by the earl on 8th March, 1758, which besides reiterating his former arguments and setting forth the De Vescy charters, adduces the verdict of a jury, at the Northumberland Assizes on the 20th of Queen Elizabeth, finding that there had not, from time immemorial, been a custom for the Burgesses to dig and take away coals from Alnwick Moor; he says "it is pretended that the borough is an ancient Borough, by name the Chamberlains and Common Council of Alnwick, whereas" they presented to his ancestors successive petitions, wherein "the Burgesses were desirous to acknowledge and allow their dependence, and to

seek protection of the lords of the manor and Borough, as they are now to shake off every mark of dependence on and subordination to the said seignior;” in a petition on 29 April, 1592, “they style themselves his Lordship’s poor Burgesses; and in another under their Common Seal they describe themselves, as the now Burgesses of his lordship’s town of Alnwick, and complain that they had been traduced and wrongfully accused of not holding his lordship to be chief lord of the town of Alnwick, nor themselves his lordship’s Burgesses;” he claims from grants of the crown and admission of the Burgesses, that his bailiff “ought to be the chief officer and the person of greatest preeminence and authority in the government of the Town and Borough.”

The cloven foot more fully appeared in this amended bill; the destruction of the corporation was aimed at. In their further answer the Common Council vindicate the claim of the town to be a corporate body; the Chamberlains, they shew, have from time to time been named as commissioners, together with the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and sheriff of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the bailiffs of Morpeth, in Acts of Parliament for roads; they know nothing of the address to James I., and remark in reference to humiliating expressions said to have been used by the burgesses in former times—“If any such petitions were so presented, wherein the corporation or the inhabitants represented themselves in such abject or dependent state, such representation was owing to the arbitrary behaviour of the ancestors of the earl.” They might have shewn, however, that more degrading expressions still had been used by earls themselves at a later date, when seeking favours from the king and from men in power. The earl had lately claimed the streets of the town as waste ground, but the Common Council say, that they belong to the owners of the adjoining houses, who had repaired their fronts to the crown of the causeway; the moor was never waste land; and they add “there neither is nor was (since the time of the De Vesey grants) any waste grounds or common belonging to the manor except, there being several publick roads within the manor, there is on each side of most of such roads between the roads and the adjacent inclosures some void ground lying open, which may be sometimes used as common; and they apprehend that the same was formerly the property of the owners of the adjacent lands now inclosed, and was by such persons on inclosing their lands many years ago, when land was of small value, and the roads were very bad, left open for the convenience of travellers, in order that they might have the opportunity, by the width of the roads, to avoid sloughs and holes therein, but which width is not become necessary by reason of great improvements made therein under several Acts of Parliament.” They represent that the Market place was rode round by the freemen yearly, and that the soil and ground belong to the town; the Shambles were kept in repair by them, and the old and new crosses built by them; they shew that the stewards and auditors of former earls were cognisant of and consenting to the letting of stints on the

moor, the digging of limestones, &c., and that even the duke of Somerset received from them a license to get freestone on the moor; before the death of Josceline, they let the collieries; they inclosed land from the moor in 1699, and let such land in 1711 to one of the duke of Somerset's bailiffs on a lease; they shew, moreover, that the duke of Somerset was careful of his rights, and entered upon expensive suits to defend them. In reply to the verdict in 1577 they say, they know nothing of it; but if such verdict was given, "it might be by reason, that the judge might be of opinion, that the defendants could not prescribe for or claim any easement or profit appendant of the said land in the soil, in which they claimed a right or interest, or for other reasons which do not at this distance of time appear."

Arguments for and against the earl's claims were raised from different constructions of the De Vescy charters; the first grants *communam pasturam*, which is false Latin, and ought to have been *communem pasturam* or *communiam pastura*; the earl contended for the latter reading, which would mean common of pasture, but the corporation for the former, a common pasture, which they say is descriptive of the lands themselves intended to be passed, rather than of common pasture on any lands; and they reason "that these grants, as they are deeds of ancient times, ought rather to be construed, as they and their predecessors have from time to time enjoyed such rights and privileges, and as the corporation of Newcastle referred to in these writings, now enjoy the soil and ground, as well as the herbage of their moor." Already it has been explained that this moor was the common property of the Saxon population of Alnwick; and that the grants of the De Vescys should therefore be regarded more as confirmatory of ancient than as giving new rights; and viewed in this light, this moor was the property of the town, and the *common feeding place* of the cattle of the inhabitants.

The chief argument, however, in favour of the earl's claims was derived from the third grant, which "for the liberty they are to have in Haydene in the forbidden month with their animals they shall give to us and our heirs yearly two shillings;" implying, as was supposed, that prior to this period, the burgesses were restrained from using their right of common during the fence month, and that therefore they were not owners of the soil. Two shillings annually have from time immemorial been paid to the baron; but this was formerly regarded and collected as a *Quit rent*; and doubts might be raised as to whether this rent was the same as that imposed by William De Vescy, since it was paid yearly, while that for the fence month was payable half-yearly. Another and more forcible objection was taken to the earl's argument; there is a distinction made in the two first grants between Haydene and the Moor of Haydene; obviously they were different places, and very probably that part,

which is called Haydene, had been, at the period when the last charter was granted, still in the state of a forest; and to this portion only would the rent apply. The corporation in their answer say "that a small part of the said moor, now called Hawden Grange, may probably be the tract of land intended by the wood of Haydene in the two grants;" so that if the earl could have identified Haydene, his claims of royalty could apply only to that portion of the moor. It may be here noticed that in the charter of Henry de Percy in 1325, the distinction is kept up; for we have there mentioned "the Moor of Alnwick and Heydene;"* even at that early time Heydene itself had lost its old character of a forest. In the literal construction of the grants, it might also have been urged that, as in the third charter, a part of the moor only, from Boulton-strete to Coliergate, was reserved as a joint common for the lord and the burgesses, in which cultivation could not be made, excepting by mutual consent; therefore it was implied that all the other portions of the moor belonged to the burgesses exclusively, and could by them be cultivated.

The following opinion presents the legal aspect of the points at issue:—

1. The right to the soil and mines of the moor is much stronger for the Corporation than the Earl.

2. *Communam pasturam* and *communem pasturam* convey soil and inheritance, and when the force of all the operative words in those grants is duly considered they clearly impart in true and natural construction, the place itself and not common of pasture.

3. Ancient grants are liberally and favourably construed where long enjoyment have gone with them.

4. The 3rd. grant does not abridge the former. The rule of law is that every grant is most strongly construed against the grantor.

5. It was very common in ancient times, for Tenants to take confirmations of their titles from the Lords or the heirs of grantors rather than to enter into disputes with men in power, though they needed no such confirmations. I look upon the 2s. a year as the same in the 3rd. grant, and a redemption from power.

The disabilities will be answered by the Duke of Somerset always contesting the rights of the estate when he thought them invaded. The inquisition is slender evidence especially against persons who did not traverse it—the moor is not a waste, as it has been a separate enjoyment from time immemorial—the lease in Eliz. time does not appear to be with Haydene or Haydene Moor or Alnwick Moor.—It is no new thing for Lords of Manors to hold their Courts at any place within the Manor though not the Lord's demesne or in their own freehold. Most Courts of the kingdom are held in Inns or other public places, where the Lord has not so much as a freehold or perhaps even a small rent, and 'tis no wonder if the Burgesses concurred with the Lord in holding a Court at this memorable year, a remarkable bounder both of his manor and his property. JOHN CRASTER, Sep. 20, 1757.

After a huge amount of preliminary law proceedings, the case was set down to be heard before the Lord Chancellor; but it never went to trial. Other influences besides that of law were

* Vol. II., p. 9.—Hayden, from *hæg*, A. S., a hedge, *hæia*, mediæval Latin, a minor park in the forest for taking deer, and *den*, see Vol. I., p. 37.

summoned to drive the Common Council to surrender the town's rights. Some of the freemen were induced to raise their voices in favour of the earl. We know this from tradition, which is confirmed by "a parchment document" of 1781, wherein a party of the freemen state as a grievance, that "the Common Council had squandered large sums of money in fruitless and vexatious suits in Equity." Treachery too had crept into the Common Council; and one member has gained an unenviable notoriety for his exertions on behalf of the earl. In September, 1759, the Chamberlains met with Mr. Green and *Mr. Forster* to consider proposals of accommodation; and in November the Common Council agreed to a series of propositions, substantially the same as those ultimately adopted: on May 8th, 1760 "further proposals were approved of, and *Collingwood Forster* was sent to wait upon Lord Northumberland, and authorised to settle and adjust with his Lordship the several points, which may happen to be in difference betwixt his Lordship and the Borough." Fierce contention there was in the Four-and-Twenty at this crisis, and so excited was Thomas Strother against Col. Forster that he seized him in his arms and attempted to toss him over the Town Hall stairs; but on the 6th of March, 1762—one of the black days in the calendar of Alnwick—Articles of agreement were signed by both parties; and thus after a warfare of nine years, the public rights were surrendered and a hollow peace was concluded. *Col. Forster* had his reward; he became steward of the Baronial Courts, chief electioneering agent of the lord, and clerk of the peace for the county.

The following are the principal articles of this agreement, temporary provisions being omitted:—

That the Freemen are a Body Corporate by Prescription, by the name of the Chamberlains, Common Council, and Freemen of Alnwick. That Eight Persons out of the Common Council (which consist of twenty-four of the said Freemen, including the four Chamberlains), ought to be annually returned to the Lord's Court at or soon after Michaelmas, and four of them appointed Chamberlains by the Lord's Steward at the Michaelmas Court Leet. That the Chamberlains are and ought to be sworn at the Lord's Court Leet, before the Steward of the Court, before they enter into the execution of their office; and that all officers of the Manor and Borough of Alnwick, and of the Forest of Haydon or Alnwick Moor, ought to be sworn at the Lord's Court. That upon the death or motion of any of the Common Council, the remaining or surviving Common Council have a right to elect another or others out of the body of the Freemen, in the room of the Person or Persons so dead or removed; and to administer the oath of office to such new-elected Common Council Man or Council Men. That the Common Council hath the power to judge of the right of persons applying for their freedom, whether they have a title thereto, or not; and to admit them thereto, or reject them; and to administer the oath to such persons so admitted; but that no person, except the sons of a person being a Freeman, or dying a Freeman, is entitled to freedom, but by servitude; unless first recommended by the Common Council at the Lord's Court, and approved by the Lord's Steward. That the Freemen of Alnwick are entitled to common of Pasture upon the said Forest of Haydon, or Alnwick Moor, upon payment of the rent of Two Shillings per annum for

the liberty of depasturing their cattle thereon in the fence month : And that the Freemen of Alnwick, and Freemen's Widows, have a right to dig as well as cut peats, furzes, turves, and brushes growing thereon, for their own use ; and that the Lord and lady of the said Manor and Borough have no right to grant the Herbage or Vesture of the said Forest or Moor to their tenants holding by burgage-tenure, or any other person or persons whatsoever. That the right of the Chamberlains, Common Council, or Freemen of Alnwick, to lay pipes for conveying water to the present Pans, Wells, and Springs now used in and about the Town of Alnwick, from Alnwick Moor, and through the streets in the Town, and all the voidgrounds within the Manor ; and, for that purpose to break the soil of the said streets and voidgrounds (as heretofore done for repairing the same) be established. That no Freeholder, unless he be also a Freeman of Alnwick, hath any right or privilege whatever in Alnwick Moor : And that all Freemen of Alnwick, and Freemen's Widows, be exempted from all Toll and Stallage as well on the Market Days and Fair Days, as on other Days, according to their immemorial right and privilege. That the present inclosures, as described in the plan hereunto annexed (being part of the Forest of Haydon or Alnwick Moor) shall be established to the said Corporation, and continue to be let by and for the benefit of the said Corporation ; but that no new inclosures shall be made without the consent of the Lord and Lady of the Manor. That the soil and royalties in the Forest of Haydon or Alnwick Moor, and in the inclosures made therefrom, shall be vested in the Earl and Countess and her Heirs. That the Freemen of Alnwick, and Freemen's Widows shall have liberty at all times to get Limestones, Slates, and Freestones, in any of the present Quarries, for the use of themselves, or the use of any other Freemen of Alnwick, or Freemen's Widows ; and also in such other parts of the Forest of Haydon or Alnwick Moor, as the Lord's Bailiff of the said Borough and the Chamberlains, for the time being, or a majority of them, shall think fit, without paying any satisfaction. That the Freemen of Alnwick, and Freemen's Widows, shall have liberty at all times to dig Clay and burn Bricks in such parts of the Forest of Haydon, or Alnwick Moor, as the Lord's Bailiff of the said Borough and the said Chamberlains, or a majority of them, shall think fit, for the use of themselves or of any other Freemen of Alnwick, or Freemen's Widows ; and in like manner to take away turves, flags, whins, and wattles ; and in like manner to take away sand, gravel, clay, and marle for their own use ; and that the Freemen of Alnwick, shall be allowed to set up tents or huts upon the said Forest of Haydon or Alnwick Moor, at the Horse-races ; and that the Lord's Bailiff of the said Borough and the Chamberlains, or any two or more of them, shall have power to give the like liberty to Non-freemen.

Though the earl achieved much, he did not obtain all he sought ; the corporation was not entirely destroyed, yet its character was changed and reduced to feebleness and insignificance ; and obstructive powers were gained which prevented the town from enjoying the privilege of self-government, and retarded for a century the improvement of the moor.

TEN YEARS' CONFLICT TOUCHING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CORPORATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE MOOR.

A more exciting but less important conflict followed, not long after the hollow peace patched up in 1762. Two different questions were at issue—a change in the constitution of the borough and an improvement of the moor ; but the origin of the warfare may be traced to the same influences, which led to the loss of the ancient rights of the town. The lord of the manor had acquired a power to obstruct improvement ; and it was soon brought into

play. On August 15th, 1768, the Chamberlains and Common Council petitioned the duke and duchess of Northumberland to grant them a license to improve portions of the moor, particularly that part lying east of the stone wall, which was so obstructed with whins, that little advantage had been derived from hoeing them; but as the most effectual way to extirpate them, they proposed to plough out 20 acres yearly, which, after undergoing a regular course of husbandry for four years, were again to be laid down to grass; and all they asked for was liberty to fence these temporary inclosures. Such reasonable, nay modest propositions, could injure nobody, and took nothing away from the lord; yet this harmless scheme to increase the food of the people was rejected by the duke, who, however, proposed that he and his bailiff should have a concurrent power with the Common Council over the improvements, and in the application of the money arising therefrom. But this extraordinary demand was unanimously refused by the Common Council. The notorious Coll. Forster, agent to the duke, started other schemes for the improvement of the moor; but this artful man died before he could achieve any further mischief.

The subject was taken up by Henry Collingwood Selby, the duke's steward, who in 1777 wrote to the Chamberlains, proposing that they should apply to the duke for an improvement of the moor, and stated "the duke would be content with a little matter for his share." This opened the floodgates of contention; and war raged for ten years, during which "unnumbered woes" afflicted the borough. The Common Council, responding in 1778 to Mr. Selby's application, proposed that a given number of acres (including fifty acres which had been taken by his Grace's agents from the moor adjoining the Brislee Hills) should be accepted by him as his full share, leaving to them the freehold estate of the remainder; but to this the duke did not deign to reply. Finding that the Common Council were not disposed to make further sacrifices of public property, the duke's agents called together the several companies of freemen, and made to them proposals for the improvement of the moor, but "on conditions which were thought so completely shabby," that they were rejected by all, "not without expressions of contempt and indignation."

Another scheme was now resorted to; the cry was raised that the Common Council had misapplied the freemen's money, and that the freemen ought to have the disposal of the borough revenue. Artful was the scheme; it brought into play the passions of a prejudiced class, who ignoring the claims of the public, assumed that the whole corporate property was applicable to their own private use. Still, however, among the Common Council there were men who, holding by the traditions of the borough, regarded themselves as conservators of its rights and privileges,

and feared, if their power were destroyed, further aggressions might be made on the town's lands.

"Some little time after this," thus speaks the *Craftsman*, "you may recollect that several of you were sent for in a private manner, at different times, and in small parties, by some agents of the great man to a certain public house in the town; and then and there your minds were poisoned with artful insinuations tending to excite you to seditious and tumultuary measures;—and in short nothing was left unsaid or undone to set your hearts against your old friends the Four-and-Twenty, with divers hints and insinuations about applying to the great man at the head of the Peth, and that he would undertake your cause and fight your battles for you against the Common Council. Nay, so far did these gentry go, as to tell some of you, that the duke wanted only *twelve* of the freemen to join him, and he would overthrow the Four-and-Twenty—well did these gentry know—for the devil never wants journeymen and tools to work with—that the only way to succeed in their designs was to set one part of the freemen against the other." With such influences at work, a committee was formed, and a petition was got up from the freemen to the duke of Northumberland, praying for his assistance in the speedy and effectual attainment of their just rights and privileges. One hundred and thirteen "respectable freemen," as they call themselves, signed this petition. "Some, however," continues the *Craftsman*, "would not sign it until they were made drunk for the purpose; others were prevailed upon by strong persuasion and vehement entreaty to act contrary to what they believed to be right; some were induced by bribes, promises, and other undue means; and five or six of the parish poor were brought out of the workhouse to sign it." On the 30th of Aug., 1781, the petitioners marched down to the castle in great array, preceded by one, who carried a bag adorned with the castle arms, and containing this important petition, which they presented to the duke. Acting on his Grace's advice, the leaders of the movement drew up a statement of their grievances, called the *perchment writing*, and presented it to the Chamberlains on September 8th. In this document,

They complain that the rents from ancient estates and from inclosures have not been accounted for yearly, nor applied to their immediate benefit, but often misapplied to improper uses; a very substantial grievance, they say, is their having been deprived of the herbage and right of common in the inclosures, which have been let without the freemen's consent, and for which they have received no equivalent; they complain that they have been refused a sight of the accounts of their property, excepting in one instance, when they were reduced to the necessity of requesting it as a favour; they complain that the most indigent freemen derive no benefit from their freeledge; that large sums, it is said amounting to £1500, have been squandered without their leave in fruitless and vexatious suits at law and in equity, without the smallest probability of success; that large sums have been borrowed and repaid; that an annuity has been paid to the minister of the parish, and £8

yearly added to the salary of the Grammar School master; that £500 and more have been spent in building Pottergate tower which is useless, but which the Common Council endeavour to persuade and flatter the poor freemen is a great *beauty* and *ornament* to the town; that £100 have been spent in making a race ground; that large sums have been disposed of to soldiers, militia men, and others, by way of merry making and rejoicing; that the office of Town Clerk is an innovation, but the petitioners say "they pass over in silent contempt the very improper and insulting language made use of to the freemen, by the insignificant usurper of that office;" and they demand an inspection of all charters, grants, books, papers, and accounts. This was signed by Henry Collingwood Selby, Luke Mattison, Thomas Jamieson, Edw. Stamp, Matthew Hindmarsh, Robert Moor, Edw. Thew, Robert Rickaby, Thomas Bell, John Gibbison, Thomas Nesbit, jun., John Thew, jun., Thomas Young, Thomas Forster, John Greenhead.

A formidable attack was this, countenanced and aided by great influence; extremes met here, the great lord with the poorest of the community. The immediate object was obviously to devote more of the public property to the private use of the freemen; but the ulterior result may have been to bring under the dominion of the lord additional portions of the corporate lands. A number of the Common Council quailed under this attack; and it was agreed, in order to terminate the dispute amicably, that a case be prepared by both parties, or cases by each party, and submitted to counsel for a legal opinion; but none of the title deeds of the corporation had to be inspected by any persons employed by the remonstrants. Recovering, however, in a few days from their fit of fear, the Common Council cancelled this order. Such vacillation roused the ire of the committee, and forth came a pamphlet from them, expressing their astonishment at conduct which, they say, is "certainly marked with a most extraordinary duplicity;" and they threaten an immediate application to the Court of Chancery. It seems, however, that the committee insisted that all documents whatsoever should be submitted to their solicitor; "less they would reject with disdain as an insult to their understanding, and an affront to common sense;" and hence arose a suspicion among the Four-and-Twenty, that more was sought than a redress of grievances, and no less than the overturn of the constitution of the borough.

The Chamberlains in a printed folio replied to the catalogue of grievances; some, they say, are trifling, and some imaginary; but others relating to abuses in the expenditure of the public revenue are of a very serious nature; and though they do not look upon the remonstrants as the most respectable part of the freemen, yet, desirous of doing impartial justice to all, and of preventing similar abuses, they have submitted the remonstrance to gentlemen learned in the law for their opinion. From this period we may date the beginning of that wonderful propensity the freemen have shewn to scribble and circulate anonymous, abusive, satirical broadsides, verses, and pamphlets, which has continued down to the present day. During this ten years' conflict, the press was kept busy with offensive and defensive letters, folios,

and pamphlets; and even ballads, lugubriously bewailing the sorrows of the poor freemen, were sung in the public streets. But there came forth one literary knight with a closed visor, who did more execution than all the rest. Under the sobriquet of *An Old Craftsman*, there appeared a series of seven letters addressed to the freemen, in which he freely criticised the proceedings of the castle and of the committee of the freemen. Being well acquainted with the history of the borough, and with the characters of the parties, both secret and open, engaged in the conflict, he laid bare the hidden plots, and exposed the hollow pretences by which the freemen were misled; in a rough but trenchant style, now sarcastic and now denunciatory, and then in a calmer but still vigorous manner, he examined the grievances set forth in the parchment writing. He had been denounced by the committee as "the insignificant usurper of office;" but he now had his revenge; and his accusers must have smarted beneath his sarcasms. The writer was Robert Richardson, an attorney, the clerk of the corporation; and he had been engaged to perform this work by the Chamberlains; for in the accounts for 1761, we have

Paid for printing 440 copies of a letter signed *An Old Craftsman* addressed to the freemen, being written by the order of the Chamberlains, and with the privity of several of the Common Council for the purpose of quieting the minds of the discontented freemen and thereby preventing a threatened suit in chancery, by explaining several matters complained of by them and endeavouring to set them right in others of which they had conceived false notions or in which they had been misled.

The printing of these letters cost in all £18 9s.; and the author seems to have received £40 for his literary labour. This curious book is now rare; but it is one of the most remarkable of the literary productions of Alnwick.

This formidable combination, having failed to achieve their object by threats or by compromise, filed a bill in chancery on May 27th, 1782, against the Common Council, in which were reproduced the charges in the *parchment writing*, with this addition, that the Common Council had given a large subscription to the making of a public road. The insurgents were fully prepared for war, as they had a year before this time retained five of the most eminent counsellors to conduct their case. But after subpoenas were served on the Common Council and others, another attempt was made for an accommodation, coupled this time with schemes for the improvement of the moor. The suit was therefore suspended. A letter from H. C. Selby, dated September 17th, 1782, informs us that a deputation from the Four-and-Twenty and the committee were appointed to wait on the duke and lord Percy for their consent to this improvement; and he concludes in the following grandiloquent words:—"This being done I will venture to say will operate very considerably in promoting an immediate cessation of hostilities between the Belegent powers and in all human probability may be the happy

presage of a friendly and lasting reconciliation between the haughty Parent of our little state and her freeborn generous but affectionate sons." Fine writers they were in those days!

Many meetings were held by both parties, and after much squabbling, proposals were at length agreed to for a reform of the constitution. H. C. Selby, as agent of the duke, sent on November 4th, 1782, his Grace's proposals for the improvement of the moor; and these, by order of a majority of the Four-and-Twenty, were submitted by the Chamberlains to the trades or companies for the opinion of their members. A poll was taken on November 22nd, 1782; and the votes were, for the proposals 139, against them 68. Somewhat more than one half of the freemen thus sanctioned the duke's scheme. We have seen how wretchedly in some cases the Common Council were misled; we may now judge with what amount of wisdom or folly the mass of freemen would dispose of corporate property. It is, however, creditable to the Cordiners that a majority of them were against the proposals. Let us therefore see what they were:—

The duke offers propositions as an outline towards the cultivation of that large and valuable tract of *waste ground*, which in the whole contains upwards of 3300 acres. The two farms, the Freemen Hill and Far Moor House, are to continue inclosed, and to be let by the Four-and-Twenty and Aldermen or deputies from each company, for the exclusive benefit of the burgesses; they contain 650 acres. A part of the inner moor of 550 acres is first to be cultivated, from time to time, and as it is improved to be laid down again to pasture; 50 years will be required to cultivate the whole of this portion of 550 acres. The Intake and Herd's Close containing 54 acres to be laid down to grass and enjoyed in common by the freemen. The land west of the Stocken Burn and contiguous to the Duke's Park, about 215 acres are to remain in their present state for the lord and the freemen. The duke is to have 87 acres of the inner moor, which he will plant with trees to beautify the place and afford shelter; and he also reserves the right to plant 10 acres in clumps, which are again to be thrown open to the moor when the trees are sufficiently grown. The remainder of the moor is to be enjoyed in common.

Such is the substance of these famous proposals; wonder it is that they were ever made, as they are stamped more with Quixotism than chivalry. For a *trifling consideration a great boon* was to be conferred—so said the authors of them; but was it a trifling consideration? First, at one fell swoop, away went from the corporation for ever 87 acres of the best land they had; then 215 acres more of the best land were to remain in their present state—to grow whins for ever; and then again the lord would acquire some new powers over these 215 acres, for they were to remain for *the lord* as well as the freemen. A step backward had to be taken; and 54 acres of inclosed, improved, and free land had to be made common and brought under the power of the lord; nor must it be overlooked that these proposals pronounce the whole of the farms inclosed from the moor *waste ground*; was all this a trifle?

Well, for these trifling considerations, what was the boon? The lord gave up his right to depasture his cattle on the moor,

and the inclosed lands with deer! Marvellous generosity to give up what he did not possess! The boon itself was the *trifle*; consisting of nothing more than the liberty of spending fifty years in cultivating 550 acres of the moor, or on an average of ten acres and a half yearly; and even this with the condition of restoring the whole again to the common. No claim to the soil was given by the lord; he still kept his hold of minerals; and even the freehold of the 550 acres, which had to be cultivated, was not restored to the freemen! Such proposals could not have been accepted by men free to think and act; but "the tub was thrown to the whale," for ingeniously enough they were connected with other proposals of a more popular character.

A bill was to be brought into Parliament to confirm the articles of agreement, the sales, and exchanges made by the corporation, and the division and improvement of the moor, as set forth in the duke's propositions; to regulate the inclosures; to let lands by public auction; to increase the salary of the Grammar School master to £50 yearly; to build a new free English Mathematical School, and pay masters' salaries not exceeding £100 yearly; to examine yearly the Chamberlains' accounts by the Four-and-Twenty and the Aldermen of the trades; to distribute surplus revenue among the freemen not having goods on the common; and to elect Common Councilmen, as vacancies occur by votes, taken by the Aldermen of the several trades, returned to the Common Council.—A glorious vision was conjured up to the view of the poorer class of freemen, of enjoying amongst them an annual division of the public revenue, which at that time amounted to about £395, with an estimated expenditure of £140, leaving a surplus of about £255.

A petition to the House of Commons was got up in favour of this bill, and was signed by the duke of Northumberland, Hugh baron Percy, called earl Percy, and lord Algernon Percy, and by the four Chamberlains, nine members of the Four-and-Twenty, sixty-three freemen, and three freemen's widows. The eyes of the freemen had been opened to the hollowness of the proposals, and not one-fourth of their number could be induced to accede to them; the bill was stifled. Still the projectors clung to their scheme; meeting after meeting was held to promote it till Jan., 1784, when a reference was again made to the companies; but they condemned it. Attempts were made to obtain a modification of the duke's propositions; but this too failed; and then the pretentious but delusive scheme vanished into thin air. Legal war, however, was renewed on November 28th, 1785, when "subpœnas out of chancery were served on the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty at the suit of H. C. Selby and others;" an answer was given by the Common Council; but on August 18th, 1787, the bill was ordered by the court to be dismissed with costs, which amounting to £51 ls. 4d., were in 1791 paid by H. C. Selby and others.

Thus ended the famous ten years' war; the attempt to alienate more of the corporate property signally failed; but in the course of the struggle much evil was done, in disturbing friendly relations, in wasting time, energy, and money, and in retarding improvement.

No one was benefitted, save Robert Richardson the clerk. The cost to the corporation was near to £500, and probably a larger sum was spent by the opposite party; and thus more than £1000 was cast into the bottomless pit of law, without achieving the slightest good to the town.

SECOND TEN YEARS' WAR, FOR THE REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The corporation is like a volcanic mountain, beneath which a fire is always burning; volumes of smoke frequently issue from its summit or from cones on its side; but at distant and uncertain intervals, the whole mountain is in active eruption, sending forth fire, smoke, ashes, and lava streams. One such eruption in 1762 destroyed for ever fair fields and vineyards; another in 1785 was even more violent, shaking the mountain to its base, but effecting less mischief. During the subsequent quarter of a century, there was comparative repose; but in 1815 the smouldering fire broke out again and raged for another ten years. In this new conflict there was less complication; the lord of the manor took no part in it; nor did the question of the division and improvement of the moor enter as an element of strife. The leaders were a different class of men from those who figured in 1785; but more of French philosophy and brute force were brought into the struggle.

The first heaving of the mountain was seen at the meetings of the companies at Michaelmas, 1815, when an anonymous letter was read, urging the freemen to take law proceedings against "their servants, the Four-and-Twenty." "Is it not," asks the writer, "an immutable truth that all political power resides in and arises from the people;" but he makes no attempt to show that the two hundred and thirty or forty freemen of Alnwick were the people. This is something like an imitation of "we the people of England, the three tailors of Tooley street." A committee appointed by the freemen sent on November 7th, 1815, a letter to the Common Council, complaining that the freemen derive little advantage from the lands in tillage belonging to Alnwick Moor, and demanding information on the state of their affairs. So far was this complied with, that the clerk of the corporation, by authority of the Chamberlains, met the aldermen of the several companies, and submitted to them the accounts of the three preceding years. But this did not satisfy the committee, who were highly indignant that "they, the representatives of the freemen, were treated with contempt."

The committee rose in their demands; and on February 28th, 1816, submitted to the Common Council a new constitution, which permitted the existing members to retain their offices during their lives, and provided that vacancies as they occurred should be filled up by the votes of a majority of the freemen; but the powers of this body were to be controlled by meetings of

the freemen, without whose sanction suits at law could not be commenced, new buildings erected, property purchased, sold, or exchanged, nor money given in donations; the accounts were to be audited by the Four-and-Twenty and the aldermen; and the surplus revenue distributed yearly among the poor freemen and freemen's widows residing in Alnwick. The constitution was substantially the same as that produced in 1785. The Common Council replied that, as guardians of the rights and privileges of the freemen, they could not admit of any encroachment on the established constitution of the borough; and recommended the committee not thoughtlessly to cause them to expend the revenues of the borough in suits of law.

Rhetoric and oratory flourished among the freemen at this time; speeches were made and pamphlets printed to enlighten the public as to the merits of the struggle and to cast odium on the Common Council; but the writers and speakers displayed little knowledge of the subject. None of the productions on either side was marked by the ability and information which give a value to the *Old Craftsman* even at the present day. We may, however, cull a few of the flowers of rhetoric with which these productions were adorned, to show the temper and taste of the leaders of the freemen. They tell the freemen they have been led hoodwinked into captivity; their rulers are tyrannical and venal, and have assumed the tone and deportment of tyrants—the Four-and-Twenty are self-constituted, their government intolerant and arbitrary, directly opposed to justice and humanity, and productive of the greatest abuses, their administration is pernicious and improvident, they have exercised a prescriptive tyranny and injustice, they are a little junto miserable in point of talent, their misappropriation of property is cruel, their total detention of it villanous, their sophistry puerile, and their inhumanity cold-blooded. Yet the men thus fiercely stigmatised were generally honourable men, and as respectable in character and intelligence as the body of the burgesses could then produce. Conscientious too they were in their resistance of popular clamour, for they were guided by the opinions of men learned in the law. From the experience of the past, they had a salutary fear of aggressions; and they were unwilling to break in upon prescriptive usage lest the power of the corporation should be weakened and the remaining privileges of the town thereby endangered; no high appreciation had they of the leaders of the movement, and while believing that the general management of the borough affairs would not be improved by men elected at uproarious meetings, they feared that so anomalous a body as the freemen, when entrusted with power, might eventually barter away the property and privileges of the town. The subsequent conduct of the malcontents lent some force to those objections.

Not long after this, a favourite method among the freemen for

redressing grievances—brute force—was brought into play. On the 8th of December, 1817, they assembled in a tumultuous manner in the Town Hall, and forcibly turned out the borough servant who had it in charge, broke open the belfry, and rung the town bell, “contrary to the express orders of the Chamberlains.” In like manner they assembled on the 10th; and after again breaking open the belfry and ringing the town bell, they held a meeting. Next day they proceeded to other acts of violence; they broke open the Town Hall vault and put on another lock; they issued a handbill informing the public that the vault was to be let by them; and on the following day they let it to one of the freemen. Through pretence of holding a meeting, they obtained possession of the Town Hall key, and refused to return it; and the Chamberlains were obliged to cause the door to be forced open. These insurgents appointed officers of their own and forged the borough seal; and on the 9th December issued mandates to the Chamberlains to deliver up to them the town’s papers, books, and cash; on the 13th they sent a dismissal in writing, sealed with the forged seal, to every individual member of the Four-and-Twenty. The spirit of wanton mischief seized some of these lawless men; and at night they assembled in great numbers on the moor, and persisted in setting fire to the whins and perpetrating other evils. All this seems like a burlesque, or materials gathered for a chapter in a sensational novel; yet the leaders were loud in their vauntings regarding freedom, enlightenment, reason, and philosophy.

Before commencing law proceedings the committee of the freemen took counsel’s opinion; but portions of that opinion, unfavourable to their cause, were by the select committee concealed from the general committee of the freemen, who, thus misled, plunged into law; and early in 1818 filed a bill in chancery, charging the Common Council with misapplying and wasting the revenues of the borough and mismanaging its affairs, and calling upon them to give an account of the property in their custody. To this the Common Council replied, and furnished a copy of their accounts for the preceding fifty years. Besides this, the Common Council brought an action against John Allison for the recovery of the Town Hall vault, of which forcible possession had been taken.

After a great waste of money, the freemen were defeated in both actions, which were dismissed with costs. They had no chance of success; the same questions were tried in 1785, under more favourable circumstances. Time had strengthened the position of the Common Council; for their management, though far from being faultless, yet when judged from the stand-point of the freemen, had improved during the preceding quarter of a century. There still remained the anomaly of a body of Twenty-Four, who originally acted for the whole community, filling up by their own votes,

vacancies in their body; but there was also remaining the anomaly of some 240 or 250 freemen enjoying privileges which formerly belonged to the whole town.

The taxed costs of the chancery suit amounted to £230 6s.; but the real leaders had skulked away from the responsibility of their own deeds; and men who had comparatively little to do with the proceedings, but whose names appeared in the bill, were called upon to pay these costs. No movement was made by these leaders to help the victims of their folly; and, in consequence, William Mattison and John Young, two of the plaintiffs, were arrested and sent to prison. The Common Council were not the inhumane, cold-blooded tyrants their opponents depicted:

"1825, July 12—At a meeting of the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty of the Borough of Alnwick, the hardship of Mr. William Mattison and Mr. John Young was taken into consideration, they being now in prison for the taxed costs of the late suit in chancery, and deserted by the other freemen, who were engaged in the said suit, and being convinced that the whole of the said costs cannot be come at, have come to the humane determination to remit one moiety of the taxed costs, the said William Mattison and John Young paying the whole expenses incurred since." There were fifteen at this meeting, ten of whom signed the order; but the minority entered the following protest:—"We the undersigned cannot allow the foregoing order to stand on record in the book without most solemnly protesting against it, as being in our opinion contrary to the established constitution of the Borough and also unjust. J. Gladstains, John Gibson, Ralph Smith, Thos. Lindsay, John Lindsay."

A public subscription was made to enable the victims to pay the other half; members of the Common Council out of their private funds gave £22 10s. 6d., two members giving £5 each. One of the most prominent and violent leaders of the freemen gave 2s. 6d.!

REFORM OF THE CORPORATION.

Fortunatus Dwarris, as commissioner under the Queen's warrant, on the 29th of October, 1833, examined into the affairs of the corporation at a public meeting in the Town Hall. No little astonishment and amusement were excited when John Lindsay, the corporation clerk, disputed with the commissioner the authority of the Queen to make such inquiry; but the fun was stopped by the interference of the Chamberlains, who stated that the Common Council were ready to afford every facility to the inquiry.

A dark day it was to the freemen when the news came that Alnwick was placed in schedule B of the Corporation Reform Bill; it fell like a thunderbolt amongst them, frightening out of their propriety for a while, lord of the manor, Chamberlains, Common Council, and most of the freemen. Long and loud had been the cry of the freemen for reform, and now when it came they shrunk from it with horror. Alnwick would, according to this bill, have enjoyed that important element of modern civilization, the power of self-government; the anomaly of what is called self-election would have been swept away, and

replaced by a true representation through the suffrage of the community; the town, too, would have had a magistracy of its own; a representative body, consisting of mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen would have been created, who would have managed the affairs and property of the town, defended its rights and privileges, and given effective expression to public opinion. Public meetings were held, at which petitions were adopted to both Houses of Parliament in favour of this important bill; John Lambert, Robert Busby, and Thomas Dodds appeared as enlightened advocates of the measure; and along with a few other freemen I had the honour of supporting it. But those who clung to monopolies and antiquated abuses were active and urgent in seeking the withdrawal of Alnwick from the bill. Meeting after meeting was held among the freemen for this object. A sense of common danger reconciled bitter enemies. Cordially did the freemen unite with the Four-and-Twenty whom they formerly abused; for a while the lambs lay down with the wolves. Happy family! if this peace had continued. Petitions were sent by them to Parliament, praying that Alnwick should be struck out of the bill; they could not understand the reason why it should be there; they sent no members to Parliament and never interfered with politics; they had no duties to perform excepting managing their own funds for the benefit of the freemen; and yet they say they were a corporate body before Norman times and are a corporation of Anglo-Saxon origin; and they view their being put in the bill as a punishment, and they plead they have committed no crime. The wailings, however, of the distressed freemen would have commanded little sympathy or respect from our legislators; but there was one more bitterly hostile than even they were to a reform of the corporation. Hugh duke of Northumberland, brought all his power to bear against it; and it was even asserted that fifteenth-sixteenths of the borough belonged to him! Lawyers he employed to appear against it before the bar of the House of Lords; and through his influence Alnwick was struck out of the bill by our hereditary legislators. For this there was no sufficient reason, since Alnwick was as much entitled to enjoy the benefits of reformed corporate government as Morpeth, Berwick, and similar boroughs. The House of Commons took the same view; and when the amended bill was sent down from the Lords to the Commons, Alnwick was again inserted in the bill; but it was a second time struck out by the lords; and such was the influence of the duke, that it was supposed the whole bill would have been overthrown if Alnwick had been retained in it. The ministry yielded the point; and Alnwick, the little Jonah, was cast into the sea to save the ship. The history of the transaction furnishes a striking illustration of class legislation.

About five-and-twenty freemen stood firm in the advocacy of

enlightened corporate reform, notwithstanding abuse and persecution from the monopolists, who indeed went so far as to pass votes of censure on these friends of freedom and improvement, and even to threaten them with disfranchisement.

Wild with joy on their triumph the freemen met and resolved to present an address of thanks to the duke; and on his arrival at Alnwick on September 16th, 1835, they marched in procession, accompanied by music and banners to the South gate, and there presented their address, which was graciously received. It was a great occasion for the freemen, and they were made jolly. Refreshments were furnished out of the corporate funds, "the freemen," it is naïvely said, "being very desirous about it."*

DIVISION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE MOOR.

The revolution in 1762 doomed Alnwick Moor to grow whins, to be cut up with quarries, pit heaps, and clay pits, to be marshy in some parts, and to produce useless weeds in others, for nearly ninety years; because power was yielded up to the lord of the manor, which enabled him to obstruct improvement. Repeatedly was a proposal made for improvement; but always with the same reply—the freemen must buy the privilege at a large price. The lord's real interest in the moor, beyond the claims he had to part of the minerals, was however small, and its value scarcely appreciable; he could put no cattle thereon; he had no forest there for the chase, no park for his deer; he might dig turves and cut whins for his own use; and there ended the rights acquired by these articles. Yet the moor was cruelly treated; servants of the lord might be seen mercilessly paring off the turf and carrying away soil from the moor, and cutting up the surface by carts and traversing it where no roads were; illegal acts surely since they destroyed the vesture which belonged, even according to the articles, to the freemen. In 1813 when complaints were made by the Chamberlains against such aggressions, Sir D. W. Smith, the duke's chief commissioner, sent a threatening reply—"If you oblige," says he, "his Grace to revive the latent chancery suit upon which the agreement was projected you must abide by the consequences; as he has been advised never to compromise the matter should it be reagitated, but to await the decision of that court for the restoration of his rights and of the lands taken from his Forest of Aydon by the corporation of Alnwick;" but though the Chamberlains, Ralph Annett, George Embleton, and Edward Thew sent a manly remonstrance, the aggressions were continued. Legal remedies sometimes prove

* John Lindsay, the clerk, was intensely vehement against the corporation reform bill, and curiously enough was for a brief period transformed by the freemen into a hero; by his will dated July 26th, 1836, he bequeathed "a silver teapot, sugar basin, and cream ewer, subscribed for and presented to me by the freemen for what they considered service done by me," upon trust, to permit the senior Chamberlain for the time being to have the use of them.

worse than the disease, so expensive and doubtful in result is our English law; and hence wealthy men can sometimes transgress with impunity. As the lord's rights were honorary rather than profitable, equity and common sense demanded that when an increasing population made it needful that every part of England should be economized and grow food for the people, mere powers of obstruction should be swept away, and the real profits enjoyed by lords on commons should be valued and paid for accordingly. In 1803 the Common Council sought permission from the duke to improve the moor in certain proportions, and lay these down again to common—a plan which in no way injured the lord—yet this was refused. Again in 1810 the same object was sought—but the lord would allow improvement only on the conditions contained in the bill of 1784. Quixotism had not entirely succumbed before the genius of Cervantes.

This question was more fully gone into in 1829, when the Common Council, at the request of the freemen, applied to the lord for a division and improvement of the moor; and on a reply being given that the duke would refer the terms offered to his law officers, the Common Council consulted Richard Preston and Hopper Williamson, eminent counsellors, as to the proportion of the moor they should offer to the lord. Richard Preston said, "as the rights of the duke are rather honorary than productive of profit, including among them the power of giving to the freemen the privilege of having the full and complete ownership, &c., I cannot form an accurate opinion of the equivalent, which ought to be given for a release of his rights." Hopper Williamson said, "In the course of 40 years experience I never knew more than one-sixteenth given to the lord for his rights. There is no ground on which the lord can claim more than the usual quantity in the case of Alnwick. The matter is one of bargain. The difference between a forest and a common or waste seems under the circumstances rather nominal than substantial; it rests with the lord himself to appreciate this *valueless franchise*." After a due consideration of these opinions and a reference to the corporate companies, the Common Council offered to the duke one-sixteenth of the moor as his share—the price to be paid to him for giving up his power of obstructing improvement. His answer is historically important as shewing, under what pretences lords of manors endeavoured to absorb into their own estates portions of the ancient lands of the people:—

Alnwick, 6th May, 1829.

GENTLEMEN,—The duke of Northumberland has returned to me your letter of the 28th ult., and desires me to express his regret that he cannot agree to the measure proposed to him by the Four-and-Twenty in your letter, as His Grace has often been advised on authority he cannot doubt that whenever he consents to the enclosure of Aydon Forest he has, as lord, a right to and might claim one third part thereof.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

D. W. SMITH.

George Turner, John Lindsay, William Baird, Andrew Bolton, Esquires, Chamberlains of the Borough of Alnwick.

To this monstrous proposal no reply was given! but on the 16th June, 1829, a letter was received by the Chamberlains signed by D. W. Smith, Thomas Buston, and Wm. Laws, commissioners of the duke, in which another proposal was made, viz., that the duke would take one-fifth of the moor for his share, but clogged with this condition—that if a portion of ground had to be sold to pay the expenses of the inclosure, he should be enabled to buy as much of it as to complete his portion of one-third of the moor. Such proposals were unanimously rejected.

Another attempt was made in 1840 to achieve the improvement of the moor—hopefully and quietly in its earlier stages; but it had not gone far before the explosive elements in the corporation were ignited, and the mountain was again in violent eruption. Mr. Luke Hindmarsh originated this attempt; and in a letter to the Common Council on November 9th, 1840, urged them to negotiate with the lord of the manor for a settlement of his claims in a spirit of concession, consistently with their views of the substantial rights and interests of the freemen. Approving of this object, the Common Council sought through the aldermen of the companies the concurrence of the freemen. Delegates by these trades were appointed to act in conjunction with the Common Council in laying before the duke the wishes of the freemen; and some companies agreed that if an act were applied for to improve the moor, the reform of the constitution should be included. The Common Council, anxious to promote improvement and if possible secure harmonious action, unanimously, on Dec. 8th, 1840, passed this resolution:—“That the opportunity be embraced of having a clause embodied (in the Act of Parliament for the division of the moor) enabling the freemen at large to fill up future vacancies in the Common Council as they shall occur.”

The Chamberlains and the freemen’s delegates met with the duke’s commissioner to discuss the terms of the division; and on the 8th of December this commissioner proposed on behalf of the duke,

That 83 acres of the inner moor and 154 acres of the outer moor, or about one-tenth of the whole be given to the lord of the manor in lieu of his claim to the soil of the remainder; that royalties and manorial rights belong to the lord, as reserved by the agreement of 1762, he paying surface damages, and that the privileges of the freemen in these royalties under that agreement be preserved to them in their share; freestone and limestone quarries, not exceeding on the whole 10 acres, are to be set out for the use of the lord and the freemen, for working which no surface damage shall be paid; the rent of 2s. is to cease; and the freemen are to have a lease for 20 years to work coals to burn lime, bricks, and tiles for the improvement. These proposals were clogged with other unwise and unnecessary conditions; for the purchase of the tithes from the duke, and to pay the expenses of improvement, it was required that there should be sold to the duke, or exchanged with him for other lands of equivalent value, 374 acres of the outer moor and 205 acres of the inner moor.

This scheme was submitted to a guild meeting of the freemen;

and the proposal to give to the duke 237 acres in lieu of his claim to the soil of the moor was agreed to; but the propositions for the sale and exchange of 579 acres more were exceedingly unpopular. The experience of the past led many to look with suspicion on any sale or exchange with the duke; others had exaggerated expectations and would not be content with less than "acre for acre" of his cultivated land for their uncultivated land; all disliked the proposal as encumbering what might have been a simple transaction; and some indeed very unwillingly acceded to any part of the scheme as giving too much to the lord of the manor in lieu of his valueless franchise; but tired of waiting for the better time coming when righteousness would reign on the earth, they endeavoured to make the best of their unfortunate position, that the moor might not any longer be doomed to comparative sterility. The guild meeting had no faith in valuations, and passed a resolution "that a fixed number of acres be specified as the value of the tithes as well as of the land to be exchanged."

One important condition the Common Council insisted should be included in the agreement—that the clay should be regarded as part of the soil and not as a royalty; for they considered it would be a serious evil to have their lands destroyed by extensive clay pits; and in this they were guided not only by their sense of right, but by the opinion of an eminent lawyer, Sir Frederick Pollock, who told them

The word royalties do s not include a right to dig for clay or brick-earth in order to make bricks, or any other right of a similar kind as gravel for roads, lime for manure, &c.; if a division take place, the lord could not therefore claim to dig for clay in the part assigned to the Burgesses, and the clay pits would pass to them; he thinks indeed that the lord is limited to what is required for his own use, and has not power and is not entitled to let or lease the brick kilns, &c., to non-freemen for general use; but he advises the freemen to settle these points by previous arrangement, and not to leave them as a matter of dispute. According to amended proposals both the clay and the brick kilns would have passed to the freemen.

After this, valuations were made, by both parties, of those portions of the moor which it was proposed to exchange; and the wide difference in the results shews how partial and uncertain are the methods by which the value of lands in such cases is estimated. Mr. William Nelson, one of the duke's agents, valued the 579 acres of the moor, at £9634 7s. 6d.; Mr. William Laws, another of his agents, at £8,591 17s. 6d.; but Messrs. Thomas Forster and Thomas Scott, the freemen's valuers, at £15,295 0s. 0d.

To meet the changed aspects of the question, proposals were made by the duke's commissioner on November 9th, 1841, which contained the following proposals in reference to the sale and exchange of the freemen's land:—

"That 205 acres of the inner moor and 375 acres of the outer moor be given up to His Grace, in exchange for all that part of the Hobberlaw estate with the newly-erected farm house and buildings, situated on the west side of the lane leading to Rugley; also all the timber growing thereon; also all the

tithes thereof; also all the tithes arising from Aydon Forest or Alnwick Moor proposed to be given to the freemen as their share thereof; also the brick and tile sheds on the moor, excepting only one field on the Hobberlaw estate, containing 6a. 1r. 30p., where the limestone quarries are now worked, with right of way thereto along the present road."

The amended proposals were discussed at conjoint meetings of the Common Council and delegates; but the old feeling of enmity had been conjured up, and all prospect of harmonious action had vanished away. It was, however, resolved to request Mr. Wm. Lowrey, of Barmoor, an able and distinguished land valuer, who was independent of both parties, "to value the subjects of exchange on both sides and to report his impartial opinion thereon." But the ire of the more violent delegates rose against this moderate treatment of the question; they withdrew from conjoint action, and sought by noisy meetings and abusive broad sheets, paragraphs, and pamphlets, to misrepresent the conduct of the Common Council and to thwart the scheme. Mr. Lowrey, on June 13th, 1842, sent the Chamberlains and delegates the following valuation:—

The Hobberlaw estate, including the tithes thereof and the wood thereon, and the tithes of that part of the moor still to be reserved to the freemen, the erection at the brick and tile work, and the annual rent of two shillings, at the sum of £8852 16s. 0d.; and the four lots of the moor, proposed to be given up to His Grace in exchange, viz.,

No. 1, 100 acres, and No. 2, 105 acres—205 acres at	-	£9184	0s.	0d.
No. 3 and 4, 374 acres of outer moor	-	£1898	15s.	0d.

£11082 15s. 0d.

The time had gone by when the Common Council could cooperate with the delegates, or trust to uproarious meetings; they therefore in a pamphlet, calm and moderate in its tone, laid their views before the freemen; and considering Mr. Lowrey's report entitled to confidence, they advised the freemen "that a distinct offer of a settlement of the proposed exchanges be made to the lord of the manor;" and to enable the freemen and freemen's widows, who coincided in this view, to express their opinion, the following memorial was prepared for their signatures:—

To the Chamberlains and Common Council of the Borough of Alnwick.—We the undersigned, being freemen and freemen's widows of the Borough of Alnwick, and feeling anxious for the division and improvement of the moor, are of opinion that the Chamberlains and Council ought to submit to the lord of the manor an offer for a settlement of the exchanges (specified in the 2nd Proposition made by His Grace's commissioner on the 9th Nov. 1841,) upon the terms of Mr. Lowrey's report, and if such offer be accepted, to accede to the other Propositions of the same date, with such modifications as they can obtain for the advantage of the freemen. That, in the event of an agreement being made with the lord of the manor, the Chamberlains and Common Council ought to apply for Parliamentary Authority, to abolish the ancient usage of self-election in the Common Council, and to establish such improvements in the constitution of the corporation as time and circumstances may have rendered expedient. We therefore request the Chamberlains and Common Council to carry these objects into effect accordingly.—Alnwick, 5th May, 1842.

The number of signatures, however, was not sufficient to induce the Common Council to proceed further with the negotiation, and the progress of improvement was retarded another decade. Doubtless the terms proposed by the lord were shabby enough; but all conditions offered were marked with a hard bargain-making character; yet in one important respect the proposals of 1840 were more liberal than those afterwards agreed to by the freemen, for the clay as part of the soil would have passed to them.

The long disputed question was revived again in 1848, and before it was settled the corporation again was in a state of violent eruption. The new impulse imparted to it is supposed to have come from the castle. Mr. Thomas Rickaby took the lead in re-opening the question. Meetings of the companies were in consequence held, and they requested the Common Council to apply to the duke for a division and improvement of the moor; and this was accordingly done on March 10th, 1841. Mr. Hugh Taylor, commissioner of the duke, in reply, requested the Common Council to state their view with regard to a division, and very properly observed, "that it was desirable to leave a certain extent of unenclosed ground for the recreation of the inhabitants and for such other beneficial purposes as may hereafter arise." Reference was again made to the several companies to ascertain their opinion as to the share which ought to be offered to the lord of the manor. Delegates were appointed by the companies to act for them; and they, besides adopting the same proportion for the lord, as was agreed to in 1840, prepared an elaborate scheme of constitutional reform; the old system was to be entirely swept away; and instead thereof, they proposed a new government, consisting of a president, two vice-presidents, and twenty-one other freemen, forming a court of aldermen, who were to be elected annually at guilds; and several other guilds of the whole body of the freemen were to be held to control and direct the management; *every alderman moreover had to receive a salary.* A great time this was for constitution-mongering among the freemen; they had caught the spirit of the Abbé Sieyès.

The Common Council entered once more earnestly on the task of achieving improvement, and appointed a committee of their body to prepare a scheme. The report of this committee, which was unanimously adopted by the Common Council, contained proposals for the division of the moor similar to those of 1840, but without any conditions for the sale or exchange of lands; and they distinctly provided, "that the right of the lord to take sand, gravel, or clay from any of the corporation land should cease;" as to the future constitution of the governing body, they proposed that the number of the Common Council be twenty-four, that they be elected for three years by freemen resident in the parish, at and above 21 years of age, by voting papers; that one-third of the number retire annually; that four

Chamberlains be elected annually by the Common Council out of their own body ; that schools, not fewer in number nor less efficient than those then in existence, be maintained for the education of the freemen's children ; that the public pants and wells be efficiently maintained ; and that these changes be obtained by Act of Parliament or royal charter. In the regulation of the moor, they proposed that 350 allotments of half an acre each be set off from the inner moor, and that every freeman and freeman's widow should have one of them ; that 100 acres of the inner moor be let on improveable leases not exceeding eight years, and at the end of the term laid down to common pasture ; that portions of the outer moor be let, and other portions planted ; that land for exercise and public recreation be set off in accordance with the usual rules of Parliament ; and that the remainder of the moor be improved as a common pasture.

Reasonable proposals were these, but the delegates denounced them ; they were not their own ; and the government under them would have been too quiet and orderly ; annual elections, frequent guilds, and the payment of the new councillors were demanded. A guild meeting of the freemen was held on 28th November, 1848, when the proposals respecting the division of the moor with the lord of the manor were carried harmoniously ; but the scheme of the delegates for the future government of the borough was brought forward in opposition to that of the Common Council ; and on a vote being taken, whether the Common Councilmen should be elected for one or for three years, 70 freemen voted for one and 68 for three years. Viewing this decision as equivalent to a vote of want of confidence, the Common Council withdrew from the negotiation, and considered that they would best perform their duty by carefully watching further proceedings, with the view of preventing the alienation of corporate property, or the adoption of plans injurious to the burgesses or to the town.

Readily did the agents of the lord enter into negotiations with these delegates ; obviously, better terms could be had from them than from the Common Council ; but the business became narrowed, and constitution-mongering had to be abandoned, for the duke would have nothing to do with new charters or special acts ; the division must be carried out under the provisions of the Commons Inclosure Act ; and hence there could be no intermeddling with corporate reform. The provision, that clay, marl, sand, and gravel should not be taken by the lord from the freemen's share, was struck out ; and the delegates meekly acquiesced. The consent of 234 freemen and freemen's widows having been obtained for the division of the moor under these conditions, the completion of it passed into the hands of an inclosure commissioner. At a meeting held by him of persons interested in it, Mr. Thos. Bell, of Newcastle, was appointed valuer ; and when the question

of roads was discussed, Mr. Robert Busby stood forward nobly in defence of public rights, and strongly objected to the blocking up of ancient roads and pathways. The commissioner determined that the freemen's share of the moor should be allotted to fifteen trustees, twelve freemen and three non-freemen, to be elected by the freemen. No less than 90 freemen and 86 non-freemen were nominated; and of those first elected, four freemen and all the non-freemen declined the honour of the appointment.

Though the Common Council made no attempt to retain power over the moor or take any part in its future management, they carefully scrutinised the instructions given to the valuer. The delegates attempted to invest the trustees and guilds with authority to test and regulate the qualification to the freelege; and with unlimited powers of borrowing money, of selling, exchanging and purchasing lands and dividing the proceeds, of granting donations, gifts, and charities, and of entering suits of law. But to such claims objection was made by the Common Council, and the powers were so modified, that the parties who obtained the management of the allotment could not interfere with the corporation, or alienate lands, or distribute money among themselves under any pretence, or enter into law save for the protection of the allotment. There was one extraordinary deviation by the commissioner from the usual course. According to the Inclosure Act, the Recreation Ground set apart for the public, should have been allotted to the churchwardens and overseers; but it was urged that the Local Board of Health could most efficiently take charge of this land; much, however, to the surprise of the public, the trustees of the freemen's allotment were appointed also as trustees of this Recreation Ground. By what singular influence this change was made is not known; but the result has been to render this Ground of but little advantage to the public. In some respects the character of the freemen was not changed. Chagrined at not achieving the transference of corporate power to themselves by legal means, brute force was again brought into play. Great masses of freemen became wild with excitement and broke into a meeting of the Common Council, held April 24th, 1850, and by violent threats and denunciations, prevented the Common Council from proceeding with the admission of young freemen. A similar riotous scene was enacted in the following year; but the Common Council afterwards adopted means to prevent the recurrence of such disreputable exhibitions.

Though onerous was the work of the improvement of the moor, the leaders of the freemen were not deterred from intermeddling with other matters; for in the full flush of their new authority, they attempted to control the action of the Common Council, but without success. Before, however, the division was completed, the new rulers felt how precarious would be their power if held at the will of the freemen. Loudly had they denounced those who would not bow to that will. The

popular tide turned against themselves, and gave them an opportunity of exemplifying their principles. The instructions to the valuer had this provision: "In the event of the present Four-and-Twenty being elected by the suffrages of the freemen, that body shall be substituted for the then trustees." Obscurely is this worded; but the freemen understood its meaning to be that if the present Four-and-Twenty were elected to be trustees by their suffrages, that then they should take the place of the trustees recently appointed. Dissatisfied with the new rulers they had placed over them, they held a general meeting on December 15th, 1851, and passed a resolution "that the Chamberlains and Common Council of the borough of Alnwick be requested to become trustees of the freemen's allotment;" 55 voted for it and 18 against it. A petition was therefore sent to the Inclosure Commissioners, signed by 200 freemen and freemen's widows, declaring their opinion that the improvement of the moor cannot be carried out satisfactorily or advantageously by the persons nominated as trustees, that they consider the Chamberlains and Common Council of the borough the proper authorities to represent them, either as trustees, or in any business connected with the borough, and they therefore beg the commissioners to call a meeting of the freemen to annul the nominations, and to nominate in their stead the Chamberlains and Common Council. To the voice of two hundred freemen the new candidates for power turned a deaf ear; they clung to their prospective offices; and the commissioners refused to attend to the freemen's wishes. It then became apparent that some of the abstract notions of the freemen could not be realised; they could not dismiss their new rulers, who were practically as much in office for life as any of the Four-and-Twenty. The incidents, however, are chiefly remarkable as exhibiting the fickle wayward character of the freemen—a characteristic which sometimes even marks the movements of the Four-and-Twenty. The hero of to-day may be the victim of to-morrow, when ignorance, caprice, or jobbery is in the ascendant.

Little interest was taken after this in the progress of the measure. The award of the valuer was confirmed on 2nd June, 1851, according to which,

A.	R.	P.	
237	0	0	were allotted to the duke of Northumberland and his heirs in full compensation for the annual rent of 2s., and for his right on the soil of the moor.
8	0	0	as a place of exercise and recreation for the inhabitants of the parish and neighbourhood.
8	0	0	as a freestone quarry.
2	0	0	as a limestone quarry; both quarries to be for the use of the duke and his heirs or for sale by them, and for the use of freemen.
92	0	32	sold to the corporation for £260.
3	1	0	sold to Robt. Straughan.
2362	3	28	awarded to trustees for the freemen.

2713 1 20

After the division was completed, improvements were commenced on the freemen's allotment; and for this purpose £5000 were borrowed, repayable in 22 years by yearly instalments of £325; 650 acres of the inner moor were drained, cleared, and fenced, and 405 of these acres have been converted into arable land. There were still left of pasture land 343 acres in the inner and 1585 acres in the outer moor. Every freeman and every freeman's widow are entitled to enjoy during their lives and whilst resident in the parish, one acre of arable land which is reckoned as one stint, and the pasturage of other two stints; all of which, however, they may let to any person, whether freeman or stalling; but these privileges are burdened with the charge of 14s. 6d. yearly for each stint, so that when the whole privilege is enjoyed £2 3s. 6d. yearly has to be paid by a freeman. The amount for such stintage, paid in 1867, was £494 3s. 1½d., which was applied to defray interest of money borrowed and towards the expense of management. On January 31, 1868, 284 acre allotments were held by freemen and freemen's widows, of which about 124 were cultivated by the holders; and about 160 let to other persons at an average rental of about £3 5s., leaving a profit of about £2 10s. to the freeman after his paying the stintage rate. Other lands amounting to 121 acres are let by the trustees at the yearly rental of £208 8s. 3½d., which is applied to defray the expenses of management. Twenty dwelling houses were then on the moor, sixteen of which had been erected by men on their allotments. In the summer of 1867 there were free-pasturing on the moor, 1419 sheep, 41 cows, 23 young cattle, and 50 horses, the whole being equivalent to 398 stints or a little more than 1½ stint for each freeman. When let a stint produces only 5s. yearly to a freeman; but there is now, as would have been said in former times "a great oppression of stock," which is therefore in but poor condition; and it is necessary for the owners to provide hay and other support for their stock usually every winter.*

Other improvements have been commenced in the present year 1868, for which £6000 have been borrowed to be cleared off with interest in twenty-five years, by an annual payment of £402 5s. 0d. This is applied to the drainage, clearing, and fencing of 780 acres of the outer and 144 acres of the inner moor; which will be divided so as to give an additional allotment of three acres to every freeman and freeman's widow.

Much of the outer moor, being high ground, attaining in one part 819½ feet above the sea level, resembles the central moorlands of Northumberland; the climate bleak, the surface rocky and bare of soil, or boggy and peaty, or growing heather. Some

* In 1851 when the whole moor was a pasture there were on it 1421 sheep, 105 goats, 53 horses, 1251 cows, or 484 stints, belonging to 195 freemen and 23 freemen's widows.

good land capable of cultivation extends southward of the Moor Gate to St. Margaret's Green; but most of the other portion can be profitably occupied only by pasturage. Though the inner moor varies in its quality, yet generally there is a good clay sub-soil; and lands on the Stobby Moor, and near the brick kilns, and in Brankspeth Howl have produced good crops of oats and turnips. Other portions, naturally inferior, have, from the freshness of the soil, yielded fair crops; but after the virgin soil has been exhausted, it will be necessary to apply manure more freely than has hitherto been done. The cultivated land was in 1867 cropped in the following manner:—273½ acres of oats, 8 acres of wheat, 2 acres of barley, 6½ acres of vetches, &c., 79 acres of turnips, 26½ acres of potatoes, and 45½ acres of grass; and the value of the produce has been estimated at £3500. Such are some of the results of the division of the moor; doubtless the community will be benefitted by the increased amount of food raised, and by the amelioration of climate from the drainage of marshy grounds; but more experience must be gained before its influence on the freemen themselves, in conducing to their physical comforts, to their success in life, and to their improved civilization, can be fairly estimated.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE CORPORATION.

The revenue of the town, small in early periods, was derived chiefly from the rents of Hesleyside, of the Bog, of Havre Banks, and of shops and pits, from admission fees to the freelege, and from stint money. In 1594 it was £29 10s. 1d., and in 1620, £34 9s.; but it was increased considerably in some years by the rents of mills and of colliery, by guild groats, and by assessments of the fellowships for schools; in 1611 it was £158 1s. 5d., in 1612 £142 8s. 1d.; but in 1613 it was only £13 6s., and in 1616 £76 7s. 5d. After that time till the end of the eighteenth century it ranged from £20 to £41 yearly.

The following statement shews the estimated revenue of 1709; the actual receipts of which year amounted to £60 10s.:—

	Boge and brod heeps	12	0	0
	Anderson's farr moor	10	10	0
	And allowed him	1	10	0
	Sniphouse stints	6	0	0
Abated 12s.	Rugley 24s., Winter 12s.	1	16	0
	Ye pitts 4s., Gallon's 2s.	0	6	0
	Mrs. Facy house	1	0	0
	Mr. Tho. Fenwicke shop	1	5	0
	Tho. Fenwicke's hatter shop	1	2	6
	The Rigg	0	10	0
		<hr/>		
		35	19	6
	Mr. Strother, seller	1	5	0
	Hesleyside	10	0	0
Y ^c renters in Y ^c Haugh.	Heifer Banks for the Clocke keeping	1	6	8

Ye pitts near Ratten Raw.	Aberwick	2	0	0
Tho. Athey's Stable at Clayport Tower.	Hoberlaw	1	10	0
	Facy Parko to pay for there stents to Ladyday, 1710	0	12	0
	Jo. Wood and Jo. Turner for the haugh besides Canogate	0	6	8
	Tho. Lindsay for Quarry hills	1	10	0
	Michael Fenwicke usually pays for liberty of whinnes	0	2	6
	Tho. Lindsay is to pay the Town per ann. at Michaelmas for the Lane near the Church	0	1	0
	John Theaker 6d. per annum for his house every year, near the Towne pitts, near Ratten Raw. Luke Hindmarsh and Townes Ridge	0	5	0

When the lands enclosed from the moor began to yield a rental the revenue increased, and amounted in 1715 to £93 15s.; in 1724 to £129 9s. 2d.; and in 1752 to £217 17s. Subsequently to the capitulation with the lord of the manor, an additional income was derived from leases of a colliery, of the brick kilns, and of butchers' shops; and in 1780 the revenue amounted to £423 2s. 6d.; but when these leases terminated it lessened, and in 1791 was £393 13s. 6d. The corporation had, however, by this time saved money, which yielded interest, and raised the revenue in 1800 to £466 8s.; from the increased value of land it sprung to £671 16s. 2d. in 1810. From 1830 to 1849 it averaged £566, and from 1850 to 1866, £623.

In the last account from November 7th, 1866, to November 6th, 1867, the revenue amounts to £681 12s. 2d., which includes the following particulars:—

Rents of lands	£	s.	d.
Rents of houses and acknowledgments	596	17	5
Admission fees to the freelege	73	7	2
Fine from a freeman	3	17	6
For the use of the Town Hall	7	7	7
	<hr/>		
	£681	12	2

This, however, is but the gross revenue, which is subject to many charges, as is shewn in the particulars of expenditure:—

Paid for charitable endowments	£	s.	d.
Repairs and improvements on farm	16	18	0
" " of houses, including the con-	47	10	0
" " version of old school rooms into a dwelling house	212	0	6
Salary of clerk	20	0	0
" borough servant	13	0	0
" clock keeper	10	10	0
Quit rents	0	14	6
Interest on money borrowed	42	10	0
Schools	333	18	3½

Celebration of Lord Warkworth's majority	7 18 9
Rates, Stationery, &c.	13 6 1½
	<hr/>
	£718 6 2

There was a balance in hand of £92 8s. 4d. ; but the corporation is in debt £1000, which was borrowed when the new schools were built ; this, however, will ere long be paid off, as not only is the expenditure freed from charges it was subject to prior to the inclosure of the moor, but also increased rentals will hereafter be obtained from the improvements made in various properties ; and we may wish, if we cannot hope, that this enlarged revenue may be wisely devoted to objects which will conduce to the welfare of the whole town.

FIG. 3.



BOROUGH SEAL.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CORPORATION CONTINUED.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INCORPORATED TRADES—MERCHANTS—
CORDINERS—GLOVERS—TANNERS—WEAVERS—SMITHS—WRIGHTS
—BUTCHERS—TAILORS—FULLERS—COOPERS—TABLE OF NUM-
BERS AND ADMISSION FEES—EFFECT OF CORPORATE PRIVILEGES.

Though at the present time every freeman of the borough is free of some trade, yet there is no necessary connection between the two franchises. Formerly some were free of the borough who belonged to no incorporated trade; for we find that in 1613, the rates imposed on freemen were levied by the constables of the respective wards on such freemen as are of *no company*. Trade associations or guilds sprung up in England not long after the Conquest; mechanics and traders being held in contempt by the Norman conquerors, combined to enable them to resist feudal oppression. One company only, that of the saddlers in London, is known to have existed in Anglo-Saxon times. But other objects besides that of defence were sought by these fellowships; they created monopolies, and assumed the power of charging what they pleased for work done and goods sold, and of fixing a price for goods bought; competition they quashed; no foreigner, — and all were foreigners who were not members of one of these fellowships—could sell goods or work in the borough or district around without their permission. They were brotherhoods, too, recognising the duty of each being his brother's keeper, and of jealously watching each other, so that the skilled or diligent should have no advantage over the dullard or sluggard; no one must catch custom by offering labour or goods cheaper than the price fixed; no one must be up early in the morning to make his purchases or sales; the early bird must not pick up the first worm; none could begin trading till the corn bell rang; no room was left open for the play of commercial genius, nor could gigantic establishments exist in those days, for every one was restricted in the number of his apprentices and hiremen, so that the labour market could not be overstocked, and the monopoly profits lessened. Sociality, however, was combined with business at their meetings, which all were compelled under penalties to attend.

In all the companies the general regulations were much alike—the spirit was the same. Each was governed by an alderman or warden and two stewards, elected yearly; but besides these the merchants had proctors, the butchers flesh lookers, the cordiners searchers and sealers of leather, and the tanners quartermasters. The sons of freemen were admissible by birthright into their fathers' trades; and every master might have two apprentices who, on the expiration of their servitude, would be entitled to their freedom on paying admission fees, and taking an oath of obedience to the orders of the trade. Sometimes persons, who had served an apprenticeship but were not freemen, were admitted as *Agreed Brothers*, on paying a composition fee, amounting in some cases to £20, but the privilege thus conferred was restricted, for it could not be transmitted either to the son or apprentice of an *Agreed Brother*. Monthly pence were paid by the members for the support of the fellowship; and all indulged in that eminently English institution, an annual dinner, which in some trades was supplied by the alderman, who had thus to pay for his honours. In 1613 there were eleven companies—the merchants, cordiners, glovers, tanners, weavers, smiths, wrights, butchers, tailors, fullers, and coopers; and more do not appear at any time. Two of these companies have become extinct; the *fullers* or *walkers* ended their days prior to 1665; and the last of the *coopers* died in 1841. The wrights still exist, but under the name of carpenters and joiners.

Merchants.—As the general regulations of the companies are much the same in all, I shall give a pretty full account of the merchants, and extract from the records of other companies chiefly such orders as have some peculiarity. This fellowship is one of the oldest; its records, which are contained in three folio volumes, commence in 1582, and are continued in an unbroken series down to the present time. It had never been large; in 1582 there were sixteen members, but the number gradually increased to thirty-two in 1789, since which time the company has declined, and now there are only nine resident members, none of whom is either a tradesman or merchant. In bye-past times, however, the company ranked foremost, on account of the importance of the men connected with it; here we find the families of Clay, Shell, Alder, Watson, Forster, Beadnell, Salkeld, Medcalf, Gallon, Woodhouse, Vardy, Falder, Facy, Brandling, Leek, Grieve, Selby, Annett, and Baird. Quiet, dignified men they seem to have been, attending to their own business, rarely troubling the corporation; there were few quarrels amongst them; no abusing of aldermen, or fines for intemperate behaviour; and hence their records are not so interesting as those of other companies. Still, however, they were fond of their dinners and of their wine and sugar; music they loved too; pypers and fiders they patronised; they paid in 1608 “to the pyper at our meetings iij*d*.”; and in

1741 they would pay to "John who had agreed to come and reside as one of our waits, 10s. 6d., over and above what is usually given on our meeting days, towards making up the sum of five guineas, which is to be paid by the town and other trades." The oldest orders revising other orders older still, are dated 1620, and are as follow:—

The orders made concluded condiscended and agreed upon by the Ancient Company of Merchantes for the burrough of Alnwicke for us and our posterity, we thinking them befitting for the strengthening of our former orders, made by our predecessors, have sett them under our handes and seales to remayne in the box for ever, anno domini 1620. *Imprimis*, that every merchants eldest son being legittime begotten shalbe free of the same company, paying at his incoming to the common hutch of the said company five shillings sterling and a potle of wyne. *Item*, that a merchants second son shall be free, paying to the said company forty shillings sterling, to be paid *xs.* per quarter until it be paid, and none other shall come to be free of the said company but by service. *Item*, that noe man of the said company shall take an apprentice, but he shall take him bound by indenture to serve for the space of seven yeares and an eight yeare to be as hired servant of the same society, and that his master shall once within twelve monthes after enrowle his name in the merchants booke, and pay for the same *iijs. iiijd.*, and every master neglecting the same enrowlement shall pay to the common hutch aforesaid forty shillings sterling. *Item*, that noe apprentyce shalbe free of the company untill he haith served seven yeares, and at the end of the yeares shall pay to the hutch of the company five shillings, and make the said company a free dinner or *xxx.* *Item*, that noe merchant shall take an apprentice to any other intent but to serve him as an apprentice in his house, and to have meat drinke and lodging for the space of five yeares at least, and to take noe maryed man to be an apprentice. *Item*, that if any apprentice doe mary a wife, before he have served out his yeares, he shall pay to the company at the end of his yeares ten poundes sterling, before he shalbe admitted to be free of the said company. *Item*, that who of the company refuseth, (being lawfully warned according to the usuall custome to our meatings) without sufficient excuse made to the alderman of the said company, shall pay for every default to the hutch of the said company three shillings four pence *toties quoties*. *Item*, that the procters for the yeare shall at every month day, when there shalbe a meating of the said company, bring and present all faults and trespasses done by any person in marktett or out of marktett, contrary to the former order of the fellowship, and in willing or witting defaulte made by the said procters for the time being shall pay to the hutch of the company three shillings four pence sterling *toties quoties*. *Item*, that none of the fellowship shall take a prentice till his fyrst three yeares be expyred, and non to take an apprentice but from three yeare to three yeares, unless the prentice dye, and then yt shall and maye be lawfull for the master for to take a prentice. To these were added in 1685; *Item*, that upon any meating, if any person of the said fellowship shall offer any violence either by word or assalt in the meeting hall of the said hutch, he shall pay for the said offence done the sume of *iijs. iiijd.*, *toties quoties*. *Item*, that after the 30 day November 1685, that after too meating dayes the trad being lawfully warned whoe doth not appeare upon the summons, that it is agreed upon, that they shall not any more be warned to meat with the said company till he shall come and make his composition with the said trad for the said offence.

The earliest list of members is as follows:—1582—Raipe Clay, Henry Watson, Robert Clarke, John Spence, Will. Shell, John Alder, Tho. Scott, Rob. Stanners, Edw. Wanles, Geo. Carsley, Raipe Watson, Tho. Armorer, Rob. Harrison, John Chanler, Thomas Forster. Will. Beadnell an important man first appears "On Nov. 16, 1584, when he pays *xxd.* and all his arrearages

paid." The earliest account simply says: "1581—Received *xixd.*, payd forthe *xd.*, remayne *ixd.*" The first recorded admission is on Oct. 14. 1583—"John Scott of Alnwick is greod with the fellowship of Marchauntes and served his prentishepe and shall paye presently the sune of *vs.* to be d. d. to Raiphe ——— to glase wyndows." The admission fees were in some cases high—"John Clay is admitted by the consent of the fellowship to be as a brother amongst us for 40s.," and hence money accumulated in the box; for "the layne of the boxe money" 2s. in the pound interest was paid, and in 1598 the sum lent on bond amounted to £20. The fellowship at this period bought certain kinds of merchandise for the members. 1593—Payd to Roger Smith and John Gardner for hoppes and soppe, the sune of *vj. xvs. xd.* 1594—Receaved of Ralphe Claye and John Claye in parte of payement of their hoppes *xxvijs. xd.*; receive mor of him for 3 firkins of soppe *xxvijs.*; whiche money for hoppes and sooppe is payde to Mr Bronne for five callers the sum of *iiij. xvs. xd.* George Alder hath one of them, John Clay hath one of them, Roger Smithe hath the towe of them, Henry Watsonne hath one of them."

Aldermen had to pay for their dignity by giving a free dinner to the company; and apprentices when admitted had to do the same or pay twenty shillings. On St. Andrew's day, or the morning after it, this dinner was held, "at which tyme," it is said in 1629, "the new elected alderman is to make his dinner according to our order." Earlier than this, however, money was paid out of the box for social enjoyment; and it seems too that strangers, even the bailiff of the town, enjoyed the hospitality of these merchants. A dinner then cost sixpence for each guest.

1610—Disbursed the 30 day of November for wyne and sugar *vjs.*, mor for xi gests dyners *5s. 6d.*, mor to Willm Reed *6d.*, mor payd for wyne and sugar in John ——— *1s. 6d.*, mor payd the same day for wyne and sugar to Mr. brown and the company *2s. 8d.*, mor payd to John Mytcalfe and his wyfe for 26 weeks at 3d. a week *6s. 6d.*, mor payd for on boxe to the company *3s.*, mor payd the 23 of September for 12 gests at denner *6s.*, mor on pottell of wyne and sugar sent to the ballyff to denner *1s. 8d.*, mor to Georg Gallon in sugar *6d.*, mor payd to John Robson, for on wholl year and on weeke *13s. 3d.* 1616—Given out for wyne and sugar *vis. 8d.*, for Mr. Delavell and the rest of there companie, for there dyet *iijs.*, *vijd.*, given to the minstres *iiijd.* *Itt.*, layd out for ij tobacco pipes *ijd.*

Some aldermen shirked the duty of providing a free dinner; in 1645 "we fyne Geo. Alder for neglecting and not doeing the office of ane alderman *39s. 11d.*;" in 1670 John Davison, chosen alderman, did not appear and was fined *39s. 11d.* Some aldermen having prepared their dinners in places beyond the town, the fellowship ordered—"1690, Oct. 2nd, no alderman shall make any dinner but shall be in the town, or else suffer senser of the fellowship, which shall be five pounds, *toties quoties.*" In 1725 William Forster did not make his alderman's dinner, and he was fined £5, which was paid. Mr. William Peacock, in 1772 refusing to be alderman, was fined £5, which was spent in a dinner and supper, supplied by Mr. Edward Brown; 20s. were paid for the dinner, 20s. for drink, 20s. for supper, and 20s. for a supper to apprentices. Several other fines were paid subsequently to this; for the expense of the dinner was larger than the fine imposed; and hence in 1786 the fine was raised to £10;

George Wardle paid this fine in 1787; George Embleton in 1791; Thomas Baird in 1795; and William Embleton in 1796. The fine was reduced in 1806 to £5; and it was agreed that the dinner for each person should not exceed 5s.

When H. C. Selby, as alderman, gave his free dinner to the company, the festal day was celebrated at his own private residence; and, as it was customary to make the hearts of the apprentices glad with a supper, they too were invited to enjoy themselves in the evening, at Swansfield. It was a glorious occasion for the budding merchants; royally were they entertained; and passing beyond the bounds of discretion they waxed heroic, and would not "go home at morning;" but calling for their night caps, a little before daybreak, betook themselves to beds which were kindly provided for them. But how could these victims of wine and punch rise betimes in the morning to attend to the dull routine of business! Unopened for long after the proper time were their masters' shops, and fears were entertained that death had been busy among the merchants. At length, however, the masters were summoned from their warm beds, and had to humble themselves by taking down their shutters, sweeping their shops, and dressing their windows. Dreadful threatenings were uttered against the pleasure-loving apprentices; but the alderman interposed, and procured a pardon for the repentant youths, who under peculiar temptation had been, at least once in their lifetime, a little too jovial.

Little the fellowship did in self-regulation. The members met monthly and paid their month's money; "Thomas Partis, on December 5th, 1653, for his month's money gives a pound of tobacco." The only articles subject to special regulations were skins; it was ordered in 1603 that "none of the fellowship shall buy skinnes, unless it be with the alderman's license, before the tyme of the yeare that they ought to be sold at upon paine of *xxs.*" They sent searchers in 1609 "for shepeskynnes and goate skynnes, to goe unto the countrie upon the charges of the fellowship." Once the law seems to have been broken in this loyal company; but the delinquent was penitent—"1603, April 13th, John Scott the elder hath confessed that he sold shepe skynnes contrary to the orders and payne of the company by which he is to pay *xxs.* by the order;" but the company was generous and forgave him the fine.

The hours of business were long; shops were probably kept open till ten o'clock at night; and it was not till 1730 that the merchants agreed to close at nine o'clock, under a penalty of twenty shillings to the trade; the town bell then rang calling people to their day's work at 5 o'clock in the morning, and to end their labours at 9 o'clock at night. It has been reserved for the era of steam, railroads, and telegraphs, to achieve by energy greater business results, in a short time, than languid indifference

could attain in more lengthened periods. Good churchmen the fellowship had been, giving 20s. and 40s. yearly to "our minister;" patriotic and loyal too, maintaining six volunteers during the rebellion of 1745; and in 1798, when terrified by the French revolution, they paid into the public treasury £29 8s. 2d., a voluntary contribution to the defence of the country; in 1661 they gave out of the box £3 for the use of the coal pits; and in 1668 £4 2s. 8d. Quiet, polite, dignified, ease-loving men, these old merchants had little difficulty in keeping themselves orderly and within the bounds of discretion at their own meetings; but they often fought with others who entered into rivalry with them, and sought to break in upon their monopoly of trade. How grandiloquently do they express their determination to maintain their exclusive privileges!

Anno primo, die July, 1616.—Whereas yt hath pleased Allmyghtie God to gyve man intelligence to provyde and to procure for the better establishment of laws and statutes to the maintainance and contynuance of the wealepublique and therefor we the fellowship and brethren of the merchants of this boroughe of Alnwick have with our generall consents under our hands doe avoyde and abolyse all former orders by us or predecessors have or had made contrarye to this order, viz., we the brethren and merchants do ratify and confyrme that no foreiner alien denyson or stranger or other person or persons whatsoever nowe or att anye tyme either hereafter shall nott come into the fellowship of merchants and brethren to be free, or to be made a free brother amonge us, unless he come in parentage or by byrtheright or by his servine seaven yeares and his indentures to be showed to the alderman and the fellowship att the end of his seaven yeares servin. And for the more strengthening of this our perpetuall order to be irreversable have hereunto set our hands the day and yere above-said.

Against intruders and especially pedlars they waged a constant war.

The 1 day of November, 1635—It is ordered and agreed that the alderman and two of the company shall forbid the pedleres and petty chapmen to sell or sett forth or show, to be sold any sort of grosseries or mayn chester (*Manchester*) wares, upon any Markett daye or any other daye, either in the Markett or house in the town, and yf they shall refus so to doe, IT is agreed by the whole company to take distress or distresses from every offender for every default or offence by any of them committed contrary to order; and that the company shall warrant or mayntain the alderman and procters which shall do so.

Robert Boswell, William Boswell, Walter Hogg, and Thomas Brown "who dayly sells all sorts of Marchandise in the oppen market," were in 1657 prosecuted; and in 1661 the company resolved, "to answer both in purse and person, against all opposition of the Chepmen and Pedlars, and all others that seeks to wrong the fellowship." So often were the company's restrictions set at defiance, that in 1670, £83 16s. 8d. were spent in prosecuting the pedlars, who, however, like smugglers, returned again and again to their free trading, despite of heavy fines; evidencing that merchants' profits were at this time very large. And so the struggle continued to go on; numbers were in 1673,

and again in 1686, guilty of selling and retailing grocery and mercery wares; and the merchants contributed largely again to put down the pedlars at the sessions.

At the general Quarter Sessions held in the town in Oct. 1682—James Davison, Robert Dixon, and Thomas Hardy, all of Alnwick, were indicted for exercising the mystery and calling of a merchant within the borough, not being freemen, or having served an apprenticeship for seven years. At the Morpeth Sessions, 10 Jan., 1683—John Trumble of Embleton, Arthur Trumble of Rock, and Jane Clarke widow of Alnwick, were indicted for exercising the mystery or occupation of mercers in the burg of Alnwick contrary to the Statute of 5 Eliz. At Alnwick Sessions, 8 Oct. 1684—George Faire of Coldstream, and thirty others were indicted for exercising the art or mystery of skiners or glovers; and James Davison and 16 others for exercising the art or mystery of mercers, &c. 7 Oct., 1685—Thomas Hardy of Alnwick, and 12 others were indicted for exercising the art of grocer; and James Davison on two indictments for trading both as mercer and grocer.*

Licenses were occasionally granted by the company to persons not of the trade, to keep a shop or attend the market, but on payment of money and under restrictive conditions.

We are contented the 8 of April, 1594, that bartrame hocher shall occupie off the Markett days for ijs. vjd. in the quarter so long as we do lyke and no longer. 1607—Widow Forster hath comed until our company paying us iij. s. ijd. for ij yeares by pest and paying for every yeare xiiijd., and not to hurt us in our trade, but only for her own provision. She was the widow of Thomas Forster a merchant.

1612—No alderman whatsoever nor any other of the fellowship in particular, unless the whole fellowship be consulted there unto, shall gyve any lycence and leave to any foryners and strangers to sett out on the Markett dayes, which is prejudiciall to the whole fellowship of the payne and penaltie for every such offence xls.

The principles and powers of the company are curiously exemplified in the case of Henry Johnson, who in 1641 was admitted to the fellowship, with the privilege of exercising the trade of merchandise on paying £3 6s. 8d., and 20s. yearly besides; but the boon was to be enjoyed only during his own life and the widowhood of his wife; and neither was allowed to take an apprentice. Johnson may have been too successful in trade; for his privilege was brought to an end in 1645. Two powerful men, however, used their influence in his behalf; and in 1648 he was allowed again to trade—"for the favor and earnest motion of the Right Worshipful Sir John Fenwick, Knight and Barronet, and Hugh Potter, Esq., in the said Henry's behalf, thereunto moving the fellowship, and in respect Henry doth promise to stand to and undergoe such censure by fines as the company unanimously shall award." Johnson, however, must not do too much trade, "for he shall not keep servants in his shoppe but upon Markett days and other needful tymes." Perhaps every day was a *needful time*; and Robert Mow, who was a freeman of the town, was constantly employed to *keep his shop*.

* From County Sessions Book.—MSS., C. S. Bell

This, however, the company would not tolerate; and their proctors were ordered to summon Robert Mow—"never to kepe shopp or sell commodities in the merchant's trade hereafter; and if the said Henry shall kepe or countenance him in the same, he shall be disfranchised of the privilege he hath by order to exercise for his life and his wife's." Not long after this Johnson died, and his wife married Thomas Brandling, who expected in right of his wife to become a merchant; but the company rigidly adhering to the letter of the bond, decided that the wife of Johnson had the privilege of trading only during her widowhood; they allowed Brandling, however, to sell all such commodities as were then in his shop; but neither he nor his wife were to order any more; and Brandling bound himself to observe these conditions in a penalty of £40, and agreed at the end of six months to pay the fellowship a pottle of wine.

Those who had broken the merchants' orders sometimes escaped prosecution, by binding themselves like repentant sinners to do so no more, or by agreeing to terms favourable to the company. Henry Wilson, of Rennington, bound himself in 1686, "not to sell any grosser goods or mercery goods, in what kind soever, towbaco or pipes, brandy or watters, or any other merchant goods but what he shall buy of Jos. Falder or other merchants belonging to the fellowship of merchants in Alnwick." Edward Grey in 1694 acknowledged he had committed an offence by setting up shop to exercise the trade of merchant contrary to the trade's orders; and bound himself to pay a fine to the trade of £10, and to deposit £5 "in the mercy of the trade when he shall be made free;" he was therefore allowed "to keep his shop in manner as he doth now and no otherwise;" and he was admitted a freeman in 1696. James Calhoun bound himself in 1718 "not to sell grocery goods or any broad cloths, druggets, buttons, mow-hairs, buckram, canvas, stay tape, or sewing silk;" and in 1717 Mark Donnell bound himself in a penalty of £40, "not to exercise the trade of mercer or grocer, not having served his apprenticeship to it (excepting thread, laces, inkles, tapes, ferretyngs, garters, and caduces) unless he hereafter serve his time." He violated his engagement and was dragged before the sessions. The last attempts to enforce their monopoly were made by this company in 1771, when George Selby, as solicitor, was paid £20 towards prosecuting David Cunningham,* Gawin Scott,† and others for exercising the art or mystery of grocer; and the company had been successful, for ten guineas were recovered in costs from Cunningham and Scott.

This fellowship assumed the power of controlling the operations of trade in other towns as well as in Alnwick. "The merchants

* David Cunningham was a mathematician; and his contributions to the Ladies' Diary from 1773 to 1777 gave proof of considerable mathematical knowledge.

† See Vol. L, p. 477.

of Warkworth hath paide into the fellowshipe of the merchantes of Alnwick the xxij of April, 1587, the sume of iijs. iiij*d*. for their greement monye dewe for two years at Whitsunday last." So late as March 5th, 1741, they ordered "prosecutions to be commenced at next quarter sessions against such persons as exercise the trade of merchant in this town, Wooler, Rothbury, Warkworth, or Bolton, and have not served an apprenticeship."

This fellowship has fallen into decay; in Jan. 1868 there were only nine resident members, seven of whom were Forsters; since 1854 there have been no monthly meetings, nor monthly pence paid; and the annual dinners have been discontinued.

Cordiners.—The Shoemaker's Company is ancient; its earliest document is dated 1535, and its earliest orders were written down in 1645 from recollection of more ancient orders, which were destroyed during the civil war. It was then called *The Fraternity of Cordiners*, of which the more modern name *cordwainer* is a corruption, but is nevertheless regarded as more genteel than shoemaker. Under the guardianship of St. Crispin, who was a shoemaker, there existed in France, in the sixteenth century, a society of *Freres Cordonniers*—the name being derived from cordovan, the soft leather used for the upper part of boots and shoes, formerly brought from Cordova or Cordona in Spain. A distinction was made between a cordiner and a shoemaker by the burgesses of Hawick, where the cordiners in 1772 petitioned the council to be incorporated and separated from the shoemakers, or those who made single-soled shoes, and their petition was granted; but this distinction does not appear in Alnwick.

The Alnwick fraternity had an alderman, two stewards, and four searchers and sealers of leather. According to an order made in 1624 the members met four times in the year—"at St. Thomas daye in Christmas, Moonedaye after ——— Soondaye, at St James daye, and Michaelmas Moonedaye;" the regulations of 1645 required monthly meetings in "their publike meeting chamber in Clayport Tower, upon a penalty of 3s. 4*d*. for any default;" but the chief meeting day was on the feast of St. Thomas the archbishop, absence from which incurred the higher penalty of 6s. 8*d*.; and at this great meeting "none must appear in a blew or any other bonnett, but in such hatts as are usually and constantly worn in the borough for the tyme, upon the payne of forfeiture of one shilling." The eldest son of a member was then entitled, by birthright, to the freedoms of the fraternity; others could obtain them by apprenticeship to a member of the company; ancient usage, however, appears to have restricted the taking of apprentices to those only who exercised the trade of shoemaker; but this restriction was repealed on December 29th, 1748, and since then the apprentice of any member, be his trade what it may, has the privilege of being admitted to the freedom of the company. Like other companies the cordiners fettered the

movements of trade; and curious indeed are the reasons they put forth in defence of their interference.

"As well for the avoydinge and preventeing of all such inconveniences as might succede to this fraternity, by the increase and multiplicity of its members, as the prejudice and injustice which might redound to the subjecte by its unskilful and unexperienced artesmans and professors;" that, however, "the markett of the burrough may be well fitted and served, and this society and fraternity still supplied and for ever continued, it shall still be left to the arbitrament, power, judgment, and discretion of the alderman and his assistants with the consent of the rest of the members, to admitt and receive on composition into their fraternity and brotherhood, all and every such other persons as are able and sufficient artesman, though their apprenticeship were served to men exempted from this fraternity; yet none see come nor any apprentice of theirs shall be permitted to sett up shopp or worke within the freedome and liberty of the burrough, but only to exercise and enjoy the priveledges of the weekly markets and fayres. That all and every member may enjoy in equal benefitt the freedomes and priveledges thereof and that none may assume a priveledge or authorite above his fellowe member, either because more able in purse or better customed in the sale of his comodities, we doe hereby institute, order, and decree that noe man after his first becoming a fre member of this fraternity, shall for the space of one whole yeare then next followeing take any one for his apprentice, nor kepe above twoe journey-men, and that at the end of the first yeare, he shall only take one apprentice and not more until the end of other three yeares; and noe free member of the fraternity shall at any tyme take more than two apprentices together." Even in their purchases these cordiners were subject to restriction, they could not choose the best market, but they must buy of "none other but a skilfull experienced curryer, and whoe shall by this fraternity be approved to be such to currey or dresse any leather; on pain of forfeiture of boots and shoes made of leather bought elsewhere, and subject to other fines at the will of the fraternity." One good object was sought; "for the avoidance and prevention of frivolous and unnecessary suits and the preservation of unity and concord, they decree, that before going to law—brother against brother—the cause of dispute shall be first submitted to the society for arbitrament;" and breach of this decree involved a penalty of forty shillings.

Of the powers of the fraternity to control the sale of shoes and boots, we have illustrations in some old documents. One dated February, 1535, tells us that John Bell, of Felton, "abowte fower years was lawfullie possessed, as of his own propre goodes and chattells, of and upon xs. in money, fyve paire of boots price xxxs., fyve dossins of shoves price five markes, being standing at his booth or stall at Warkworth," Robert Tailor and George Stanwix, the searchers and sealers of leather of the Alnwick Fraternity, "with force and arms of theire extort, myghte, and powers did carry away the said goods and deliver them to John Browne (bailiff of the town of Alnwick) who ever synce doth deteyn and ciepe the said goodes and money." The searchers in 1582 seized on 32 pairs of new shoes from George Reade and George Davison while they were "standing with the same within the towne gaite of Anwicke;" and at a court, held by the head bailiff or officer of the town, six men, appointed as triers, declared on their oath that the shoes were insufficiently cured, and unlawfully and insufficiently wrought. Others in Canongate, Warkworth, Felton, and Rothbury attempted to break in upon the

monopoly in 1595, but they were obliged to bind themselves under a penalty of £4, not to repair within twelve miles of Alnwick to sell shoes or practice the mystery of a cordyner. The Alnwick searchers, not content with taking shoes from Roger Davie, of Morpeth, beat and wounded him in 1602. William Currie, of Dunse, made a raid across the Borders; but in 1655 he bound himself under a penalty of £20 not to buy any "tanne leather in England."

The oldest book, the wreck of a larger one, contains a series of records from 1620 to 1638. The number of members was small, only nine or ten; for in 1636, "Every man hath paid this day 6d. in month money, which is in all 4s. 6d., and Roger Rutherford owes that day 6d. in month money;" but they form a brave resolution—"we doe order that from henceforth every brother in the company shall pay *ij*d. a month day for there month money to get us out of debt and to keape soe, and *we can*." Scotsmen they would not tolerate, and aggressors on the markets had their shoes taken and themselves fined. These old Cordiners are the true progenitors of the present race, whom we must therefore but gently blame; as quarrelling and abusive tongues are an inheritance from the past. In 1621 Michael Young abused the alderman and was fined 20d.; and he also slandered Roger Rutherford, and he was fined 6s. 8d. A very troublesome man was Michael, and he was deprived of the benefit of the markets, and threatened with expulsion. Difficult it was indeed to keep unruly members obedient to the law.

1622—Forster Fynch fyned for setting forth before the houre *vjd*. 1629, Nov. 9—Robert Layng is found to have stollen shoes from his master Michael Hunter and is expelled from the company for ever. 1631, October—Michael Hunter, Cuthbert Lawson, and Michael Yong are to be censured the next meating day for setting Robert Layne of work after his expulsion, unless they can clear themselves. 1622—Cuthbert Lawson for setting a stall of Thomas Remaynes to the prejudice of Thomas Salkeild fyned for the same; and whoever shall rebell or speake of this fyne again, after our outgoing in the towne, shall pay a fine to the box of *vjs viij*d. 1633—Roger Watson for buying leather of Rob. Adston out of the hands of Michael Young fined *ijjs iiij*d.

After a silence of eighteen years, the records of the cordiners begin again to speak, and to tell us they start their new life invigorated with sack, burnt wine, and music. Still, however, the fraternity was small; in 1673 there were only nine freemen, and seven who came in by composition. Of these members there seem to be now no descendants in Alnwick. The existing old families do not appear till a few years afterwards. John Turner we find in 1673, Thomas Rickabie in 1681, John Gibson in 1687, James Stanley in 1690, John Tate in 1709, George Shepherd in 1710, James Greenhup in 1715, and James Hunter in 1739. The fraternity in 1718 numbered 32 members and 1 agreed brother—the last of his class. After 1748, when members, who did not practise the art of shoemaking, were allowed to take

apprentices, the company rapidly increased; in 1750 there were about 50 members; in 1782, 71 voted; and now in 1868 it is the largest company, having 107 members and 24 widows resident in Alnwick; only, however, about one-third practice the art of shoemaking. The predominant names are Skelly, of whom there are 9, Gibson 9, Hall 7, Lockey 7, and Shepherd 6.

The fraternity, as long as they could, endeavoured to retain to themselves the monopoly of shoemaking. In 1701 William Johnson, of Thirston, a Scotsman, made and sold shoes; but they compelled him to enter into a bond to confine his craft to making shoes for himself and his family; Jeremiah Feugues, of Eslington, was bound under a penalty of £20 not to take an apprentice, nor to come nigher to Alnwick to make or sell shoes than the place he now lives at, excepting for two families within this borough. And so it was with many other victims of these monopolists, till 1785, when after taking a counsel's opinion the monopoly ceased. Still, however, the fraternity squabbled and fought with each other, as they continue to do till this day. Eighty-two years ago an attempt was made to introduce order into their meetings; and it was enacted that "no freeman at a meeting speak until he has asked the consent of the alderman, and no one to speak or make a disturbance when a person is speaking, who has the consent of the alderman, on pain of 6s. 8d." Accordingly Wm. Bolam and some others in 1786 were fined for breach of this order. Might not this law be revived with advantage to the respectability of the fraternity?

Down to the beginning of the present century boots and shoes were exposed in quantities in the markets and fairs of Alnwick. The stalls ranged along the hill side from near the Grass cross or high pant towards the horse market; but in the earlier periods all were to start alike; even in 1737 the law was that "none of the trade shall on any market or fair day in Alnwick open out or sell or expose for public sale in the public market or fair any boots, shoes, or slippers before 12 o'clock in the forenoon, on the penalty of 3s. 4d."

The searchers and sealers of leather were important officers; it was their duty to examine leather, whether it was properly tanned; and boots and shoes whether they were properly made of sufficient leather. For stamping goods examined by them they had a seal cut on the face of a steel hammer; on one face was a rude arrow which was stamped on good leather, and on the other a figure of C-D stamped on leather, which was condemned. The whole district around Alnwick was subject to the visitations of these functionaries. In 1774 the account shews the frequency and extent of their search—"1774, searching cloggers 10s. 0d.; Nov. 1, searching Rothbury fair 5s., Lucy fair 1s., Palmson fair 1s.; searching Dan. Sandwich for making and vending leather soles 1s.; April 22, searching Rothbury fair 5s.;

May 12, Alnwick fair 1s. ; June 5, Rothbury fair 5s. ; July 5, Alnwick, St. Swithin 1s. ; June 5, searching the cloggers 1s. ; Sept. 4, Whittingham fair 5s. ; Oct. 29, Rothbury fair 5s. ; Oct. Michaelmas fair 1s." Those who made inferior shoes endeavoured to elude the scrutiny. Our respected town servant was in the habit of attending Rothbury fair along with his master, Matthew Hudson, to sell *cheap shoes*, which differed chiefly from standard shoes by being lined with sheepskin instead of calf leather. A few regular goods were taken with them and exposed on the stall ; but the shoes with sheepskin lining were carefully concealed in boxes till the searchers had gone the round of the fair. As soon, however, as this was done, the irregular shoes were brought out of the boxes and a lively sale commenced ; for the public were as ready to buy, as the free traders were to sell, these cheap commodities. Those visitations were discontinued in 1803.

Creditable it is to the fraternity that in 1751 they gave three guineas as a benefaction and two guineas yearly to the public Infirmary of Newcastle. Surely the Alnwick Infirmary has now a greater claim upon them. In 1778 they presented to Lord Algernon Percy the certificate of the freedom of the trade in a silver box, because he took the command of the Northumberland Militia, "at this critical time, when the kingdom is threatened with an invasion by their *natural enemies the French*."

Being a numerous company the shoemakers have, during the last century, taken a lead in the stormy commotions of the borough. Wild they were with fury when threatened with the Corporation Reform Bill ; and as wild were they with joy when Alnwick was withdrawn from the bill ; three guineas out of the box were expended on beer and other exciting drinks to celebrate the event. To my honour or dishonour a vote of censure is recorded against me in their book—"A mark," say they, "of the disapprobation of the company for having signed petitions of non-freemen to the serious prejudice of the Boro." On the other hand John Lindsay received a token of respect "for his exertions in the late struggle"—preventing Alnwick from having the benefit of self-government. How many generations were these men behind the age?

The monopoly of shoemaking has been taken from them ; but now they and another trade are attempting to create another monopoly. The ancient fees of admission into the fraternity were 4d. for the eldest son of a member, and 5s. for others ; and until recently 7s. 6d. for every son, and 21s. for an apprentice ; but on October 9th, 1860, this fraternity imposed a fee of £5 on the enrolment of an apprentice, which will have the effect of excluding many of the sons of the labouring class from the freelege. Such a bye-law being entirely unnecessary for the purposes of the company, unreasonable in amount, and conceived in a narrow, exclusive spirit, is also I apprehend illegal ; and would be upset in a court of law.

The fraternity formerly had a love for social meetings. The Alderman at an early period was bound to provide a free dinner on St. Thomas' day; but this was compounded for, on December 29th, 1632, when "Roger Watson hath paid for his free dinner xs., and we have given him 2s. of it again." As all were obliged to attend, Cuthbert Lawson was in 1630 "fyned for contemptuously refusing to come to our great meeting on St. Thomas' day vjs. viijd." In 1708 the number of social meetings was reduced to two yearly—one on Michaelmas monday and the other on St. Thomas' day; and for these entertainments money was taken out of the box. Other changes followed.

1735, Oct. 7—Every freemen to meet at the meeting house to perfect their business, and then accompany the alderman to his house on 25th October every year and spend there 3s. On Michaelmas Monday 6d. only shall be spent by each at the alderman's and 2d. on every meeting day in the morning before going to their chambre. Breach of these rules involved a penalty of 6s. 8d. 1751, Dec. 31—Every freeman shall every Michaelmas Monday and Saint Thomas' Day at Christmas spend or send to the alderman 1s. for his providing a dinner; and shall meet at the alderman's house before they go to the Town Hall and spend 2d. with the alderman each dinner; and every man that wants to be admitted a freeman shall the night before his admission acquaint the alderman and spend 6d. with him on the occasion. 1726—Two-and-six-pence to be spent at the Christmas dinner.

For collops—salted meat fried—the cordiners had an affection; and Collop monday, the day before Shrovetide, was a regular meeting day till 1708. John Turner, sen., in 1699 was "fined 3s. 8d. for not appearing on Collop monday, being steward." But collops continued to be enjoyed by these shoemakers on the Saturday prior to the Michaelmas dinner, till 1818, when the allowance out of the box for collops was discontinued. Leaving the patronage of St. Thomas for St. Michael, a great annual dinner flourished on the Michaelmas monday. All were compelled to attend or send each a contribution of 2s. 6d.; and pleasant enough were these social gatherings, when sometimes more than a hundred enjoyed themselves over a good substantial dinner, washed down with abundance of punch and enlivened by music; but some thirty years ago the contentious spirit, evoked among the freemen, broke out, even at these social entertainments, and drove from them many of the respectable members, so that these meetings have gradually dwindled down and lost their ancient character.

Glovers.—*The Fellowship of Glovers* was the name of this company till 1715, when it was changed into *Skinners and Glovers*. It was one of the most ancient and important of the incorporated trades, its records commencing in 1590, when it was composed of the following seventeen members:—John Wilson, alderman, Rob. Bennett, Edw. Frayvlye, Tho. Greay, Ant. Towtophe, Nicholas Smales, John Watson, Raphe Greay, John Craster, Charles Leyghton, John Woodcock, William Green, Thomas Stampe, and Tho. Pearson. A prosperous trade it was in Old

Alnwick; for in these days leather garments, jerkins, and breeches clothed many a burgess. In 1610 there were 24 members; in 1617, 42; in 1687, 66; in 1705, when it reached its maximum 75. Most of the members were in the earlier periods engaged in the arts of skinning and glove-making; but now when there are only twenty-eight not one follows these occupations; Josiah Handly, the last skinner, died about a quarter of a century ago, and Thomas Dand, who died a few years ago, was the last glover. Important families were connected with this company; here appear Stamp and Craster in 1590, Raynoldson, Alnwick, Woodhouse, Alder, and Swinhoe in 1610, Salkeld in 1622, Stanton in 1625, Gallon and Strother in 1626, Gair in 1640, Peacock in 1648, Claxton in 1657, Lindsay in 1659, Thew, Weatherburn, Egdell, and Hardy in 1678, Stanley in 1689, Dand in 1689, Tate in 1691, Nicholas Brown in 1762, Fairbairn in 1772, Arthur in 1776. Of the ancient orders a copy was newly engrossed and confirmed in 1629. They breathe the same spirit as that of other trades.

No glover could set up shop without agreeing with the fellowship under a penalty of 40s. — none of the company could buy skins or pelts in any place before they were presented in the market under a penalty of 20s. — no brother shall call any one from a brother's stall until he or she shall come away voluntarily upon pain of 6s. 8d. — all must meet in the meeting chamber when lawfully warned under a penalty of 6s. 8d. — None must outray or reveal any thing spoken or done at the meetings, or utter idle speeches one to another, or abuse one another, upon pain of 10s. for every default — no brother must take a less apprentice fee than £3, nor a second apprentice until after the lapse of five years — no Scotsman shall be set to work without the consent of a majority of the trade — no brother shall set to sale any wares before eleven o'clock upon pain of a noble to the box, nor shall sell any sheep skins without altering the property, on pain of 40s.

A fragment of an old folio book contains a broken series of orders and accounts from 1590 to 1600, a few extracts from which are given, as they are interesting in themselves, in their expression, or in their spelling:—

1590 it is ordered by the ocpation he that byes a sken befor meghelmas day befor a leven of clok shall pay ijs. he that geves mor nor viijd. for a skean befor meghelmas. he that speckes a word of the tor * shall pay a nobell. 1591 he that speakes a woord out of the torr of the occupation shall pay ten grotes. John Weddread greade brother to the ocupacion the xxv day of March forthe sheallens whartolly to be paid vs. whartolly to be paid. 1592 he that byes a shepskin befor it be taken of the shepes back befor Michellines shal pay xii pence for evere skin. he that is on the feellowship that byes any skines from John Smeth or Gorde totovp shall pay a noble every skeyn befor Michelmas. the xii day of January 1591 Itm. itt is ordered be the occupatyon thate no brother shall by anye whyett deyghtt shepp leather of any other man with out the consentt of all the reast of the ocupatyon under the payne of vjs. viijd. 1593 It is seat down by the Ealdear man of the ocupation and the consant of thame he that geaves above iijd. for a sherlen befor Metsomer. he that beicas a sheap sken befor Mealtmeas on the Seatear day befor alleavean of the klok shall pay ten grotes for eavcary sutch. 1598 Anthony Rutlishe grath (*agreed*) brother to the occupation the second day of

* Clayport Tower, place of meeting.

May according to his former covenants to pay every quarter so long as it is behind xs. according to his former covenants that he shant sell no maner of whit wair but hes tand war what so euer he can make, for euey falt ther of x grotes bi the consent of the holl occupation. Thomas bridges for sclandering the ocupacion a nobeall fyne. Thomas Stampe for the sclandering the Aldermen ten grots. 1599 he that gives more nor 3*d*. for a singell shurline before Walleres * day shall pay for every default *xiid*.

When the trade was in its glory there was an imposing array of officers; in 1634 there were an alderman, two stewards, a warner, and two market lookers. To keep up a monopoly of the trade for themselves, they harassed intruders by suits at law. Edward Forster was glad, it seems, to escape legal prosecution, by affixing his mark to an agreement; for in 1640 "It is agreed between the trade of Glovers and Edward Forster that he shall not by (buy) anie sheep skinnes in their markets to the hurt of them the said Glovers for the feare of seaung monthly." Bonds were taken to keep up the monopoly; one of these will shew their stringent character. In 1691 James Rutherford, of "Yeatlington," binds himself under a penalty of fifty pounds "to the Alderman of the Skinners to forbear, surcease, and give over the practise and exercise of tradeing in buyeing, selling, kouping, or exchanging of any skinn belonginge to sheppe, weather, ewe, hogg, or lambe, or goate whatsoever, belonginge to the trade of Skinner and Glover within the county of Northumberland." Penalties for breach of such agreements were enforced in the seventeenth century; but the time at length came when these monstrous assumptions were at length resisted, and the company, in 1701, were told by Edward Cooke, a counsellor, that "the bonds are void in law, as tending to the restraint of trade, and being made without any consideration." A vigilant surveillance was made over their own members; even a law was passed, in 1678, authorising the alderman and stewards, with so many assistants as they think fit to enter into every glovers' house suspected of drying and preparing skins for sale without altering their property. William Gallon's house was searched in 1705 with a powerful force of six assistants, and skins were seized upon, which had been dried contrary to order; and as he abused one of the alderman's assistants, he was fined thirty-nine shillings. Richard Turner in 1664 was "fyned by consent of the company for buyeing skins out of his brethren's hands before they had done with them, by the orders of the trade." "Ordered by the trade of Glovers that whosoever doth sell any white leather to Arthur Rowland after this day of vi April, 1647, shall pay to the box 39s. 11*d*. or to his wife 39s. 11*d*."; and in 1668 it was ordered that no leather be sold to Thomas Milliken until he agrees with the trade on penalty of 20s. This company did indeed sometimes act like a court of justice, and punished misdemeanours and felonies. "George Green in 1668 was disannulled from

* To St. Waleric Alnmouth Chapel was dedicated; Vol. L, p. 153.

comminge to meet amongst the trade for wrongfully taking his neighbour's skins out of his pitts." And in 1703 Robert Yellowley for stealing leather and pelts, a felony, was not allowed afterwards to meet with the trade or enjoy its privileges.

From the glovers' records, it is very evident that human nature was no better, between two and three hundred years ago, than it is now; the guilds were then noisy and quarrelsome, and frequently heavy fines were imposed for not attending dinners and meetings, and for misconduct; but even extreme punishments failed to reform unruly members. As early as 1610 Thomas Taylor was fined "for abusinge the trade and the aldermane, in the lower fine 10s." In 1664 "John Duer fynd for abusinge his brethren in the Meateinge Chamers 6s. 8d." A heavier punishment was inflicted in 1687, Oct. 10th, and the chronicle of the event is couched in such strong Saxon phrase as to be unfit for ears polite. "William Harrison by the consent of the alderman and the trade is this day fined 39s. 11d. for reflecting upon the town most disgracefully, and saying he cared not—for the town and trade;" and so strenuous was the company in punishing the offender, that they confirmed the order at the alderman's feast in the following November.

Though noisy and quarrelsome, the glovers were jolly fellows, fond of rare drinks and of music. "Francis Grene, alderman of the glovers of Alnwicke, for the present year of our Lord God 1610, disburst for this year—Item for Mr. Alder's dinner 6d., item for the pypers at the Alderman's dinner 4d., item for the pypers in Wanless 6d., item for the pypers last monthly meeting but one 6d., item for 2 quarts of Rososalas 2s. 8d." The *Rososalas*, which appeared on their table, was a foreign agreeable spirituous liquor, made of burnt brandy, sugar, cinnamon, milk, water, and perfumed with musk. On other occasions *aqua vita*, *burnt wine*, *burnt claret*, and *brandy* warmed the hearts and quickened the tempers of the glovers. Pipers blew their wild strains at the monthly meetings till 1639; after which *fiddlers* enlivened the company. They had rejoicings at May-day, when in 1620, 16d. was paid for powder. Staunch church and state men, loyal and true, were the old glovers. Each member appears, at one period, to have contributed to the maintenance of the minister; for in 1600, twopence is paid by several of the members for the preacher. They ordered in 1692 "Twenty shillings per annum for 3 years to be paid to Mr. James Gledstone, clerk, our present minister of the parish;" and they made the same payment to the succeeding ministers, Mr. Doncan and Arthur Alnwick. Believers in the "divine right" and in the virtue of the royal touch, they gave in the reign of Charles II., "On May 8th, 1683, to Magdalen Pearson to convey her to London to be touched for the evell 10s." Many besides the glovers had faith in this absurd superstition; even a service to be said at the healing was in the Book of

Common Prayer, and appeared in an edition as late as 1722; but the virtue was not believed to be inherent in the Hanoverian dynasty. The more modern skimmers and glovers displayed their patriotism by contributing five guineas, in 1798, "towards frustrating the enemy"—the French. They in 1682 "paid for a large mourning cloth lyned, and seven scuchons of the company's arnes, £3 15 6d.;" they gave in 1687 a guinea to be run for by horses on St. Mark's day; and for Alice Duer's burial, 20s. In 1688 they paid to Alice Duer to buy her son a bible, 3s. 6d.; and "for John Lamb's coffin and windsheet, 9s. 9d." George Green, an ancient brother, often received charity, and in 1689 he got 6s. 8d. to buy a new coat, and in 1691 "to buy a new coat and britches, 10s., and a pair of shoes, 2s. 6d."

These records furnish evidence of the depreciated condition of the coinage in the latter part of the seventeenth century. On January, 1696-7, Thomas Watson was paid £1 14s of money, by weight, to clear off £1 1s. 6d.; Robert Claxton received £1 0s. 6d., by weight, for 10s. 6d.; and there being in the purse left of *short money* £1 2s., and of suspicious short money £1 2s. 6d., it was ordered that this £1 2s. 6d. of bad, being of value, by weight, only 12s., "be sold by the alderman for what he can gett for it for the use of the trade."

Though the numbers of this company have dwindled down from 75 to 28, yet the modern skimmers and glovers, following in the wake of the shoemakers, raised in 1862 the enrolment fee of an apprentice to five pounds, which is "to be deposited in the box as the property of the company, to be appropriated as the company may hereafter determine." A book containing the records of the company from about 1705 to 1798 has disappeared sometime during the present generation.

Tanners.—Though, perhaps, not so ancient as some others, the tanners' fellowship was one of the most important in Alnwick; its contribution of 20s. to the school in 1616 evidences that it was then a leading company. Many important old families belonged to this trade; here we have those of Alnwick, Stanton, Arrowsmith, Gair, Adston, Woodhouse, Richardson, Moffatt, Raynoldson or Rennison, Hyndmers or Hindmarsh; but all save the two last are now extinct in the town. The orders of the fellowship set down and agreed upon in writing in the time of John Raynoldson, warden and alderman, on April 23rd, 1627, are similar in their restrictive character to those of other companies.

The yearly meeting was to be held "at the feaste of St. Michael the Arck-angle," when an alderman had to be chosen, "which personn shall be of good and honest name and fame so reputed and taken;" it was specially ordered that "none shall procure or buy or cause to be bought or gett into his hands or possession any manner of barke, within the county of Northumberland out of the hands of him or them, that before was chapeman and had bargained and bought barke of the same person, except such persons had used to buy the barke before, to give his consent and is not wishing to buy the same, on penalty of 20s., and imprisonment at discretion."

Every tanner, at this time, appears to have bought his own bark, subject to the condition of his not interfering with the bargains of a brother tanner; but in 1645 another system was in operation, founded on the principle of a brotherhood; so that one member might have no advantage over another. Wood and bark were therefore bought for the *whole company*, by officers called quartermasters, who allotted to each tanner a proportional share of every purchase. As the records of these transactions shew the importance of the trade, the number of tanneries in Alnwick, and the woods whence bark was obtained, I shall quote them at some length. The company in 1646 consisted of thirty-five members, and in Alnwick there were twenty tanneries, four of which were carried on by women; indeed the largest of them belonged to Phillis Stanton, whose share of bark amounted to £30, while none of the others exceeded £20. In 1657 there were twenty-eight tanneries, and at least forty-six members. One tannery only is in Alnwick at the present time.

"March 16, 1645—It is ordered, if any bargaines of woode and barke be this yeare bought, that John Strother, Thomas Younger, John Walker, and Robert Strother shall be buyers thereof, and for every dayes journey they are allowed 2s. a man daly, and shall proportion to every man such shares, as they shall thinke fitt, and noe man shall buy barke but they shall acquaint the 4 men upon paine of 40s., and expulsion out of the bargaine. 20th April, 1645—Bought of Mr. Robert Brandling and Mr. Robert Pemberton Brainsshaw Wood at the rate of fowerscore and five pound to be paid at the fair day of Alnwick next. Bought of Willm. Miller in Brenbourne Wood twenty pounce worth of barke to be paid for, 25th day of June, 1646." (*This was divided into twenty shares.*)

"None Aprilis 1646—Bought of Mr. James Ogle of Cawsey Parke a bargaine of woode and barke for which the company is to pay two hundred and fortie pound, Antho. Adston, John Strother, Thomas Younger, and Robert Strother, and engaged for payment of them at these dayes following, viz., at Whitsunday next £100, at St Nicholas day £40, at Michaelmas £100; and as quartermasters doe allot every quarter or proportionable share as followeth, it is agreed that none of the wood shall be sould but with the consent of the four quartermasters, the partners are to pay upon the 7th of Aprill their first payment to the quartermastres." The shares allotted to each tannery were from £5 up to £30 each. "John Gibson alderman and Richard Steward bought of Mr. Fenwicke at Brinkebourne 23rd May, 1678, twenty oake trees of barke at £6; 6 trees of Mr. Lamb 13s. 6d.; pealing £3 11s. 0d.; at Hebbourn 5 trees 18s., pealing 6s. 3d.; at Shawdon Wood 7 trees 13s. 6d., pealing 11s., 9 yeares bark; at Cawsey Park 2 trees 9s.; the same at Heberlaw 1s. 6d.; at Brinkburne 7 trees 30s.; at Edlingham 30 trees 50 yeares of barke 68s. 6d., for pealeing 46s.; at Hebburn 46 trees 46 yeares 56s., pealing 38s. 6d.;" others at Helm on the Hill and Ellingham. "1679—10 score of oake trees at Widdrington for £30; 11 score of oak trees at Edlingham for £26 5s. 0d.;" and others at Swarland, Hebburn, and Shawdon. On May 1, 1683—"A Felton bargin of £200" was divided by the quartermasters into twenty shares, each from £5 to £15. In 1685, 24 score of trees were bought at Newham for £45; and £30 were paid for the Abbey bark. In the account for bark on April 1, 1700, John Strother, Tho. Woodhouse, Luke Hindmarsh, and Ralph Raynoldson were quartermasters; there were "bought at Low Framlington of the Hawkeases bark, £15 12s. 6d.; John Grey, Esq., bark £1; at Shawdon of the Haggerstons' bark £3 16s. 6d.; att Hobbrown David Mofatts bark £20; Brinkburne Roger Fenwicke's £25; Preston G. Morrison and R. Newbiggen; at Nimmer house and the Huntley bark £5 14s. 10d.; at the Brickbugh Mr. H. Collingwood £3, in all £82 1s. 0d."

The last notice of bark buying is in 1721, when 21s. were taken out of the box to defray the charge of going to York to look for bark; shewing that oak woods in Northumberland were disappearing. With the exception of £30 worth of trees from the Abbey grounds and two trees from Hobberlaw, the district around Alnwick yielded no bark trees to the tanners; its forests and woods had been almost entirely destroyed. When a bargain was bought, each tanner was compelled to take his share; in 1685 "Ralph Reynoldson was fined for refusing his parte of Hayson bark forty shillings bating a penny." Keen, vigorous bargain-makers could, however, scarcely be expected to submit entirely to the restrictive regulations of the company; and we find even the officials snatching at a bargain for their own exclusive advantage; in "1649 Sam. Alnwick was fyned 6s. 8d. for his abuse being alderman in wronging brethren in barke buying." One load of bark a member might buy in 1657 on his own account; but buying more would subject him to a fine of 39s. 11d., and expulsion from all bargains. In 1667 the regulation was sadly transgressed, and many were fined; and in 1670 the old orders were re-enacted and made more stringent, imposing for a breach of them not only a penalty of 39s. 11d., but also imprisonment during pleasure. "Abuses crept in," restrictive orders were repeated, and transgressors were fined; still there was no reformation; wilful tanners would buy their own bark. The following marvellous order was passed May 27th, 1700: "It is this day ordered and agreed upon by the alderman and most part of the company, that noe man shall goe or enter into any wood with a cart at any time by day or by night, except the major party of owner or carter be there, upon payne of every such offence to pay 13s. 4d."

Like all other companies, the tanners endeavoured to keep up a monopoly for their own advantage; none but a tanner could buy rough hides; in 1731 John Weatherburn was ordered to be prosecuted for pretending to buy them on commission from a tanner. The power of the company was even put forth in Alnmouth, Wooler, and Berwick; in 1670 Luke Stevenson, of Wooler, was obliged to bind himself under a penalty of £50 not to buy rough hides and skins in the hair, in any part of England; and in 1661 the alderman and steward were despatched to Alnmouth "about Luke Watson to discover his buying rough leather;" and he was prosecuted and obliged to pay a fine of 39s. Agreed brothers were admitted on payment of £20. Thomas Vardy, of Etthell, agreed brother, was admitted on condition of his not setting up or erecting a Tan House within nine miles of Alnwick, of his having only one apprentice every seven years, and of paying to the company £10 by instalments. And keen the company was to have payment; he had only paid £6 5s. up to April 22nd, 1717, and when teased and threatened, he pleaded inability to pay more, and begged for time, telling this hard-hearted company—"I am sure the trade has broken me."

A few illustrations of other special rules, and of the way in which they were enforced may be quoted.

"1627—None shall at any time goe to meete any hyde or skyne one the nagg's backe or man's backe or any others backe whatsoever coming to the market, nor shall not take them out of any poke or sacke or otherwise, before the parties or owners thereof doe laye the said hydes or skynnes downe in the market themselves, but for every default soe maid shall presently forfitt and pay three shillings and fower pence to the boxe. 1645—Noc tanned leather shall be sould by any of the company to any shoemaker or other chapman, untill the alderman or steward make search of the sufficiencye of the tanning thereof, and give approbation of its being marketable wairre upon pain of 6s. 4d. 1657—Noc brother shall buy any hyde or other lether in the markett place or shall stop any at any other place, without or within the towne to ingrosse the same to his hande, (except the same come to his owne house) before the bell ringo upon Satterday, and no brother nor his servants shall buy any hyde or other lether on the Fridaye or Saterdayes in the butchers shopes by weight or other till the time aforesaid under a penalty of 6s. 8d."

"1665—Agreed that John Reynoldson be fined for takinge away of a shoemaker, while he was a byeing lether from Thomas Harrison, and hindered the said Thomas of the saile of his stock for which he is fined 3s. 4d."

"1673—Lancelot Strother is fined 1s. for byeing of a horse skin out of Thomas Learmouth's hand, and not having touched or handled the skin before he bought the same, which was done when Thomas Learmouth had the money in his hand and standing near the skin." "Will Alwicke present alderman is fined according to order for taking a hide out of a poke 3s. 4d."

1676—John Gibson fined 10s. for having bought three neat hides before they were taken of from the beasts backs, which he hath confessed, and submitted himself to the mercy of the trade. 1677—John Harrison fined 1s. for inticing a man from Thomas Learmouth while he was a byeing a hide.

"1682—No tanner of the fellowship shall buy any hide fit for a tanner on pain of 6s. 8d. for each skin, except at the usual place called the waic next the corn market, at the toll of the bell, or at Wooler, before the toll of the bell, next the crose." "1679—John Shanks fined 39s. 11d for buying and selling leather he did not tan." "1703—Will. Stanton fined 6s. 8d. for buying hides above Clayport Tower or Thomas Vardy's door." "Dec. 14, 1703—None of our society shall buy any leather if forencers or strangers or other but amongst ourselves shall forfeit 39s. 11s." "1759—Several persons having of late bought up calf skins and hides, and sent them abroad and sell them in the hair to the great detriment of the trade," they are to be prosecuted.

"1644—It is ordered that if any of the company hire any journeyman for day labouring pay 4d. a day meat and drink, or 7d. in money shall forfeit for every day 12d.; and any journeyman that is a free brother shall refuse to worke at these rates shall forfeit 6s. 8d. for every default." In 1649 Luke Wyddous apprentice to Phillis Stanton was fined 40s. for his offence to *his dame*, and ordered to be kept in the tower till paid; he, however, paid on 29th April, 1650, twenty shillings "in full satisfaction of all former faults and offences committed by him to his said dame and the rest of the company, from the beginning of the world to the date hereof."

1669—"Nicho. Wydous is fined 1s. for running out of the meeting chamber at the election of alderman and not giving his vote." "1680, April 12—Roger Moflatt the younger is fined 1s. for striking a tray of wine out of Luke Hindmeres hands. Thos. Gaire is fined one shilling for pushing at Roger Moflatt's breast with a stafe in the meeting chamber, not to depart out of this chamber upon paine of 39s. 11d. Roger Moffett is fined one shilling for striking at Thomas Gaire the younger in the meeteing chamber and not to depart out of this meeting chamber till these fines are paid upon paine of 39s. 11d."

The Tanners had faith in the healing influence of a loving cup; and with it quarrels were sometimes settled. In 1681 there had been an abuse given by Will. Stanton and Thomas Alnwick, in presence of the whole company in the meeting chamber, to the evil example of others; but at the request of the trade, each of these quarrelsome brethren bound himself to the other, by the exchange of a sixpence, in the sum of 39s. 11d., to abide by the decision of the whole trade. And this was the award:

“We the whole trade and company of tanners have considered the abuses on both sides and we doe order and award, that Thomas Alnwick shall goe to William Stanton's house and drinke to him, and that William Stanton shall goe to Thomas Alnwick's house and drinke to him.” In 1682 another quarrel was composed in a similar manner; John Gibson went to the house of the alderman, and, in presence of the trade, drunk to John Raynoldson and desired him to forgive him.

The fees of admission in 1645 were 12d. to the company, 6d. to the alderman, 4d. to the clerk, a pottle of wine to the company, and a free dinner to the company, or instead of it 10s. Fellowships were jovial in those days; and besides the jollifications after admissions, there appear to have been regularly recurring days in which the tanners made themselves merry. We have in

1640—Disbursed by Ralph Raynoldson alderman; Imprimis Mich. Monday 1s., at the alderman's dinner 3s., Thomas Gaires dinner 1s. 6d., another day 6d., the morning after alderman's dinner 1s., collop monday 6d., Easter monday 1s., trinitie monday 1s., last Michaelmas monday 3s., the day after 1s. 6d.

The modern proceedings of the tanners are devoid of interest. They spent 8s. to celebrate what they call the *joyful event* of the removal of Alnwick from the Corporation Reform Bill, and censured those freemen who entertained a different opinion. Happy days these when narrow-minded intolerance may bark but cannot bite! There were in January, 1868, 29 members and one widow; seven bear the name of Rennison, and six that of Hindmarsh.

Weavers.—The *Gilda Tellariorum*, or guild of woollen cloth weavers, was one of the oldest fellowships in England, its existence being traceable, among the London guilds, to the time of Henry I. The orders of the Alnwick weavers' company, which in 1619 are called ancient, “had been by their predecessors kept mind out of memory of man.” Old though it be, it has never been large; in 1629 there were 14 members; in 1686, 20; in 1778, 20; but the number has dwindled down, and now there are only seven members, none of whom practises the craft of weaving. To this company belongs the ancient family of Stamp, whose first entry into it is thus recorded:—“James Watson alderman September ye 30 day John Stamp maid freyman of the wevfer traide of Alnwick September the 30 day 1699.”

Their general orders are similar to those of other trades; but there were special regulations:

"Noe brother of the company shall fetch any worke from any body's house, but such as shall be brought to him; no forroyner shall come to break any priviledges of the trad, to cary away out of the towne any work; if any man or woman shall have their webbs or cloath spoyled in default of any worke man of the trad," the member committing the fault shall be punished according to the quality of the fault, and according to the discretion of the company; abuse either in the tower or out of it in presence of the alderman was fineable 6s. 8d.; Scotsmen were not to be set to work under a penalty of 20s.; stuff exposed for sale in the market, that is unlawful or not well wrought, had to be seized by the alderman or stewards; "no weaver shall work any harden cloath under a threty except he take 3 happens for every yard working, and under 36, 2 pens, under a 40, 2 pens hapeny and under 44, 3 pens, and to 48, 4 pens per yard; for huggabak napkins he shall tak from a thirty to a six and thirty 2 pens per yard, and for 44 there shall be taken 4 pens the yard; no grogen shall be worked under 3 pence per yard;" breach of these regulations involved a penalty of 6s. 8d.

"1689—William Jaferson is fined six shillings and 8 pence for weavan six quarter broid for three haipence a yard. 1714—Joseph Snowball is fined for spoiling a lining cloath. 1719, April 27—Thomas Wardell fined for feching work from his house to the shope, and for teling ley of George Patterson and speaking for work 6s. 8d. to be paid to the box."

Agreed brothers were admitted on paying a composition from 30s. to 50s. to the box, but they were not allowed to take apprentices. Intruding foreigners were prosecuted; John Stanckley of Warkworth, in 1639, presumed to carry and take woollen yarn out of the town; but the yarn was taken from him and he was plunged into law, and obliged at length to submit to the company's orders; he was allowed to take yarn out of the borough sent to his host house out of the country; but if he ventured to take any from the inhabitants within the "precinckes," he forfeited 4s. for every stone of yarn.

"In the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundredth fifty and five, John Alder of Alnwike fuller and dyer is received and admitted into the trade of weavers to be agreed brother for himselfe and his use;" but "he promised to full all the weavers' cloth for a penny a yard, that is for their owne proper wear, so long as he had a fulling milne of his owne;" and when Matthew Alnwick, the younger, was admitted a free brother he was bound "not to talk no yarne into weav which may be pregedetiell to the traid." Not very literate men were these weavers as the following resolution, made about 1700, shews:—

"We heare whom is consarned in the traid and company of weavers with the whole consent of the traid all together that thay subscrib as under written if it be we fall under any troubell about any lay besnes about any formers that intruds upon us that taks any work thay are to be sued upon sight so we are to subscrib to get every man in the traid to pay every man in the traid five shillings a peas or if it be put further for every man whom is consarned to pay ten shiling a peas."

The ancient admission fees were for an apprentice 5s. to the box, for a second son 3s. 4d. to the box; and both besides must give a free dinner to the company. The present admission fees are 6s. 8d. for the eldest son of a freeman, and 10s. 6d. for other sons and apprentices. There have been only fourteen admissions

during the last thirty-eight years, little more than one on the average in three years. The annual dinner is discontinued; but in the box is still kept the silver cup bought before 1756, and a crystal tankard, on both of which are engraved the weavers' arms and motto—*weave truth and trust*.

Smiths.—This company is mentioned in the corporate records in 1613; and in 1617 contributed 5s. to the school. It has always been a small fellowship; in 1725 there were ten members; from 1755 to 1863, a period of 109 years, only 33 persons have been admitted; in Jan., 1868, there were only five resident members, one of whom is Mr. Thomas Henry Bell, whose ancestor Henry Bell was admitted in 1721. The family of Theaker first appeared in 1692, and the last of them died a few years ago. The orders of their ancient predecessors were set down in writing in the time of Edward Lindsey, warden and alderman of the fellowship of blacksmiths and whitesmiths, on Sept. 29th, 1656.

The company had to meet annually on June 25th to elect an alderman—a month penny had to be paid to maintain the borough and themselves—apprentices were not to be admitted till twenty-four years of age—alderman had to make diligent search of all unlawful ware coming into the market, and to seize it for the use of the lord of the manor and the rest of the trade. In 1683 there are articles of agreement amongst the fellowship for the regulation of their trade.

None shall make use of any horse shewes to sett one of any man's horse whatsoever, exposing the said shewes to saile, but what they make up of their owne hand, or their apprentice or hired servant; none of them shall cutt any iron or steel to any one merchant within the borrow or any other iron monger within the said liberty, under paying to parson soe employed, from such merchant or iron monger £1 and a $\frac{1}{2}$ a £ for every years worke; for making a shoe and setting it on 2d. must be charged; none shall binde any waine whells under payment of 12d. every waine; or any cart whelles under paying 7d. for each carte and for tumbler whelles 4d. per pare; any breach of these rules incurred a penalty of 13s. 4d. On 25th June, 1723, it is agreed by us who here subscribed our names, who ever makes a shoe for a happeny shall be fined ten groats.

Like other companies the smiths prosecuted all intruders; Ralph Gibson, in 1661, bound himself under a penalty of £20 not to take work within one mile of Anwicke; in 1674 Henry Thompson signed an agreement that he would not exercise the art or mystery of a smith in Bailiffgate, not being a freeman. The company seems to have been quiet and orderly; the breaches of orders are very few. "November the 3rd, 1693, Thomas Craster hath committed a falt contrary to our orders by shoeing of James Nickles horse, which is a customer to John Hunter; he did desire him himself not to meddle in such a case; we doe here by fine him 6 shillings 8 pence." "Oct. 27th, 1706, the alderman and the rest of the trade does fine David Craister for abusing the alderman being present John Theaker the fine 6s. 8d.

Very singular is the oath administered on the admission of a member: "The same oath as your elder brethren hath taken, you are to fulfil and keep." No one knows what that oath was,

and yet it has been taken by successive smiths for at least a century and a half. Apprentices on admission paid 10s. for a free dinner, 5s. to the box, 2s. 6d. for wine, 1s. to the alderman, and other dues to the steward and clerk; the eldest son of a freeman paid only 10s. for his free dinner, and the dues. This company had so strong an attachment to the old institution of waits, that the members strongly remonstrated on the discontinuance of the livery of these officers. Somewhat in advance of the other freemen they had been in 1835, when they would "not subscribe out of the box to purchase a memorial for John Lindsay"—the hero of exclusive corporations.

Wrights.—The carpenters and joiners formed an ancient company under the name of *wrights*. To the town's fund the wrights paid, in 1611, 19s. 10d.; and in 1617 they contributed to the school 3s. 4d. From a decayed document, among the muniments of the trade, it appears the fellowship had been in existence in Queen Elizabeth's time, when Patrick Venus was brought before a court for exercising the art, mystery, or manual occupation of a carpenter without right. The old records of the fellowship are lost; but there are copies of orders made in 1682 and 1707, similar in their provisions to those of the other trades.

None of the brethren shall sett any foreigner to work without leave of the whole fellowship, upon paine of every day's work 3s. 4d.; none shall seek any work within the town unless they be sent for to their houses under the same penalty; and whosoever discommends his brother's work at any time without cause shall pay for such a trespass committed 12d.; a pottle of wine must be paid to the fellowship when an apprentice was enrolled; every brother in coming into the trade paid a pottle of wine and 5s. to the box and 6d. to the clerk; an apprentice on his admission made a free dinner unto the fellowship, paid 5s. to the box, 6d. to the clerk, and a pottle of wine; a free born brother only paid a pottle of wine to the fellowship, 6d. to the box, and 6d. to the clerk; they would allow no Scotsmen to be employed, nor the son of a Scotsman to be taken apprentice.

The fellowship fined their members for non-attendance at meetings and breach of bye-laws; but in the olden time they were a quiet, well-behaved body; they paid their month money, and admitted agreed brothers; but with the exception of the free dinners and pottles of wine on admission of new members, no jollifications are recorded. There is little of interest in their proceedings; but a few extracts may be given.

"1687—Ralph Younghusband is fined for not coming to Clayport tower accorden to order, third day of September, 3s. 4d. 1694, July 17—Robert Ward fined for setting a former to work 3s. 4d.: it is agreed by the fellowship that Matthew Forster is to have the liberty to take in Matthew Forster of Charlton to work as a journey man, from this day till Michelmise first, and he is to give 10s. satisfaction to the box. 1696, Ap. 6—Robert Ward is fined for working for under wadges the youscall fin for such an offence, which is 3s. 4d. 1707—No brother is to pay less than 10s. for his free dinner. 1708—The old alderman is to prepare his dinner for the trade on Michaelmas day. 1716—No widow is to take an apprentice. 1716—I, William Shepherd, of Warkworth, doe acknowledge and own myselve to have trespassed against the freedom and priviledge of the carpenters and joyners of Alnwick, by working

once within the liberty of the said town, and for the future doe promise to the said trade never to offend soe again. 1720—Alexander and William two Scotsmen, now at this time working with Mr. Grey, shall be prosecuted according to law. 1751—Application is to be made to the alderman of the trade, if workmen of the trade cannot then be got on reasonable terms, then foreigners may be employed.”

In 1722 the fellowship took high ground in enforcing their monopoly. William Garrett had set a foreigner to work, and an order was made not only fining but “disfranchising him out of the trade for breaking their orders;” but Garrot threatened to bring a mandamus for restoration to his freedom. George Grey, counsellor, was consulted by the trade; and he told them they cannot disfranchise for breach of a bye-law, and that Garret could still exercise his trade and enjoy the common, even though the trade disfranchised him. Some time about 1770 the company presented a petition to the Chamberlains and Common Council, signed by 21 names, complaining “that some person, not a freeman, owner of a burgage, intends soon to rebuild the same, and to employ or let the carpenter work thereof to some persons not freemen; if any indulgence,” say they, “should be allowed to such stallingers, It would be a great discouragement to persons serving their apprenticeship to freemen, and they pray that no liberty or indulgence be given to such persons for any stones or other things necessary for such buildings.” The wrights displayed their loyalty during the rebellion of 1745, and set forth two volunteers to defend their country. Again, in 1798, they were patriotic and unanimously subscribed the whole of their funds, four guineas, towards the defence of their country at the present crisis; the amount was paid to the Chamberlains to be by them forwarded to the government. On January 25th, 1844, they distributed their funds, £8, among the brethren, to celebrate the Prince of Wales’ christening.

A benefit society was established by this fellowship on 8th June, 1751, for the support of members incapacitated by sickness or lameness. The subscription from each member was 5s. yearly, and 4d. to the clerk; all the funds of the trade were to be appropriated to this object; no one, however, could have any benefit from it, until he had been three years a member; a sick member received 4s. weekly, but this was reduced, after six months illness, to 2s. weekly; old, infirm members were allowed 1s. 6d. weekly; whoever fomented a quarrel, challenged another to fight, or under-valued him as to understanding his business, or cursed, swore, gambled during the time of meeting, or got drunk on Sunday forfeited 6d. for each offence. This society flourished for a while; in 1754 the funds were £31 1s., and in 1777 they had accumulated to £110; but in 1778 the society was entirely broken up, and the money divided among the subscribers; but for what reason does not appear.

The fellowship possesses a silver cup holding about half a gill,

bought in 1698, when Matthew Forster was alderman, at the cost of £2 18s. ; and also a new flag and the fragments of an old one, on which are blazoned the arms of the company. In 1691, when John Stampe was alderman, this flag was made according to the following account :—

Item paid to Mr. Forster for 2 yards and a half and half a quarter of buckram	00 . 04 . 02½
More when I barganed with the pantter	00 . 01 . 06
More to the musik on Michellmis day	00 . 01 . 00
More to the musik at the alderman's dinner	00 . 01 . 00
More paid to the panter for the scuchons	01 . 00 . 00
	01 . 07 . 08½

In 1861 the admission fees were—for the eldest son of a freeman 5s., the younger son 5s., for apprentices 15s. This fraternity numbered few members in early times ; in 1682 there were only 14 ; in 1736 there were 26 ; during the present century the numbers have increased, and there are now, in 1868, 38 members and 7 widows. The predominant names are Forster, of whom there are 10, Dickman, of whom there are 6, and Straughan, of whom there are 4. There are few old families in the trade ; a branch of the Forster's appears in 1682, Matthew Forster, from whom is descended Mr. William Baird (formerly Forster) ; Athe and Dickman appear in 1720, and Andrew Hindmarsh, from whom is descended Mr. Michael Hindmarsh, in 1751. To this company also belongs my old friend Mr. Thomas Robertson, who entered it in 1828.

Butchers.—The society and fraternity of butchers* struggled into existence in the early part of the seventeenth century ; even in 1611 their claim to be a company was doubted ; for in that year it is entered “ paid for the bouchers *yf youe allowe them to be a companye* out of the town purse xs.” Their claim, however, was allowed, and we find them in 1613 recognised as a trade ; in 1617 contributing 10d., their quarterly contribution to the school, and in 1665 10d. for the same object. The ancient orders which were “ by reason of the late distractions imbezled and lost,” were in 1647 re-established and confirmed. In these orders it is instituted—

“ That noe man whatsoever shall kill, dresse, or put to sale any kind of sheepe or cattle of what kynd or sorts soever be they young or old which they shall have bought either in the markett or elsewhere, untill they shall have kept them in their own custody and possession for the space of forty eight houres together, after the tyme that they shall have bought them ; and shall then present them to publique sale with the wool on their face and the skins hanging on their backs, upon paine of forfeiteing the same as aforesaid ;” they allowed foreigners or aliens, sufficiently skilled in the profession of butcher, to be incorporated into their society on paying a composition ; but to keep up a just and due difference and distinction between these favoured foreigners and the true freemen, it was instituted, that the eldest son of the latter be admitted on giving a free dinner to the whole company and paying five shillings to

* A slaughterer of goats, from French *boue*, a goat.

the common purse, but the sons of the former must serve an apprenticeship of seven years to a free member, and give a free dinner to the whole society and pay 3s. 4d. to the common purse, before their admission; they endeavoured to keep up brotherly love and equal respect by fining those forty shillings who attempted to take a bargain out of a fellow member's hand, and by fining others twenty shillings who take house or shop occupied by a member, before he has given it up; towards the support of the trade, a tax was imposed in 1766 of one farthing for every sheep and lamb, one halfpenny for every calf and swine slaughtered weekly by any member.

Great effort was made by this company to keep up its monopoly. Among the last prosecuted was Edward Bolton in 1766; but he was obliged to succumb and pay £3 as a compromise for the penalty he had incurred. But their power came to an end prior to 1785; for they failed in an action against John Murdy, of Rothbury, and John Todd, of Alnwick, for exercising the trade of a butcher. Formerly the company appointed flesh lookers. In 1842 they resolved to divide their funds; and each member and widow of a member received seven shillings and sixpence, and a division has subsequently taken place every three years; in 1862 one shilling and tenpence each was paid to 18 members. The modern character of the fraternity may be estimated from the following extracts:—

1821, Oct. 8—“The company of free butchers by a majority has agreed to give £4 out of the box to assist the freeman's cause now pending in chancery which is founded on the principles of justice and a thorough sense of right, hoping that we may triumph over the usurpation and injustice of a self elected four and twenty.” 1840, Nov. 20—In reference to a division of the moor, “His Grace ought to vacate the royalty of that part assigned to the freemen, who will not otherwise be benefitted by the change.” They however supported the plans of the delegates in 1848; but the most extraordinary exhibition of character is seen in the following resolution:—“1852, Sep. 13—It was resolved on the motion of Wm. Burn seconded by Robert Bell, that the invitation of the chamberlains be declined on the ground that the butcher's company and the freemen generally not having been consulted in regard to the erection of the schools, and that the erection having been made without their consent and against their expressed wishes, they decline joining in the procession intended to grace the laying the foundation stone.”

Fortunately for the character of the corporation, this self-important faction of the butchers was left alone in all its glory. Some men are born too soon, breathing the thoughts and aspirations of a more advanced age. Bacon left his works and fame to the ages that were to follow; but these butchers dropt upon the world some ages too late, and are living studies of a bye-past generation.

This fraternity has never been numerous; in 1647 there were only seven members; in 1768 there were 28 members, and since then the numbers have decreased; in January 1808 there were 22 members and one widow. The annual dinner was discontinued in 1846. To this company belongs a branch of the ancient family of Thew, who for centuries had property at Denwick. In 1750 the admission fees were for the eldest son 10s. 6d., for the second son 15s., and for an apprentice 21s.

The Tailors are a small but ancient company; in 1616 they paid for the school 1s. 8d., being apparently at the rate of 3s. 4d. yearly. "Their orders, made and collected out of divers ancient orders of the Fellowship and Free Brotherhood of the Societie and Company of Taylors," are dated 11th of May, 1647.

According to these, they met yearly on the first Monday after Michaelmas day, to elect an alderman and two stewards. The whole company must go to the alderman's dinner or each forfeit 6s. 8d.—no one could exercise the mystery or profession of a tailor unless he had served seven years as an apprentice and one as a hireman—agreed brothers were admitted on paying a composition—no free member was allowed at any time to desert the town and borough to work in the country without license of the alderman—none was allowed to publish abroad or reveal any of the arts of the fellowship touching the government and exercise of the trade or mystery, nor anything done in their meeting chamber—misconduct in word or deed within the meeting chamber incurred the penalty of 6s. 8d.—the fees paid on admission to the trade were for the eldest son of every freeman 4d., and every freeman's apprentice 6s. and a free dinner to the company—no foreign tailor must be employed under a penalty of 6s. 8d.—and all admitted were to be sworn upon the Holy Evangelist to give a true and perfect obedience to the orders and to every particulars thereof.

Luke Ditchburn, in the early part of the seventeenth century, gave a bond not to exercise the trade of tailor within Alnwick, nor cut out any cloth within Alnwick, nor take measure of any person in Alnwick for cloth. The free tailors and the agreed brethren quarrelled in 1691, and, in accordance with the ancient custom of the town, the dispute was referred for settlement to the Chamberlains and Four-and-Twenty; and this was the sentence passed:

Oct. 2, 1691—Whereas their hath a great difference happoned between the free taylors of this burrough and the gread brethren of the trade, for the determining of which according to the ancient custome of the town the free taylors have appealed to the Chamberlains and 24, whereupon a full hearing of the free taylors and the gread brethren, It is this day unanimously ordered by the Chamberlains and 24, that the box orders and other writings belonging to the said company be forthwith delivered to the free taylors and shall from henceforth be ever kept by the freemen and their successors, and wee doe hereby order that Mr. Thomas Lindsay having the said box, the said Thomas Lindsay shall deliver the box to the free taylors.

CLEM. FORSTER, RICH. FORSTER, } Chamberlains.
HEN. STANTON, THO. LINDSAY, }

The earliest alderman on record is George Alder, in 1692. The company was never large; in 1715 there were 20 free tailors and agreed brethren; since then the company has declined; in the course of one hundred years, from 1700 to 1800, there were only twenty-three admissions; and from 1800 to 1863, the admissions, for which no fee is now paid, have been eleven, all either of the family of Young or Carr. James Young, the first of his family, entered in 1721, and William Carr in 1756. There are now in the company only three members and one widow.

Extinct Companies.—*The Fullers or Walkers*,* who shrunk cloth after it came from the hands of the weavers, lived in their own street, Walkergate, by the side of the river. A fulling mill was in Lowther's haugh in 1682; another belonging to Holn Priory was further up the Aln, and another was within Canon-gate township, near to the junction of the Moor burn with the river. In later times there was a fulling mill in Denwick township. The fullers' and walkers' company were in existence in 1611; they contributed to the school in 1616 at the rate of 6s. 8d. yearly; but they became extinct prior to 1665, leaving not a wreck of their records behind them.

Of the *Coopers*, the first notice is in 1665, when they contributed 5s. to the support of the schools; the last member of the company, John Sandylands, who was admitted October 12th, 1778, died at Embleton on August 29th, 1841. I have seen a few of the records of this company in a small folio book; but they are imperfect and of little interest. The rules and orders were made and agreed upon on October 7th, 1754, and signed by nine members; but in 1695 there were sixteen members. The first admissions are the following: "Burg Alnwick, April ye 11th, 1715—George Anderson was then admitted a free bro of the Society of Cowpers. Richd. Urring made free of ye company above. 1736, October 4th—Edward Shotton paid 5s. to the box, 6d. to the clerk, and 10s. for his free dinner." One order may be given to shew the literary ability of the company.

"It is fully agreed by the whol consent of coupers in traid to stand true to one another upon the affaire against this man Walter Cunningham for in crohing upon us or any other that brings unsuffent guds to this markit. Agreed by us thre shillings and fourpence fine loved by the alderman to be casen by the town court as witnes all our hands the 20th of March, 174½. William Burn, John Shotton, Edward Shotton, George Glaholme, Aaron Shanks, Matthew Anderson, John Mills, his mark X, Luke Hodgson, Richard Urring, his mark X."

The admission fees in 1754 were for the eldest son of a cooper 5s., for other sons 7s., and for apprentices 15s.

These companies are now entirely useless; as trade combinations their "occupation is gone;" they have ceased to furnish occasions for rational social enjoyment; and their recent attempts to create a new monopoly tell strongly in favour of their complete abolition.

The following table shews the date of the earliest reference to each company, their numbers as far as can be ascertained at different periods, and the amount of the fees of admission, immediately prior to the extraordinary imposition by the cordiners and skimmers of five pounds on the enrolment of an apprentice. From the freemen's roll, it appears that there were in January, 1868, 246 resident freemen and 41 freemen's widows; non-resident freemen were in 1835 estimated at 126.

* Both names have the same meaning; cloth was shrunk by treading upon it with the feet in water; and hence *walker* and *fuller*, from Fr. *fouler*, to tread or trample on.

Companies.	Date of earliest document or reference.	Date of orders.	No. of Members at early periods.	Highest number recorded.	No. January, 1868.		No. who voted in 1782.	No. received sub-duo money including widows in 1821.	Admission Fees.		
					Freemen.	Widows.			Elders Son.	Younger Sons.	Apprentices.
Merchants	1582	1620	16 in 1620	32 in 1789	9	13	15	7s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	£1 7s. 6d.	
Cordiners	1535	1645	16 ,, 1673	114 ,, 1821	107	24	76	114	7s. 6d.	£1 1s. 0d.	
Wrights .	1611	1682	14 ,, 1682	41 ,, 1862	38	7	20	22	3s. 0d.	15s.	
Tanners .	1613	1621	35 ,, 1646	46 ,, 1657	29	1	16	24	7s. 6d.	17s. 6d.	
Glovers .	1610	1629	16 ,, 1590	75 ,, 1698	28	6	42	53	5s. 0d.	17s. 6d.	
Weavers .	1613	1619	24 ,, 1629	24 ,, 1629	7	1	12	14	6s. 8d.	10s. 6d.	
Tailors .	1613	1647	20 ,, 1715	20 ,, 1715	3	1	2	5	None.	None.	
Smiths .	1613	1656	10 ,, 1715	13 ,, 1782	5	13	7	5s. 0d.	17s. 0d.	17s.	
Butchers .	1611	1647	7 ,, 1647	28 ,, 1768	22	1	8	16	10s. 6d.	15s.	
Fullers .	1613		Extinct before 1665.							Others 15s.	
Coopers .	1616	1754		16 ,, 1695			5		5s. 0d.	7s. 0d.	15s.

The privileges now enjoyed by a freeman, succinctly stated, are—the education of his children at the grammar and other corporation schools free of charge—freedom from tolls, stallage, and pickage in Alnwick Market—the use of the Town Hall and Weigh House free of charge, subject to the regulations of the Four-and-Twenty—the right to take limestones, building stones, sand, gravel, clay, marl, turves, flags, whins, and wattles, for his own use out of Alnwick Moor, subject to regulations made by the trustees of the freemen's allotment; and *whilst resident in the parish* to have the occupancy of one acre of tillage land, and the depasturage of two stints on Alnwick Moor, subject to the payment of £2 3s. 6d. yearly, and to have the right of taking two apprentices to serve for the freelege. Widows of freemen enjoy the same privileges excepting that of taking apprentices.

The history of the corporation, viewed as a whole during the last hundred and ten years, speaks unfavourably of a privileged class in the midst of a community; the moral effect is bad, exciting jealousy and envy on the one side and self-conceit and arrogance on the other; and creating disunion and contention. No doubt some have been benefitted by the material advantages arising from the freelege; but how many, tempted by the exclusive privileges looming largely in the distance, have hung about the town in a semi-pauperised state, wasting their time and talents, when, if depending on their own energies they had gone into other more profitable fields of labour, they might have risen to stations of usefulness and respectability.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BOARD OF HEALTH AND BURIAL BOARD.

BOARD OF HEALTH.—After the corporation had been deprived of its ancient authority, the town was left almost entirely without the power of self-government, which, however, would have been bestowed upon it by the Corporation Reform Bill of 1836. An act obtained in 1822 “for lighting, paving, cleansing, watching, and otherwise improving the town” created a new body called *commissioners*, consisting of the curate, bailiff, chamberlains, churchwardens, overseers, and inhabitants who were possessed of real and personal property of the value of £600; and for these purposes, they could borrow money not exceeding £1000, and levy rates not exceeding 1s. in the pound yearly; but the functions of this unpopular body were brought to an end in 1850, when the Local Board of Health was established.

A serious visitation of cholera prepared men's minds for remedial measures. The disastrous news that cholera had broken out fell like a thunder bolt over the town, on Sunday morning, September 23rd, 1849. The first case appeared on the north side of Clayport Street, but others soon followed in the same locality, and within 24 hours of its first attack, twelve persons fell victims to the disease. Early on Monday the town was excited and alarmed, and meetings were held to devise means of staying the plague. So rapid was the spread of the disease, and so numerous the cases, that medical aid had to be brought from a distance. Some timid men fled from the town; but most of the tradesmen remained at the post of duty, ready to devote their energies to help the helpless. Miserable indeed was the aspect of the town; nearly all were suffering from functional derangement, arising, it may be, partly from anxiety and fear, as well as from general morbid conditions; deserted were the streets, save by those who were hurrying along to arrest the disease. Country people avoided the plague-stricken town; and all but necessary business was suspended. Old fashioned as well as more rational methods were adopted to drive away the evil; tar barrels were blazing in the streets to burn it out, and the streets themselves and the watercourses were plentifully strewed with lime, all tending to give a ghastliness to the scene; lanes, yards,

and all receptacles of filth were cleansed and white-washed; and almost every house was daily fumigated with some disinfectant; the dead were removed immediately from crowded localities to a dead house erected in a field; and the use of pall and cloaks and the tolling of the dead bell were discontinued. People were on the alert and watchful, as in the days of yore when besieged by an enemy; how to ward off and conquer disease was the main business of life. Of all days during the visitation the most dismal was Sunday the 30th, when fogs, cold rains, and a chilling north east wind depressed the vital powers, and enabled the ravager to come down with a fell swoop and lay prostrate twenty-four new victims. Finding, when the calamity was at its height, that even the increased medical staff could not attend to all the cases, a number of tradesmen formed themselves, on Sept. 28th, into committees, and daily visited from house to house, endeavouring to arrest the disease in its first stages, to provide promptly medical aid, to remove the dead, and to give pecuniary and other help to the poor. Diligent too were the ministers of religion in administering consolation to the bereaved and the dying. Providence seems to encourage deeds of charity, or perhaps the mind actuated by a sense of duty in the midst of peril, is braced to resist pestilential influences; for not one of the visiting committee, though all coming daily into intercourse with the diseased, suffered from the pestilence. After October 1st, the disease began to decline; there was no fresh case after October 10th; and on October 23rd the last victim fell. In this visitation 136 perished—nearly a whole year's mortality in thirty days. The deaths daily were as follow:—

Sept. 23—12	Sept. 29—17	Oct. 5—8	Oct. 11—3
" 24—6	" 30—13	" 6—6	" 12—1
" 25—2	Oct. 1—8	" 7—4	" 13—3
" 26—12	" 2—4	" 8—1	" 15—2
" 27—5	" 3—6	" 9—3	" 16—2
" 28—13	" 4—3	" 10—9	" 18—1
			" 23—2
			—
			Total, 136

The ages were as follow:—

From infancy to 10 years—17	From 50 years to 60 years—27
10 years " 20 " 9	60 " 70 " 10
20 " 30 " 23	70 " 80 " 13
30 " 40 " 17	80 " 90 " 3
40 " 50 " 15	Not known, 2*

The mortality was greatest among those in the prime of life; three-fifths were between 20 and 60 years of age. The poor chiefly suffered—they whose means were scanty, and who dwelt in crowded and confined places. More than one half lived in Clayport Street, where the fall of the ground is on both sides towards the roadway, and the drainage from populated yards is

* Rawlinson's report on the sanitary condition of Alnwick.

through the front houses; but the lower part of the town was little affected; Canongate entirely escaped; and in Walkergate only one person died, who had been so imprudent as to take the clothes of a cholera patient.

Little appeared in Alnwick to throw light on the obscure origin of this disease. Before the outbreak the weather had been foggy, with a prevalence of cold, raw, easterly winds, the temperature averaging 54° and never below 42° , and the barometer ranging from $28^{\circ}\cdot94$ to $30^{\circ}\cdot41$; and similar weather prevailed till October 17th, when the wind veered round to the south-west. Doubtless the town was not in a good sanitary state; many nuisances existed, the unwholesomeness of which was intensified by the ungenial weather. Very scanty was the water supply; some of which contained organic impurities, and much of which was loaded with inorganic matter. From all the pants and wells the supply of water in winter was 61,920 gallons per day, but in summer only 16,380 gallons. An analysis by Dr. Richardson of the water of St. Michael's pant, the principal supply, gave the following ingredients in an imperial gallon; and to shew the difference between this and a comparatively pure water, the analysis of the Thorn Tree Well in Alnwick Moor is annexed:—

	St Michael's Pant.	Thorn Tree Well.
Chloride of sodium	5·66	2·19
Chloride of potassium	trace.	trace.
Carbonate of soda	1·95	—
Sulphate of lime	31·99	·70
Carbonate of lime	1·43	·49
Carbonate of magnesia	14·51	·88
Carbonate of iron	trace.	—
Oxide of iron	—	trace.
Alumina and silica	1·12	·16
Organic matter	4·06	1·16
Chloride of calcium	—	·55
Total fixed constituents	60·72	6·13
Carbonic acid	3·87	3·43
Specific gravity	1·001	1·00019

Dr. Lyon Playfair estimated the hardness of St. Michael's water at 34° , which, being principally caused by sulphate of lime, could not but very slightly be lessened by boiling.

The cholera passed away; but on its departure the entire calamity did not cease; many homes were made desolate! many widows and orphans were left destitute! Tradesmen lost heavily, and it was long before commerce flowed again towards the town; yet, to the task of relieving all the misery left in the track of the destroyer the town had to brace itself, and subscriptions were generously given from all who could spare them; nor yet alone did it bear the burden, for the neighbourhood looked on with sympathy, and liberal help came from the surrounding villages and towns.

The misery produced by this visitation induced all to look favourably on measures of sanitary reform; for though the value of human life had considerably increased from the general progress of civilization, from the improved habits of the people, and from a better mode of living, yet the death-rate yearly in England was 22 in the thousand, while it was believed, if sanitary laws were better observed, it would not exceed 11. At Wooler and at Rothbury it was only 15; but in Alnwick, the average yearly rate for ten years from 1841 to 1850 was 24·3. A number of the inhabitants therefore memorialised the General Board of Health to send an inspector to examine the town; and this was done by Robert Rawlinson, C.E., on October 29th, 1849. In accordance with his report, and with the resolutions of a public meeting, Parliament, on August 15th, 1850, confirmed a provisional order of the General Board of Health, and established a Local Board of Health for the townships of Alnwick and Canon-gate. This Board consists of eighteen persons each with a qualification of being rated to the relief of the poor upon the annual value of not less than £18, or being possessed of real or personal estate, or of both, of not less value than £500; all rate-payers and owners of property are entitled to vote in the election of members; six of the number retire annually, but they are eligible for re-election. The first election, which took place on September 28th, 1850, created considerable interest, and as many as eighty-three candidates were nominated. The following are the names of those elected with the number of the votes:—

James Bowmaker, 412.	Michael Hindmarsh, 312.	Michael Paterson, 245.
James Allen, 407.	Prideaux Selby, 295.	William Burn, 239.
Henry Atkinson, 355.	Luke Hindmarsh, 284.	Robert Busby, 236.
Mark Smith, 333.	George Tate, 254.	James Landells, 227.
George Cockburn, 324.	John Bolton, 251.	Joseph Forster, 217.
William Dickson, 314.	Thomas C. Wilson, 240.	Edward Thew, 203.

This body is not simply a Board of Health; but to a certain extent a representative body for the government of the town; for by incorporating with the act various sections of the police and town's improvement acts, it can not only abate nuisances, provide a supply of water, and make sewerage works, but also it can improve and maintain streets and highways, remove obstructions, make regulations respecting new buildings, supply gas to light the town, and maintain police.

Determined to be guided by the highest skill in the country, the Board appointed Robert Rawlinson, C.E., to prepare and carry out plans for a sufficient water supply and the thorough sewerage of the town. A grave question was the supply of water; as not only should it be pure and soft for domestic use, but also in sufficient quantity to flush water-closets and sewers. All the sources around Alnwick, their levels, the quantity of water each yielded and its quality were carefully examined by a committee of the Board, and the results were given in an elaborate

report. On the cliff side of the Alnwick Moor range of hills are several powerful springs of water which, having been filtered through great sandstone rocks, is remarkably pure, the hardness being about 5°, and the supply amounting to nearly 500 gallons per minute; but being distant from the town more than five miles, pumping apparatus would have been required to raise the water over the hill, which intervenes between these springs and the town. Springs, however, of similar quality, yielding upwards of 200 gallons per minute, break out nearer the town in Holn Park, where the river cuts through the sandstone hill. It was expected that the supply for the town would have been obtained from this source; and that as the level was low, the water would have been brought to near the Abbey cauld, and then forced up, by water power, to a distributing reservoir at a higher level. The expense of pumping apparatus was assigned as the reason why this plan was not adopted; yet it seems that the purity and abundance of the water would have more than compensated for this expense. Ultimately it was determined to obtain the supply from the district southward of the town; the principal spring there being Tuff's Well, distant from the town two and a half miles, and yielding 24 gallons of water per minute of about 7° of hardness. This water along with that from other neighbouring springs, from the Firth burn, from a strong spring of rather hard water in Rugley Wood, and occasionally from Rugley burn, is brought in pipes to a distributing reservoir, which will contain 210,844 gallons, and which is 300 feet above the sea level, 12 feet above the highest and 197 above the lowest house in the town, and about 100 feet above its general level. In case of fire, water can be sent into almost every house; and for this purpose 113 hydrants have been distributed over the town in convenient places, and 576 feet of hose pipes have been provided to attach to these hydrants.

The water supply has varied, according to seasons and to the state of the weather, from 70 to 301 gallons per minute. Even when at the lowest, taking the population of the district at 6,500, fifteen and a half gallons are supplied daily to every person; but as the average quantity passing daily into the reservoir has been 167,760 gallons, the supply yields 25½ gallons daily to every inhabitant. Though there is a wide difference between 70 gallons per minute on one day and 301 gallons on another, yet the average monthly variation is not great, as appears from the following table, which gives the average number of gallons per minute for each month in 1866 and 1867:

	1866.	1867.		1866.	1867.
Jan.,	128	131	July,	96	112
Feb.,	124	118	Aug.,	105	115
Mar.,	120	118	Sept.,	118	114
April,	121	112	Oct.	111	113
May,	110	118	Nov.,	116	109
June,	111	111	Dec.,	116	116

disused, as carts go round daily to take away ashes and refuse; in Alnwick and Canongate 1362 tenements have both water supply and sewerage, but 16 more have only the water supply. Perhaps in no town in the kingdom has this system been carried out so fully as in Alnwick. "The present condition of Alnwick," says Dr. Buchanan, "appears as regards the efficiency of drainage, perfect; the drains are flushed once a day, they are always free from deposit, the soil is removed very rapidly, so rapidly that at night the contents of the outfall, are little else than simple water coming from waste of houses, and from some springs intercepted by the sewer. The water-closets are clean, and almost everywhere act efficiently. No effluvia was observed to arise from the sewers, scarcely any, where the manholes were opened. There is no evidence of deficient ventilation of the pipes or of escape of sewer gases into houses."* Besides a regular inspection of the whole town monthly by the surveyor, committees of the Board, once at least in the year, inspect every part of the town, and the recommendations made by them are, as far as practicable, carried out by the Board.

The Board has been in operation eighteen years; and what good, it may be asked, has it achieved? Apart from the question as to public health, other important advantages have been gained. During that period the town has enjoyed to a certain extent, through the Board, the power of self-government, which is no small privilege in itself; the town has been greatly improved in its pavements, flagging, and highways, and by the widening of streets and removal of obstructions; it is better lighted, for now there are 104 public lamps in the streets, while previously there were only 60; the water supply by pressure into every house is a source both of comfort and economy, and the provisions for extinguishing fires have lessened the destruction of property and added to the safety of life; a great boon has been the water-closet system, especially in confined situations; more cleanly are the streets, and great are now the facilities for the removal of nuisances and refuse; it is something too, that there is a public body on whom devolves the duty of looking after the sanitary state of the town, of promptly abating whatever is injurious to health, and of, it may be, educating public opinion; nor must we omit to notice that the facilities afforded for cleanliness and comfort act favourably on the morals, habits, and tastes of the community.

Still, however, the question recurs, what has been the effect on the death-rate? Have the expectations of sanitary reformers been realized? and have the results been proportionate to the expenditure? The following table shews the number of burials within the parish, and the death-rate annually per thousand of the population, from 1851 when the Board of Health was established, till the end of 1867:—

* Ninth report of the medical officer of the Privy Council, p. 184. 1867.

Year.	No. of Burials	Death-rate per 1000.	Year.	No. of Burials.	Death-rate per 1000.
1851	140	19·10	1860	151	20·54
1852	138	18·82	1861	157	21·33
1853	166	22·63	1862	224	30·43
1854	155	21·10	1863	225	30·57
1855	180	24·52	1864	182	24·74
1856	153	20·83	1865	157	21·36
1857	161	21·91	1866	153	20·81
1858	137	18·78	1867	149	20·27
1859	144	19·96			

The high mortality of 1862 and 1863 was partly caused by epidemics; in 1862 scarlatina carried off 34 persons; and in 1863 12 died of measles and 31 of small pox. These returns, however, apply to the *whole parish*, and include burials of persons from a distance and of paupers from the workhouse, but not belonging to Alnwick. Dr. Buchanan, who inspected the town in 1865, made a careful analysis of the registers, with the view of shewing the death-rate of the *local district* of Alnwick and Canongate, in different periods, and the mortality from particular diseases; and from his report it appears, that the death-rate of the local district from 1845 to 1851, a period of seven years, prior to the establishment of the Board of Health, was 26·2 in the thousand; but that from 1852 to 1864, a period of thirteen years subsequent to that establishment, it was 24·5 in the thousand. So that during the latter period there had been a saving of eleven lives yearly. Typhoid fever and diarrhœa had been reduced two-thirds; but small pox had been more than doubled, measles and scarlatina had not been lessened, and consumption and lung diseases had increased.* The inspector has failed to account for the apparent insufficiency of result considering the amount of sanitary means employed, or to suggest measures of improvement different from those systematically followed out by the Board. Obstructions to sanitary progress still remain, which our present legal power cannot remove; overcrowding is in some parts; piggeries and slaughter houses are near to human dwellings; manure heaps are piled up in yards, chiefly for the use of the Alnwick Moor allotments. Against evils arising from such sources the Board, time after time, has waged war; but from want of power and the seeming indisposition of the magistracy to aid these efforts, the Board has had to depend more on moral suasion than legal force to abate and remove such nuisances.

Since Dr. Buchanan's analysis was made, we have had three years and eight months more experience; and the statistics for that period present more favourable and encouraging results. During the years 1865, 1866, and 1867, the average yearly death-rate for the whole parish has been 20·81 in the the thousand; and when we strike off the burials of persons living beyond the local

* Ninth report of medical officer, p.187.

district of Alnwick and Canongate, and of paupers from the workhouse not belonging to it, the return is still more favourable, as it shews that the death-rate, for that district, was 20·77 in the thousand, or a saving of thirty-eight lives yearly as compared with the death-rate for the period of seven years prior to 1852. The diseases which have been lessened are those over which sanitary measures are expected to have the greatest control. Deaths from lung diseases have increased from 56½ to 63 in the 10,000; but deaths from epidemics have decreased from 68 to 34½; from small pox, measles, and scarlatina from 18 to 6½; infantile mortality, or that below two years of age, had fallen from 56 to 45; and deaths from fevers, which formerly were seldom away from the town, have been reduced from 13½ to 3 in ten thousand. It may therefore be reasonably concluded, that the diminution of the death-rate of the district has chiefly been caused by our improved sanitary condition.

Time has brought about several changes in the composition of the Board; only three of the original members remain—Mr. George Cockburn, Mr. George Tate, and Mr. James Landells; but but little change has taken place in the policy pursued. Though there have been differences of opinion in the Board, and the majority have always strongly advocated thorough sanitary reforms and endeavoured to carry them out, yet the business of the Board has, on the whole, been conducted with order, discretion, and good taste.

BURIAL BOARD.—The graveyard attached to St. Michael's Church, with an area of only 2000 square yards, was too small for the requirements of the parish; and hence it was crowded with the remains of the dead. A government inspector recommended in 1849 that it be closed; and by order of the Privy Council it was closed against further interments, from and after September 26th, 1856, excepting in the case of husband or wife, where one of them had been interred therein before the promulgation of that order. A new cemetery had to be provided; and a Burial Board, consisting of seven members, was elected at a vestry meeting, two of whom retire annually, subject, however, to re-election. By an arrangement at the first vestry meeting, four of the Board had to be churchmen and three dissenters—a somewhat objectionable compact, tending to introduce a sectarian spirit into the body. As most of the property around the town belonged to the Duke of Northumberland, the site of the cemetery was in a great measure dependent on his pleasure; and after applications for what were deemed the more eligible situations had failed, the site fixed on was a field belonging to Algernon, duke of Northumberland, one mile southward of the town, containing six acres, for which the sum of £1200 had to be paid, being at the rate of 66½ years purchase on the rental of £3 per acre. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by the public

generally at this arrangement, which indeed caused others to feel repugnance at any great change at that time, especially after so much money had just previously been expended on sanitary measures; and a breathing time was therefore considered expedient. A memorial to the Secretary of State was accordingly almost unanimously adopted at a public meeting, praying that the interdict against the use of the churchyard might be removed, and that an effort be made to extend its area; for this course, they say, "would fully meet all reasonable sanitary requirements, save the inhabitants from an oppressive expenditure and many inconveniences, and leave undisturbed salutary feelings and associations." This remonstrance was disregarded; the ground was purchased, laid out as a cemetery, and divided into two equal portions—one for churchmen and the other for dissenters; two chapels, one for churchmen and the other for dissenters, and a house for the grave-digger, and a boundary wall were built, at a cost of £1000, after the designs of Mr. F. R. Wilson, architect. The money for the land and for these works, amounting to £2,200, was obtained from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and is repayable with interest in 30 years out of the poor rates of the parish.

New schemes, however good in themselves, when thrust upon a community against their will, seldom find at once their equilibrium; they must be subject to a few oscillations before they settle down to rest. One struggle had been gone through; but another of a fiercer character was impending, arising in some degree from the vicious composition of the Board of high toned churchmen and dissenters. The parish was thrown into an uproar, apparently for no higher object than the payment of the sexton's fees. The law as to the payment of old ecclesiastical dues on interments was then indefinite; dissenters contended they were not payable on interments within the dissenters' ground, while churchmen asserted they were payable on all interments. The question had been raised in other places; and conflicting legal opinions had been given. It aroused great contention in the Board; and it became the subject of discussion at public meetings. Moderate men wished the determination should be delayed until some definite legal enactment removed any doubt; and accordingly a resolution to that effect was moved at one of the public meetings, and readily acceded to by churchmen and moderate dissenters; but others took high ground and would have no delay; and on a vote being taken, 51 voted for it and 57 for immediate action. As this decision could not be taken as the voice of the public, a poll of the parish was demanded; and the town for a few days exhibited all the excitement of a contested election. The original question was lost sight of, and the contest became a struggle between dissent and the church; both parties were in earnest; speeches were made,

broad sheets circulated, and keen canvassing went on. After two days polling in the Town Hall, the result was—for delay, 410 votes, and against this, 220 votes; giving a majority to the church party and in favour of delay, of 190. All this turmoil might have been avoided, if, at the first there had been a little forbearance on both sides; for in the ensuing session of Parliament, the Burial Board act was amended, and distinct provisions were made to exclude all ecclesiastical fees from charges made by the Board for interments. It would have been as well too if the squabble had ended here; but four weeks after the polling, it was renewed by pamphlets containing explanations and defences, and criminations and recriminations—all tending to widen the sectarian breach. Looking back calmly through the vista of some eleven years, one cannot but wonder how so small a matter should have produced so mighty an affray—such vehement oratory—such keen debate—such slashing writing. It may, however, have had its good influence in teaching a lesson of charity and forbearance. After these storms had been lulled, the Board moved on in smoother water.

The church portion of the ground was consecrated on December 11th, 1856; but the cemetery was opened for interments on Oct. 7th, 1856; and since that time to December 31st, 1867, the interments have been—in the consecrated ground, 1029; in the unconsecrated ground, 594; and in St. Michael's Churchyard, 198.* The accounts, for the year ending March 1868, show that the yearly instalment out of the poor rates, in repayment of money borrowed with the interest, was £135 1s. 2d.; that there had been received during the year for the sale of grave spaces, £50 5s., for burial fees £36 15s., for monuments and inclosures £21 11s. 6d., for reserved grave spaces 16s., and for the sale of grass £11 2s. 6d.—in all £120 10s.; that there had been paid for salaries £65, for other expenses £35 4s., and that there was a balance of £25 10s. 1½d. in the hands of the treasurer.

The Burial Board charges do not include ecclesiastical fees, yet by law the incumbents and clerks of the parish could claim their customary fees for every interment within the consecrated ground; but as the payment of these fees would have made the cost of interment so much higher in the consecrated ground than it is in the unconsecrated portion, Algernon duke of Northumberland provided a fund, out of which an annual sum is paid to the officials of St. Michael's and St. Paul's Churches, equivalent to the value of these fees; so that now, through this liberality, the cost of interment is the same over both portions of the cemetery.

This cemetery has been laid out with taste and adorned with shrubs and flowers; and it is now studded over with tombstones and monuments, some of which are pretentious enough; but many are both elegant in design and good in execution.

* The average age of those buried during this period in St. Michael's Churchyard is 74½ years. Ann Graham, interred in 1844, was 102 years old.

CHAPTER XIX.

TOPOGRAPHY, STATISTICS, ETYMOLOGIES.

LOCAL NOMENCLATURE—STATISTICS OF THE PARISH AND TOWNSHIPS—
STREETS OF THE TOWN—PLACES WITHIN THE PARISH IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER, THEIR ETYMOLOGY, HISTORY, AND PHYSICAL FEATURES.

“Local names,” says Taylor, “are in no case arbitrary sounds. They are always ancient *words*, or fragments of ancient words—each of them in short constituting the earliest chapter in the local history of places.”* With much learning and ingenuity Mr. Ralph Carr, of Hedgeley, has expounded the meaning of composite names of places, in Northumberland; and he suggests that something similar should be done for single parishes.† I have made some attempt to do this for Alnwick; for, in this chapter, besides giving the general statistics of the parish and notices of the several streets of the town, I have gathered all the old names of places within the parish, from charters, deeds, and records, and investigated their meaning, so that we may infer by what races the district was peopled and what its condition when these names were first imposed. With few exceptions these names are of Anglo-Saxon origin; there are a few traces of the Danes and Norse-men, and a slight sprinkling has been left of the older Celtic race. The Anglo-Saxon names have usually two members; the latter designating the general character of the place, the former as an adjective defining some special or local feature; the one may be called specific, the other generic; thus *Brockshaw*—the badger’s wood—contains the general substantive member *shaw*, a shady wood, and the definitive or adjective member *brock*, a badger. The second members are taken from prominent features in the country; and hence they are similar, though with local variation, in every part where the Anglo-Saxons formed settlements. In our *parish* some terms designate relative elevation; *law* from *hlaw*, and its modern equivalent *hill* apply to high grounds more or less conical; *know* is a gently rounded small hill; *edge* (elsewhere *shelf*) is an elongated height or ridge; *flatt* is often used for level lands;

* Words and places, p. 476.

† Tyneside trans., Vols. I., II.

hawl or *how* marks the hollow; *side* points to portions of sloping ground; and *path* is applied to steep roads. Other physical features are indicated by *heugh* (which becomes *how* or *hoe* at the end of names like *Swinhoe*), "rugged outbreaks of rock partially covered with green sward;" *haughs* are the alluvial lands skirting our streams; *dale* is a valley; and *dene* a wooded ravine. Other names tell us of the agricultural aspect of the district; we have *wood*, *forest*, *hurst*, and *shaw*; *fields* were patches of *felled* or cleared lands; and *leys* were arable lands left to lie at rest, and open forest glades where cattle were pastured. Lake and marshy grounds are marked by *mere*, a lough, *strother*, a bog, and *leitch*, a long narrow runnel through a swamp. Such definitive terms as *fen*, a marsh, *peat*, *moss*, and *sparty* tell of wet undrained lands. Plants supply definitive names to several places, as the *alder*, *birch*, *hazel*, *broom*, *whin*, *sawghes*, *willow*, *rowan*, and *caik*. Animals too help to give a character to localities, as the *raven*, *snipe*, *goose*, *gowk*, *deer*, *stirk*, *stot*, *ox*, *sheep*, *goat*, *swine*, *bran* or *wild boar*, *cat*, *fox*, and *badger*.

Parish.—The area of the whole parish, according to the Ordnance Survey, is as follows:—

	Acres.	Roods.	Perches.
Land	16,503	2	30
Public roads	155	0	28
Railways,	20	1	3
Water	70	1	6
Total	16,749	1	27

Nearly one tenth of this area, or 1540 acres, is covered with woods, the principal part of which are in Holn Park and Alnwick South-side townships, where the old parks were; but the existing woods are almost all comparatively modern, the growth of the last hundred years. In a survey made in 1622 it is stated, that "the three parks had been for thirty years departed and demised at divers rates; and that the timber of the parks and of Denwick, Snipe House, Rugley, and Shielydyke was utterly wasted, and nothing then remaining but ramel wood, aller bushes, and old oaks, most fit for fire." Such had been the destruction wrought by Border warfare.

The population in 1801 was 4719; in 1811, 5426; in 1821, 5927; in 1831, 6788; in 1841, 6626; in 1851, 7319; in 1861, 7350; shewing an increase of 56 per cent. for the whole period of sixty years, or of 43½ persons yearly; but the rate of increase has been inconsiderable since 1831, and during the ten years between 1851 to 1861 it was only at the rate of three persons yearly.

Townships.—The parish is composed of six townships. 1. *Alnwick Township* includes the town, the lands westward of it, and Alnwick Moor with its inclosures, Swansfield, Stoney Hills, Hope House, lands extending southward about one mile and a

quarter, Windy Edge, Bog Mill, Aledike, Lough House, and lands north-eastward as far as the river. 2. *Canongate Township* is small, containing Canongate Street and land by the river side. 3. *Alnwick South-side Township* includes Hobberlaw, Rugley, St. Margaret's, Snipe House, Shioldykes, Quarry House, Greensfield, Greensfield Moor, and Cawledge Park. 4. *Denwick Township* includes Denwick, Waterside House, Silver Moor, Golden Moor, Harlaw Hill, North Demesne or Pasture, &c. 5. *Abbey Lands Township* includes the north-east portion of the Duke's Park, a strip of land on the south-side of the Aln, High House, Heckley, Heckley Fence and Grange, Brockshaw, Broomhouse, Loaning Head, Barn Yards, Pennywells and the Mill. 6. *Holn Park Township* includes the greater portion of the Duke's Park, Whitehouse, Whitehouse Folly, Holywell, Hefferlaw, Humbleheugh.

The following table shews the area of these several townships, their population, and the number of houses in 1851 and 1861 :—

Townships.	Area in Acres.	Houses, 1851.			Houses, 1861.			Population.					
		Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.	Persons.		Males.		Females.	
								1851.	1861.	1851.	1861.	1851.	1861.
Alnwick . . .	4783½	796	36	9	876	20	5	5779	5958	2683	2326	3096	3133
Canongate . . .	39½	73			76			614	536	282	266	332	270
South side . . .	5023½	59	2		5	5		278	268	140	132	138	136
Denwick . . .	1582½	33			33	2		187	183	88	96	99	87
Abbey Lands . . .	1762½	69			5	1		345	288	166	132	179	156
Holn Park . . .	3603½	21			20			116	117	62	62	54	55
Total . . .	16749½	1056	38	9	1111	28	5	7319	7350	3421	3514	4898	5336

The town of Alnwick was anciently divided into different wards; Market, Bondgate, Clayport, Narrowgate, and Walkergate were within the borough, while Bailiffgate and Canongate were beyond it; but the new police arrangements and other causes have made these old divisions useless. The town stands on hilly ground, generally about 200 feet above the sea level and more than 100 feet above the Aln. The Railway Station is 195·6 feet above the sea level; the base of Bondgate Tower 189·3, of Clayport Tower 217·1, of Pottergate Tower 211·66, of St. Michael's Pant 198·53, of the Market Cross 188·6, of the Barbican of the Castle 180, and of St. Paul's Church 234; at the junction of Narrowgate with Bondgate the level is 180·6, and at the Bow Alley leading out of Narrowgate 169·1; at the head of Canongate it is 151·4, whence the ground slopes to the river, and Walkergate running parallel with it is 114·7; the highest house connected with the town in Clive Terrace is 291·9, but

Belle Vue, which is a little apart, is 312 feet above the sea level. The old streets are the Market, Paikes Street, Bondgate, Narrowgate, Bailiffgate, Walkergate, Pottergate, Fenkle Street, Clayport, and Canongate.

The Market Place—called Market Stede in 1569—is nearly in the centre of the town, and was originally a noble square, but is now darkened by a large modern building called the *Assembly Rooms*. The Market Cross, a poor structure, having a shaft surmounted by a ball and resting on a flight of eight stone steps, is in the north-east corner; and on the west side are the Town Hall and clock. A house on the north side was before the Reformation used as a chapel. *Paikes street*, a short narrow street, leads from the Market to Bondgate. In the court rolls it is called Peikes Hole in 1645, and Paikes Hoole in 1683 and 1709, *hohl* in German being a narrow pass or gorge. *Pye's* or *Hunter's Lane* in 1770, and subsequently *Egdell's*—names from the principal occupants—is another narrow lane from the Market to Bondgate.

Bondgate—the street of the bond-men in 1290—is wide and extends northward from the south entrance of the town. In *Bondgate Without*, which is outside the old walls, is the Plough Inn with its bay or outshot window, and the following quaint inscription over its entrance—"That which your Father old hath purchased and Left you to possess do you dearly Hold to shew his Worthiness.—M. W., 1714." The initials appear to be those of Matthew Willoby, who was owner of the house prior to 1766; but though the erection was not earlier than the date upon it, the inscription belongs to the family of Forster; for in the heraldic visitation of 1585 it is said—"These verses were sett about their armes :

Let us dearlie them hold
to mynde their worthynes
That which our parents old
hath left us to possess."

After passing through the tower, *Bondgate Within* widens, and a fine view of the town, and especially of the Market Place is obtained. On the north side is the old White Swan Inn, called Mrs. Grey's in 1729; a thatched one-storied house remains to tell what kind of residences the burgesses had in the fifteenth century; and an older house still has over it a stone panel sculptured with heraldry. See Vol. I., p. 248.

Narrowgate—a narrow street, as its name imports—extends from Bondgate northwards, and is mentioned in 1290. In this are the Half Moon Inn, which is referred to in 1671, and a house into which is built an old De Vesey Cross. The Bow burn, now tunnelled over, was crossed by a bridge; and at the northern extremity of the street was one of the defensive gates of the town. One house at least in it belongs to the manor of Stamford.

Bailiffgate, properly *Baileygat*e—the street of the bailey—

extends westward from the castle, and was beyond the walls of the town. We have Bellygate in 1653, and so the name is now popularly pronounced; Baylygate appears in 1668 and 1683; and Bayliffgate in 1680, 1694, and 1709. In the last century a row of old houses crossed this street, at a little distance from the castle; a cross stood in front of the square, around it was held a market for country produce, such as butter and eggs, and attached to it were stocks, which the inhabitants were compelled to maintain. The Red Lion Inn, which still exists, is referred to in 1760. On the north side of the street is the Catholic Chapel, and at the end of it is St. Michael's Church. In this street were the Mute Hall, the earl of Derwentwater's Slate House, and Fardie's walls, which belonged to the same earl, and near to it Salisbury land.

Walkergate—the street of the walkers or fullers—though beyond the walls, was within the borough. It runs parallel with the Aln, to which the lands of the burgage holders extended, and on which they had their fulling mills; the haugh land on the river side appears indeed to have been enjoyed as a public common. This street was probably in existence in 1290, when there was a fuller in the borough; but it is mentioned in the survey of 1569; and in 1709 there were twenty burgages in it, belonging to fourteen different owners; now, all save one belong to the duke of Northumberland; most of them have been pulled down, but the remains of St. Mary's Chantry are carefully preserved.

Pottergate—1671, B. R.*—is the steep street rising from the Bow burn to the tower; but its ancient name in the survey of 1567 was Barresdale Street. The present name may have been derived from potters living and practising their art there; for though we have no potters now, yet, a few centuries ago, when manufacturing was less centralised, small makers of divers things dwelt in such towns as Alnwick. The old Grammar School was close to the tower, and the oldest Presbyterian Church is on the north side of the street.

Fenkle Street, the corner or angular street, forms an angle with both Clayport and Narrowgate; we have Fenkell in 1567, Fenckle in 1654, and Finkle in 1690. The Town Hall and clock have a frontage into this street; and here are the old hosteleries of the *Angel*, which is referred to in 1738; and the older *Nag's Head*, called the *Griffin*, in 1598 and 1768, portions of which may be from two to three centuries old; its projecting bay window, its stone seat and mount by the side of the outer door, appear much the same as they were some century and a half ago. Behind this inn is the Theatre. The notorious Coll. Forster lived in the house next to it, and his rival, Richard Grieve,

* In this chapter the following abbreviations are used:—Cart. A. A., charter of Alnwick Abbey; Cart. H. P., charter of Holn Priory; C. R. for Court Leet Rolls; B. R. for Borough Records; A. S. for Anglo-Saxon; Dan. for Danish.

in a house, which has been converted into the Star Inn. The Selbys, Saukelds, Falders, Leeks, and other notable men dwelt in this street.

Clayport extends from St. Michael's Pant to the western extremity of the town. Mr. Ralph Carr, one of our ablest etymologists, is inclined to think that it had been called Cliveport by our ancestors, on account of its steepness; from *cliff*, A. S., a steep or difficult path. Old evidences do not, however, support this view. In Durham there is a street called Claypworth in 1282, Clayporthe in 1336, Clayport in 1372. The earliest form of the Alnwick street is Clapott in 1474 and 1611, Claport in 1618, Claport extra porta in 1649, Clayporth in 1663, and Clayport in 1709. During the last half century, at least, the name has been popularly pronounced Claypeth, which was, I suspect, originally applied to the steep hill beyond the street. *Peth*, in the north, is a steep road, but used generally with some definite to mark its special character; we have *the peth*, with the emphatic article to denote its great steepness; the Far Peth, Stoney Peth, and Brankspeth; and as stoney indicates a rocky so clay expresses a clayey or muddy character. Claypeth probably was the name till the erection of the tower, when with the genteel it was changed into Clayport, while ordinary people still preserved its old designation. Midway up the street the site of the old tower is marked by oblong, squared paving stones; on the south side is an old house, with mullioned windows and a worn and defaced heraldic device, which was given by Mark Forster to the church; and further down is the United Secession Church, opposite to which is another quaint old inn, carrying us back, with its projecting bay window, some century and a half.

Canongate or *Canonsgate*, 1658—the street of the canons—is beyond both the old town wall and the borough, and is a distinct manor and township, which formerly belonged to Alnwick Abbey. References to it in old records are not numerous; but in 1346 Henry De Percy confirmed to the abbey, for *Channowgate*, common of pasture in the Moor of Alnwick and Haydene. In 1540, two copyhold and thirty-six burgages in it were held under the abbey at an aggregate rental of £6 10s. 8d. Canongate traditions say that the freeholders had a right of depasturing their cattle over Alnwick Moor as far as Mossy Ford; and that connected with this right was an yearly collection, made by the constable, from every freeholder of a *moor half-penny*; which indeed was not discontinued till 1811. Being beyond the borough, the artisans of Canongate were subject to persecution by the Alnwick fellowships. The company of cordiners seized upon shoes exposed by them for sale in Alnwick Market; but the aggression was resisted, and the dispute was decided by arbitration, according to the following award, made by John Scott, Anthony Adston, John Rydley, and John Salkeld:—

That David Myllicen, William Swynhoe, John Anderson, John Waughe, and John Arle, the shoemakers of Canongate, shall have the same free liberty on the Market day to sell their shoes in as large and ample a manner as the cordiners of Alnwick; that their apprentices shall enjoy the same benefits as the Alnwick apprentices; but that they shall observe the orders of the shoemakers in Alnwick in all points; and for these privileges they shall pay £17 10s. by instalments to the company of shoemakers of Alnwick. The shoes which had been seized were to be restored.

Canongate Manor was in possession of Major Isaac Allgood in 1710 and 1730, and in that of Sir Lancelot Allgood from 1735 to 1765, when it was sold to the earl of Northumberland. Manorial Courts were held by the Allgoods, their steward being Robert Claxton, an Alnwick attorney. Call rolls of these courts, from 1710 to 1759, I have seen among the muniments at Alnwick Castle. That for 1721 gives the fullest information, and shews that suit and service were due not only from the freeholders in Canongate, but also from free and other tenants at Denwick, Hobberlaw, St. Margaret's, Togston, Hadston, Brandon, and Reveley; there were then seventy-eight burgages in Canongate, held by fifty-nine different proprietors. Many of the burgages have since become the property of the duke of Northumberland, and several have been pulled down, so that now there are only twenty owners of burgages. In this vill there is but one street, which extends from the church to the Aln. Near to the bottom of it were the Market, the cross, the stocks, fulling mills, and a brewery; and, early in this century, an iron foundry on the river, which was carried on by the ingenious family of Brown; but all those evidences of active life have been destroyed. Like other vills, Canongate had a common of its own, containing an area of more than five acres, extending along the side of the Aln from the Wash or Canongate burn to beyond the mouth of the Potterdene or Stocken burn; and from this common the freeholders took stones to build their houses and obtained coals. These freeholders, however, following in the wake of the Alnwick Four-and-Twenty, indulged in the luxury of exchanging portions of it with the lords of the manor; and by exchanges in 1811, 1821, and 1824, gave up their lands along the river side for a less quantity of land from Forster's Close. As these exchanges took away their ancient rights to the river, the duke of Northumberland bound himself to make a bath or bathing place for the freeholders, to provide for them a good supply of drinking water, and to make a watering place on the river. They still retain their right to take building stones out of their common. The tithes of the township had become the property of the duke; but on March 12th, 1838, he merged in his freehold inheritance, for the sum of £10, "all the tithes as well great as small and all Easter offerings."

Towards the close of the last century most of the houses in Canongate were low-thatched, tumble-down places, a few of which still remain; quaint objects, but scarcely fit for human

dwellings. They were then occupied chiefly by the labouring class; and by muggers, tinkers, gipsies, and poachers, some of whom practised petty thieving; but amongst them lived about eighty years ago Andrew Lowrey, a *wise man*, or one who, it was believed, could see into futurity. He was a schoolmaster, teaching the simplest elements to little children, but so poorly remunerated that he might have starved, if he had not eked out his scanty living from other sources. A little, thin, pale-faced man he was, more like a ghost from the dead than a living entity of flesh and blood; but his unearthly aspect strengthened the belief of his holding intercourse with invisible powers, by whose aid he could reveal mysteries, foretell future events, and raise winds and storms to uproot trees and blow down chimnies. Those therefore who lost property resorted to Andrew, and after paying him a fee besought him to tell who the thief was or where the stolen goods might be found; the *wise man* put on his wisest look and responded that if the property was not restored within a specified time he would denounce the thief; and such was the faith in his mysterious power, even among thieves, that the lost property generally found its way back to the rightful owners. Darker superstitions have been chased away by education; but belief in the regular beneficent operation of natural laws is far from universal; some still have a fear of ghosts and a faith in fortune-telling, in spirit-rapping, clairvoyance, and table-turning.

A few streets during the present century have been added to the town; chiefly southward of the Old Wall, where land belonged to several proprietors who were willing to sell sites; Percy Terrace, Howick Street, Lisburn Street, South Street, Hope Terrace, Hotspur Street, Grey Place, and Belvedere Terrace are all modern creations, as might be inferred from the taste shewn in the choice of names. There are few villa residences around the town.

The trade of the town has no peculiarity, and differs but little from that of other towns in the midst of an agricultural population; but Alnwick being distant nearly thirty miles from any larger town, it supplies a large district; and hence while there are in it several good retail businesses, there are also a few large wholesale establishments. Its manufactories are few; there are two large ones for tobacco, one large one for furniture and upholstery, two for coach building, three for candlemaking, one tannery, two skinneries, one steam and two water corn mills, and one iron foundry.

Places within Alnwick parish, beyond the town, arranged in alphabetical order.

Aker ends, 1678, in Windy Edge farm, from *acer*, A. S., a field; end of cultivated ground—"Thanne tweyne schulen be in an *aker*, one schal be take, and another left." Matt. c. xxiv., Wycliffe's version, quoted by Wright.

Alisaundflatt, circa 1260, Cart. A. A., cultivated ground beyond Cawlyche; here is a choice out of these conjectures—either from *alyeend*, participle of *alyson*, A. S., redeemed—the redeemed flat ground; or from *Alison* or *Alice*, a personal name; or, as Mr. Carr suggests, it may be Ellie-sand-flat, from an alder thicket on sandy soil.

Aldike, a farm, containing 186ac. 0r. 32p. of good arable soil valued at £270 10s. yearly, is made up of parcels of land in the town fields, which formerly belonged to several owners. “1611, item bestowed of Wm. Grene when he did goe to Berwick about *Heldyck closes*, wher he had the promises of Mistress Gaston to have the first offer of the same to the Towne of Alnwik 5s.”—B. R. Clement Forster, an Alnwick merchant, in 1663 held Aledike, valued at £20 yearly; Low Heldike close belonged in 1676 to John Forster; Edward and Mary Strother held Low Aledike grounds in 1676; and in 1709 we have Renold Forster, of Alewater dike.

Angerflatt and *Halfflatt*, containing 30 acres in 1569, were held by Metcalfe; the former the Meadowflatt, is from *eng*, A. S., *eng*, Dan., *ang*, Ger., a meadow; the latter may be the flat ground, safe or healthy for cattle, as *hal*, A. S., means whole, sound, or healthy. There is a nursery south of the town now called *Aggerflat*.

Arrow butts, 1662, southward of Pottergate tower and *Green bat* or *but* on the south side of the town wall, were public grounds whereon archery was practised; *bout* in French means end, object before us, point of aim.

Allerburn, 1677, c. R., runs by the Workhouse and Denwick road, and enters the Aln at the Havre banks; it is named from the alder bushes which had grown by its side, but in 1733 and 1744 it was also called *Kilne burn*. *Allerburn closes* are on the south side of the burn northward of Fisher's lane; on the north close the late Dr. George Wilson built in 1862 a beautiful mansion, from designs by Mr. F. R. Wilson. The south closes, containing 8ac. 2r. 30p., are principally nurseries, and belong to Mr. Wm. Spours, of Alnwick and Shepperdon; they were in 1773 in possession of John Cotes and Miles Stapleton; and in the early part of this century were sold by Stapleton to Mr. Spours' father.

Banks was held in 1569 with Wayke's knolls by George Alder. *Banks* in Bondgate, 1584, is now part of Lough House farm. *Bank close*, 1671, belonged in 1724 to Mark Forster, who devised it to his niece Eliz. Grey; subsequently it belonged to Gallon, Willoughby, and Selby, and was sold along with the Swanfield estate in 1866 to the duke of Northumberland.

Barbara's banks, formerly abbey property, are on the north side of the Aln in the Dairy grounds.

Barresdale, 1569, land west of the town wall near Pottergate

tower; Barrinsdale, 1689, B. R., Barresdale, 1702, C. R.; Barne-dale riggs in 1704 belonged to Mark Forster. A *barrace* or *barres* was a defensive outwork of felled trees; possibly there may have been outworks to Pottergate tower.

Barnetsyde, 1569, land adjoining the castle on the east, was held by George Metcalfe; Barnardside, 1586; Little Barnard-side, 1677; probably from Bernard or Barney, a personal name.

Barn yards, 1655, formerly abbey property, on the north side of the river; here a conventicle was held in 1686.

Bedsyde hill, 1584, bounded on Stotland meadows.

Birky hill in Alnwick moor; from the birk or birch, *Betula alba*, which is frequent by the sides of our streams.

Bishop's stables in Alnwick moor; *Bishop's pastures* in Holn Park.

Black-bog-burn and *dene*; the burn flows from the north into the Aln in the Bishop's pastures.

Blacklee close, 1654, C. R., *Blakeley lands*, or black that is heathy pastures, adjoin Stoney hills, and contain 15 acres and a cottage, let at £28 yearly; they were sold in 1866 by Prideaux Selby to the duke of Northumberland.

The Black Lough, though the largest lake in North Northumberland, is little more than half a mile in circumference, in the wild moorlands, 700 feet above the level of the sea, and partly in the parish of Alnwick, but chiefly in Edlingham. It is but the fragment of a larger lake, whose margin is still traceable, but the greater part of which has been filled up by the growth of mosses and marsh plants, and the formation of peat, which in some parts is fifteen feet deep. Overthrown trees, chiefly birch, are in this peat; a few broken trees remain rooted, none exceeding three feet in height, but partly covered with water, and denuded of leaves and bark. The peat rests on the boulder clay, which here overlies sandstones. Subsequently then to the boulder era, when the climate was arctic, this bit of upland ground had been covered with birch and similar trees and brush wood; but from some cause or other, they had been overthrown, and the whole area covered with water, which, however, was drained away through the gradual deepening of the outlet, leaving a small lough with swampy ground around. Here were the conditions of cold and moisture favourable to the growth of mosses; and hence there went on a vertical accumulation of vegetable matter; for as one generation of mosses decayed, another sprung over its remains; and this process continuing for centuries, the site of the greater portion of the lake became filled up with peat. Some illustration this gives how a coal bed might be formed; for if this peat were covered with detritus, other changes would go on, till the whole was converted into mineral coal. The mosses growing in the swamp, and which have helped to form this peat, are *Sphagnum obtusifolium*, *acutifolium*, and *cuspidatum*,

Hypnum palustre, Polytricum commune, juniperum, aloides, Leucobryum glaucum, Dicranum scoparium, heteromallum, and Ceratodon purpurians.

Blackstone closes, westward of the old waggon way, are in the book of rates, 1730, called Blakestone's demesne; there are now eight closes, with an area of 40ac. 1r. 27p., of the yearly value of £130 9s. 6d. John Blakeston, the son of one of the regicides, was steward of the Alnwick Court Leet from 1667 to 1683, and held these closes, and they were in possession of his heirs in 1704.

Blacktre nigh Hefferlawe, 1601, C. B.

Blakewell butts in Rugley, high exposed but good land, so named from its bleak situation; the water of this well, coming out of the basalt, is remarkably pure. *Butts* were short ridges, running in a direction contrary to others, from *bot*, Celtic, a termination or boundary; *butan-rig*, A. S., was an out-ridge, exceptional ridge.

Bloddy Havers or *Halvers* contains about two roods, adjoining Windy Edge farm house; *havers* from *havre*, Danish, is the old name for oats.

Blyndwell flatt, held in 1569 by William Beadnell, called *Blaid well flatt* in 1586, is a field south of the town, next to the Spring gardens; may not a well supposed to be curative of blindness have given the name? It contains 6ac. 2r. 13p., and is valued at £23 15s. yearly.

Boulton-strete, 1290, *Bowten strete*, 1647, is a road or track-way along the west boundary of Alnwick moor leading to Bolton.

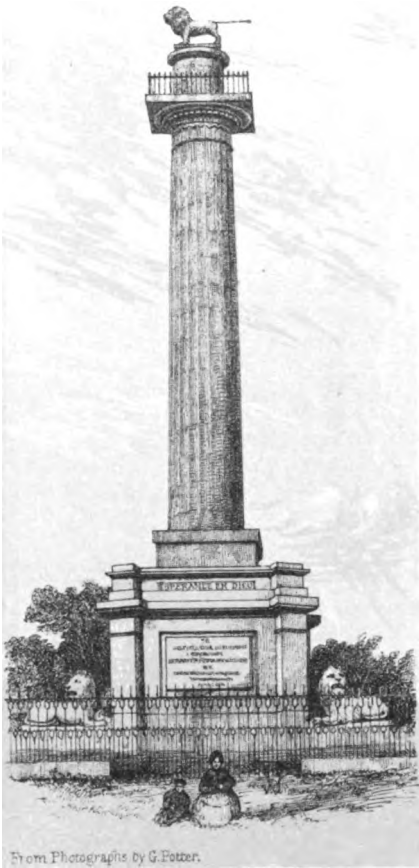
Bradley green is in Alnwick moor; from *brad* broad, *ley*, A. S., a pasture—the broad green pasture.

Brankspeth howl, 1752, in Alnwick moor, is the Boar's peth and hollow; brawn is a boar, and connected with Brancepeth in Durham, is a legend of the destruction of a formidable brawn by Hodge, of Ferrey; in Northumberland we have also Branxton, where the battle of Flodden was fought.

Breakback, a very steep pathway in Holn Park.

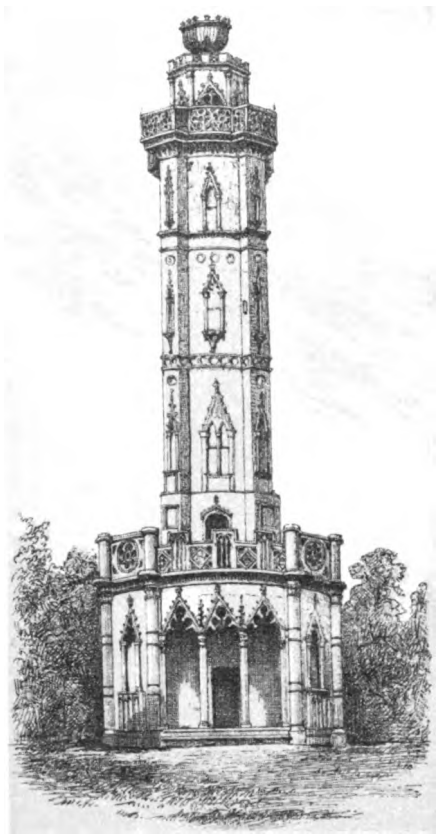
Brede close, 1537, near Holn Abbey, is now Broadfield.

Brislaw, "vulgarly called Brisley," says Mr. Carr, "as if it were mere ordinary lea land," is the high hill in Holn Park, on which stands Brislaw tower or the *Duke's Mount*, a highly ornamental tower in the pseudo-gothic style, erected in 1781 by Hugh duke of Northumberland. The height, including an iron grate on the top, is ninety feet; a winding stair inside leads nearly to the summit; and standing on ground, 583 feet above the sea, an extensive view is obtained. Sir James South made his observations on the annular eclipse on May 6th, 1836, from the top of this hill; and a trace of his presence remains in the meridian line marked upon it. A cavern in the sandstone, called the *Nine Year Aud Hole*, is frequently visited by the curious. Some portions of the Old Park Wall may be seen on



From Photographs by G. Potter.

TENANTRY COLUMN



Kerch & Gibb Lith. Aberdeen.

BRISLAW TOWER

the west side. This hill, now clothed with wood, which, however, is of modern growth, is a prominent and picturesque object in the scenery around Alnwick; and from the charming walks and drives through avenues of trees, and from the beautiful views obtained from several points, there is much to attract tourists and the lovers of nature. Blaeberrries—the fruit of the *Vaccinum myrtillus*—are abundant here in the month of May; and in June the upper part of the hill is adorned with the beautiful white flower of the *Trientalis Europæus*; and here too the *Rhododendron ponticum* finds the cold and humid temperature, combined with peaty soil, that enables it to propagate itself abundantly by seed; and here, it is said, that woodcocks breed and rear their young almost every year.

Brockshaw, in 1569 held by Sir John Forster, is on the north-east extremity of the parish, and belonged to Alnwick Abbey; it has an area of 87 acres; from *broc*, A. S., a badger, and *shaw*, a shady wood or wooded bank; Brockfield adjoins it; the one being the badger's field and the other the badger's wood.

Broomhouse, in 1678, when the "bonnie broom" may have flourished upon it; but prior to that time it belonged to Alnwick Abbey. (See p. 39). The modern farm, including Brockshaw, Ginfin, and Heckley Grange, as well as Broomhouse, has an area of 486ac. 3r. 7p., let at a rental of £600. Stobrig, Soap well, and Butler's well are names of some of the fields. The soil is mostly light and loamy, but in some parts gravelly; and the sub-soil partly clay, resting on sandstone. In the Pit close a thin bed of limestone appears; and in Butler's well field, coal has been worked.

Buttery well, in Alnwick moor, may have its name from the elder, *Sambucus niger*, the bourtree, which is pronounced *botree* in this district. Fine old thorn trees are growing near the well.

Cadmacrook, 1647, or Caldmacrook, is a field now in Hobberlaw farm; from *cald*, A. S., cold, *krog*, Dan., corner or bend—the cold corner.

Camp sike is a runlet of water near the Camp on Alnwick moor; in the western parts of Northumberland *sike* is commonly applied to a stream less than a burn, running down the hill sides; from *sic*, *sich*, A. S., a furrow, a watercourse; *siki*, Isl., lacuna aquosa.

Carsley piece, 1654, c. B.; William Carsley held a burgage in 1569.

Cat crag, on White House farm; *Cat heugh* near the camps on Brislaw; in these we have the traces of the wild cat's abode in the crag and heugh.

Cawlyche, circa 1260, Cart., A. A., Callege, 1654; Cawledge, 1668; now pronounced Callish; was a large park of the earls of Northumberland, stocked in 1512 with 586 fallow deer, and, in 1569, described to be seven miles in circumference. It was on

the south boundary of the parish, and near to Rugley. Some portions of the old wall are still standing. On the west side of it was a road, which continued across Alnwick moor to Alnwick Abbey; and on this road several horse shoes have been found, left by the Hobbblers, the small horses of the county. In the old form of the name we may have the Celtic word for water, *uisg*, Irish, *wyag*, Welsh. After the park had been broken up, and parcels of it held by several persons, names were given to various parts from the older tenants; *Grumble's East Park* was held by Thomas Grumble in 1646; *Facey's* or West Park by Henry Facey in 1647; *Archbold's South or Far Park* by William Archbold in 1650. *Milburn's Park*, held by Henry Milburn in 1700, was the *Firth*, which in 1745 was held by Wm. Milburne at a rental of £36. The valley through which the Cawlyche flows is deep, the banks are high and steep, and the limestones, sandstones, shales, and coals of the Mountain Limestone formation are well exposed in the channel of the burn and in cliffs in its banks. Several instances of faults and breaks in the strata may be seen; and in the channel where the footpath crosses to Shilbottle, the limestones appear like a pavement, formed of square slabs. Many of the more interesting land shells and plants may be gathered in this valley; and here too the scenery is wild and picturesque, composed of rock and cliff, wood and water. According to a survey in 1622, "there is within the Park of Cawledge one coal mine which is demised to William Watson, and also a slate quarry." In 1745 Cawledge Park and Shilbottle colliery were held by Mr. Edward Archbold at a rental of £76 10s. *East Cawledge Park* farm contains 273ac. 3r. 2p., of which 95ac. are in grass; the rent in 1650, on a lease, was £35 and a bushel of oats; it was the same in 1745, though a fine would most probably be paid on the renewal of the lease; the present rent is £267 10s. The soil is a clayey loam of a fair quality; among the fields are the Stanley flats and bank and the Cobbler's knowes. "Petri-fying springs," water charged with carbonate of lime, come out of the brae side below the house. *Middle Cawledge Park*, with cottages and land, contains 280ac. 2r., the rental being £146 4s. 6d.; the soil is but a poor clay, part of which has been drained, making it fair wheat land.

Children groves, 1682, Childer's graves, 1689, B. R., Child graves, 1726; a field at the head of Clayport, through which, on the north side, a footpath ran to the Stottle meadows; it was mortgaged in 1677 by John Forster, of Rugley, to Wm. Hunter, but was redeemed by Mark Forster, who left it to his widow.

Clarkollhughe, near Barnetside, was in 1569 held by Edward Metcalfe; it is *Clerkwell heugh* in 1689, C. R. As Clerkenwell was the well of the clergy, may there not, as Mr. Carr suggests, have been here a baptismal well? which is not improbable, as the locality was but a short distance from the castle chapel.

Coal pit close, 1689, B. R., in Clayport ward, held by Edward Gallon, shows that coals had been worked close to the town.

Cockeriall in 1569 was in Walkergate; perhaps a place for cock-fighting.

Coliergate, 1290 *Vescy charter*, 1647 *bounder of the moor*, was an ancient road on the north west part of the moor, leading to the Freemen's Gap; *gate* is here used in the sense of a road.

Olddraw, 1655, in Cawledge Park.

Cowpper hill in 1678 belonged to Mark Forster, and afterwards to his niece, Elizabeth Grey, and in 1774 to John Tate; Great Cowper hill in 1726; it is formed of gravel and sand and includes the Column field and Railway station; the south road cuts through it.

Cows-law-hill, 1728, *parish register*, is in Denwick township, but is now corrupted into Cowslip-hill; originally it would be *Cowslaw*, the cow's hill; but after this Saxon *law* or *hlaw* ceased to be understood, hill would be added.

Crownflats, a field west of the old waggon way, formerly belonged to Gallon, but now to Mr. George Cockburn.

Crow hole close, 1743, Doubleday's hill.

Outhbert heugh, in Holn Park.

Delaval's close, 1669, Dr. Forster's 1768, now Canongate close.

Delves, 1569, in Bondgate fields, held by Mr. Geo. Metcalfe; from *delfan*, A. S., to dig, land that had been dug up.

Denwick, one of the ancient villis of the barony, formerly in connection with Bondgate, had a manorial court of its own. Like other villis it had in the olden time its free tenants, its bondmen and cotmen, and its moor or common. Among its copyholders in 1569 were Ralph and Robert Thew, members of a family located there from an early period. They had one of the oldest surnames in the county; in the great pipe roll of 1197 William Thew is charged 12d. for an inclosure from a forest in Northumberland. Derived from *theaw*, A. S., manner or condition, and also in a secondary sense a servant, it is significant of the original servile state of the Anglo-Saxons under the Normans. For not less than four centuries has this family held lands in Denwick, as owners or occupiers. John Thew, the last of them resident at Denwick as a farmer, died there on January 23rd, 1837, aged 98 years; but branches of this family still flourish in Alnwick; Mr. Edward Thew, an extensive merchant, and the owner of Shortridge estate, is a descendant of this venerable race. The famous Thomas Percy, the conspirator, was, as one of the commissioners of the earl of Northumberland, at Alnwick, on October 5th, 1595, investigating a dispute as to the heirship of two tenements in Denwick left by William Grey; but the commissioners were so puzzled, that they referred "the further determination of the case to his lordship's pleasure." The copyholders have entirely disappeared; the common was enclosed in

1735; and the whole vill belongs now to the duke of Northumberland, excepting the corn tithes which are in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Ilderton. Denwick is now a pretty village, consisting of sixteen cottages, most of them built in an ornamental style; and each having a garden plot in front, and land of more than half an acre attached. At Michaelmas time Alnwick feasted and Denwick played; and on the Monday the youthful population of Alnwick went to enjoy those games; the distinction appears in the old popular rhyme—

Alnwick feast and Denwick play,
Bonnie lasses had away.*

Demesne North, 1706; *the Pasture*, contains 175ac. 0r. 11p., and is valued at £230 yearly; here the inhabitants enjoy themselves at holiday times.

Dove cote crofts 1671, *Dove cote close* 1702; a *cote* was a mud cottage, and the *croft* was a small inclosure of pasture or tillage land attached; small buildings for pigeons are dove cotes, locally pronounced *dukkets*.

Dunterton hills, 1704; now pronounced *Dunterns*; the hilly fields southward of Green Bat. The origin of this curious word is very doubtful; perhaps we have here *dun*, which both in the Celtic and Tuetic languages means a hill; *tyrnan*, A. S., *turna*, Isl., and *turn*, Welsh, are to turn or bend.

Earles hill, near Brislaw, and another near the Black Lough, appear in Armstrong's map, 1769.

Elyburn, east of Brizlaw, is perhaps so named from *ellie*, the alder.

Extremity, 1648, in Holn Park; a jocular name as *Necessity* is not far from it.

Firth, 1646, in Cawledge Park; Holn *Frithe*, 1537; from *fridd*, Welsh, a forest or park.

Fisher lane closes, which were in Alnwick low fields, and held by Richard Grieve in 1760, are now in Windy Edge farm, and belong to Mr. John Baird.

Foul causeway was in Alnwick moor, of which there are now no traces. *Fox Holes* in Alnwick moor.

Frerwede le, the Friar's wood, and *Friar's well* were in Holn Park.

Gally hill, 1622, B R., *Gallowsfield* in Lane Head farm is one mile north of Alnwick. See Vol I., p. 136.

Glass hill, west of Holn Abbey, on which were ancient British graves; slag or vitrified stone, from early smelting of iron, may have given this name.

Golden Acres, 1768, belong to St. Michael's church, and are so named because they were let sometime last century at a guinea an acre, which was considered a large price; they contain 17ac. 3r. 2p. of superior arable land, having a good clay sub-soil, and are now let at £45 yearly. See page 138.

* *Had away* is an Alnwickism meaning, come away.

Golden moor farm, containing 166ac. 1r. 39p., and now let at a rental of £203 16s. 0d., was part of Denwick common. On the Cockhouse field were a house and ground enclosed by a high wall, devoted to the breeding of game cocks; other fields are called the Harvers; the Abbey Lees; the Bought knowes, from *cnoll*, A. S., a small rounded hill, and *bocht*, Teut., an inclosure, used in the north for a pen in which ewes were milked.

At boughts in the morning

Nae blyth lads ware scorning.—*Flowers of the forest.*

The sub-strata are sandstone, shale, coal, and limestone; in the Kiln field, half a century ago, a coal seam six feet thick was worked—one of the thickest in the Mountain Limestone formation; and a limestone, too, which contains many fossils. The soil varies much, some parts being light and sandy, others gravelly and clayey, and others a light moor land. *Mossy field* and *Lough field* indicate an ancient lake.

Goose knowe, near the end of Bondgate on the north side, in 1773 belonged to Stapleton, afterwards to Gallon, and then to Mr. J. A. Wilson, who sold it in 1859 to the duke of Northumberland.

Gook stone—the cuckoo stone—in the south-west boundary of the parish, is 859 feet above the sea level, being the highest ground in it.

Green bat, *Grirne butts*, 1664, c. r., on the west side of the town wall where archery was practised. *Green bat close* was sold by the earl of Lisburne to John Lambert in 1829, and since then portions of it have been sold for building sites, which now form Percy terrace, Howick and Lisburn streets.

Greensfield; in 1569 Wm. Bednell, George Metcalfe, and Wm. Green held 80 acres of arable land in Greensfield; Mark Forster, in 1709 held Greensfield, which before belonged to Robt. Green; in the old boulder of the moor we have both Robert Green's land and Greensfield (See Vol. I., p. 100); Greensland in 1709 was held by Timothy Punshon. The modern farm of Greensfield, containing 240ac. of arable and 208ac. of pasture land, includes parcels of land formerly held by various owners, with a considerable area from the ancient Cawledge Park. The basaltic whin sill crosses it in the western and higher parts; and where it is quarried the metamorphosing influence of this volcanic rock may be seen on the subjacent shale, which is converted into porcellanite. On these higher grounds the soil over gravel is of a good quality; but in the lower grounds towards the east, where there are clay and sand, it is inferior, though now much improved by drainage. Ferney beds, Foxes holes, and Strawberry beds and other names of fields are probably modern; but there are also the Firth, and the Hurst, which is from *hriostr* old Norse, a thicket or wood producing fodder for cattle.

Greensfield moor farm, formerly part of Cawledge Park,

contains 229ac. Or. 6p., and is let at a rental of £267 17s. 6d. ; the soil is a wet loam, which has been improved by drainage. In a field on the south-east corner of it, where it slopes towards the Cawledge burn, an ancient British sepulchre was discovered in June, 1868. This grave was a cist-vaen, similar to that described in Vol. I., p. 10, but better formed than is usual in such early interments, of rough limestone slabs set on edge, with the joints of the corners filled up with clay. The length from W.S.W. to E.N.E. was 4 feet 2 inches, the breadth 2 feet 1 inch, and the depth 1 foot 10 inches ; the bottom was flagged with flat stones, and the whole was covered by a large, thick, rough limestone slab. These limestones had been taken from the limestone beds which cross the burn. In this cist was a skeleton of a young person, for the bones were small and the teeth unworn ; unfortunately the skull was broken and went to decay on exposure. A fine urn accompanied this interment ; this too was broken, but a sufficient number of fragments was found to show its size, shape, and ornamentation. Its form was of the drinking cup type, similar to that represented in Vol. I., plate II., fig 1 ; but the scorings were of a somewhat different pattern ; it was 6 inches high and 3 inches in diameter at the bottom. An interesting little flint implement of a rare form was also found, bearing evidences of having been burnt, as it is white and cracked, 1·65 inch long, ·4 in the widest part, and ·2 near the end, which was obtuse or rounded, probably from use ; in section it is triangular, with one face broad, and the other two sides joining and forming a sharpish ridge. It differs from most other flint implements, in having its sides ground down and smoothed ; it probably was a sort of awl used in piercing leather.

Grumble's bank or *Hanging bank* close, near Fisher's lane, bounded on the west by Kiln burn, belonged in 1774 to William Grumble, grocer, Alnwick.

Grey's haugh, 1682, c. r. See Vol. I., p. 347.

Grinde stone leich close, containing 2½ acres, on the south side of Alnmouth turnpike, belonged in 1773 to John Stapleton ; hereon stood a cross in 1683, c. r.

Guttergate burn, 1712, c. r., the Bow burn.

Gynfen, 1289, *Inq*, Gynfenlegh 1741, c. r., Gynfield 1569, now corrupted into Gilfins, is boggy ground, containing 20 acres, in Denwick township ; from *gin*, A. s., open, *fenn*, A. s., a marsh, the open marsh ; *legh*, *leah*, A. s., land lying in grass for a time, indicating also an open place in a wood.

Harlow hill, from *here*, A. s., *hær*, Dan., an army, and *hlaw*, the army hill, on which an army may have been stationed or a battle fought, gives a name to a farm, part of which is in Longhoughton parish. The portion in Alnwick contains 193ac. 1r. 20p., let at a rental of £146 14s. 6d. One field is called the *Brakes*, another the *Keelson ford*. Sandstone is the chief sub-stratum ;

in the northern part a limestone crops out; coal was worked near the house, and the basaltic whin sill in its range from Cullernose, south-westward, crosses the Longhoughton part of the farm and touches the boundary of the Alnwick portion. The soil is of a middle quality, some of it on a moor band, but generally light and fit for the growth of turnips.

Hare crag, on Snipe house farm, is basalt—the resort of the hare.

Hawes' closes, southward of the town, were in 1676 held by John Falder, c. r.; great and little Haw closes belonged in 1726 to Mark Forster, and afterwards to Eliz. Grey. Leo derives the name from *hawe*, a. s., a view, Taylor from *gehaw*, German, a place where trees have been hewn.

Hecclley or *Hincliff*, on high ground two miles north of Alnwick, was in 1147 a vill or township, with at least ten free owners of houses and lands, and with its moor or common; one house of the vill remains, but foundations of others are traceable along the hill side. *Hincliff*, its original name, has its first element the same as in *Hindene*, which is derivable from *hinde*, a. s., and expresses the hind's or female stag's dene; *cliffe* indicates the rock which crops on the hill or the steepness of the situation. The name in 1260 and 1290 was *Hecclife*; in 1539 we have *Hekeley* grange, and in 1646 *Heckley*. The whole was abbey property; the Grange is now part of Broomhouse farm.

Heckley fence farm contains 407ac., let at a rental of £277. It was abbey property (see p. 35); it was bought from Ralph Annett's assignees by John Carr, of Bondgate Hall, and descended to his daughter and her husband, by whom it was sold in 1860 to the duke of Northumberland, at more than twice the price it brought in the market half a century before that time. The sub-strata are chiefly sandstones; but one of the lower limestones of the Mountain Limestone formation and a coal seam have been worked. The soil is sandy, on a moor band, and of but a poor quality.

On *Hefferlaw bank*, 1709, or *Highfarlaw*, which is three miles north of Alnwick, and 514 feet above the sea level, are remains of ancient British camps, hut circles and sepulchres, and a mediæval tower. The earliest forms of the name are *Heffordlawe*, 1346, *Inq*; *He Forthlawe*, 1368; and *Hefford lawe*, 1539; *law* is the hill, and the definitive element may be *hafer*, a. s., a goat, denoting the hill of the goats. *Hefferside* occurs in a charter, 1283; and the suffix *side* points to the slopes of the law. The modern farm *Hefferlaw bank*, on the northern slopes of the hill, contains 138ac. 3r. 4p. of the yearly value of £52 17s. 0d.; the soil is light, sandy, and poor, principally on sandstone; a limestone about ten feet thick, which was formerly quarried, comes out from beneath the sandstone on the bank side, northward of the Traveller's Rest. *Dial* field and *Blaw-weary* are names of fields. A fine yellow sand used for ornamental walks is obtained from the hill side.

Heldwyke, 1479, c. B., within Holn Park. *Hensted*.

Hesleyburn, so named from the hazels growing at its sides, has its source in the Black lough, and flows along the southern boundary of Alnwick moor and joins the Newton burn, which enters the Coquet at Brainshaugh; in the lower part of its course it is the Hampeth burn, which has worked out for itself a deep channel across a great basaltic dike 160 feet wide, and rising on each side of the burn in pillars near to 60 feet in height.

High house farm, formerly abbey property, contains 474ac. 3r. 34p., with a rental of £546; most of the soil is a fair loam, but a portion is a poor clay. Among names of fields are Nunwood, Cumberland, Cross shots, and Chesters in which is a camp.

Hilberhalgh, circa 1220, cart. A. A.; *Hilburghalgh*, *Hilburhach*, circa 1260, cart. Holn, is on the west side of the Aln in Holn Park; now corrupted into *Filberthaugh*.

Hobberlaw or *Bertewell*, in 1289, is a hamlet containing about 200 acres, one and a half miles south-eastward of the town, on a high ridge sloping from Alnwick moor to Rugley burn. Its old name, meaning the *bright well*, is from *beorht*, *birhta*, A. S., bright, and *wyl*, *well*, A. S., a well or spring. One field is still called *Botty's well close*, a corruption of the original name. *Hobberlaw* or *Uberlaw*, or as it appears on the church register 1646 *Upperlaw*, does not occur before the fifteenth century, and comes from *h:ofer*, A. S., a swelling, *ufera*, higher, and *hlaw*, A. S., a hill—the upper hill. Other archaic names in this hamlet are *Pye close* and *Cadmacrook*. Prior to 1289 *Bertewell* had been granted by the baron of Alnwick to Philip Fitz Martin, by service of one-eighth of a fee and a yearly rent of twenty-three pence, its yearly value being twenty shillings. Early in the next century it was in possession of Robert de Sokpeth, who in 1311 was appointed by Bishop Kellawe receiver-general for Norham, and in 1314 was one of the keepers of Norham Castle. To Alnwick Abbey he gave in 1311 a carucate of land, including, most probably, *Ouke's close* in *Hobberlaw*, which in 1540, after the dissolution of the monastery, was in the possession of George Alder, of *Hoblaw*. Thomas de Sokpeth held the hamlet in 1350 by service of one quarter of a fee and 2s. 9d. yearly for Castle Ward, the yearly value being one hundred shillings. John de Sokpeth appears as the next owner in 1368. Sometime about 1456 this estate had passed to Robert Alder, in possession of whose descendants it continued nearly three centuries. The early descent of the family is given in the *Heraldic Visitation* of 1615, from which and from court and corporate records and church registers, the following pedigree has been compiled.—*Harl. MSS.*, 1153, 5853.

Alder Arms—Azure on a bend argent, three billets sable. *Crest*—Saltire one limb argent and the other sable. These were in Alnwick Church in 1615; they are still to be seen, but with a different crest, in the churchyard, on the tombstone of Mr. Robert Alder, who was a land agent and owner of a burgage in Alnwick, and who died in 1796.

Robert Alder, of Alnwick Esq., 34 Hen. VI. (1456). *Visit.* Robert Audyr, of Alnowyke, March 3rd, 1455, conveyed a burgage in Alnwick to Robert Dawson, of Warkworth, b. r. ; juror, 1475, c. r.

John Audyr, son and heir consented to the above conveyance, March 3rd, 1455. Made suit of court, 1474, c. r.	Robert Alder, of Hoberlaw, in the Co. of Northd., gent., 19 Edw. IV. (1479). <i>Visit</i> ; appears at the Baronial court, 1474. <i>Court rec.</i>	= a dau. of Sir Ralph Fenwick, of Stanton.
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Richard Alder, of Alnwick, Esq., 21 Hen. VII. (1505). <i>Visit</i> ; party to a deed in 1525 relating to his aggr- sion on Alnwick moor.	= A dau. of Heron, of Bokenfield. <i>Visit.</i>
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George Alder, of Alnwick, Esq., temp. Hen. VIII. <i>Visit</i> ; George Audler, 1539 <i>Comp. of Alnwick Abbey</i> ; held Hubberlaw, Byrtwell, or Uberlaw, and Bondgate Hall, &c., in 1569, <i>Hall's survey</i> ; will proved 1575.	= Jane, dau. of Sir Wm. Lesle, of Felton.	Richard John.
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George Alder, of Alnwick, <i>Visit</i> ; of Hubberlawe, 1579, as juror at assizes, Newcastle; free merchant of Alnwick, 1593; effects administered 1617.	= Margaret (Mary?) dau. of Nich. Forster, of Newham, <i>Visit.</i> Mary Alder, of Upperlawe, died 1648. <i>Church reg.</i>
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Francis Alder, of Hobberlaw, party to a deed in 1586; free merchant of Alnwick, 1611, 1633; Chamberlain of Alnwick, 1614; as kinsman and next heir of Robt. Audyr, he by deed gave a rent charge of 10s. to the church in 1609; effects administered 1638.	= Agnes, dau. of Wm, Shell, merchant, Alnwick. = Mrs. Ann Alder, late wife of Mr. Francis Alder of Hobberlaw; bur. March 6th, 1666. <i>Church reg.</i>	Cuthbert = Eliz. of Alnham. Will proved 1638.	Robert dau. admin. 1622.	Richard admin. 1636.	= Mary, dau. of Gerd. Wid- dring- ton.
				Francis 1 year old in 1615.	Mary.

Francis the elder and Francis the younger demised house and close in 1636.

Francis Alder, of Hobberlaw; freeman of Alnwick, 1641, bur. Dec. 6th, 1688. <i>Church reg.</i>	= Barbara. * = Ann, bur. Nov. 17th, 1682. <i>Church reg.</i>	George of Frenwick, 1656. <i>Court rec.</i> George 1677.	Edward of Shelvinton; will proved 1674. Edward adm. 1698.	John of Bondgate, Alnwick, mar. Cath. bur. 1702.
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Tabitha occurs 1663. <i>Church rec.</i>	= Mr. Alex. Forster mar. Feb. 14th, 1666. <i>Church reg.</i>	Grace chr. 1649. <i>Ch. reg.</i>	Francis chr. 1654.	Mary died 1656. died 1656. <i>Ch. reg.</i>	Katerine died 1657.	Sarah born 1659.
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* Francis Alder and Barbara, his wife, held a house, circa 1633, called a little old parlour, and one half of a rigge in Fenkle Street, from the gooseberry bush down to the burn.

George Forster held Henry Forster and William Forster held Hobberlaw
Hobberlaw prior in 1704. Henry on manor roll of Canongate, 1710
to 1704. and 1713, for lands in Hobberlaw.

Henry and William Forster, late Mr. George Forster their brother, and before Mr. Francis Alder, held Hobberlaw. *Court roll.*

Henry Forster, of Angerton, held Hobberlaw in 1713. *Corp. rec.* He had died prior to 1721, as in the Canongate Court call roll of that year there are entered "heirs of Henry Forster." George Forster, of Angerton, voted for Hobberlaw at the elections in 1734 and 1748.

With the exception of the Percy family, that of Alder was the most important connected with Alnwick; besides Hobberlaw, Bondgate Hall and 64 acres of land in Bondgate, the Banks, Wyke's knowes, Swansfield, and several burgages belonged to the Alders; but before the death of the last of them, Nathaniel Salkeld had become owner of the lands in Bondgate, and Alex. Armorer owner of Swansfield. Hobberlaw, however, seems to have descended to Tabitha, the daughter of Francis Alder, and then to her offspring; for we find in the roll of the Knight's Court of 1704, that Hobberlaw was in the possession of Henry and William Forster, as brothers of the late Mr. George Forster, who had succeeded Francis Alder. Henry, according to the Canon-gate roll, held it in 1710, and he is described in 1713 of Angerton in the corporation records; but he died prior to 1723, and was succeeded by George Forster, of Angerton, who voted for Hobberlaw at the elections for the county in 1734 and 1748. Branches of this Alder family settled at Alnham, Prendwick, Framlington, and Horncliff; but we have no space to give their alliances and descents.

Other Alders, who were in Alnwick from an early period, were probably originally connected with the Hobberlaw family; some of them were merchants, others cordwainers, fuller, schoolmaster, preacher, tailor, butcher, maltster, grocer, and herd; and a few of them filled the office of Chamberlains and were members of the Four-and-Twenty. There seems to have been amongst them a strong affection for scriptural names; Luke Alder was a Chamberlain in 1626; John a fuller in 1665, Joshua a shoemaker in 1713; and belonging to the same trade were Jacob in 1724, Joseph in 1732, Caleb in 1745, Thomas in 1779; and subsequently there were other Calebs and Joshuas; the last Joshua died in 1762, and the last Caleb, who was a grocer and cheesemonger, in 1799. From one or other of these, but probably from Caleb, sprung Joshua Alder, the distinguished naturalist, who died at Newcastle, on January 21st, 1867, at the age of seventy-four years, and who is especially known for his researches among zoophytes and mullusks, and as the author, in conjunction with Mr. Albany Hancock, another eminent Newcastle naturalist, of a magnificent work on British Nudi-branchiate Mullusks.

Hobberlaw in 1755 was in possession of Robert Smart, who was connected with the Smarts of Trewitt, and who about

the same time married Frances, a daughter of the Rev. William Burrell, vicar of Chatton and owner of Broompark. A troublesome man he was to the freemen and to the parish; he made aggressions on Alnwick moor; he fought the Four and Twenty for a road across the moor and he obtained it; he claimed exemption from church rates but was unsuccessful; and thus he involved both the corporation and parish in lawsuits. An ingenious man he was however—a mathematician, an astronomer, with, it is said, the *Principia* at his finger ends, a mechanist and a musician; but of eccentric tastes and habits. His estate he divided in fields having geometrical forms and enclosed them with double hedges; he made an organ for Belford church; and he invented a thrashing machine about the year 1778, when also a Mr. Elderton near Alnwick made another. "These machines," it is said in Ree's Cyclopaedia, "were so constructed as to act by rubbing instead of beating out the grain; but they were found defective, as along with its doing very little work in a given time it bruised the grain." One of Robert Smart's daughters, who lived in Alnwick, related that he, after successfully trying the machine, broke it up, fearing its adoption would injure the agricultural labourer; but that after his decease it was patented by his servant Rastrick, whose machine, it is reported in the Cyclopaedia, had novelties of construction, and was seen to thrash forty-three sheaves in ten minutes and to dress them at the same time. To one strange purpose Smart applied his genius; for believing that man could like a bird fly through the air if provided with suitable mechanical apparatus, he constructed for himself a pair of wings made of leather and feathers, and attached them to his arms with some mechanism to aid their movement. His friends and servants he summoned to witness his first flight; and after ascending the granary stairs at Hobberlaw, he waved for a while his wings, and then sprung from the stair head, expecting to soar upwards; but, alas! all the efforts he made with his apparatus could not overcome the laws of gravity, and down he ignominiously fell into a gooseberry bush! Fortunately, though the wings did not enable him to rise they lessened the force of the descent, so that, though mortified in spirit, he was little hurt in body by the ludicrous end of his experiment. Others, however, in the earlier part of the last century made similar attempts; and even one philosopher said that in time it would be as common to ask for your wings as for your boots. Modern science has achieved greater wonders; and the time may come when a gentleman instead of asking for his carriage shall ask for his balloon. Besides being owner of Hobberlaw, Robert Smart was an extensive farmer, and tenanted both Wark and Spindlestone. He died on December 19th, 1787, aged 71 years, and by his will dated December 17th, 1783, left Hobberlaw to his son William, but charged with annuities to his

widow and younger sons. His widow subsequently lived in Alnwick, where she died in 1812; their daughter Sarah married William Spours, of Alnwick, from whom is descended Mr. Wm. Spours of Alnwick and Shepperdon Hall. Sometime, I understand, in the latter part of last century Hobberlaw, was sold to the duke of Northumberland, to whom it now belongs.

Like all the residences of the gentry in the Border land, the house inhabited for centuries by the military tenants of Bertewell was a pele of considerable strength, capable of resisting the attacks of Scottish marauders. It stood on high ground at the northern extremity of the estate, adjoining to Alnwick moor; part of the walls, which were of great thickness, were standing some thirty years ago. The modern farm, which contains 181ac. 3r. 17p., is let at a rental of £241 14s.; and there are besides two cottages with their half acres, and another field in which is quarried and burnt a limestone, one of the best in the kingdom.

Hollis acres or Allgood's close, in the town fields, belonged in 1702 to Wm Hunter.

Holn forest, 1283, cart. A. A., from *holeign*, A. S., the holly tree. Some of the old park wall is still standing on the Humbleheugh, White house folly, and Hefferlaw grounds.

Holywell farm; Holly-far-law, 1666, B. R.; the name is derived from a well which was deemed *holy* and possessed of healing qualities. It contains 267ac. 0r. 27p., and is let at a rental of £178 6s. A cottage with 5ac. 2r. 31p. is held by a cottager at a rental of £8. Much of the land is on high ground, but with a slope to the southward. The sub-stratum is sandstone; the sub-soil varies from sand to a bad clay; and the soil in like manner varies from a light sand to a clay. Most of it will grow turnips. One of the lowest limestones in the Mountain Limestone formation has been worked on this farm.

Hope loning, 1654, C. R.; Hopp lane, 1698, C. R.; Hope houses, hamlet, or Stead place, 1705. Hopes are numerous in Northumberland, being short valleys among hills with gently sloping sides; from *hop*, Isl., a recess, or from *heapp*, an opening or small valley. The modern farm has an area of 48ac. 2r. 14p., let at a rental of £114. Sandstone was quarried in the field close to the town half a century ago, and the basaltic whin sill crosses the fields southward of the house. The ancient name was Dunterton closes. They were in 1702 in possession of Thos. Wood Burton; in 1705 Wm. Stanton sold two-thirds of them to George Potts; Ann Grey held them in 1765, subsequently to which they were sold to H. C. Selby, whose nephew, Prideaux Selby, sold them in 1866 to the duke of Northumberland.

Hotteral bank, on the Aln, opposite the Lady's well.

Howling closes and lane; or *Hooking lane* in 1677, C. R.

Humbleheugh farm, 1745, in Holn Park township, is on the

north-west extremity of the parish, and contains 160ac. 3r. 7p., let at a rental of £97 12s. 6d.; in 1747 the rental was only £10 6s. 6d. The sub-stratum is sandstone; the soil is poor, on a moor band, beneath which is a poor clay; some of the lower grounds have a soil clayey, mixed with vegetable matter, while on the higher grounds it is sandy and freer, and fit for the growth of turnips. Coal was formerly worked in Hindene, near Islaford bridge. The *Salter's field* derives its name from an old trackway crossing it, which was used by smugglers carrying salt, gin, and brandy from Boulmer to Charlton and places further westward. Mr. Charles Brewis, the present tenant, is the descendant of a family who have occupied this farm upwards of a century.

Islaford bridge is across Hindene burn, at the boundary between Alnwick and North Charlton; here we may have the Celtic *uisge*, water, and *lla*, clear; the clear water ford. *Isla* was most likely the old Celtic name of the rivulet.

Knights furlong, in Bondgate fields, was held by Mary Clarkson in 1569, and by Matthew Alnwick, in 1676, C. B.; *fur* is A. S., a furrow, and *furlong*, the line of direction of ploughed lands; a division of an uninclosed field.

Kyll pot or *pit holle* was in Bondgate fields, and was left in 1584 by Richard Greene, glover, to his son Robert; in 1628 it belonged to Wm. Beadnell, and afterwards to Nicholas Forster; it is now in Windy Edge farm.

Lambebrige, 1283, Cart., A. A., was in Holn Park.

Lamp hill, on Alnwick moor. As another lamp hill is also called Watch hill, this also may have been a station of the Border watch; and there may have been a beacon here to give warning of a raid; *lamp* is originally from a Greek word, and meant any kind of light fed with oil or pitch.

Leek's land is named after the owner, Richard Leek, an Alnwick merchant; it was held by Richard Grieve in 1690, and now belongs to the duke of Northumberland. Part of *Leek's hill* is within the Castle grounds, and *Leek's field* is now allotted as gardens, of one tenth of an acre each.

Lin letch, is in the south-west part of Alnwick moor; *lin* is Celtic for pool, but now signifies a waterfall; *letch* is the northern name for a long, narrow swamp with slow running water; from *leccan*, A. S., to moisten, irrigate; *leacinc* leaking.

Lokenburne, circa 1260, Cart., H. A., Lokenfenburne, 1405, is the burn flowing through Hindene and entering the Aln near to Holn Abbey; the old name is but little altered, for we have still Lokenburn and Lokendene; the name may be as Mr. Carr suggests, from the locken-gowan—the globe flower or *Trollius Europæus*, which grows plentifully by the side of this burn.

Lyne-burn-lands, "so called in ancient records," consisting of 12 burgages or riggs, at the head of Clayport, on the south side, were held in 1709 by widow Gallon; from *lin*, flax, the burn in which flax was steeped.

Loaning head, 1654, 1680 ; now Lane Head farm, one mile north of Alnwick, contains 103ac. 3r. 22p., let at a rental of £250 17s ; in this farm is the Gallows field.

Lough house, 1726, a farm bordering on the Aln contains 103ac. 1r. 22p., at a rental of £247 4s. 6d. The basaltic whin sill, in its range south-westward, appears on the bank of the river near the house. The lough is now drained away.

Maudlin hills, near Denwick ; a corruption of Magdalen ; but I have seen no old references to the name.

Medcalfe fields, 1654, c. r., were held by Geo. Potts in 1709, and seem to be the land, in the north part of the Cawledge Park, held in 1569 by George Medcalfe.

Mersia laus, 1290, Cart., A. A., in the territory of Heccliff ; from *merse*, A. S., a marsh—the marshy hills.

Meswic, circa 1290, Cart., A. A., was in Holn Park. *Wic*, as a termination, has several meanings besides the primary one ; and Leo shews that one secondary meaning was related to *wac*, A. S., soft, a morass or soft yielding soil, as “*Mariscus quod dicitur Biscopos—wic* ;” and this corresponds with our name, for with the prefix *mes*, *meos*, A. S., moss, we have the mossy morass.

Midding hill, 835 feet above the sea level, on the south-west boundary of the parish.

Mossy ford, on Alnwick moor, called also Strathwell ford ; *strath* is here probably a form of *stræt* or road.

Muswelleshaw, 1220, Cart., A. A., “without Cavlyche Park,” is the shady wood with the mossy well.

Oakey baulks are fields southward of the town ; from the oak and baulks or bawks ; *balc*, A. S., is a strip of land left unploughed.

Oakey law is in Holn township.

Ozenheugh, 1647, was near the west boundary of the moor.

Ozmornke, 1290, Cart., A. A., or *Oznicruk*, was in the territory of Heccliffe—the oxen's corner, from *ozna*, A. S., of the oxen.

Palm-strother-haugh is westward of Holn Abbey, on the north side of the Aln ; branches of the saugh tree (*Salix caprea*) loaded with bursting catkins are called palms, and are still gathered by children before Palm Sunday, in commemoration of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The name denotes the boggy haugh on which the saughs grew.

Pauls rest, where there is a quarry of hard sandstone adapted for flagging, is in Alnwick moor, near the Freemen's gap.

Peat knowe, on Shildykes, is 800 feet above the sea level.

Peetimere, 1726, was a close near Lough house ; the peaty lough or marsh ; from *mere*, A. S., a lake or marsh ; the *Kimmere* lough is in Eglington parish.

Peterumburne and *Poterdeburne* circa 1220, Cart., A. A., Potterdeneburn, 1700 ; now the Moor and Stocken burn.

Plundenburne, circa 1220, Cart., A. A., has its source from the Buttery well in Alnwick moor, and enters the Aln a little above Alnwick Abbey ; and it still retains its name.

Pye cruck close, 1676; Dr. Charnock derives *pie* or *pye* from the Welsh name *Pugh* or *Aphugh*, the son of *Hugh*.

Quarrel hills, 1647, or *Quarry hills*, at the head of *Rotten Row*, formerly borough property, now belongs to the duke of Northumberland; whence, tradition says, stones were taken to build *Alnwick Castle* in the fourteenth century.

Raiding burn flows at the base of *Breakback* in *Holn Park*, the scene probably of some *Border raid* or hostile incursion.

Ratten row, 1647, *Ratten raw*, 1655, 1683; quarries worked in *Ratten rawe loaning*, 1678, c. r.; *Ratten raw* or *Lady row lane*, 1773. *Cold harbour* and *Ratten raw* have been standing puzzles for etymologists, and much learning has been expended in attempts to explain them. Fortunately, we need not trouble ourselves with *Cold harbour*; for although there is one in the neighbourhood of *Falloden*, we have none in this parish; from *Rotten row*, however, we cannot escape. As this name is widely spread over the country, it has been imagined to possess a profound signification; in Scotland it is found near *Jedburgh*, at *Glasgow*, *Dunfermline*, and in *Forfarshire*; the *Aberdeen records* speak of the *towns pece rayst ground in Rattown raw* in 1542; in *London* there is the famous *Rotten row*; and others are in *Norfolk* and elsewhere in the south. In the north of *England* there are several; we have *Ratten rawe* in *Durham*, in 1306; *Ratten raw* in *Tynedale*, in 1257; *Ratten raw* in *Langley barony*, in 1367; *Ratten raw* in *Redesdale* and *Elsdon*; and *Raton raw* in *Bamburgh*, in 1430. A probable derivation is from *rotte*, a troop, *rotiran*, to muster, (Teut.), and *row*, denoting a place of military muster or exercise in feudal times; other derivations are from the rottenness of the road or of the buildings beside it, from the immoral character of the inhabitants, or from being infested with rats, or rattens, as they are called. An American authoress derives it from the French—*Route de roi*, the road along which the royal carriage passed; similar to this, but giving a higher ancestry to the name, is the ingenious exposition of my friend *Mr. John Hilson*, of *Jedburgh*, and he thus speaks confidently: "There is no occasion for mystery about its meaning. It is simply the king's way, *Rathad'n righ*, (Gaelic,) pronounced *Rattenreigh* by those who still use the term in every day speech, applying to good or made roads as against uneven mountain tracks." *Mr. Carr* of *Hedgeley* proposes a new explanation:—

Rotens row, vulgarly *Rotten row*, has not been fully explained, because etymologists have not perceived that it involves not only a Saxon word, but the governmental inflection *ena*, forming the genitive plural. *Rót*, pronounced long, meant cheerful, gay, lightsome, and also adorned, well dressed. *Rótnease* was cheerfulness. *Unrót*, sorrowful, *unrótnease*, sadness. *Róténa* signified of the cheerful, lightsome, well-dressed. *Róténa rawa*, in Anglo-Saxon, could mean nothing else than either line or procession of holiday folk, or of stately folk; or else a row of houses frequented by well-attired or stately folk. I think it meant the former; that is procession or promenade, or habitual walk or ride of persons out for recreation. And if such a name be found applied

to any piece of road on the moors, I should conceive it meant that religious or military processions had encamped there, or frequently passed. *Rotte*, a military muster, to which *Rotene row* has been referred, (though, I think, not quite accurately), is probably connected with this same origin. The correct spelling for present use would certainly be the old English one—*Rotene row*.

When, however, we look at the original application of the term in Alnwick and its local surroundings, we must, I doubt, be content with a humbler exposition. The present Rotten row is not the old Ratten raw, though near to it. Some still remember "the Clarty loaning," which led from Hooling lane to the head of Canongate; and from this loaning, about fifty yards westward of the present Rotten row, the old Ratten raw lane proceeded onward to Alnwick moor. A royal road it may have been, for it was the chief way to the north-west country, by Brislaw, as shewn in Armstrong's map in 1767. The name, however, was not originally applied to this road; but to a row of houses which extended from near Canongate to the lane from east to west. They are first referred to in the old boulder of the moor; "and soe along the Stocken dike to Canogate longing, and from thence southward to the head of the-said dike, and from thence down the dike to the *west* end of Ratten row to the north end of the house, which standeth south-west and north-west in Ratten row, and from thence to the boorne." Here the name is exclusively applied to the row of houses standing on the north side of Canogate burn; and the lane seems to have been then called Canogate lane. In 1689 Lord Delaval had houses in Ratten raw; and in 1695 Thomas Younger died seized of a burgage in Ratten raw. By old inhabitants, full of the traditions of the past, this row has been described to me as a range of "poor, tumble-down houses." The term *ratten* was descriptive of this row of houses; which, from their detached position, may soon after their erection have become dilapidated enough to earn for them the derisive term of rotten or ratten.

Rugley, or *Rugleia* as it is named in the earliest record about 1160, was a vill two miles southward of Alnwick; the name, being derived from *rug*, A. S., rugged, and *leah*, A. S., pastures, lands amid woods, is descriptive of its ancient condition. St. Margarets was part of this vill, but was given to Alnwick Abbey. According to the Testa de Neville, Rugley was held in the thirteenth century by Reynerus Teutonicus, by service of one-fourth of a knight's fee; Franc le Teyes had in 1226 a grant of a free warren in Ruggeley manor; Richard de Emelton held lands and tenements in Ruggley in 1303; and in 1346 and 1368 Guido Tyas held it by service of one fee and a payment of 5s. yearly, the value being then £20. According to the royal survey of 1569, there were nine copyholders "in the town of Ruglee," each possessing a tenement and from fifteen to eighty acres of land, with the addition of a common pasture called Rugley wood

and Hall close, which must have had an area of about 200 acres, as 43s. 4d. were paid as a quit rent. In 1617, there were twelve copyholders, one of whom, Cuthbert Forster, held land called Masterfield. In 1654, Nicholas Forster, the eldest son of George Forster, vicar of Bolam, settled in Rugley. The father was deprived of his living during the commonwealth, and was succeeded by Robert Leaver. A new parsonage was building by Leaver, when Forster giving a shilling to the workmen to drink said, "work on my bonny lads, I'll be back again by and bye;" and back again he did come after the restoration. The present farm of Rugley, with the Firth, has an area of 541ac. 0r. 12p., let a rental of £400; it is tenanted by Mr. Thomas Chrisp, whose family have farmed in this parish about a century and a half.* There are besides six other holdings in the vill, each consisting of a cottage and land, having an aggregate area of 41ac. 3r. 11p., let at a rental of £49 11s. As names of fields, there are Battle hills, Rowling baulks, Hall close, Fox holes, Mossy ford, Willow close, Stone close, &c. Sandstone crops out near the farm house; the basaltic whin sill crosses the farm in a south-west direction, and in the channel and banks of the burn are exposed a series of limestones, shales, sandstones, and coals. The sub-soil is clay, and the soil generally a free loam, which has been much improved by drainage; but towards the south-west there is a stiff clay. Several interesting plants grow in Rugley wood.

Ravenslaw, 1654, c. r.—the Raven's hill—is land near the Railway station, and was held in 1676 by Richard Woodhouse, afterwards by James Huntley; in 1760 by Richard Grieve, and then by his son George. Ravenslaw nursery belonging to Mrs. Taylor of Beadnell, contains 7ac. 3r. 30p., and is let at £30 yearly.

Reedside, 1647, or Redside, is on the western boundary of Alnwick moor; Reedside road from Abberwick crosses it; the name may be from the red colour, pronounced in the north reed, or from the plant the reed (*Phragmites communis*) growing in marshy ground.

Reigham quarry of sandstone is in Alnwick moor. *Rihem house*, 1655, Church reg.; *ham* is A. S., for dwelling; and the definite may be from rig or ridge—the house on the ridge.

Rowlands close, near Bondgate hall, was held in 1704 by Mary Salkeld.

Rowling baulks, in Rugley; *Rowling green*, plantation near Brislaw; probably a corruption of *Row-ley*, from the *rowan* or mountain ash, and *ley*, a pasture; or from *row ling*, rough ling, or heather.

St. Mary ford, 1611, B. R., appears to have been near Alnwick Abbey; and another of the same name was probably the same as that at Denwick mill.

* To Mr. John Chrisp, formerly of Rugley, an esteemed friend during more than forty years, I have been indebted for varied information regarding Alnwick and the neighbourhood.

St. Margarets, a manor or grange, three miles south-west of the town, adjoining Rugley and Alnwick moor, and containing an area of 148 acres, belonged to Alnwick Abbey. It appears to have been given by Wm. de Vescy, who sometime between 1157 and 1185 granted to the abbey one carucate of land in the vill of Rugley, and the toft and croft pertaining to it, with rights of common in the pasture belonging to the vill of Rugley, and in the pasture of Swynley. In 1540 one manor called *Seynt Margarets* was in the tenure of Edmund Urpeth, at the yearly rent of 66s. 8d. at the will of the king. Queen Elizabeth granted it on January 22nd, 1582, to George Cummingsbye for the term of forty-one years; and in 1609 it was in possession of Mr. Paschall, gentleman, as tenant, in behalf of whom the following curious letter was written by the earl of Northumberland:—

To my servante and officer Robert Delaualle, Esquier, at Alnwick Castle.

Delaualle their is one Mr. Paschall becamed tennante to St. Margarite's neere Alnwicke, he hath entreated my letter in his behalf to my Burgesses of Alnwicke to make him one of their fraternitye unto whom I have written accordinglye. Their hath beene as I remember some controuersies betwene the farmers of St. Margarets and the Towne of Alnwick for matter of Comon on Alnwick moore.* Therefore it would be considered of amongst the townsmen and you, whether it be convenient for him to be a Burgess or not before they receive him, If it be not preiudiciall to me or them I would have them establish him amongst them, if not lett them make stay thereof and advertise me the reasons presently. This is all for this present but that I doe reste.

This 8 of May, 1610.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Paschall in January, 1611, sold his lease to Thomas Collingwood, of Ryle village. This grange was not alienated from the crown till 1613, when James I. granted to Wm. Whitmore, Esq., and Edward Sawyer, of London, gentleman,

“All that Manor or Grange called St. Margarets Grange in the County of Northumberland, and all the tithes of grain and hay annually growing arising and renewing in Rugle otherwise Rugle hall and in Shepherd house in the said County of Northumberland, with their rights, members, and appurtenances, now or formerly in the tenure or occupation of George Boman or his assigns and supposed or mentioned to be of the annual value of four pounds, and were formerly parcel of the lands possessions of the monastery of Alnwick in the County of Northumberland.”

Whitmore and Sawyer, on February 10th, 1616, sold the grange and tithes to Thomas Collingwood, of Reaveley, to hold under the king as of his manor of East Greenwich in free socage and not in *capite* or knight's service; and in this family St. Margarets continued till 1655, when Edward Collingwood, of Little Ryle, sold it to Edward Vardy of Holn Abbey, who bequeathed it in 1665 to his second son Edward, then a minor, but who afterwards became a merchant in Alnwick; and it descended in 1706 to his eldest son James, who had married Ann, the daughter of Edward Lainge, of Upper Shield. Having no issue, James left St.

* See Vol. II., p. 233.

Margarets in 1746 to his two sisters, the elder of whom was the wife of Thomas Wardell, of Framlington, and the younger, was wife of Thomas Horsley, of Morwick. One undivided moiety was inherited by Thomas Wardell, son of the elder sister; the other by Henry Horsley, grandson of the younger sister. Thomas Wardell's moiety passed in succession to Richard Wardell and then to his sister, Mrs. Tait, who devised it to Mary Rand, of Framlington, widow, a daughter of Richard Wardell, for her life, and remainder to her son William. Mrs. Rand is also tenant for life of the tithes of Rugley and Snipe house. Henry Horsley's moiety was sold by auction on Nov. 7th, 1710, to Richard Strother, an Alnwick merchant; it was next in possession of William Baird, another Alnwick merchant, from whom it passed by demise to his nephew John Forster, surgeon, of Newcastle, who took the surname of Baird, and then at his death to his eldest son Mr. John Forster Baird; it was purchased by Mr. John Atkinson Wilson, of Alnwick, solicitor, in 1861. This grange or manor was in 1862 divided into two separate estates by authority of the inclosure commissioners; to one owner were allotted 89 acres, and to the other, Mrs. Rand, were allotted 59 acres and the farm buildings. A thick bed of good limestone—the same as that at Hobberlaw—crops out on this estate.

St. Thomas lands, at the top of Clayport bank, and extending from the west road northward as far probably as the Wash burn, belonged to Alnwick Abbey, and appear to have been granted to it in 1311, by Robert de Sockepeth the owner of Hobberlaw hamlet. "Seynt Thomas feyld and of late Mylnes feld" with the corn and hay tithe, was let in 1529, by Robert the Abbot, to George Clarkson, a merchant of Alnwick, for ninety years. Under the name of the Town Head these lands were held, in 1623, by John Scott, a member of the four-and-twenty, and by Mr. George Lisle, in 1666, when they were valued in the book of rates at £20 yearly. For a century or more they were in possession of the family of Archbold of Cawledge Park. Richard Grieve, a notable Alnwick solicitor, bought them; but, by his second son, George, one part of them was sold, in 1779, to Thomas Call, surveyor, by whose descendants this portion is still held; it is described as "the two several closes in Alnwick Town head on the west side of Howling lane, containing 11 acres with all tithes, having been sometimes called the middle alias Archbold's closes alias Howling closes alias a part of St. Thomas the Apostle's closes." The larger portion, containing 19 acres 3 perches, was bought by Henry Collingwood Selby, and after his decease it passed to his nephew Mr. Prideaux Selby, who sold it to the duke of Northumberland in 1866. Tradition says that a chapel stood on these lands, that some of its stones form part of a wall by the road-side, and that human bones have been turned up by the plough. It is therefore not improbable that a burial-place belonging to the abbey was on this land, with a small chapel, in which services for the dead would be celebrated.

Salkeld's park, where John Salkeld resided in 1651 and 1689, was part of Holn park.

Saughes or *Sawghes*, in Greensfield, lying in Calledge park, on the north, and held in 1569, by George Metcalfe, was named from the saugh-tree or willow, *Salix cinerea*, &c. "Salwhe tree, salix," Promp. Parv.

Shieldykes, a large farm in the south-west part of the parish among the hill lands, has comparatively a modern name; in 1569, we have Sheldyke; in 1617, Nether and Overshields. *Swynleia* was, according to a charter about 1160, the early name; in 1259 it is called Swinleys; and in 1346 and 1368 Swynlescheles, in which we have the Sheals or Shields, the temporary huts of moorland shepherds; a term applied also to the fishermen's huts, which were the origin of the important towns of North and South Shields. The other elements *ley*, the cleared ground in the forest, and *swyne*, enable us to interpret the name as the Sheals or shepherd's huts on the swine pasture. Swinley hills in the northern part of the farm still preserve the original name. At an early period there had been a Saxon population here; for in 1160 they had a common to which a right of pasturage was granted to Alnwick abbey for the land held by the monastery in Rugley. In 1617 there were six copyholders in Nether Shields and five in Over Shields, each having a messuage and about thirty acres of cultivated land, along with Swynlees common pasture from Hare Crag, containing 54 acres. Of this ancient race I have seen no subsequent records; their dwellings are levelled with the ground, save one called Avershiel; the fences dividing the holdings have been nearly obliterated, and heather now grows over these ancient cultivated lands. At a subsequent period there were several farms; and the site of one farm-stead called Paddock hill* is traceable on the hill northward from Shieldykes house. Late were the harvests there a century ago; an old lady who was born at Overshields remembered of harvesting going on in winter. A cottage and land called Lesbury moor belonged to Lesbury church; but these a few years ago were exchanged for land in Lesbury. The present farm has an area of 1215ac. 8r. let at a rental of £426 8s. 0d.; the tithes which belong to Fenwick and others were commuted at the rate of £67 annually. The soil in the low-lying land is mostly a blue clay, so thick that sixty-four feet were bored through without change, when a small supply of bad water was got from a thin bed of running sand. On the higher grounds, the soil is somewhat better, but they are so exposed to the autumnal storms that corn is frequently injured before it ripens. The poor soil of the lower grounds is so retentive of moisture, even after drainage, that they too are generally not suitable for corn growing. Prior to 1884, half of the farm was in tillage; but as only about one crop in five or six could be secured without much damage from the

* Paddoc meant not only the frog but the kite and the buzzard. In this sense written also puttoc. *Mr. R. Carr's MS.*

climate, nearly the whole has been laid down to grass. The basaltic whin sill appears on the hill north of the house; and near the south-east boundary, the Shilbottle coal seam was formerly worked; other seams lie below it—the Beadnell seam at the depth of 206 feet.

Shipley wood adjoins the township of Shipley or Shepley, from *sceap* and *ley* A. S.,—the sheep pasture. Simon de Montford, in 1256, by charter, enclosed the wood of Shipley, which was within the forest of Northumberland.

Shoulder of mutton close, 1743, near Aledike; a curious tree in the shape of a shoulder of mutton grows in the hedge side.

Silver moor, a farm in Denwick township, containing 166ac. 1r. 39p., let at a rental of £90 4s. 6d., has generally a strong clay soil, with some portions adapted to the growth of turnips.

Stubby or *Stobby moor* is a tract of good land near the Herd's house, on the north-east boundary of Alnwick moor. Whins on the moor were time after time stubbed or grubbed up (from *stubbig*, Swedish, cut off); and as this land near the town would early undergo this process, it would earn the name of the Stubbed or Stobby moor.

Snab leazes, a farm chiefly in Longhoughton, but having four fields in Alnwick parish. *Leas*, A. S., a pasture, *lesowes*, pastures.

Snipe house, held in 1569 by John Forster, at a rental of 40s., is named from the Snipe which frequents moor lands. The modern farm, including a portion of Rugley, contains 1039ac. 1r. 29p., let a rental of £405. The sub-soil is generally a stiff clay, and the soil a clayey loam; but the loam is lighter and better where the basalt crosses the farm in the north-west part. There are besides six cottages, each with house and land, the aggregate area being 41ac. 1r. 11p., let a rental of £40 11s. A pele tower formerly stood here.

Sparty close, 1682, c. R., in 1726 belonged to Mark Forster. Spart, the Northumbrian name for bog hay, which consists principally of a small rush, *Juncus acutiflorus*, is in Scotland called sprat, from Isl. *sproti*, a reed, Jamieson. A sparty close is one with rushes growing here and there.

Sgyarrell, 1569, in Bondgate fields, containing 1½ acre, held by George Metcalfe.

Stirk hill on Alnwick moor; *Stirk hill* on Snipe house farm—the ox hill, from *styr*, A. S. A stirk is an yearling ox, of which the feminine *stirke* is a heifer. "In Scotland a stirk of a man is a sturdy, obstinate, stupid fellow. When a young child is succeeded by a younger in the mother's solicitude and has left his daddy's knee, it is said—*He has ta'en the stirk's sta*, or has betaken himself to the stall of the male parent."—*Mr. Carr's notes*.

Stocken, 1647, 1709, formerly Potterdene.

Stanley flats, part of which is now corporate property, are the flat stoney pastures, from *stan*, A. S., stone and *ley*.

Stanton's quarters, from a personal name.

Stanch close, 1617, in Denwick; from *stank*, Dan., *stanc*, a. s., stinking,

Stoney hills, 1653, church reg., a farm containing 68ac. 3r. 24p. of good land, let at a rental of £201 6s. They belonged to Thos. Metcalfe, merchant, in 1692; to Wm. Stanton in 1695, who sold his two-thirds to George Potts; Matthew Alnwick had possession of them in 1708; subsequently they belonged to Miss Grey, afterwards to Thos Adams, an Alnwick attorney, next to H. C. Selby, and afterwards to Prideaux Selby who sold them in 1866 to the Duke of Northumberland. The basaltic whin sill passes through them. An ornamental tower, built by Thomas Adams, stands upon them; and at a little distance from this, on higher ground, and within an Ancient British camp, H. C. Selby erected an elegant column to commemorate the policy of Pitt, the victories of Nelson and Wellington over the French, and the restoration of peace in 1814.

Storer's land, 1700; in 1743 three closes south of the Aln, near to Canongate common, formed one-third of Storer's lands.

Stoup hill on Alnwick inner moor; a stoup is a post fastened in the earth, from *stolpe*, Dan., a post, a stake.

Stottle meadows, 1684, c. r., through which was a way to the Children groves, were left in 1726 by Mark Forster to his wife. *Stot* is a two-year-old ox, and *ley*, a pasture—the *stot ley*; meadows is a pleonasm.

Stolland meadows, in 1584, bounded on Bedside hill.

Strother, 1569, in Greensfield lying in Cawledge Park on the south was boggy ground.

Sumph, a boggy plantation and ground on the north side of the Aln, below Denwick bridge; from *sump*, Dan., a pool, a marsh; *sumpig*, marshy, boggy.

Swarrell, 1569, 2 acres in Bondgate, held by Wm. Beadnell.

Swine close, 1537, belonged to Holn Abbey.

Thatch meadows on Alnwick outer moor, where heather and rushes would be obtained to cover the old burgages.

Thorney knowe on the south boulder of Alnwick moor, 699 feet above the sea level.

Verte well in Mossy ford, on Alnwick moor; or the *Virtue well* from its supposed medicinal quality, being a strong chalybeate; probably the ancient *Strathwell*.

Vitry's cross is on the west boundary of Alnwick moor by the side of an ancient drove road.

Waterside house farm, on the north side of the Aln, eastward of Denwick road, has an area of 210ac. 0r. 7p., of which 115ac. are in old grass, 17ac. 3r. 20p. have been in grass since 1861, and the remainder is in tillage; the rental is £282 10s. On the north are the Maudlin and Cows-law hills; but the principal area is flat ground along the river side. The soil generally is light and

sandy, some of which is good; a part is loamy; and about 50 acres are peaty. A lake had formerly covered these flat grounds, extending from near Denwick bridge down to Denwick mill, and from the base of the Maudlin hills to the hilly ground skirting Windy edge and Aldike, being about a mile long and somewhat more than a mile broad, but contracting in width, where the Cows-law and Aldike close in, and form a narrow gorge as the outlet of the river; it had been about 50 feet above the present level of the river. According to an old map, a small lake, stocked with fish, was near to Waterside house about 250 years ago. The sub-soil does not give the same section over the whole; but generally we have a peaty, sandy soil of 16 inches, and then peat from two to more than four feet in which are large oak trees and smaller stems and branches of alder, marl of a few inches very calcareous, but in which I could detect no organisms, and then gravel and running sand. The rock below is sandstone; and the hilly grounds are gravel and sand. On the north-west corner a field, now the Pot field, is in an ancient survey called the Church close.

Walsow, circa 1260, A. A., Cart., in the forest of Alnwick; *Walshow*, *Walshowe*, H. C., from 1260 to 1297. The second member *how* is a rounded hill.

Waykes knowles 1609, held by Geo. Alder; *Watch know* and *Watts know* 1671; *Watch cross hill* held by Edward Grey 1709; *Watch hill* or *Lamp hill* 1821. *Know* or *Knoll* from A. S., *cnoll*, is a gently rounded hill, of which there are many in Northumberland. The earliest definite *Waykes* is the same as *watch*, from *wæcce* A. S., *wake* Plat Dut.; and on this knowe during the Border warfare one of the watches was set. *Watch hill* and another close both belong to Mr. William Forster Baird, and contain 6ac. and are let at a rental of £28.

West burn 1669, the *Wash burn*, or *Canongate burn*.

White well 1743, near Alnwick Abbey, on the slope of the hill, *White well bank* closes 1743.

White house, occupied by Robert Brandling in 1664, is a farm which was formerly within Holn park, but is now beyond the modern park wall. The house is on the southern slope of a high sandstone hill, which presents cliff escarpments to the west, and on whose truncated summit are several remains of the Ancient British period. There are three round camps near to each other, each having traces of a single rampier; one is 160 yards, another 180 yards, and the third 200 yards, in circumference. Some fifty years ago several sepulchral cists were discovered on the same hill top. On the northern slope has lain for many centuries a huge detached sandstone rock, with its faces deeply guttered by time, and bearing the odd name of *Tom and Jolly!* The farm has an area of 334ac. 2r. 10p. at a rental of £227 17s. 6d. Some portions are fair turnip soil, and about the third of the whole is

second-rate land, but the other part is inferior. The names of the fields are modern and of little interest; there are the Lough-close, Danger-field, the Eshes, and Cat-crags. Besides the farm, there are four other tenancies, each with a cottage and half acre of land valued at a rental of £4.

White house folly, a farm formerly within the old Holn park, but now outside of the modern park wall, has an area of 286ac. Or. 37p. let at a rental of £161 7s. 0d. The land is similar in character to that of White house.

Whitfield 1290, A. A., Cart., granted to the Abbey by Hilton, Lord of Rennington.

Willow burn closes, Willey close 1671 c. r., 1689; one belongs to Mr. J. F. Baird containing 4ac. 2r., and another 2ac. 3r. 4p., to the duke of Northumberland. We have William Archbold as owner in 1676; Rich. Grieve in 1760; and afterwards George Grieve; Ann Gray in 1765; and then in 1773 John Cotes and Miles Stapleton; and more recently George Wilson, M.D.

Wind mill hill 1705. We have no wind mills now.

Windy edge farm, having an area of 76ac. 1r. 12p.; let at a rental of £208, has a superior soil resting on gravel and partly on clay. It is made up of a number of parcels of land, which had long ago been held by various owners. The whole now belongs to Mr. J. F. Baird, barrister. The early deeds are interesting as shewing the minute divisions of these town fields, and the names by which these divisions were called; we have acres, half-acres, riggs, sellions, and butts. In Warkworth, such divisions are designated half-acres, scribes, butts, and tens. The first deed, dated October 16th, 1621, is a feoffment made between William Beadnell of Alnwick and his wife on the first part, and Nicholas Forster of Alnwick, merchant. In a marriage settlement, dated February 8th, 1676, between John Forster and Edward Roddam, they are described as the Acre ends, Hall meadows, Corney edge, Bogg side, Long haugh, Fisher butts, Kill pitts hole, Fox holes, Five acres, and Low Heldike closes.

Wydesyd, probably the same as Wythope; Wyndesyde adjoined Gynfenlegh in 1471.

Wydr:pp, 1569, arable and meadow land, held by Wm. Beadnell, George Browell, and Wm Grey; Wydope mill, 1613; Wydenopp; hole of Wythopp; Whythopp, 1702; Wideopen, 1709; such are the various transmutations of the name.

Wykes well, 1647, on the boundary between the moor and Canongate common. Here again we appear to have the Wake well, where the Canongate men watched during Border warfare.

Windy gyle, or *Out Throat leich*, on Alnwick far moor. *Gill*, Isl., hiatus montis; a narrow glen.

Whinney knowe on Alnwick inner moor.

CHAPTER XX.

FAMILY AND PERSONAL HISTORY.

In the account of the various public institutions there appear biographies of the leading men connected with them ; and in this chapter I shall give, in alphabetical order, brief sketches of the lives and services of other remarkable men who have been born in Alnwick or connected with it ; and also notices of a few of the old families which have flourished in the town.

GEORGE BIDDELL AIRY, Astronomer Royal, one of the most distinguished of modern philosophers, is a native of Alnwick, and his birth is thus recorded in St. Michael's church—

"1801, born June, 27th, bap. July 1st, George Biddell Airy, 1st son of Wm. Airy, collector of excise, native of Luddington, Lincolnshire, by his wife Ann Biddell, native of Braidfield, Suffolk."

A few years only of his childhood were spent in Alnwick ; for, some time about 1808 he was removed to Hereford and afterwards to Colchester.. In 1819 he entered Trinity college, Cambridge, and in 1823 graduated as Bachelor of Arts, with the high distinction of Senior Wrangler. He was elected a Fellow of his college in 1824, and in 1826 was appointed Lucasian professor of Mathematics, which had formerly been held by Newton and Burrow. He was chosen Plumian professor of Astronomy in 1828, appointed Astronomer Royal in 1835, elected president of the Astronomical society in 1833, and Fellow of the Royal society in 1836. His contributions to science have been numerous and valuable, ranking among the highest productions of intellect. Many of them appeared in the Transactions of Philosophical societies. His "Mathematical Tracts" have gone through several editions ; and his treatise on "Gravitation," originally printed in the Penny Cyclopædia, "The Theory of Errors of Observations," and "Ipswich Lectures on Astronomy," are models of scientific exposition. A Herculean task he has achieved—in the reduction of all the observations of the moon and planets made at Greenwich since 1750. He has also contributed to archæology some remarkable essays on the invasion of Britain by Cæsar, Plautus,

and Claudius, on the early Military Policy of the Romans in Britain, and on the Battle of Hastings. From the Astronomical society he received two medals—one for his “Planetary Observations,” and the other for his “Discovery of the inequality of Venus and the Earth.” He has also received the Copley and Royal medals of the Royal society, and the Lalande medal of the French Academy of Sciences. Long may he live to enjoy his honours, and to advance science!

ALNWICK.—Of this ancient family some notices are given in Vol. I., p. 274. Appearing as early as 1368, it continued to flourish till 1741, after which the name is seen no more in our local records. Several of this family were, prior to the Reformation, monks, chaplains of chantries, and priests. In 1505 Sir Thomas Alnewicke was vicar of Lesbury, and Sir John Alnewicke was a priest. The oldest tombstone in the churchyard is that of Edward Alnwick, who appears to have held in 1586 three messuages and three husbandlands, on copyhold tenure, in Bilton vill; and he or his son was a chamberlain or auditor of the borough of Alnwick in 1594. The Alnwickes belonged to the important Company of Tanners, and were numerous in the seventeenth century. There was a succession of four Matthew Alnwickes, the most notable of whom was an attorney, who, during half a century, was a busy man in the affairs of the town, often acting professionally for the corporation and the Tanners' company, when engaged in legal warfare. He died on January 11th, 1698. He had several sons, one of whom, Arthur, was first master of the Grammar School, and then curate of the parish. His older son, Matthew, married in 1678 Mary Metcalfe, through whom Stoney hills came into his possession, as he held them in 1712; he died about 1736. The last record of this family is in 1741, when William, the son of Arthur Alnwick, was admitted into the Fellowship of Glovers. There are, however, still living in Alnwick, a few descendants of this family, through the female line; Edward Marr, a free tanner, is a grandson of Nanny Alnwick.

The ARCHBOLDS, with their pretentious tombstones in Alnwick church, loom largely in the distance. For more than a century they were bailiffs to the earls of Northumberland and tenants of Cawledge Park. William was at South Park in 1650, and John, the last of them, died in 1805. St. Thomas' lands, Willey close, and a burgage in Narrowgate, above which are sculptured the Archbold arms, belonged to this family.

JOHN BRUCE, son of Edward Bruce, was born at Alnwick in 1795, and along with his brother taught a school there for a few years. He removed to Newcastle, and till the time of his death conducted one of the largest and best schools in the North of England. He died on October 31st, 1834. He was an able man, a good teacher, an active promoter of benevolent and literary institutions, and the author of popular works on geography

and astronomy. He was the friend and biographer of Dr. Hutton. Alnwick, through him, is linked with his more distinguished son, the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, LL, D., author of an able and exhaustive work on the Roman Wall, the third edition of which, magnificently illustrated, was published in 1867.

JOHN ILBERTON BURN, son of James Burn, a hatter, was born in the old house in Bondgate with the heraldic panel above the entrance. He was articled to a solicitor in Alnwick; and in 1790 founded a Literary society there, which flourished for several years, and was the model of another society afterwards established in Newcastle. Original essays and poems were read and criticised at the meetings. Somewhat formal and pretentious it was; for it granted diplomas of membership, and certificates of character to members leaving the town, to which was attached the seal of the society. I have seen the names of eighteen members, among whom were R. H. Dawson, Joseph Hardy, Luke Hindmarsh, jun., and D. and T. Wilkinson. Some of the essays and poems of Mr Burn, read at the meetings, are now in the library of the Mechanics' Institute, and they show the literary culture of that period. Mr Burn left Alnwick in 1794, and afterwards chiefly resided and practised in London. Of a versatile mind, he was not only lawyer, essayist, and poet, but also an artist, a collector of antiquities, a sanatory reformer, an advocate of cottage improvement, and of the reclamation of waste lands. In 1832 he published a volume of essays on Population, Emigration, &c.; and in the latter years of his life, he was a leading member of a society for improving the condition of the labouring class. He was a great friend of the Alnwick Mechanics' Institute; besides giving pecuniary aid, he presented rare books, antiquities, and plants. He died in the year 1848.

ROBERT BUSBY, born at Alnwick, on May 30th, 1803, was the descendant of a family who held property at Stamford for several generations, which passed to his uncle, whose son James, as the first British Resident of New Zealand, represented the Queen of Britain. While articled to a solicitor he, along with his elder brother George, and Robert Dunn, originated a Philaethical society in Alnwick, composed of a remarkable band of intellectual and aspiring youths, among whom were Charles Wilson, Matthew Johnson, William Leithead, and Henry Wilkin. It flourished, however, only a short time. Robert Busby commenced practice in Alnwick in 1829; and being an able lawyer and eloquent pleader he soon took high rank in his profession. Public-spirited and bold in the advocacy of what he deemed right, he was the friend of the oppressed, and a zealous supporter of progressive movements; he greatly distinguished himself by his powerful speeches in support of Alnwick being included in the Corporation Reform bill. His busy professional life left him little leisure; but when young he wrote several beautiful poems, which were

published, along with poems by other authors, in 1827, in a volume called *Fragments of the Lyre*. He was one of the founders and the secretary of the Alnwick library, and a member of the Board of Guardians and of the Local Board of Health. He died at Alnwick on September 14th, 1862, aged 59 years, and was interred in his family burial place, in Rennington churchyard.

JOHN CARR, of Bondgate hall, a native of Alnwick, was born in the year 1768. He became an officer of the Inland Revenue; and being active and energetic, was frequently entrusted with important and responsible duties, the successful performance of which procured for him substantial rewards, as well as promotion in the service. He settled in Alnwick sometime about 1810; and built for himself, as a residence, the beautiful mansion, Bondgate hall. He obtained by purchase Heckley Fence estate. For many years he took a prominent part in the public movements of the town; and being liberal in politics and a fluent and vigorous speaker, he was an influential advocate of reform and improvement. To charitable and educational institutions he gave generous support. His contributions to the Newcastle Magazine mark him as a man of great ability and varied knowledge; he appears there as a poet, a biographer, an essayist, and a philosopher. He wrote a theory on Old Age, on the Structure of the Earth, on the Natural History of Birds, notices of Scenes and Events of local interest, and other subjects; but the most remarkable of his productions is entitled *Confessions of a Whisky Drinker*, in which are told, in a graphic style, smuggling scenes and adventures among the Cheviots. He died on September 11th, 1851, aged 93 years; it is truly said on his tombstone—"His long, useful, and honourable life was characterised by many virtues, and his memory will be held in sincere esteem and veneration by all who knew him." After his return to Alnwick, he married his second wife, Jane Nichol, and by her left one daughter, Jane, who married Edward Clavering of Callaly, Esquire.

JAMES CATNACH, who, as "the high priest of the literature of the poor," has gained a wide celebrity, was born in Alnwick, on December 18th, 1792. He was apprenticed to his father, who was a printer in the town; but having a taste for pastoral poetry, he became a shepherd at Hagden. He soon tired, however, of rough rural life and returned to Alnwick. His father removed to London, and began to print literature for the poor; but when he died, in 1813, James went to London, and finding bailiffs in possession of his father's stock, he made an arrangement with the creditors, and commenced to publish halfpenny songs. One or two bards he kept in his employment; but when they were too tipsy to invoke the muses he composed ballads himself, and while doing so set them into type. A ready rhymer he must have been, for he sometimes composed and set into type songs to suit favourite Scotch airs, as they were sung to him in the printing

office, by his young friend Mr Thomas Robertson. He was industrious and saving, and consequently prosperous. He was in the height of his fame in Monmouth Court, Seven Dials, in 1821, when he brought out his most elaborate production—"An attempt to Exhibit the leading events of the Queen's life in cuts and verse, price 2d.," printed on a folio sheet. Last dying speeches and confessions were circulated in enormous numbers; of Rush's execution ballad two and a half millions were sold. More, however, like ancient historians than modern shorthand writers, he gave what *might* have been said rather than what was said; and sometimes the last dying speech was ready for being hawked about before the last penalty was paid. His ballads were sometimes mischievous; and one referring to sausages made out of dead men's flesh, was stuck on the walls near a sausage maker's house, and raised a mob around it, and caused Catnach to be sent to prison, from which he was released by two Alnwick friends becoming bound for him, and by his engaging to print and circulate an apology; but in effect he evaded the condition, by printing the apology in small pica and sticking it high up on the wall, so that it could not be read without the aid of a telescope. He had a great affection for *Alnwick folk*, and treated them in London with much hospitality; he clung to the *patois* of his native tongue and stuck to the Northumbrian burr. Eccentric he was in habits—living on his printing premises—seldom wearing a coat—and usually sitting at dinner "in his shirt sleeves," with a white apron on having a bib coming close up to his neck. He realised about £20,000, and bought a small estate, to which he retired about a year before his death, which took place in 1840, aged 49 years.

THE CLAXTONS, probably an offshoot of the Claxtons of Durham, appear early in Alnwick. William Claxton, Esq., of Alnwick, was escheator when the inquisition was made in relation to the chantry in 1460. They were holders of burgages in 1569; and there was a succession of them till 1767, when Robert, the last of them, an attorney and steward of the Canongate courts leet, died, aged 77 years.

THOMAS COLLINGWOOD practised in Alnwick as a surgeon and apothecary, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and was descended from Daniel Collingwood of Brandon. Possessed of some wit and humour, mingled with a spice of mischief, he wrote two farces in 1786—*The Dead Alive Again*, and *The Pleasant Separation*, in which the frailties of the Rev. Percival Stockdale, were coarsely satirised. His son, ROB. G. A. COLLINGWOOD, M.D., was born at Alnwick, on March 5th, 1783, graduated at Edinburgh in 1813, and died at Sunderland in 1866. He was eminent as a physician, and was author of an Essay on Dropsy, and of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, published in 1816.

ROBERT DUNN, F.R.C.S., spent six of the most important years of his life, from 1815 to 1821, in Alnwick, while an apprentice to an apothecary. He was then an ardent student, the associate of George and Robert Busby, and a leading member of the Philalethic society. In Alnwick those researches were begun, the results of which in mature life have given him distinction. He is a lineal descendant of Bishop Ridley, and his ancestors, for many generations, were *lairds of Mafsen*. At East Brunton, near Newcastle, he was born on August 21st, 1799; and one of his schoolmasters was Henry Atkinson, a mathematician of considerable reputation. After leaving Alnwick, he prosecuted his medical studies in Guy's and St. Thomas' hospitals, London; and became, in due course of time, a licentiate of the Apothecaries' society and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, of which body he was made a Fellow in 1852. As a general practitioner he settled in St. Clements' Danes, London, and soon obtained a large practice. Notwithstanding his busy professional life, he has contributed many important papers to the Royal Medico-chirurgical, the Obstetrical, and the Ethnological societies, to the British Medical Association, and to the British Association for the Diffusion of Science. He was one of the founders of the Ethnological society, of which he is a vice-president. His more important scientific contributions relate to Cerebral Physiology; the titles of the following books and memoirs shew the character of his researches:—

On the varying forms of the Human Cranium, viewed in connection with the outward circumstances, social states, and intellectual condition of man—on the Physiological and Psychological evidence in support of the Unity of the Human Species—on Physiological Psychology, on Medical Psychology in 1863—Civilization and Cerebral Development in 1865—on the Tegumentary differences among the Races of Man, 1859—on Psychological differences among the Typical Races of Man, 1862—Archæology and Ethnology, 1866. In a recent notice of his works in *Photographs of eminent men* it is said—“Those who think most deeply of that inner and royal life which links earth to heaven, and who believe that no labour which illustrates the union of organised with intellectual power is in vain, will appreciate and value most highly the lengthened devotion to scientific inquiry which has characterised the career of Robert Dunn.”

JOHN and THOMAS FALDER, who first appear in Alnwick in 1633, were clergymen; the former succeeded the Rev. Mr. Viccars, as vicar of Shilbottle, but in 1648 he was ejected, “robbed abroad and plundered at home;” he was restored in 1660, and in 1666 was appointed vicar of Lesbury, where he died in 1673—“a man of good learning and unblamable life.” From *Thomas* the Alnwick Falders had their origin; his two sons, Thomas and John, were admitted merchants in 1655 and 1658, and subsequently became members of the Four-and-Twenty and Chamberlains of the borough. John had several sons, one of whom was

Barnabas, whose son John, a surgeon and apothecary, married Mary Roddam, and died on January 22nd, 1780. Joseph, the son of John, followed his father's profession, and entered the navy as a surgeon; and at one period sailed in the ship commanded by Admiral Roddam. After retiring from the service, he practised in Alnwick, and late in life married as his second wife Elizabeth Laing, of Elsdon, a descendant of the Reeds of Troughend; and he died in 1819, leaving three sons and one daughter. Collingwood J. Falder, the youngest son, was a solicitor in Alnwick, and Chamberlain in 1833, and Robert, the second, practised as a surgeon in Alnwick for a few years, and then emigrated to Australia. Roddam John Falder, the eldest son, who was born in December, 1800, came into possession of the Roddam estates in 1864 in accordance with the will of Admiral Roddam. By the authority of the queen he has assumed the name and arms of this important Northumbrian family—one of the most ancient in the kingdom, tracing its ancestry into Saxon times, when the estates were granted by charter, which according to John Major ran thus—"I, king Athelstane giffis heir to Paulane, Odam, and Rodam, als gud and als fair, als evir tha myn war; and yair to witnes Mald my wife." Roddam John Falder Roddam had three sons, who are all dead; and the heir apparent to this ancient name is his grandson, Roddam John Roddam, now eleven years of age.

FORSTER or FORRESTER, a name derived from the occupation of the founder of the family, was widely spread over Northumberland. Gilbert de Buckton appears in 1342 as Gilbert Forster or Forrester, because he was the bishop of Durham's gamekeeper; and he probably was the progenitor of the Forsters of Adderstone; though the family name may have had several distinct origins from other gamekeepers in other parts of the country. The Forsters had possession of Adderstone as early as 1389, for in the rolls of Lindisfarne, Robert Forester de Ederstone owes 10s. for a cow to the prior. Extraordinarily prolific was this family, and remarkable too for the number of illegitimate issue, of which evidence is given in the strange will of Thomas Forster of Ederstone, in 1589, printed by the Surtees' society. The grandfather of Sir John Forster, the warden, had no less than twenty sons. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the name should have abounded in Bamburghshire and the neighbourhood. *Sir John Forster, kt.*, who was a younger son of Sir Thomas Forster, Marshal of Berwick, lived many years at Alnwick Abbey. For thirty-nine years he was warden of the Middle marches and a distinguished warrior; he was sheriff of Northumberland in 1549; he obtained Bamburgh castle by grant from the crown; and was also rewarded by gifts or profitable leases of a considerable extent of Abbey lands and of tithes. He married Jane, daughter of Cuthbert Radcliffe, Esq., by whom he had three daughters, Eleanor

married to Sir Francis Russell, kt., Grace to Sir Wm. Fenwick, kt., of Wallington, and Mary to Henry, son and heir of Sir Robert Stapleton. He had, however, illegitimate children, to one of whom, Nicholas, he left the principal part of his estates. Dorothy, the great-great-grand-daughter of this Nicholas, was the wife of Lord Crewe, who left the Bamburgh estates for charitable purposes. Sir John died in 1602, and was buried at Bamburgh, his magnificent funeral costing £454 11s. 7d., a large sum in those days.

Some of the particulars are curious; there had been a great feast, for which two cows were bought, costing 74s. 4d., twenty-four wethers at 7s. each, three veal calves 30s., twenty-one pigs cost only 17s. 8d.; there were capons, chickens, wild fowl, "for fewle which came forthe of the Farne, 10s.," then esteemed a dainty; turkeys and geese, the former costing 4s. 6d. and the latter 1s. each; for bread, twenty-three bolls of wheat cost £17 18s., and four bolls of oats 26s. 8d., for making ale there were twenty-two bolls of malt 11s., and "40 fother of whinnes to brue with 40s.;" spice and banquetting stuff were brought from Newcastle costing £18 18s. 6d.; besides ale there were three hogheads of wine £16 10s., and twelve gallons of sack 40s.; to the poor was given £8 19s. 6d., but "to the harrolde £57 14s. 8d."*

THOMAS FORSTER, before Sir John's time appears at the court leet in 1474; but cotemporary with the warden were *Nicholas Forster*, who in 1569 was constable of Alnwick castle, and *Thomas*, who had a burgage in the Market, with a stall but no shop, and who was a member of the Merchants' fellowship in 1584. After him there is a succession of many Forsters among the merchants down to the present time, all probably descendants of Nicholas, one of the sons of Thomas Forster of Adderstone. Forsters too entered into other trades—into the skinnners, joiners, and shoemakers. *Mark Forster*, younger son of Thomas, a merchaut, was born in 1659, and was a notable man in his day, taking a very prominent part in corporate affairs. He died on September 22nd, 1726, aged 67 years. He was prosperous and accumulated property; to the church he left a house, and to the school a house and £10 yearly; but most of his possessions he bequeathed to his niece, Elizabeth Potts, who married Ford Grey, an attorney, in Alnwick, and died in 1724, leaving two daughters. Ford Grey died in 1763; and all his wife's property passed to their daughters, Katherine and Anne, as co-heirs; the former became wife of Captain George Farquhar, who left his property to his daughter Margaret, who married Ralph Hanson Dawson, of Alnwick; and the latter died unmarried on January 21st, 1805, and devised her lands to "her worthy friend, Palfrey George Burrell," whose son sold Barndale riggs and Pottergate close in 1837 to the duke of Northumberland.

The GALLONS flourished nearly four centuries in Alnwick and died out in 1811. William Galon was a juror, when the inquisition was made in 1460, relating to the Alnwick chantry; and

* Raine's North Durham, p. 309.

others subsequently were chaplains and monks in Alnwick. From an early period this family was connected with the corporation ; and there appear to have been two principal branches, one belonging to the skinners' and the other to the merchants' companies. Edward was a merchant in 1636 ; and John his son was Chamberlain in 1640 ; after whom follow in succession, Edward, who died in 1695 ; John his son, who was admitted a merchant in 1693 ; Edward who died in 1765 ; and Edward the last of them, usually called *Justice Gallon*, who died on July 12, 1811, aged 73 years. The later members of this family were attorneys, and many of them were wealthy, holding land and houses in and around Alnwick. The last Edward left to a daughter several fields and houses in the town, and valuable property at Alnmouth and elsewhere. Her imbecile state of mind gave rise to an extraordinary trial, the result of which declared, that she was unfit to manage her property, the wreck of which, after her decease, passed to her heirs at law.

The GARES or GAIRS were tanners, and first appear in 1644, after which there is a succession of them till 1788 ; of Arthur, one of them, who died in 1786, it is said on his tomb-stone—"His memory will never perish." Alas for local fame ! he has been long forgotten.

The Rev. HENRY GREY, D.D., was born in Alnwick on February 11th, 1778, the son of an apothecary, who soon after his marriage deserted his wife and removed to Morpeth. He was therefore brought up by his mother. After completing his theological education in Edinburgh University, he became minister of Stenton parish church in Scotland in 1801 ; and while there married his cousin, a daughter of George Grey of West Ord, and sister of the distinguished agriculturalist John Grey of Milfield. He was appointed minister of St. Cuthbert's chapel, Edinburgh, in 1813, and of the new North church in 1820 ; and was translated to St. Mary's church in 1827. He took part in the Apocraphy controversy, which raged fiercely in Scotland, and he defended the conduct of the Bible society in circulating the Apocraphy along with the canonical books ; but he was not well qualified for such work ; for his opponent, Dr. Andrew Thompson, gave to his pamphlet a severe and crushing reply. Dr. Grey belonged to the evangelic section of the Scottish church ; and was a follower of Dr. Chalmers in endeavouring to maintain its independent spiritual action. At the disruption in 1843, when verging on three score and ten, he had the manliness to leave the establishment and become a minister in Edinburgh of the Free church. He was Moderator of the Free church Assembly in 1844, and he died in January, 1859, in the 81st year of his age. I have heard him preach in Alnwick. He was a fair man, with a florid pleasant countenance, but somewhat feminine in look and manner ; when a young man he was called "the bonnie elder." With a gentle and amiable spirit

he was a lover of peace, and in his preaching dwelt on those subjects which were consolatory and soothing. His publications, consisting of discourses and sermons, though tasteful in style, have little vigour or originality.

GRIEVE, an important though not numerous family, flourished in Alnwick about a century. Most of their story has been told. *Ralph Grieve*, the first of them, was admitted into the fellowship of Merchants in 1667. Several sons he had, one of whom, *Richard*, was an attorney, and a notable and influential man in the town, being chief agent of the Whigs, and taking an active part in elections. He lived in that large house in Fenkle street, which is now the Star inn. He was owner of Swansfield and of St. Thomas' lands, and of houses in Alnwick, and of Swarland estate. He married Elizabeth Davidson, and died in 1765, aged 84 years. His eldest son, *Davidson Richard*, to whom he left Swarland, Swansfield, and other property, resided at Swarland, and died there in 1793. *George*, the younger son, who was born at Alnwick, March 9th, 1748, inherited part of the Alnwick property left by his father, and lived for sometime at Swansfield; and as we have seen was a prominent actor both in corporation and in county affairs. He sold his share of the Alnwick lands; and shortly after 1780, falling into pecuniary difficulties, and being an ardent republican, he went to Paris. He was residing at Alexandria, in Virginia, North America, in 1796; and he translated Chastellux' travels in America, a work of interest, giving information of that country during the Revolutionary war. He died in obscurity.

HINDMARSH is one of the few old families still having representatives in Alnwick. With us the name first appears as Hyndmers in 1483, and Himers in 1633; but according to Broekie—"it was originally Hymner and Hymners, and subsequently genteelified into Hindmarsh." *Percival Hymers* was owner of a burgage in Clayport in 1633; and his son, *Luke Himers*, was admitted into the Tanners' company on October 3rd, 1676; and from that time till 1863 there was an unbroken line of tanners of this family in Alnwick. *Isabella Hindmarsh*, daughter of Wm. Hindmarsh, tanner, was born at Alnwick on November 13th, 1798, and educated at the Fulneck Moravian school. At an early age she began to write verses; but her temperament seems to have been melancholy, for most of her poems are tinged with sombre hues. She died on December 5th, 1823, aged 25 years. A volume of her poems was published at Alnwick in 1818; the longest of them is entitled the *Case of Hoonga*, and is founded on a story in Mariners' Tonga Islands. Some of her minor pieces, especially one on Burns, display considerable poetic genius.

HENRY HUNTER appears as a Diarian from 1797 to 1802. He was born at Framlington in 1772; served his apprenticeship in

Alnwick, and settled there as a carpenter and builder, his mathematical knowledge giving him pre-eminence in his profession. He was a man of vigorous intellect, and independent thought; but, acting according to his own convictions, and taking a part with his fellow townsmen in support of reform in 1831, he suffered that kind of persecution which territorial lords inflict on those who bend not to their will. He was held in high esteem, and died July 6th, 1840, aged 68 years.

JOHN LAMBERT was born at Tweedmouth or Berwick on Sept. 19th, 1783, the son of Anthony Lambert, who settled in Alnwick as a solicitor, and died there on May 25th, 1821, aged 63 years. He followed the profession of his father in Alnwick, and during many years had one of the largest practices in the county. In politics he was a Whig. Acute and learned as a lawyer, with a cultured mind, and eloquent as a speaker, he exercised considerable influence over the public movements of the town and district. He was always the advocate and friend of progress; and his enlightened and liberal support of public institutions claims that his memory should be held in grateful remembrance. He, along with Wm. Burrell, of Broompark, originated the Alnwick Infirmary; he was the founder of the Savings' Bank; he was a leading supporter of the Mechanics' Institute, to which and to the Infant (now the Ragged school) he gave sites for buildings. After a useful and honourable career he died on May 12th, 1849, aged 65 years; and when this amiable and noble-minded man was interred, the members of the Institute, and many of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood followed his remains to their resting place in St. Michael's churchyard; thus, as was well said at the time, "paying a graceful and touching tribute to the memory of one whose patriotism was illustrated by public benefits, and his Christianity by deeds of charity." He married on January 7th, 1812, Julia Mounsey, of Castleton, who died on May 12th, 1849. *Anthony*, their eldest son, succeeded his father as a solicitor, but died on May 26th, 1856, aged 39 years. *John*, a lieutenant in the Bengal army, after a distinguished career in India, died of wounds received at the battle of Sobraon, on March 4th, 1848, aged 24 years; *Captain William Lambert, R. E.*, the fifth son, another brave officer, was mortally wounded at the storming of Naniton in China, and died August 12th, 1858, aged 30 years; and *Captain Robert* died abroad on March 10th, 1856, aged 33 years. Two sons still survive, *Charles*, who resides in Canada, and *Major George Lambert*. This important family is now extinct in Alnwick; but the youngest daughter, *Cicily*, the wife of Roger Buston, Esq., of Buston, still lives in our neighbourhood.

METCALFE appears at an early period. In 1569, George held the important offices of feodary and receiver of the barony of Alnwick, and of an overseer of the Border Watches; he was owner of

thirteen burgages, and other lands in the parish. Henry was a freehold voter in 1638, and Chamberlain in 1639; and Thomas who lived in Narrowgate, was repeatedly chamberlain between 1653 and 1670; he was owner of Stoney Hills, and died in 1673. Mary, who seems to have been his daughter was married to Matthew Alnwick in 1678. The last record of this family is in 1702, when Thomas held two burgages in Narrowgate.

OGLE and COMMON must come linked together into our history, humble names it may be, yet entitled to some distinction, because connected with the invention of the reaper, one of the most important additions to agricultural machinery. *Henry Ogle*, a descendant of the Ogles of Cawsey Park, was born in 1764, in the old pele tower of Whittingham. Always occupying a lowly station in society, his career was one life-long struggle with poverty; and many little parts he played in the world's drama; at one time he was at sea, but falling down from the mast he was lamed; at Whittle, he was employed in pits and quarries; he had a good knowledge of navigation and could survey land well; music he knew and he could sing; and somewhat of a poet, he could write verses. After knocking about from place to place, he settled down as a schoolmaster, first at Newham and then at Rennington, where he eked out his scanty income by acting as parish clerk and teaching a singing class and a night school; by singing his own funeral hymns before the dead on their way to the place of sepulture; by working in the harvest field and stacking hay or corn, at which he was proficient; by cobbling old shoes; and selling a nostrum of his own for cut fingers; and yet with all these accomplishments and this labour his emoluments seldom exceeded £40 a year. He had a speculative cast of mind, and among other schemes devised a cure for smoky chimneys, and laboured hard to discover perpetual motion; like William Martin he opposed the Newtonian system of the universe. After spending twenty-four years in such unremunerative drudgery at Rennington, he removed to Alnwick, where he taught for a while a poor school; but in his latter days he received relief out of the poor rates; and on February 10, 1848, one of the inventors of the reaper died there a pauper, in the 84th year of his age.

John Common, his associate, lived at Denwick, where he was a maker of machines and agricultural implements. He was born at Buston on January 25th, 1778, the son of Robert Common, a cartwright. Tradition tells a wonderful tale of the longevity, strength, and cleverness of this family. One of them farmed Three Stone Burn on the flanks of the Cheviots, in the time of James I., and boldly fought against a party of moss-troopers, who had stolen his cattle. The great-grandfather of John Common died at Dunsheugh when above 110 years of age, and some time before his death got a new set of teeth; John, his brother, lived till he was 115 years old; and Peter, another brother, died

at Rugley, some time about 1695, in the 132nd year of his age. The father and uncle of John were both ingenious mechanics and noted pugilists. John Common, in 1818, received the silver medal and ten guineas from the Society of Arts, for an improved double-drill turnip sower; and thirty guineas, from the Highland Society, for the same invention. He died at Denwick, in 1868.

Such were the two Alnwick men connected with the invention of a reaping machine, essentially the same as that now in use. As early as October, 1802, Ogle, when at Newham, having seen a notice, in the papers, of the trial of a reaping machine in the south of England, devised a machine, which cut with a plain straight blade; and of this a model was made by Edward Gates, a country joiner. Some time afterwards he became acquainted with Common; and from another improved model, made in 1822, Thomas and Joseph Brown, ironfounders, in Alnwick, constructed a reaper of iron, which was exhibited in Alnwick market, and afterwards tried at Broomhouse, where the projectors were nearly mobbed by the work-people. After improvements, it was tried again on a field of wheat at Southside, and "there cut to perfection." Other trials followed; and in the beginning of 1832 the Browns advertised that they would supply such reapers; but agriculturalists slumbering then under the spell of protection were behind the age, and not one was sold. A drawing and description of this machine are given in the *Mechanics' Magazine* for 1826 (Vol. V., p. 50), which says—"that of Mc Cormack's is so much the same that the same description ought to do for both." It appears that this production of Northumbrian ingenuity had been sold to the acute Yankees, by whom it has been extensively and profitably utilised. Common, too, constructed machines, one about 1811; and another, by request of the duke of Northumberland, was sent to the Society of Arts. But though Common may have aided with his practical skill, yet to the humble school-master, *Henry Ogle*, belongs the chief honour of this important invention.

ADAM OLIVER, the most notable mathematician in Alnwick above sixty years ago, was a schoolmaster, but in a humble station. In addition to his labours during the day, he taught mathematics at a night school to grown-up young men, especially mechanics. Henry Hunter and my own father were among his pupils. He attended the ministry of the Rev. John Marshall, and was fond of metaphysical as well as mathematical inquiry. A tombstone in Alnwick churchyard endeavours to do honour to his memory—

"Adam Oliver, schoolmaster, and a mathematician of first-rate abilities, died July 17th, 1805, aged 51.

Oliver deeply skilled in mathematic lore,
He physics knew with pure religious mind,
And metaphysics, too, which few explore,
Revealed a God, the sovereign of mankind."

JOHN BROWN PATTERSON, a son of Robert Patterson, a draper, and a prominent member of the Congregational chapel, was born at Alnwick on January 29th, 1804, his mother being a daughter of the Rev. John Brown, of Haddington. He resided there till his seventh year, when his mother, along with her two sons and a daughter, removed into Scotland. He was educated at Haddington and Edinburgh High schools, and afterwards at the Edinburgh University. His career as a student was brilliant, and he attained great distinction by an Essay on the Character of the Athenians, which gained for him a prize of one hundred guineas, and better still, the patronage of Robert Peel, who presented him to the church of Falkirk in 1830. Although he was a descendant of dissenters, and had been brought up amongst them, and had sat at the feet of Dr. John Brown, the eminent Secession professor, yet he joined the kirk of Scotland, influenced mainly, it is said, by Professor Pillans. In an elaborate and sophistical letter he assigns the reasons of this change, the gist of which is—that the dissenters were not educated enough to appreciate the services of one so learned as himself. He attached himself, however, to the evangelical section of the kirk; and as a parish minister was diligent and held in high respect. While attending the General Assembly at Edinburgh, he caught a fever, of which he died on June 19th, 1835. I have heard him preach in Alnwick. He was a little man, peculiar looking, with dark hair, sallow complexion, and rounded owl-like eyes, which appeared the more singular from his wearing spectacles. His discourses were highly ornate, and read in a measured, rhetorical, and somewhat affected manner. Two volumes of his remains, with a long and tedious memoir, appeared in 1837; but his fame rests on his Essay, which displays considerable scholarship, and is written with elegance and force. He married a daughter of the Rev. George Atkin, a dissenting minister, at Morpeth.

Of POSTMASTERS and POST-OFFICES a few scraps from *Calendars of State Papers* may be of interest. In the sixteenth century great men sent their letters by special messengers. Sir Henry Percy sent one to Cecil in 1559, written by John Hudson, clerk; it was delivered at Alnwick (*date torn*) last of May at 8 of the clock of the forenoon, received at Stanforth at 4 of June at 9 of the clock at night, and at Tuxforthe at 12 of the clock. We have in 1609 *John Atkynson, le postmaster*. Until the time of Charles I., letters were conveyed by carriers, but so slowly that an answer to one from London to Edinburgh was achieved in not less than two months. Withering in that reign established a running post by relays of horses, which reduced the time to one week. *Alex. Asmorer*, postmaster of Alnwick, received by warrant, on July 4th, 1637, £50 in part of his wages; and payment up to Sept. 27th, at the rate of 3s. *per diem*, the same amount being paid to Newcastle and Morpeth, but only 2s to York. "In 1667 Mr.

Scott begs that before Lord Arlington makes out a new grant of office to *Edward Smith*, that £10 yearly out of the salary be secured to him till satisfied of a debt of £35 due to him." *Benjamin Burton* was postmaster, when he died on November 17th, 1682; *James Scott* occurs in 1694, and he died in 1697; *Edward Robson* died in 1708; *Martin Grey* occurs in 1728, and died October 14th, 1743, aged 58 years; *Joseph Turnbull* in 1772 charged one halfpenny extra for every letter delivered in the town; but against this the Chamberlains petitioned Lord le Dispenser, the Postmaster-general; *Mary Philadelphia Hodgson*, sister of the Vicar of Eglington, was postmistress for many years, the office being in Pottergate; she died December 10th, 1826, aged 82 years; *William Carr* held the office till his death on June 14th, 1833, aged 73 years; *Robert Anderson* followed, and resigned in 1847; in his time the penny postage was introduced on January 10th, 1840; *George Tate*, succeeded on March 6th, 1848.

RAYNOLDSON, RENOLDSON, or RENNISON, from *Rainhold*, is one of the very few old families still flourishing in the town. Of Norse origin, and descendants of the Vikings, who ravaged the British coasts, the Raynoldsons settled in the Orkney Islands, whence probably the first who came to Alnwick had migrated. One of them, Robert Ranalldson, was owner of copyhold land of sixty acres extent or more, when, on account of this property, he appeared at the armed muster on Abberwick moor in 1538. In the earliest corporation records the name appears. John Ranoldson was an auditor or chamberlain in 1599; and John Raynoldson in 1618 acted as clerk of the corporation and of the Tanners' company. John Raynoldson was "warden and alderman of the Fellowshippe Craft and Mysterie of Tanners in 1621;" and from that time to the present day there has been an unbroken line of tanners in this family in Alnwick; the only master tanners now in the town are Ralph and Robt. Rennison, descendants of John the warden and alderman. The present spelling of the name is comparatively modern, and a corruption of the grand old Norse name; it was not adopted till 1767, when John Rennoldson first signs the corporation books as John Rennison. Two of this ancient family are members of the Four-and-Twenty, *William* and *Ralph*—let them add *Raynoldson*.

SALKELD, Salkeld, or Saukeld was an important family at an early period. Gawin Saukeld was in 1569 bailiff of Alnwick. In the Heraldic visitation of 1615 the pedigrees of two branches are given—one sprung from Lorbottle and the other from Cumberland. Thomas Salkeld, of Bassington, younger brother of the house in Cumberland, was succeeded by John Salkeld, who was 22 years of age, in 1615, and had children, Mary and John. John Salkeld, of Lorbottle, was followed in succession by Gawin—John of Hull Abbey—and John of Hull Abbey, who in 1615,

had four sons, John, William, Thomas, and Raffe. Early records connect this branch with the Alnwick corporation, for Gawin Salkeld was one of the Four-and-Twenty in 1613, and Chamberlain in 1619 and 1622; and other Salkelds held similar official positions in the seventeenth century. Some of them continued at Hull Abbey till 1714, when Elizabeth Salkeld died. John Salkeld was an attorney living in Fenkle street when he died in 1688, and his son John, who followed the same profession, died there in 1694. Nathaniel, who died in 1710, was owner of Bondgate hall. This family has been extinct above a century and a half.

The SELBYS lived nearly one hundred and thirty years in Alnwick, and were important men in their day. They were descendants of Roger Selby, owner of Grindon ridge in 1512, whose grandson, Oliver, purchased Beal in 1588. Oliver's grandson, William Selby, had two sons—William, who inherited Beal, the ancestor of the naturalist, Prideaux J. Selby; and Richard of Holy Island, who died October 6th, 1699, and whose son George, described of Holy Island, merchant, was baptised in 1686 and buried in 1739. *George Selby*, the son of this George, put himself an apprentice to Richard Grieve, of Alnwick, on July 12th, 1737, and was admitted to the freedom of the borough on April 21st, 1742. He practised as an attorney in Alnwick for upwards of sixty years. He became a member of the Four-and-Twenty, and repeatedly filled the office of Chamberlain of the borough. He died on March 1st, 1806, aged 86 years. Three sons he had; George, who died at Alnwick in 1815, without issue; *Prideaux*, who entered the army, rose to be Captain, and died at Toronto. The third son, *Henry Collingwood*, was a notable man in Alnwick, and at one period, as we have seen, took a keen interest in corporate affairs; he was a solicitor, and became an agent of the duke of Northumberland, and steward of his Baronial courts. He was also Clerk of the Peace for the county of Middlesex. He accumulated property, and bought Swansfield, where he lived; St. Thomas' lands, Stoney hills, and other lands in the parish, Paston estate near Cornhill, and property in Holy Island. He died on February 9th, 1839, aged 90 years. While living he was charitable, and to the poor of the parish he left £12 yearly. The bulk of his property passed by settlement to his two nephews. *John Strangeways Donaldson*, who obtained the Holy Island property, was the son of his sister, and was born at Alnwick on December 10th, 1794, and partly educated at the Alnwick Grammar school. He became a barrister, and lived sometime at Chiswick, his paternal inheritance; but he died at Jersey in 1860. He was the author of pamphlets on agricultural and economical subjects; he was president of the Berwickshire Natural History Club in 1848, and contributed a few papers to its proceedings.

Prideaux Selby, the son of *Prideaux Selby* of London, grandson of Captain *Prideaux Selby*, came into possession of Paston estate, Swansfield, Hope house, Stoney hills, and other Alnwick property. He lived for several years at Swansfield, and took an active part in the public movements of the town and in its charitable and educational institutions. He, however, sold in 1866, to the duke of Northumberland, Swansfield and his other Alnwick possessions; and then one of our important families became extinct in the town. The arms of the family are—Barry of Eight or and sable; crest—a saracen's head proper, with a wreath around the temples, knotted behind or and sable.

Prideaux John Selby, great grandson of *William Selby* of Beal, was born in Bondgate, Alnwick, on July 13th, 1783. He was educated at Durham Grammar school, and had as fellow-pupils, Roderick Murchison, the geologist, and Dr. Graham, who became Bishop of Chester. He afterwards studied at University College, Oxford. In 1810 he married *Lewis Tabitha*, daughter of *Bertram Mitford* of *Mitford* castle; and not long after began to reside at *Twizell* house. At an early age he had acquired a taste for Natural history; and while in his teens wrote on birds. The first number of his work, "Illustrations of British Ornithology," appeared in 1821, and it was completed in 1834. All the illustrations, amounting to 228 folio plates, excepting 38, were the productions of his own hand, from specimens in his own possession. This magnificent work placed the author in the foremost rank of British Ornithologists. Other branches of Natural history he cultivated, especially Entomology; and a volume by him on Forest Trees has a high reputation. He wrote the volume on Pigeons and Parrots in the Naturalists' library; and in conjunction with Dr. Johnson and Sir *William Jardine*, Bart., he was editor of the *Annals of Natural History*. He joined the *Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* in 1833, and took great delight in the field meetings; he was twice president, and many papers by him enrich the proceedings of the club. Occasionally he took a leading part in county politics on the side of liberalism; and once he was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of *Berwick*. As a magistrate and land-owner he was held in high esteem. He did not mix much with what are called county families; but his house was frequently visited by scientific men; and his valuable museums were freely opened to any scientific inquirer. He was always ready to help the educational and charitable institutions of his native town. Age brought on frailties, and the death of his wife on May 24th, 1859, was a serious affliction; yet he continued till the close of his life to take an interest in his favourite pursuits. On March 28th, 1867, this amiable and distinguished man died in peace in the 79th year of his age. He left three daughters—*Lewis Marianne* married to Major *Luard Selby*, R.A., *Frances Margaret* married to the Rev. *Edmund Antrobus*, and *Jane* married to Sir *Thomas Tancred*, Bart.

Captain George Selby, R.N., brother of the naturalist, was born at Alnwick on November 5th, 1789, and he entered the navy in 1804. He returned to England in 1816, and was made retired commander in 1850. He married in October, 1840, Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Thomson, of Howick. After retiring from active service, he lived at Belle Vue, Alnwick, discharging with zeal and fidelity the duties of a magistrate, and aiding by his benevolence and active support the schools, the charities, and religious societies of the town. To the poor he was a kind and liberal friend. After the loss of his wife in November, 1866 he declined in health, and died on January 23rd, 1867.*

THOMAS T. TATE was born at Alnwick on February 28th, 1807. He was one of the first members of the Scientific Institute; and through its influence he was led to devote himself to the study of mathematics and Natural philosophy. He taught and lectured on these subjects in Newcastle, and subsequently in York; and in 1835 was appointed lecturer on chemistry to the York Medical school, one of his colleagues being Dr. Laycock, now professor of medicine in Edinburgh University. In 1840 he entered as master of the Mathematical and Scientific Department of Battersea Training College; and when Kneller Hall College was founded in 1849, he was appointed to the mastership of the Mathematical and Scientific Department, Dr. Temple, now the distinguished master of Rugby, being the Principal. Here he continued till the college was broken up in 1856, after which he retired into private life. The following are the principal works he has published, most of which have been widely circulated:—

Pestalozzian Arithmetic, published by Christian Knowledge society; Exercises in Mechanics and Engineering, and the first Principles of Arithmetic, pronounced by the Rev. Canon Mosely to be the first successful attempt in England "to make arithmetic the *Logic of the People*;" and of these more than 100,000 copies have been sold; treatises on Geometry, Euclid, Algebra, Mathematics for working men, the Calculus, Elements of Mechanism, Chemistry, Elementary courses of Natural and Experimental Philosophy; some of these have been reprinted in America, and two of them translated into Hindostanee. Results of various original mathematical and experimental researches have time after time been published; some on Steam, and twenty other papers on different scientific subjects in the Philosophical Magazine; Treatises on Factorial Analysis, the Principles of Mechanical Philosophy, and on the Strength of Materials; recently, partly in conjunction with Dr. Fairbairn, memoirs read at the British Association and Royal Society, on the Specific Gravity of Vapour, on the Law of Expansion of Super-heated Vapours, on the Strength of Materials in relation to the construction of Iron Ships, on the Elasticity of the Vapours of Sulphuric Acid, &c. Several philosophical instruments have been invented or improved by Mr. T. Tate, the most important of which is "Tate's double piston air pump."

His son, Ralph Tate, A.L.S., F.G.S., who was born and partly educated in Alnwick, is the author of

Floras of Belfast and of the Shetland Islands; a treatise on the British Land and Freshwater Mollusks; a supplement to Woodward's Conchology; and

• See obituaries by R. C. Embleton, *Proc. Ber. Nat. Club*, Vol. V., p. 336-340.

of the following memoirs read at the Geological Society—On Liassic Strata, Belfast, 1864; on the Correlation of the Cretaceous Formation of the North-east of Ireland, 1864; on Secondary Fossils from South Africa, 1867; on the Lower Lias of the North-east of Ireland, 1867; on the Fossiliferous Development of the Zone *Ammonites angulata*, in Great Britain, 1867.

JOHN VINT was a native of Alnwick, and while a printer and bookseller there “in a small way,” printed and published “The Mead of Momus,” containing his own poetical productions, along with pieces by other writers. He was regarded as a “clever but unsteady man.” He did not remain in Alnwick; and after being in London he settled in the Isle of Man, where he edited a weekly newspaper. He died there in 1814. Among his poems is one on the Freeman’s Well, and several songs which were sung at Vauxhall Gardens. Some of the pieces in this volume are far from being decent; others are witty and humorous; but none of any great merit.

ROBERT WEDDELL, the son of Robert Weddell, a tradesman, was born at Alnwick on April 18th, 1794. He was educated at the Alnwick Grammar school; and after serving his articles to a solicitor, he commenced practice in Berwick, where he was successful and attained reputation as an able lawyer. He had acquired a taste for the study of antiquities and local history; his collection of coins, begun in early life, was large and valuable; but the chief work of his life was the accumulation of materials for the History of Berwick, in the prosecution of which he ransacked the public records and the archives of the town. For many years he regularly betook himself, after his own office hours were over, to the Council Chamber, and remained there oftentimes beyond midnight poring over and copying documents. This incessant labour broke down his mental system; he was arrested in his course, and died on May 5th 1850, aged 56 years, without having achieved the work on which his heart was set. His plan seems to have been too large for any single life to have executed, contemplating, I understand, the history of almost every house in Berwick; and it may be doubted whether a history so minute and extended would interest this age of railways, daily newspapers, and telegrams. His reputation as an antiquary stood high among his contemporaries; Dr. Raine speaks of him in eulogistic terms; but the realised results of his studies are small, consisting of articles on Berwick and Berwickshire in the Penny Cyclopædia, and a paper in the *Archæologia Æliana* on some fisheries on the Tweed.

WILLIAM WILKIN, who was born at Alnwick in 1758, and was a schoolmaster there, “acquired,” so his epitaph says, “a most extensive knowledge of mathematics, but ere his genius reached its meridian, the small pox, as if envious of his growing lustre, extinguished this lamp of science on the 15th day of January, 1777, and 24th year of his age.”

GEORGE WILSON, surgeon, and his son, *George Wilson, M.D.*,

deserve honourable notice from their long public services in the Alnwick Infirmary. The former, the son of George Wilson of Alnwick, was born July 6th, 1781. After apprenticeship with Joseph Falder, surgeon, and studying in Edinburgh, he settled in Alnwick, and soon obtained a large practice. He had a genius for his profession, which he pursued with such wonderful energy and success, that he became the most eminent consulting physician and surgeon in the district. He died on August 29th, 1856, aged 75 years. He married in July, 1812, Mary, daughter of Adam Atkinson, of Lorbottle house, Esq., and they had two sons, George and John Atkinson Wilson, and three daughters—Isabella Atkinson married to Captain Charles R. Ilderton, Sarah Castles married to George Brumell, solicitor, Morpeth, and Anne Marshall married to the Rev. W. S. Mare.

GEORGE WILSON, M.D., his eldest son, was born at Alnwick on June 30th 1813, and studied at Edinburgh and Paris. After taking his degree he commenced his professional career in connection with his father and was esteemed for his sound judgment, skill, attention, and kindness. He liberally supported public and charitable institutions. He died on November 12th, 1863, at the age of 50 years; his wife, Robina, daughter of Sanderson Ilderton, Esq., died two days afterwards, and both were interred in one grave. Out of respect to this good physician, places of business were closed on the day of his burial, and many of the inhabitants followed his remains to the place of interment. He left one daughter, Rosa Robina, who was married to Lewis Willett, Esq., of Drybridge house, Herefordshire.

JOHN YELLOLY, M.D., was the third son of John Yelloly, a merchant in Alnwick, and a member of the Pottergate Presbyterian congregation, where this son was baptized May 12, 1774. Joseph Yelloly, the grandfather, was a linen draper in Alnwick, and appears as one of the trustees of Bondgate Meeting house in 1735. Of John Yelloly's early history I have no information; but we find that when in the prime of life he attained distinction as a physician and a man of science. He was one of the founders of the Medico-chirurgical society; and Sir Roderick Murchison speaks of him as one of the originators of the Geological society of London, and of the British association for the advancement of science. When this latter body met at Birmingham in 1839, Dr. Yelloly was president of the Medical section. He was living in 1833 at Woodton hall, Norfolk, and he died in 1841. I have seen two volumes by him entitled *Conversations on Animal Economy*, which were published in 1827.

CHAPTER XXI.

BOTANY AND ZOOLOGY.

FLOWERING PLANTS AND FERNS—MOSSES—MOLLUSCS—REPTILES—
BIRDS—MAMMALS.

The botanical district of Alnwick, to which the following list applies, extends from the town four miles to the eastward as far as the sea, and seven miles in other directions. Within this area 764 species and varieties of flowering plants and ferns and their allies have been observed. They are arranged in the following table as *native*, the aboriginal possessors of the soil—*colonists*, well established agricultural weeds—*denizens*, plants well established, which appear to have been introduced by horticulture, &c.—and *aliens*, plants clearly introduced but not yet firmly established.

	Native.	Colonist.	Denizen.	Alien.	Total.
Species	604	31	20	77	732
Varieties ..	29	1	1	1	32
Totals ..	633	32	21	78	764

Considering the limited area, this is a rich Flora, including more than one half of the entire Flora of Britain; but the differences in elevation, in the sub-strata and soil, and in moisture over the district are favourable to a varied Flora. From the sea shore the ground reaches an altitude of 900 feet. Besides great beds of sandstone, yielding a free and dry soil, and thick deposits of shale producing a soil retentive of moisture, there are limestone and basaltic rocks contributing their own peculiar ingredients; and there are too, irregular deposits of clay, gravel, and sand over the lower grounds, giving additional variety to the surface covering of the district. Hence there are plants peculiar to the sea side, to marshes, bogs, pools, and streams, to wastes and to cultivated fields, to sheltered denes and to high exposed hills. Though there are a few such plants as the *Trientalis Europæa* and *Vaccinium Vitis-îdæa*, which flourish on high grounds, yet there is only one sub-alpine plant, the *Cornus suecica*, which appears on Rimside at an elevation of 900 feet. *Sesleria cærulea*, *Cerastium arvense*, and *Asplenium ruta-muraria* grow on limestone; *Mænchia*

erecta, *Sagina subulata*, *Vicia lathyroides*, *Scilla verna*, *Astragalus hypoglottis*, and *Dianthus deltoides* are peculiar to the basalt. There are in the district a few other plants of considerable rarity, such as *Crepis succisæfolia*, *Rosa systyla* and *R. micrantha*, *Ligusticum Scoticum*, *Arundo Calamagrostis*, *Blysmus rufus* and *Gagea lutea*. Our local Flora is remarkable for the large number of introduced plants found in Holn parks, either on the walls of the old abbeys or in the woods around them; and we may reasonably refer their introduction to the monks of Alnwick abbey and the friars of Holn priory, who appear to have laboured in their gardens, and like the herbalists, cultivated plants supposed to possess medicinal virtues.

FLORA OF ALNWICK.

FLOWERING PLANTS, FERNS, AND THEIR ALLIES.

By GEORGE RALPH TATE, M.D., ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Species are printed in Italics and *Varieties* in small capitals. The following contractions are used—Col. for Colonist; Den. for Denizen; Al. for Alien. All the other plants are regarded as native or indigenous to Britain, and no distinguishing mark is attached to them.

CLASS I.—DICOTYLEDONS OF EXOGENS.

Division I.—Thalamifloræ.

- Thalictrum minus*, L. Sandy links; Alnmouth, Boulmer, &c.
T. flexuosum, Reich. Basaltic cliffs; Howick.
Anemone nemorosa, L. Woods and upland heaths; frequent.
Ranunculus aquatilis, L. Ponds, streams, and ditches; frequent.
R. TRICHOPHYLLUS; near Alnmouth.
R. circinatus, Sibth. Ponds on Alnwick moor.
R. fluitans, Lam. Streams; Aln and Coquet.
R. hederaceus, L. Ponds and ditches; frequent.
R. Ficaria, L. Pastures, woods, and hedge banks; common.
R. Flammula, L. Ditches and wet places; frequent.
R. Lingua, L. Rare. Fosse at Dunstanburgh castle.
R. auricomus, L. Damp woods; Rugley, &c.
R. acris, L. Pastures; common.
R. repens, L. Pastures; common.
R. bulbosus, L. Pastures; common.
R. hirsutus, Curt. Col. Rare. Field near Longhoughton.
R. sceleratus, L. Ditches; Alnmouth.
R. arvensis, L. Col. Cultivated fields; frequent.
Caltha palustris, L. Marshy places; frequent.
Trollius europæus, L. Damp woods near streams; Rugley, Holn, Cawledge.
Eranthis hyemalis, Salisb. Al. Holn woods.
Helleborus viridis, L. Den. Banks of Aln, near Alnwick abbey.
Aquilegia vulgaris, L. Al. Plantation near Malcolm's cross.
Berberis vulgaris, L. Al. Holn woods.
Nymphaea alba, L. Al. Aln in the Dairy grounds; Howick pond.
Nuphar lutea, Sm. Kemmere lough.
P. Argemone, L. Col. Cultivated fields; Alnmouth; Lesbury, &c.
P. dubium, L. Col. Cultivated fields; frequent.
P. Rhœas, L. Col. Cultivated fields; frequent.

- P. somniferum*, L. AL. Ballast heaps at Amble.
Cheledonium majus, L. Den. Hedge-banks near cottages; Lesbury; Denwick.
Corydalis claviculata, D. C. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor; Brislaw; near Kemmere lough.
Corydalis lutea, D. C. AL. Old walls; Holn abbey; near Embleton.
Fumaria capreolata, L. Col. Cultivated ground; frequent.
Fumaria officinalis, L. Col. Cultivated ground; common.
Cakile maritima, Scop. Sandy sea shore; Alnmouth, &c.
Coronopus Ruellii, Gaert. Waste ground near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
Thlaspi arvense, L. Col. Between Lesbury and Warkworth. R. EMBLETON
Capsella Bursa-pastoris, D. C. Waste ground and cultivated fields; common.
Teesdalia nudicaulis, R. Br. Near Embleton. R EMBLETON.
Iberis amara, L. AL. Waste ground; Alnmouth.
Lepidium Smithii, Hook. Cultivated fields; near Warkworth.
L. campestre, Br. Cultivated fields; near Ratcheugh.
Cochlearia officinalis, L. Sea coast; Alnmouth; Howick.
C. danica, L. Maritime rocks; Howick.
Armoracia rusticana, Baumg. AL. Waste ground; near Denwick.
Draba verna, L. Old walls and dry banks; frequent.
Camelina sativa, Crantz. AL. Cultivated fields; Heckley Fence.
Alyssum calycinum, L. AL. On the railway near Warkworth. J. CHRISP.
Cardamine amara, L. Rugley and Holn and Sump woods.
C. pratensis, L. Damp pastures; common.
C. hirsuta, L. Damp places; frequent.
C. sylvatica, Link. Damp shady places; Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
Arabis thaliana, L. Dry banks and old walls; Ratcheugh; Howick, &c.
A. hirsuta, Br. Basaltic cliffs and old walls; Ratcheugh; Howick; Holn abbey.
Barbarea vulgaris, Br. Damp places; frequent.
B. ARCTATA. Near Denwick. Mr. BORRER.
Nasturtium officinale, Br. Ditches and streams; common.
N. terrestre, Br. Rare. Old quarry at Stamford.
Sisymbrium officinale, Scop. Way sides and waste ground; common.
S. Sophia, L. Waste ground; Boulmer and Embleton.
Erysimum Alliaria, L. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
Cheiranthus Cheiri, L. AL. Old walls; Holn abbey; Warkworth castle, &c.
Hesperis matronalis, L. AL. Rare. Wood near Holn abbey.
Brassica campestris, L. Cultivated fields; occasionally.
B. RAPA. In similar situations; but it has been established at least more than half a century on the Coquet Island.
B. Napus, L. Col. Cultivated fields; occasionally.
Sinapis arvensis, L. Col. Cultivated fields; common.
S. alba, L. Col. Cultivated fields; occasionally.
S. tenuifolia, Br. AL. Ballast heaps at Amble.
S. muralis, Br. AL. Ballast heaps at Amble.
Raphanus Raphanistrum, L. Col. Cultivated fields and waste ground; common.
Reseda luteola, L. Waste places and road sides; Alnmouth; Denwick; &c.
R. lutea, L. AL. Ballast heaps; Alnmouth; Amble.
Helianthemum vulgare, Gaert. Dry banks and basaltic cliffs; Ratcheugh; Howick, &c.
Viola palustris, L. Bogs; Alnwick moor; Brislaw, &c.
Viola odorata, L. Den. Holn woods.
V. hirta, L. On limestone at Ratcheugh and Embleton.
V. sylvatica, Fries. Woods and hedge-banks; common.
V. canina, L. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor.
V. tricolor, L. Cultivated fields and way sides; frequent.
V. ARVENSIS; not uncommon.

- Drosera rotundifolia*, L. Bogs; frequent.
Polygala vulgaris, L. Heaths and pastures; common.
Dianthus Caryophyllus, L. Al. Holn abbey.
D. deltoides, L. On the basalt at Ratcheugh and Howick.
Silene inflata, Sm. Way sides; frequent.
S. hirsuta. Alnmouth and Hobblerlaw.
S. maritima, With. Basaltic cliffs at Howick.
S. noctiflora, L. Col. Cultivated fields; near Howick.
Lycchnis Flos-cuculi, L. Moist pastures and bogs; common.
L. diurna, Sibth. Hedge-banks, &c.; common.
L. vespertina, Sibth. Hedge-banks, &c.; not uncommon.
L. Githago, Lam. Col. Cultivated fields; frequent.
Moenchia erecta, Sm. Rare. On the basalt at Ratcheugh and Howick. G. TARR.
Sagina procumbens, L. Road sides and waste ground; common.
Sagina maritima, Don. Sea coast; Alnmouth; Howick.
S. apetalá, L. Near the Forest lodge on Alnwick moor.
S. subulata, Wimm. Rare. On the basalt at Ratcheugh; Howick, &c.
S. nodosa, Mey. Bogs and wet sandy places; Alnwick moor, Alnmouth, &c.
Spergula arvensis, L. Way sides and cultivated ground; frequent.
Honckeneja peploides, Ehrh. Sea coast; common.
Spergularia marina, Camb. Sea coast; Alnmouth.
S. NEGLECTA is found in the same situation.
S. rubra, St. Hil. Dry sandy ground; Alnwick moor in a quarry.
Arenaria serpyllifolia, L. Road sides and waste places; common.
A. trinervis, L. Woods and shady hedge-rows; frequent.
Stellaria nemorum, L. Damp woods; Holn and Rugley woods.
S. media, With. Road sides, fields, &c.; common.
S. Holostea, L. Hedge-banks, woods, &c.; common.
S. graminea, L. Dry heaths and pastures; frequent.
S. uliginosa, Murr. Wet places; frequent.
Cerastium glomeratum, Thuil. Road sides and fields; occasionally.
C. triviale, Link. Road sides and fields; common.
C. semidecandrum, L. Dry banks and walls; frequent.
C. tetrandrum, Curt. Dry banks near the sea; Alnmouth and Howick.
C. arvense, L. Rare. On limestone near Ratcheugh; sandy links near Boulmer.
Linum usitatissimum, L. Al. Cultivated fields, occasionally; Denwick; Howick.
L. catharticum, L. Dry pastures; common.
Malva moschata, L. Road side between Lesbury and Longhoughton; near Holn abbey.
M. sylvestris, L. Waste places and road sides; most frequent near the sea.
M. rotundifolia, L. Waste places and road sides; most frequent near the sea.
Tilia intermedia, D C. Al. Holn woods.
Hypericum Androsæum, L. Al. Holn woods.
H. perforatum, L. Woods and way sides; frequent.
H. quadrangulum, L. Moist places; frequent.
H. humifusum, L. Dry heaths; Alnwick moor, &c.
H. pulchrum, L. Heaths and woods; frequent.
H. hirsutum, L. Woods; frequent.
H. calycinum, L. Al. Holn abbey.
Acer campestre, L. Den. Woods and hedges; Holn woods, &c.
A. Pseudo-platanus, L. Den. Woods and hedge-rows; frequent.
Erodium cicutarium, Sm. Sandy banks on the coast; common.
Geranium sylvaticum, L. Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods, &c.
G. pratense, L. Pastures; frequent.
G. pusillum, L. Waste ground at Boulmer; Birling road to station.
G. molle, L. Road sides and waste places; frequent.

- G. dissectum*, L. Road sides, &c. ; frequent.
G. lucidum, L. Rare. Old wall at Ratcheugh.
G. Robertianum, L. Road sides, &c. ; common.
S. sanguineum, L. Sandy links on the coast and basaltic cliffs ; Ratcheugh ; Howick ; Alnmouth, &c.
Impatiens noli-me-tangere, L. Al. Holn woods ; now extinct.
Oxalis Acetosella, L. Woods and hedge-banks ; frequent.
Staphylea pinnata, L. Al. Holn woods. R. EMBLETON.
Euonymus europæus, L. Ratcheugh crags ; Longhydike.
Spartium scoparium, L. Heaths and bushy places ; frequent.
Ulex europæus, L. Heaths, &c. ; common.
Genista anglica L. Heaths ; Alnwick moor ; near Kemmere lough.
Ononis arvensis, L. Sandy banks near the sea ; common.
Anthyllis vulneraria, L. On limestone and sandy links near the sea ; frequent.
Medicago sativa, L. Al. Cultivated fields ; near Bilton, &c.
M. lupulina, L. Way sides and waste ground ; common.
Melilotus officinalis, Willd. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
M. vulgaris, Willd. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
Trifolium repens, L. Pastures and way sides ; common.
T. pratense, L. Pastures ; common.
T. medium, L. Way sides and bushy places ; Rugley, &c.
T. arvense, L. Gravelly and sandy places ; Howick, &c.
T. striatum, L. Basaltic cliffs ; Howick and Dunstanburgh.
T. procumbens, L. Pastures and way sides ; common.
T. minus, Smith. Dry pastures ; frequent ; Alnmouth, &c.
T. filiforme, L. Dry pastures ; Howick and Alnmouth.
Lotus corniculatus, L. Pastures and road sides ; common.
L. TENUIS ; limestone at Denwick quarry.
L. major, Scop. Sides of ditches and streams ; Rugley and Holn woods.
Astragalus glycyphyllos, L. Rare. Basaltic cliffs ; Ratcheugh and Craster.
A. hypoglottis, L. On basalt and sandy links near the sea ; Howick ; Alnmouth ; Boulmer ; Ratcheugh.
Vicia sylvatica, L. Rare. Cawledge woods.
V. Cracca, L. Hedges and bushy places ; common.
V. sativa, L. Cultivated fields ; occasionally.
V. ANGUSTIFOLIA. Dry gravelly places ; Howick and Ratcheugh.
V. lathyroides, L. On the basalt at Ratcheugh and Howick.
V. sepium, L. Woods and way sides ; common.
V. hirsuta, Koch. Cultivated ground and way sides ; common.
Lathyrus pratensis, L. Pastures and hedge-rows ; frequent.
Orobis tuberosus, L. Woods and heathy places ; frequent.
O. TENUFOLIUS ; Alnwick moor, &c.
Prunus spinosa, L. Hedges and thickets ; frequent.
P. INSITITIA ; Holn woods.
P. DOMESTICA, Den. Greensfield.
P. Padus, L. Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
P. avium, L. Den. Holn woods.
P. Cerasus, L, Al. Near Embleton. R. EMBLETON.
Spiræa Ulmaria, L. Damp meadows and woods ; common.
S. salicifolia, L. Al. Holn woods.
Geum urbanum, L. Woods and hedge-banks ; frequent.
G. INTERMEDIUM ; Rugley and Holn woods.
G. rivale, L. Woods and damp places ; frequent.
Agrimonia Eupatoria, L. Way sides and borders of fields ; frequent.
Potentilla fruticosa, L. Al. Holn woods.
P. anserina, L. Road sides and waste ground ; common.
P. reptans, L. Pastures and way sides ; frequent.
P. Tormentilla, Nees. Heaths and dry banks ; common.

- P. Fragariastrum*, Ehrh. Hedge-banks and woods; common.
Comarum palustre, L. Bogs; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth, &c.
Fragaria vesca, L. Woods and hedge-banks; common.
F. elatior, Ehrh. Al. Holn woods.
Rubus saxatilis, L. Rare. Cawledge woods.
R. Idæus, L. Woods; frequent.
R. fruticosus, L. Hedges, woods, &c.; common. A very variable plant, out of which a vast number of so-called species have been manufactured by botanists. The extreme forms may be recognised; but these have no claim to be considered good species, as they pass imperceptibly into each other.
R. cæsius, L. Hedges and thickets; Ratcheugh, Lesbury, &c.
Rosa cinnamomea, L. Al. Holn woods.
R. spinosissima, L. Basaltic cliffs and sandy links on the coast; Ratcheugh; Howick; Alnmouth, &c.
R. tomentosa, Smith. Woods; hedges; frequent.
R. micrantha, Smith. Rare. Hedge-sides, near Bilton; its most northern station. JOHN CHRISP.
R. rubiginosa, L. Den. Hedges; near Denwick; Ellingham.
R. canina, L. Hedges and woods; common.
R. systyla, Woods. Holn woods. W. RICHARDSON.
R. villosa, L. Hedges near Buston. J. CHRISP.
Poterium Sanguisorba, L. On basalt and limestone; Ratcheugh; Howick, &c.
Alchemilla vulgaris, L. Meadows and pastures; common.
A. arvensis, Lam. Cultivated ground and way sides; common.
Cratægus Oxyacantha, L. Hedges and woods; common.
Pyrus malus, L. Woods and hedges; Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
P. Aria, Sm. Al. Holn woods; Ratcheugh crag.
P. FENNICA, Al. Near Holn abbey.
P. torminalis, Sm. Al. Plantations near Denwick.
P. Aucuparia, Gaert. Woods; frequent.
Epilobium angustifolium, L. Al. Woods at Howick.
E. hirsutum, L. By ditches and streams; frequent.
E. parviflorum, Schreb. Bogs and wet places; frequent.
E. montanum, L. Woods and hedge-banks; common.
E. palustre, L. Wet places; frequent.
E. tetragonum, L. Wet places; Denwick; Alnmouth.
Circea lutetiana, L. Woods; frequent.
Myriophyllum spicatum, L. Ponds and ditches; frequent.
M. alterniflorum, D. C. Shipley. JOHN STOREY.
Callitriche verna, L. Ditches and ponds; common.
C. platycarpa, Kutz. Ditches and ponds; frequent.
Lythrum Salicaria, L. Banks of Aln in Holn woods.
Montia fontana, L. Brooks and damp places; frequent.
Scleranthus annuus, L. Fields and road sides; frequent.
Ribes nigrum, L. Den. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge.
R. rubrum, L. Den. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge.
R. alpinum, L. Den. Holn woods; Ratcheugh, &c.
R. Grossularia, L. Den. Woods and hedges; Longhoughton, &c.
Sedum Telephium, L. Al. Plantation at Greensfield; Holn abbey.
S. album, L. Al. Old wall at Embleton.
S. aere, L. Rocks and walls; frequent.
Sempervivum tectorum, L. Al. Planted on house tops at Lesbury; Alnmouth.
Saxifraga Geum, L. Al. Howick woods.
S. umbrosa, L. Al. Howick woods.
S. granulata, L. Dry gravelly places and meadows; Holn woods; Howick.
S. tridactylites, L. Rare. On limestone at Ratcheugh crags.
Chryso-splenium oppositifolium, L. Damp situations; frequent.

- C. alternifolium*, L. Damp woods; Rugley; Holn, &c.
Parnassia palustris, L. Bogs; Alnmouth; Alnwick moor; Howick, &c.
Adoxa moschatellina, L. Woods and shady hedge-rows; Holn; Rugley woods, &c.
Hedera Helix, L. Rocks, old walls, trees, &c.; common.
Cornus sanguinea, L. Den. Holn woods, &c.
C. suecica, L. Rinside moor. Rev. J. F. BIGGE.
Hydrocotyle vulgaris, L. Bogs; frequent.
Sanicula europæa, L. Woods; frequent.
Conium maculatum, L. Waste ground; most frequent near the sea, as at Alnmouth, Boulmer, &c.
Cicuta virosa, L. Charlton moor. R. EMBLETON.
Apium graveolens, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth.
Petroselinum sativum, Hoffm. Al. Holn abbey.
Helosciadium nodiflorum, Koch. Watery places; Alnmouth, &c.
H. inundatum, Koch. Pond at Dunstanburgh.
Egopodium Podagraria, L. Woods and way sides; common.
Bunium flexuosum, With. Meadows and woods; common.
Pimpinella Saxifraga, L. Dry pastures; frequent; Ratcheugh, &c.
Sium latifolium, L. Ditches near Embleton. R. EMBLETON.
S. angustifolium, L. Ditches; frequent.
Enanthe Lachenalii, Gmel. Salt marsh; Alnmouth; Howick.
O. crocata, L. Wet places; Denwick; Alnmouth, &c.
Aethusa Cynapium, L. Way sides and fields; frequent.
Ligusticum Scoticum, L. Near Dunstanburgh castle; its most southern habitat—now eradicated.
Silva pratensis, Bess. Dry pastures; Ratcheugh, &c.
Angelica sylvestris, L. Damp woods; frequent.
Pastinaca sativa, L. Al. Cultivated field at Denwick.
Heracleum Sphondylium, L. Woods and way sides; common.
H. ANGUSTIFOLIUM; Denwick.
Daucus Carota, L. Fields and way sides; frequent.
Torilis Anthriscus, Gaert. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
T. nodosa, Gaert. Waste ground near the sea; Boulmer.
Scandix Pecten-veneris, L. Way sides and waste ground; common.
Anthriscus vulgaris, Pers. Road sides and waste ground; frequent.
A. sylvestris, Hoffm. Woods and way sides; common.
Chærophyllum temulum, L. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
Myrrhis odorata, Scop. Rare. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge.

Division 3.—Corollifloræ.

- Sambucus nigra*, L. Hedges and woods; common.
Viburnum Opulus, L. Woods and hedges; frequent.
V. Lantana, L. Den. Rare. Hedge near Shilbottle Tile sheds.
Lonicera Periclymenum, L. Woods and hedges; common.
L. Xylosteum, L. Al. Holn woods; plantations near Alnwick.
Galium verum, L. Dry banks and pastures; frequent.
G. cruciatum, With. Way sides and woods; frequent.
G. palustre, L. Wet places; frequent.
G. uliginosum, L. Wet places; frequent.
G. Aparine, L. Hedge-rows, &c.; common.
G. saxatile, L. Heaths and dry pastures; frequent.
Sherardia arvensis, L. Way sides and cultivated ground; frequent.
Asperula odorata, L. Woods; frequent.
Centranthus ruber, D. C. Al. Holn abbey.
Valeriana dioica, L. Wet meadows and bogs; Alnwick moor; Holn woods; Alnmouth, &c.
V. officinalis, L. Woods and meadows; frequent.

- Fedia olitoria*, Vahl. Above Denwick bridge; Alnmouth; Warkworth.
F. dentata, Bieb. Col. Cultivated fields; Denwick; Howick, &c.
Dipsacus sylvestris, L. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
Scabiosa succisa, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
S. columbaria, L. Ratcheugh crags; Boulmer links.
Knautia arvensis, Coult. Cultivated ground and way sides; frequent.
Tragopogon pratensis, L. Fields and way sides; occasionally; Alnmouth, &c.
T. minor; Howick; Buston.
Helminthia echioides, Gaert. Rare. Sea banks at Howick burn mouth.
Apargia hispida, Willd. Meadows and way sides; frequent.
A. autumnalis, Willd. Pastures and way sides; frequent.
Hypochaeris radicata, L. Meadows and way sides; frequent.
Lactuca virosa, L. Banks of the Coquet at Warkworth. W. RICHARDSON.
Sonchus arvensis, L. Way sides and fields; frequent.
S. asper, Hoffm. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
S. oleraceus, L. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
Crepis virens, L. Road sides and pastures; common.
C. succisifolia, Tausch. Very rare. Rugley and Hindene.
C. paludosa, Moench. Damp woods and bogs; Alnmouth; Rugley wood.
Hieracium pilosella, L. Dry banks and pastures; frequent.
H. aurantiacum, L. Al. Holn woods.
H. murorum, L. Rocks and walls; Ratcheugh; Howick.
H. vulgatum, Fries. Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
H. boreale, Fries. Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
Barkhausia setosa, D. C. Al. Ratcheugh. W. RICHARDSON.
Taraxacum officinale, Wigg. Road sides and pastures; common.
T. LEVIGATUM; sandy banks, Alnmouth.
T. PALUSTRE; bogs; Alnmouth moor.
Lapsana communis, L. Waste ground and way sides; common.
Cichorium Intybus, L. Col. Cultivated fields; Rennington; Greensfield.
Acretium Lappa, L. Road sides and waste ground; common.
Serratula tinctoria, L. Very rare. Coast between Howick and Craster.
Carduus crispus, L. Waste ground near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
C. tenuiflorus, Curt. Waste ground near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
C. marianus, L. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
C. lanceolatus, L. Fields and road sides; common.
C. palustris, L. Bogs and wet meadows; common.
C. arvensis, Curt. Fields and road sides; common.
C. heterophyllus, L. Rugley and Hindene woods; Buston.
Onopordum Acanthium, L. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
Carlina vulgaris, L. Near Amble—old mouth of the Coquet.
Centaurea nigra, L. Road sides and pastures; common.
C. Scabiosa, L. Warkworth dene. J. CHRISP.
C. Cyanus, L. Col. Cultivated fields; Lesbury; Howick, &c.
Eupatorium cannabinum, L. Banks of streams and damp places in woods; frequent.
Tanacetum vulgare, L. Pastures and road sides; frequent.
Artemisia Absinthium, L. Waste ground near the sea; Embleton, &c.
A. vulgaris, L. Waste ground and hedge-banks; frequent.
Gnaphalium dioicum, L. Alnmouth moor; Dunstanburgh.
G. sylvaticum, L. Alnmouth moor; Brislaw.
G. uliginosum, L. Damp places; Alnmouth moor, &c.
Filago minima, Fries. Dry pastures; Alnmouth moor; Howick.
F. germanica, L. Dry pastures; frequent.
Petasites vulgaris, Desf. Wet ground near streams; frequent.
Tussilago Farfara, L. Fields and way sides; common.
Aster Tripolium, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth
Solidago virgaurea, L. Dry situations in woods; Rugley and Holn woods, &c.

- Senecio vulgaris*, L. Cultivated ground and way sides; common.
S. sylvaticus, L. Dry pastures and waste ground; Alnwick moor; Ratcheugh.
S. viscosus, L. Al. Ballast heaps at Amble.
S. Jacobæa, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
S. aquaticus, Huds. Wet situations; Alnwick moor, &c.
S. tenuifolius, Sm. Hedge-banks; Rugley lane and Shilbottle. J. CHRISP.
Doronicum Pardalianches, L. Al. Road side near West Bolton.
Pulicaria dysenterica, Gært. Rare. Damp pastures; near Cawledge woods; Embleton.
Bellis perennis, L. Everywhere in grassy places.
Chrysanthemum segetum, L. Col. Cultivated fields; Warkworth.
C. Leucanthemum, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
Pyrethrum Parthenium, Sm. Den. Old walls and waste ground; Holn abbey, &c.
P. inodorum, Sm. Fields and way sides; common.
P. maritimum, Sm. Maritime rocks; Dunstanburgh.
Achillea Ptarmica, L. Damp meadows and heaths; frequent.
A. Millefolium, L. Fields and waste ground; frequent.
Campanula rotundifolia, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
C. latifolia, L. Damp, shady woods; Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods.
Erica Tetralix, L. Boggy heaths; frequent.
E. cinerea, L. Heaths; frequent.
Calluna vulgaris, Salisb. Heaths; common.
Vaccinium myrtillus, L. Heaths and woods; common.
V. Vitis-Idæa, L. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor; Brislaw.
V. Oxycoceus, L. Upland bogs; Alnwick moor; near the Kemmere and Black loughs.
Pyrola minor, L. Rugley, Cawledge, Holn, and White House woods.
Ilex Aquifolium, L. Woods and hedge-rows; common.
Ligustrum vulgare, L. Al. Hedges and plantations; Holn woods, &c.
Fraginus excelsior, L. Woods and hedge-rows; common.
Vinca minor, L. Al. Stoney hills; Holn and Howick woods.
V. major, L. Al. Holn abbey.
Gentiana Amarella, L. Pastures and sandy links; Harlow hill; Brislaw; Alnmouth, &c.
G. campestris, L. Pastures; Howick.
Erythraea Centaurium, Pers. Pastures and sandy ground; frequent.
Menyanthes trifoliata, L. Bogs; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth, &c.
Polemonium cæruleum, L. Al. Holn abbey.
Convolvulus arvensis, L. Fields and way sides; Dunsheugh; near Boulmer.
Cuscuta Epilinum, Weihe. Al. Flax field near Windy edge; Hawkhill.
Hyoscyamus niger, L. Waste ground near the sea; Alnmouth.
Solanum nigrum, L. Col. Waste ground; Embleton.
S. Dulcamara, L. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge.
Verbascum Thapsus, L. Al. Waste ground; Alnmouth.
V. nigrum, Al. Holn abbey.
Veronica arvensis, L. Fields and old walls; common.
V. serpyllifolia, L. Waste ground and way sides; frequent.
V. acutellata, L. Bogs and sides of ditches; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth, &c.
V. Anagallis, L. Sides of ponds and ditches; Denwick; Embleton, &c.
V. Beccabunga, L. Ditches and wet places; frequent.
V. officinalis, L. Dry pastures; frequent.
V. montana, L. Shady woods; Holn and Rugley woods, &c.
V. Chamaedrys, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
V. hederifolia, L. Fields and way sides; common.
V. agrestis, L. Fields and old walls; common.
V. polita, Fries. Fields and way sides; Howick.
V. Buxbaumii, Ten. Col. Rare. Field near Bolton mill.

- Bartsia Odontites*, Huds. Fields and waste places; common.
Euphrasia officinalis, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
Rhinanthus Crista-galli, L. Pastures; common.
Melampyrum pratense, L. Woods; Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
M. MONTANUM. Alnwick moor.
Pedicularis palustris, L. Bogs and wet places; frequent.
P. sylvatica, L. Pastures and heaths; frequent.
Serophularia nodosa, L. Woods and damp places; frequent.
Digitalis purpurea, L. Heaths and woods; frequent.
Antirrhinum majus, L. Al. Holn abbey.
Linaria Cymbalaria, Mill. Al. Holn abbey.
L. vulgaris, Mill. Dry banks; Lesbury; Alnmouth.
L. minor, Desf. Col. Embleton. R. EMBLETON.
Orobancha major, Angl. Rare. Parasitic on broom; Ellingham.
O. minor, Sutt. Col. In a clover field; Hipsburn; Warkworth. J. CHRISP.
Lathraea squamaria, L. Rare. Parasitic on the hazel; Holn woods.
Verbena officinalis, L. Way sides and waste ground; Littlehoughton.
Mentha hirsuta, L. Banks of streams and wet places; frequent.
M. piperita, L. Swineclose wood near Ellingham. R. EMBLETON.
M. sativa, L. Banks of streams and wet places; frequent.
M. RUBRA. Rugley wood.
M. arvensis, L. Fields and waste ground; frequent.
Thymus Serpyllum, L. Heaths and dry pastures; common.
T. CHAMÆDEYS. On basalt at Craster. J. STOREY.
Origanum vulgare, L. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge; Warkworth.
Calamintha Acinos, Clairv. Dry fields; Bannamoore near Eglington.
C. Clinopodium, Spenn. Woods and bushy places; Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
Teucrium Scorodonia, L. Woods and heaths; frequent.
Ajuga reptans, L. Meadows and woods; frequent.
Ballota nigra, L. Waste ground and road sides; frequent.
Lamium album, L. Way sides and fields; common.
L. amplexicaule, L. Waste ground and way sides; Denwick; Ratcheugh.
L. incisum, Willd. Fields and waste ground; Longhoughton; Alnmouth.
L. purpureum, L. Fields and waste ground; common.
Galeopsis Ladanum, L. Col. Near Embleton. R. EMBLETON.
G. Tetrakit, L. Waste ground and cultivated fields; frequent.
Stachys Betonica, Benth. Rugley, Holn, and Cawledge woods, &c.
S. palustris, L. Wet places and banks of streams; frequent.
S. AMBIGUA. Embleton. R. EMBLETON.
S. sylvatica, L. Woods; frequent.
S. arvensis, L. Waste ground and cultivated fields; Lesbury; Howick, &c.
Glechoma hederacea, L. Woods and hedge-banks; common.
Marrubium vulgare, L. Rare. Links at Alnmouth.
Prunella vulgaris, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
Myosotis palustris, With. Ditches and stream sides; frequent.
M. caespitosa, Schultz. Watery places; frequent.
M. sylvatica, Ehrh. Shady woods; Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods.
M. arvensis, Hoffm. Way sides and fields; common.
M. collina, Hoffm. Sandy banks on the coast; Alnmouth; Boulmer, &c.
M. versicolor, Lehm. Dry pastures; Brialaw; Howick; Alnmouth, &c.
Lithospermum officinale, L. Al. Holn abbey.
L. arvense, L. Cultivated ground and way sides; frequent.
Lycopsis arvensis, L. Fields and banks; most frequent near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
Anchusa sempervirens, L. Al. Waste ground and way sides; Denwick; West Bolton; Holn abbey.
Cynoglossum officinale, L. Waste ground near the sea; Alnmouth; Boulmer.

- Pulmonaria officinalis*, L. Al. Holn and Howick woods.
Echium vulgare, L. Links, &c., near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
Pinguicula vulgaris, L. Bogs; frequent.
Utricularia vulgaris, L. Rare. Ditches; Alnmouth.
U. minor, L. South Charlton moor. R. EMBLETON.
Primula vulgaris, Huds. Woods and hedge-rows; common.
P. ELATIORE. Bogs; Howick; Alnmouth.
P. veris, L. Pastures, chiefly near the sea; Ratcheugh; Alnmouth, &c.
Trientalis europæa, L. Heaths and woods; abundant on the higher parts of
 Brislaw and Alnwick moor; near Kemmere and Blackloughs; Rugley.
Lysimachia nemorum, L. Woods; frequent.
Anagallis arvensis, L. Way sides and fields; frequent.
A. CÆRULEA. Bolton wood hall; Rugley. J. CHRISP.
A. tenella, L. Bogs; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth, &c.
Samolus Valerandi, L. Wet places near the sea; Alnmouth; Howick.
Glauz maritima, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Howick, &c.
Armeria maritima, Willd. Sea coast; Alnmouth; Howick, &c.
Plantago major, L. Fields and way sides; common.
P. media, L. Dry pastures on the limestone; Ratcheugh; Hobberlaw, &c.
P. lanceolata, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
P. maritima, L. Sea coast and upland situations; Alnmouth, Alnwick moor.
P. Coronopus, L. Dry sandy places usually near the sea; Alnmouth;
 Howick, &c.
Littorella lacustris, L. Kemmere lough.

Division 4.—*Monochlamydeæ*,

- Chenopodium rubrum*, L. Waste ground near the sea; near Dunstan steads.
C. urticum, L. Col. Ballast heaps at Amble; near Howick; Shilbottle.
C. album, L. Waste ground and fields; common.
C. Bonus-Henricus, L. Waste ground and way sides; near Lesbury; Aln-
 mouth, &c.
Atriplex Babingtonii, Woods. Sea coast; Alnmouth, &c.
A. hastata, L. Waste ground and fields; frequent.
A. patula, L. Waste ground and fields; frequent.
A. littoralis, L. Sea coast; Alnmouth; Amble.
Beta maritima, L. Mouth of Howick burn and of Coquet. J. CHRISP.
Salsola Kali, L. Sea coast; Alnmouth, &c.
Schobertia maritima, Mey. Sea coast; Alnmouth.
Salicornia herbacea, L. Muddy sea shores; Alnmouth.
Polygonum Bistorta, L. Rare. Holn Woods.
P. amphibium, L. About ditches and ponds; frequent.
P. lapathifolium, L. Waste ground; Alnmouth, &c.
P. Persicaria, L. Waste ground and fields; frequent.
P. Hydropiper, L. Wet places; Alnwick moor.
P. aciculare, L. Waste ground and way sides; common.
P. Raii, Bab. Rare. Sandy sea shore; Alnmouth.
P. Convolvulus, L. Fields and way sides; common.
Rumex crispus, L. Waste ground and fields; common.
R. obtusifolius, L. Waste ground and way sides; common.
R. sanguineus, L. Holn and Howick woods.
R. VIRIDIS. Holn woods.
Rumex conglomeratus, Mur. Watery places; frequent.
R. Acetosella, L. Pastures; common.
R. Acetosella, L. Dry pastures; common.
Hippophae rhamnoides, L. Den. Sea banks; Howick.
Daphne Laureola, L. Holn and Cawledge woods; Shilbottle.
Empetrum nigrum, L. Upland heaths, frequent; Alnwick moor, &c.
Euphorbia helioscopia, L. Waste ground and cultivated fields; frequent.

- E. Beula*, L. Al. On the walls of Holn abbey.
E. exigua, L. Cultivated fields and waste ground; frequent.
E. Peplus, L. Waste ground and cultivated fields; frequent.
Buzus sempervirens, L. Al. Woods.
Mercurialis perennis, L. Woods; common.
Urtica urens, L. Way sides, waste ground, &c.; common.
U. dioica, L. Way sides, waste grounds, &c.; common.
Parietaria officinalis, L. Old walls and rocks; Holn abbey; Ratcheugh, &c.
Humulus Lupulus, L. Al. Hedge near Alnwick.
Ulmus montana, Sm. Woods and hedge rows; common.
U. suberosa, Ehrh. Den. Holn woods, &c.
Quercus Robur, L. Woods; common.
Fagus sylvatica, L. Den. Woods, &c.; common.
Carpinus Betulus, L. Den. Holn woods.
Corylus Avellana, L. Woods and hedgerows; common.
Alnus glutinosa, L. River banks and wet places; common.
Betula alba, L. Woods; common.
B. GLUTINOSA. Holn woods.
Castanea vulgaris, Lam. Al. Holn and Howick woods.
Populus alba, L. Al. Holn woods.
P. tremula, L. Holn and Cawledge woods.
P. nigra, L. Al. Holn woods.
Salix pentandra, L. Banks of Aln, below Denwick bridge.
S. fragilis, L. Wet places, banks of Aln, below Denwick bridge.
S. RUSSELLIANA. Holn woods.
S. alba, L. Wet places; banks of Aln, in Holn woods.
S. purpurea, L. Var. *HELIx*, L. Banks of Aln, below Denwick bridge.
S. viminalis, L. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge &c.
S. Smithiana, Willd. Holn woods.
S. acuminata, Sm. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge.
S. cinerea, L. Banks of Aln below Denwick bridge, &c.
S. aurita, L. Rugley and Holn woods.
S. caprea, L. Rugley and Holn woods, &c.
S. repens, L. Heaths, Alnwick moor, &c.
Myrica Gale, L. Bogs; Alnmouth; near Kommere and Black loughs; White-house wood.
Pinus sylvestris, L. Woods; frequent.
Juniperus communis, L. Heaths; Alnwick moor; Bristlaw.
Taxus baccata, L. Banks of Aln opposite Alnwick abbey.

CLASS 2.—MONOCTYLEDONS OR ENDOGENS.

Division 1.—Floridæ.

- Neottia Nidus-avis*, Rich. Rare. Cawledge woods.
Listera cordata, Br. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor.
L. ovata, Br. Woods and bogs; Holn woods; Alnmouth, &c.
Epipactis latifolia, Sw. Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods.
E. palustris, Sw. Bogs near Alnmouth.
Orehis mascula, L. Woods and pastures; frequent.
O. Morio, L. Holn and Ratcheugh woods.
O. pyramidalis, L. Field near Embleton. W. ARMSTRONG.
O. latifolia, L. Bogs and wet places; frequent.
O. maculata, L. Pastures and heaths; frequent.
Gymnadenia conopsea, Br. Heaths and bogs; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth.
Habenaria bifolia, Br. Meadows; near Rugley.
H. chlorantha, Br. Woods and heaths; Cawledge; Alnwick moor; Hindens.
H. viridis, Br. Pastures and heaths; Alnwick moor; Rugley; Ratcheugh.

- Iris Pseudacorus*, L. Sides of streams and bogs; frequent.
Crocus vernus, L. Al. Field near Alnwick.
Narcissus biflorus, Curt. Al. Field below Windy edge, near Alnwick.
N. Pseudo-narcissus, L. Al. Holn woods; near Warkworth mill, where it may be native. J. CHRISP.
Galanthus nivalis, L. Den. Well established and abundant on the banks of the stream above Hawkhill Tile sheds
Lilium martagon, L. Al. Holn and Howick woods.
Allium oleraceum, L. On the basalt at Ratcheugh and Howick.
A. vineale, L. Pastures and river banks; Sump; near Lesbury.
A. ursinum, L. Damp woods and shady places; common.
Gagea lutea, Ker. Rare Rugley wood. First discovered there more than 30 years ago by JOHN CHRISP.
Scilla verna, Huds. Rare On the basalt near Howick, Craster, and Dunstanburgh.
Hyacinthus nonscriptus, L. Woods and heaths; frequent.
Ruscus aculeatus, L. Al. Holn and Howick woods.
Convallaria magalis, L. Al. Holn and Howick woods.
C. bifolia, L. Al. Howick plantations R EMBLETON.
Paris quadrifolia, L. Holn and Rugley woods.
Anacharis Alsinastrum, Bab. Al In the Aln above Denwick.
Alisma Plantago, L. Sides of ponds and ditches; Denwick; Alnmouth, &c.
A. ranunculoides, L. Bogs and sides of ditches; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth.
Butomus umbellatus, L. Al. Howick pond.
Triglochin maritimum, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Howick.
T. palustre, L. Bogs and side of ditches; frequent.
Potamogeton pusillus, L. Aln; Howick pond; Kemmere lough.
P. crispus, L. Streams and ditches; frequent.
P. perfoliatus, L. Coquet, above Warkworth.
P. lucens, L. Aln and ponds near Alnwick. R. EMBLETON.
P. rufescens, Schrad. Ponds on Alnwick moor. J. DAVIDSON.
P. natans, L. Ditches, ponds, and streams; frequent.
P. oblongus, Viv. Ditches; Alnwick moor.
P. plantagineus, Ducr. Ditches at Alnmouth; pond, Dunstanburgh.
Ruppia maritima, L. Coquet, near Warkworth.
Zostera marina, L. Muddy sea shores; Alnmouth.
Lemna minor, L. Ponds and ditches; common.
Arum maculatum, L. Den. Holn woods; Greensfield.
Sparganium simplex, Huds. Denwick burn; Aln in Holn woods.
S. ramosum, Huds. Ditches and ponds; frequent.
Typha latifolia, L. Aln, near Bilton mill.
Juncus conglomeratus, L. Marshy ground; common.
J. effusus, L. Marshy ground; common.
J. glaucus, Sibth. Damp pastures and heaths; common.
J. maritimus, Sm. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Embleton.
J. acutiflorus, Ehrh. Bogs and damp pastures; common.
J. lamprocarpus, Ehrh. Bogs and damp pastures; common.
J. supinus, Moench. Bogs and wet places; common.
J. compressus, Jacq. Var. *CÆNOSUS*, Bich. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Howick.
J. bufonius, L. Damp places; common.
J. squarrosus, L. Heaths; common.
Lyzula sylvatica, Bich. Woods; frequent.
L. pilosa, Willd. Woods; frequent.
L. campestris, Br. Pastures and heaths; common.
L. multiflora, Lej. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor.
Narthecium ossifragum, Huds. Bogs; frequent. Alnwick moor, &c.

Division 2.—Glumifera.

- Sclenus nigricans*, L. Bogs; Alnmouth; Howick.
Blymus rufus, Link. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Howick.
Scirpus lacustris, Link. Aln, below Lesbury.
S. setaceus, L. Wet places; frequent.
S. maritimus, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth.
S. sylvaticus, L. Banks of Aln, Waterside house, Holn woods.
S. palustris, L. Marshy places; frequent.
S. uniglumis, Link. Coast at Dunstanburgh. Professor OLIVER.
S. caespitosus, L. Heaths; frequent.
S. acicularis, L. Pond (now drained) near Alnmouth. R. EMBLETON.
S. fluitans, L. Pond near Alnmouth. R. EMBLETON.
Briophorum vaginatum, L. Bogs; frequent.
E. polystachion, L. Bogs; frequent.
Carex dioica, L. Bogs; frequent. Alnmouth moor; Alnmouth, &c.
C. pulicaris, L. Bogs; frequent. Alnmouth moor, &c.
C. stellulata, Good. Bogs; frequent.
C. ovalis, Good. Bogs and damp pastures; frequent.
C. remota, L. Woods; Holn and Rugley woods, &c.
C. intermedia, Good. Marshy places; frequent. Alnmouth, &c.
C. arenaria, L. Sandy banks on the coast; Alnmouth, &c.
C. muricata, L. On the basalt at Ratcheugh and Howick.
C. vulpina, L. Marshy places; Alnmouth; Howick.
C. paniculata, L. Bogs; Alnmouth.
C. vulgaris, Fries. Bogs and wet pastures; frequent.
C. acuta, L. Wet places; frequent.
C. flava, L. Bogs and wet pastures; frequent.
C. CEDREI. Alnmouth moor.
C. extensa, Good. Salt marshes; Alnmouth and Howick.
C. pallens, L. Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods.
C. fulva, Good. Damp pastures; Alnmouth moor.
C. distans, L. Salt marshes; Alnmouth and Howick.
C. binervis, Sm. Heaths; frequent.
C. panicea, L. Bogs; frequent.
C. sylvatica, Huds. Woods; frequent.
C. pendula, Huds. Rare. Cawledge woods; near Warkworth.
C. glauca, Scop. Wet pastures; frequent.
C. præcox, Jacq. Dry pastures; frequent.
C. pilulifera, L. Heaths; Brislaw, &c.
C. hirta, L. Wet places; frequent.
C. ampullacea, Good. Bogs and sides of streams; frequent.
C. paludosa, Good. Wet places; woods.
C. riparia, Curtis. Wet places; Rugley woods.
Phalaris arundinacea, L. Banks of streams and ponds; frequent.
P. canariensis, L. Al. Cultivated fields; occasionally. Alnmouth, &c.
Anthoxanthum odoratum, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
Phleum pratense, L. Meadows and pastures; common.
P. canariense, L. Sandy banks on the coast; Alnmouth; Boulmer.
Alopecurus pratensis, L. Pastures; common.
A. geniculatus, L. Ditches and wet places; frequent.
Milium effusum, L. Rare. Rugley wood.
Agrostis canina, L. Pastures; frequent.
A. vulgaris, With. Heaths and pastures; common.
A. alba, L. Swamps; frequent.
Ammophila arundinacea, Host. Sand hills on the coast; common.
Arundo Phragmitis, L. Banks of streams and ditches; common.
A. Calamagrostis, L. Rare. White House wood.

- Arundo Epigejos*, L. Rare. White House wood.
Nesleria cœrulea, Scop. Rare. On the limestone at Ratcheugh.
Aira cœspitosa, L. Woods and pastures; common.
A. flexuosa, L. Heaths; common.
A. caryophyllca, L. Heaths and dry pastures; frequent.
A. præcox, L. Dry pastures; common.
Avena fatua, L. Col. Corn fields; common.
A. strigosa, Schreb. Col. Corn fields; occasionally. Near Alnwick.
A. pratensis, L. Dry pastures; Ratcheugh; Howick.
A. pubescens, L. Dry pastures; Ratcheugh; Howick.
A. flavescens, L. Pastures; common.
Arrhenatherum avenaceum, Beauv. Pastures and way sides; common.
Holcus lanatus, L. Pastures; common.
H. mollis, L. Woods and hedge banks; frequent.
Triodia decumbens, Beauv. Pastures and way sides; common.
Koelleria cristata, Pers. Dry pastures; Ratcheugh; Howick.
Melica uniflora, Retz. Woods; frequent.
Molinia cœrulea, Moench. Wet pastures and heaths; common.
Catabroca aquatica, Presl. Ponds and ditches; Alnmouth; Denwick, &c.
Glyceria fluitans, Br. Wet places and ditches; frequent.
G. plicata, Fries. Wet places; Lesbury, &c.
G. maritima, M. and K. Salt marshes; Alnmouth; Howick.
G. distans, Wahl. Rare. Sea coast; Alnmouth.
G. rigida, Sm. On the basalt at Ratcheugh.
Poa annua, L. Pastures, way sides, &c.; common.
P. pratensis, L. Pastures; common.
P. trivialis, L. Pastures; common.
P. nemoralis, L. Holn, Rugley, and Cawledge woods.
Britza media, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
Cynosurus cristatus, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
Dactylis glomerata, L. Meadows and way sides; common.
Festuca bromoides, L. Dry banks; Alnwick moor, &c.
F. ovina, L. Pastures and heaths; common.
F. duriuscula, L. Pastures; frequent.
F. rubra, L. Sand hills on the coast; Alnmouth, &c.
F. elatior, Huds. Sides of streams; frequent.
F. pratensis, Huds. Pastures; common.
F. LOLIACRA. Lesbury.
Bromus giganteus, L. Woods; frequent.
B. asper, L. Woods; frequent.
B. sterilis, L. Way sides and waste ground; frequent.
B. commutatus, Schrad. Cultivated fields; near Bilton.
B. mollis, L. Pastures and way sides; frequent.
B. RACEMOSUS; frequent.
Brachypodium sylvaticum, Beauv. Woods; frequent.
Triticum caninum, Huds. Woods and hedge banks; frequent.
T. repens, L. Cultivated fields and waste ground; common.
T. junceum, L. Sand banks near the sea; Alnmouth, &c.
Lolium perenne, L. Pastures and way sides; common.
L. italicum, Braun. Col. Cultivated fields; common.
Elymus arvensis, L. Rare. On the coast, Embleton.
Hordeum murinum, L. Waste ground and way sides; Alnmouth, &c.
Nardus stricta, L. Heaths; frequent.
Lepturus filiformis, Trin. Salt marshes; Alnmouth.

II.—Flowerless Plants.

ORDER.—FILICES.

- Ceterach officinarum*, Willd. Den. Holn abbey, (now eradicated).
Polypodium vulgare, L. Rocks, walls, and old trees; common.

- P. Phegopteris*, L. Damp woods; Rugley; Cawledge; Holn.
P. Dryopteris, L. Damp woods; Rugley; Holn; and Cawledge; Corby's bank; White House wood.
Polystichum aculeatum, Roth. Holn and Cawledge woods; Houndene, &c.
P. LOBATUM, L. Holn woods; Warkworth.
P. LONCHITIDIODES, Denwick.
P. angulare, Newm. Cawledge woods. J. CHRISP.
Lastrea Oreopteris, Presl. Upland heaths and woods; frequent; Alnwick moor; Holn and Rugley woods; &c.
L. Filix-mas, Presl. Woods, hedge banks, &c.; common.
L. INCISA, Alnwick moor, &c.
L. spinulosa, Presl. Brizlaw. W. RICHARDSON.
L. dilatata, Presl. Woods; common.
L. acmula, Brack. Rugley wood. R MIDDLEMAS.
Athyrium Filix-femina, Roth. Woods and heaths; frequent.
A. RHETICUM, Rugley and Holn woods.
Asplenium Trichomanes, L. Ratcheugh crag; very sparingly. Holn abbey; Houndene burn at the Coquet.
A. marinum, L. Maritime rocks; Howick.
A. Adiantum-nigrum, L. On the basalt at Ratcheugh, Houndene. Howick; Warkworth hermitage.
A. Euta-muraria, L. On the limestone at Ratcheugh.
Scolopendrium vulgare, Sym. Damp woods and walls; Holn abbey; Houndene.
Blechnum boreale, Sw. Heaths and woods; frequent.
Pteris aquilina, L. Heaths, woods, &c.; common.
Botrychium Lunaria, Sw. Pastures; Ratcheugh; Rugley; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth; Shipley.
Ophioglossum vulgatum, L. Pastures; Lesbury; Shipley; Holn.*

ORDER LYCOPODIACEÆ.

- Lycopodium clavatum*. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor; Holn.
L. selago, L. Upland heaths; Alnwick moor.
L. selaginoides, L. Bogs; Alnwick moor; Alnmouth.

ORDER EQUISETACEÆ.

- Equisetum Telmateia*, Ehrh. Swampy woods and banks of streams; frequent. Rugley, Holn, and Cawledge woods.
E. arvense, L. Cultivated fields and waste places; common.
E. sylvaticum, L. Damp woods; Rugley, Holn, and Cawledge woods, &c.
E. palustre, L. Bogs; frequent.
E. limosum, L. Ponds and ditches; frequent.
E. hyemale, L. Rare. Warkworth and Cawledge woods.

* The following Ferns occur in North Northumberland, but beyond our district:—

- Allosorus crispus*, Bernh. Ingram glitters on porphyry.
Cystopteris fragilis, Bernh. Cheviots on porphyry.
Lastrea Thelypteris, Presl. Learmouth bog.
Asplenium viride, Huds. Bizzle; Cheviots on porphyry.
A. germanicum, Weiss. Very rare. Kylee on basalt.
A. septentrionale, Hull. Kylee on basalt.
Hymenophyllum Wilsoni, Hook. On sandstone, Simonside, Rothbury.
H. Tunbridgensis, Sm. On sandstone, north-west of Old Bewick.
Osmunda regalis, L. On sandstone, Rothbury forest, north of Coquet.

MUSCI AND HEPATICÆ.

By ROBERT MIDDLEMAS.

MUSCI OR MOSSES.

- Phascum cuspidatum*. Garden walks and fields.
- P. subulatum*. Cawledge.
- P. serratum*. Garden walks; sand banks.
- P. muticum*. Moist banks; Moor burn.
- Sphagnum cymbifolium*. Alnwick moor; common.
- S. acutifolium*. Black lough; common.
- S. squarrosum*. Black lough; not common.
- S. cuspidatum*. Black lough; not common.
- Gymnostomum curvirostrum*. Cawledge; abundant.
- G. rupestre*. On rocks, Cawledge.
- G. microstomum*. Alnwick moor; rare.
- Pottia cavifolia*. Earth capped dykes; not common.
- P. truncata*. Hope House; Greensfield Moor.
- P. minutula*. Var. *conica*. Garden walks; common.
- Physcomitrium pyriforme*. Ditch sides; Alnwick Moor.
- Hedwigia ciliata*. Walls on Alnwick Moor; not abundant.
- Tetraphis pellucida*. Lady's well; Cawledge; not common.
- Splachnum sphericum*. Hill near Black lough; rare.
- Encalypta vulgaris*. Stoney hills; sparingly.
- Weissia contraversa*. Stocken; abundant.
- W. cirrata*. Near Brislaw.
- W. verticillata*. Cawledge; rare, especially in fruit.
- Anacalypta lanceolata*. Stoney hills. R. EMBLETON.
- Schistidium apocarpum*. A very variable moss; abundant on walls, bridges, rocks.
- S. maritimum*. Near Howick; on rocks.
- Grimmia pulvinata*. Hope House; common.
- G. tricophylla*. Alnwick moor. WICK.
- Ceratodon purpureus*. Very variable; common.
- Trichostomum rigidulum*. Stocken; not frequent.
- T. homomallum*. Stocken; common.
- T. tophaceum*. Greensfield old quarry.
- Racomitrium lanuginosum*. Alnwick moor; Brislaw; on rocks.
- R. canescens*. Stoney hills.
- R. heterostichum*. Ratcheugh; common.
- R. microcarpum*. Rocks at Ratcheugh; not common.
- R. aciculare*. Cawledge.
- R. fasciculare*. Stoney hills; Ratcheugh; abundant.
- Ptychomitrium polyphyllum*. Bridge in Stocken.
- Didymodon rubellus*. Wall, Alnwick moor.
- Fissidens bryoides*. Mungo Park's moss; Stocken; abundant.
- F. taxifolius*. Cawledge.
- Leucobryum glaucum*. Black lough.
- Dicranum pellucidum*. Stocken; common.
- D. var. serratum*. Cawledge park; not common.
- D. heteromallum*. Ratcheugh; common.
- D. scoparium*. Woods; Cawledge; Holn; common.
- D. varium*. Moist bank near Holn abbey.
- D. undulatum*. Black lough; not frequent.
- Campylopus flexuosus*. Peaty bog, Black lough.
- Tortula muralis*. Reservoir wall; common.
- T. rigida*. Stoney hills; rare.
- T. subulata*. Greensfield; not frequent.
- T. unguiculata*. Stoney hills; earth topped wall.
- T. fallax*. Stocken; common.
- T. convoluta*. Near Holn abbey; rare.
- T. revoluta*. Near Holn abbey high road.
- Cinclidotus fontinaloides*. Cawledge park; abundant.
- Atrichum undulatum*. Holne; common.

- Polytrichum commune*. Alnwick moor; common.
P. piliferum. Same locality.
P. juniperinum. Plantation wall Stoney hills; common.
Pogonatum alpinum. Alnwick moor.
P. aloides. Ratcheugh; Cawledge.
P. urnigerum. Sandy places; Alnwick moor; rare.
Funaria hygrometrica. Common; garden walls, banks, and where wood has been burnt.
Orthotrichum cupulatum. On stones; Rugley burn; rocks in Cawledge.
O. anomalum. On rocks; Ratcheugh.
O. Drummondii. On trees, Stocken; not frequent.
O. affine. On trees; Cawledge; common.
O. crispum. On trees; Cawledge; common.
O. pulchellum. On trees, Ratcheugh; not common.
O. diaphanum. On trees; Holne; common.
O. stramineum. On trees; Cawledge; rare.
Aulacomnion androgynum. Cawledge; sparingly on damp rocks.
A. palustre. Alnwick moor.
Bryum carneum. On the road side, Greensfield moor, Hope terrace.
B. argenteum. Wall behind Sion Chapel; common.
B. capillare. Variable; common on walls.
B. cæspititium. Similar places; not so common.
B. turbinatum. Black lough; not common.
B. nutans. near Black lough; not common.
B. alpinum. Alnwick moor, near Lemmington Branch.
B. roseum. Banks of Cawledge burn.
Leptobryum pyriforme. Damp rocks; Cawledge; common on flower-pots.
Mnium undulatum. Stocken and Cawledge; abundant.
M. punctatum. Stocken; abundant.
M. rostratum. In Cawledge; not common.
M. hornum. Stocken; Holn woods; common.
M. cuspidatum. Woods near Alnwick. R. EMBLETON.
Bartramia pomiformis. Old quarry near Abbey bridge.
B. fontana. Black lough.
- Buxbaumia aphylla*. Very rare; Alnwick moor. Professor DICKER. Found also in the Cheviots by JOHN and WM. BORD. Pro. Ber. Club. V., p. 421.
Antitrichia curtipendula. Brislaw.
Anomodon viticulosus. Cawledge; not common.
Fontinalis antipyretica. Moor burn; Cawledge burn.
Hypnum trichomanoides. Cawledge; common.
H. riparium. Cawledge; not frequent.
H. undulatum. Cawledge; common.
H. denticulatum. Holn; Stoney hills; common.
H. serpens. Cawledge; not common.
H. populeum. Same locality; common.
H. murale. Holn abbey; not common.
H. purum. Cawledge and Holn.
H. Schreberi. Cawledge; Alnwick moor.
H. plumosum. Holn; Cawledge; common.
H. lutescens. Cawledge; not common.
H. splendens. Alnwick moor.
H. prælongum. Cawledge; Stocken.
H. rutabulum. Cawledge; common.
H. velutinum. Same locality.
H. ruscifolium. Rugley and Cawledge.
H. striatum. Holn and Cawledge; common.
H. confertum. Gair's hedge; Cawledge.
H. cuspidatum. Alnwick moor; common.
H. loreum. Ratcheugh.
H. triquetrum. Banks; Cawledge; common.
H. brevirostre. Cawledge; not common.
H. palustre. Black lough.
H. stellatum. Alnwick moor.
H. filicinum. Moor burn.
H. aduncum. Rugley and Cawledge; not common.
H. uncinatum. Damp rocks; Cawledge; not common.
H. commutatum. Damp rocks; Cawledge; common.
H. cupressiforme. Common; very variable.
H. var. tenue. Cawledge.
H. var. compressum. Cawledge.
H. molluscum. Cawledge; not common.
H. tamariscinum. Very common in all woods.

<p><i>Isoetecium alopecurum</i>. Cawledge. <i>I. myosuroides</i>. Trees, Cawledge. <i>I. myurum</i>. Trees and rocks, Cawledge.</p>	<p><i>Climacium dendroides</i>. Ratcheugh. <i>Leskea sericea</i>. Stoney hills; common. <i>Neckera complanata</i>. Wall near Holn abbey; common.</p>
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HEPATICÆ OR LIVERWORTS.

<p><i>Marchantia polymorpha</i>. Moist woods; common. Stocken. <i>M. hemisphærica</i>. Moist banks; Cawledge. <i>M. conica</i>. Stocken; common. <i>Jungermannia asplenioides</i>. Abundant in woods. <i>J. cordifolia</i>. Bogs; Black lough. Miss M. TATE. <i>J. bicuspidata</i>. Holn woods; common. <i>J. emarginata</i>. Edlingham burn; near bridge on Rothbury road. <i>J. albicans</i>. Alnwick moor, below Herd's house.</p>	<p><i>J. complanata</i>. Trees near Holn abbey. <i>J. reptans</i>. Edlingham burn. <i>J. platyphylla</i>. Rocks and trees; Cawledge and Rugley woods. <i>J. sphagni</i>. Boggy places; Alnwick moor. <i>J. epiphylla</i>. Cawledge; common <i>J. furcata</i>. Trees and rocks; Rugley and Alnwick moors. <i>Anthoceros punctatus</i>. Cawledge; not common. <i>Riccia crystallina</i>. Greensfield; rare.</p>
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Mosses . . .	135 Species.
Liverworts . . .	16 "

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LAND AND FRESH WATER SHELLS.*

From the varied character of the country, the district is, on the whole, favourable to the production of land shells. Large tracts of wood, watered by swift flowing streams, and presenting a beautiful alternation of hill and vale, afford a congenial habitat for the shelter-loving species.

The richest localities are those where limestone occurs, as this rock furnishes the lime of which the external covering of the mollusca is for the most part composed. Particular plants afford a resting place to many species; equisetums and grasses, especially those containing a large per-centage of earthy salts, are much frequented by land shells. The geological peculiarity of a district influences the distribution of land shells much more, in England at least, than geographical position. All of the forms found near Alnwick are, with one exception, (*Helix lamellata*), observed in Hampshire, at the opposite extremity of the country. Those peculiar to this southern part of England, and which are not observed in the north, flourish on a cretaceous soil; among those may be enumerated, *Cyclostoma Elegans*, *Bulimus acutus*, and *Helix cantiana*.

Vitrina pellucida, Mull. Common. Ratcheugh; Holn; Rugley.
Zonites cellarius, Mull. Common. Ratcheugh, &c.

* Mollusca of Alnwick, by G. E. Tate, M.D. Proc. of Ber. Nat. Club, IV., p.p. 110, 118.

- Z. alliarinus*, Mull. Ratcheugh, &c.
Z. nitidulus, Drap. Ratcheugh; Holn, &c.
Z. radiatulus, Alder. Ratcheugh; Holn, &c.
Z. purus, Alder. Ratcheugh; Holn; Rugley, &c.
Z. crystallinus, Mull. Ratcheugh; Holn, &c.
Z. excavatus, Bean. Very rare. Holn woods.
Helix aspera, Mull. Very common.
H. arbustorum, Linn. Rare. Holn; Alnmouth.
H. nemoralis, Linn. Common. Very plentiful near the sea.
H. var. hortensis.
H. caperata, Mont. Ratcheugh; Denwick; Alnmouth.
H. ericitorum, Mull. Denwick; Alnmouth moor; Ratcheugh, &c.
H. hispida, Linn. Common. Ratcheugh; Holn.
H. var. concinna. Ratcheugh.
H. sericea, Drap. Holn and Cawledge, on *Equiseta*.
H. aculeata, Mull. Sparingly at Ratcheugh and Cawledge.
H. lamellata, Jeff. Very rare. Rugley.
H. fulva, Mull. Ratcheugh; Denwick; Holn.
H. fusca, Mont. On *equiseta*; Holn and Cawledge.
H. virgata, Da Costa. Very abundant at Alnmouth.
H. pulchella, Mull. Rather rare. Holn abbey.
H. var. costata. Holn abbey.
H. rotundata, Mull. Holn; Ratcheugh, &c.
H. pygmæa, Drap. Shortridge links.
Bulimus obscurus, Mull. Not abundant. Holn; Ratcheugh; Embleton, &c.
Pupa umbilicata, Drap. Common. Ratcheugh, &c.
P. muscorum, Linn. Alnmouth; Dunstanburgh.
P. edentula, Drap. Rare. Rugley; Ratcheugh.
P. pygmæa, Drap. Alnmouth moor; Ratcheugh; Dunstanburgh.
Clausilia laminata, Mont. Very rare. Holn.
C. nigricans, Mat. and Rack. Not common. Cawledge; Holn; Dunstanburgh.
C. nigricans var. dubia. Rare. Rugley.
Zua lubrica, Mull. Holn abbey; Ratcheugh, &c.
Succinea putris, Linn. Common.
S. var. gracilis. Alnmouth moor; Alnmouth; Dunstanburgh.
Physa fontinalis, Linn. Aln; Howick pond.
Planorbis albus, Mull. Howick pond.
P. glaber, Jeff. Dunstanburgh fosse.
P. spirorbis, Linn. Dunstanburgh fosse; Kimmere lough.
Lymneus pereger, Mull. Common in ponds, &c. Alnmouth moor, &c.
L. var. ovatus. In a small pond Dunstanburgh.
L. truncatulus, Mull. Frequent in ditches and bogs. Alnmouth moor, &c.
Ancylus fluviatilis, Mull. Aln; Rugley burn, &c.
A. lacustris, Mull. Rare. Kimmere lough.
Conovulus denticulatus, Mont. Very rare. Alnmouth.
Carychium minimum, Mull. Ratcheugh, &c.
Cyclas cornea, Linn. Common. The Aln; ponds in Alnmouth moor.
Pisidium obtusale, Pfeiff. Ditches in Alnmouth moor.
P. pusillum, Turt. Ponds and ditches; Alnmouth; Dunstanburgh.
P. pulchellum, Jenyns. Ponds; Dunstanburgh; Kimmere lough.
Anodonta cygnea, Linn. Aln; Howick pond.

Dead shells of *Paludina vivipara*, *Bithinia tentaculata*, *Neritina fluviatilis*, and *Unio pictorum* are occasionally met with at Alnmouth, where they have been brought by ballast.

VERTEBRATE ANIMALS.

By ROBERT CASTLES EMBLETON.

In the following catalogue I have inserted those species only which have either come under my own observation or from the observations of others upon whose knowledge I can depend.* Many of the species enumerated are now so rarely met with as to be almost extinct; in some cases, chiefly owing to the war of extermination carried on by game preservers against what they call vermin; and in others to the drainage of our ponds, bogs, and fields. The following summary of the number of species in each class, recognised by the Naturalists of Great Britain and Ireland, not including domesticated species, compared with those in the district will at once shew its resources:—

	Fishes.	Reptiles.	Amphibia.	Birds.	Mammalia.
Great Britain and Ireland	286	7	8	357	65
Alnwick district	62	3	4	181	30

CLASS PISCES.

Acanthopterygii.

Perca fluviatilis, Perch.
Trachinus Draco, Greater Weaver.
T. Vipera, Lesser Weaver.
Trigla Pini, Red Gurnard; very rare.
T. Gurnardus, Grey Gurnard.
Cottus Scorpius, Sea Scorpion.
Gasterosteus aculeatus, Stickleback.
G. spinnachia, Fifteen-spined Stickleback.
Scomber scomber, Mackerel.
Caranx trachurus, Horse Mackerel.
Mugel capito, Grey Mullet; rare.
Blennius pholis, Smooth Shanny.
Anarrhicas Lupus, Wolf Fish.
Callionymus lyra, Gemmeous Dragonet.
Lophius piscatorius, Angler.
Labrus maculatus, Ballan Wrasse.

Malacopecterygii Abdominales.

Cyprinus Gobio, Gudgeon.
C. Phoxinus, Minnow.
Gobitis barbata, Loach.
Esox Lucius, Pike.
Belone vulgaris, Gar Fish.
B. saurus, Saury.
Salmo salar, Salmon.
S. Eriox, Bull Trout.
S. Trutta, Sea Trout.
S. Tario, Common Trout.
S. salmulus, Parr.
Clupea Harengus, Herring.
C. Pilchardus, Pilchard.

Malacopecterygii Subrachiales.

Gadus Morrhus, Cod.
G. Æglefinus, Haddock.
Merlangus vulgaris, Whiting.
M. Pollachius, Pollack.
M. carbonarius, Coal Fish.
Merluccius vulgaris, Hake.
Lota molva, Ling.
Motella mustella, Five-bearded Rockling.
Platessa vulgaris, Plaice.
P. Flesus, Flounder.
P. limanda, Dab.
Hippoglossus vulgaris, Halibut.
Pleuronectes maximus, Turbot.
P. Rhombus, Brill.
Solea vulgaris, Sole.
Cyclopterus lumpus, Lump Fish.

Malacopecterygii Apodes.

Anguilla acutirostris, Sharp-nosed Eel.
A. latirostris, Broad-nosed Eel.
A. Conger, Conger Eel.
Ammodytes lancea, Sand Eel.

Osteodermi.

Syngnathus acus, Great Pipe Fish.
Orthogoriscus Mola, Short Sun Fish.

Eleutheropomi.

Accipenser Sturio, Sturgeon. G. TARA.

Plagiostomi.

Squalus canicula, Spotted Dog Fish.

* A few other species are added, for which the authority is annexed. G. T.

S. cornubicus, Porbeagle Shark.
S. acanthias, Dog Fish.
Carcharias Vulpes, Long-tailed or Fox Shark, 1868. G. TATE.
Raja Batis, Skate.
R. maculata, Spotted Ray.
R. clavata, Thornback.

Cyclostomi.

Petromyzon marinus, Sea Lamprey, in the Aln, 1868. G. TATE.
Myxine glutinosa, Glutinous Hag.
Gymnetrus Banksii, Bank's Oar Fish; very rare; one stranded on Aln-mouth shore, 1845.

CLASS REPTILIA.

Zootoca vivipara, Common Lizard.
Anguis fragilis, Blind Worm.
Vipera communis, Adder.

CLASS AMPHIBIA.

Rana Temporaria, Frog.
Bufo vulgaris, Toad.
Triton cristatus, Common Warty Newt.
Lisotriton punctatus, Common Eft.

CLASS AVES.

Raptores.

Aquila Chrysaetus, Golden Eagle; a very rare visitant.
Haliaetus Albicilla, Sea Eagle; rare.
Pandion Haliaetus, Osprey; rare.
Accipiter Nisus, Sparrow Hawk.
Falco peregrinus, Peregrine Falcon.
F. Subbuteo, Hobby.
F. rufiges, Orange-legged Falcon; one of the rarest visitants; a female obtained at Hauxley, Oct. 1868. G. TATE.
F. Æsalon, Merlin.
F. Tinnunculus, Kestrel.
Circus rufus, Marsh Harrier.
C. cineraceus, Ash-coloured Harrier.
Pernis apivorus, Honey Buzzard; rare.
Buteo vulgaris, Common Buzzard.
B. logopus, Rough-legged Buzzard.
B. palumbarius, Goshawk; a female was trapped a few years ago near Holn abbey.
Milvus vulgaris, Kite; now rarely seen; but forty years ago I often watched its flight across Alnwick moor.
Noctua Tengmalmi, Tengmalm's Owl; very rare.
Otus vulgaris, Long-eared Owl.
O. Brachyotus, Short-eared Owl.
Syrnium Aluca, the Howlet.
Strix flammea, Barn Owl.
Cypselus apus, Swift.
Hirundo rustica, Swallow.
H. urbana, Martin.
H. riparia, Sand Martin.
Caprimulgus Europæus, Goat Sucker.
Alcedo Ispida, Kingfisher.
Muscicapa grisola, Spotted Fly-catcher.
M. atricapilla, Pied Fly-catcher.
Lanius Excubitor, Greater Butcher Bird.
Turdus viscivorus, Missel Thrush.

Turdus pilaris, Fieldfare.
T. musicus, Song Thrush.
T. Iliacus, Redwing.
T. Merula, Blackbird.
T. torquatus, Ring Ouzel.
Cinclus aquaticus, Dipper.
Accentor modularis, Hedge Sparrow.
Salicaria locustella, Grasshopper Warbler.
S. Phragmites, Sedge Warbler.
Carruca atricapilla, Blackcap.
C. hortensis, Pettychaps.
C. cinerea, Whitethroat.
Ruticilla Phœnicurus, Redstart.
Sylvia rubecula, Redbreast.
S. trochilus, Yellow Willow Wren.
S. sibilatrix, Wood Wren.
S. Hippolais, Lesser Pettychaps.
Regulus auricapillus, Goldcrest.
Trigodytes Europæus, Common Wren.
Motacilla alba, Red Wagtail.
M. Boarula, Grey Wagtail.
M. flava, Yellow Wagtail.
Bombycilla garrula, Bohemian Waxwing.
Anthus aquaticus, Rock Pipit.
A. pratensis, Meadow Pipit.
A. arboreus, Tree Pipit.
Saxicola Oenanthe, Wheatear.
S. rubetra, Whinchat.
S. rubicola, Stonechat.
Parus major, Great Titmouse.
P. cœruleus, Blue Titmouse.
P. ater, Cole Titmouse.
P. palustris, Marsh Titmouse.
P. caudatus, Long-tailed Titmouse.
Conirostres.
Emberiza miliaria, Corn Bunting.
E. citronella, Yellow Bunting.
E. schoeniculus, Red Bunting.
Plectrophanes nivalis, Snow Bunting.
Alauda arvensis, Sky Lark.
Carduelis elegans, Goldfinch.

Carduelis spinus, Siskin.
Fringilla coelebs, Chaffinch.
F. montifringella, Mountain Finch.
Passer domesticus, House Sparrow.
Linaria cannabina, Brown Linnet.
L. montium, Twite.
L. flavirostris, Lesser Redpole Linnet.
Pyrrhula vulgaris, Bullfinch.
Sturnus vulgaris, Common Starling.
Pastor roseus, Rose-coloured Ousel; a rare visitant.
Coracias garrula, Roller; very rare.
Pica communis, Magpie.
Garrulus glandarius, Jay; formerly plentiful, but now rarely seen.
Corvus Corax, Raven; now rarely seen.
C. Corone, Carrion Crow.
C. cornix, Hooded Crow.
C. frugilegus, Rook.
C. monedula, Jackdaw.
Loxia curvirostra, Crossbill.
L. Coccythraustes, Common Grosbeak.
L. chloris, Green Grosbeak.
Picus viridis, Green Woodpecker.
P. major, Great Spotted Woodpecker.
P. minor, Lesser Spotted Woodpecker.
Certhia familiaris, Common Creeper.
Upupa Epops, Hoopoe; very rare.
Cuculus canorus, Cuckoo.

Rasores.

Columba palumbus, Ring Dove.
C. Turtur, Turtle Dove; a rare visitant.
Phasianus Colchicus, Common Pheasant.
Coturnax vulgaris, Common Quail.
Perdix cinerea, Common Partridge.
Tetrao Tetrix, Black Cock.
Logopus Scoticus, Red Grouse.
Syrnhytes paradoxus, Pallas' Sand Grouse; a very rare visitant.

Grallatores.

Ardea cinerea, Common Heron.
Botaurus stellaris, Bittern.
Numenius arquatus, Common Curlew.
N. Phaeopus, Whimbrel.
Totanus calidris, Redshank Sandpiper.
T. ochropus, Green Sandpiper.
T. hypoleucus, Common Sandpiper.
Limosa rufa, Common Godart.
Scolopax rusticola, Woodcock.
S. major, Solitary Snipe.
S. Gallinula, Jack Snipe.
Matchetes pugnax, Ruff; very rare.
Tringa variabilis, Dunlin.
T. maritima, Rock Tringa.

Tringa lobatus, Grey Phalarope; rare.
 T. GIBB.
Lobipes hyperboreus, Red Cootfoot; very rare.
Rallus aquaticus, Water Rail.
R. Crex, Corn Crake.
R. porzana, Spotted Crake.
Gallinula chloropus, Common Gallinule.
Fulica atra, Common Coot.
Hematopus ostralegus, Oyster Catcher.
Streptilus interpres, Turnstone.
Vanellus cristatus, Lapwing.
Squaterola cinerea, Grey Plover.
Arenaria vulgaris, Common Sunderling.
Charadrius pluvialis, Golden Plover.
C. morinellus, Dottrel.
C. hiaticula, Ring Dottrel.

Natatores.

Anser ferus, Grey Lag Goose.
A. segetum, Bean Goose.
A. Erythropus, White-fronted Goose; rather rare.
Bernicla Brenta, Brent Goose.
Cygnus ferus, Whooping Swan.
Anas Boschas, Wild Duck.
A. Penelope, Common Widgeon.
A. crecca, Teal.
A. Tadorna, Sheldrake. T. GIBB.
A. acuta, Pintail Duck. T. GIBB.
A. nigra, Black Scoter. T. GIBB.
A. Fuligula, Tufted Duck. T. GIBB.
Clangula chrysoptthalma, Golden Eye.
Mergus albellus, Smew; rare. T. GIBB.
M. serrator, Red-breasted Merganser. T. GIBB.
M. Castor, Gooseander. T. GIBB.
Harelda glacialis, Long-tailed Duck.
Fuligula Tirina, Red-headed Pochard.
F. Marila, Scaup Duck.
Somateria mollissima, Eider Duck.
Podiceps auritus, Eared Grebe.
P. minor, Little Grebe.
Colymbus glacialis, Northern Diver; not uncommon in its young state.
C. septentrionalis, Red-throated Diver.
C. arcticus, Black-throated Diver. T. GIBB.
Uria Troile, Foolish Guillemot.
Alca Torda, Razorbill.
A. Alle, Little Auk. T. GIBB.
Fratercula arctica, Puffin.
Phalacrocorax carbo, Cormorant.
P. Graculus, Green Cormorant.
Sterna Cantiaca, Sandwich Tern.
S. Dougalii, Roseate Tern.
S. arctica, Arctic Tern.

<i>Sterna Hirundo</i> , Common Tern. T. GIBB	<i>L. marinus</i> , Great Black-backed Gull. T. GIBB.
<i>Larus ridibundus</i> , Black-headed Gull.	<i>Lestris parasitica</i> , Arctic Skua; very rare. T. GIBB.
<i>L. canus</i> , Common Gull.	<i>L. Catarractes</i> , Skua. T. GIBB.
<i>L. fuscus</i> , Lesser Black-backed Gull.	<i>Thalassidroma pelagica</i> , Stormy Petrel; rare.
<i>L. argentatus</i> , Herring Gull.	<i>T. Bullocki</i> , Fork-tailed Petrel; very rare; one obtained at Glanton, 1867. F. W. COLLINGWOOD.
<i>L. Rissa</i> , Kittiwake.	
<i>L. glaucus</i> , Glaucous Gull; rare. T. GIBB.	

CLASS MAMMALIA.

<i>Vespertilio pipistrellus</i> , Common Bat.	<i>Phoca vitulina</i> , the Seal.
<i>Plectus auritus</i> , Long-eared Bat.	<i>Mus sylvaticus</i> , Wood Mouse.
<i>Erinaceus Europæus</i> , Hedge Hog.	<i>M. musculus</i> , Common Mouse.
<i>Sorex araneus</i> , Common Shrew.	<i>M. Rattus</i> , Black Rat; existed a few years ago at Lemmington Hall.
<i>S. fodiens</i> , Water Shrew.	<i>M. decumanus</i> , Brown Rat.
<i>Sciurus vulgaris</i> , Squirrel; at Old Bewick, 1868. J. O. LANGLANDS.	<i>Arvicola amphibia</i> , Water Rat.
<i>Talpa vulgaris</i> , Common Mole.	<i>A. agrestis</i> , Short-tailed Field Mouse.
<i>Meles Taxus</i> , the Badger	<i>Lepus timidus</i> , the Hare.
<i>Lutra vulgaris</i> , the Otter.	<i>L. cuniculus</i> , the Rabbit.
<i>Mustela vulgaris</i> , the Weasel.	<i>Delphinus delphis</i> , the Dolphin.
<i>M. Erminea</i> , the Sloat.	<i>Phocæna communis</i> , the Porpoise.
<i>M. putorius</i> , the Fomart.	<i>P. melas</i> , Casing Whale.
<i>M. Martes</i> , Pine Martin; very rare.*	<i>Balenoptera Boops</i> , the Northern Borqual.
<i>Vulpes vulgaris</i> , the Fox.	<i>Calodon macrocephalus</i> . "A spermaceti Whale," says Wallis in 1769, "was cast on shore twenty years ago at Hauxley.
<i>Felis Catis</i> , Wild Cat; now extinct, but many years ago in Holn woods. G. TATE.	
<i>Halichærus griseus</i> , the Great Seal.	

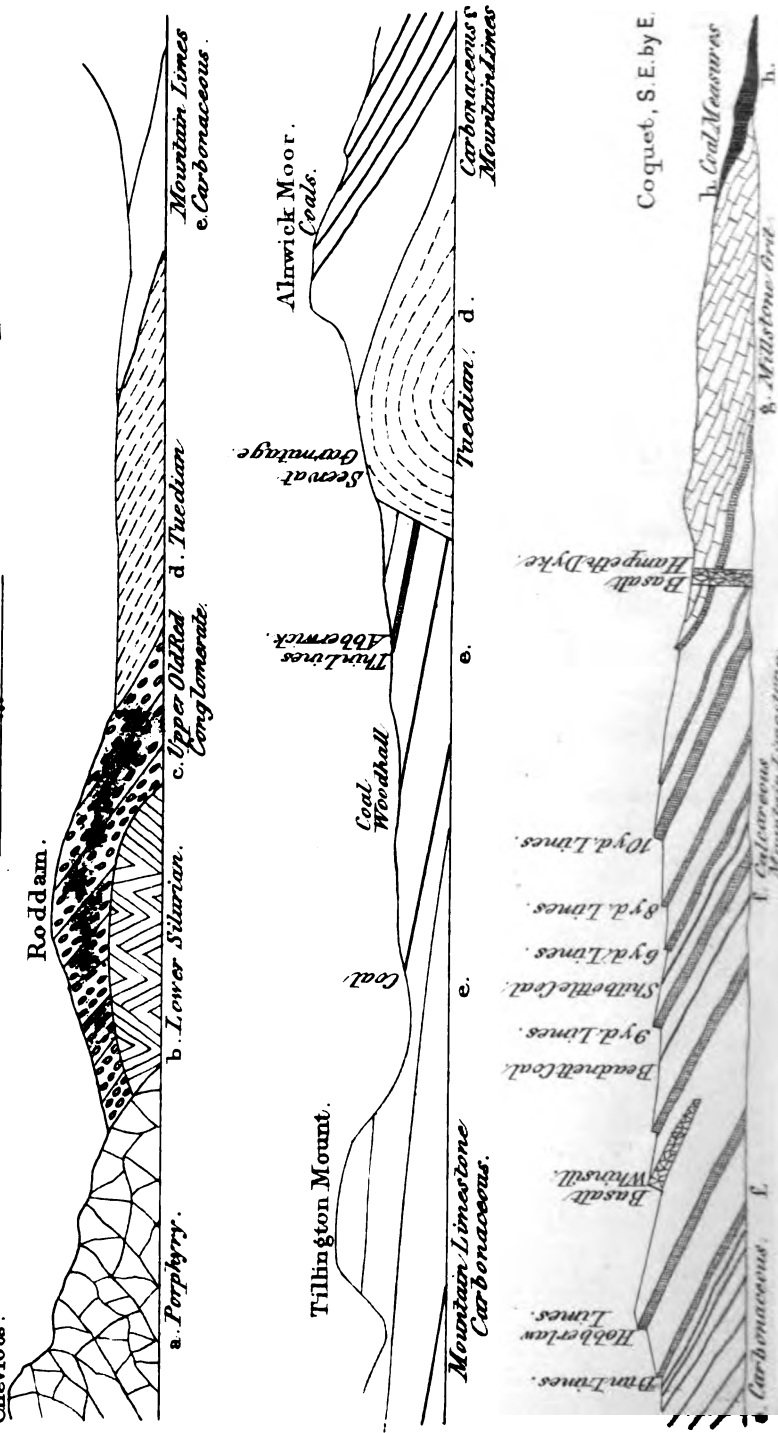
* One captured about twenty years ago in Cawledge wood; and one obtained by Mr. Embleton from South Charlton in 1865. G. T.

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GENERAL GEOLOGICAL SECTION FROM THE CHEVIOTS TO COQUET MOUTH.

N.W. by W.
Cheviots.



CHAPTER XXII.

GEOLOGY OF THE ALNWICK DISTRICT.

TABLE OF GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS—STRATIFIED ROCKS—PALÆOZOIC ERA—LOWER SILURIAN—CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM—UPPER OLD RED CONGLOMERATE—TUEDIAN FORMATION—MOUNTAIN LIMESTONE—DESCRIPTION OF ROCKS—CALCAREOUS AND CARBONACEOUS GROUPS—SUCCESSION OF LIMESTONE AND COAL BEDS—COAL SEAMS IN ALNWICK MOOR—SANDSTONE QUARRIES—RAMBLE DOWN RUGLEY AND CAWLEDGE BURN—LIST OF MOUNTAIN LIMESTONE FOSSILS—PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF THE ERA—COAL MEASURES—MILLSTONE GRIT—MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE—CAINOZOIC ERA—PLEISTOCENE—BOULDER CLAY—ICE ACTION—CLIMATE OF THE PERIOD—POST PLEISTOCENE—IGNEOUS ROCKS—PORPHYRY OF THE CHEVIOTS—BASALTIC WHIN SILL—BASALTIC DIKES—RESUME OF THE SUCCESSION OF EVENTS.

We must now enter upon the history of eras older than any which has yet come under our review—a history whose records are impressed on rocks beneath the surface of the earth, in characters legible to the eye of science. As popular scientific expositions are now easily accessible, I shall assume, that the readers of this chapter are sufficiently instructed in the general principles, classification, and nomenclature of geology.

All the solid stratified rocks within the parish of Alnwick belong to the Mountain Limestone formation; but intruded amongst them are other rocks of a different origin, age, structure, and external form, and which, at one period, had like lava been in a molten state; and this hard rocky frame-work is covered over, in most parts, by softer deposits of clay, sand, gravel, or peat. As other rock formations appear just a little beyond the boundaries of the parish, it is desirable to extend our survey, so as to shew the relation of these several formations to each other, and to enable us to unfold the successive changes, which in by-past ages took place in our district. By taking a section from the Cheviots to Roddam, and thence across Alnwick moor to Hobberlaw, and onward by Shilbottle to the mouth of the Coquet (*See Plate X.*), we shall obtain a view of all the formations in Northumberland, excepting the Magnesian Limestone, which,

however, appears in patches at Cullercoates and Tynemouth. The whole are arranged in the following table, beginning with the oldest sedimentary strata, and then upward through successive formations to recent deposits :—

AQUEOUS ROCKS.

PALÆOZOIC ERA.

I.—LOWER SILURIAN SYSTEM.

II.—CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM, IN FIVE FORMATIONS ;

1. UPPER OLD RED SANDSTONE CONGLOMERATE ;
2. TUEDIAN ;
3. MOUNTAIN LIMESTONE IN TWO GROUPS ;
 - a. CARBONACEOUS ;
 - b. CALCAREOUS ;
4. MILLSTONE GRIT ;
5. COAL MEASURES.

III.—PERMIAN SYSTEM—MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE FORMATION.

CAINOZOIC ERA.

IV.—PLEISTOCENE—BOULDER CLAY, GRAVEL, SAND.

V.—POST PLEISTOCENE—GRAVELS, PEAT.

IGNEOUS ROCKS.

1. FELSPATHIC—POPEBYRY, SYENITE. 2. AUGITIC—BASALT.

I.—LOWER SILURIAN SYSTEM.

Lower Silurian strata, consisting of grits and shales, usually called Greywacke and Greywacke slate, appear highly tilted up against the Porphyry of the Cheviots, in the channel and banks of the Coquet, above Philip and at Makendon, and across the Borders ; and also in the bed of the Reed at White Lee and up the Carter fell. They are a prolongation into Northumberland of the same system, which runs across Berwickshire from Siccar Point and Burnmouth in a west-south-west direction, and which occupies about one-third of Roxburghshire with rolling hills of moderate elevation. Originally they had, for the most part, been mud beds, quietly deposited, at the bottom of a deep sea, in a nearly horizontal position, at a time when all Northumberland was beneath the waters ; and although a very long period elapsed, while these strata—thousands of feet in thickness—were deposited, yet there are to be seen but few traces of organic life, and these few belong to the lower order of animals. Fossils I have not detected in Northumberland ; but Mr. Wm. Stevenson was the first to discover on the Dye water in Berwickshire a Graptolite—a curious zoophyte—and tracks of an annelid ; and more recently the Ordnance Surveyors have found *Graptolithus priodon* at Siccar Point. These beds, though indurated, crushed, highly inclined, and folded over each other, have no slaty cleavage.

They have been lifted up by forces from below and subjected to great lateral pressure; and while the dip is irregular, both in direction and amount, the general strike of the beds is, on the Coquet from north-east to south-west, and on the Reed from east to west. To account for their present elevated and crushed condition, it seems to me unnecessary to evoke great cosmical changes; for subsequently to their deposition, the Cheviots and other ranges of igneous and porphyritic rocks on the Borders were upheaved in such great masses, as to be sufficient to lift up and crush the Greywacke strata. Though not cropping out in the line of our section, it may be inferred, that these Lower Silurian rocks are lying below the Red Conglomerate in Roddam dene; for they are on the Reed overlaid by Mountain Limestone, and in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, generally by Red Conglomerates. The correlation of these beds has been doubtful; they have been ranged both with the Cambrian and Silurian systems; until definite evidence was afforded by fossils, I called them Cambro-Silurian; but the occurrence of *Graptolithus priodon* at Siccar Point leads us now to refer them to the Lower Silurian formation.

II.—CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM.

Between the Lower Silurian and the Carboniferous systems, there is a great gap in the rocky records of Northumberland and the Borders; neither Upper Silurian nor true Devonian strata appear; so that we have indications, that during long ages after the deposition and elevation of the Lower Silurian beds, Northumberland had been part of some continent or island. The Carboniferous system lies unconformably on the upturned edges of the Lower Silurian beds, and presents a great variety of strata, having an aggregate thickness of about 7,000 feet; and though there are many great faults, and frequent and considerable changes in mineral and organic character, yet no physical break is apparent between the several formations of which it is composed. It may be conveniently arranged in five formations—the Upper Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate—the Tuedian—the Mountain Limestone—the Millstone Grit—and the Coal Measures. In the four uppermost we find the *Stigmaria ficoides*, the root of the Sigillaria—a plant which contributed largely to make a coal seam; and it may yet be also found in the lowermost formation, as I have seen decorticated stems of trees allied to Sigillaria, in that formation in Roxburghshire. It has been usual to link the Red Conglomerate beds with the Devonian system; but—as observed by me in 1853—no distinct line marks the division between these beds and the beds of the Carboniferous system; there is no physical break between them, and the one is conformable to and graduates into the other; and it has also been shewn by Mr Geikie, that between the Lower Old Red Sandstone and

the Upper Old Red there is a physical break on the Pentland Hills.* It is therefore a more natural arrangement to place these Red Conglomerates of the Borders, as a formation in the Carboniferous system, than as a member of the Devonian. Similar views I find expressed by Mr. D. Milne Home in his able memoir on the Geology of Roxburghshire.

1. *Upper Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate formation.*—In the deep, narrow, picturesque Roddam dene, red sandstone conglomerates are exposed on the flanks of the Cheviots upwards of a mile, composed of rounded pebbles of *Cheviot porphyry*, from the size of a pea to that of the human head, scattered through a red clay and sand, coloured and loosely bound together by red oxide of iron. Interstratified with these are thin beds of harder conglomerates, made up of smaller pebbles, and thin beds of greenish, choloritic, calciferous sandstones, some of which contain as much as forty per cent. of carbonate of lime. Above the conglomerates are harder red sandstones with large and distinct ripple marks on the planes of stratification. The thickness of the whole is not less than 500 feet; and the dip of the strata is generally E.S.E. 15°, but occasionally as much as 50°. Similar beds are seen in Biddlestone burn, close upon the Cheviot porphyry, and overlaid by strata of the Tuedian formation. Though organic remains have not yet been found in these beds, yet as their mineral character and relative position correspond with those of the Old Red Conglomerate of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, they may without doubt be grouped with that formation. *Holoptychius Nobilissimus*, *Pterichthys major* and other ganoid fish, characteristic of the formation, appear both in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire; the fern *Adiantoides Hibernicus* has been found in Berwickshire, and stems of trees, probably *Sigillariæ*, in Roxburghshire. When these strata were in course of deposition, the tumultuous waves of a shallow estuary broke over the lower portions of the Cheviot hills, and detached from them blocks of porphyry, and rolled and heaped up them in irregular beds; while fishes, covered with enamelled scales, swam in the waters, and trees allied in structure to conifers and cycads, with a few ferns grew on the slopes of the hills and on the lower grounds.

2. *Tuedian formation.*—Strata of this formation which intercalates between the Red Conglomerates and the Mountain Limestone, are brought up by a great fault at Garmitage bank, only one mile westward of the boundary of this parish, and are also exposed in a cliff in Crawley dene. To this group of rocks I applied the distinctive name *Tuedian*, in 1856, because they are largely developed on the Tweed, and because the general conditions of the period, as indicated by the mineral character of the strata and by the organic remains found in them, are different from those of the Mountain Limestone, with which they had been

* Geological Journal, XVI., p. 221.

previously grouped. This formation has an aggregate thickness of about 1,000 feet, and consists of grey, greenish, and blue shales, thin beds of cherty and argillaceous limestones, a few buff magnesian limestones; and sandstones, some of which are red, and some near the bottom of the series are of considerable thickness and suitable for building. Several of the shales and sandstones are calcareous; so that, although the limestones are both thin and impure, there is yet a considerable quantity of calcareous matter diffused throughout the formation. The limestones are too impure to be burnt into lime, excepting a curious bed of buff magnesian limestone at Knotty Lees near Carham; in which are red and grey chert nodules, analogous to flints in chalks. *Lepidodendra*, *Stigmaria ficoides*, coniferous trees, the ferns *Sphenopteris* and *Cyclopteris*, reed-like stems on which is attached *Spirorbis carbonarius*, and other Carboniferous plants occur in the sandstones and shales; but there are no beds of coal. The Fauna consists of *Rhizodus Hibberti*, the fish-spine *Gyracanthus*, and scales and bones of other ganoid fishes, the rare crustacean *Eurypterus Scouleri*, the entomostracans *Leperditia Scotoburdigalensis* and *Cythere Jonesiana*, and mollusks allied to *Modiola*. Such remains indicate that the deposits had generally been made in freshwater lakes or estuaries of the sea; for few distinct marine organisms appear, and where found are accompanied by plants in a fragmentary condition, which seem to have been swept into a shallow estuary. One bed of shale contains broken trunks of *Pinus primæva* and *P. antiqua* shewing internal structure, and associated with *Orthoceras multiseptum* (n.s.), *Murchisonia Verneuiliana*, *Pleurotomaria* and a few other marine forms. Brachiopods and Encrinites, which are abundant in the Mountain Limestone, are almost entirely absent; I have seen only a few crushed *Rhynchonella* in a shale bed at Garmitage bank. This formation spreads over a considerable area in the Merse of Berwickshire; it occupies the valley of the Tweed from near the mouth of the Whitadder to Makerston; it appears in the vale of the Till; and on the flanks of Cheviot in Akeld burn, where one hundred feet of characteristic beds are tilted up against the Porphyry at an angle of 85°; in the Biddleston burn, in Ridlees burn, and at Linn brig on the Coquet, where they are in direct junction with the Porphyry, and highly elevated, disturbed, and shattered. Their relation to other formations is best seen, however, on the Berwickshire coast, especially at Cockburnspath, where they are intercalated conformably between the Red Sandstone Conglomerate and the Mountain Limestone.

3. *The Mountain Limestone formation*, which occupies about three-fifths of Northumberland, extends over the whole of Alnwick parish; and it is remarkable that most of the beds of the formation run across the parish in a south-south-west direction, owing probably to the Porphyry of the Cheviots being protruded

further eastward opposite Alnwick, than in any other part of that upheaved mountain range. Many of the strata can be seen by starting from Lemmington bank and following the course of the Rugley and Cawledge burn. It is however, only by an examination of the more important beds at distant points, and by a survey of the long consecutive and clearer sections exposed on the sea coast, from the mouth of the Aln in Northumberland to Lammerton Sheal in Berwickshire, and by collating the observations made, with sections of strata sunk through in collieries, that the succession, the range, and thickness of the several beds can be made out in any degree approaching to accuracy.* After carefully considering the whole evidence, I calculate the total thickness of the formation in North Northumberland to be about 2600 feet. Sandstone is the predominant rock of which there are about 1400 feet; of shales there are 900 feet; of limestone 230 feet and of coal about 70 feet. The *Sandstones* are generally free grit stones made up of grains of quartz and felspar with a little mica, and when in solid beds furnish durable building stones. The *Shales* are mud beds, in which alumina predominates; some are loaded with carbonaceous, and others with calcareous matter; but there is no hard line between a sandstone and a shale, for beddy sandstones by a larger admixture of argillaceous matter pass into a kind of shale; and even some shales are so carbonaceous as to be combustible. The *Limestones* are mostly tolerably pure carbonate of lime; but some beds become magnesian, especially when near to faults and to basaltic dikes. But the limestones alone, however, do not give the full measure of carbonate of lime distributed throughout this formation, for many of the shales are highly calcareous and abound in marine organisms; one such shale at Howick is fifteen feet in thickness.

The name, Mountain Limestone, is not physically descriptive of the Northumbrian series, for they contain no thick beds of limestone—none exceeding thirty feet; they form no great cliffs, nor rise to high elevations. In the Lowick district, where most of them crop out, they ascend to a height of only 300 or 400 feet above the sea level. Some of the lower beds are seen, on the higher moorlands, at an elevation of 600 feet; and one bed appears, above the Plashets coal, in North Tynedale, at a height of nearly 1000 feet. But even in these loftier positions they have little influence on the features of the country, which are determined by the thick dominating sandstones, which crest and form the bulk of all the loftier hills, such as Alnwick moor and Hefferlaw in this parish, Ross Castle, Old Bewick hill, Thrunton crags, and

* Pit sections I have from Lammerton, Berwick, Scremerston, Lowick, Greenlaw walls, Dryburn, Lindisfarne, North Sunderland, Beadnell, Eglington, Houters law, Shilbottle, Alnwick moor, Lemmington, Little mill, Overstone, &c. For some of these I am indebted to Mr Wm. Wilson, of Shilbottle, to Mr Oswald Baird, to the late Mr Lowrey of Barmoor, to Mr George Bailes, and to Mr D. Milne Home.

Simonside, and which, along with the associated shales, give character to the high bleak moorlands, ranging through the centre of Northumberland, and spreading towards the south-western borders of the county.

These Mountain Limestone strata may be separated into two groups, both having certain organic forms in common, yet each marked by differences, partly organic, and partly mineral. The upper group, which I have designated *Calcareous*, includes all the beds, from the base of the Millstone Grit, down to the base of the *Dun Limestone*, the lowest limestone of any value in the formation; it has an aggregate thickness of about 1700 feet, and is chiefly distinguishable by its good workable limestones, interstratified among alternations of sandstone, shale, and coal, and by the large number of marine organisms connected with the calcareous strata. Of limestones there are upwards of twenty different beds from one to thirty feet thick, and having an aggregate thickness of more than 200 feet. A little below each limestone is a coal seam, or traces of coal, of which there are thirteen workable, with an aggregate thickness of about twenty-five feet. Some seams are of fair quality—two, the Shilbottle and the Licker coals, are very good, and one, the Beadnell coal, is in some parts five feet thick; yet most of the others are poor in quality. This *Calcareous* group is on the same zoological horizon as the Lower or Scar Limestone of Yorkshire; and it yields a similar assemblage of organic forms as occur in the Mountain Limestone of Ireland, and also in strata of the same age in Fife-shire and elsewhere in Scotland.

The Lower or *Carbonaceous* group, from the base of the *Dun Limestone* to the top of the Tuedian formation, has a thickness of about 900 feet, and is especially marked by the thickness and richer quality of its coal seams. In this there are ten seams of workable coal, having an aggregate thickness of about thirty-two feet. There are a few limestones in this division, but they are thin and generally impure, and their aggregate thickness is only about twenty feet. Some of the marine organisms of the calcareous group appear here, but in fewer numbers. In some shale beds remains of ganoid fish are abundant, accompanied by *Myophoria carbonaria*, *Anthrocomys*, *Aviculo-pecten*, *Lingula squamiformis*, organisms generally associated with coal seams. This group is intermediate in its characters between the calcareous group of the Mountain Limestone and the Coal Measures; and taking the mass, it is more allied to the latter than to the former. Some thick sandstones near the bottom of the group are red, and might, if colour were a test, be mistaken for Old Red Sandstone.

In the following table are set down, in descending order, the succession, the range, and the thickness of the several beds, with a note here and there of the more characteristic fossils of the principal strata. Though the succession is generally similar

throughout the range, yet there are considerable local variations. Sandstones and shales thin out and replace each other. More persistent are limestones; yet the *Eight Yard stone*, which is twenty-eight feet thick at Beadnell, is only fifteen feet at Low Dene. Coal seams, too, change in thickness and quality; that which at Shilbottle is exceedingly good and thirty-two inches thick, is at Beadnell only twelve inches, and deteriorated in quality. And this thinning out of particular strata alters materially the relative distance of coal seams from each other, in different parts of their range; the *Craw coal* at Eglington is forty-eight feet above the *Main coal*, but further northward the distance is increased to 108 feet. In many parts the rocks are concealed by superficial detritus; and we have therefore to infer what is beneath, by comparing these obscure regions with those which are better known. Faults often break the continuity of the strata; and we not unfrequently have to recover the track by the use of palæontological evidence. All such variations and obstacles add difficulty to the task of determining the succession of strata in an extended and disturbed district. For the sake of convenient reference, I have attached a number and distinctive name to the principal limestones.

SUCCESSION OF LIMESTONE AND COAL BEDS IN THE MOUNTAIN LIMESTONE FORMATION OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

CALCAREOUS GROUP.

	Thickness. Feet. In.
1. <i>Harlow Hill limestone</i> —the uppermost observed—is seen on the line of the Roman Wall, and contains brachiopods and corals, the most remarkable of which is <i>Lithostroton Porlockii</i> , in large lenticular masses attached by their base, in the same position, as this compound coral stood when it lived in the Carboniferous sea; it ranges towards Stamfordham and Belsay, and thence north-eastward towards the Aln	20 0
Sandstone and shales 24 ft. <i>Coal</i> of a good household quality 14 in.	25 2
2. <i>Netherwitton limestone</i> , ranging south-westward to Angerton and north-eastward to Longhorsley and Todburn	6 0
<i>Coal</i> 6 in. Sandstone and shale 24 ft., <i>Coal</i> with band in the middle 2 ft., sandstone and shale 50 ft., <i>Coal</i> with band in the middle 2 ft., 4 in. at Longwitton 3 ft.	79 6
Sandstones and shales about	120 0
3. <i>Chirm limestone</i> , 14 ft.; at the Shilbottle Beacon plantation there are 12 feet divided by two shale beds, which are respectively 4½ ft. and 3½ ft. thick	14 0
<i>Coal</i> worked at the Chirm from 20 in. to	2 0
<i>The Licker coal</i> of the Lowick district seems to be in this position, for it lies from 20 ft. to 78 ft above the Dryburn limestone; it is a good household coal, but does not cake; above this, within a distance of 30 ft. are two other seams—the <i>Rough coal</i> and the <i>Limestone coal</i> —both of which are 2 ft thick. The <i>Licker limestone</i> is 6 ft in thickness, and above it are 126 feet of sandstones and shales.	
Sandstones and shales—at Shilbottle	70 0
4. <i>Ebb's Nook or Ten Yard limestone</i> is more readily recognised than any other, from its peculiar assemblage of organisms; besides other	

	Thickness. Feet In.
fossils it contains <i>Chatetes septosus</i> , <i>Lithostrotion basaltiformis</i> , and <i>Syringopora ramulosa</i> ; in the overlying shale is the rare coral, <i>Hydnopora cyclostoma</i> . By following this bed, we can trace the range of the formation through the greater part of Northumberland, and obtain a guide to the relative position of other strata. It is on the coast near Cheswick, at Dryburn near Lowick, on the north shore at Lindisfarne, on the shore near Beal, at Ebb's Nook near Beadnell, and thence it ranges to Newton-on-the-Sea, Spittalford, Dunstan, Craster; on the south side of the Aln it is on high ground at Shilbottle, and thence it trends in a south-west direction to Whittle, Newton-on-the-Moor, Overgrass, Framlington, and on the south side of the Coquet to Ward's Hill and Green Leighton . . .	30 0
Shales and ripple-marked sandstones . . .	30 0
Coal varying from 14 in to 3 ft. 6 in., connected with which is a remarkable carbonaceous shale at Shilbottle, 6 ft in thickness, made up, to a considerable extent, of a mass of <i>Stigmaria</i> roots and rootlets, and so carbonaceous as to be used in burning lime . . .	9 6
Flaggy sandstones with false bedding, ripple marks, and borings, casts and tracks of marine worms, <i>Crossopodia Embletonia</i> , <i>C. media</i> , <i>Nemeritites undulata</i> ; and shales . . .	120 0
5. <i>Denwick Lane or Eight Yard limestone</i> varies in thickness from 15 ft. to 28 ft.; it is very fossiliferous, containing large <i>Orthocera</i> , six feet long, but its most characteristic organism is the annelid, <i>Serpulites carbonarius</i> ; it is at Sandbank near Scremerstone, Low Dene near Lowick, at Beadnell, at Cullernose near Howick, at Denwick Lane; in pit sections at Shilbottle, Newton-on-the-Moor, Framlington, &c. Part of this bed makes exceedingly good lime, very white, and well suited to land. . .	28 0
Shale 6 in., Coal 6 in.; and flaggy sandstones, containing at Howick and Sandbank <i>Eione montiformis</i> , which occurs also at Halt-whistle, and near to Richmond in Yorkshire; at Howick, too, in the sandstone, are irregular layers of impure limestone, containing the marine shells— <i>Bellerophon navicula</i> , <i>Euomphalus carbonarius</i> , <i>Murchisonia angulata</i> , and <i>Pleurotomaria quadricarinata</i> . . .	30 0
Shales with ironstone nodules 15 ft.; calcareous shales very fossiliferous, containing several species of <i>Aviculo-pecten</i> , the rare <i>Cladonchonus bacillarius</i> , <i>Glauconome pulcherrima</i> and other Bryozoa, 15 ft. . .	30 0
6. <i>Little Mill or Six Yard limestone</i> is from 15 ft. to 22 ft. thick; it is also seen at Salt Pan How near Scremerstone, at Acre near Lowick, at Beadnell cut through by the Basaltic dike, at Newton Barns, at Howick on the coast, at Shilbottle, &c.; it contains the rare Cephalopod, <i>Poterioceras cornu-vaccinum</i> , and large specimens of <i>Productus giganteus</i> ; in a calcareous shale underlying it are plates and spines of <i>Archæocidaria Urvii</i> and <i>A. Nerei</i> . . .	22 0
Coal 6 in., shale 2 ft 6 in., and sandstone, in which is the <i>Sea-Star Crinellites carbonarius</i> , 10 ft.; shales 10 ft.; limestone 2 ft.; shales 13 ft. . .	38 0
<i>Shilbottle Coal</i> is variable in quality and thickness; it has been worked at Tuggall Hall, Newton-on-the-Moor, Framlington, &c.; but at Shilbottle it is the best coal in the Mountain Limestone formation, being a clean caking coal, valuable for domestic use. (The Shilbottle Colliery extends over an area of 2221 acres, out of 921 acres of which the coal has been extracted, which yielded 3,500,000 tons, so that there still remain 1300 acres unworked, which will yield 6,000,000 tons of coal. <i>Mr. W. Wilson's MS. notes, Feb. 15th, 1867.</i>) . . .	2 4
Beddy sandstones and shales; the sandstone crossed by a vein of Galena at Beadnell . . .	66 0
7. <i>Limestone</i> dark 8ft., and grey flaggy sandstones and shales 27 ft. . .	35 0

	Thickness.
	Feet. In.
Calcareous shales filled with <i>Productus Flemingii</i> and <i>Spirifer bisulcatus</i>	3 0
8. <i>Main, Sunderland, or Nine Yard limestone</i> is on the coast near Scremerstone, Sunderland, and Beadnell, at Ealwell and Hetton near Lowick, Swinhoe burn, Shilbottle tile shades in section; it seems also to be that at Shittleheugh in Redesdale, at Little Chesters and Brunton near the Roman Wall; most layers make good lime; it contains many fossils, especially Brachiopods, and also <i>Sanguinolites Iridinoides</i> , <i>Solemya primæva</i> , <i>Griffithides Farnensis</i> , &c.	27 0
<i>Coal</i> , 8 in. at Beadnell, with a mere parting of shale between it and the limestone; but at Ealwell 20 in., with sandstone 8 ft. intervening. Shales and sandstones 50 ft., <i>Limestone</i> , dun and impure, 2 ft. to 4 ft., and shales 12 ft.	66 0
<i>Beadnell coal</i> , one of the thickest in the formation, but variable, is at Beadnell 6 ft., at Ealwell 2 ft., at Silver moor 4 ft., at Shilbottle tile shades 3 ft. 2 in. Over a large area this coal lies still unworked; it is of a fair quality, when burnt leaving a white ash	6 0
Sandstone with <i>Sigillaria organum</i> 17 ft.; <i>Coal</i> inferior 17 in.	18 6
Flaggy sandstones and shales	130 0
<i>Limestone</i> 2 ft. 6 in., flaggy sandstones and shales 37 ft.	39 6
<i>Coal</i> of good quality worked near Beadnell 16 in.; flaggy sandstones and shales 43 ft.	44 4
9. <i>Stone Close, or Five Yard limestone</i> is on the shore near Scremerston, at Ancroft, Oxford and Greenses, Spindleston, Lucker, Beadnell, Cawledge; contains <i>Productus giganteus</i> , <i>P. Martini</i> , <i>Chaetetes incrustans</i> , <i>Griffithides Farnensis</i> , &c.	16 0
<i>Coal</i> 4 in., sandstones 21 ft., <i>Limestone</i> 5 ft.	26 4
<i>Swinhoe coal</i> of good quality; worked also at Beadnell	1 4
Sandstones and shales 85 ft., impure limestone 6 ft., <i>Coal</i> 9 in., shales 25 ft.	116 9
<i>Fleetham coal</i> , of good quality, is at Woodside, Hetton, Chatton, Beadnell, Swinhoe, Heckley Fence, Rugley. This seems to be the same as the <i>Muckle Howgate</i> coal; the thickness varies from 18 in. to	3 0
Thick sandstones and shales	176 0
<i>Coal</i> is seen at St. Margarets, above the next limestone, divided by shale. This coal varies in relative position; but it seems the same as the Little Howgate, which is worked at Allerdene for burning lime, and is 66 ft. above the Woodend limestone. Above the same limestone 288 ft., is a carbonaceous shale, resembling the Torbane coal or shale, and yielding gas and oil abundantly and being combustible like a cannel coal; plants, scales of fishes, and numbers of the entomostracan, <i>Beyrichia multiloba</i> , are scattered through it.	3 0
Shales in which are masses of <i>Lithodendron junceum</i>	16 0
10. <i>Hobberlaw or Four Yard limestone</i> , varying in thickness from 10 ft. to 15 ft., is traceable through a long range, from the shore near Spittal to Woodend, Allerdene, Belford moor, Twizell, Chillingham Barns, Heckley Fence, Alnwick moor, St. Margarets; and those at Rothbury, Tosson, Cartington, and Debdon, are probably the same. At Hobberlaw it makes one of the best limes in the kingdom for building purposes, and is composed of carbonate of lime 96.986, carbonate of magnesia 1.006, iron and alumina .590, silica 1.209, loss .209=100.000.	15 0
<i>Coal</i> 4 in., sandstones and shales 61 ft., <i>Coal</i> in Beadnell section 10 in. but at Biteabout 2 ft. 2 in., shales and sandstones 49 ft.	112 6
11. <i>Dun or Two Yard limestone</i> , on the coast near Spittal, and ranging with the Hobberlaw stone.	6 0

CARBONACEOUS GROUP.

	Thickness, Feet In.
12. <i>Coal</i> under the Dun limestone	1 8
Sandstones and shales at Scremerston 134 ft., but only 45 ft. at Alnwick moor	134 0
<i>Raby's coal</i> at Scremerston 17 in., at Alnwick moor	2 0
Shales and sandstone, at Alnwick moor 48 ft., at Scremerston	78 0
<i>Fawcett or Caltside coal</i> , worked at Scremerston, on the Etal and Ford estates, Chatton, Biteabout, Doddington, Alnwick moor, varies from 15 in. to 3 ft. thick; the quality is but middling; it usually lies 240 ft. below the <i>Four Yard limestone</i>	3 0
Shales and sandstones, with 24 thin coal seams, in the aggregate 11 ft. thick, and 4 beds of limestone 3 ft. 6 in.	310 0
<i>Scremerston Main or Craw coal</i> from 30 in. to 5 ft. thick, divided by a metal band; a strong coal, but after burning leaving a considerable residue; some portions cake and were formerly used at <i>smithies</i> , when sea-borne coal was taxed; worked at Felkington, Chatton, Eglingham, Houghterslaw, Lemmington, and formerly at Alnwick moor	5 0
Shale and sandstone, with 2 beds of <i>Coal</i> , 16 in.	18 0
<i>Hardy or stoney coal</i> with a metal band, is from 15 in. to 3 ft. thick; worked at Greenlaw Walls, Slainsfield, Ford; it is at Houghterslaw and Lemmington 3 ft.	3 0
Shales, with a limestone 15 in.	6 0
<i>Diamond coal</i> in Jack Tar pit section, with metal band, 8 in.	2 0
Shales and sandstones with 4 coal seams 12 in., and limestone 20 in.	60 0
<i>Bulman or Cancer coal</i> , or <i>Main coal</i> , the thickest and most extensively worked, varying in thickness from 2 ft. to 6 ft. 2 in.; it has been worked at Berwick Hill, Thornton, Shoreswood, Greenlaw Walls, Etal, Ford Moss, Doddington, Barmoor, Chatton, Houghterslaw, Eglingham, and Lemmington; it is a good coal for steam engines	6 2
Sandstones and shales, with 7 coal seams, 3 ft. 4 in., and 5 limestones 8 ft. 4 in.	150 0
<i>Three-quarter coal</i> of inferior quality, worked at Berwick Hill, Etal, Felkington, &c., from 2 ft. to	3 0
Shales, sandstones, with 2 coal seams 7 in., and 2 limestones 2 ft. 10 in.	18 0
<i>Cooper Eye coal</i> , the best for domestic use in the group; 3 ft thick, viz., top coal splinty 14 in.; Macker, which, after burning, leaves a <i>ghaist</i> or skeleton, but which is changed into a band stone at Scremerston, 4 in.; coarse ground coal 18 in.; worked at Berwick Hill, Shoreswood, Murton, Ford Moss, bored through at Lemmington	3 0
Shales and sandstones, with 6 coal seams, 2 ft. 7 in., and 6 limestones 8 ft. 8 in.	70 0
<i>Wester coal</i> the lowest workable in the formation. Worked at Shoreswood, Etal, Ford, &c; sunk through at Felkington and bored through at Lemmington; a coarse and poor coal from 3 ft. to	4 0
Shales and sandstones about	122 3
	2690 0

Both groups are in Alnwick parish. An irregular line south-south-westward from Islaford bridge on the north, to near Glantles on the south, nearly marks the division; the strata on the west of it belong to the *Carbonaceous*, and those on the east to the *Calcareous* group. In Alnwick moor three at least of the

coal seams of the former have been worked; one, a slaty coal, 36 feet below the Dun limestone, is thirty inches thick, with a metal band of variable thickness in the middle, but which, while not of a good quality, is expensive to work; the seam which is 47 feet lower still, is twenty-four inches thick, and of a better quality, one half of it being fit for domestic use; another deeper seam has been worked near the Brick Kilns and West Gate; and from the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, when these minerals belonged to the burgesses, the town was chiefly supplied with coal from Alnwick moor. Other collieries, too, were in operation formerly near the town—in the Town fields, and in the Stocken; and also in the Abbey grounds, for it is recorded in 1775 that a piece of meadow ground, one hundred yards long and fourteen yards broad, near to Alnwick Abbey, in the vicinity of some *coal pits*, sunk above fourteen feet.* Below the coal now worked in Alnwick moor lie more valuable seams—the *Scremerston Main* should be at the depth of 300 feet; and below that the *Cancer coal* at about 100 feet, and next the *Cooper Eye*—the best of all—some 80 feet deeper, and then the *Wester coal*, the lowest workable seam in the formation. The time will come—it may be a few centuries hence—when this mineral wealth will be drawn from its dark recess; and then our wild western moorlands will present busy scenes of industry, to help Britain to keep up her commercial and manufacturing greatness.

Sandstones are the predominating rocks in the parish, and form the bulk of the hills and high grounds; and, as building stones, many of them are valuable. From quarries in Alnwick moor, the castle and most of the houses in the town have been built. The *Race Ground quarry*, which is in the Calcareous group, yields a gritty sandstone, which, when first extracted, is soft and works easily with the chisel or hammer; but after exposure to atmospheric influences, it acquires on its surface a kind of skin which resists the absorption of moisture. Blocks of large size can be obtained; but the grittiness of the stone unfits it for fine mouldings. In the *Reham quarry* are two kinds of sandstone—an upper bed is hard and suitable for flagging, and under beds of great thickness yield a somewhat softer building stone than that on the Race ground; at Paul's Rest and along the hill side is a hard sandstone most eligible for flags and steps; but from *Stoney Peth quarry* one of the best of building stones—fine, hard, and durable—is obtained; these sandstones are below the *Dun Limestone* and belong to the Carbonaceous group. In Reham are casts of large *Sigillaria* and *Lepidodendron*, and fine specimens of *Ulodendron ornatissimum*, with large fruit scars, both on the main stem and on the bifurcating branches; in this quarry, too, specimens have been found of *Gyracanthus Alwicensis*; and in Stoney Peth *Gyracanthus obliquus*, another similar fish spine.

* Gillespie's Collections, quoted from the Table Book.

Other quarries of building stones are at Brislaw, Cawledge, Heckley, and Rugley; and at Denwick there is a peculiar fine-grained sandstone, well adapted for ornamental work, not exposed to the weather. A vast storehouse there is therefore in this parish, capable of supplying building stones to the district during thousands of years.

Among the *shales* are fire clays which may hereafter be utilised. I was puzzled for some time to know whence was derived the large quantity of sulphate of lime in the water of St. Michael's pant and in other waters coming from Alnwick moor; but on splitting some shales from the moor, I found the planes of stratification studded over with beautiful stars, formed by the arrangement of selenite or crystals of sulphate of lime. Other shales are ferruginous, and have nodules of ironstone scattered through them. In old times they had been smelted; for there is a heap of iron slag—the refuse of an ancient *Bloomery* on Bishop's Stables in the moor; diggings into it, however, did not bring to light relics to shew its age; but probably it may belong to the Ancient British period, as similar heaps are seen in the lonely moorlands, in the neighbourhood of ancient forts, dwellings, and sepulchres.

The Aln, after entering the parish, cuts through great sandstones of the Carbonaceous group at Brislaw, Lady's well, and Alnwick Abbey, and in the channel of the river at the Abbey mill, one of the coals of that group crops out; but there are few other exposures of rock in its course till we reach Denwick mill, where the river flows over sandstones, shales, and a limestone twelve feet in thickness. The Moor or Stocken burn cuts through rocks of the Carbonaceous group, and shows their faulted condition. But the most extended and instructive section across both groups or divisions is exposed in the Rugley and Cawledge burn. We will take a ramble down it, and mark, as we pass along, the character of the strata, the frequent faults which break their continuity, the intrusion of the Basaltic whin sill, and pick up, here and there, the characteristic organisms of the formation.

Starting then in one of its higher sources in the moor we find a low section of sandstones and shales disturbed by a fault, the beds dipping on one side N.N.W from 40° to 60° , and on the other S.W. from 20° to 30° ; and further down we pass over thin coals, fire clays, and sandstone, the dip veering about to south-east. Below the Freeman Hill road the strata again are very much broken and faulted, and present a complicated section. Beyond this is a sandstone of some thickness, with a small southerly dip, and then we come to the flat Mossy Ford, where the rocks are obscured, but where a strong chalybeate water springs out of ferruginous strata connected with coal seams. Thus far we have wandered over beds of the Carbonaceous group; but on reaching Rugley grounds we enter on the Calcareous group, for, on the hill side the Dun limestone, which is sunk through in Alnwick

moor pits, crops out. Opposite Rugley moor house, the best limestone of the formation crosses the burn, ranging from Hobberlaw onward to St. Margarets. Though not numerous in species, the fossils in it are of some interest; the upper portion had been a great coral reef, for immense multitudes of the stony dwellings of zoophytes are crowded together, consisting chiefly of *Lithodendron junceum* along with *L. irregulare*, and *Chaetetes tumida*; in the limestone itself, besides a small variety of *Productus giganteus*, there are remains of *Archæocidaris Nerei*, which is allied to the sea hedgehog, and *Psammodus porosus*, the flat palatal tooth of a fish allied to a shark. After this we pass over thick sandstones, which form high cliffs, and ferruginous and other shales; and then indurated shales as we approach the Basaltic Whin Sill, which crosses the burn near the end of Rugley wood, and which appears also in the high banks, trending away south-westward to Swinlee. For some distance the rocks are again obscured by a thick covering of Boulder Clay, till we reach the junction of the Frith and Rugley burns; and on the former are a thin limestone and fossiliferous shales, containing *Productus semireticulatus*, *Rynchonella pleurodon*, *Streblopteria pulchella*, &c. Entering now into Cawledge wood, we pass over sandstones, clays, shales, and thin limestones; and in beddy sandstones we observe tracks, borings, and casts of annelids, on the surfaces of different strata, accompanied by distinct ripple marks; shewing that marine worms crawled over and bored into an ancient beach, over which broke the waves of a sea. Another large limestone, fourteen feet in thickness, the equivalent to the *Stone Close limestone*, next appears dipping E.S.E., and containing the common *Productus giganteus*. A thick bed of shale follows, and then a considerable fault seen in a high cliff, with shales on the west highly tilted up, and overlaid by a limestone nine feet thick, which is covered by another shale containing the remarkable shell—*Posidonia Becheri*; on the east side are thick beds of sandstone and shale; and in the channel of the burn, a limestone divided into rhomboidal blocks, like an artificial pavement, the principal joints running from E. 60° N. to W. 60° S., and the cross joints from east to west.

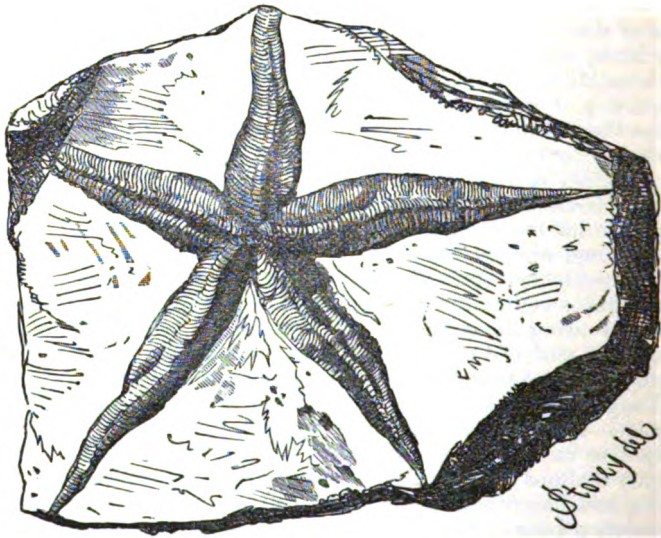
We may pause on the little rustic bridge, which here spans the burn, that we may enjoy for a while the beautiful and picturesque scenery in this narrow, deep, and wooded dene. We look down on the tessellated pavement made by Nature, distinctly seen through the bright water of the burn, which here lingers beneath, in a shallow pool, and then runs brawling away among loose blocks strewn in its course, till it is checked again by a high cliff of sandstone and shale, the ledges of which are adorned by trees, bushes, and flowers, and bright green mosses, and the surface varied in its colouring by patches of grey and golden lichens. Nearly the whole of the valley is covered with wood, the deep

shadows of whose leafy branches are here and there relieved by the sun-light glinting through openings, and revealing the beautiful forms and colours of the plants, which grow abundantly on the bank sides. But while charmed with the scene, other thoughts are suggested. We are in a narrow valley, the banks of which rise steeply fifty feet above the level of the burn, which has found its way across a hilly ridge, three miles in breadth, from the borders of Alnwick moor to the Aln. When it enters that ridge, it is 400 feet above the level of the sea, and yet the banks are 100 feet higher; but where it joins the Aln it is only 88 feet above the sea level; so that in the space of three miles, it has a descent of 362 feet. We ask by what agency has the barrier been cut through? Has some convulsion of Nature wrenched the rocks asunder and cleft, as it were, a passage for the stream? But we see no fault—no break of the strata—in the line of descent; for we observe that the strata distinctly cross the burn, and that the rocks in the opposite banks correspond with each other. The barrier has therefore not been broken by the action of internal forces; and the time was, long ages ago, when the streamlets from the moor were deflected by it, most probably to the northward, and found their way through the Mossy Ford and Brankspeth Howl to the valley of the Moor burn. Gradually therefore has the stream itself worked its way through this barrier, its ordinary action being aided by floods, until it had scooped out of the rocks a direct deep passage to the Aln; thereby evidencing how much can be achieved by apparently small forces acting during a course of long ages, and at the same time favouring the opinion, that the agencies, which in by-gone eras have modified the earth's surface, are the same in kind and similar in force to those now in operation.

Long enough have we meditated, and on we must go with our survey. After passing ferruginous shales and sandstones, some fifty feet in thickness, and another fault, where the beds are highly inclined towards the north-west, and another thin limestone, and flaggy sandstones thirty feet in thickness, we come to interesting beds of limestone and shale below the Shilbottle Coal bridge; and here we find several fossils—*Productus Martini*, *P. semireticulatus*, *P. giganteus*, *P. Flemingii*, *Orthis Michelini*, *O. resupinata*, and species of *Spirifer*, *Lingula*, *Chonetes*, *Avicula*, &c.; and again the remarkable *Posidonia Becheri*. From this point to the Aln, the beds are so faulted, that it becomes difficult to make out distinctly their succession; many beddy sandstones are covered with annelid tracks and ripple marks, several thin coal seams appear, and thin limestones, containing fossils common in the formation. A few of the upper beds of the Mountain Limestone do not appear in this section. One of them, the Eight Yard Limestone, crops out, however, eastward of Denwick lane, and is remarkable both for the number and for the variety of

organisms which it contains. A higher limestone, the Ten Yard or Ebb's Nook Limestone, the thickest in the formation, crops out at Shilbottle, and above this, two more are to be seen, one at the Beacon plantation, and the other on Buston grounds near Alnmouth granary. Overlying the former is a sandstone, peculiar on account of the combination of organisms; scattered through it are remains of plants—*Calamites*, *Lepidodendra*, *Knorria*, but in the middle of it is a thin bed containing numbers of *Streptorhynchus crenistria*, a marine shell; and the same association appears in another sandstone twenty feet above the Shilbottle coal with a Sea-Star—*Cribellites carbonarius*—the only one as yet discovered in the formation.*

FIG. 3.



CRIBELLITES CARBONARIUS.

And here I may place on record the following list of fossils found by myself in the Mountain Limestone of Northumberland, excepting a few fishes which are marked by an *. Though not complete, it is sufficient to shew the character of the organisms of the formation. To each species I have annexed numbers corresponding with those in the section of strata in pages 448-451, to shew the distribution of the several organisms in the various beds of the formation. One number only, the number 12, is used for the whole of the Carbonaceous group:—

* Proc. of Berw. Club V., p. 71.

FISHES.

- Megalichthys* Hibberti. Ag. 12.
Rhizodus Hibberti. Ag. 5.
Chomatodus cinctus. Ag. 1.
Cladodus striatus. Ag. 4.
Cochliodus magnus. Ag. 4.
 **C. striatus*. Ag. Lowick.
Gyracanthus Alwicensis. Ag. 12.
G. obliquus. McCoy. 12.
 **Helodus planus*. Ag. Lowick.
 **Leptacanthus Jenkinsoni*. McCoy, Lowick.
Petalodus acuminatus. Ag. 1.
 **P. Hastingsii*. Ow. Lowick.
 **P. rectus*. Ag. Lowick.
Psammodus porosus. Ag. 10.
 **P. cornutus*. Ag. Lowick. 6.
 **P. rugosus*. Ag. Lowick.
 **Pœcilodus Jonesii*. Ag. Lowick.

CEPHALOPODA.

- Nautilus ingens*. Mart. 5.
N. globatus. Sow. 5, 8.
N. bilobatus. Sow. 5.
N. costato-coronatus. McCoy. 5.
N. subsulcatus. Ph. 5, 6.
N. biangulatus. Sow. 5, 6.
N. sulcatus. Sow. 5, 6, 8.
N. perplanatus. Port. 5, 6, 8.
Goniatites sphericus. Mart. 8, 10.
G. atratus. Goldf. 9.
G. striolatus. Ph. 8.
G. stenolobus. Ph. 10.
G. Looneyi. Ph. 10.
Orthoceras cylindraceum. Flem. 6, 8.
O. inequiseptum. Ph. 4, 5.
O. pyramidale. Flem. 5, 8.
O. Goldfussianum. De Kon. 6, 8.
O. attenuatum. Flem. 6, 8.
O. sulcatum. Flem. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.
O. undulatum. Sow. 6, 8.
O. laterale. Ph. 8.
Poterioceras cornu-vaccinum. McCoy 6.

- Actinoceras giganteum*. Sow. 5, 6, 8.

NUCLEOBRANCHIATA.

- Bellerophon Urii*. Flem. 4, 5, 8.
B. striatus. Flem. 4, 5, 8.
B. decussatus. Flem. 4, 5, 6, 8.
B. costatus. Sow. 8.
B. navicula. Sow. 5.
B. apertus. Sow. 8.
B. hiulcus. Mart. 12.

PECTINIBRANCHIATA.

- Capulus trilobatus*. Ph. 5, 6.
Pleurotomaria atomaria. Ph. 4, 5, 8.
P. altavitta. McCoy. 4.
P. decipiens. McCoy. 4, 5, 8.
P. sulcata. Ph. 12.

- P. helicinoidea*. McCoy. 8.
P. monilifera. Ph. 6.
Murchisonia angulata. Ph. 6.
M. quadricarinata. McCoy. 5, 6.
Platyschysma helicoides. Sow. 11.
Euomphalus catillus. Mart. 4, 6.
E. carbonarius. Sow. 5, 6, 8, 9.
E. costellatus. McCoy. 5.
E. Dionysii. Goldf. 6, 9.
E. tabulatus. Ph. 4, 6, 8.
Naticopsis plicistria. Ph. 5, 6, 8.
N. ampliata. Ph. 9.
N. variata. Ph. 8.
N. spirata. Ph. 6, 9.
D. dentoalveum. Ph. 6.
Loxonema rugifera. Ph. 4, 5, 6, 8.
L. tumida. Ph. 5, 6, 8.
L. sulculosa. Ph. 6.
L. elongata. De Kon. 5.
Macrocheilus acutus. Sow. 6.
M. limnaeiformis. McCoy. 5.
M. Michotianus. De Kon. 8.
M. sigmilineus. Ph. 6.
M. spiratus. McCoy. 5, 6.
M. ovalis. McCoy. 5, 8.
Dentalium priscum. Goldf. 10.

PTEROPODA.

- Conularia quadrisulcata*. Sow. 5, 10.

LAMELLIBRANCHIATA.

- Pecten fimbriatus*. Ph. 8.
P. sub-elongatus. McCoy. 5, 8.
Amusium deornatum. Ph. 5, 6.
A. Sowerbyi. McCoy. 5, 8.
Pterinea lævigata. McCoy. 8.
Pteronites persulcatus. McCoy. 6.
P. angustatus. McCoy. 12.
Streblopteria lævigata. McCoy. 6.
S. pulchella. McCoy. 4, 6.
Aviculopecten costatus. McCoy. 4, 6.
A. cancellatus. McCoy. 6.
A. concentrico-striatus. McCoy. 6.
A. conoides. McCoy. 8.
A. interstitialis. Ph. 5, 6.
A. duplicostatus. McCoy. 5, 8, 12.
A. docens. McCoy. 8, 9, 12.
A. pera. McCoy. 10.
A. segregatus. McCoy. 12.
A. micropteria. McCoy. 6, 8.
A. tabulatus. McCoy. 6.
A. variabilis. McCoy. 6.
Posidonia Becheri. Bronn. 9.
Pinna flabelliformis. Mart. 1, 5.
P. flexicostata. McCoy. 4, 5.
P. spatula. McCoy. 8.
P. membranacea. De Kon. 5, 8.
Myalina Verneulii. McCoy. 12.
M. pernoides. Port. 8.
Anthracoptera quadrata. Sow. 2.

Anthracomya subcentralis. Salt 12.
A. pumila. Salt. 12.
A. senex. Salt. 8.
Lithodomus dactyloides. McCoy. 6.
L. Jenkensooi. McCoy. 8.
Myophoria carbonaria. Sow. 9, 12.
M. depressa. Port. 6, 8.
M. axiniformis. Ph. 9.
M. deltoidea. Port. 8.
M. obliqua. McCoy. 12.
Edmondia oblonga. McCoy. 5, 6, 8.
E. sulcata. Ph. 4, 5, 6, 8.
E. unioniformis. Ph. 6.
E. Egertoni. McCoy. 10.
E. scalaris. McCoy. 8.
E. arcuata. Ph. 10.
E. rudis. McCoy. 6.
Sanguinolites variabilis. McCoy.
 3, 5, 6, 8.
S. Iridinoides. McCoy. 5, 8.
S. sulcatus. Flem. 4, 9, 11.
S. transversus. Port. 5, 8.
S. undatus. Port. 8.
S. angustatus. Ph. 6.
S. tricostratus. Port. 10.
S. constrictus. King. 5, 8.
S. striato-lamellosus. De Kon. 5.
S. subcarinatus. McCoy. 8.
Leptodomus costellatus. McCoy. 5, 8.
Cardiomorpha striata. De Kon. 8.
Nucula gibbosa. Flem. 4, 5, 6.
N. undulata. Ph. 6.
Leda attenuata. Flem. 5, 6.
Arca cancellata. Mart. 5, 6.
Anthracosia acuta. Sow. Near 8.
A. aquilina. Sow. Near 8.
Conocardium elongatum. Sow. 8.
Solemya primæva. Ph. 5, 6, 8.
Astarte tremula. De Ryck. 6.
 BRANCHIOPODA
Terebratula sacculus. Mart. 4.
T. hastata. Sow. 8.
Athyris plano-sulcata. Ph. 6.
A. ambigua. Sow. 4, 6, 8.
Spirifer striatus. Mart. 12.
S. duplicostatus. Ph. 4.
S. trigonalis. Mart. 4, 5, 6.
S. bisulcatus. Sow. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.
S. sex-radialis. Ph. 5.
S. glaber. Mart. 4, 5, 6, 8.
S. Urii. Flem. 5, 8.
S. lineatus. Mart. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.
S. attenuatus. Sow. 12.
S. pinguis. Sow. 6.
Spiriferina laminosa. McCoy. 5, 11.
S. octoplicata. Sow. 5, 8.
Rynchonella pleurodon. Ph. 4, 5, 6.
Camerophoria crumena. Mart. 8.
O. laticliva. McCoy. 8.

Strophomena analoga. Ph. 9.
Streptorhynchus crenistria. Ph. 1-9.
S. arachnoidea. Ph. 4, 5.
Orthis resupinata. Mart. 4, 5, 6, 8.
O. Michelini. Lev. 5, 6, 8.
Productus giganteus. Mart. 1-11.
P. latissimus. Sow. 1, 5, 6, 8.
P. Cora. D'Orb. 4, 6, 8.
P. semireticulatus. Mart. 1, 5, 6, 8.
P. Martini. Sow. 5, 6, 8.
P. costatus. Sow. 1, 4.
P. Flemingii. Sow. 4, 5, 6, 8.
P. pustulosus. Ph. 11.
P. scrabliculus. Mart. 5, 8.
P. spinulosus. Sow. 8.
P. punctatus. Mart. 1, 5, 6, 8.
P. fimbriatus. Sow. 5, 6.
Chonetes Hardensis. Ph. 4, 5, 6,
 8, 11.
C. Dalmaniana. De Kon. 8.
C. polita. McCoy. 5, 8.
Discina nitida. Ph. 5, 6, 9, 11.
Lingula squamiformis. Ph. 5, 6, 8, 12.
L. mytiloides. Sow. 6, 9, 12.

POLYZOEA.

Ceripora interporosa. Ph. 12.
C. rhombifera. Ph. 8.
C. spicularis. Ph. 8.
Fenestella membranacea. Ph. 5.
F. plebeia. McCoy. 5, 8.
F. undulata. Ph. 8.
F. crassa. McCoy. 8.
Glauconome pluma. Ph. 5, 8.
G. pulcherrima. McCoy. 5, 6, 8.
Sulcoretepora paralella. Ph. 8.

ECHINODERMATA.

Poteriocrinus crassus. Mill. 6.
P. nuciformis. McCoy. 4, 6, 8.
Actino-crinus globosus. Ph. 8.
Cribellites carbonarius. Tate. Near 5.
Archæocidaris Urii. Flem. 5, 6.
A. Nerei. Münster. 6, 11.

ARTICULATA.

Crossopodia Embletonia. Tate. In
 sandstone near to 6.
C. media. Tate. Near to 6.
Nemeritites undulata. Tate. Near
 to 4.
Eione moniliformis. Tate. Near to
 4, 6.
Spirorbis carbonarius. Murch. 8.
Serpulites carbonarius. McCoy. 5.
Sabella antiqua. McCoy. 5.
Leperditia Tatei. Jones. 8.
L. Scoto-burdigalensis. Hibb. 5, 12.
Cytherella Tatei. Jones. 11.
Kirkbya costata. Jones. 12.
Beyrichia crinata. Jones. 13.

Beyrichia multilobe, Jones, Near 9.
Cythere fabulina, Jones, 8.
Candona Tatei, Jones, 11.
Estheria striata, var. *Tatei*, Jones, 11.
Griffithides Farnensis, Tate, 4-10.

ZOOPHYTA.

Favosites parasitica, Ph. 4, 5, 10.
Hydnopora cyclostoma, Ph. 4, 10.
Aulopora gigas, McCoy, 10.
Chaetetes septosus, Flem. 4.
C. tumidus, Ph. 4, 10.
Cladochonus bacillaris, McCoy, 6.
Lithodendron junceum, Flem. 1, 8,
 10, 11.
L. irregulare, Ph. 1, 8, 10, 11.
L. fasciculatum, Flem. 4, 11.
Lithostrotion basaltiforme, Ph. 4.
L. Portlocki, Bronn, 1, 10.
Aulophyllum fungites, Flem. 4, 5,
 6, 8.
Zaphrentis Enniskellini, M. Edw, 8.
R. Phillipsi, M. Edw, 4.
Cyathaxonia costata, McCoy, 4, 6.
Syringopora ramulosa, Gold, 4.

PLANTÆ.

Araucarites carbonaceus, With.

Stigmaria ficoides, Brong. 1-12.
Sigillaria organum, Stern.
Lepidodendron Harcourtii, With.
L. obovatum, Stern.
L. aculeatum, Stern.
L. Sternbergii, Brong.
L. Selaginoides, Lindl.
L. gracile, Brong.
L. anglicum, Stern.
L. fusiforme, Tate.
L. oblongum, Tate.
Ulodendron ornatissimum, Stern.
Knorria imbricata, Stern.
K. taxina, Lindl.
Calamites Suckowii, Brong.
C. cannaformis, Schloth.
C. distans, Stern.
C. tricarinatus, Tate
Poacites nervosa, Tate.
Crinites lanceolata, Tate.
Sphenopteris Johnstoniana, Tate.
S. flabellata, Tate.
Filicites striata, Tate.
F. intercostata, Tate.
Bechera simplex, Tate.
B. verticillatus, Tate.
Carpolithes ovatus, Tate.

A general view of these organisms will enable us to obtain a glimpse of the conditions both of the water and of the land during the Mountain Limestone era. There are evidences of deep seas, of shores on which the sea-waves broke, and of shallow estuaries and lagoons; and these waters must have been little different in their character from those now existing; for they had been pure and transparent, as eyes were used then the same in structure as those of animals now living in the sea; but perhaps the temperature had been higher, as corals abounded, allied to those now flourishing in warm climates. Corals were numerous, some forming great reefs—*Encrinites* with lily-like heads on a long-jointed stem were attached in numbers to the sea bottom—the Sea-Star was there, and other Echinoderms allied to the Sea-Urchin—worms crawled over the sea-beach, and tube-bearing annelids were in deeper water—entomostracans, minute bivalved crustaceans, are crowded in some beds where fish remains occur; and a trilobite with its compound eye was widely distributed—bryozoa like modern *flustra* spread their net-like forms over the rocks—almost every family of shell-bearing molluscs lived, either in shallow or deep waters—brachiopods were the most abundant—and cephalopods the most remarkable for size. Fish remains occur, rarely in the limestones, but abundantly in some shales connected with coal seams, though usually in detached portions, consisting of teeth, scales, spines, rays, and bones, some belonging to the Ganoides or fishes with bright enamelled scales, allied to the Bony Pike and the Sturgeon, and others to *Plagiostoma* or cartilaginous fishes allied to the Shark.

At Warkworth this rock, in some parts, is bound by a calcareous cement, and here and there appear grains of protoxide of iron and garnets. In borings made at Shortridge, two coal seams, each six inches thick, were passed through. The proportion of siliceous rocks to the argillaceous in this group is about six to four. *Sigillaria*, *Stigmaria*, *Favularia*, and other Carboniferous plants, occur in the sandstones; and at Birling Carr there are tracks and casts of annelids in slaty sandstones, one of which is *Crassopodia Embletonia*. These beds in Northumberland range south-south-westwards in a narrow zone, from two to about five miles wide, in the same direction as the Mountain Limestone, on which they rest conformably, from near the mouth of the Aln to the Tyne; but beyond the Tyne they are, through the influence of the Stublick Dike, deflected westward, parallel with that dike, to the Borders of the county.

5. *The Coal Measures* which overlie the Millstone Grit, occupy in Northumberland, the triangular area, having the Tyne as a base fourteen miles in length; its eastern side is the coast from the mouth of the Coquet to Tynemouth, and its western side is a wavy line from the Coquet mouth to near Wylam on the Tyne. From this base line they extend into the central portion of the county of Durham; and by a fault called the Stublick Dike they are prolonged, in a narrow band, up the valley of the Tyne to the extremity of the county of Northumberland, and into Cumberland, a distance of twenty-seven miles. The coals worked at Amble, Togston, and Acklington, belong to this formation.

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Though some of the posts or sandstones are thick, one being eighty-four feet, yet the proportion of shales is greater in the Coal Measures than in the Mountain Limestone. Assuming the total thickness of these measures to be 2000 feet, then we have 80 feet of coal, 960 feet of sandstone, and 960 feet of shale;

* Buddle's Synopsis of the Newcastle Coal Field; Trans. North. Nat. Hist. Soc. 1., p. 215.

the shade. As ferns are rare in this formation, figures are here given of two species—both found in the Posodonia Shale at Budle, and Fig. 5 also occurring at Newton-on-the-Moor.*

FIG. 4.

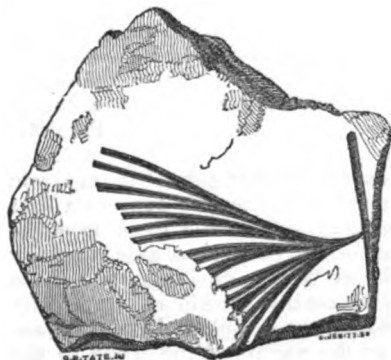


FIG. 5.



SPHENOPTERIS JOHNSTONIANA.

SPHENOPTERIS FLABELLATA.

4. *The Millstone Grit*, which overlies the Mountain Limestone, crops out beyond the parish of Alnwick in the township of Buston; and differs but little from the Coal Measures, excepting in its feeble development of coal. It is composed of sandstones and shales similar to those in the Coal Measures, and like them, too, it has no limestones or calcareous beds, and but few and doubtful indications of any marine conditions. In this group we include all the beds, from the top to the highest limestone with marine fossils, to the base of the Brockwell Coal, the lowest workable seam in the Coal Measures. The thickness in Northumberland is about 500 feet; and this corresponds pretty nearly with Forster's section of the formation southward of the Stubliok Dike. The characteristic beds are thick gritty sandstones, which sometimes have supplied millstones, and hence the name Millstone Grit. Such beds are made up chiefly of rounded pebbles of quartz and felspar bound together by a siliceous cement; some pebbles in the rock are as large as nuts, and some few an inch in diameter.

* Mountain Limestone Flora of the Eastern Border, in connection with the Natural History of Coal, by the author; in Dr. Johnston's Nat. Hist. of the East. Bor. 1853.

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and from this large amount of argillaceous matter, the soil of the Coal Measures is more moist and clayey than that over either the Millstone Grit or the Mountain Limestone, and the scenery, too, is of a tamer character, with fewer bold cliffs and high hills. The low portions of the undulating ground are mostly valleys of denudation; for where the thick argillaceous strata have cropped out the soft material has been swept away, and the surface hollowed by denuding agencies, leaving the harder sandstones as low rounded hills.

No undoubted marine organisms appear in these Coal Measures, excepting one small Brachiopod (*Lingula mytiloides*), which was found in a bed of shale, at Ryhope colliery; but this genus seems to have had the capacity of living in brackish water, probably in an estuary, for we find it also in the Mountain Limestone associated with coal seams, along with Anthracosia and fish remains. Of fish several species have been found in different zones, such as *Gryracanthus formosus* and *tuberculatus*, *Megalichthys Hibberti*, *Diplodus gibbosus*, *Clenoptychius pectinatus* and *denticulatus*, and species of *Palæoniscus*, *Platysomus*, *Rhizodus*, *Amblypterus*, *Orthacanthus*, *Leptacanthus*, &c. Mr. Atthey, Mr. Hancock, and Mr. Kirkby have recently added to our knowledge of the Ichthyology of the Coal Measures; and from sections of jaws and teeth, prepared by Mr. Craggs, and found by him in the shales and coal of the Low Main Seam, Professor Owen has described eleven new genera of fish about the size of the minnow, one of which is of the Sauroid type; and along with them are remains of what he considers a minute air-breathing Batrachian, with teeth like those of Dendrerpeton and the frog, and which he has named *Gastrodus præpositus*.* Associated with fish-remains are usually numbers of entomostraca. Remains of insects, nearly allied to the genus *Blatta*, have been described by Mr. Kirby from an ironstone band, near the top of the Coal Measures, on the north bank of the Wear, opposite Claxheugh. Plants, however, are the distinguishing organisms of the Coal Measures. A few coniferous trees flourished at this era; but the most abundant plants were Sigillariæ, of which thirteen species have been noticed; of *Lepidodendra* there are eleven species, and of *Calamites* seven. Fronds of ferns were in great profusion, and of these fifty species have been recorded, though probably not a few have been determined from different parts of the same plant.

The Carboniferous system has been uplifted and dislocated at different periods. The last upheaval of the Cheviots tilted up the lower strata; and the basaltic protrusions of a later time produced considerable disturbance. But the effects of the greatest

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elevating force affecting Northumberland are seen in the Pennine chain, extending from Tindale Fell southward about 60 miles ; for along this line of mighty fracture the Mountain Limestone beds on the east side have been thrust upward in some parts, near to 3000 feet—and this stupendous mountain wall rises some 2500 feet above the New Red Sandstone plain lying on the west. The Stublick and the Ninety-fathom Dikes are probably secondary effects of this disruption. By the Ninety-fathom Dike, which extends westward from Cullercoats, the Coal Measures have been thrown down on the north side from 500 feet to 1000 feet. Probably, too, the effect of the Pennine upheaval has extended further northward into Northumberland, though without producing any great break in the strata in the direct line of action ; for the general direction of the strata is from northward to southward. There are many other smaller displacements of the Coal Measures, but the Mountain Limestone strata are even more disturbed by faults ; one seen in the Shilbottle colliery, ranging from east to west, throws down the beds on the south side 120 feet ; another great fault near to Annstead, going westward, throws the strata down on the north side about 1000 feet.

III.—PERMIAN FORMATION.

Of this formation only one member, the *Magnesian Limestone*, occurs in Northumberland in three small patches overlying the Coal Measures ; one at Tynemouth forms the top of the cliff, and the others at Cullercoats and Whitley, have been preserved by the Ninety-fathom Dike, which has thrown down the strata on the north. It occupies in Durham a large space, somewhat triangular in shape, one side extending from South Shields along the coast to Hartlepool, the other having a wavy line from the same point to Pierce bridge on the Tees ; the base line is obscured by drift, but seems to curve away from Hartlepool westward to Chilton, and thence southward to near Coniscliff. It occupies an area of about 230 square miles, and has a thickness of about 600 feet. The strata rise to the westward and south-west, and their outcrop over the Coal Measures is seen marked, in the features of the country, by a pretty bold escarpment running in a broken line of eminences of moderate elevation, but nearly on the same level throughout the range. To the west is the wide and tame region of the Coal Measures, but eastward are low undulating hills, intersected by picturesque and beautiful denes and ravines.

The organisms of the *Magnesian Limestone* bring it into close relationship with the Carboniferous system, of which it properly ranks as a group or formation. Sedgwick, in 1828, pointed out this alliance, and further researches have confirmed his view. Mr. Kirkby has shown that fifteen species of animals were common to the *Mountain Limestone* and the *Magnesian Limestone* formation.

Generally, the Magnesian Limestone was a pelagic deposit, with, however, evidences of shallow water at intervals, and alternations from a deep sea to an estuary.*

IV.—CAINOZOIC ERA.

Another great gap occurs in our rocky records; for no hard stratified rock appears *in situ* in Northumberland, more recent than the Magnesian Limestone, nor in the parish of Alnwick more recent than the Mountain Limestone periods; and as no fragments even are seen of rocks belonging to the Secondary or Tertiary formations, we cannot suppose that any such had been deposited and afterwards removed by denudation. It may therefore be inferred, that during the long ages subsequent to the Palæozoic era, Northumberland was above the waters, probably as part of a continent. Other great climatic and geographical changes followed; the land became partly ice-covered, and partly submerged beneath an Arctic sea; and of such changes, evidence is furnished by the irregular accumulations of clay, gravel, and sand, which cover over a great portion of the county, especially in the lower grounds. The exact sequence of these superficial deposits is not always determinable; but we may recognise two groups of different ages.

1. *The Pleistocene*, the oldest of these deposits, includes the boulder clay, which is usually tough, red or blue, and sometimes above eighty feet in thickness, but either unstratified, or with an irregular and imperfect kind of stratification. Through this are irregularly distributed fragments of rock, both small and large, many of them weighing several tons; and some, which are angular or but slightly rounded, are polished and striated. Generally, these blocks have been derived from rocks *in situ* in or near to our district; but a few, such as granite, have travelled a considerable distance. A block of grey granite, like that at Aberdeen, was found at Abberwick, four miles westward of Alnwick. The surface of the rocks on which this clay rests has also been found polished like marble, striated, and grooved, the striæ and grooves having the same general direction, and evidencing the movement of a powerful abrading agent, in a southerly direction. These dressed surfaces have been observed on the limestone at Middleton near Belford, on the basalt of the Farne Islands, on limestones at Swinhoe, Dunstanburgh, Little Mill, Hawkhill, Belsay, and on sandstones at Birling Car, south of Alnmouth, and on the banks of the Irthing.† The Boulder Clay, however, is not a simple deposit; for in some localities,‡ was pointed out

* The physical characters of this formation have been expounded by Sedgwick in the *Trans. of Geo. Soc. Vol. III., Part 1., 1829*; and the organisms have been described by my friend Professor King, in his valuable monograph of *Permian Fossils, 1848*. Other papers illustrating this formation have been printed in the *Tyneside Club Transactions*.

† *Pro. Ber. Nat. Club. V., pp. 236, 288, 372.* ‡ *Trans. Tyn. Club I., pp. 348-358.*

by me, in 1848, it is complicated by the intercalation of irregular layers of sand, gravel, and laminated clay. A railway cutting near to Bilton exhibited the following section, beginning at the base:—(Plate XI., Fig. 3.)

	Feet	In.
a. Four distinctly stratified gravel beds consisting chiefly of rolled, smooth porphyries, limestones, and sandstones, about the size of ordinary paving stones.		
d. Stiff clay without boulders	8	0
a. Clay with large glaciated boulders	8	0

And in this, as well as in several other sections of gravel beds, the layers were arched, dipping away on both sides from a central axis. On the banks of Alnwick moor burn the Boulder Clay is divided by stratified sands; and in both the clay above, and in that below the sand, there are subangular glaciated blocks. Near to Alnmouth on the bank of the river is a similar complicated section. Beginning at the base we have:—(Fig. 2.)

	Feet	In.
a. Red tough clay, with glaciated blocks of limestone, basalt, and sandstone; only a few feet visible.		
b. Sand irregularly stratified; in some parts, which are clayey, are scattered small subangular and rounded blocks; the thickness in one part is about	30	0
a. Red tough clay, with large glaciated blocks, some 3 feet long; the thickness varies, but in some parts	12	0
b. Stratified sand	15	0

The most irregular sections, however, in the district, were exposed in the railway cutting through Ravenslaw near the Alnwick station; their complication will be better understood by an examination of Figs. 4 and 5, than by any description. Where the solid rock was reached the Boulder Clay was found to rest on stratified sandstone and shale. In section, Fig. 4, there were

- a. Red tough clay, with glaciated boulders, 8 feet.
- b. Fine sand with lines of stratification marked by bits of coal and carbonaceous shale.
- d. Fine clay in thin layers.
- c. Gravel, water worn, irregular in thickness and stratification. One large glaciated limestone (*f*) was resting on and penetrating sands, and extending through the overlying clay into the gravel beds. In section, Fig. 5, another large glaciated limestone was partly in the Boulder Clay and partly in the gravel.

The stratification of the whole was greatly disturbed; the sequence being changed or broken as if some external force had deranged the layers after they had been heaped up or deposited; but all these beds are so associated together, as to indicate changes of physical conditions during the Boulder Clay era.

Organisms I have not been able to find, either in the Boulder Clay itself or in the associated beds, although I have, during many years, sought for them in many parts of Northumberland and in the neighbouring counties. Nor do marine organisms appear to have been discovered elsewhere in the Boulder Clay

SECTIONS OF DRIFT.

Fig. 1. Alnwick Moor.

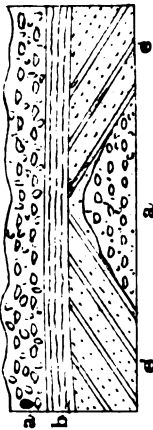


Fig. 2. Banks of the Aln.

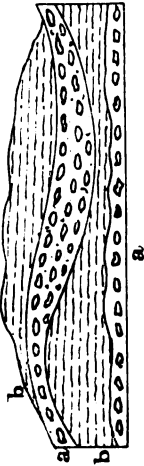


Fig. 3. Near Bilton.

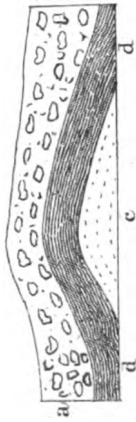


Fig. 4. Ravenslaw near Alnwick.

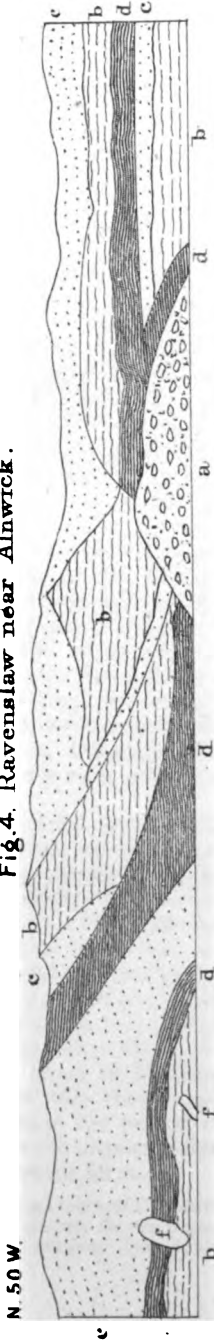
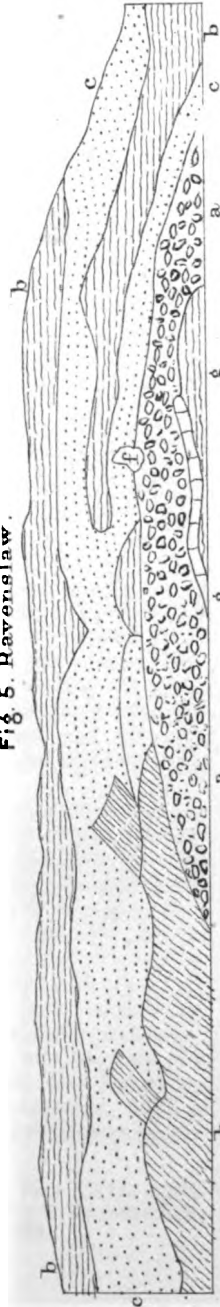


Fig. 5. Ravenslaw.



a. Boulder Clay. b. Stratified Sand. c. Stratified gravel. d. Stratified Clay.
 e. Stratified sand and gravel. f. Glaciated boulders. g. Stratified Sandstone and Shale.

itself, excepting at Caithness, where numbers of broken marine shells are in a clay along with glaciated blocks and rock surfaces; but according to Mr. Jamieson, this clay is of a somewhat later age than the Boulder Clay of the south of Scotland, and the shells seem to have been derived from pre-existing marine beds, which ice, drifting from the north-west, had torn up and mixed with other debris.* Marine organisms, however, have been found in clay and sand beds overlying the Boulder Clay in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, in Aberdeenshire, and elsewhere in Scotland. All the species are such as now live within the Arctic circle; and some of them do not range into temperate zones. Viewing then those organisms in connection with the glaciated rock surfaces, there is strong evidence to shew, that, during the Boulder Clay era, our district, as well as other parts of Britain, was subject to an Arctic climate, and was covered by a sheet of ice of great thickness, and that the glaciations were due to the slow passage of this ice over the land. So far as is known, no natural agent excepting moving ice produces such striations, polishings, and smooth little rounded hillocks—*roches-moutonnees*—such as are seen on the limestone at Hawkhill and on the basalt at the Farne. The glaciers of the Alps, of Iceland, and of other snow-covered mountain regions dress in like manner the surfaces over which they pass; and the same effects result from the slow movement of the ice-covering of extensive areas, such as Greenland, over a gentle slope down to the sea.† Great icebergs, too, breaking off from the mass protruded into the sea, and then grounding and moving along the sea bottom, would not only glaciade the surface, but might also disturb and pile up loose deposits, and produce such contorted strata as appeared on Ravenslaw.

The story of the superficial deposits tell us that, first there was a period of great cold, when snow and ice of great depth covered the land, and moving generally in a southerly direction, carried onward the rocks and debris of the district, and abraded and dressed the rock surfaces; afterwards there had been partial depressions of the land below the waters, so that the Boulder Clay in some parts became covered by stratified sands and gravels, which again were covered by clay and glaciated boulders, either pushed onward from the land into the sea, or deposited from the melting of a debris-laden iceberg; next the mass of land sunk gradually, probably till the whole sheet of Boulder Clay was beneath the waters, and the land of this district about 800 feet below its present level. Then came the period of re-emergence, with a temperate climate, when the physical features of our district pretty nearly attained their present form.

* Jamieson on the Glacial Phenomena of Caithness. *Geo. Jour.* XXII., p. 261

† Where this ice-sheet protrudes into the sea, it has, according to Dr. Sutherland, a height or depth of 1200 or 1500 feet. *Geo. Jour.* IX., p. 301.

2. *Post Pleistocene*.—Since the Boulder Clay era, there has not been much change in the general contour of the district; some valleys have been deepened, some shallow lakes and marshes drained; but along the coast can be found traces of slight oscillations of level. Gravel, very much rolled and rounded, and beds of sand, chiefly seen in river valleys, accompanied with terraces on the river banks, belong to a later period than the Boulder Clay. More recent, still, are accumulations of peat, which is formed at all levels from the sea coast to the summit of our highest hills, under the conditions of moisture and cold. A depression of the land is indicated by peat and overthrown trees (sub-marine forests) seen in some parts of the coast, below the line of the lowest tides; a marked case of this character is near to Howick. Frequently below the peat is a deposit of marl, which, in some instances, is filled with fresh-water shells, all of recent species; and besides these there have been found remains of the Red Deer—*Cervus Elaphus*; the horn of the gigantic Elk—*Megaceros Hibernicus* near to Cawledge saw mill; the skull of the *Bos primigenius* at Adderstone; * the Wild Boar at Middleton near Wooler; and the Beaver—*Castor Fiber*—in the neighbouring county of Roxburghshire.† No remains of man or of his works have been discovered in the undisturbed clays, sands, or gravels of the district.

IGNEOUS ROCKS.

There are two groups of igneous rocks in this district, of different age and mineral composition—the felspathic and the augitic; or the porphyries and the basalts; the former being of a much greater age than the latter.

1. *Porphyry*.—The Cheviots, a range of hills, protruding through, and rising high above, the stratified rocks in the north-western part of Northumberland, and extending into Roxburghshire, are composed of porphyry, which, however, varies in its character. Usually, the rock is a porphyrite, with a red felspathic base, in which are scattered crystals of felspar. In some parts it is a dark coloured dolerite, composed of labradorite and augite; and near to Yetholm it is a pitchstone porphyry. Not unfrequently it passes into a syenite, a crystalline compound of felspar, hornblende, and mica; and in some few cases it becomes a granite, formed of felspar, quartz, mica, and a little hornblende. On the north side of the Cheviot, in the Diamond burn, there are masses of quartz rock in which appear crystals of quartz, some white or translucent, and a few others brown or amethystine. On the Riddlees burn, where stratified rocks abut against it, the porphyry is amygdaloidal with geodes, in which are developed fine quartz crystals, or which are filled with agates and calcedonies. The great mass, however, is felspathic.

* Selby, in Proc. Berw. Club III., p. 46.

† Dr. Wilson, *ibid* IV., p. 76.

The Cheviot porphyry is undoubtedly the oldest igneous rock in our district. It was protruded subsequently to the Lower Silurian era, for the Greywacke beds are highly inclined against it; but prior to the deposition of the Upper Old Red Sandstone Conglomerates, as these conglomerates are partly composed of rolled Cheviot porphyries. The Cheviots, however, had been further elevated subsequently to the Tuedian period, for beds of that age are highly inclined against the porphyry on the Coquet and in Alkeld burn.*

2. *Basalt*.—The Whin Sill is the most remarkable rock in the North of England on account of its long and tortuous range, and of its relation to, and effect upon, the strata it traverses, and among which it has been intruded. A sill it has been called, because sometimes seen, like a stratum, intercalated among stratified rocks. It is not, however, a true stratum, for its thickness varies very much, from two feet to more than 200 feet, and the parallelism of its upper and under surface is preserved only for a short distance; so that, though its extension in the line of direction is great, yet its extension in the line of the dip is inconsiderable. It is traceable through Northumberland, with breaks here and there, from Kyleo to Glenwhelt; and the same kind of rock extends southward into Durham, Cumberland, and Yorkshire. After leaving the coast, it trends away south-westward by Howick and Longhoughton; and at Ratchough there are evidences of two, if not three, overflows or injections, two being distinctly seen in a section at Dunsheugh, where the limestone above as well as the shale below is metamorphosed; the former being converted into a crystalline marble, and the latter into porcellanite. It crosses the Aln near to Denwick mill, and is next seen southward of Alnwick at Hope house, whence it runs by Stoney hills and Rugley to Shielykes among the lowest beds of the Calcareous division of the Mountain Limestone.

Throughout its long range the rock is essentially the same, being composed of felspar and augite; the iron entering into its composition is in the state of protoxide, and indeed, occasionally, as at the Farne, it possesses polarity. At Budle it is amygdaloidal; and at Ratchough some portions are porphyritic, having large felspar crystals scattered through it. Where in great mass the rock has a pillared structure, the columns being rude prisms, irregularly jointed; and some even approach the hexagonal forms seen in Fingal's cave. They are grand and impressive objects, massive, though rude; and, towering majestically to a great height, we could imagine they had been piled up by the fabulous giants of the olden time.

The metamorphic action of the basalt on the strata *above*, as well as on those below it, is favourable to the view, that the Basaltic Sill is a lateral dike intruded among the strata after

* Geology of the Cheviots by the author; Proc. of Berw. Nat. Club. V., p. 359.

their deposition ; and the displacements of strata effected by the eruption lead to the same conclusion. At the Farne Islands ninety feet of limestones, shales, and sandstones have been torn from the mass with which they were originally connected, and are lifted up and altered in structure. At Howick, too, there are evidences of violent mechanical action ; and near to Little Mill there is a marked instance of the same character ; for on the western or basset side of the basalt, limestone and shales are highly inclined against it ; their dip is to the south-west from 60° to 45° , and the upper shale beds are bent and thrown over ; blocks of limestone, too, are enveloped in the basalt, and metamorphosed and penetrated with veins of the igneous rock, the whole being firmly welded, as it were, into one mass. Though in Northumberland the sill never appears anywhere, excepting in the Calcareous division of the Mountain Limestone, and generally among its upper beds, yet its position varies considerably in different parts of its course ; indeed it cuts across the strata in some places, and its relative vertical position is altered to the extent of 1000 feet.

There appears, however, to have been more than one eruption, though probably succeeding each other at no great intervals of time—Stanhope, Kirkwhelpington, and Ratcheugh give evidence of this. At Ratcheugh, where two pseudo-strata are distinctly seen, one is wedge-shaped, and, in the course of 500 yards, dwindles down from 90 feet to 30 inches in thickness, while the second mass overlaps the other and is separated from it by 22 feet of intervening limestone and shale. In a pit-sinking at Long Dike, in search of the Shilbottle coal, two layers of basalt were passed through ; one, 15 feet thick, is between metamorphosed arenaceous beds ; and the other, 63 feet lower down, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, penetrates, metamorphoses, and partly replaces a seam of coal.

Besides the great lateral dike or dikes, a considerable number of basaltic dikes cut through the Carboniferous strata nearly perpendicularly, most of them having a direction from eastward to westward. The character of the rock of nearly all of them is similar to that of the Whin Sill, but generally finer in the grain, and with the structure more altered by contact with stratified rocks ; for at such points there is a mutual transference of character, the basalt itself imbibing, as it were, a portion of the mineral ingredients of the adjoining stratified rocks.

We may give a passing notice of those in our neighbourhood. The *Beadnell Dike*, which rises like a Cyclopean wall through the strata and metamorphoses them, is 25 feet wide, and has a direction West 85° south ; the *Howick dike*, though only four feet wide, is remarkable for its wall-like appearance and nearness to the Whin Sill, which, however, it is not seen to join ; it has a direction west 80° north ; the *Boulmer dike* is 100 feet wide, and ranges

west 80° south. *Trobe's dense dike* is seen in the eastern part of Shilbottle colliery, having a width of 33 feet, a direction of west 85° south, and metamorphosing the strata on both sides; the *Hampeth dike* is 150 feet wide, has a direction of west 80° south, and passing through the Shilbottle colliery converts the coal near to it into coke; the *Acklington dike* has a general direction of west by north, and is traceable from the coast at Bondicar to Clennell, a distance of about twenty miles.

We know not the vomitories of the augitic igneous rocks. Along the whole range of the Whin Sill no crateriform hollows or cones appear; the molten matter, therefore, had probably been ejected through long lines opened by deeply-seated forces acting in the general direction of north-north-east to south-south-west. The vertical dikes of basalt have a direction transverse to that of the Whin Sill; and though, as Phillips remarks, "geographically related to it," are never seen in junction with it. They are too small to have been the vomitories of the Whin Sill; and supposing they are of the same age, they do not help us much to determine the period of eruption. The Whin Sill, however, as Phillips has shown, is anterior to the east and west veins of Tynedale, for it is divided by these veins of fissure, and, as these veins have resulted from the Pennine fault, the Whin Sill is older than the Triassic beds. Subsequently, then to the Carboniferous, and prior to the Triassic era, this district was convulsed and rent by volcanic forces, most probably when beneath the sea; and at remitting intervals, molten lava was poured out of fissures generally in a line from north-north-east to south-south-west, partly over the sea-bed, and partly thrust in among the stratified rocks which it metamorphosed; and cooling slowly, under the influence of considerable pressure, this lava assumed the stony crystalline character of basalt. Mr. Hopkins has shown how minor fissures are formed transverse to the chief line of fracture, and therefore it is highly probable that the transverse basaltic dikes are due to the same causes which produced the Whin Sill.*

A brief resumé of the succession of events must now conclude our geological survey. The long era of the Lower Silurian system had passed away, leaving its records along the flanks of the Cheviots; the porphyry of that mountain range had been protruded from the depths of the earth, and a tumultuous sea had ceased to surge against its sides, and heap up Old Red Sandstone Conglomerates, when the district became the scene of repeated oscillations of level. At one period it presented extensive swamps, and low-lying grounds, covered with a dense and sombre vegetation, and at another, the land had sunk beneath a sea teeming with animal life, into which, from distant lands, now partly

* In Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 3rd Ed., 1867—Geology by the author, p. 447-450; and *Geology of Northumberland and Durham* by the author. *Trans. of Nat. Hist. Soc. of North'd. and Durham II.*, p. 26-35.

covered by the Atlantic ocean, sediment was carried, and deposited over the vegetable matter, as beds of mud and sand, along with other layers of calcareous matter precipitated out of the waters. After the lapse of a long period, the sea bottom was lifted up and became dry land, on which again there was an abundant vegetation. Another change succeeded—the land sunk again, and was covered by the sea; and these changes often recurred during this era, but in the latter portion of it the vegetation was enormously abundant, and the district was covered with extensive lagoons and fresh-water lakes. Materials for affording heat and light to later eras were then stored up; pressure consolidated, and various chemical actions transmuted, the wreck of ancient forests into lignite, and afterwards into bituminous coal, which remained in its dark recess till the skill and daring of man drew it forth to add to his comfort and power—to enable him successfully to battle with the winds and waves—to annihilate, as it were, distance—to set in motion his numberless mechanical contrivances—and to bring within the reach of millions the blessings and refinements of civilization. During the era which succeeds, volcanic power rends the whole district; and a powerful strain, in a line from north to south, lifts up masses to the height of 3000 feet. Tumultuous action and mountain upheavals cease for a while. Northumberland becomes dry land, and continues so for many ages. But after these had run their course, we have evidences of an Arctic climate; ice covered the whole land, and icebergs floated on the seas. This glacial era, too, comes to an end, and the district emerges, slowly it may be, until hill and vale, mountain and plain, appear as we have them at present. All these successive revolutions seem preparatory for the advent of man. Coal had been stored up for him in the depths of the earth—minerals in the bosom of the mountains—repeated changes had broken and pulverised the hard and stubborn rocks to form a soil to yield for him an increase. He is the last of a series of great events; but, in his origin, he cannot be linked with any of the creatures which preceded; for, whatever modifications of bodily form may be made by physical conditions, natural selection, or any secondary law, such is the great gulf between the highest brute and man, that we can refer the introduction of an intellectual and moral being, capable of generalising, and of indefinite progression, and endowed with a sense of responsibility to no other than to the divine Sovereignty.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

IN page 370 it is stated, that the duke of Athol's reversionary interest in, what are called, the female baronies was *purchased*, so that the Northumberland estates might descend without diminution to the succeeding lords. I find, however, that the duke of Athol was not a party to this change; but that Algernon, the fourth duke of Northumberland, and his sister, Lady Agnes Buller, cut off the entail in 1848; the effect of which was to disinherit the Athol family, who are descendants of Hugh, the second duke of Northumberland. (*Sinclair's More Percy Anecdotes*).

Page 371.—GEORGE, THE FIFTH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, died at Alnwick castle on August 21st, 1867, aged 89 years. His body lay in state in the castle during two days; and it was afterwards conducted through the town, and buried in Westminster Abbey with stately ceremonies, similar to those by which the remains of preceding dukes were honoured. He was but a short time—only two years and a half—lord of Alnwick, yet he was deeply venerated and esteemed there for his kindness, benevolence, and generosity. When his grandson—the present earl Percy—attained his majority on May 29th, 1867, he gave, in celebration of the event, magnificent entertainments in Alnwick castle to all his tenantry, both low and high; about 1600 dined in the Guest hall; and on the following evening about 2000 were present at a ball in the Great Banqueting hall. Alnwick has seen no entertainment so great since the time when the lordly Abbot Hepescotes gave a dinner in the refectory and cloisters of Alnwick Abbey, in 1376, to the nobles, parishioners, and commonalty of the country.

ALGERNON GEORGE, his eldest son, who was born on May 2nd, 1810, succeeded to the dukedom and to the family estates. His eldest son, Henry George earl Percy, who was born on May 29th, 1846, was elected Member of Parliament for North Northumberland on November 18th, 1868; and he was married in London on December 23rd, 1868, to Lady Edith Campbell, eldest daughter of the duke of Argyle.

VOL. II.

Page 145.—Of the balance remaining from the Memorial subscriptions, £410 have, in 1869, been applied to the production of four additional stained glass memorial windows; three of which are in the south aisle of the chancel, and one in the west end of the nave. Six of the principal events in the life of Christ are represented in the various compartments of these chancel windows; in the east one are the Adoration and Baptism; in the middle one the Last Supper and Crucifixion; and in the west one the Resurrection and Ascension. The subjects of the nave

window are taken from the *Te Deum*—the Prophets—the Majesty—the Apostles—the Martyrs—St. Michael—and the Church. In St. Michael's Church there are now seven stained glass windows, dedicated to the memory of Algernon, the fourth duke of Northumberland.

Page 159.—The Rev. HENRY MARTIN CARR, third son of Ralph Carr, of Hedgeley, Esq., succeeded the Rev. Charles Charlton as incumbent of St. Paul's Church. A bright and useful career seemed before him; for having previously been curate of this church, he had, by his ability as a preacher, his kind attention to his congregation, and his genial and liberal tone of mind, won the respect and good feeling of all. But alas! his career was cut short by an attack of gastric fever, of which he died on Sept. 18th, 1868, at the early age of 33 years. His death was lamented as a great loss both by his congregation and the town. The Rev. Henry Murray Oswald, M.A., Oxon, the present Vicar of St. Paul's Church, was licensed by the Bishop of Durham to the living on January 12th, 1869.

Page 359.—In the list of members of Local Board insert the name of Mr. Wm. Dickson after Mr. George Cockburn.

Page 435.—Additions to Mosses. By ROBT. MIDDLEMAS.

Phascum sessile. Alnwick moor.	Cawledge
Pottia Wilsoni. Sandy hedge-bank near South road.	Orthotrichum rivulare. On rocks; Cawledge
Dicranum cerviculatum. Near Moor burn.	Bryum annotinum. Near Greenfield.
Tortula ruralis. Alnwick moor.	Mnium affine. Stoney hills.
T. lævipila. Near Swansfield.	Bartramia ithyphylla. Near Lough House
Orthotrichum Bruchii. On trees;	Hypnum sylvaticum. Stocken.

Corrected total of Mosses. 146 species.

CORRECTIONS—ADDITIONAL TO VOL. I.

Page 25, line 16, for *Am bheil thu dol* read *Am bheil thu dol do'n chlachain*; p. 30, l. 23, for *Beweley* read *Bewclay*; p. 38, l. 19, for *agressors* read *aggressors*; p. 58, l. 20, for *at read to*; p. 164, l. 14, for *Bewick* read *Berwick*; p. 328, l. 22, for *1452* read *1464*; p. 278, l. 29, for *vaccilating* read *vacillating*; p. 317, l. 9, for *Carlile* read *Callaly*; p. 329, l. 40, for *parenthesis* read *parentheses*; p. 338, l. 33, for *1416 to 1430* read *1474 to 1480*; p. 347, l. 34, for *Edward IV.* read *Edward VI.*; p. 350, l. 6, for *1456* read *1480*; p. 371, l. 11, for *May 6* read *May 2*; p. 371, l. 14, for *May 20* read *May 29*; p. 419, l. 1, by misplacement of the brackets in the pedigree, *Joalyn* is connected with *Sir Thos. Percy* instead of with *Charles of Cambridge*, whose son he was; p. 421, l. 8, for *May 20* read *May 2*; p. 421, l. 13, for *May 20* read *May 29*; p. 421, l. 2, for *Lord Murray* read *Lord James Murray*.

VOL. II.

Page 19, line 14, for *cul* read *cal*; p. 54, l. 36, for *1461* read *1464*; p. 141, l. 33, for *has* read *have*; p. 162, l. 13, for *Reformation* read *Revolution*; p. 181, l. 2, for *Secession* read *Presbyterian*; p. 199, l. 28, for *1814* read *1854*; p. 254, l. 20, for *1674* read *1665*, and add—*Michael Hunter, balliff, 1667 to 1692*; p. 312, l. 16, for *1841* read *1848*.

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