

A History of Northumberland.





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A
HISTORY
OF
NORTHUMBERLAND

ISSUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY
COMMITTEE

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ANDREW REID & COMPANY, LIMITED
LONDON
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, & COMPANY, LIMITED
1896



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A
HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND

VOLUME III

HEXHAMSHIRE: PART I

By ALLEN B. HINDS M.A.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

ANDREW REID & COMPANY, LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS

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PREFACE.

Northumberland, it is well to remember, is the fifth of English counties in area; the division of it which was early marked by the two dioceses of Lindisfarne and Hexham, and continued through the Middle Ages with the Coquet as a civil boundary, enters into practical modern life in the divergent interests of those who travel to their homes from Newcastle by the north or the west lines of railway. From the very first, the committee were of opinion that the work of writing the history of the county ought not to be restricted for a series of years to North Northumberland, but that their subscribers in the Tyne valleys should be equally benefited. Possibly, however, this idea would not have taken practical shape, had not the Rev. J. Raine most generously placed at the disposal of the committee the great stores of material relating to the town and shire of Hexham which he had for many years been collecting at York.

The fact that Hexhamshire so long formed a distinct regality has caused its history to be all but a sealed book to many, even among those best acquainted with the annals of the rest of the county. Thus, although there was but little to add to the history of the priory of Hexham to supplement the information already published in Mr. Raine's standard work on the annals of that house, and in Mr. C. C. Hodges' architectural monograph, it was felt that immediate advantage should be taken of Mr. Raine's generosity.

The present volume treats of the regality in general and of the town of Hexham in particular, leaving the remainder of the ancient shire, as well on the north as on the south of the Tyne, to be dealt with in the sequel.

The change of scene from the sea-lashed rocks of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh to the tranquil meeting of the waters of the North and

South Tyne, and the contrast between a story mainly occupied with the knightly families of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and one entering largely into the daily rounds of a small provincial town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is not, however, the first thing that will strike the readers of this volume. Unfortunately, the committee have found it impossible to continue issuing volumes so considerably under cost price as their first two. Resolved on no account to narrow the scope or lower the standard of their work, they have been compelled to reduce the size of their volumes and to incur less expense in illustrations. The reasons for this curtailment require to be the more clearly explained as the present volume happens to be the first issued under a new editor.

In addition to furnishing copies of so many documents from the archives at York, Mr. Raine has exercised a kind supervision over the whole volume, and has also allowed the committee to make use of numerous woodcuts from his *Hexham Priory*. The Rev. William Greenwell has presented a plate of the Acca cross now in the Chapter Library at Durham, and both he and Mr. Crawford Hodgson have continued the same cordial assistance which contributed so much to the success of the former volumes.

Mr. Edmund Garwood has again come forward as a most able exponent of the geology of the district; and the dialect and agriculture have been treated respectively by two specialists: Mr. R. O. Heslop and Professor Somerville. For the architectural descriptions of the priory and of the two towers, the committee have availed themselves of Mr. C. C. Hodges' professional services. Mr. J. P. Gibson has again prepared the negatives for the photogravure engravings.

To Mr. W. C. B. Beaumont, M.P., the committee are indebted for the use of the long series of Manor Rolls, for the examination of which Messrs. Dees & Thompson of Newcastle, and Messrs. R. J. & W. Gibson of Hexham offered courteous facilities. The committee further

desire to return their sincere thanks for the aid that they have received in various forms from the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl Percy, from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and from the Rev. E. H. Adamson, the Rev. H. C. Barker, Mr. T. J. Bewick, Mr. T. Bosworth, the Very Rev. J. A. Cooke, Mr. J. M. Fothergill, Mr. James Hardy, Mr. F. Haverfield, F.S.A., Mr. J. O. Head, Mr. J. J. Kirsopp of the Spital, Mr. L. C. Lockhart, the Rev. R. E. Mason, the Rev. F. Richardson, Mr. John Ridley, Mr. Robert Robson, parish clerk of Hexham, the Rev. C. P. Sherman, and Mr. W. A. Temperley.

During the past year the County History has lost two of its most valued supporters. Mr. William Woodman was the last living link that connected it with the original enterprise of the Rev. John Hodgson, and he always took the warmest and most active interest in both undertakings. Mr. Nathaniel George Clayton was one of the earliest and most munificent subscribers to the guarantee fund, the necessity for which becomes every day more apparent if the committee are to finish their labours in a manner worthy of the traditions of the county.

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HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

HEXHAMSHIRE.

THE regality of Hexham seems, from the earliest times downwards, to have been substantially of the same extent and area. Although no exact account of its boundaries has come down to us, all the surveys extant give sufficient indications to show that its limits have changed very little with the course of time. The earliest document of this kind is the subsidy roll of 1295, which includes Hexham, Rowley, Bingfield, Errington, Keepwick, Fallowfield, Bewclay, Sandhoe, Anick, Wall, Acomb, Ninebanks, Catton, and Allendale Town.¹ A very similar list of places, with the addition of Hallington, is given in the muster roll of the shire, taken early in the reign of Henry VIII.,² and a reference to the surveys of 1547 and 1608³ will show that they also were taken over the same area.

The district originally formed one parish under the mother church of St. Andrew at Hexham. At the present day it comprises, besides the parish of Hexham, the parishes of Allendale, Whitley, and St. John Lee, and the chapelry of St. Oswald. On the south its frontier follows the boundary between Northumberland and Durham. On the west, north, and east it is adjacent to the parishes of Whitfield, Warden, Simondburn, Chollerton, Thockerington, Kirkheton, Stamfordham, Corbridge, Slaley, and Shotley. Its greatest length, from north to south, is twenty-four miles. Its breadth varies from half a mile, near Bingfield East Quarter, to eleven miles, from Hard Rigg to Riddlehamhope. At the point where Hexham itself stands, and where the Tyne and the Newcastle and Carlisle railway traverse it, it is three miles across. Further north, on the line of the Roman wall, its width is five miles. The total area of the district is about ninety-two square miles.

¹ See pp. 31-4.

² *Hexham Priory* (Surt. Soc.), i. p. cviii. note.

³ See pp. 66-104.

The river Tyne divides Hexhamshire into two parts, the district on the south being nearly three times as large as that on the north. On the northern side the land rises abruptly from the river bank, and continues to slope upwards until the Roman wall is reached, where it attains a height varying from 700 to 860 feet above the sea level. It then slopes downwards again, until at Hallington the elevation is only 450 to 500 feet above the sea level.

On the southern side the country also rises as it recedes from the Tyne. Here, however, the hills are intersected by deep valleys, those of the West Dipton and Rowley burns running from west to east, and those of the East and West Allen running from south to north. But the general trend of the country is upwards, until at a point between Coalcleugh and Middlehope Moors the height of 2,206 feet is attained. The village of Coalcleugh is said to contain the highest inhabited houses in England.

The streams of the district are small and rapid, flowing between steep and thickly-wooded banks. The East and West Allen, with numerous petty affluents, meet at Hindley Wrea, and flow northward into the Tyne. The Devil's Water, which receives the Rowley and West Dipton burns, also flows northwards into the Tyne, and forms for many miles the eastern boundary of the shire. On the north side the streams are few and insignificant. The principal are the Birkey burn, which flows past Acomb into the Tyne at St. John Lee; and the Erringburn, which forms the north-west boundary of the regality, and joins the North Tyne at Chollerton.

The restricted use of the word Hexhamshire to the modern parishes of Hexham and Whitley, seems to date from the time of James I.; before then the term covered the whole regality. Since the abolition of its privileges in 1572, however, and still more since the manor passed into private hands, there has been a tendency towards disintegration, and the ancient unity of the shire is now almost forgotten.

GEOLOGY.

Broadly speaking, the geological structure of Hexhamshire differs but slightly from that of the districts described in the first two volumes of this history. All the sedimentary rocks which rise to the surface belong to the Carboniferous system, and, with the exception of two small outcrops, to the

Millstone Grit and the 'Yoredale' or Calcareous divisions of Northumberland.¹ The exceptions comprise two small semicircular outliers of true Coal-measures of the Durham coal-field, occurring in the neighbourhood of Stublick, on the north side of the great east and west fault, known as the Stublick dyke, which traverses this portion of the county.

Taken as a whole the beds lie evenly over the southern portion of the district. The moorland summits are capped by outliers of Millstone Grit, the valleys being eroded for the most part in the shales, sandstones, and limestones of the underlying Yoredale series. This simplicity of arrangement is, however, interrupted as we approach the Tyne to the north and east of Allendale Town by important east and west faults, the Stublick dyke and its offshoots. To the north of the Tyne also the beds are affected by this disturbance, and dip southwards in places at angles of upwards of 15 degs., thus bringing to the surface in the northern extremity of the shire limestone beds situated some distance down in the series.

In the main portion of the area, namely, that lying to the south of the river Tyne, the lowest bed met with is the Four-fathom Limestone which is exposed on both banks of the West Allen, shortly before it receives the tributary waters of the Mohope burn; the highest beds exposed being the 'boulder' and 'cannel' coals overlying the 'Yard' seam in the miniature Stublick coal-field. To the north of the Tyne, however, the outcrops range down to the Five-yard Limestone. The general trend of these lower beds, which at first lie parallel to the Roman wall, is to the north-east, running parallel to the Erringburn, which here marks the western boundary of the shire. Further north, at Hallington, these beds lie due north and south. North of the Stublick dyke, therefore, they are dipping in a southerly direction, whilst immediately after crossing this disturbance we find the beds on the south side also dipping towards the fault in an opposite or north-north-easterly direction.

This fault, the great Stublick dyke, starting at Corbridge station on the east, runs in a nearly straight line westward into Cumberland. The importance of this disturbance, both from a geological and economic point of view, is very considerable. Professor Lebour remarks: 'It throws the beds down to the north, so as to bring the Coal-measures side by side with the base of the Millstone Grit; but it has another and still greater effect, for it causes

¹ Vol. i. app. i. pp. 16, 24, 25, 28, 34, 35.

the beds north of it to dip down sharply towards itself. The result of this alteration of dip, both in amount and direction, on the downthrow side of the Stublick dyke has been twofold : first, it has altered the strike for several miles from its course, so that all the beds as they approach the Corbridge fold from the north and east instantly strike due west ; and, secondly, it has allowed the preservation on its northern side, of a number of small, true Coal-measure coal-fields, which (owing to the high dip near the fault) comprise many more seams than their limited areas would lead one to suppose. As usual with large faults, these and others parallel to them are accompanied by a number of transverse dislocations with minor throws.¹

The greatest throw of this fault where it crosses the district under notice is upwards of 1,200 feet, the beds below the Fell top Limestone being brought into contact with the highest shales of the Stublick coalfield. The general course of this fault across the shire is almost due east and west ; starting in the river Allen at Staward, it runs due east to High House, passing a little to the south of Stublick ; it then sweeps slightly to the north past the Paise, Black Hill, and Sunnyside to Swallowship, where it crosses the Devil's Water. At this latter point the fault can be clearly traced in the bank of the river. In addition to the main fault, we find two parallel lines of dislocation to the north and south of it respectively ; the northerly one running from Langley castle past Threepwood, Ellfoot House, and Langhope, and eventually dying out near Highwood House, about two miles north-west of Hexham ; this fault brings in a small outlier of upper Millstone Grit on its southern or downthrow side. The most southerly of the three faults runs from a little north of Round Meadows due east to Black House, near the junction of the Rowley burn with the Devil's Water, thence it turns to the north-east, and crossing the latter river and curving round to the north, runs out into the Stublick dyke. The throw of these subsidiary faults is, however, slight, the chief effect in the case of the more southerly one being to intensify the abruptness of the line of junction between the Yoredale and the Millstone Grit beds to the west of the Devil's Water. The main line of fault is plainly visible in the neighbourhood of Stublick, notwithstanding the drift-covered character of the surface of the country, a trough-like depression of swampy ground marking the line where the soft Coal-measure shales abut against the harder Yoredale strata.

¹ Vol. i. app. i. 34. p. 5.

In addition to the east and west faults described above, we find a series of dislocations running in a general north and south direction, parallel to the valleys of the East and West Allen. The chief of these is the northerly extension of Great Burtreeford dyke, which runs from Burtreeford, near the head of Weardale, past Allenheads, and down the whole length of the East Allen, until it runs out against the Stublick dyke at Staward. At Allenheads, where it has been intersected in the working of the Diana vein, it throws down the beds on its western side 240 feet, whilst at Shaw House, one and a half miles down the valley, it brings the Great Limestone against the beds overlying the 'Firestone' Sill, causing a displacement of upwards of 300 feet. Similarly in West Allendale, a fault, starting from the south almost at the same point as the Burtreeford dyke, and passing in duplicate through Killhope Moor as the Coal Cleugh Cross veins, runs down the vale of the West Allen close to the river bed to Ninebanks. A mile above this it is disturbed by a cross fault, and runs high up along the east side of the valley as far as Harlow Bower, about a mile and a half above the junction of the East and West Allen. In tracing these dislocations down the valleys of the East and West Allen respectively, it is impossible not to be struck by the coincidence between the general trend of the valleys in question and the main lines of the faults, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that these faults have influenced the position and direction of the main lines of drainage. This coincidence is most marked in the case of the West Allen, where for three miles between the Nook and Ninebanks the fault practically coincides with the bed of the stream. In the case of the East Allen the Burtreeford dyke follows a course parallel to the river, a quarter of a mile from its west bank; a parallel fault also starts at Sinderhope and runs along the east slope of the valley as far as Catton. This connection between the lines of the fault and the drainage channels is also displayed in the case of some of the cross faults in the district; thus the stream which has excavated the Studdon dene occupies the line of an important dip fault, which has been intersected in the workings of the Blackett level, at the base of the Studdon dene shaft. Similar cross faults also occur at Sipton Shield and along Sinderhope burn.

If now we trace in detail the various beds of the Yoredale series, beginning at the top, we find the Felltop Limestone forming a nearly continuous outcrop along the slopes of the valley of the Devil's Water, south

of the Stublick faults above Ordley, and also along the banks of the Knowles burn and the Beldon burn in the extreme south-east corner of the county, this being the only limestone which crops out on the surface in this portion of the shire. Between Swinhope Shields and Allenheads, however, there occurs a large spread of the Great Limestone which is abruptly cut off to the west by the Burtreeford dyke. In the West Allen and in the Mohope burn sections of the strata down to the Four-fathom Limestone are visible, notably opposite The Nook. In the portion of the shire to the north of the Tyne the Little Limestone and its underlying coal-seam are well developed in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall, where several shafts have been sunk to win the coal. At Fallowfield the Little Limestone, intersected by the vein which traverses the country from Warden to Grottingham, attains its greatest measured thickness, 18 feet, and has been mined for lead. As pointed out by Prof. Lebour,¹ the position of the coal-seam is variable in its relation to the limestone. At Sheldon, Bardon Mill, and Matfen, it lies directly below the limestone. At Fallowfield main shaft 12 feet of shale intervene between the upper coal-seam and the limestone. At Stagshaw Bank colliery this is replaced by 15 feet of sandstone and shale, whilst at Acomb it is represented by 25 feet of 'grey' beds or arenaceous shale. At Alston Moor, Bardon Mill, and Stagshaw Bank, the coal is divided into two seams by a considerable thickness of sandstones and shales, and at Fallowfield No. 3 bore-hole, the seam is further separated into three. On the other hand, at Acomb and Fallowfield shafts the intermediate beds have disappeared, resulting in the formation of one thick seam.² The Great and Four-fathom Limestones are well exposed in the upper part of Haltwhistle burn, where they dip at an angle of 9 degs. south. The Great Limestone has here thinned out from 63 feet at Alston to 38 feet; this thinning out of the limestone, coupled with the disappearance of the overlying 'Tumbler' beds, foreshadows the condition of things characteristic of this bed wherever met with to the north of the Tyne. At Bewclay this limestone has a somewhat deceptive thickness, due to a repetition of the bed by a small strike fault. A good idea of the general sequence of the Yoredale beds in the extreme south of the county may be obtained from the mining operations connected with the Blakett level. Interesting sections can also be studied in the walls of the five shafts which penetrate more or less completely to the level at intervals along its course.³ The rise of the level being only 8 feet per

¹ App. i.² Vol. ii. app. i. (1).³ App. ii. and iii.

mile, and the dip of the beds being between 5 degs. and 15 degs., a section is pierced by the level from the lower Millstone Grit beds down to the Scar limestone. The Millstone Grit series scarcely makes its appearance to the north of the Tyne, but south of the river it occupies the whole of the surface of the country, with the exception of the actual drainage channels and the small areas of the Stublick coal-field. Notwithstanding the dip of the beds to the north, the rise of the country southward causes approximately the same beds to occupy the moorland all over the district. Thus the Felltop limestone taken as the base of the Millstone Grit, which crops out at Ordley, on the Devil's Water, at a height of 400 feet, attains near Broadgate head an elevation of 1,000 feet. Indeed, the district occupied by the Millstone Grit series in South Hexhamshire constitutes some of the highest ground in Northumberland. Thus Lilswood Moor, on Hexhamshire common, lies at an elevation of 1,467 feet; Allendale common, at 1,640 feet; and Knocksfeld Moor, at 1,803 feet; while on the southern boundary of Northumberland we meet with heights of 2,000 feet on Burtree north fell, 2,075 feet at Stangend rigg, and 2,206 feet at the summit of Killhope Moor, above Coalcleugh, this latter point constituting the third highest elevation in the county, being only exceeded in height by Cheviot and Hedgehope. The most important bed in this series is the Grindstone Sill, a hard siliceous rock which forms a considerable spread on the surface round Allenheads and Coalcleugh, and has been quarried for grindstones. Though occurring throughout the mining districts, it does not usually carry lead ore, except in the Derwent valley.

In the outliers of the Middle Coal-measures on the north side of the Stublick dyke the majority of the seams are thin. The 'Yard' and 'Main' coal have, however, been worked both at Stublick and Stublick Hill.¹ At the former place no coal has been raised for some years, but at Stublick Hill the main coal is still worked by means of a small timbered shaft. Writing of these seams in 1831, Mr. Nicholas Wood remarks: 'The quality of these coal beds resembles those of the lower beds of the regular Coal-measures. One seam in particular, the yard coal, is of similar quality to one of the Wylam seams, producing coal suitable for reducing lead ores, a quality which none of the beds in this district, except those belonging to the regular Coal-measures, possess.'²

¹ See sections, app. iv.

² Vol. ii. app. i. (1).

Although the tract of country under consideration lies to the south of the main outcrop of the Whin Sill, a small offshoot of it running south from Great Bavington enters the extreme north of the shire, about a mile due north of Hallington hall. A well-known whin dyke, however, the Brunton dyke, crosses the northern portion of the shire, appearing near Wall and running in a north-easterly direction to Errington, with two offshoots visible in Bingfield burn and the bed of the Pont respectively. It also extends to the south-west, crossing the Tyne at Warden, and again at Altonside and Tedcastle, dying out finally at Ridley, on the Allen.¹ A word remains to be said with regard to the Pleistocene and recent deposits occurring in the district under notice. The greater part of the shire is covered, often to some depth, with glacial drift, and in several places when the deposit consists of a well-developed clay, it is dug for the manufacture of tiles, notably at Grottingham, where the fine character of the material points to its probable subaqueous origin from reassorted boulder clay. On the moorlands to the south the drift is frequently more of the nature of true moraine. Many of the river valleys contain thick deposits of this drift, and in the East Allen the shaft in connection with the Blackett level at Sipton was sunk through 102 feet of this material, that is to say, to a depth of 64 feet below the present level of the stream. Adding to this 42 feet of additional material which occurs above the mouth of the shaft on the opposite bank of the river, we have a total thickness of alluvium in this part of the valley of 144 feet. The river runs principally on alluvium, but in two places it has excavated for itself a new channel, forming in one case at Holmes linn a waterfall 10 or 12 feet high. Along the banks of the Tyne well-marked river terraces occur, forming wide spreads on either side of the present river channel, the whole of Hexham north of the main road being built on this deposit. Writing of these terraces, Prof. Lebour remarks: 'I cannot regard any part of the present surface contour of the drift that so largely fills our larger Northumbrian valleys as original, *i.e.*, as practically unchanged in form since the disappearance of the glaciers. On the contrary, all such features must, I believe, be referred to very extensive post-glacial denudation.'²

¹ App. i. (text); vol. i. app. i. 28.

² App. i.

LEAD MINES.

Although no direct proof exists to establish the fact, there seems to be every reason for believing that lead mining has been carried on in Hexhamshire from very early times. The earliest known method of smelting has been thus described by Mr. Westgarth Forster: 'Piles of stones were placed round a fire, on the western brow of an eminence (as that is the most prevalent wind of the north), as near as possible to the mouth of the mine; these stones were so placed as to leave certain holes or openings, to answer both the purpose of flues and the admission of the air; the fuel was supplied from the neighbouring woods, which on that account have obtained the name of Hag hill or Hag bank . . . this method may be considered as the first essay of smelting lead ore.'¹

These primitive constructions are known as boles or bayle hills. In Allendale many of them may be found, with a quantity of scoriæ lying near, showing the result of operations carried on ages ago. A glance at a specimen will at once show how thoroughly the work of smelting was done, in spite of the rough nature of the materials used. Locally these places are known as bale hills, being but a slight variation from the term usually employed. One of them may be seen on the left bank of the East Allen, a few hundred yards below the Allen smelting mill.

Unfortunately it is impossible to assign even an approximate date to the time when this early smelting was carried on. There is always a strong temptation to carry everything back to the time of the Romans. This feeling is especially powerful in a case like the present, for Old Town, near Catton, is supposed to bear traces of Roman occupation, and the penning in Colliery lane, close by, is said to contain many Roman stones. Many centuries must be traversed from the time of the Romans before any actual evidence of the existence of mines in the district can be traced. Lead was exported from Newcastle in the reign of Henry I.,² and it may be regarded as certain that it came from Hexhamshire, though mines in Weardale were being worked in the reign of Stephen. The earliest direct reference to lead workings actually being carried on in the regality appears to be in 1230, when Archbishop Gray granted one mine to Alan, son of Ralph, Robert le

¹ Westgarth Forster: *A Treatise on a Section of the Strata from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to Cross Fell*, 2nd ed. p. 364. ² Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*, ii. p. 131, note.

Tanur, Richard Mariscall, Simon de Alston, and Alan de Nentesbire on condition that they should pay him yearly a seventh part of the produce.¹

In 1518, all the lead mines in Hexhamshire were leased to Thomas, Lord Dacre for 99 years, on consideration of his paying to the archbishop one ninth of the produce.² In the great survey of 1547 only one lead mine is mentioned, and the profit for the current year is stated at 9s. 4d. The mine is said to be situated in East Allendale, and is farmed out to John Shele by the king, who was lord of the manor for the time being.

Between 1547 and 1565 considerable progress appears to have been made, and in the latter year mines seem to have been opened by Matthew Bee, the owner of Ninebanks, at three places in his lands, namely, Grewslacke, Spartywell, and Bates hill, all three places being situated to the south of the village of Ninebanks and in West Allendale. In 1570, however, the mines were claimed as the property of the Crown. An action was brought against Matthew Bee for his encroachments upon the privileges of the queen. He pleaded, however, that the proceeds from the mines had not paid for the cost of working them. In the course of the evidence it appeared that less than 200 loads of lead had been extracted during the five years that had elapsed since the mines were first opened.³

In spite of this small quantity of lead and of Matthew Bee's assertion that it had not paid for the expenses of working, it may be regarded as certain that lead mining in Hexhamshire underwent considerable development during the latter years of the sixteenth century, and during the early part of the seventeenth century. In the survey of 1608 the rent of the grooves of lead in East Allendale is stated at 26s. 8d., with a clear yearly value of 43s. 4d. Surveys of the mines were ordered in 1619 and again in 1624, and this seems to indicate that they were being worked and that they were considered valuable. It may have been about this time that mines were opened on the north side of the Tyne, at Fallowfield, for in 1611 John Errington of Beaufront petitioned against Sir John Fenwick, who had forcibly dispossessed him of a lead mine there on the pretence that it belonged to the king.⁴ The register of St. John Lee contains many references to the Fallowfield lead miners during the seventeenth century, and the churchyard contains a tombstone erected to the memory of one of them, who

¹ *Archbishop Gray's Register*, Surt. Soc. p. 236. ² *Reg. Leases, York*, i. f. 17 a.

³ Special Commission, No. 1720. *The Queen v. Matthew Bee*.

⁴ *State Papers, Domestic*, Jas. I. vol. lxiv. Nos. 45 and 46.

was buried in 1714.¹ Everything seems to point to the fact that the latter part of the seventeenth century was a time of great prosperity for the lead mines in Hexhamshire; but with the dawn of the eighteenth century that prosperity began to decline. This is illustrated by an interesting petition presented at Quarter Sessions in July, 1711, by the inhabitants of the forest grieveship in Allendale:

To the hon^{ble} her mat^{ties} justices of the peace assembled upon the bench att Hexham.—The humble petition of the inhabitants of the Forest in the parish of Allendale humbly sheweth :²

That the parish of Allendale is divided into six greveships or constableries, viz., West Allen; Catton; Keenley; Allen; Park, and Forrest. All which have paid the poor cess joyntly hitherto. And one church warden collects the cess for two greveships. But now by two justices of the peace and twenty of the twenty four, the parish is ordered that every greveship or constablerie shall support their own poor. Which order was then opposed by four of the twenty four in behalfe of the Forrest. As being unequal for that some have no poor and others many; especially the Forrest which, by S^r William Blackett's stewards imploying at the mines both forreners and from other parts or greveships in the said parish poor labourers; hath made more poor in the Forrest than any other part in the parish which was not in our power to prevent. And now the mines are ordered to be laid in which will increase the number of the poor and make yo^r petitioners less able to support them.

Therefore your poor petitioners humbly pray that as the whole parish hath had the advantage of the mines when that trade flourished, your worships will be pleased to order that we may be equal in our sufferings now when it seems to decline. And your petitioners shall as in duty bound ever pray, etc.

[23 signatures.]

How long this depression in the industry continued, and how far it extended is a matter of uncertainty. At the beginning of the present century it had apparently entirely recovered itself. Mr. Westgarth Forster in his valuable treatise gives a list of the mines actually being worked in Allendale at the time he was writing (1821), with full particulars of each. As this list is of singular interest, it is here appended:

List of lead mines in the two Allendales belonging to Colonel and Mrs. Beaumont.³

1. Allenheads, seven miles south of Allendale Town, and four miles east of Coalcleugh, consisting of several veins, viz., Poverty vein, Sun vein, Diana vein, Blackett vein, Style vein, Christopher Mills' vein, Grindstone vein, etc.; much lead, with crystallised cubical spar, blue, purple, amber, etc., and also carbonates of lead, some blend or black jack, with quartz, in strata, from the Grindstone Sill to the Four-fathom Limestone. One horse level, upon the firestone, called Fawside level, begun in the year 1776; one water level known by the name of the Haugh level, begun in Sir William Blackett's time; four water wheel engines, underground; seven whimseys, one underground; and a large crushing machine.

2. Coalcleugh, two miles east of Nenthead, and $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.S.W. of Allendale Town, consisting of several veins: High Coalcleugh, Whitewood, Low Coalcleugh, etc.; much lead, and blend or black jack, with coloured cubical and amorphous fluor spar and quartz, in strata, from the Grindstone Sill to the Four-fathom Limestone. One water wheel, and one pressure engine, underground; five whimseys, two underground; two horse levels, viz., Coalcleugh level and Barney Crag level; and one water level, begun in Sir William Blackett's time; one large crushing machine.

¹ 'Here lyeth ye body of Cuthbert Todd of Fallowfield leade mills, who was buried the 16th of January, 1714.' ² *Sessions Records*, July, 1711. ³ *Treatise on a Section of the Strata*, 2nd ed. pp. 301-3.

3. Hearty Cleugh in Welhope, three miles and a half N.W. of Coalcleugh; lead, with some calc spar, principally in the Great Limestone.

4. Kearsley Well, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. by W. of Coalcleugh; lead, principally in the Great Limestone. One horse level.

5. Swinhope Head, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. of Coalcleugh; lead, with some blend or black jack, principally in the Great Limestone. One horse level, begun under the direction of Mr. William Crawhall, the agent; and one crushing machine.

6. Sipton, 4 miles N. of Allenheads; a trial, in slate sills and firestone.

7. Welhope Head, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. of Coalcleugh; lead, with sulphate and witherite or carbonate of barytes, in strata, from the High Slate Sill to the bottom of the Great Limestone. Two horse levels, begun under the direction of Mr. Joseph Dickinson.

About the middle of the present century Mr. Wentworth Blackett Beaumont, with great energy and spirit endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to increase and improve the lead industry in the district. He caused the construction of the road across the moors to Dilston, and in 1855 the Great Blackett level in Allendale was begun. As originally projected, it was intended to drive this to a distance of seven miles. No expense has been spared in the carrying out of this gigantic task, but at the present time only four and a half miles have been excavated. The tardiness of the work has been entirely due to the great decline in the lead industry in the district during the last few years. It is a matter of regret that so much enterprise should have been thrown away, but the introduction into the country of immense quantities of the metal from Spain, Greece, Germany, Australia, and Mexico have enormously reduced the price, while at the same time iron, zinc, and other materials are now being used for pipes, roofs, tanks, and so forth, where lead was formerly required. The effect of this double phenomenon of increased supply and reduced demand is strikingly illustrated by the following table showing the price of lead, at intervals of twenty years, from 1734 to 1894:

PRICE OF LEAD PER TON.

					£	s.	d.						£	s.	d.
1734	...	...	...	...	11	14	11	1834	...	...	...	...	16	8	4
1754	...	...	...	...	16	3	1	1854	...	...	...	...	21	13	10
1774	...	...	...	...	12	4	10	1874	...	...	...	...	21	7	2
1794	...	...	...	...	14	1	8	1894	...	...	...	...	9	15	0
1814	...	...	...	...	21	8	11								

During the thirty-three years, ending in 1883, the average output of ore was 2,955 tons a year. At that time the mines were taken over by the W. B. Lead Company, Limited, and the average output since then has only been 860 tons annually. In previous years there were three smelting mills in use in Allendale, one at the confluence of the East and West Allen;

Allen mill, near Allendale Town; and Allenheads mill. The first of these has long been closed, and all trace of it has disappeared. The Allenheads mill was closed in 1870, but the Allen mill continued in use. The horizontal flues for carrying off the fumes measured 3,410 yards at Allenheads mill and at Allen mill 8,770 yards in two equal parallel lengths. Only 4,385 yards of the latter are in use at the present time. On the east bank of the Devil's Water, near Steel, may be seen the ruins of a smelting mill, once used in connection with the Allendale mines. The lead mines in West Allendale were closed in 1894, and the total extinction of the industry seems to be close at hand. This decline has naturally affected the population of the district which, at the present time, is less than half what it was in 1861.

AGRICULTURE.

The agriculture of Hexhamshire presents features which are common to the agriculture of most of the inland districts of South Northumberland. On all sides may be found fields, and even open hill sides, that plainly show the marks of the plough, but where, for many years, the surface has been surrendered to the growth of grass. As a rule this change has been brought about by the extremely low prices current for wheat and other agricultural produce. In certain parts of Hexhamshire, notably in Allendale, this abandonment of tillage land to grass has, however, been considerably stimulated by the closing of most of the lead mines, and the consequent reduction in the rural population.

The following table exhibits in a condensed form for the three parishes : (1) the total area that has at one time been under the plough, (2) the acreage that has been laid away to grass, (3) the acreage of corn crops, (4) the acreage of green crops, (5) the area under 'seeds' :

NATURE OF LAND.	ALLENDALE.		HEXHAM.		ST. JOHN LEE.	
	1884. Acres.	1894. Acres.	1884. Acres.	1894. Acres.	1884. Acres.	1894. Acres.
Total cultivated area...	16,515	16,440	7,500	7,378	13,165	13,736
Permanent pasture ...	16,266	16,375	6,205	6,522	9,567	10,422
Corn crops ...	114	35	446	211	1,610	1,312
Green crops ...	75	14	344	185	928	659
Clover and grass (seeds) ...	58	15	459	395	1,016	1,327

On comparing the returns for the two years, 1884 and 1894, it will be seen that in each of the three parishes the area under permanent pasture has somewhat increased, while the area under corn crops and green crops has been correspondingly reduced. In the whole of Allendale in 1894 there were only 64 acres of land under regular tillage, while in Hexham the area extended to 791 acres, and in St. John Lee to 3,298 acres. The generally southern aspect of the latter parish largely accounts for its tillage area being so well maintained.

The system of tillage farming still lingers in a few favoured districts, where soil, climate, and local facilities enable farmers to keep the plough going at a reasonable profit. This style of farming still prevails, to a greater or less extent, on the lower ground of the north bank of the Tyne from Anick to Acomb, and on the east bank of the North Tyne as far up as Chollerton. Even on farms in these districts, however, a considerable portion of the land has been laid away to permanent pasture. The tillage land is, for the most part, cropped as follows: (1) oats, (2) turnips or potatoes, (3) barley or oats, (4) hay, consisting of a mixture of ryegrass and clovers. In the fourth year part of the young grass is hayed or grazed, and in the fifth year the grass may be pastured or broken up for oats. Nearly the whole of the produce is consumed on the farm.

The sheep stock kept on the tillage farms varies considerably. Sometimes half-bred ewes are put to a half-bred or pure bred Border-Leicester ram, a proportion of the lambs going off to the fat markets in June and July, the rest being retained for stock purposes, or are sent to the large store-stock markets towards the end of July or early in August. So-called draft or cast ewes (*i.e.*, old ewes from the hills) of the Cheviot or blackfaced breeds are bought in by some farmers in September or October, and, being mated with a Border-Leicester, sometimes with an Oxford or Shropshire, ram, produce half-bred, cross, or mule lambs, which find a ready market for various purposes. The mothers of these lambs are sold to kill in the autumn of the year succeeding that in which they are purchased.

The tillage farmers do not, as a rule, breed many cattle, preferring to buy in 'stores' from Ireland, Cumberland, and elsewhere, which they ultimately feed off on straw and turnips, supplemented by cake or meals, or on their better-class pasture fields, as the case may be. The bulk of the cattle are shorthorns, or shorthorn crosses, though Galloways, polled

Anguses and their crosses are by no means uncommon. Dairying is not carried on to any great extent on the tillage farms, though a few cows are usually kept to supply the farm house and the cottages.

The horses are, for the most part, of the Clydesdale breed, though shires and half-breds are also used for tillage work. Some farmers also breed a few hunters, or carriage horses, but the majority of them appear to prefer the heavier classes, whose rearing and management involve less risk.

The labour required for tillage land is either supplied, in the form of day-labour, from adjoining villages, or by married men and their families who live in cottages on the farm. The wages of a married ploughman or cattleman vary from 16s. to 21s. per week, with a free house and garden, coals delivered, and a certain quantity of potatoes, usually sufficient to supply his family during the year. The wages of a steward or shepherd are two or three shillings a week higher, the latter being sometimes paid, partly or entirely, by means of a certain number of sheep, which are included in the farmer's flocks. Sometimes, though not so often now as formerly, a married servant is allowed to keep a cow, in which case his wage is reduced by about 5s. per week.

A form of tillage farming which is practised to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood of Hexham, namely, market gardening and nursery cultivation, deserves a passing notice. The vegetables—leeks, onions, peas, early turnips, cauliflowers, young cabbages, etc.—find a market in Hexham and Newcastle, while the forest and fruit trees are sent all over the country, and some varieties, especially gooseberry bushes, are even sent in considerable quantity to the United States.

The higher ground in the three parishes of Hexham, St. John Lee, and Allendale, and much even of the lower-lying land, is almost exclusively devoted to pastoral farming. The pastoral farms vary in size from less than 100 acres up to considerably over 1,000. In some parts, also, notably in Allendale, many of the farms carry the right of grazing a certain number of sheep or cattle (stints) on the common fell land, in which case a 'herdsman' is annually appointed to take charge of the stock. The sheep stock kept on the grazing farms is chiefly of the blackfaced breed, less frequently Cheviots, and occasionally mules, *i.e.*, a cross between the blackfaced and Border-Leicester.

Besides sheep, most of the pastoral farmers rear or graze a considerable number of cattle. Non-pedigreed shorthorns predominate, the young animals

being usually wintered on hay, having a run out to the fields during the day. They are sold in October of their second year, when they are about eighteen months old. These young store cattle are in great demand amongst tillage farmers. They come from a high district, and, having been reared on plain fare, thrive well in a warmer climate and on better food, and generally leave a fair margin of profit for their keep.

Horses are kept to a very small extent on a pastoral farm, a single horse to take the farmer to market, and to cart coals, wool, and hay, frequently sufficing. On larger farms where a mower is kept, and where a considerable area of grass is made into hay, two or even three horses may be found, but this is rather exceptional.

On many pastoral farms dairying is a very important adjunct to sheep farming and cattle rearing. The dairies are not usually large, containing as they do from six to ten cows, more or less, and are generally managed by the farmer's wife or daughter. There being but little sale for milk, and cheese-making being rarely practised, the dairy produce is chiefly sold in the form of butter, most of which is brought to Hexham market.

The live stock statistics of the three parishes are best summarised in the following table, which shows the numbers of the various classes for 1884 and 1894. The numbers of horses and sheep, it will be seen, have in every case increased during the past decade, while pigs are much scarcer in each of the three parishes in 1894 than in 1884. Cattle have somewhat decreased in numbers in Allendale, but they have more than held their own in the other two parishes.

LIVE STOCK.	ALLENDALE.		HEXHAM.		ST. JOHN LEE.	
	1884 No.	1894. No.	1884. No.	1894. No.	1884. No.	1894. No.
Horses	287	397	122	136	284	303
Cattle	4,136	3,987	1,132	1,347	2,685	2,836
Sheep	22,891	24,560	5,787	6,079	9,625	11,145
Pigs	409	225	135	106	267	191

Some of the estates in this district are very large, but there is a considerable number of yeoman farmers. In many districts the small proprietor who farms his own land has largely disappeared, the cause frequently being that he was unable to compete successfully with the more thrifty and hard-working tenant farmer. Where, however, he has inherited the traditions of

frugal, industrious ancestors, and has lived and worked in a manner befitting his position, he has been able successfully to hold his own. This has been the case in a gratifying number of instances in Allendale and elsewhere. These yeoman farmers differ but little in their mode of life from their rent-paying neighbours. They work as hard and live as plainly, and it is only in the possession of better agricultural implements, more substantial fences and stone walls, rather better-bred live stock, and more highly-conditioned fields, that their more comfortable circumstances become apparent.

Closely related to agriculture is the subject of silviculture, which is practised in Hexhamshire to a very considerable extent. Much of the steep poor land has been found to be admirably adapted to the growth of trees, the prevailing species being the Scotch fir, larch, and spruce. In the more sheltered and richer situations one also meets with a considerable sprinkling of hard-woods, especially beech, oak, elm, sycamore, lime, and birch. Here and there our newer exotics, such as Douglas fir, Wellingtonia, and various species of *Abies*, are also having a trial, and already, in some instances, have attained to very considerable proportions. On the whole the tree that has in the past proved the most profitable is the larch, several plantations of this tree 60 to 90 years old, being valued at £200 and upwards per acre. Unfortunately, however, a fungoid disease, *Peziza Willkommii*, has within recent years attacked this tree with great virulence, so that the young woods that have been formed within the last two or three decades do not give so much promise of a profitable return as their predecessors. This larch blight, together with reduced revenues from estates, has had the effect of deterring many landowners from extending their woodlands, though it is probable that judicious tree-planting still offers the best means of profitably utilizing many classes of land.

DIALECT.

The spoken tongue in East and West Allendale is in marked contrast with that heard in the rest of the shire of which Hexham is the centre. In the dales, from the point of junction of the east and west branches of the Allen Water up to the heads of these streams, the trilled *r* is heard, with a vocalization similar to that of south-west Northumberland, and closely akin to that which prevails in the neighbouring Weardale. But in the portion of Hexhamshire bordering on the north and south banks of the Tyne, and within the area drained by the Devil's Water, the guttural *r*, or Northumber-

land burr, is general. The line of demarcation between these peculiarities passes the Tyne about two miles west of Bardon Mill, trends south-eastwards, crosses the Allen Water near Staward, and follows the east side of East Allendale, in the direction of its headwaters. The limit of the burr is here as sharply defined as it is on the northern confines of Northumberland. On each side of this pale the vocabulary is practically identical, but the spoken effect is so different that the transition from the sound of the uvular *r* to a speech in which the *r* is always trilled produces on the ear the effect of a different dialect. The trilled *r* might be supposed to result from the colonies of lead miners settled in upper Allendale, but the same phenomenon characterises the folk-speech of all that section of south-west Tynedale which lies beyond the limits of the burr country.

Local terms for natural features are especially characteristic in the southern portion of the shire. Here the uplands are in most cases distinguished by the suffix *rigg*, the northern form of ridge. These are large tracts of heathery fell land, rising, as at Stangend Rigg, to a height of 2,074 feet above sea level, and to the yet higher elevation of Killhope Law. The sharp ridge which rises behind Hexham and divides it from the deep valley of the Dipton burn, is significantly called Yarridge, which in the dialect means a sharp edge. The word *hope* occurs in many combinations at the head of the upland valleys, whilst in the dales themselves *shield* is found as a prevalent place-name and *cleugh* is yet more frequent, as in West Allen where the village of Coalcleugh stands at an elevation of between 1,600 and 1,700 feet above the sea level. The ramifications of the river system are discriminated in ascending order. Thus, the Tyne receives the two streams, the Allen and the Devil's Water (locally De'il's Wetter), the term *water* being applied to the larger tributaries of the main river. These *waters* are supplied by *burns*, and the burns are in turn fed, in many cases, by sluggish *sykes*. These uppermost branches originate in a *well*, which is either a spring or the flow from a moss.

The speech of Hexham itself shares its peculiarity with the west Tyne from Wylam to Bellingham. It differs from the lower Tyneside dialect chiefly in its modification of the long *a* sound heard in the local pronunciation of all, wall, old, etc. This will be understood by using the phonotypes *ā* to represent the vowel as it is heard before *r* in the word *dark*, and *ō* for the sound heard in the northern pronunciation of *no*. In Hexham the words

all, wall, old, are thus *o'*, *wō*, *ōd*; whereas in North and South Northumberland and on Tyneside they are *ā*, *wā*, *ād*. A local place rhyme illustrates the Hexham peculiarity:

Five *ōd* wives o' Yeckham (Acomb),
 Five *ōd* wives o' Wō (Wall),
 Five *ōd* wives o' Fallowfield,
 Fifteen o' them *ō* (all).

And the town motto, in which Hexham is proud to boast that it is 'the heart of o' England,' is often used to mark its peculiarity by uttering it with a facetious emphasis on the long *ō*. Among older inhabitants the pronunciation of stone, bone, home, moon, soon, boot, is heard as *steen*, *been*, *heem*, *meen*, *seen*, *beet*; but in other respects than those noted the dialect presents little or no difference from that of the rest of the county.

An example from each district will better illustrate their respective dialects. The first is in the speech of the dales, and is therefore spoken with a trilled *r* throughout. It is from 'A Dialogue between two Allendale Miners,' printed in 1878, referring to a conversation which took place about the year 1838.

ROBERT: Come, Gwourdy lad, howay an' git tha piepe; it's a lang time sin thou an' me had a bit crack. Howay, an' awl fill tha piepe for ode lang syne. Cum an' tell ma what thou hez fresh. Ah heer thou was at Staigha (Stagshaw Bank Fair) last Saturday. Did ta drive ony trade, or hez thou tha ode white mear yet? Here's the baccy box.

GEORGE: Wey, Bob, our Dick an' me gat up at three o'clock i' the mwournin and set off ta tha fair, an' we thought we wad coll at Hexham an' hev a bit rist. Se when we gat tiv tha fut iv Skinnern-burn we met a bit lad, an' axt him whilk e them lonnins led tiv tha Market P'lys, an' he started ta laf at us, an' sade them was streets an' nut lonnins; an he tenck us tiv a greet big public-huse at they coe the Turf Hotel, but ah secd ne turfs aboot it; b'd ah telld them if they wad gan up as far as the Heeds (Allenheads) wa me ah wad let them see plenty iv turfs an' peats tee. Se our lad an' me had a pient o' yel, an' gave tha galloway a feed o' cwourn, an' of wa set tiv tha fair, etc.

The second example is in the dialect of the eastern portion of the shire, spoken with the strong burr. It is from 'The Old Farmer,' by George Chatt, Hexham, 1866.

What changes there hes been! sin aw can meynd lang syne,
 There was ne steam machines, ne railway up the Tyne;
 We thresh'd wor coorn wuv sticks—a slow and tedions way;
 But thor machines knock off twe hundred bouls a day.
 When coorn cam forrit fast, it gav us muckle grief,
 For 'twas cutten up wi' heuks, an' gethered wi' the nief;
 Aw yence had hauf me crop o' battered wi' the wund,
 'Twass stannin rotten reype, ne wark-foak cood be fund:
 Says aw, 'Thoo muckle de'il, thaw varra warstest blow,
 Sin thoo's teyn away the coorn, thoo may teyk the stree an oa.'

HISTORY OF THE REGALITY.

The practice of granting private jurisdictions, or soken, to favoured individuals was by no means an uncommon expedient of the Anglo-Saxon kings. These grants, which included many of the rights of sovereignty, formed a substantial reward for faithful and loyal subjects, while they relieved the king from the ever pressing necessity of administering and defending outlying territories.

Of such franchises the liberty of Hexhamshire was one of the most important, as it was the most enduring. Long after other districts similarly privileged had lost all that distinguished them from the kingdom in general, the archbishop of York continued to enjoy, almost undiminished, the peculiar rights he exercised over Hexhamshire.

The date at which the regality was founded is uncertain, and the archbishops could never bring satisfactory documentary evidence to prove the validity of their title and claims. The first reference to the district is in Prior Richard's History, where he says that Queen Etheldrid, in the year 674, gave Wilfrid lands out of her dower with which to endow the new bishopric of Hexham.¹ If the lands referred to actually constituted, as is most probable, what was later known as Hexhamshire, the fact that they were granted as a whole, and were also the dower of the queen, would seem to indicate their previous existence as a distinct estate. Be that as it may, the see of York probably founded its claim upon this grant of Etheldrid, for though Wilfrid ended his days as bishop of Hexham and abbot of Ripon, yet it was as bishop of York that he had received the gift, a title by which he is best known. It may possibly have been a vague remembrance of this historic fact that led Archbishop Greenfield to assert that the manor of Hexham had belonged to the see of York ever since the foundation of the latter church.² At all events no records exist which afford the slightest proof that the manor ever belonged to anyone except the archbishops of York during this early period. Indeed, the manor is only mentioned once or twice, and on each occasion incidentally, in connection with Wilfrid's famous church.

¹ 'Haec (i.e., Etheldrid) vero, assensu regis mariti sui, . . . circa dominicae incarnationis MDLXXXIII^m, . . . dedit Sancto Wilfrido . . . Hestaldesham, cum circumjacente regione, quam a rege Egfrido in dotem accepisse creditur, ut ibi episcopatum sibi faceret.' Bk. i., cap. vii. *Hexham Priory* (Surt. Soc.), i. p. 23.

² 'Manerium nostrum de Hextildesham . . . quae de patrimonio ecclesiae nostrae Beati Petri Eboracensis a primitiva ejus fundatione existunt.' Rolls series. *Northern Registers*, ed. Raine, p. 240.

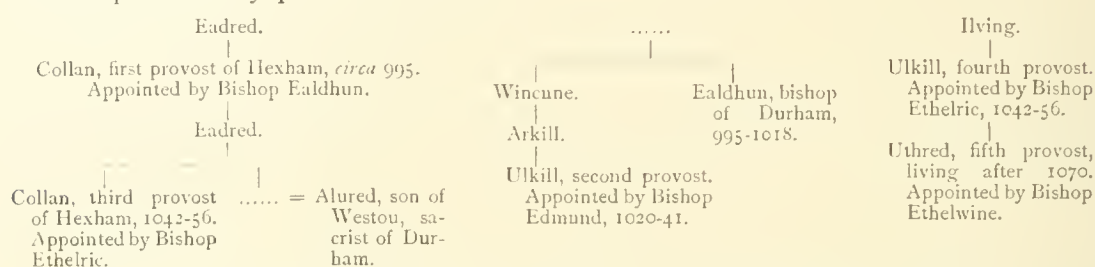
In the year 854 Wigmund, archbishop of York, and Eanberht, bishop of Lindisfarne, were both dead, and the opportunity was taken of more carefully defining the boundaries between their two dioceses. The vacant bishopric of Hexham was divided between the two sees, those lands lying between the Tyne and the Tees being assigned to York, and those between the Tyne and the Aln being included in the diocese of Lindisfarne.

Under this arrangement Hexhamshire probably remained undivided, and in the possession either of the see of York or of Lindisfarne. To which diocese it was actually attached remains uncertain. York certainly had the prior claim, and could undoubtedly have enforced it if that had been desired. But from very early times the connection between Lindisfarne and Hexham had been exceedingly close. The relation had at first been purely ecclesiastical, but as time went on the bishops at Lindisfarne seem to have acquired a territorial jurisdiction over the shire. The administration of so remote a district, so exposed to internal disorder and foreign invasion, would, at that time, be regarded by the archbishops of York rather in the light of an irksome duty than as a profitable source of income. They, therefore, quietly suffered the encroachments of the see of Lindisfarne upon their territories, and neglected to make any protest before it was too late. In the year 883, or less than thirty years after the division of the Hexham diocese, the ownership of Hexham regality seems definitely to have passed into the hands of the bishops of Lindisfarne. At that date the Danish king Guthred endowed the congregation of St. Cuthbert, then settled with the body of the saint, at Chester-le-Street, with all the lands between the Tyne and the Wear.¹ It may possibly be assumed in the light of subsequent events, that by this grant the whole of the regality came definitely into the hands of one owner, though grants of this kind, as a rule, only included lands lying near the coast. But if the shire was included, then all possibility of any ambiguity that may have existed at once ceased. Yet no steps to ensure a regular administration in Hexhamshire seem to have been taken till more than a hundred years later. In the year 995 the congregation was driven out from Chester-le-Street by an incursion of the Danes. Returning soon after from their place of refuge at Ripon, they established themselves, with the body of the saint, at Durham. After the establishment of his see, Bishop Ealdhun probably soon turned his attention to his outlying possessions, and

¹ Rolls series, *Symeon of Durham*, i. 70.

it cannot have been long after this date that he appointed one Collan, son of Eadred, as provost or thegn of Hexhamshire.¹

The rule of the provosts in the regality lasted throughout the greater part of the eleventh century. Each bishop appointed a provost on succeeding to the bishopric, the provosts themselves being drawn from three families, so that the office became almost hereditary. No records exist to illustrate the history of the administration of these men, but a short pedigree, showing their relation to each other, and to other well-known men of the period may prove of interest:



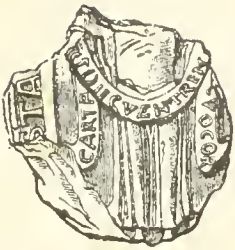
The title of the bishops of Durham to Hexhamshire seemed then perfectly assured, and during the course of the eleventh century they obtained confirmations from Pope Gregory VII., Archbishop Lanfranc, and even from the archbishop (Thomas) of York himself.² But in the year 1071, William the Conqueror ravaged the north with fire and sword, and Bishop Ethelwine of Durham fled to Lindisfarne, Hexhamshire suffering with the surrounding country, and the whole district being laid waste. Uthred the provost, finding himself without a superior, offered to the archbishop of York the government of the lands with which he was entrusted.³ Archbishop Thomas, though he had only recently confirmed the title of the bishops of Durham to the district, did not scruple to accept the offer. No alteration, however, seems to have been made beyond this change of masters. Uthred returned to his post, and in all probability continued to hold it until his death. It is unlikely that the archbishop thought it worth while to make any considerable changes even then. Perhaps some alteration took place when the settlement of the Austin canons at Hexham in the year 1113 established a new order of things, and introduced the germ of future relations between Hexham and York.

¹ For this account of the Hexham provosts see *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. iv. and note. The appended pedigree is taken from Canon Raine's preface to the same volume, p. li.

² *Suit. Soc. Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.* pp. x. xiii. ccxxxi.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. illus. Docs. No. iv.

HEXHAM SEALS.



FRAGMENT OF THE CONVENTUAL
SEAL OF HEXHAM.



OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE
PRIOR.



FORGED CONVENTUAL SEAL.



ARCHBISHOP WALDBY'S SEAL FOR THE REGALITY.

This impression is taken from the original matrix in the Museum of the Philosophical Society, at York. The legend is the same on each face with but slight variations: 'Signum Roberti Eboracensis Archiepiscopi Anglie primatis domini de Hextildesham.' On the obverse the modern arms of the see of York are given, and on the reverse the ancient arms of the see impale the arms of Waldby, a lion rampant guttée crowned, within a bordure compony. The seal itself is a remarkably fine specimen of late fourteenth-century (Jan.-May, 1398) decorative work.



OFFICIAL SEAL OF
PRIOR MARTON.

The tangled course of the history of the regality and its church had resulted in an entire re-arrangement of the original dispositions. By the grant of Etheldrid the lands of the shire were undoubtedly intended as an endowment of the religious foundation of Wilfrid. But when the Austin canons settled at Hexham in 1113, they were exceedingly poor, and owned none of the original property of the church they had come to occupy. The greater part of the regality belonged to the archbishop of York, and all that remained was in the hands of the priest Eilaf. In fact the prior and convent of Hexham never owned very much property in Hexhamshire, most of their possessions lying outside. The prior, indeed, occasionally exercised some powers in the liberty, but it was only on sufferance, and by the grant of his superior the archbishop.

If we may credit a fifteenth-century document preserved among the Cottonian MSS., the unauthorised concession of Uthred speedily received royal confirmation. This document relates how King Henry I., having quarrelled with Bishop Flambard, deprived him of his possessions in Hexhamshire, and gave them to the see of York.¹ But neither the gift of the provost nor the grant of the king appears to have been contested by the bishops of Durham, and the archbishops of York continued to enjoy unmolested and undisturbed the extensive property of the regality.²

At this time, when difficulties of ownership had been settled, a regular administrative system may reasonably be supposed to have begun to take shape. It may therefore not be out of place to examine, by the light of more recent documents, the nature of this system, and the extent of the archiepiscopal rights in the district. Briefly stated, they amounted almost to regal powers. With but few exceptions the archbishop enjoyed complete judicial and administrative authority in his liberty. He was, indeed a subject of the king, but from his numerous rights and exemptions he rather occupied the position of a vassal king than that of an ordinary subject. His jurisdiction was both criminal and civil. Murder, treason, robbery, and all kinds of felony were within his jurisdiction; all pleas of the Crown could be tried in his courts; accused persons were to be brought before his justices, and if convicted might be imprisoned in his gaol, fined for his profit, or, if

Titus A ii. 160-1. *Hexham Priory*, i. p. 220.

² This account of the early history of the regality has been passed over somewhat rapidly, because almost all the facts will be found in a somewhat different form in the account of the priory. This repetition is to be regretted, but it was unavoidable if the two accounts were to be kept separate.

the offence merited it, suffer death.¹ The profits of justice, the goods and chattels of traitors, felons, or fugitives all accrued to the archbishop. In civil and administrative matters, besides his ordinary fental rights as lord of the manor, the archbishop enjoyed the privilege of holding inquisitions for various purposes; all questions of title, transfer of land, succession, and similar causes, came under the authority of his justices. Commercial affairs were under his control, he regulated the markets, and enjoyed the tolls of his liberty.² Over his forests he exercised the usual rights of the lord: the cutting of timber and firewood, the usage of clearings, the right of pasture, and the privilege of hunting. In addition he could grant out these privileges to others, and a charter exists by which Archbishop Greenfield granted the right of hunting in Hexhamshire to Peter de Lisle.³ A privilege of an even more regal nature belonged to him, namely, the right of taxation. Through his bailiff he could demand a ferm from his tenants.⁴

Besides these extensive temporal powers, the archbishops as lords of the spiritualities of Hexhamshire enjoyed all the ecclesiastical rights of jurisdiction. These were always considerable, but particularly so in the Middle Ages. They comprised not only a complete jurisdiction in all offences of the clergy, no matter how grave they might be, but all regulations as to

¹ The privilege of *furca* (see *infra*) was the right of setting up gallows and hanging criminals. Apparently this right was not often exercised by the archbishops, who, as ecclesiastics, would hesitate to give effect to a capital sentence. Only one instance of an execution seems to be recorded, viz., when the bailiff, Wm. de Toluse, caused one John Wily to be hanged on the gallows. *Rot. Hund. apud Hodgson, Northumberland*, 111. i. 108. The bailiff would be less scrupulous in these matters than his lord.

² *Assisa panis et cerevisiae* (see *infra*) probably covers general market regulations, such as the tolls, weights and measures, etc. See Du Cange sub voce *Assisa*.

³ 'W., etc., ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem, etc. Volumus et mandamus quatinus cum dominus Johannes de Insula miles ad partes illas accesserit, vel alius nomine magistri Petri de Insula presentes literas deferens pro feris bestiis infra libertatem nostram de Hextildesham capiendis, ipsos in instanti tempore pinguedinis venari permittas et quod ceperint per venatum dicto magistro Petro facias liberari. Vale. Datum apud Cawod xiii. Kal. Julii pontif. nostri anno vi^{to} [19 June, 1311].' *York Registers*, Greenfield, pars i. f. 54 a.

⁴ 'Willelmus, etc., universis militibus, hominibus et libere tenentibus, ministris et servientibus nostris quibuscunque in manerio et libertate nostris de Hextildesham constitutis salutem, gracionem et benedictionem. Cum constituerimus Thomam de Fetherstanhalgh seniore ballivum nostrum nostrorum manerii et libertatis praedictorum, volumus et vobis firmiter injungendo mandamus quatinus in hiis quae ad ballivi officium pertinent sibi parcatis humiliter, ac eciam intendatis. Commisimus eciam potestatem eidem Thomae assidendi ad firmam terras nostras tam in dominicis nostris quam in manibus tenencium nostrorum existentibus in nostra libertate predicta quousque aliud de eisdem duxerimus ordinandum; salvo jure tenencium nostrorum qui absentes sunt, ut, cum redierint, terras quas prius de nobis tenuerunt adhuc si voluerint teneant pro certa firma nobis de eisdem reddenda usque ad nostrae duntaxat beneplacitum voluntatis, ratum et gratum habentes et habituri quicquid idem Thomas in premissis et circa ea ad honorem Dei et ad nostri fecerit utilitatem, comodum, et honorem. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Data apud Cawode kalendis Februarii anno gracie millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo tercio et pontificatus nostri septimo [1 February, 1324].' *Ibid.* Melton, f. 417 b.

marriage, divorce, etc., sacrilege, and even some kinds of felony.¹ To the punishments of fine, imprisonment, or death, the lords of Hexham exercised the sometimes more dreaded terrors of excommunication.²

Where the power of the lord was so considerable, the authority of the king was naturally much restricted. The royal officials were rigorously excluded from the liberty; neither itinerant justices, sheriffs, nor coroners could enter its jealously guarded limits to exercise their respective functions.³ The chief prerogative enforced by the king in the regality was the right to raise subsidies. This is proved by the existence of Subsidy Rolls for the district. The right, however, appears to have been somewhat resented by the archbishop, and also neglected by the kings. In the year 1359 an enquiry was instituted to discover why no subsidies had been paid during the reign of Edward III. Archbishop Thoresby could produce no justification for this state of things; but the king of his grace pardoned him and his tenants all their arrears, and further granted that during the life of Thoresby no such payments should be made. The royal rights were none the less reserved, and upon the death of the archbishop

¹ For some such cases see records of the Ecclesiastical Court of York for the years 1553, 1556, 1580-90.

² As may be imagined, this was by no means an uncommon weapon of offence. In 1324 the tenants were excommunicated for not paying their rents. *York Registers*, Melton, f. 418. In 1391 the murderers of the forster were likewise put out of the pale of the church. *Ibid.* Arundel, 23 a. Seven years later Archbishop Waldby fulminated an excommunication against all who detained charters, deeds, etc., belonging to the see of York. *Ibid.* Waldby, f. 1 b.

³ A summary account of the rights of the archbishops over Hexhamshire is contained in each of the inquisitions taken to enquire by what authority they exercised them. Extracts from two of these inquisitions are given here: 'Et Archiepiscopus Eboraci in libertate Extildesham et Alwennerdale que tenet de domino rege habet breve suum et tenet placita de namio vetito et habet furcam et assisam panis et cerevisiae et quicquid ad Coronam pertinet, sed nesciunt a quo tempore nec quo warranto.' [1274.] *Rot. Hund. apud Hodgson, Northumberland*, III. i. p. 108. Namium vetitum: An unjust taking the cattle of another and driving them to an unlawful place, pretending damage done by them. In which case the owner of the cattle may demand satisfaction for the injury, which is called *placitum de namio vetito*. Cowell's *Interpreter*.

In the year 1256 one William de Erlington beat William, son of Ralph de Lillswood, to death, and then fled and was outlawed. The town of Hexham was ordered to be fined for not taking him; but the bailiffs denied the attachment, and refused to allow the royal coroners or sheriffs to enter their liberty. *Cal. State Papers, Scotland*, i. 2047.

'Archiepiscopus Ebor. summonitus fuit quod esset hic ad hunc diem ostensurus quo waranto clamat quod, quocienscumque justiciarii hic itinerantes ballivo ejusdem archiepiscopi de Hextildesham capitula coronae quae infra comitatum hic placitari contigerit liberent ad placitandum per justiciarios suos quos ad hoc assignare voluerit de omnibus capitula illa tangentibus, quae in manerio suo de Hextildesham emergunt. Et omnia placita tam coronae quam alia per brevia sua et justiciarios suos in manerio predicto placitare. Et exitus et proficua inde proveniencia capere et habere. Et omnia quae ad officium vicecomitis et coronatorum pertinent per ministros suos facere et exercere. Et quod nullus ballivus regis intret manerium suum predictum ad aliquod officium exercendum, et custodiam prisonum habere et deliberacionem eorundem pro voluntate suo facere. Et mercatum, furcas, et catalla fugitivorum et felonum dampnatorum in eodem manerio habere quae ad coronam et dignitatem domini regis et progenitorum suorum,' etc. *Rot. Pat.* 30 Edw. III. pars i. memb. 9. Cf. also *Quo Warranto apud Hodgson, Northumberland*, III. i. p. 143, and *Plac. Asserv.* 21 Edw. I. *ibid.* III. ii. p. 348.

the tenants of Hexham had to discharge their obligations to the royal exchequer just as their fellow-countrymen did.¹

Another privilege enjoyed by the king was the right of appointing the number of fairs that might be held, and the days of the week on which they were to be kept. It seems strange that a privilege, relatively so insignificant, should not have belonged to the archbishop along with his other and more considerable rights, but this was not the case. About the year 1319 Archbishop Melton petitioned the king to grant him two fairs at Hexham, and it was only by the royal permission that he was able to do as he wished.²

The various and extensive powers of the archbishops in Hexhamshire demanded a strong and well organised system of administration. Perhaps this was not so well managed as it might have been, yet for general purposes the see of York possessed a machinery of government that performed its work more or less effectively. For administrative purposes Hexhamshire was divided into six parts. These were, Hexham borough, Newlands and Rowley ward,³ Acomb and Wall grieveship,⁴ Park and Forest grieveship,

¹ 'Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem regalem decet munificentiam et debitum requirit justicie, ut illos gratiarum muneribus liberalius prosequamur quorum servitia nostris utilitatibus et reipublice fructus uberiores invenimus attulisse. Attendentes igitur praeclara merita venerabilis patris Johannis archiep. Ebor., Angliae primatis, nuper cancelarii nostri, quem in rebus gerendis, nedum nostri profectus, set juris et justicie magnum novimus zelatorem et in eorum cultu claritate fidelitatis et providentie praelucere, necnon impensa nobis per eum obsequia fructuosa, diuturnis laboribus lacessitum, qui jam vergens in senium contemplacioni nititur inhaerere, factus pro nobis apud Deum sedulus intercessor, dignum immo debitum fore decernimus ipsum in opportunitatibus gratiis et favoribus praevenire et ab inquietationum dispendiis praeservare.

Cum itaque placitum pendeat per breve nostrum coram thesaurario et baronibus nostris de scaccario inter nos et ipsum archiepiscopum, ac homines et tenentes suos libertatis suae de Hextildesham, et a diu pendiderit, ex eo quod ipse ac homines, etc., sui ostendant si quid pro se habeant, vel dicere sciant, quare de porcione ipsos de decimis, quintaedecimis, lanis et aliis subsidiis, nobis per communitatem regni nostri Angliae, diversis vicibus, a tempore quo dicti regni gubernacula suscepimus, concessis, contingente onerari, et nobis non debeant respondere. Nos ut idem archiep. divinis obsequiis et orationibus in quibus animae nostrae utitur interesse, liberior intendere valeat, volentes ejus tranquillitati et quieti favorabiliter providere, de gratiae nostrae plenitudine pardonavimus et remisimus eidem archiep. et hominibus, etc., libertatis suae predictae, omnes portiones ipsum archiep.; ac homines, etc., suos, de decimis, etc., nobis pro toto tempore praeterito, per communitatem ejusdem regni concessis, et imposterum, quamdiu idem archiep. vitam duxerit in humanis, concedendis ratione libertatis predictae, vel bonorum suorum infra eandem libertatem contingentes; et ipsos de dictis decimis, etc., pro toto tempore praeterito, per dictam communitatem nobis concessis et exnunc tota vita predicti archiep. concedendis, libertatem predictam tangentibus, exoneramus et quietamus per presentes.

Salvis nobis et heredibus, nostris actione et jure, si que ad hujus modi decimas, etc., nobis vel heredibus nostris per communitatem dicti regni nostri Angliae, post mortem predicti archiepiscopi concedenda in dicta libertate de Hextildesham, sicut alibi in comitatu Northumbr. petend. et habend. habeamus; quibus actioni et juri nolumus post mortem predicti archiep. colore presentium, in aliquo derogari [July 20, 1359].² Rymer (Record Ed.), III. i. p. 436.

² *York Registers*, Melton, ff. 404 b, 405 b. *Rot. Chart.* 13 Ed. II. No. 9.

³ In modern times the term Hexhamshire has been restricted to this ward.

⁴ Comprising the modern parish of St. John Lee, with the adjacent chapelry of St. Oswald, in short all that part of Hexhamshire which lies on the north side of the Tyne.

Allenton and Catton grieveship, and West Allen and Keenley grieveship. The courts were usually held in the months of May and November of each year, about the time of the feasts of Whitsuntide and St. Martin (November 11). It was then that the juries of each ward or grieveship met the archbishop's officials, to present offenders, hold inquisitions, and decide causes. The number of men comprising a jury seems to have varied between twelve and eighteen, though perhaps the number fifteen was more often selected than any other. These juries, besides their judicial work, also selected the local officials for the year. The following list will show the names and nature of these officials for the various years which are indicated:

PARK AND FOREST JURY. 1672.

We present Robt. ffairles & Jn. Sheild for constables in ye fforrest. Tho. Rowle for constable in ye Park. Jn. Braidwood & Hugh Sheild of Acton for sworne men in ye Forest. Cuthb. Rodham for survaer in the Park. Tho. William of Hay Rake for survaer in the Forest.

ALLENTON AND CATTON JURY. 1672.

Constables for Catton grevshipp: Cuthb. Howden, Jo. Hornsby, to enter at Christmas. Constables for Allendaile: Jn. Sheild for ye Rideing, Jn. Errington for Howsty. Sworne men for Catton greevshipp: Tho. Wiggam ye smelter, Tho. Blacklock. Surveighour for Catton greevshipp: Robt. Bowman. Surveighour for Allendaile: Jn. Rickerdson for the Parkeside. Sworne men for Allendaile: Jn. Sparke for the Scoteshaw, Jn. Tallentyere.

WEST ALLEN AND KEENLEY JURY. 1679.

Constables for West Alindale: Jn. Wiliamston for ye Haisliewell, Jn. Sparke for Driburne. Constables for Keenlie: Michael Wilkinson for ye Gilshous. Swornemen for West Alindale: Wm. Teasdale for Haisliewell, Mich. Armstrong for ye Middle. Surveyors for West Alindale: Wm. Lee for ye Smaleburnes, Hen. Dickson for ye Clughfoot. Swornemen for Keanlie: Tho. Sparke for Burnelaw, Tho. Jackson for Huntergap. Surveyor for Keanlie: Geo. Winter for ye Hoaksteal.

NEWLANDS AND ROWLEY WARD JURY. 1707.

1 constable for Mid Quarter; 1 constable for town of Wall; 1 surveyor of high ways.¹

The duty of the constable was to arrest and present at the courts the various petty offenders in his district. This officer seems to have been more concerned with what may be termed breaches of the bye-laws than with more serious and criminal offences. The surveyors were obliged to see to the maintenance of roads and bridges, and to provide for their repair when defective. The tenure of both offices was for a year only, and the persons who filled them were apparently chosen in order of rotation. The office was not a coveted one, and the juries were not infrequently obliged to fine a

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls, sub annis.*

refractory constable or surveyor, who refused to perform his duties or to undertake the office.¹

Such was the basis upon which the government of Hexhamshire was founded. The executive was placed in the hands of a number of officials, each of whom owed his appointment to the archbishop, and who might be dismissed, without appeal, by the same hands. Of these officials by far the most important was the bailiff, who corresponded almost exactly to the sheriff, in the districts immediately under the control of the Crown. It seems to have been usual to appoint a new bailiff almost every year, or at least, with great frequency. This was probably from motives of policy, for the office was both lucrative and influential, and the occupant, if left too long in the enjoyment of it, might easily become all but independent. However, in 1364, Archbishop Thoresby appointed the existing bailiff Richard de Ask for life, and gave him power to appoint a deputy.²

This precedent, if not followed immediately, seems to have given the signal for appointments over a considerable period of time, and in the sixteenth century, and subsequently, appointments for life became the rule.

The bailiff was the chief financial officer of the archbishop: all moneys, rents, taxes, fines, forfeitures,³ etc., passed through his hands, and it was he

¹ Local institutions have enjoyed a remarkable vitality in England. Forms and customs that existed in Anglo-Saxon times have survived, with few modifications, to our own day. Considerations such as these must serve as an excuse for introducing into the history of this early period documents that exclusively belong to the seventeenth century, and which therefore deal with a much later time. The later information is naturally fuller than that which is earlier, and it undoubtedly describes a system which has been perfected in the course of centuries. At the same time, there is sufficient material in the earlier documents to warrant the inference that at the period which is being dealt with, local institutions existed in Hexhamshire in substantially the same form as we find them there later on, in the seventeenth century.

² 'A touz ceaux ge ceste lettre verront ou orront, Johan par la grace de Dieu ercevesque d'Euerwyk, primat d'Engl', saluz, etc. Come nous eons graunte et done a notre chere vadlet Ricard de Ask, l'office de baillie de notre fraunchise de Hextildesham a tenir et avoir le dit office au dit Ricard a terme de sa vie auxi come en noz lettres patentz a lui ent faitz pluis pleinement est contenuz; si volons et grauntons par nos et noz successours qe bien lise au dit Ricard a terme de sa vie de mettre en y cell office un lieutenant par qi il voille respondre a occuper cel office en son noum issint qil serveie si rien soit meffait ou trespasse devers nos ou noz successours en notre dite fraunchise par le dit Ricard ou son lieutenaunt avaunt dit qe le dit Ricard ne soit en nul maner par cause de celle meffait ou trespase ostee ou forsinge de son dit office par nos ne noz successours a terme de la vie le dit Ricard eveiz soit le dit Ricard tenuz affaire eut les amendes duement a nos et noz successours solonc os qi ley et reson demandent, auxi bien par lui mesmes come par son lieutenaunt avaunt dit et auxint volons et grauntons par nos et noz successours qi bien lise au dit Ricard a terme de sa vie destier et renuier touz nos officers, baillifs et ministers de la dite fraunchise en maner come auters baillifs de mesme la fraunchise ount fait eveiz ces heures et alters sufficiantz mettre en lours lieu. En testmoignance de quelle chose a cestes lettres patentz nos avons mys notre seal. Donn a Thorp juxt Everwyk le xii jour de Juyn l'an de notre seignoure MCCCLXIV et de notre translacion duzisme.' *York Registers*, Thoresby, f. 300 a. It may be interesting to add that the Hexham bailiffs have constantly availed themselves of this privilege of appointing a deputy, the officer thus nominated being known as the steward.

³ 'Cacterum omnes redditus et firmas et totam pecuniam quam qualitercumque de levandis denariis et perquisitis aliis levare poteritis apud Eboracum . . . una cum tota pecunia quam ab officiali jurisdictionis nostrae de Hextildesham habere poteritis.' *York Registers*, Greenfield, i. f. 33.

who assessed the amount of the ferm.¹ He attended all the courts, presided at all inquisitions, and effected all transfers of land.² He was bound to look to the due observance of all the lord's feudal rights, and in this way he undertook, on behalf of the archbishop, the wardship of minors.³ He was bound to produce criminals and all manner of prisoners for trial before the justices, as well as the witnesses who were to prove their guilt.⁴ He carried out the judgment of the court, to imprison, fine, or execute convicted prisoners,⁵ to enforce the proper transfer and succession of property, and to distrain on refractory and excommunicated tenants.⁶ Apparently he also had the power of appointing to many of the subordinate offices in the regality,⁷ and at least on one occasion he nominated to the important post of coroner.⁸ Like the king's sheriffs he held his tourn and view of frankpledge,⁹ in short all the executive powers of the liberty were centred in him. His privileges were apparently regarded as a vested interest, for when the regality was made a part of Northumberland in 1572 it was especially provided that the bailiff should retain 'all liberties and privileges for executing of process, return of writs, and otherwise as they or any of them of right ought to have before the making of this act.'¹⁰

Next in importance to the bailiff were the justices. These were appointed by writ of the archbishop, apparently as occasion required, for assizes and gaol delivery, that is to say for civil and criminal cases. The justices were selected from among the gentry of the surrounding country. Two or three appointments occur in most years, and though the same names constantly recur, the grouping is rarely identical. The names of bailiffs and ex-bailiffs are exceedingly common.¹¹

The coroner, who was probably the nominee of the bailiff, was entrusted with all matters connected with the pleas of the Crown. If the archbishop

¹ *York Registers*, Melton, f. 417 b. *Ibid.* Greenfield, i. f. 45 a. ³ *Ibid.* Melton, ff. 413 b, 425 a.

⁴ *Ibid.* Greenfield, i. f. 53 b. ⁵ *Rot. Hund. apud* Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 108.

⁶ 'Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio Thome de Fetherstanhalgh ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem. Tibi precipimus et mandamus quod quocienscumque tibi per certificationem fratris Thomae de Appelton, custodis jurisdictionis nostre ibidem, constiterit legitime de aliquibus rebellibus et obstinatis tenentibus nostris infra dictam jurisdictionem nostram qui ipsius monitis et mandatis contempnibiliter parere recusaverint, claves ecclesiasticæ correctionis contempnendo per quadraginta dies excommunicationis sententiam ab eodem custode legitime latam sustinuerint animo indurato, ipsos extunc per auxilium brachii secularis in corporibus eorumdem, prout justum fuerit, distringendo, ad satisfactionem canonicam compellere non postonas. Vale. Data apud Seleby v. Idus Julii pontificatus nostri anno septimo. [11 July, 1324].'⁷ *York Registers*, Melton, f. 418 b.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 28 n.

⁸ *York Registers*, Melton, f. 415.

⁹ *Rot. Hund. apud* Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 108.

¹⁰ See Wright, *Hexham*, p. 109 n. ¹¹ *York Registers*, Zouche, f. 294 a.

did not directly appoint him, he had the power of removing a person who displeased him, and in February, 1332, Archbishop Melton dismissed Hugh de Eryngton for incapacity, and ordered the bailiff to appoint some one else.¹

The receiver was the servant and assistant of the bailiff, to whose office his own was complementary. He collected the rents and fermes which were due to the archbishop, and paid them into the hands of the bailiff. He paid a fee to the bailiff, apparently for the privilege of exercising his functions.²

On the 15th of February, 1358, in conformity with a step taken previously by King Edward III., Archbishop Thoresby appointed Thomas de Ughtred, Thomas de Seton, and Thomas de Fencotes, knights, with Peter de Richmond, to be justices of the peace for Hexhamshire. Their duties were modelled upon those of similar officials in the rest of the kingdom.³ The other officials of the shire, whose titles may be found in all parts of the archiepiscopal registers, occupied positions inferior to those named above. Their titles in most cases sufficiently indicate the functions they exercised. They are the supervisor of the manor, the forester, the sergeant, the guard of the spiritualities, the penancer (the duties of these two latter officials were usually exercised by the prior or a canon of Hexham), the court officials, the auditor, and the gaoler, all of whom were appointed by writs of the archbishop.⁴

Such was the government under which the men of Hexhamshire lived throughout the Middle Ages. Manifestly Archbishop Thomas, by the act

¹ *York Registers*, Melton, f. 431 a. ² *Ibid.* ff. 55 b, 417 b.

³ "Johannes, etc., venerabilibus viris dominis Thome de Ugthred, Thome de Seton, et Thome de Fencotes, militibus; et Petro de Richemond, salutem. Sciatis quod nos tranquillitati et quieti populi infra libertatem nostram de Hextildesham commorantes intime affectantes, assignavimus vos conjunctim et diversim ad pacem ac statuta apud Wynton et Northampton pro conservacione pacis hujusmodi edita in omnibus et singulis suis articulis infra dictam libertatem nostram conservandum et conservari faciendum, et ad omnes illos quos contra formam statutorum predictorum delinquentes inveneritis seu invenerit aliquis vestrum insequendum, arestandum, et capiendum, et eos juxta vim, formam, et effectum statutorum eorundem puniendum; assignavimus enim vos tres vel duos vestrum ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de libertate predicta per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit et inquire de quibuscumque felonis et transgressionibus infra libertatem predictam qualitercumque factis; et ad omnes illos quos in hac parte indictari contigerit insequendum arestandum et capiendum, et in prisiona nostra custodiri faciendum donec inde deliberentur secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie. Et ideo nos requirimus et rogamus quod ad certos dies et loca quos vos tres vel duo vestrum ad hoc provideritis inquisitiones inde factas et premissa omnia et singula faciatis et expleatis in forma predicta. Mandavimus enim ballivo libertatis predicte quod ad certos dies et loca quos vos ei scire faciatis, venire faciat coram vobis tot et tales probos et legales homines de libertate predicta per quos rei veritas in premissis melius sciri poterit et inquire, et quod vobis et cuilibet vestrum in premissis omnibus et singulis faciendis et exequendis pareat et intendat. Data, etc., xv. die Februarii anno quarto." *Ibid.* Thoresby, f. 299 b.

⁴ *Ibid.* Booth, f. 134 b.; Melton, ff. 51 b, 400 b, 435 a; Greenfield, ii. f. 37 b; Bowet, i. f. 335 a; Kempe, f. 177 a; Nevill, f. 45 b, etc.

of Uthred and the gift of King Henry I., had entered upon a magnificent inheritance. Over the inhabitants of the shire and their property he exercised an almost unchecked control, and from them he derived a rich income. No rent roll exists for this early period, nor is there any record of the regality and its tenants for many years to come. About the year 1295, however, a subsidy was taken in the shire. A record of this taxation exists, and is a most useful and interesting document, but unfortunately its value is seriously impaired by the imperfect condition of the manuscript, which is in a very bad state of preservation. Many gaps cannot now be filled up, but the total amounts remain, and among the names that occur some interesting ones will be noticed.

SUBSIDY ROLL FOR 1295(?)¹

Nomina debitorum . . . domino regi concessa in libertate de Hextildisham anno regni regis Edwardi vicesimo tertio (?).

[Hextilde]sham	s. d.		s. d.
De Gilberto Tufote ...	1 2	De . . . del D . . .	.
De Alano filio Helle ...	1 6	De . . . don . . .	1 3
De Waltero fullone ...	2 4½	De . . . ...	.
De Laurencio sutore ...	1 9½	De Henrico filio Eley ...	1 7½
De Roberto de Sandou... ..	1 4	De Simone E . . .	1 10½
De Henrico Derling ...	0 10	Summa, 6os. 9½d.	
De Alano de Hulland ...	1 7½	. . .	
De Rogero del Bathous ...	2 6½	De . . . Willelmi ...	1 3½
De Thoma h . . .	1 9	De . . . filio Nicholai	1 4
De Rogero de . . . ffoden	1 5½	De Henrico del Welle ...	1 8¼
De Henrico ...	0 10½	De Willelmo ...	1 3¼
De Willelmo de Hetona ...	0 4	De Johanne filio Ricardi	3 5¼
De Laurencio . . . dder	2 10	De Willelmo filio Ade ...	2 3¾
De . . . k ...	0 ½	De Willelmo filio Willelmi	2 10¼
De . . . filio Rogeri ...	5½	. . . filio Willelmi ...	1 10¾
De . . . de . . . del ...	.	. . . d filio Willelmi	2 .
De . . . de . . . y . . . wy	.	[De] Phillipo de Grenemo	2 11
. . . Drax ...	.	. . . del stance ...	1 9
De Roberto Honirer ...	.	. . . filio Radulfi ...	1 10¾
De Ada de Rouley ...	.	. . . l Hille ...	3 0½
. . . de D . . .	.	[De] Ada stirpot ...	1 8¾
De . . . de . . .	4½	[De] Ada del Gappe ...	1 10
.	1 6	[De] Henrico filio Bertram	1 6¼
.	0 ½	De Eua vidua ...	2 0¼
De Roberto filio Rogeri ...	0 ½	De Edmundo de Rouley	1 1
De Johanne Pistore ...	.	De Roberti filio Walteri	2 4¾
De . . . filio Benet ...	1 9	De Thoma filio Ade ...	3 9¾
De Philippo del ...	1 10	De Henrico de amsworth	2 1
De Roberto ...	4 0	De Nicholao filio Gamel	1 4½
De fil . . . de Benedicto ...	1 2½	De Gilberto fabro ...	1 4½

¹ Exchequer, *Lay Subsidy*, 249.

	s.	d.
De Willelmo de Catteden ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Radulfo . . . ochewil ...	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Willelmo de . . . R ...	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Patricio de Buckeley ...	1	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Waltero de Bingefel ...	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Alexandro de Herdisley ...	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Stephano de eadem... ...	1	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Willelmo filio Ricardi ...	2	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Hugone de Herdisley ...	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Summa, 68s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.		
De . . . Molend' ...	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
De . . . R. ...	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
De	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
De . . . filio Walteri ...	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
De . . . de Haydon ...	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
De . . . filio Margarete... ...	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
De . . . de Holteley ...	1	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
De . . . da vidua de eadem ...	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Summa, 13s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
De Willelmo filio Alani ...	1	10
De Willelmo de Sandou ...	1	7
De Rogero bercatore ...	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
De R . . . filio Elie ...	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Roberto starler ...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Summa, 8s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.		
[Rou]ley		
De Thoma del Bathous ...	1	10
De Rogero vndirwode ...	1	3
De Thoma de Rouley ...	1	11
De Ada de . . . sted ...	2	2
Summa, 7s. 2d.		
De Roberto filio Gamell ...	2	3
De Willelmo d	2	6
De . . . filio Roberti ...	2	10
De Johanne filio Godefridi ...	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Willelmo de Gonewarton ...	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ada filio Elstani ...	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Roberto de Walle ...	2	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Roberto filio Ricardi ...	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
De . . . Rouley ...	1	9
De	10	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
De . . . Haliden ...	3	1
De	14	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
[Sum]ma, 45s. 6d.		
Bingefeld		
De Waltero de Beumound ...	2	1
De Willelmo R	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Rogero bercatore ...	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$

	s.	d.
De Willelmo Pratt ...	3	4
De Ricardo filio Ade ...	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ada filio Walteri ...	10	
De Roberto de B	2	0
De Roberto de	1	0
De Johanne filio	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Rogero	3	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Waltero	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Willelmo Oliu ...	1	4
De Ada filio Walteri ..		
Summa . . .		
Eringtona Inferior		
De	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De	2	
De Willelmo filio Roberti ...	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ada de Walle ...	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Ada filio ...	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Godefrido de V	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
De . . . de	1	4
Summa, . s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
Kep[ewyk]		
De Roberto filio Gamell ...	2	8
De Willelmo filio Agnetis ...	1	4
De Thoma filio Johannis ...	1	3
De Roberto de Barweford ...	1	7
De Johanne filio Ricardi ...	1	1
De Johanne filio Willelmi ...		
De Willelmo de Catteden ...	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Summa, 10s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
Eryngtona Superior		
De Emma vidua ...	1	3
De Willelmo de Midiltona ...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Roberto Bemound ...	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Faloufeld		
De	1	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
De . . . filio Johannis ...	2	2
De Willelmo . . . hil ...	2	7
De Johanne filio Henrici ...	1	3
Summa, 11s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.		
Bokelef		
De	1	3
De Ada filio Hulot ...	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Willelmo preposito ...	2	0
De Ada filio Thome ...	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Waltero filio Willelmi ...	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ricardo filio Ade ...	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ada filio Johannis ...	1	5
De Ricardo filio Hulot ...	2	7
De Roberto filio Ricardi ...	2	1
Summa, 19s. 10d. (sic).		

Sand[hoe]			s.	d.				s.	d.
De Ricardo filio Willelmi	...	...	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Ada Molend[inario]	...	...	1	2
De Ada filio Isak	...	...	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Randulfo de P . . . syd	...	...	1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Petro filio Edmundi	...	...	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Agneta de eadem	...	...	1	6
De Johanne filio Roberti	...	...	2	4	De Ada paruo	...	...	1	3
De . . . t . . . vidua	...	...	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Randulfo spern	...	...	1	2
De Roberto filio Edemundi	...	...	1	6	De Wilhelmo de Hewerlawe	...	...	2	3
De Waltero de . . .	...	...	2	0	De Roberto filio Vtred	...	...	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Hawysia vidua	...	...	12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Eda vidua	...	...	1	5
Summa, 17s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (<i>sic</i>).					De Johanne Stodelond	...	...	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Aynewyk					De Wilhelmo filio Gilberti	...	...	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Rogero de Walle	...	...	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Wilhelmo preposito	...	...	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Henrico Molend[inario]	...	...	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Stephano forestario	...	...	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Radulfo preposito	...	...	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Roberto Storoure	...	...	1	3
De Ricardo de Dalis	...	...	1	10	De Wilhelmo filio Thome	...	...	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Hawysia vidua	...	...	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Summa, 29s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.				
De Randulfo fabro	...	...	1	8					
De Rogero de Daltona	...	...	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Patricio forestario	...	...	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Johanne de Walle	...	...	1	10	De Johanne filio Ylef	...	...	1	7
De Rogero braciatore	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Wilhelmo filio Patricii	...	...	1	11
Summa, 15s. 7d.					De Ricardo de Wolfigham	...	...	2	7
Walle					De Ricardo Cuper	...	...	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Sampson del Welle	...	...	3	8	De Elya filio Willelmi	...	...	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Randulfo filio Edemundi	...	...	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	De Roberto filio Willelmi	...	...	1	0
De Thoma fabro	...	...	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Summa, 12s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.				
De Agnete vidua	...	...	1	3	[Catte]den				
De Alicia vidua	...	...	1	2	De Wilhelmo del hille	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Bruneman	...	...	1	2	De Patricio filio Ricardi	...	...	1	0
De Gilberto Todde	...	...	1	5	De Bertram	...	...	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Randulfo filio Ricardi	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Hugone preposito	...	...	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Wilhelmo filio Agnetis	...	...	2	9	De Wilhelmo filio Ylef	...	...	1	0
De Thoma filio Ricardi	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Wilhelmo filio Simonis	...	...	1	1
De Johanne filio Willelmi	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Summa, 7s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.				
De Wilhelmo del Bathous	...	...	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	[Alw]entona				
De Ricardo filio Gilberti	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Hugone de Mora	...	...	1	2
Summa, 21s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.					De Wilhelmo filio Willelmi	...	...	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
[Ak]nm					De Johanne Bercatore	...	...	2	9
De Wilhelmo preposito	...	...	2	4	De Johanne filio Hugonis	...	...	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ricardo filio Rogeri	...	...	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Roberto filio Hugonis	...	...	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Matilda vidua	...	...	1	3	De Wilhelmo filio Willelmi	...	...	1	7
De Johanne filio Henrici	...	...	0	10	De Laurencio Vlese	...	...	1	1
De Martino de W . . .	...	...	2	8	De Patricio Scott	...	...	1	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
De Wilhelmo filio . . .	...	...	0	5	De Johanne del Stanstil	...	...	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Ricardo filio . . .	...	...	0	5	De Rogero de Knol	...	...	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Bru	...	...	0	2	De Alano filio Willelmi	...	...	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Johanne	...	...	.	.	Summa, 16s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.				
De Rogero	...	...	.	.	De Thoma de Eringtona	...	...	10	2
Summa, . . .					De Antonio de eadem	...	...	4	10
Ninebanks					De Rogero de Cocytey	...	...	11	0
De Thoma de Thirlwale	...	...	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Hugone Thor	...	...	5	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
De Johanne filio Johannis	...	...	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	De Johanne de Wallil	...	...	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
De Cristiana vidua	...	...	1	5	Summa, 37s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.				

	s.	d.		s.	d.
[duo]decim [one]rati			De Ada Forestario ...	2	3
De Matheo de Catteden ...	2	4½	De Ada Vnite ...	2	8
De Johanne de Rouley ...	3	10½	De Johanne de Binkefeld ...	1	1½
De Willelmo Wacy ...	3	0½	De Henrico del Syde ...	4	11½
De Phillippo de Hletona ...	3	3½	De Roberto de Eringtona ...	3	3
De Roberto de Hinsty ...	2	7	De Rogero de Simondeburne ...	2	2
De Thoma Scot ...	2	4½	Summa, 33s. 10¾d.		
Summa omnium summarum suprascriptarum, £25 5s. 2½d.					
De Johanne de Wa . . se de vndecima domini regis, 9s. 7d.					
. . . . ptu. huius rotuli liberatum est Rogero de W[ha]lton Balliwo liberatus de					
coram baronibus de scaccario et preceptum est per predictos Barones Rotul					
anno regni regis Edwardi xxiii° (?).					

It will be observed that there were 236 tenants, who paid a gross sum of £25 5s. 2½d. One circumstance is certainly striking, for while there were 178 tenants in Hexhamshire and the St. John Lee district, the whole of Allendale only supported 58. The uncertainty as to the date is unfortunate, because in 1296 the Scottish inroads began, and it would be interesting to know whether the above assessment was taken before or after the invasion. Perhaps the probability lies in favour of its having been taken before, because the Scots did so much damage that the lands through which they passed could hardly have borne to be taxed so soon after their departure.

The invasions of the Scots during the period that forms the borderland between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were indeed a disastrous experience for Hexhamshire. This district had been comparatively rich and flourishing, and was among the most valuable possessions of the see of York. 'It supplies one-third of the revenues of my archbishopric,' wrote Melton in 1319.¹ But by the invasions of the Scots the value of the district was reduced by at least one half. In the year 1318 it was noted that the archbishopric of York, which used to be taxed at two thousand marks, could only bear a tax of a thousand marks on account of the ruin and devastation of the two manors of Hexham and Ripon, which together supplied more than half the revenues of the see.²

In January, 1315, Archbishop Greenfield had fulminated an excommunication against the Scots, not only because they had violently broken into the country, but also because they had irreparably wasted it with fire

¹ 'Manerium meum de Hextildesham in quo tertia pars mei archiepiscopatus constitit [June 4, 1319].'
Northern Registers (Rolls series), p. 290.

² 'Videlicet archiepiscopatum Ebor., solitum ad duo millia marcarum taxari, propter maneria de Hextildesham et de Ripon eidem annexata in quibus satis plusquam medietatis valoris archiepiscopatus consistere consuevit cum eorundem maneriorum tenentibus et pertinentiis per hostiles aggressus Scotorum destructa penitus et vastata, de mille marcis [July 26, 1318].'
Ibid. p. 280.

and sword, had robbed ecclesiastical property, and violated ecclesiastical as well as lay persons, without regard for condition or sex, killing some, carrying off others, burning and ravaging wherever they went.¹

But all the spiritual thunders of the archbishop were powerless to till the desolated fields of Hexhamshire, to restore the charred ruins of its homesteads, or to repeople it with those who had perished by the sword or hunger in the late awful invasion.

It is doubtful if Hexhamshire ever recovered from the terrible experiences of these disastrous times. Many fields that had been wasted remained in that state, and others which were reclaimed by the agriculturalist must have proved less fruitful than before. The population would return reluctantly to a district where the inhabitants were exposed to so many dangers. Unfortunately scarcely any information exists which throws any light upon the condition of the regality during the fourteenth century. No subsidies were paid throughout the whole of the long reign of Edward III., and therefore this valuable source of information is wanting. In the year 1337 the manors of the archbishops of York were taxed for some purpose, and Hexhamshire paid £20 9s. 3d. as its share.² In former years it had paid one-third of a contribution of 2,000 marks, but it is difficult to institute a comparison on this basis, because the terms of the assessment are not known. In any case the amount is extremely small for a large district, and one-fifth less than the very moderate assessment of the Subsidy Roll given above. It seems evident that the prosperity of the regality was on the decline, and that matters were steadily going from bad to worse throughout this period. Perhaps under a strong and wise administration the shire might have recovered its former prosperity. Unfortunately the reverse of this was experienced, and to the evils of foreign invasion had long been added the even greater misfortune of a corrupt and mischievous government.

Powers so extensive as those of the archbishops of York over Hexhamshire were liable to become an abuse in the hands of a subject. Living as they did far away from the scene of government, everything conspired to

¹ 'Inter quae manerium nostrum de Hextildesham et libertatem ejusdem (quae de patrimonio ecclesiae nostrae Beati Petri Ebor. a primitiva ejus fundatione existunt) ac caetera loca ad ipsa spectantia, non tantum violenter invadere, sed etiam irreparabili fractura et incendio consumere, bona nihilominus ecclesiastica contra voluntatem dominorum et custodum eorundem asportare, clericos et ecclesiasticas personas necnon laicos, absque delectu cujuslibet conditionis vel sexus, capere, incarceratione et crudeliter jugulare, pacem et tranquillitatem regis et regni Angliae tanquam latrones publici et depopulatores agrorum predictis gravissimis homicidiis, incendiis publicis hostilique incursione multipliciter perturbare, Dei timore postposito, non formidarunt hactenus nec formidant [January 14, 1315].'² *Northern Registers* (Rolls series), p. 240.

² *Dodsworth MSS.* vol. xxviii. ff. 109, 113 b.

draw away from the regality that attention which alone could ensure its just and orderly administration. The defects of the system soon began to show themselves. The bailiffs enjoyed almost absolute powers during their term of office, and bad and unscrupulous men had every temptation to neglect the calls of justice and attend only to their own interests, with a view of making as much out of their office as possible. At the close of the reign of Henry III. the misgovernment of the shire was at its worst. The bailiffs of that period ruthlessly oppressed the unfortunate tenants, openly bought and sold justice, and even extended their operations outside the boundaries of the regality. Roger de Saxton, who was bailiff in 1272, earned a most unenviable reputation for his harshness and venality.¹ Among the inventions of this man, designed for the purpose of filling his own pockets, was a tax levied upon all brewing in Hexhamshire, an imposition that went by the name of 'bailifpote.' Although there was no justification for this measure, Saxton and his successors continued to raise money in this way for their own use from the unwilling tenants, until at last, in 1320, complaints were brought before Archbishop Melton, who ordered an inquisition to be made into the matter, and subsequently abolished the abuse.²

It is no slight comment upon the condition of the regality at this period, that an abuse of so crying and unjustifiable a character should have existed fifty years before the archbishop even heard of it.

Other abuses, however, had been brought under notice earlier. When King Edward I. returned from the Holy Land in 1273 one of his first acts was to institute an enquiry into all unjust practices, and all encroachments upon Crown rights, about which he had been assailed with complaints almost immediately after landing. When the justices reached the north, it may well be imagined that they learned many things about the conduct of affairs in the various liberties there, but particularly about Hexhamshire.

¹ 'En le temps Percevesque Wautre Giffard il luy avoit une baillif qe fu appelle Roger de Saxton qel preprist sux eus par duresce.' *York Registers*, Melton, f. 406.

² 'Litera ballivo directa ne inquietentur dicti tenentes super illa exacione que dicitur bailifpote. Willelmus, permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, Anglie primas, dilecto nobis in Christo domino Johanni de Vallibus, ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem cum benedictione et gracia Salvatoris. Quia intelleximus per inquisitionem ad mandatum nostrum per vos captam et nobis sub sigillo vestro et eorum per quos capta fuit transmissam, quod illud onus de le bailif pot quod a tenentibus nostris braciamentibus ibidem exigitur non debetur ballivis nostris de jure nisi per extorsionem cujusdam Rogeri de Saxton tempore bone memorie domini Walteri Giffard predecessoris nostri ballivi de Hextildesham, nos nolentes tenentes nostros predictos indebite pregravari, ipsos a prestacione dicti bailif pot exoneramus totaliter, vobis etiam mandantes quatinus ipsos nostros tenentes quietos esse a dicto onere permittatis. Data apud Killum, quinto Idus Septembris. anno graciae millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo, et pontificatus nostri tercio [9 Sep., 1320].' *Ibid.*

Such an opportunity of stating their grievances was not neglected by the men of the shire, who drew up a long list of complaints.

The bailiffs of the regality were accustomed, they said, to seize upon the goods of all persons who had been slain, whether they were felons or no, and the widows and children of innocent men who had been murdered could obtain nothing from them. They were, however, quite willing to connive at the escape of thieves and robbers, who would consent to bribe them. For example Roger de Saxton, of infamous memory, had in this way taken ten marks from one William Jolifray; and the present bailiff, William de Toluse, had, upon payment of five marks, liberated one Hugh Bulloc, imprisoned for stealing a calf. The bailiffs had not scrupled to receive outlaws and safeguard them against the effects of their crimes. In the execution of the forest laws they had been most exacting, and had seized upon all cattle which strayed into the forest of Allendale, absolutely refusing to surrender them to their owners.

They had not even confined their arbitrary practices to the regality. Saxton had laid hands upon one Robert de Swinehop outside the regality and had brought him into the shire in order to lay an accusation against him. William de Toluse had gone even further, and entered the demesne of the king of Scotland in pursuit of one John Wily, whom he brought back, right through Northumberland to Hexham, where he shut him up in the gaol. There the unfortunate man was murdered, and his body was dragged through the town and hung on the gallows. Toluse also held a sheriff's tourn, and fined men, even those living outside the regality, who did not attend.¹

¹ *“Dicunt quod Roger de Saxton quondam ballivus archiepiscopi de libertate de Extildesham cepit Robertum de Swinehop infra comitatum extra libertatem et eum duxerunt de comitatu infra libertatem de Extildesham et ibi devenit appellator tempore domini Regis Henrici ultimi. Et Wychardus de Charun tunc vicecomes et Nicholas de Swineburne tunc coronator dictum appellatorem petierint habere ad prisonam regis eo quod captus fuit in comitatu extra libertatem sed eum habere non potuerunt et ibi remansit idem appellator donec de predicto carcere evasit.*

Item, Willelmus de Toluse nunc ballivus ejusdem libertatis cepit Johannem Wily infra libertatem Regis Scocie et ipsum duxit per medium comitatus usque libertatem de Extildesham et ipse eum imprisonavit et in eadem prisa interfectus fuit nescitur qualiter, qui dictum Joh. a carcere extrahens detrahi fecit cum equis per mediam ville usque ad furcam et ibi eum suspendit.

Idem ballivus tenet turnum vicecomitis pro voluntate sua et amerciat homines manentes extra libertatem qui ad turnum suum non veniunt, contra consuetudinem regni quia vicecomes Northumbrie nullum turnum tenet in comitatu suo.

Ballivi ejusdem libertatis capiunt omnia bona tam fidelium interfectorum quam felonum ita quod nec uxores nec pueri dictorum fidelium aliquid possunt habere de predictis bonis, et diversos latrones quos capiunt permittunt evadere pro pecunia et multa alia faciunt contra Coronam regis.

Et Roger de Saxton ballivus ejusdem libertatis tempore Henrici Regis ultimi cepit Willelmum Jolifray pro quinque libris ab archiepiscopo furatis et cepit de eodem Willelmo x marcas pro quibus promisit eum evadere; ita fecit de pluribus aliis quorum nomina ignorantur.

Et ballivi predicti de Extildesham capiunt averia quoruncumque cum venerint infra forestam archie-

With so much lawlessness in the officers, it cannot be supposed that the general condition of the shire was other than one of great disorder. The Hundred Rolls state, in addition to the facts just mentioned, that one Lasinus of Hexham had taken the cattle of William Gud of Dilston, had brought them into Hexhamshire, and refused to give them up.

In spite of the disorderly condition of the regality, and the serious charges brought against the bailiffs, the privileges of the see of York remained intact and unassailed for another nineteen years. In January, 1293, Edward I. issued writs de Quo Warranto, to institute an enquiry into the titles by which his subjects held their various lands and privileges. The archbishop could produce no charters or other documents to prove his title to Hexhamshire, and the king's advocate, William Inge, strongly urged the abolition of this private jurisdiction. The jury, however, declared that the archbishops of York had enjoyed these privileges from time immemorial, and in accordance with this verdict Hexhamshire remained with its former lords on the same conditions as before.¹

piscopi de Alwendale et ea inparcant et dicta averia nolunt per plevinam dimittere nec visum de eisdem aliquibus facere secundum consuetudinem comitatus sed ea retinent ad opus ejusdem archiepiscopi.

Et iidem ballivi receptant homines utlagatos scilicet Willelmum Jolifray et alios quorum nomina ignorantur.

Et Willelmus de Tuluse, nunc ballivus ejusdem libertatis, cepit de Hugo. Bulloc capto et incarcerato pro uno vitulo furato in eadem libertate v marcas et sic permisit eum evadere.

Item, Lasinus de Extildesham cepit averia Willelmi Gud de Diviliston in comitatu Northumbrie et ea duxit infra libertatem predictam et adhuc ea detinet contra vadium et placiat ad dampnum x marcas tempore regis nunc.² *Rot. Hund. apud Hodgson, Northumberland, 111. i. pp. 108-9.*

¹ Archiepiscopus Ebor. summonitus fuit quod esset hic ad hunc diem ostensurus quo warranto clamat quod quocienscunque justiciarii hic itinerantes ballivo ejusdem archiepiscopi de Hextildesham capitula Corone que infra comitatum hic placitari contigerit liberent ad placitandum per justiciarios suos quos ad hoc assignare voluerit de omnibus capitula illa tangentibus que in manerio suo de Hextildesham emergunt, et omnia placita tam Corone quam alia per brevia sua et justiciarios suos in manerio predicto placitare, et exitus et proficua inde provenientes capere et habere, et omnia que ad assisam vicecomitis et Corone pertinent per ministros suos facere et exercere. Et quod nullus ballivus regis intrat manerium suum predictum ad aliquod officium exercendum. Et custodiam personarum habere et deliberacionem eorundem pro voluntate sua facere. Et mercatum, furcas, et catalla fugitivorum et felonum dampnum in eodem manerio habere que ad Coronam et dignitatem domini regis pertinent sine licencia et voluntate domini regis et progenitorum suorum.

Et archiepiscopus per attornatum suum venit et dicit quod ipse clamat omnes predictas libertates ab antiquo. Et dicit quod ipse et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non extat memoria absque aliqua temporis interrupcione usi sunt predictis libertatibus. Et hoc paratus est verificare sicut curia consideraverit, etc.

Et Willelmus Inge qui sequitur pro domino rege petit quod inquiretur pro ipso domino rege qualiter predictus archiepiscopus et predecessores sui usi fuerunt, etc. Et si aliquod occupaverint super ipsum dominum regem, etc. Et qualitercunque compertum fuerit per inquisitionem, etc., dicit quod predite libertates mere sunt regales et Corone domini regis impediennes cum nulli liceat in regno cancellarios et justiciarios proprios habere sine licencia et voluntate ipsius domini regis. Et predictus archiepiscopus nullum factum speciale ostendit factum sibi vel alicui predecessorum suorum per nullum Regum Anglie petit judicium pro ipso domino rege, etc.

Juratores dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus archiepiscopus et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non extat memoria usi fuerunt hujusmodi libertatibus in eadem forma qua predictus archiepiscopus eas modo clamat.

Dies datus est eis de audiendo iudicio suo a die Sci. Johannis Baptiste in xv dies coram domino rege, etc., ubicunque, etc.³ *Placita de Quo Warranto apud Hodgson, Northumberland, 111. i. pp. 143-4.*

Among the few rights enjoyed by the kings of England in Hexhamshire was that of an entire disposition of the regality every time the see of York became vacant. Thus in the year 1299, upon the death of Archbishop Henry de Newark, the king superseded the existing bailiff Roger de Whalton by a nominee of his own, Sir John de Vaus.¹ When Archbishop Corbridge was appointed, Sir John naturally gave way to Henry de Menill, the nominee of the new lord, but in 1312 and in 1315 he again appears as bailiff on the nomination of Archbishop Greenfield.² On April 5th, 1340, Archbishop Melton died, and Hexhamshire as usual came into the hands of the king, who appointed William de Felton as guardian of the temporalities of the liberty.³ William le Zouche was elected by the chapter on May 2nd, but he had not received the pallium, and on the 13th of the same month King Edward granted the manor of Hexham to Edward Balliol, the so-called king of Scotland, during such time as the see of York should be vacant, to help him to maintain a force of twenty men at arms in the royal service.⁴ Zouche did not receive the pallium before July 6th, 1342, and perhaps Balliol remained in possession until then, though this is hardly probable. At all events it is a curious circumstance that the king should dispose of the regality when Melton's successor had already been selected. In the year 1342, Edward was again dealing with the regality. The war with Scotland was then agitating men's minds, and the king was anxious to gather soldiers from every available quarter. Accordingly he issued a proclamation of free pardon to all the grithmen⁵ of Hexhamshire if they

¹ *York Registers*, Corbridge, i. 90 b. ² *Ibid.* i. 76 a; Greenfield, ii. 37 b, 46 a.

³ *Originalia Rolls apud Hodgson, Northumberland*, III, ii. p. 316.

⁴ 'Le Roi d'Escoce se chargera de vynt hommes d'armes et pur meath meyntener son estat, avera la garde del manoir de Hextildesham od les appurtenances qui est de l'Ercevesque d'Everwyk durant la vacation de mesmes l'Ercevesque. Et soit son gree faite de ccc li. dont il ad tailles, par voie d'assignement aillours, sur la Disme biennale en la Dioc. d'Everwyk.

Le seigneur de Ros, et Monsr. Rauf de Bolmer	...	...	xx hommes d'armes.
Monsr. Johan de Wylughby	...	...	xv hommes d'armes.
Monsr. Henr' fitz Hugh	...	...	v hommes d'armes.
Mons. Adam de Webb	...	...	xv hommes d'armes.

La soume, lv.

Rot. Parl. (Lond. 1832) ii. p. 115 b.

Assentuz est par le conseil que le Roi d'Escoce eît trois cenx livres sur la portion demoraunt devers le roi de la biennale graunte a notre Seigneur le Roi en la Diocise d'Everwyk sur les despens. Et soit mandez a l'Evesque de Duresme, a Seigneur de Percy, et a Monsr. Rauf de Nevill, que eue regard a ce que le manoir de Hextildesham est assignez au dit Roi d'Escoce en aide de sa sustenance durant la Voidance de l'Erceveschee d'Everwyk, et que meisme cesti roi est ordeignez d'aler as parties de Cardoill pur demorer sur la guerre od xl hommes d'armes; lui facent assigner ascun certain place en la countie Cardoill, ou aillours en lieu covenable, pur sustenance de lui et des ditz gentz d'armes, issint que le reseceivour du leu ent soit chargez.' *Ibid.* p. 119 b. Cf. *Cal. State Papers*, Scotland, iii. 1335.

⁵ Grith is a Saxon word meaning peace. By a curious turn of language grithmen appears to be used here for those who had broken the peace, *i.e.*, outlaws.

would join his forces. Those who complied with this proclamation would thus be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the archbishop's justices, and although the king was probably acting within his rights, his proceedings bear the appearance of an encroachment upon the privileges of the regality.¹

In the year 1356 the privileges of the archbishop were again called in question, but as the jury once more reported that they had been enjoyed from time immemorial matters remained unchanged.² This was not always to be the case, however. The various private jurisdictions of the north had come to be a serious abuse, and the laxity with which they were governed made this part of the kingdom utterly unsafe for all quiet and law-abiding people. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the question had assumed national importance. In the Parliament of the year 1414 a petition was brought forward asking the king to curtail the privileges of these franchises. The commons complained bitterly of the state to which the whole of the north border had been reduced by reason of the misgovernment of these districts. Murders, treasons, homicides, robberies, and other crimes were, they declared, daily committed there by the lawless men of the franchises, who moreover encouraged the Scots to help them in plundering their neighbours, to carry some of them away as prisoners, and demand a ransom for them. These brigands could not be punished because the king's officers had no powers in these districts. The Commons, therefore, petitioned that if any of the men of Tynedale or Hexhamshire committed a murder or any other felony outside their liberty, that proceedings might be taken against them by the common law. The men themselves might be arrested by the officers of the liberty, and their forfeited goods and chattels would be the property of the lord of that liberty, but the matter of importance was that they should be brought to justice by the ordinary criminal procedure. If, however, the officers of these franchises did not do their duty in this matter, and were found guilty of neglect before the king's justices, they were to be condemned to a fine of £20, one-half to go to the plaintiff, the rest to the king.

The terms of this petition were granted in their entirety, with the exception of the punishment proposed for those bailiffs who neglected to arrest malefactors in their liberty.³ Perhaps the absence of this provision

¹ *Memorials of Ripon*, Surt. Soc. p. 80.

² See *supra*, p. 25 n.

³ 'Le roi voet, que si ascune pirsone des ditz fraunchises de Tyndale et Exhamshire, resceant ou demurant deinz ycelles, de quell estat ou condition il soit, face murdrès, etc., ou consente de les faire hors

seriously impaired the efficiency of the Act. At all events the terms of the Act were far from being exact enough to exclude many interpretations of its meaning. In the matter of treason the contrary jurisdictions of the king and the archbishop were hardly so clearly defined as might have been expected. In the year 1487 King Henry VII. thought it necessary to write a letter of explanation to Archbishop Rotheram for having arrested two traitors in Hexhamshire. His letter runs as follows :

Most reverend fadir in Godd, ryght trusty and ryght entierly wellbiloved, we grete you hertely well. And for so moche as at your instance, whiche we take tenderly to hert, we ne woll nor have attempted anythyng against the privaiges and fraunchises of your lordshipp of Hexham, we therefore and for the evidence of the mater to be take in remembraunce hereafter certifie you that our traytors Thomas Redshawe and Herbart Redshawe have bene reigned and convicted upon high treason agenist our personne and for yat onely and not for petite tresone ne felonye executed, which we ne woll to be prejudice or derogacion to your said fraunchise in that behalf, and if any of his adherentes happyn to be taken or executed they shalbe raigned uppon the same high treason and not uppon no petite treason ne felonye. Yevyn undre oure signet at our cite of Duresme the xx^{ti} day of August (1487).¹

This letter, in spite of its apologetic tone, marks a slight encroachment upon the privileges of the archbishop, inasmuch as the royal officers had evidently entered the shire for the express purpose of arresting the culprits, and because the king vindicates such a proceeding in all cases of high treason. At the same time it is noticeable how great care was used even by so absolute a prince as Henry VII., to avoid the appearance of encroachment upon the rights of the archbishop, and how anxious the king seemed to be that those rights should be preserved. This action is characteristic of the attitude assumed by the English sovereigns throughout the period of the archiepiscopal ownership of Hexhamshire. In the year 1482 a series of sumptuary laws were enacted, and it was specially provided that the profits from fines, etc., should go to the king, except in three districts, namely, the county palatine of Chester, Hexhamshire, and the bishopric of Durham.² About fourteen years earlier, however, when the Statute of Liveries was passed the regality was expressly included as a district in which the Act should have full operation.³

des ditz fraunchises, proces soit fait devers luy par la commune Ley, tan q'il soit utlagee. Et q'apres tiele utlagerie pronuncie et retournee, facent ent les justices, devant queux tiele utlagerie soit retournee, certification a tieux ministres, ou a tiel ministre, des ditz fraunchises, come a eux semblera meultz celle partie solonc lour discretion. Et soit tiel felon pres par tiel ministre, ou tieux ministres, et ses terres et tenementz, biens et chateaux, esteantz deinz ycelles fraunchises seïsez es mains des segnurs de mesmes les fraunchises de Tyndale et Exhamshire pur le temps esteantz come forfaitz. Et que les autres terres et tenementz, biens et chateaux, de tiel felon, esteantz hors de mesmes les fraunchises, demurgent entierment a roi, et as autres seignurs eiantz ent fraunchises, come forfaitz. Savant toutfoitz a roi les forfaitures de autieux murdrours, traitours, etc., et d'autres choses queux a luy appartiennent come de droit de sa Corone.² *Rot. Parl.* iv. p. 21.

¹ *York Registers*, Rotheram, f. 236 a.

² *Rot. Parl.* vi. p. 221 a.

³ *Ibid.* v. p. 663 a.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries formed a disastrous epoch in the history of Hexhamshire. The year 1348 was marked indelibly in the minds of all Englishmen as the year of the Black Death. Hexhamshire suffered in common with the rest of the country, and though this is not shown by direct evidence it is clearly proved by the results. It is a historical commonplace that the plague of the middle of the fourteenth century had so thinned the population that labourers had become exceedingly scarce, and the price of labour had consequently risen in an unprecedented degree. The government endeavoured, by energetic measures, to put a stop to the operation of these economic laws, but the Statutes of Labourers fixing a maximum rate of wages, put forth from time to time, only remained as a monument of the incapacity of the legislature to deal with the matter. In 1354 Archbishop Thoresby, acting no doubt at the instance of the king, caused the provisions of these statutes to be promulgated in Hexhamshire, threatening the most severe penalties against those labourers and artisans who refused to work for want of what they considered a proper rate of wages.¹

The plague continued to work its dreadful ravages throughout the remaining years of the fourteenth century, and during a great part of the fifteenth. Repeated forays on the part of the Scots added to the already miserable condition of the people, and made life no better than a burden. In the Parliament of 1421 it was stated that the country had been so wasted by disease and famine that where a hundred able-bodied men used once to dwell, ten could at that moment scarcely be found. The plague had been

¹ 'Johannes, etc., dilectis et fidelibus suis Roberto D'Ogle, Willelmo de Hepscoates, et Willelmo de Swynburne, salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus vos et duos vestrum justiciarios ad ordinacionem et statutum de operariis, artificibus et servitoribus in consilio et parlamento excellentissimi principis domini nostri Edwardi regis Anglie illustris, apud Westmonasterium nuper tentis pro communi utilitate regni dicti domini nostri regis Anglie facta in omnibus et singulis suis articulis infra libertatem nostram de Hextildesham custodiendum et custodiri faciendum, et ad omnes illos quos contra formam eorundem inveneritis in aliquo delinquentes castigandum et puniendum prout secundum formam eorundem fuerit faciendum, et ad inquirendum de senescallis, ballivis, ministris et aliis quibuscumque qui colore ordinacionis et statuti predictorum hujusmodi operarios artifices et servitores ceperunt et eos per fines et redempcionem ad usus suos proprios applicandum, auctoritate sua propria, condicionibus in dictis ordinacione et statuto contentis non observatis deliberarunt, et ad omnia alia et singula que contra formam ordinacionis et statuti predictorum infra libertatem predictam fuerint attemptata, tam ad sectam nostram quam aliorum quorumcumque coram vobis conqueri vel prosequi volencium audiendum et terminandum, juxta vim et effectum ordinacionis et statuti predictorum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos dies et loca quos vos vel duo vestrum ad hoc provideritis inquisitiones super premissis faciatis, et premissa omnia et singula audiat et terminetis in forma predicta, facturi inde quod ad justiciam pertinet secundum vim et effectum ordinacionis et statuti predictorum; salvis nobis amerciamentis et aliis ad nos inde spectantibus. Damus autem universis et singulis ballivis et ministris nostris dicte libertatis quod ad certos dies et loca quos vos vel duo vestrum eis scire faciatis venire faciatis coram vobis vel duobus vestrum, tot et tales probos et legales homines de libertate predicta per quos rei veritas in premissis melius sciri proterit et inquiri. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Data London, xix die Julii, anno Domini MCCCLIV^{to} et nostre translacionis secundo.' *York Registers*, Thoresby, f. 299 a.

raging fiercely for the last three years, and was still busily claiming fresh victims. The poverty to which the inhabitants had been reduced was so great that men who had formerly been able to maintain twenty able-bodied persons in their house could now hardly support themselves. The whole district had gone out of tillage and a large tract of country lay perfectly waste.¹ Things being in such a condition, the tenants could not well pay their rents regularly to the lord. To such an extent was this the case that, on the death of Archbishop Bowett in October, 1423, it was found that the immense sum of £480 13s. 10d., or more than two years' revenue, was owing to him upon different tenements in Hexhamshire. To expect payment of these arrears was hopeless, and the whole amount was written off as a bad debt (*debita desperata*).²

Probably matters improved after the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, though such an improvement must necessarily have been very slow. It is unlikely that succeeding archbishops suffered to the same extent as Bowett, although it is equally improbable that the regality ever entirely recovered from the disastrous period that had preceded.

At the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. an estimate was taken of the value of the regality at that time. For the year running from September 29th (St. Michael), 1486, to the same day in 1487, it was stated that the regality was worth £152 17s. 3½d., payable in two equal portions on St. Martin's day and at Whitsuntide. This, together with the sum of 110s. for one-half the ferm of Allenton park, made up a total of £158 7s. 3½d. Agistments of divers tenements were reckoned as £4 6s. 3½d., which, together with sundry returns, amounting to £21 0s. 10d., and the other half of the ferm of Allenton park at 110s., to which were added the ferm of certain meadows, gave a sum of £30 17s. 11½d., the gross value of the regality to its lord thus being £189 5s. 3d. Of this sum £158 7s. 3½d. was paid to the executors of the late archbishop, while the remainder, being £30 17s. 11½d., belonged to the king on account of the vacancy of the see.³

¹ 'La ou cent hommes diffensables soloient inhabiter illoques ne demurent a present x personnes, et ceux de petit reputation ou value, par les causes ensuivantz ; cest assavoir, graund nombre de persones jadis illoques inhabitez ore sont mortz par les grandes mortalitees et pestilences q'ont illoques reigne par trois anz passez, et uncore reignent ; autres prises, emprisonnez et tuez par plusours invasions des ditz enemys,' and the people were so poor that 'ou un des ditz inhabitantz soloit trouer en sa meson xx personnes defensables, ils ne poent a present susteiner soi mesmes, a cause que null terre est maynore en les ditz trois counties (*i.e.*, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland) par l'espace de 100 leucs en longur et 20 leucs en lair sur les frunturs de ditz Marches [anno 1421].' *Rot. Parl.* iv. p. 143.

² Surt. Soc. *York Wills*, iii. p. 81.

³ *Ibid.* iv. p. 323.

It is worthy of note that the late archbishop mentioned above was Lawrence Booth, who died on 19th May, 1480. His successor, Thomas Rotheram, had been elected in the following September, and occupied the see at the time the above survey was made. It is evident that matters must still have been in an unsatisfactory state in Hexhamshire if it required a period of seven years in which to settle and pay off the sums of money due from the tenants.

The Act of 1414 had not proved so successful as had been expected in effecting the pacification of the Borders. Feuds, brawls, raids, and all manner of lawlessness continued unchecked in the district. At least on one occasion, the men of the marches, not content with the state of affairs in their own district, went southwards in search of more fighting. In May, 1441, some two hundred men from Tindale and Hexhamshire went to Ripon to celebrate the fair there. At Ripon they behaved themselves as if they had been the garrison of a besieged town. They paraded the streets with their weapons and in their harness, they exacted from the unfortunate townspeople a tax of 6d. or 12d. a day with a 'bouch of court,' and they went 'robling' up and down the town exclaiming, 'Would God there knaves and lads of the forest (*i.e.*, Knaresborough) would come hider that we might have a faire day upon them.' However, the fair terminated, and the 4th of May came without the arrival of the Knaresborough men to gratify the combative instincts of the borderers. But they did not mean to return home without having had some exchange of hard knocks to indemnify them for their long journey. Accordingly they planned a raid upon the town of Boroughbridge, and obtained the assistance of 100 men from Beverley, Cawood, and York.

The people of Boroughbridge became aware of what was being prepared for them, and in some alarm sent to the steward of the lordship of Knaresborough, Sir William Plumpton, for advice and protection. Plumpton sent word that the people should remain in the town all night to guard it, while he himself prepared to appear on the scene on the following morning to secure the interests of law and order. But in spite of the steward's advice forty men left the town that night on a private feud, and proceeded to a place called Thorntonbrigg. It might have gone ill with these forty men, for the northern freebooters were made aware of their existence by observing a messenger sent to them by Plumpton. The northerners fell upon the men of Boroughbridge, who were much inferior in strength, and a

serious affray might have resulted had not Sir William Plumpton and his officers arrived in time to put an end to the combat. Archbishop Kemp was accused of inciting this riot, and he in his turn charged Plumpton with the offence.¹ But Plumpton would have no object in fetching freebooters from the Borders, and if any individual was guilty it was probably the archbishop.

After this curious affair of 1441 there is no record of any fresh outbreak on the part of the Hexhamshire men. But it would be unreasonable to suppose that they took no part in the Wars of the Roses. In the year 1464 Northumberland had become the seat of war. The Yorkists were doing their utmost to crush their foes, while the Lancastrians were straining every nerve to raise their drooping fortunes. At this time both King Edward IV. and the earl of Warwick called upon the archbishop of York to array his clergy against the king's enemies.² Hexhamshire would no doubt be included in this requisition. The laymen of the district had probably been already called out, for it seems certain that the clergy would only be called upon to serve after the laity were already under arms.

Sir Humphrey Neville, the bailiff of Hexham at this time, sided with the Lancastrians, in spite of his name and his blood. He was apprehended early in the reign of Edward IV., and though he received a pardon for his treason, he remained a prisoner in the Tower. Soon after, however, he contrived to escape, and made his way to the north. If he was not present at the battle of Hexham, he took part in the defence of Bamburgh against the earl of Warwick. He preferred a brigand's life to the regular occupations of a soldier, and both before and after the events of 1464 he had commanded a lawless band of freebooters. He seems to have especially singled out the church of Durham for his attacks, so much so that King Edward thought it necessary to send the monks of that place special letters of protection. The defeat of his party made little difference to him. He continued to lead a wild and lawless life until the year 1469, when he was captured, taken to London, and beheaded.³

The civil wars served to satisfy the combative instinct of the Hexhamshire men during the time of their progress. But the advent of the Tudor monarch did not completely pacify this part of the country as it did the

¹ Camden Soc. vol. iv. *Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. liv.-lvii.

² *Hexham Priory*, i. Illustrative Documents, Nos. lxxxiv. lxxxv.

³ *Ibid.* Preface, p. cvii. Illustrative Documents, Nos. lxxix. lxxxvii. See also notes to the same.

remainder of England. The men of Hexhamshire had by no means had enough of strife, and they continued to be as unruly and pugnacious as ever. When Wolsey became archbishop of York in 1514, the regality was in as disorderly a condition as it had ever been. The chief offices of the shire were all exercised by Lord Dacre, who was practically the ruler of the district. The state of the liberty in 1515 is thus described in a letter from Thomas Magnus to the archbishop :

After right done and full humble recommendations unto your grace. Pleas it the same to wit, that as touching all your causes withynne your regallity of Hexham, there hath bene of late some business. For albeit mylord Dacre offered to divers your tenants and inhabitants, they being poor bodyes, to lay downe thayre rents for thayme till thay were able to repay the same agenne to his lordeship; yet they, and many other, wold not inclyne to pay thayr rents and dues; but gave many nawte and frowarde words. Sir Christopher Dacre, perceiving this, sodaynly accused divers of the principalls, and commytted them to warde withynne your tour at Hexham. Whereupon sodaynly assembled nigh to the number of 200 persons, and came to the priory there used, as was the said Sir Christopher, and required hym to deliver unto thayme thayr neighbours that were in warde, or els thay wolde breke the prison, and take thaym forthwith. The said Christopher charged thaym, in the name of your grace, not soe to doe, but to depart, as they wold answer at thayr peills. And seeing he was not mete to medle with thaym at that tyme, he conveyed thaym with polacy. And within 7 dayes after he came sudaynly upon thaym, and hath taken divers of the principalls, and some of thaym are in warde at Hexham, and some at Karlyle; and they shall remayne till your pleasure be knowne in that behalf. And as touching such busy bodyes as fledde, and wolde not be taken nor come yn, as was commanded by my lord Dacre, therefore he caused thayr houses to be burnt in thayr owne sight, for the more ferefull example to other offenders. And nowe thay begynne all to submytte themselves. And assuredly my said lorde is mynded, that before my departing I shall have the substance with me of all such money as is owing to your grace. And both his lordeship, and the said Sir Christopher Dacre, his broder, applye thayrin in moste harty maner, that your grace, not only at this tyme may be well served, but also contynually from hennesfurth withynne your said regallity of Hexham. At my commyng up youre grace shall be acertayned in many things touching surveying of your landes, and ordering of your affaires there. And thence your grace shall have knowlege of many things, I trust, that by my said lorde's meanes, and good polacy, shall enservice to your proufite and advantage by the grace of God. Whoe have you, myne especiall and singular good lorde, in his mooste gracious governance. At Kirk Oswald, the 13th day of February. Your humble priest and bedeman,

T. MAGNUS.

To the mooste reverende fader in Christ my especiall and singular good lorde.
my lorde archebushop of York.¹

The government of Hexhamshire as carried out under Wolsey and Lord Dacre, may well be suspected of injustice. Wolsey was leading an expensive and magnificent life, and being anxious to enjoy all the revenues to which he considered himself entitled, he pressed for an immediate payment of the debts due to him from his tenants. Lord Dacre was a willing instrument in the execution of this task, and though he confessed that the tenants were miserably poor, he determined to extract the uttermost

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Brewer, ii. 158.

farthing from them, even though the task might prove a difficult and dangerous one. As it was, the first result of his severe measures was to stir up a revolt in the shire, and give occasion to much fresh rioting. But by promptly and vigorously dealing with the offenders, he seems to have brought the liberty into order, at least for a time. By June of the same year, he was able to send his faithful henchman Magnus to the archbishop with the following letter :

My singular and especiall good lord. In mooste humble wise I recomende me unto yo^r grace with hertie thanks for yo^r goode and haisty expedition of my matiers of late sent with the maister of my college of Graystoke. Certifieng yo^r grace that I haif bene at Hexham with my fello Mr. Asheton yo^r chaunceller all this weke passed and there hath kept courtes, and nowe th' enhabitauntes of yo^r rigalie of Hexham be wisdom and pollicie er soo qualified and brought in hobcysaunce that they er nowe in verrey good reull; and yo^r rentes never so well annsuered there, like as my said fellowe canne reaporte in every behalf at lienthe which I doubt not he woll shewe yo^r grace. And further ye woll gyf credence to my said broder berer herof. And the Holy Trinite preserve youe my singular and especiall good lord. At Kirk Oswald the xvii day of Juyn. Yours w^t hys serves
THOMAS DACRE.¹

Lord Dacre's 'wisdom and pollicie' seem to have mainly consisted in distraint and imprisonment, as the preceding letter of his chaplain, Magnus, serves to show. Discontent and disaffection may be trodden down in this way, but rarely stamped out. If Lord Dacre had temporarily succeeded in restoring order in 1515, a few years later the lawlessness in the regality had grown worse than ever. On the 17th of July, 1522, the bishop of Carlisle wrote to Wolsey :

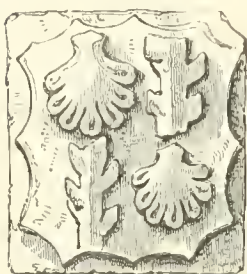
Ther is more thefte and extorcyon by Englishe theffes than ther is by all the Scottes of Scotland. Ther is noo man whiche is noott in a hold strong that hathe or may have any catell or movable in surete thorough the bushopryke, and from the bushopryke till we come within viii myle of Karlisle. All Northumberland lykewyse, Exhamshyre, whiche loongeth to yo^r grace, warst of all: for in Exham itsellffe every markett day ther is iiiii^{xx} or a c strong theffes, and the pore men and gentilmen also seethe them whiche didd robbe them and ther gooddys and dare nother complayne of them by name nor say oone word to them. They take all ther catell and horse, their corne as they cary hit to sow or to the mylle to gryne and at ther houses bedd them delyver what they will have or they shalbe fyred and bornt. By this ungracyusse meane not looked too, all the cuntre gooethe and shall more to waste.²

The ringleader of the rioters in Hexhamshire and on the Borders seems to have been one William Charlton, who is styled by Henry, earl of Northumberland, 'one of the moost notarious rebell traitours and capteyne of the great parte of the offenders of thies Borders of England.'³ The poor gentlemen were not always so opposed to these outlaws as the bishop of Carlisle supposed, and Eure says of them that they would rather have the favour of the thieves than join in taking them.⁴

¹ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. ed. Brewer, ii. 597. ² *Ibid.* iii. 2328. ³ *Ibid.* iv. 5954. Charlton was taken and slain in 1529 by Thomas Errington, a servant of the earl of Northumberland. ⁴ *Ibid.* 1482.

In spite of Lord Dacre's zeal for him, Wolsey does not seem to have been satisfied with the administration of the shire. Dacre had in 1523 collected the rents of the tenants, amounting to £212 3s. 8½d.¹ This was over £22 more than the last recorded rental (that of 1487), but the money was not paid in promptly enough, and the cardinal wrote a very sharp letter to his administrator, taxing him with misgovernment, and drawing his attention to the disorderly condition of the regality.

Lord Dacre was in an awkward situation between the archbishop who demanded his rents, and the tenants who refused to pay. His enemies,



ARMS FOR WAR OF
THOMAS, LORD DACRE.

moreover, were busy undermining his reputation, no doubt highly colouring the picture of the disorders in the liberty, and asserting that thieves fled from Northumberland into Hexhamshire, being sure of his protection.² On April 1st, 1524, Dacre wrote to the archbishop complaining of the tone of his recent letter. He declared that the evil reports of the state of the regality were untrue, and that for some time past there had been even to the amount of 12d. Dacre concludes by calling

to mind his own services, all the money he had expended out of his own pocket for the defence of the Borders, and how he had in this way contributed to everything except the support of thirty gunners and spies. This he had done in spite of the fact that during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Henry VII. such charges had been borne by the royal exchequer.³

Dacre, unluckily for himself, chose most unfortunate times in which to assure the archbishop of the complete quiet and orderliness in the regality. Soon after his letter of 1515, a company of freebooters, Wille Elwald, called 'Sidears'; Wille Elwald, son of John Elwald of Thorlishop; Rolle Elwald, Hobe Elwald, Ector Nykson, son of Henry Nykson; Wille Nykson, called fingerless Wille, and others, went raiding in Allendale, burnt the Old Town, and drove off the cattle, carrying away a quantity of plunder.⁴ Upon the very day that Dacre was addressing his remonstrances to Wolsey in answer to his reprimands, and assuring his lord of the peaceable state of the

¹ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. ed. Brewer, iii. 3518.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, I. iii. p. 36.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII. ed. Brewer, iv. 220.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 1672.

regality, one William Franklyn, a prebendary of York, well known on the Borders, was writing from Durham to Wolsey a letter of very different import :

Pleas y^t your most honorable grace to understande uppon Tewsday last the xxviii of Marche, the Hyland theeves withe banyshed men to the numbre of fowre hundreth men, accompanyde with many Scotts, came to Yngoo and Kirkhetton in Northumberland, and overrane the countrey too within eght myles of Newcastle, wher they slewe seven menne out of hande, and hurt dyvers moo in perell of dethe, settinge fyre on the said townes, and drove awaye all the goods and cattall lying in there way. The saide theeves be nowe in such comforte and audacitie by reason it is brutede here bye the Lord Dacre's freends that he shall have the hool governaunce of the contreye, that they be much more ryotowse than ever theye were byfor. And be lykelchade within breve tyme, if theye be sufferde, shall soo increse that harde it wyl be to repress theym without some difficultie. Hexhamshire, Wardale, with other countreys of the bushopricke adjoyning to the hylelandes, be everye houre in dangeor utterlye to be destroyed.¹

It is evident from the preceding letters that the presence of the unruly Scots on the other side of the Border was not among the least of the dangers with which Dacre had to contend. The Scots were too often called into Northumberland to aid in party feuds, and Dacre himself was accused by his enemies of conniving at this kind of thing. The introduction of Scotchmen into the county in this way was an offence known as March or Border treason; and in 1534 one Anthony Armstrong was indicted upon this offence, because he had brought Scotchmen into Hexhamshire.²

Dacre had many enemies, who tried to do him every harm in their power. It was probably with an intention to oust him that those who in 1523 drew up a report on the reformation of the East and Middle Marches proposed that the keeper of Tynedale should also be bailiff of Hexham.³ But Dacre remained immovable, and appears to have enjoyed the complete confidence of the archbishop, for the suspicions that called forth the letter referred to above seem to have been speedily allayed. In 1526 Dacre once more wrote to the archbishop that Hexham was pacified and perfectly quiet, but he complained that the gaol was full of prisoners and was a great charge.⁴

It was not until April, 1532, that his administration, which had been so much criticised, came to an end. Ralph Fenwick succeeded to the office of bailiff, which he was to hold at the pleasure of the archbishop. This arrangement, however, did not satisfy him, and he wrote to Cromwell asking if he might have a patent for life.⁵ This request was probably granted, for when Reynold Carnaby was nominated to succeed him in October, 1534, it was upon the distinct understanding that he should not enter upon office until Fenwick was dead or had resigned.⁶

¹ Raine, *North Durham*, p. xii.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. vii. 1588.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 3286.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 2052.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 1484.

⁶ *Reg. Leases*, York, f. 60 b.

It cannot have been much later when Carnaby definitely entered upon his troubled and eventful term of office. In the year 1536 the Reformation Parliament had decreed the dissolution of the smaller monasteries. In the following September the royal commissioners had appeared at Hexham, and there encountered such resistance as altogether astonished and confounded them. The determined action of the canons of Hexham at this memorable crisis was all that was necessary to reawaken the spirit of discontent and lawlessness on the Borders. Its immediate result was the famous rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The active instigator of this revolt in Northumberland was John Heron of Chipchase. At the first news of the resistance of the Hexham canons he had ridden over to see William Carnaby of Halton, the father of Reynold, and advised him to come to terms with the rebels, and arrange an armistice with them. For this purpose he offered his good offices, which were gladly accepted by Carnaby. Heron thereupon went away and did all in his power to confirm the canons in their resistance and to gain their aid for a contemplated rising of the Tynedale men. Having successfully accomplished this mission, he returned to Halton and sat down to dinner there with the satisfied exclamation, 'It is a good sight to see a man eite when he is hungry.' In the middle of the meal a man named Arche Robson of Tynedale came and told his cousin, John Robson, that the Tynedale men were out. Heron perceived this, and fancying that Carnaby had also overheard it, he drew his host aside into an adjoining room and there quietly told him that his mission had failed, that the men of Hexham were prepared to do their worst. He advised Carnaby to defend himself as best he might, for he felt sure that the men of Hexhamshire and Tynedale would attack him first.

Such news given in such a manner might well alarm Carnaby, to whom the plausible John Heron appeared in an altogether fresh light. He did not scruple to express his opinion of Heron on the spot, and said 'it was very shorte warnyge, and not lyke a frend of him done to knowe suche a purpose, and not to declare it to he had half dynid; but yer was noe remedy but take it as it was.' The story is best told in the words of the original document:

Soo, the said Willm desyryng hym of his counsaill, he said there was noo helpe but onely to goo to his hous of Chipchase, and there to be his self; for, yf he remeynid in the hous, all the goodes in the world wold not sayf his lyf. And that he was sure yf he taryed, he could not defend the hous, they were such a power; with many other suche lyke terrible wordes; and all to th'entent to have t'hous left void, without

defence; by caus he wold have had Sir Raynald Carnabe's money and plait, which he knew was there. . . . And soo the said Willm Carnaby toke his horse and rode with the said John Heron toward his hous of Chipchase.

In the meane tyme, the Hexhamshire men, and Tyndall togyther, being assemblyd at a place callyd Sanct John Ley, reght unto Hexham, it fortun'd a servaunte of Syr Raynold Carnaby's to be ryding, and chaunced amongst the Tyndall men; who seing y^r maner, and perceyveing y^r purpose, with fayre wordes gotting hym forth of theyre handes, supposing to have bene at the hous of the said Willm Carnabe's, for to defend the same afore theyr coming, he toke a more nere way thither; and by a venture dyd see hym and John Heron ryde togyther towards Chipchase, as is afforsaid: and soo made a tokyn that he shuld come towards hym, he said unto hym secretly in his eare theis wordes, 'That traytor theyf that rydeth with you hath betrayed you, and it woll cost you your lyf yet; yf ye folowe counsaill, I shall warrant you;' and soo advised hym to speyke to the said John Heron, and to deseyre hym with as fare wordes as he couth, to tary bak, and to kepe of theyme behynde hym as he myght do, by cause he was of theyre acquaintance and alied amongst theyme, the said servant of Syr Raynalde's shulde guyde him to Chipchase. And soo, by that meanys, John Heron taryed bak, supposing he had rydden to his hous of Chipchase. And by caus he wold have bene sure he should not have scaped, he afterward sent his son George Heron to attend upon the said Willm Carnaby, which in lyke case was conveyed. And as sone as they were forth of theyre sight, he rode anoyer contrary way towards Langley, and escaped. Which yf he had not done by chans, he had bene sure then to have bene slayne by his enemys, and according to the mynd of the said John Heron.

Yet he not attayning unto that to whiche was his cheyf desyre, as to say the money and plate, he returned from the sayd Willm Carnaby, as said is, and came to his hous of Halton and demann'det of his wyf yf hyr son Sir Raynald had any money. And she, menyng trewly, and gyffing good faithe to hym, said 'Yea,' and delyvered to him the casket withe suche money as the sayd Sir Raynald hade. Whiche when he hade it in his handes, one Arthur Errington, a kynnesman of the said Syr Raynalde's Carnabi's, against his will, dyd take it from hym; and he togyther w^t vij Tyndall men which had promysed to take his parte, rode away with it as fast as theyre hors wold beyre theyme. And John Heron, seing his purpose was woid, that the casket was owt of his handes, made after with all the spede he myght; and put a kercher as a pensell uppon his spere point, and folowed aftir the casket; and all to th'entent that the rest of theyme which was brokyn in the forrey, and was seasing the goodes, shulde have takyn the said casket from theyme that had it. Which when he could not overtake, he returned, and soo that nyght rode home.

Moreover, bycaus he wold have had the hous without any defence of men, when as Thomas Carnaby, one of the sonnes of the said Willm, was in his said hous at Halton, the said John Heron came unto the said Thomas, and said his father commandit hym of his blyssing that he shuld not tary in the hous. And soo by fare wordes intysed hym to departe from the hous lykewyse. And yet he couth not come to his desyre, for alwayes some men remayned in the hous, and y^{ey} not leveing his mater; soo, on the morowe, beyng Tewesday, he came unto the house agayne. where the said Willm Carnaby being absent, and all his chyldren, one Lewis Ogle, the lord Ogle's brother, being y^r keaping the hous, he movid hym, in all that he coulede, to leve the hous woid; saing he wold not tary there tyll nyght, yf he knew and perceyved as moche as he knewe, for ten thousand poundes; with suche lyke ferefull wordes not a few: which whan he could not bring abowte, he rode home, and never came thither after.¹

Although Heron had failed in this purpose of despoiling Halton while retaining the mask of friendship, his machinations had proved successful in so far that it became impossible for the Carnabys to remain openly in the district. Disaffection had broken out on every side, and the whole country was in an uproar. One of the principal movers in the sedition was the

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. pp. cxi.-cxlv.; *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. xii. pt. i. 1090.

warden of the East and Middle Marches himself. This was Sir Thomas Percy, a younger brother of Henry, earl of Northumberland. He is said to have made his castle of Prudhoe the resort of the most notable offenders in Tynedale and Hexhamshire, among whom were John Heron, Edward Charlton, Anthony Errington, and many like-minded spirits. He was accused of using his power as warden to further the cause of the rebellion, and in Hexham town on market days he used openly in the abbey to demand of the people there 'what help or ayd he might have of thame in the quarell of the commons,' so that 'his wordes encoragid many ewill disposed persons to be wors mynded agaynst the kinge's magesty than thay wold have beyn, but onely by his provocacon.'¹

Into the history of the Pilgrimage of Grace it is unnecessary to enter here. The revolt broke down completely, and left the government unshaken and its measures untouched. In Hexhamshire events naturally followed the same course. The storm was followed by a complete calm. In February, 1537, peace was restored, and the Carnabys had returned to their home. On the 26th of the same month the duke of Norfolk dissolved the priory of Hexham, while the people quietly looked on and meekly listened to his loyal exhortations.

Sir Reynold Carnaby had become bailiff and general administrator of Hexhamshire in the year 1536.² After the dissolution he was entrusted with the administration of the lands of the priory, which had become the property of the Crown.³ In November, 1538, the king granted him the house and site of the abbey, with the conventual buildings, the hospital of St. Giles, and over 30 acres of land in Hexham.⁴ The buildings were subsequently fitted up as a private residence, and they continued for many years to be the seat of the lords of the manor. Carnaby cannot be considered as lord of the manor, for that title belonged to the archbishop of York, but he occupied an analogous position. The practice of nominating one person to fill all the chief offices of the shire, who farmed the rents and carried on the administration, pointed in this direction. Lord Dacre was the first who occupied such a position, and the precedent instituted in his case was closely followed subsequently. For a few years after 1536 Carnaby was in a

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. pp. cxxxi.-cxxxiv.; *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII. xii. pt. i. 1086.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII. xi. 449.

³ *Aug. Off. Misc. Books*, vol. 281, p. 13.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII. xiii. pt. ii. 967, 53.

peculiar situation, acting at once as representative for the king of the lands lately belonging to Hexham priory, and as representative of the archbishop of York for his temporal possessions in Hexham regality. The arrangement was a confusing one, but fortunately it lasted but a very short time.

The peace in Hexhamshire was not enduring. In February, 1537, Sir Thomas Tempest wrote to the duke of Norfolk: 'Good my lord, haste hither. Northumberland is wholly out of rule, and speedy order must be taken with Tynedale and Redesdale. The barony of Langley and Hexhamshire follow their example.'¹ In spite of the plague, that was raging at the time,² disorders and riots followed in the winter of 1538. Among the devices suggested to put an end to these constantly recurring outbreaks, it was proposed that some loyal and courageous gentleman should have the keeping of Tynedale, together with the rule of Hexhamshire, Corbridge, and the barony of Langley, and that all the gentlemen dwelling on the banks of the South Tyne should be commanded to take part with him against thieves and Scotch invasions.³ The king, however, had his own way of settling the difficulty, and in the year 1545, on the 6th of February, an exchange was effected with Archbishop Holgate, who had only recently been elected, by which the whole of the regality passed into the hands of the Crown.⁴

Two years later a survey⁵ was taken of the whole district, which is of peculiar interest on account of its having been made during what may be termed a period of transition. The manor had just passed into the hands of the king, who was anxious to know the exact value of his property. The survey is therefore unusually complete. The tenants are ranged under the following divisions: Errington, Wall, Acomb, Hallington, Keepwick, Greenridge, Keenley, East Allendale, Ninebanks and West Allendale, Newlands and Rowley ward, Hexham borough, and Catton. Wall and Acomb alone are styled townships, Hallington is called a manor, and no designation is given to the rest. Under these headings the names of the tenants and the amount of the customary rent they paid for each tenement are fully set down. Twelve freehold tenements are mentioned, but the remainder are copyhold. No curious holdings are given, though the term 'cooteland' occurs once or twice, as well as 'le five days work.' Besides these rents the

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. xii. pt. i. 345.

² *Ibid.* xiii. pt. ii. 372.

³ *Ibid.* xii. pt. i. 595.

⁴ *Greenwich Hospital Papers*. Overstaples, i.

⁵ This survey will be found, printed in full, at the end of this section, p. 66.

lord of the manor enjoyed various other dues, such as agistments of his forests, fines exacted in his courts, tolls of his markets and fairs (which were farmed out) and rents from a coal mine in Catton and a lead mine in East Allendale. But the total amount of all these was inconsiderable. An interesting feature in the survey is the mention of the various officers of the manor, with the amount of the salary paid to each. Robert Bowes was both steward and bailiff, appointed by royal letters patent, and receiving £6 13s. 4d. in the former and £13 6s. 8d. in the latter capacity. The forester, John Gibson, and the sergeants, John Marshall and Thomas Hynnors, each received 13s. 4d. a year. Foresters are only mentioned in the Newlands and Rowley ward, and their salary was one penny per day.

A few incidental references call to mind the unsettled state of the district. This is the only place where there is mention of the burning of Errington, Keepwick, and Greenridge by the Scots in the time of Archbishop Bowett (1408-23), a destruction so complete that its ravages were not made good over a hundred years later. A further reference, relating to the very time when this survey was taken, states that some lands in Thockerington, in the tenure of Cuthbert Shaftoe, were formerly rented at 100s. a year, but that at this time, owing to their proximity to Tynedale, and the danger of attack from the Scots, they only paid 20s.

The names of about two hundred tenants are given in the survey, exclusive of the burgage holders in Hexham town. The net value of the rents paid by them amounts to £186 17s. 1½d., which is less than the sum extorted by Lord Dacre, but is almost exactly the same amount as was collected in the year 1487. The value of the property was apparently decreasing, for when Layton and Legh took a survey of it in 1536, they estimated the gross rental at £196 19s. 4¾d. But their estimate was only a rough one, and they may have overstated the case. This survey is here appended in order that the sums given may be compared with those of the roll of 1547.

SURVEY OF 1536.¹

Exhibita ornatissimo viro domino Thome Cromwelo generali visitatori domini nostri regis Henrici Octavi ac supremi capitis ecclesie Anglicane per Edwardum archiepiscopum Eboraci iuxta directum visitacionis mei prefati archiepiscopi facta per venerabiles viros dominum Richardum Layton et dominum Thomam Legh predicti domini Thome Cromweli ad huiusmodi negotium visitacionis per totam provinciam Eboracen' commissarios duodecimo die mensis Januarii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto.

* * * * *

¹ *Rentals and Surveys.* Roll 766.

Archiepiscopatus Ebor': Valores omnium et singulorum dominiorum maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum ac aliarum possessionum quorumcumque tam temporalium quam spiritualium domini Edwardi permissione divina Ebor' archiepiscopi Anglie primatis et metropolitani iuxta verum valorem annum eorundem communibus annis.

Regalia de Hexham in comitatu Northumbrie infra receptum Renaldi Carnabye militis receptoris particularis ibidem. Onus valet: In redditibus et firmis infra predictam regaliā videlicet diversorum Burgagiorum (xvij^{li} xvij^s x^d) infra villam de Hexham. Diversorum firmariorum (xvij^{li} x^s iiij^d ob.) in manerio prioris de Hexham. Diversorum liberorum tenencium (xvij^{li} xii^s iiij^d ob.) diversorum molendinorum (xl^s) firmis tolmetorum marcatorum cum aliis (vij^{li} iiij^d), firma unius clausi siue pomarii ibidem vocati le hall orcharde (xxx^s); et in diversis aliis hamlettis videlicet Erington (vij^{li} xij^d) Walle (xv^{li} ij^s j^d ob. qa.) Acome (xxiiij^{li} viij^s xj^d qa.) Haliden (vij^{li} iiij^s j^d ob.) Kepewike (vj^{li} xiiij^s) Grene-ridge (xxxij^s) Kencléghe (vij^{li} iiij^s viij^d) Estalewent (xxxiiij^{li} xvij^s j^d) Cadden (x^{li} iiij^s iiij^d) Nynebynkes cum Westallande (xv^{li} iiij^s v^d ob. qa.) et Newlandes in Rowley warde (xxvij^{li} iiij^s iiij^d); in toto prout particulariter patet antea. ccxxj^{li} iiij^s viij^d qa.

Casualibus ibidem communibus annis videlicet in perquisitionibus curie (lij^s xj^d) cum finibus terrarum (x^s vj^d ob.) conelamentorum averiorum et proficuis plumbi (xxv^s) vocati leade owes. iiij^{li} viij^s ob. [Summa totalis] ccxxv^{li} xij^s viij^d ob. qa.

Allocaciones Feodorum: In feodo dicti Renaldi Carnabye militis receptoris particularis ibidem (vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d). Feodo ipsius Renaldi Carnaby capitalis senescalli tocius regalie predictae vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d. Feodo dicti Renaldi balliui regalie predictae xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d. Et in feodo Thome Armstronge senescalli curie regalie predictae xl^s, in toto xxvij^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d. Et sic valet clare ciiij^{xx} xvj^{li} xix^s iiij^d ob. qa.

A few years later, in 1580, when the muster of the Middle Marches was being taken, it was stated that there were some six score copyholders in Hexhamshire, mostly in East and West Allendale, who were bound by their tenure to find horse and armour, and who 'taverne there land and give it by will as though they were freeholders.' This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for military purposes, because the tenants neglected to provide themselves with a horse and armour, which most of them were no doubt too poor to purchase. Some attempt was made to induce the government to curtail these privileges by statute,¹ but apparently nothing was done, and the copyholders of Hexhamshire continued to exercise considerable liberty in the disposal of their property.

At the time of the survey of 1547, Sir Reynold Carnaby was already dead, and Sir Robert Bowes filled the various offices which his death had left vacant. Carnaby had no son, but left three daughters who were under age, and in the wardship of their mother, Sir Reynold's widow, and of their uncle, Cuthbert Carnaby.

The privileges of Hexhamshire as a franchise had now nearly lived out their term. They had been many times attacked, but continued to survive all assaults, practically undiminished. But they had lasted so long as to become an anachronism. Tynedale had been thrown into the county as

¹ *Cal. Border Papers*, i. 50.

long ago as the reign of Henry VII. and yet Hexhamshire continued to exist as a separate franchise, though after 1545 its position had become anomalous. When the king of England had also become lord of the manor of the district, the liberties of Hexhamshire ceased to have any meaning. That the Crown, as lord of the regality, should have rights against itself as sovereign of the country was quite an untenable position. Such a situation could only lead to a series of formalities and ceremonials, that would be alike useless and cumbrous. It seems strange that such a state of affairs should have been allowed to continue so long. In 1572, however, it was definitely abolished by Act of Parliament.

[May, 1572.]¹ Where before this tyme matter of doubt hath ben movid aswell before the justices of assises, oyer, and termynar and of the peax, as before dyvers other commissioners for the county of Northumberland, whether the liberties of Hexam and Hexamshire late parcell of the possessions of tharchbushoprike of Yorke, and by exchange for other landes comme to the possession of the crowne, ought to be taken and iudged as a libertie of countye pallatyn clerely exemptid from the jurisdiction of sherifwike of Northumberland, or no: by reason wherof greate hindraunce bathe growne to the execution of justice: for the remeadye wherof, be it enactid by the queenes most excellent maieste by the lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present Parlement assemblid, and thauthorite of the same, that the said liberties of Hexham and Hexhamshire shalbe from hencefurthe judged accomptid and taken as a pryvate franchise or libertie within the lymytes and jurisdictions of the countye of Northumberland and that justices of assise, oyer, and termynar, and of the peax, authorisid for and within the lymites of the county of Northumberland, shall have full powre and authorite to heere and determyne in their courtes and sessions, or otherwise according to the tenor and vertue of their commission for the execution of lawes: all and all manner treasons, murders, felonys, and other offences before them determynable, being committed, perpetrated and done within the said liberties. And that the said justices and commissioners and euery of them according to the vertue of their commissions, shall and maye appoint and keepe the sessions and courtes for the heering and determyning of all maner thoffences abouesaid, aswel within the said liberties, as in any other place or places of the said county saving to the queenes highnes her heires and successors, and to all other persons, all and all maner of forfeitures, escheates, amercementes, and other profictes what so euer growing or due by reason of any the offenses abouesaid, to be perceyvid and answerid to her maiestie her heires and successors by her highness officers of the same liberties for the tyme being, or to any other person or persons in lyke sorte to all intentes and pourposes, as the same haue might or ought to haue ben answerid before the making of this Acte. Any thing heerin conteynid to the contrary notwithstanding.

[Endorsed]: Hexam, to be parcell of the county of Northumberland.

The district of Hexhamshire was thus assimilated to the other Crown property, and with very few exceptions all its special privileges had disappeared. It was administered for the Crown by the grantee of the possessions of the late monastery. As has been already stated, Sir Reynold Carnaby, the original grantee, died before 1547, and was succeeded by his daughters, whose mother and uncle administered the estate for them. As the daughters grew up, one of them, Katherine, married Cuthbert, Lord

¹ *State Papers*, Elizabeth, Domestic, addenda, vol. xxi No. 44.

Ogle, and another, Mabel, married George Lawson. The third daughter, Ursula, married Edward Widdrington, but her share seems to have lapsed to the Crown, for in 1570 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Sir John Forster of Bamburgh.¹ In a few years Sir John gradually acquired for himself the whole of the inheritance of Sir Reynold Carnaby. On 10th February, 1575, George Lawson mortgaged his share to him for £324, and on the following 28th of March Lord Ogle did the like for £200. By 1578 these possessions seem to have definitely become a portion of Sir John's estate. On 12th April, 1579, he bought from Sir Christopher Hatton all the tithes and spiritualities lately belonging to the priory of Hexham. This property had not originally been conceded to Carnaby, but had been retained by the Crown, and was granted by Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, the Vice Chamberlain Hatton, who almost immediately sold it to Forster. The ancient property of the priory, so far as it had come into Sir John Forster's hands, seems to have been grouped under the manor of Anick Grange, one of the earliest possessions of the priory, in order to distinguish it from the royal manor of Hexham. This is a question that will be more fully discussed when the history of Anick Grange is given; but it may be interesting to note here that the motley group of places included in that manor serves to strengthen this theory.

Sir John Forster devised the Hexham property to his daughter Grace, who married William Fenwick. The offspring of this marriage, Sir John Fenwick, succeeded his grandfather, Sir John Forster, upon the latter's death in January, 1602, by virtue of a settlement made in January, 1597. The Hexham property is thus enumerated in the inquisition taken upon Sir John Forster's death: the monastery house of Hexham with Prior's flat, Coalfield, and Corofield in Hexham; Dotland house and park; Anick grange and manor; Poytfield and Prior Thorns; three mills called Tyne mills; all tithes of corn in Hexhamshire and Anick; Westburnhope; Swinburn lands near Hexham; St. Martin's chantry, Hexham; Carnaby's lands; Medhope; Stagshaw; Old Town; Allenton chantry; tithes of Allendale, Gunnerton, and Slaley.²

The regality, however, still continued to remain in the hands of the Crown. A survey of it was taken in 1608,³ which it will be interesting to compare

¹ The original, under the great seal, is in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. *York Charters*, No. 337.

² This information respecting the title to the priory lands has been taken from an abstract of title formerly belonging to Sir Walter Trevelyan, and now in the possession of Canon Raine.

³ This survey may be found at the end of this section, p. 86.

with the similar document of 1547. In the interval some not inconsiderable alterations have taken place. In the new survey the regality is said to be divided into six grieveships (Allendale Town, Catton, Keenley, East Allendale, West Allendale, Wall, and Acomb), together with Hexhamshire and Hexham town. The number of freeholds has increased to seventeen, and leasehold tenure appears for the first time. As in the former survey, the tenants are ranged under the various grieveships, but in addition to the customary rents, which remain unaltered, the yearly value of each tenement above this ancient rent is also given. It is from this circumstance that the survey derives a great part of its value. The names of the officials of the manor, and the amount of their salary, is again given, but in 1608 instead of two sergeants there is only one, with a yearly salary of 26s. 8d., and the gaoler receives a like amount. The forester receives only 13s. 4d., however, instead of one penny a day as he had done before. Some additional officials are also mentioned; these are the receiver, the collector of Newlands and Rowley ward, and the clerk of the manor, all appointed by letters patent, and enjoying a fixed salary.

Some interesting memoranda conclude this important survey. The curious office of the scalerakers, or scavengers, of Hexham market is fully described, and there is an account of the two ancient towers of the town, which are said to be in a ruinous condition. The transfer of the regality from the archbishop of York to the Crown is also referred to, though the event is incorrectly ascribed to the time of Cardinal Wolsey instead of Robert Holgate. The copyhold tenants are said to claim the right of inheritance, with fixed customs, as regards rents, fines, and Border service. Their lands were not heriotable, but they acknowledged that at every change of tenant they were bound to pay a fixed fine of one year's rent.

The total value of the land in the regality, beyond the customary rents, amounted at this time to £959 16s. 6½d. The value to the lord seems to have diminished, for though it is stated at £191 14s. 1¼d., yet when the salaries of the various officers have been deducted it amounts to no more than £155 6s. 9¼d.

Sir John Fenwick was acting as steward of the manor when the survey was taken, though another person was bailiff. The office of steward seems to have continued to remain in the hands of the owner of the priory. This was not always the case with the kindred and more important office of bailiff.

In the present instance that office was held by Roger Widdrington, but as he was absent, apparently on account of some crime, the duties of the office seem to have been performed by Sir John Fenwick.

It is evident from the foregoing survey that at this time the royal connection with Hexhamshire was of the slightest. Although the regality was nominally Crown property, the tenants refused to show the royal officials the evidence of their tenures, and the bailiff, while asserting that he held his office by letters patent, refused to justify his claim, and rendered no account of fines and other monies taken by him in the shire. In 1632 the connection with the Crown ceased entirely. On 20th November the manor of Hexham, with all its appurtenances, was conveyed through Sir John Heydon, Charles Harbord, William Scriven, and Philip Eden to Sir John Fenwick, by letters patent. This grant comprised the whole of the regality, with East and West Allendale, Hexhamshire, divers outrents from Allendale Forest, the office of forester, lead ore to be obtained within the liberty, Westwood, Milhaugh, Hall Flat, Hall Orchard, the market and tolls of Hexham, Hexham ferry, coal mines in Cadden near Acomb, Procter lands, Carnaby lands, coal and stone mines within the liberty, all lead mines and lead ore there, with all courts, and rents and services of the manor, in short all the civil rights formerly enjoyed by the archbishops of York, which had been left intact by the Act of 1572.

The possessions of Hexham priory and the regality were thus joined together once more under the same owner, after a lapse of more than five and a half centuries. Of the condition of the shire itself very little remains to be said. In spite of the privileges of the Hexham copyholders, and notwithstanding the fact that they paid no heriots, and had almost complete liberty in the disposal of their lands, they were miserably poor, and were always in difficulties. During the early years of the seventeenth century nearly half Hexhamshire was in debt to Sir Robert Bewick, a merchant of Newcastle, who was a hard creditor, and claimed his due with relentless severity and unerring regularity, in the Manor Courts. But this period, though a hard one for the copyholders, was not fatal to them, as it proved in so many parts of the country. While copyholds were fast dying out elsewhere, those of Hexham enjoyed an exceptional vitality; most of them survived that trying period, the eighteenth century, and a few years ago they were almost as numerous as in ancient times, though latterly the process of

enfranchisement has gone on somewhat rapidly, and many of the holdings are occupied by tenant farmers.

Although the interests of order and good government had been greatly served by the transfer of the shire from the archbishops to the Crown, yet the turbulent spirits of the district could not be altogether quelled, and the passion of the natives for fighting occasionally manifested itself at this later period, as it had done in former and less orderly days. In 1569 the army of the rebel earls passed through Hexham, but their hurried passage appears to have caused but little disturbance in the shire.¹ However the state of the district was sufficiently disturbed in 1601 to call forth an Act for the suppression of disorder on the Borders. In the preamble it is stated that outrages were daily committed, blackmail imposed, and persons carried away by violence and against their will. All these offences were made felonious by the terms of the Act, and it was further ordered that the names of outlaws should be proclaimed in the town of Hexham.² This Act continued in force for more than a century, and when in 1712 there seemed to be some danger that it might expire, the Grand Jury of Hexham were so alarmed for the consequences that might ensue that they drew up a petition in the following terms: 'We doe humbly conceive that it will be very much for the service and benefitt of the inhabitants of this county that the Act of Parliament for preventing theft & rapine in the northern borders be continued, for we humbly conceive if the s^d Act be suffered to expire the smaller & middling freeholders of this county will be ruined and forced to parte with their estates for that they will not be able to preserve their owne and tenants' goods from being stolen and taken away.'³

The House of Stuart had always found many devoted partisans in Northumberland, but Hexhamshire was perhaps the division of the county where that feeling was strongest. In the rebellion of 1715 many of the inhabitants were seriously implicated. Some of the greatest landholders in the shire took a prominent part in the rising, and after its failure their tenants and subordinates were placed in a most unenviable position. The principal and best known of these landholders was the earl of Derwentwater, but other gentlemen were also involved.

As is too often the case in times of panic, the government acted with

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, vol. ix. No. 18.

² See Wright's *Hexham*, p. 112.

³ *Sessions Records*, 16th July, 1712.

great severity, and was too ready to listen to the interested evidence of that odious class of informers that is always ready to spring up on such occasions. The subjoined letter seems to bring to light a case of injustice that probably was not an isolated instance at that time. Although the defaulting Thomas Errington had been concerned in the rebellion there seems to have been no accusation against his tenants, who nevertheless were punished for his guilt.

Mr. Ord, I understand there are severall people of Anicke and Reed house (tenants to Mr. Errington of Beaufront) that either are indicted or bound over by recognizances upon the complaint of one John Hutchinson of Anicke. The ten^{ts} have been wth me and desire you'l please to let me know by the bearer in a line or two what your charge will come to, and if they cann be discharged at sessions. It's very hard upon y^e poor men that they must bear all the charge out of their owne pockets, and this charge is created them by reason of Mr. Thomas Errington's absence, ffor if he had been but att home there had been nothing of this. I hope you will answer this request, and therein you'l very much oblige him who is (wishing you a good new year)

Yo^r humble serv^t, THO. SHAFTOE.¹

The harshness of the government in 1715 perhaps exercised a deterrent influence in 1745. The rebellion of that year does not seem to have been taken up very heartily in Hexhamshire. The government, however, was suspicious, and caused a list of all the Roman Catholics in the district to be drawn up.

PAPISTS, REPUTED PAPISTS, AND NON-JURORS.

In Hexham 45 names.

John Armstrong of Allenheads, gent., aged 80.	John Armstrong of Woodhead, joiner.
Richard Allgood of the same, gent., aged 45.	William Scott of Beaufront, farmer.
John Carre of the same, labourer, aged 50.	Mr. Selby of the same.
William Harby of Bateshill house, labourer, aged 40.	Thomas Errington of Sandoe, gent.
Ralph Stobbs of Tedham, labourer, aged 40.	William Stokoe of the same.
Edward Jennings, of Newbigin, farmer.	John Ellison of the same.
William Gray of Park Head, farmer.	Joseph Gibson of Stagshaw Close house.
Thomas Armstrong of the Pease, labourer.	Thomas Coates of the same, yeoman.
John Forster of Upper Ashels, aged 40.	William Errington of Sandoe, gent.
William Stobbs of Hathery Haugh, labourer.	George Anderson of Beaufront.
Jonathan Blackburn of Intack house, labourer.	George Carr of Cocklaw, farmer.
Edward Forster of Mire Meadows, labourer.	John Loury of Keepwick mill.
Nicholas Stobbs of Hathery Haugh, labourer.	John Sanderson of Wall, labourer.
Matthew Sutton of Occrich.	George Sanderson of the same, labourer.
Robert Atkinson of the same, joiner.	Henry Oxley of Houtley, farmer.

Return made at Hexham, 24th September, 1745. John Shield, high constable.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close the inhabitants of Hexhamshire seem to have gradually lost their combative character, and at the present time they cannot be reproached with being worse in this respect than

¹ *Sessions Records*, Christmas, 1716.

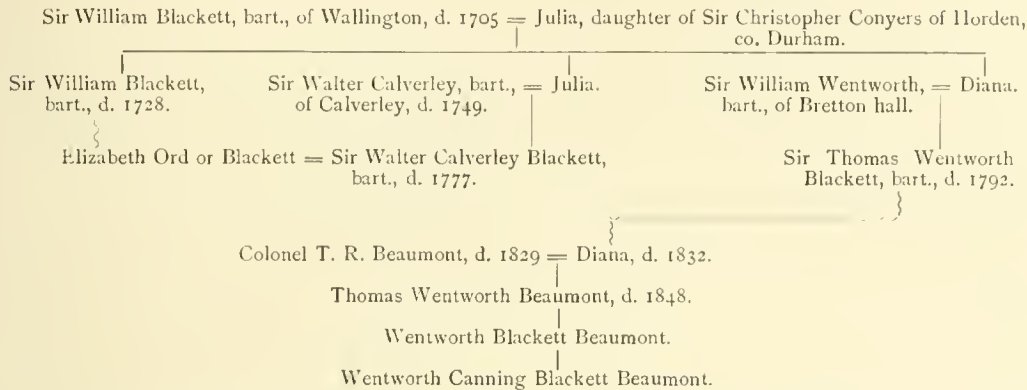
their neighbours, or than the remainder of their countrymen. Instead, therefore, of a long series of battles, rebellions, and riots, nothing remains to be recorded but the peaceful devolution of the estate.

The Hexham estate remained in the hands of the Fenwick family until the end of the year 1689. At that time Sir John Fenwick, the representative of the family, sold the whole of the property to Sir William Blackett of Wallington and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The terms of the conveyance were that Sir William should pay down £2,000 at once, another £2,000 upon the completion of the conveyance, and an annuity of £2,000 to Sir John and Lady Mary Fenwick. The estate of Walker was granted with Hexham for a term of ninety-nine years, to save the latter from the burden of various annuities charged upon it. These were : £100 to Sir Thomas Loraine and his son William for seventeen years ; £80 to Katherine Fenwick for life ; £130 to Ellingsby Preshell for life ; £40 to John Carnaby, Catherine his wife, and William and Obadiah their sons for their lives ; and £100 to Ralph Anderson for eight years.¹

Upon Sir William Blackett's death in 1705, his son, another Sir William Blackett, succeeded to the estate. The second Sir William died in 1728, leaving no legitimate issue, and devised his Hexham property to his natural daughter Elizabeth Ord, upon the condition of her marrying his nephew Walter Calverley, the son of Sir Walter Calverley, bart., of Calverley, Yorkshire. This she did, and her husband assumed the name of Calverley-Blackett. Their only daughter Elizabeth did not survive them, and the property then passed into the family of their aunt Diana, who had married Sir William Wentworth, bart., of Bretton hall, Yorkshire. Their son, Sir Thomas Wentworth, bart., succeeded to the Blackett estates upon the death of his cousin in 1777, and, like him, added the name of Blackett to his own. He died in 1792, and left his Northumberland and Yorkshire estates to his natural daughter, Diana, who had married Colonel Thomas Richard Beaumont. Colonel Beaumont died in 1829, and his wife Diana was lady of the manor of Hexham until her death in 1832. The estate then passed to her son, Thomas Wentworth Beaumont, who died in 1848, leaving the property to his son, Mr. Wentworth Blackett Beaumont. In the summer of 1894 Mr. Beaumont transferred the Hexham estate to his eldest son, Mr. Wentworth Canning Blackett Beaumont, who is therefore the present lord of the

¹ Abstract of title of the late Sir Walter Trevelyan.

manor. The following rough pedigree will show more clearly than the above account the tangled history of the descent of the Hexham property since it was sold by Sir John Fenwick in 1689 :



Little remains to be added to the history of Hexhamshire. The Act of 1572, which united the regality to the county, left standing a few privileges and customs. The Courts Baron and views of frankpledge continued to be held, and in these, admittances and surrenders could still be performed. Causes involving a sum of not more than forty shillings might also be decided before the bailiff if they were within the manor. Such customs, however, rapidly fall into desuetude, and this seems to have been the case at Hexham. Some attempt was made to revive them at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the following order will show :

Ordinatum est that whereas the said manor of Hexham is an antient manor, and enjoys severall liberties & priviledges incident thereto, and complaints have been made that the antient liberties thereof have been abused by the sergeant and his deputies to the prejudice of the inhabitants living within the said manor contrary to the intention of the same, by disobeying the protests of the steward and clerk of the courts holden for the said manor, therefore that all persons having business in an[y of] the said courts holden or to be held for the regality or manor aforesaid may have justice done, the sergeant . . . shall every three weeks make a due return of all processes to them directed, as well entrys as executions from [the Court] Baron, so that the same may be lodged in the office kept for the manor that persons concerned may have satisfaction . . . have satisfaction given them that have business in any of the said courts, and as to the Court of Record that all processes issuing thereout shall be duly returned by the sergeant every month, according to the antient practise of the said court, and adjournments will be kept in the office regularly for that purpose.

The sergeant and his deputies (if he or they have any regard for the lord of the said manor, bailiff, and steward) to execute all processes directed to him and them with the utmost expedition that the party and parties concerned may receive satisfaction without any equivocation, that the sergeant and his deputies shall upon receiving any money due to any person upon execution pay the same immediately upon receipt thereof, and give notice to the clerk of the court where the process was issued out that satisfaction may be recorded.

And that all processess directed to the sergeant and his deputies not before mentioned shall be duly and honestly returned to the proper offices of the said court or courts or the bayliff of the same manor, and to make immediately a return immediately after the defendant or defendants are taken upon any leads on entry or entries and this order to be read before the rising of every side court that persons wronged may have them, upon complaint to the bailiff and steward of the said court [4th May, 1726].¹

According to the ancient regulations surrenders might be made out of court in the presence of the bailiff and two tenants of the manor. This privilege had proved very convenient to the tenants, who availed themselves of it frequently. In 1841, however, the facilities for surrenders and admittances out of court were still further increased by an Act providing that they might be performed before the steward or bailiff of the manor without the presence of a tenant.² This Act dealt a severe blow at the Manor Courts, which thereby became superfluous, since, by the new regulations, the business usually transacted in them could be done much more easily out of them. Courts, however, were still held at Hexham until the year 1867, when an Act was passed depriving them of their power of determining actions of a personal nature when the debt or damage was under forty shillings.³ Since that year no courts have been held at Hexham.

In the year 1837 the ancient connection of the regality with York was terminated by an Act severing the peculiar jurisdiction of Hexhamshire from the diocese of York, and including it in the diocese of Durham.⁴ Hexham rural deanery was formed in September, 1842, as a part of the archdeaconry of Northumberland.⁵ Finally, upon the formation of the bishopric of Northumberland in 1881, the rural deanery of Hexham, and the whole of the shire were incorporated in the new diocese of Newcastle.

LIST OF HEXHAM BAILIFFS.⁶

1233, Nov. 23rd. Richard de Ulreme.	1293, Jan. 10th. Robert de Skypton, referred to as recently dead.
1235, Nov. 19th. Richard, son of Alexander.	1294, May 12th. John de Cimiterio.
<i>circa</i> 1226-42. Robert de Witon.	1295. (?) Roger de W[ha]lton.
<i>circa</i> 1251-5. William de Doncaster.	1299, Aug.-Nov. John de Vaus, king's bailiff <i>scde</i> <i>vacante</i> .
<i>circa</i> 1251-5. John de Elmham.	1300, Aug. Henry de Menill.
1252. Richard.	1303, Aug. 17th. William de Kelesholt appointed.
1268, Sept. 21st. R[ichard] (?)	1307, Jan. 16th. Henry de Menill.
1272. Roger de Saxton.	1308, Oct. 17th. Robert le Porter.
1274. William de Toluse.	
1287. Robert de Skypton.	
John de Lithegraynes, steward.	

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*.

² 4 and 5 Vic. c. 35, secs. 86, 88, 90.

³ 30 and 31 Vic. c. 142, sec. 28.

⁴ *London Gazette*, 24th January, 1837.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2nd September, 1842.

⁶ Compiled chiefly from the *York Registers* and *Manor Rolls*, which have been supplemented with names from the Surtees volumes, State papers, surveys, and various unpublished documents.

- 1309, Jan. 3rd; 1310, Feb. 19th; and 1311, June 22nd, Roger le Thornton.
- 1312, Sept. 23rd, Sir John de Vaus appointed.
- 1313, Dec. 27th, Ralph de Dalton „
- 1314, Nov. 25th, Nicholas de Whitfeld „
- 1314, Dec. 30th, Sir John de Haulton „
revoked 5th Feb., 1315.
- 1315, April 5th, Sir John de Vaus appointed.
- 1317, Dec. 26th, Richard Dusyng „
- 1318, Feb. 13th, Warin de Swethope „
- 1318, Nov. 20th, Sir John de Vaus „
- 1321, June 10th. Richard de Langton „
vice Sir J. de Vaus, resigned; John Travers, steward.
- 1322, Mar. 18th. John de Wauton appointed.
- 1322, Nov. 8th. Thomas de Fetherstonhalgh appointed.
- 1327, Mar. 13th. Thomas de Lelom appointed.
He was several times a justice of assize. On 21st Jan., 1327, Archbishop Melton desired the prior and convent of Hexham to reward Lelom with a pension, and in conformity with this request the bailiff received 5 marks annually, charged upon the lands of the priory at Little Broughton in Yorkshire.¹ In 1350 he gave certain lands and houses to the priory.
- 1328, Aug. 6th. John de Wauton appointed.
- 1332, Jan. 14th. Robert de Bridelington, steward.
- 1331, Dec. 15th. William de Wyrkesworth appointed, rector of Slaitburn, co. York.
- 1332, Oct. 13th. Richard de Tang appointed.
- 1333, Oct. 4th. Richard de Acom „
- 1334, Sept. 12th. Thomas de Lelom „
- 1338, July 7th. Robert de Ogle „
- 1343, Jan. 12th. William de Haukesgarth appointed steward.
- 1343, June 20th. Richard de Donyngton appointed steward.
- 1344, Nov. 14th. Roger la Zouche appointed steward.
- 1346, July 5th. Robert de Ogle appointed steward.
- 1349, May 10th. Sir William de Graystok appointed steward.
- 1350, Dec. 26th. Robert de Ogle appointed steward.
- 1355, Feb. 16th. Richard Ask appointed.
- 1355, July 17th. Walter de Bridelington appointed steward, rector of Skirpenbeck.
- 1356, Oct. 28th. Richard de Ask appointed; made bailiff for life 27th Dec., 1364.
- 1369, Oct. Elya de . . . ; Henry de Baron, steward.
- 1377, Aug. 12th. Thomas de Blenkinsop appointed.
- 1399, Dec. 1st. William de Mitteford, steward, appointed.
1407. John Bowet de Hoperton.
- 1409, May 10th. William Mitford appointed.
- 1423, April 15th. William Carnaby „
- 1451, Aug. 11th. William Errington; Nicholas Ridley, steward.
- 1458, Sept. 12th. Sir John Nevil.
- 1461, May 6th. Sir Humphrey Nevil.
- 1461, Dec. 3rd. George Lunley.
- 1487, Mar. 6th. Nicholas Belyngnam appointed; William Percy, steward.
- 1528, Jan. Edward Horsley.
- Before 1533. Lord Dacre.
- 1533, April 10th. Ralph Fenwick appointed.
- 1534, Oct. 8th. Sir Reynold Carnaby „
1538. Lewis Ogle, deputy bailiff.
- 1538, Dec. 20th. Walter Lee.
1547. Sir Robert Bowes.
- circa* 1550. William Conyers.
1574. William Heron, bailiff and chief steward.
1590. Edward Crashaw, steward.
1598. John Whitfield „
1599. Roger Widdrington, bailiff and steward.
1607. John Fenwick, steward.
- 1612, July 1st. Richard Carr.
1626. Richard Thirlwall.
1630. Richard Carr.
1646. Launcelot Allgood.
1653. Stephen Anderton.
1662. Patrick Crow.
1670. Thomas Allgood.
1687. Benoni Carr.
1689. William Carr.
1690. Thomas Allgood.
1713. John Carr.
1716. Joseph Tait.
1725. Launcelot Allgood.
1736. Thomas Allgood.
1741. John Carr.
1751. John Ord.
1765. Ralph Heron.
1803. John Bell.
1809. John Bell, junior.
- 1839, July 25th. Thomas Johnson.
- 1842, Nov. 21st. Jasper Gibson.
- 1873, Jan. 17th. R. R. Dees; resigned 1891.
- 1891, Dec. 31st. T. W. Thompson.

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. pp. lxxiv.-v.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century and latterly, the business of the manor has devolved chiefly upon the steward. Richard Ellis and Thomas Hopper Williamson long officiated in this capacity. The present steward is Mr. Richard Gibson of Hexham.

SURVEY OF HEXHAM MANOR IN 1547.¹

[MANERIUM] DE HEXHAM ad manus domini [scilicet] in manum suae serenissime majestatis jam existent. virtute cujusdem excambii factum cum reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Roberto² misericordia divina Eboraci archiepiscopo, Anglie primat., etc.

[ER]INGTON: Compotus Davidis Carnabie prepositi ibidem a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni nuper regis Henrici VIII^{ti} 38^{vo} usque festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis nunc Edwardi VI^{ti} dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie regis f. d., et in terris ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie supremi capitis, primo. Scilicet per unum annum integrum ut inferius sequitur.

Arreragia: Nulla prout in pede ultimi compoti anni proximi precedentis plenius patet. Summa nulla.

Redditus Assise: Sed reddit compotum de xij^s iij^d ob. de et pro quodam redditu exeunte de certis terris et tenementis quondam Johannis Clogh ibidem necnon lx acr. terre arrabilis jacentium in dringaggio solvendis ad festum sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equis portionibus. Summa, xij^s iij^d ob.

Redditus customariorum tenentium ibidem: Et de vij^{li} vj^s viij^d de Gilberto Errington pro redditu suo exeunte de certis terris et tenementis jacentibus in dicta villa de Errington que tenet per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendis ad festa sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter. Que quidem villa de Errington olim dimissa erat in xij tenementis cum pertinentiis quodlibet tenementum xix^s ij^d existentes in toto per annum xij^s ix^s ij^d, et combusta erant per Scotos tempore Henrici Bowett³ quondam Eboraci archiepiscopi pro tempore existente et deinde dimissa pro vij^{li} vj^s viij^d per annum eo quod non ulterius dimitti potuerunt. Summa, vij^{li} vj^s viij^d.

Redditus cotagiorum: Respondet de lvj^s x^d ob de firma decem cotagiorum nuper jacentium infra dictam villam de Errington nuper in tenura dictorum tenentium quilibet eorum reddens per annum ij^s x^d (*sic*) que in toto ut supra hic non respondet, eo quod dicta cotagia combusta erant per Scotos tempore dicti Henrici Bowett nuper archiepiscopi Eboraci et nullum proficuum inde provenit per multos annos elapsos prout patet in rotulis archiepiscopi Eboraci annorum precedentium. Summa nulla.

Firma terrarum dominicalium: Nec respondet de xij^s iij^d ob. qua de firma terrarum dominicalium ibidem [exeunte] de firma cujusdem molendini acquatici ibidem per annum nec . . . firma cujusdem parcelli terre vocate Horncylde, eo quod dicta parcella jacent vasta ac dictum molendinum combustum fuit per Scotos tempore Henrici Bowett quondam archiepiscopi Eboraci et nullum proficuum provenientem per multos annos elapsos prout patet in rotulis archiepiscopi Eboraci annorum precedentium. Summa nulla.

. . . od operum: Sed respondet de xj^d ob. de operibus . . . Johannis Cloughe solvendis ad ffer[mam] . . . operibus consuetis exeuntibus de xij tenementorum (*sic*) infra dictam [villam] xix^d ultra redditum sive firmam dicta xij . . . non respondet hic eo quod dicta tenementa combusta [erant tempore] Henrici Bowett quondam archiepiscopi. Nec respondet de iij^s ij^d de . . . cotagiorum infra dictam villam, viz. de quolibet . . . quia cotagia combusta erant per Scotos ut supra. Summa, xj^d ob.

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*. A word about the latinity of this document may not be out of place here. Although the manuscript is written in the finest handwriting of the time, with ornamental capitals and all the adornments of the penman's art, the scribe must have been a very indifferent scholar. In most cases he leaves out the final inflexion of the words, and it is often doubtful of what gender, number, or case they ought to be. Prepositions are omitted throughout, especially the *per* before *rentale*; and the scribe is not consistent in the gender he assigns to such words as *parcellum*, *ferma*, *hospitalis*, etc. It has been thought advisable to print the document as it was written, writing out in full only the ordinary paleographical abbreviations and such inflexions as seem to admit of no doubt.

² Robert Holgate, archbishop from January 10th, 1545 to 1553.

³ Bewett in MS. He was archbishop from August 27, 1408, to October 20, 1423.

Pannagium porcorum: Nec respondet de aliquo proficuo proveniente de pannagio porcorum eo quod nullum proficuum inde accidit per tempus hujus compoti ex . . . super hunc compotum coram auditore. Summa nulla.

Exitus Terrarum: Nec respondet de aliquo proficuo proveniente de exitibus terrarum et tenementorum infra dictam villam a ratione etatis alicujus tenentis vel ffelon. ibidem infra tempus compoti acciden. hic non respondet eo quod nullum proficuum inde provenien. per tempus hujus compoti. Summa nulla.

Summa totalis oneris viij^{li} xij^d. Inde in regardis datis clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti prout consimilis allocacio facta est auditori domini regis ducatus sue Lancastrie ij^s. Et debet vij^{li} xix^s que oneratur super Robertum Bowes militem minime adhuc solut. prout in compoto receptoris plenius patet.

WALLE VILLATA: Compotus Roberti Wilson prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia: Nulla prout in pede ultimi compoti anni proximi precedentis patet. Summa nulla.

Redditus customariorum tenentium ibidem: Sed respondet xxj^s de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis jacentis in villa de Walle predicta in tenura Edwardi Errington per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii ibidem solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter ut patet per rentale inde factum per examinationem totius homagii ibidem super hunc compotum coram auditore.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Holder.	Dates of Payment.
5s. 4d. ...	one tenement with pasture in Wall...	Geo. Kell ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide equally.
5s. 4d. ...	"	Matt. Kell ...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	Edward *	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	Gerard Yeldret ...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	Robert Storye ...	"
21s. ...	"	Alex. Dawson ...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	Rowland Kell ...	"
26s. 3d. ...	"	Rowland Kell ...	"
5s. 3d. ...	"	Edward son of Percival Kell	"
16s. 9d. ...	"	James Kell ...	"
5s. 3d. ...	"	Edward Watson ...	"
15s. 9d. ...	"	Rowland Dawson ...	"
5s. 3d. ...	"	Robert Storye ...	"
5s. 3d. ...	"	Geo. Kell ...	"
26s. 3d. ...	"	* Kirsopp ...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	Robert Kell ...	"
21s. ...	"	* ...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	* ...	"
3s. 8d. ...	"	Cuthbert Armstrong ...	"
3s. ...	"	Geo. Kell ...	"
3s. 6d. ...	"	Wm. Dawson ...	"
3s. 6d. ...	"	Gerard Yeldret ...	"
10s. 6d. ¹ ...	"	Matt. Dawson ...	"
18s. 4d. ...	"	Wm. Kell ...	"
2s. 8d. ... $\frac{1}{4}$ of a husbandland...		Rowland Kell ...	"

Summa, xiiij^{li} vij^s vj^d.

Firma Terrarum Scaccarii ibidem: Et de xj^s j^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis in tenura Edmundi Errington pertin. officio Scaccarii ibidem solvendis ad festa predicta.

¹ This sum was charged upon the account of the preceding year at 10s. 8d. per annum more than it ought to be, as appears by an examination of the rental made upon oath of the assessor upon this account in the presence of the auditor.

* Torn.

REMAINING TREASURY LANDS.

Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Rent.	Date of Payment.
Certain lands ...	Robert Storye ...	13d. ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
" ...	lately Rowland Kell, now Edw. Spake...	15d. ...	"
" ...	Wm. Kell ...	6d. ...	"
" ...	Gerard Yeldret ...	18½d. ...	"

Firma molendini : Et Reddet xv^s firma unius molendini aquatici infra dictam villam in tenura Wm. Kell, etc., solvendis ad festa predicta. Summa, x^s.

Perquisitio curie : Aliquo proficuo proveniente de placitis alicujus curie ibidem . . . per rotulos earundem super hunc compotum examinat. . . poterit. Non respondet eo quod nullum proficuum accid. per tempus predictum. Summa nulla.

Summa totalis oneris xvⁱⁱ xij^s xj^d de quibus in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti prout consimilis allocatio factum est auditori domini regis ducat, sue Lancastriae ij^s. Et debet xvⁱⁱ x^s xj^d ob qua que oneratur super Robertum Bowes militem ut pro tot denariis per ipsum receptis et manibus suis reman. minime adhuc solut.

ACOM VILLATA : Compotus Joh. Cheken prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia : Nulla prout in pede ultimi compoti anni proximi precedentis plenius patet. Summa nulla.

Redditus customalium tenentium ibidem : Sed respondet de xij^s vj^d de redditibus terre husbandr. et quarti partis terre husbandr. cum pertinentiis in tenura Edw. Kell per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem Manerii ibidem solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes, ut patet per rentale inde factum super hoc compotum ostens. et examinat.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
32s. 6d. ...	3¼ husband lands with appurtenances	Wm. Armstrong	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
15s. ...	1½ husband lands with appurtenances	Wm. Cheken	"
15s. ...	one husband land with appurtenances	Wm. Lee	"
17s. 6d. ...	"	Wm. Spain	"
15s. ...	"	John Cheken	"
5s. ...	"	The wife of Percival Harrison during her life	"
2s. 6d. ...	one cottage	Roger Robson	"
10s. ...	one husband land with appurtenances	Robert Spain	"
10s. ...	"	John Ball	"
10s. ...	"	Richard Lee	"
27s. 6d. ...	"	Richard Armstrong	"
15s. ...	"	[Christ]opher Smythe	"
[26s 6d.]...	"	[Elen Hudson?]	"
17s. 6d. ...	"	Richard Cheken	"
2s. 6d. ...	"	John Armestronge	"
5s. ...	"	Richard Armestronge	"
15s. ...	"	Robert Spain	"
2s. 6d. ...	one le 'cooteland'	Robert Spain	"
15s. ...	one husband land	John Lee	"
15s. ...	"	Matt. Lee	"
6s. 3d. ...	certain lands with their appurtenances	John Armestronge	"
10s. ...	"	Wm. Smythe	"
17s. 6d. ...	1½ husband lands and one coteland	Robert Cheken	"
16s. 3d. ...	1½ husband lands	John Spain	"
13s. ...	1¼ husband lands and one fforlond	Richard Hemesley	"
15s. ...	1¼ husband lands with appurtenances	Geo. Hollingley	"

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
3s. 4d. ...	a certain close or meadow called Golde close	John Marchall ...	... St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.

20s. ... 2 husbandlands with appurtenances ... Alexander Armstronge ... „

Summa, xix^{li} vi^s iiii^d.

Redditus scaccarii ibidem: Et de x^s vj^d de redditu certarum terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinentiis in tenura Wm. Armstronge pertinentibus officio scaccarii solvendo ad festa predicta.

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
9s. 4d. ...	certain lands with appurtenances ...	John Armstronge ...	... St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
5s. 1d. ...	„ „ „ „	Richard Lee „
15 ³ / ₄ d. ...	„ „ „ „	Elen Hudson...	... „
21d. ...	„ „ „ „	Richard Armstronge „

Summa, xxvij^s xi^d ob.

Firma terre dominicalis nuper prioris de Hexham: Et de xxx^s de firma xxx acr. terre parcell. terre dominicalis vocatae Widehagh in tenura domine Carnaby vidue; quondam in tenura prioris de Hexham secundum consuetudinem, etc. Summa, xxx^s.

Firma herbagii ejusdem Bosci vocati Ackwoode: Et de xiiij^s viij^d de firma herbagii ij parcellorum bosci vocati Ackwood in tenura Joh. Marchall, etc. Et de xx^s de firma herbagii alterius parcelli predicti bosci vocati Ackwoode modo in tenura domine Carnaby vidue quondam in tenura nuper prioris de Hexham, etc. Et de xl^s de firma herbagii residui ejusdem bosci vocati Akewood in tenura inter tenentes dicte ville de Acom, etc. Summa, lxxiiij^s viij^d.

Firma molendini: Et de iij^s iij^d de firma molendini ibidem in tenura Willelmi Armstrong, etc. Summa, iij^s iij^d.

Summa totalis oneris xxvj^{li} ij^s iij^d ob. de quibus in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti prout consimilis allocatio facta est auditori domini regis ducatus sue Lancastrie ij^s. Et debet xxvj^{li} iij^d ob. que oneratur super Robertum Bowes militem receptorem domini regis ibidem ut pro tot denariis per ipsum receptis minime adhuc solutis.

[H]ALIDEN: Compotus Joh. Witherington firmarii ibidem.

Arreragia: Nulla prout in pede ultimi compoti anni proximi . . . Summa nulla.

Sed respondet de iij^s j^d ob. de . . . officio scaccarii ibidem in onere Cuthberti . . .

Gerard. Ilderton. Solvendo ad terminos . . . Pentecostes equaliter ut patet rentale inde factum super hunc [compotum] et examinat. Summa, iij^s j^d ob.

[ff]irma Manerii de Hallidene predicti: Et de vij^{li} xliij^s iij^d de firma manerii ibidem sicut dimiss. Ricardo Bellacis armigero per reverendum priorem et . . . * Edwardo¹ archiepiscopo Eboraci, cum omnibus pratis, lesuris, terris arrabilibus, pasturis, aquis, molendinis cum omnibus pertinentiis quibuscumque dicti manerii et ville quoquo modo spectantibus et pertinentibus. Exceptis semper et omnino reservatis dicto archiepiscopo Eboraci et successoribus suis omnibus et omnimodis quietis, redditibus dicti manerii sive ville spectantibus sive pertinentibus, ac omnibus et omnimodis boscis et subboscis crescentibus et existentibus in et super premissis, proviso semper quod licebit prefato Ricardo Bellacis et assignatis suis capere sufficientem maeremium ad reparandum domum scituatam et existentem infra dictum manerium seu villam, ac etiam subboscum et les sherdings arborum² ad reparandum sepes dicto manerio pertinentes necessarium; habendum et tenendum predictum manerium seu villam cum omnibus premissis exceptis preexceptis prefatis Ricardo Bellacis et assignatis suis a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli ultime preterito antea at presentem usque ad finem termini et per terminum lx annorum extunc proximo sequentium et plenarie complendum; reddendo inde annuatim durante termino predicti archiepiscopi et successorum suorum vel suorum officium vel assignatorum, vij^{li} xliij^s iij^d legalis monete Anglie ad duos anni terminos, viz., ad festa Pentecostes et Sancti Martini equis portionibus, cum claus. distr. et reîntrae. pro non solut. ejusdem at omnes alias necessarias reparaciones ad onus firmarii. Et ulterius dictus Ricardus Bellacis concedit per presentes quod ipse et assignati sui

¹ Edward Lee, archbishop from 30th Oct., 1531, to 13th Sept., 1544.

* Torn.

² Branches, etc., lopped off the trunk, *i.e.*, shreddings.

empt. suis propriis colligent redditus et firmaria dicti manerii sive ville ac annuatim inde reddent computum rationabilem et dictus archiepiscopus concedit per presentem quod dictus Ricardus et assignati sui capient et habebunt annuatim quoddam ffeodum xiiij^s iiij^d durante termino predicto prout in dicta indentura datum xij die Decembris anno xxx^o regis Henrici plenius patet et hoc anno illius dimiss. viij^s. Summa, vijⁱⁱ xiiij^s iiij^d.

Firma molendini: xiiij^s iiij^d de firma molendini aquatici ibidem quondam in tenura Johannis Heron armigeri hic non respondet eo quod conceditur Ricardo Bellacis cum manerio per indenturam parcellum firme sue prout in dicta indentura superius specificata plenius patet. Summa nulla.

Summa totalis oneris, vijⁱⁱ xvj^s v^d . . .

. . . Comput. regard.: Idem computat in ffeodo dicti firmarii ad xiiij^s iiij^d per annum sibi concesso pro collectione reddituum et firmarum pertinentium dicto manerio virtute dicte indenture superius recitate plenius patet, viz., in allocacione feodi per tempus hujus compoti xiiij^s iiij^d, et in riguardo dato clerico auditoris, pro scriptura istius compoti prout consimilis allocatio factum est auditori domini regis ducatis sue Lancastrie ij^s. Summa, xv^s iiij^d.

Oneracio denariorum in compoto receptoris hujus anni: Et in denariis in compoto receptoris oneratis super Robertum Bowes militem receptorem domini regis ibidem pro tot denariis receptis de dicto computante ex recognitione dicti Roberti coram auditore sive ballivo in manu sua detent. minime adhuc solut. vijⁱⁱ xiiij^d ob. Summa, vijⁱⁱ xiiij^d ob.

Summa allocationum at liberationum vijⁱⁱ xvj^s v^d ob. Que summa correspondet summe oneris supradicti.

KEPEWIK: Computus Davidi Carnabye firmarii ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia: Nulla prout in pede, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus custumariorum tenentium: Sed respondet de vijⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d de Gilberto Errington pro redditu exeunte de certis terris et tenementis jacentibus in dicta villa de Kepewicke que tenet per copiam curie, etc., tamen solebit reddere ante dicta villa combusta erat per Scotos annuatim xjⁱⁱ xvj^d et modo dimissus pro vjⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d eo quod non ultra dimittere potuerunt prout in compotis annorum precedentium super hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. Summa, vjⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d.

Firma molendini: Et de v^s de firma molendini aquatici ibidem scituati super cursum aque de Eyren¹ in campo de Kepewike una cum ij acr. pasture ibidem sic dimissa Gilberto Errington per annum solvendo ad terminos predictos equaliter ut patet Rentale predicto super hunc compotum ostens. Et de xvj^d de firma unius parcelli terre continentis per estimationem unam acram jacentem in campo de Kepewike in tribus pecis inter aquam de Eyren et cursum aque ad molendinum de Errington una * habendum pro eodem cursu aque currendo ad eundem molendinum * dimiss. dicto Gilberto Errington hoc anno solvendum ut predictum equaliter. Summa, vjⁱⁱ iiij^d.

Summa totalis oneris [vjⁱⁱ xiiij^s] quibus in riguardo dato clerico [pro] scriptura istius compoti prout [consimilis] allocatio facta est auditori domini regis [ducatus sue] Lancastrie ij^s. Et debet vjⁱⁱ xj^s [que oneratur] super Robertum Bowes militem Domini Bowes (*sic*) ut p * denar. per ipsum recept. de dicto computante adhuc solut. * .

GREENRIGGE: Computus Roberti Thurnewall firmarii et collectoris reddituum ibidem per tempus predictum. Arreragia: Nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Tenentes custumarii: Sed respondet de xxiiij^s iiij^d ob. de redditu unius placie terre ibidem vocate Greenerigg hall cum pertinentiis in tenura Domine Carnabye vidue nuper in tenura prioris de Hexham quondam in tenura Willelmi Etheleye ibidem per copiam, etc. Et de xxxij^s de Roberto Thurnewall pro redditibus exeuntibus de certis terris et tenementis jacentibus in dicta villa de Greenerigge que tenet per copiam, etc., tamen solebat reddere ante dicta villa combusta erant per Scotos annuatim xxxvij^s vij^d et modo concedit dicto Roberto Thurnewall pro xxxvij^s per annum ut supra eo quod non ultra dimittere potuerunt prout continetur in compotis annorum precedentium super hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. Summa lvj^s iiij^d ob.

Summa totalis oneris lvj^s iiij^d ob. quibus allocatur in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti, etc., ij^s. Et debet regi liij^s iiij^d que oneratur super Robertum Bowes, etc.

¹ The Erring burn.

* Torn.

KENELEY : Compotus Christopheri Bee deputati Willelmi Sparke prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia : Nulla prout in pede, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus custumarium tenentium ibidem : Sed respondet de xij^s vj^d de redditu unius tenementi vocati le Menke cum pertinentiis in tenura Johanni ffalaker per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii ad festa predicta.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.		Nature of Land.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.
6s. ...	one tenement called Hyrd Bancke	...	William Stouste	...	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
8s. ...	„	Estbanke ...	...	Matt. Whitfield	...	„
13s. 4d. ...	„	Netherburnclaw	...	William Sparke	...	„
4s. 2d. ...	„	Burnelawhill	...	Lawrence Philipson and Rowland Stoute	...	„
4s. ...	„	Levingehead	...	The wife of Lawrence Wilkinson	...	„
12d. ...	„	Widelsheld	...	Matt. Whitefelde	...	„
17s. 7d. ...	„	Hiendleywrey	...	John Wilson	...	„
7s. 6d. ...	„	Widell ...	...	Matt. Whitefelde	...	„
13s. 7d. ...	„	Hiendeleye hill	...	John Wilson	...	„
4s. ...	„	Akep ...	...	Matt. Whitefelde	...	„
12s. ...	„	ffroteshade	...	John Hochonson	...	„
8s. 2d. ...	„	Keneley pette	...	Robert Richardson	...	„
4s. ...	„	Burnestonge	...	Wm. Hochonson	...	„
5s. 8d. ...	<i>de misericordia</i> on an examination of the rental in the 38th year of Henry VIII. on the rent of one tenement called Clewghbanck					
2s. 6d. ...	one tenement called Hollinge grene	...	Wm. Hochonson	...	...	„
2s. ...	„	Halfe Ha[ukestele] ...	John Hochonson	...	...	„
2s. ...	„	le Halfe de Haukestele	Hugh *	...	...	„
6s. 1d. ...	„	* Howse...	Hugh Woodmus	...	...	„
[5s.] ...	„	Westerburne	* Ormesbye	...	...	„
2s. 8d. ...	„	Westerburne	John Hochonson	...	...	„
2s. 8d. ...	„	Westerburnelowe	Hugh Hochonson	...	...	„
8d. ...	„	Huntergappe	Geo. Rawle	...	...	„
3d. ...	one parcel of land called Spekesloning	...	John Stowtes	...	...	„

Summa, vij^{li} v^s iij^d.

Summa totalis oneris vij^{li} v^s iij^d quibus allocatis ei in riguardo dato clerico auditoris, etc., ij^s. Et debet vij^{li} iij^s iij^d que oneratur Robertum Bowes, etc.

EAST ALWENT : Compotus Hugonis Sheles prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia : Nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus custumarium tenentium pertinentium officio de Alenton : Sed respondet de vij^s de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Bollocks hott in tenura Willelmi Roland per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii ad festa predicta.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.		Nature of Land.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.
2s. 7d. ...	one tenement called Wedgerhouse	...	Wm. Roland	...	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide
20s. ...	„	Bradewood Hall	...	Edward Stout	...	„
5s. 8d. ...	„	Burnescotte	...	Hugh Shele	...	„
2s. 2d. ...	„	Reddinge	...	Lawrence Watson	...	„

* Torn.

Rent.	Nature of Land.		Tenant		Date of Payment.
18d. ...	one tenement called	Ladye Lande	... Anthony Sheley	... ..	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide
6d. ...	..	Lames howse	... formerly Hugh Hochonson,	now Thos. Hochonson	..
3d. ...	one howse called	le Milnehowse	... Matt. Whitefild	... ..	..
8s. ...	one parcel of land called	le Hope	... Heirs of Matt. Dawson	... ..	..
3s. ...	one tenement called	le Estehoppe	... Ambrose Parke	... ..	..
9s. ...	..	Morehowse	... Geo. fillepson	... ..	..
2s. 6d. ...	..	Bouleshill	... Hugh Hochinson	... ..	..
7s. 3d. ...	..	Birkeflatte	... Hugh Cottall	... ..	..
6s. 5d. ...	one parcel of land called	†	... Robert Richardson	... ..	..
16d. ...	..	Portegate	... Robt. Pickering	... ..	..
7s. 3d. ...	..	ffosterhowse	... John Hindemers, given	18 Oct., 38 Hen. VIII.	..
6s. ...	one tenement...	... ..	... formerly Hugh Rolle	now Hugh Hochonson	..
7s. ...	one tenement called	Lonkeley	... Michael ffetherstonehaugh	... ..	..
10s. ...	..	Sore *	... Hugh Sheles	... ..	..
4s. ...	..	Stonehowse	... Hugh Hochonson	... ..	..
[4s. 8d.] ...	..	*	... Thomas Bee	... ..	..
5s. 1d. ...	..	Overschottesh *	... Edward Stone	... ..	..
16d. ...	one parcel of land called	le Toncfeld de Alenton	... Matt. Dawson	... ..	..
2d. ...	one cottage in	Allanton	... Matt. Bee	... ..	..
2d. ...	..	..	... Lawrence Harwood	... ..	..
6d. ...	one parcel of land belonging to the church	of St. Mary of Allenton	... ..	... ..	..
1d. ...	one cottage	... ..	... Robert Pickering	... ..	..

Sunma, vj^{li} iij^s v^d.

Redditus custumariorum tenentium pertinentium officio fforestarii de Est Allond: Et de vij^s de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Readburneshell in tenura Matt. Bee per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.		Tenant		Date of Payment.
2s. ...	one tenement called	Dyrthepotshell	... Geo. Hawden	... ..	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
3s. 6d. ..	..	Pesemeadowe	... Michael ffaytherstonhaugh	... ..	..
4s. ...	..	Whitehill	... Cuthbert Hawdon	... ..	..
2s. 11d. ...	..	Ellerspeyll	... ..	... ..	..
5s. 3d. ..	two tenements called	Netherley Spettell and Watthowse	... Adam Robinson, Hugh Sheld, & Gilbert Tadcaster	... ..	..
5s. 2d. ...	one tenement called	Sperterley	... Cuthbert Hawden	... ..	..
8s. 8d. ...	..	Siptenshell	... Hugh Sheld & Gilbert Tadcaster	... ..	..
2s. [3d.] ...	..	Rowneterstowe	... * Winter	... ..	..
4s. 5d.	Smeroppe	... Hugh Hochonson
4s. 5d.
3s. 7d.
4s. 1d.
7s.	Hayrake	... Thos. Williamstone

* Torn.

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Rent.		Nature of Land.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.
4s. ...	one tenement called	Gartichill	Hugh Shelde	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
2s. 8d. ...	"	Melopgrenys	...	Ralph Stevenson	...	"
4s. 6d. ...	"	Huntewell...	...	Matt. Writefeld	...	"
16d. ...	"	Medcamcgrene	...	Michael ffathersnaugh	...	"
3s. 6d. ...	"	Catthill ...	...	Wm. Yonger	...	"
4s. 7d. ...	"	Scotte Medow	...	"	...	"
3s. 6d. ...	"	Cotehill ...	...	"	...	"
3s. 3d. ...	"	Overswenopshell	...	Wm. Lee ...	...	"
4s. ...	"	Netherswenopshell	...	Thos. Bee ...	...	"
5s. ...	"	Hayracke ...	...	Matt. Whettfide	...	"
3s. ...	"	Black Cleugh	...	Matt. Dawson	...	"
6s. 8d. ...	"	Estangrene	...	"	...	"
2s. ...	"	Trepeshill...	...	Matt. Whitefeld	...	"
10s. ...	"	Netherswenopshell	...	Richard Robinson	...	"
10s. 6d. ...	"	*	...	Henry ffarder	...	"
5s. ...	"	Huntte Roddes	...	Renne [Shell]	...	"
5s. 3d. ...	"	"	...	"	...	"
11s. 6d. ...	"	Nether Acton	...	Tho. Huchonson	...	"
11s. 8d. ...	"	Over Acton	...	Christopher Rodome	...	"
5s. 6d. ...	"	Driseide ...	...	John Winter	...	"
4s. 4d. ...	one parcel of land called	Ouesley Shelgrene	...	Hugh Shelle	...	"
3s. 3d. ...	"	Owsle Meadowe	...	Matt. Bee & Hugh Hochonson	...	"
12d. ...	"	Whitehill	...	Agnes Pereson & Alice Watson	...	"
16d. ...	"	† ...	...	Thos. Bee ...	...	"
3d. ...	"	† ...	...	Thos. Bee ...	...	"
6d. ...	one tenement called	Rafe Harrowgby	...	Hugh Shelley	...	"
2d. ...	"	†	...	Hen. Rolle & Wm. Rolle	...	"
5s. ...	one tenement called	Stowden Medowe	...	John Tod & Geo. Heyden	...	"

Summa, ix^{li} vij^s vij^d.

Firma herbagii parci in onere predicti fforestarii: Et de liij^s iiij^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati le Woode in tenura Hugonis Shell per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.		Nature of Land.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.
26s. [8d.]	one tenement called	Stille park	...	Bartholemew Shell	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
40s. ...	"	Putterfeldshell	...	Richard Robinson	...	"
30s. ...	"	Newchell	...	John Shell	...	"
5s. ...	"	Halfe Hollings...	...	Cuthbert Shell	...	"
5s. ...	"	"	...	John Shell	...	"
30s. ...	"	Half Stonden	...	John Stoodo...	...	"
30s. ...	"	"	...	Geo. Hawden	...	"

Firma molendini: Et de lxxvj^s viij^d de redditu unius molendini aquatici ibidem cum pertinentiis in tenura Hugonis Shell per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter. Summa patet.

Agistamenta et concellamenta fforeste de Estalwent in onere fforestarii ibidem: Et de ij^s ij^d de firma agistament. averiorum pertinentium tenemento Matt. Bee infra fforestam de Eastalwent predictam prout assessatum est juxta porcionem catallorum suorum in dicta fforesta de pasturis ibidem prout usitatum fuit infra dictam fforestam ex antiqua consuetudine dicti manerii, etc.

* Torn. † Blank in MS.

REMAINING AGISTMENTS.

13½d.	for the ferm agistment of cattle pertaining to the tenement of Geo. Howden.	
23d.	"	Michael ffathershallghe.
22d.	"	Cuthbert Hawden.
13½d.	"	Katerine Curier.
18d.	"	Adam Robinson.
22d.	"	Cuthbert Hawden.
2s. 6d.	"	Hugh * Sheld.
14d.	"	Geo. Winter.
19d.	"	Tho. Williamson.
14d.	"	Hugh Shele.
23½d.	"	Ralph Stevenson.
2s.	"	Matt. Writfeld.
10d.	"	Michael ffathershaughe.
12d.	"	Wm. Younger.
2s.	"	"
12d.	"	"
16d.	"	Wm. Lec.
16d.	"	Thos. Bee.
2s. 2d.	"	Matt. Whetfeld.
21½d.	"	Matt. Dawson.
18½d.	"	Matt. Whitefld.
2s.	"	Richard Robinson.
2s. 6d.	"	Henry ffarler.
15d.	"	Renne Shelle.
15d.	"	"
2s. 6d.	"	Thos. Hochonson and Thos. Hochonson, junior.
2s. 6d.	"	Christopher Rodome.
16d.	"	John Winter.

Summa, xlijs ij^d ob.

Perquis. curie cum finibus terre: Et de xiijs ob. de perquis. tenentium ibidem, viz., de amerciamentis ix^s vj^d et de agistamentis xvij bestiarum hoc anno infra dictam fforestam tam tempore hyemale quam estivali pascentium iij^s vj^d ob., viz., pro quolibet bestia ij^d ob., in toto ut supra, prout in rotulis curie predictae plenius patet aliquo proficuo proveniente de extrahuria¹ ibidem acciden. * quod nulla extrahuria inventa erat per tempus istius compoti ex * fforestarii. Sed respondet de v^s viij^d de finibus * per forestarium de Estalwent, viz., de Radulpho Ste * xx^d et de Johanne Dawson pro fine suo iij^s in toto ut supra prout in rotulis curie plenius apparet. Summa, x^s.

Summa totalis oneris *

Idem computatus in ffeodo fforestae ibidem pro collectione reddituum et firmarum supradictorum ad xv^s ij^d ob. per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti prout allocatum est in compotis annorum precedentium xv^s ij^d ob. Et in ffeodo dicte foreste pro collectione bosci domini regis ibidem prout consimilis allocatio facta erat tempore archiepiscopi Eboraci xvij^s iij^d. Et in regado dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti ad ij^s per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti prout consimilis allocatio factum est auditori domini regis ducatus sue Lancastrie ij^s. Et in expensis seneschalli et aliorum officialium domini regis existentium ad curiam predictam tentam infra tempus hujus compoti prout per rotulos earundem inde fact. super hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. apparet x^s. Summa, xl^s vj^d ob.

Liberaciones denariorum: Et in denariis per dictum compotum liberat. Roberto Bowes militi receptori domini regis ibidem ad duas vices, viz., per manum Henrici Rowelle prepositi ibidem de redditibus et

¹ Estreates, see Du Cange *sub voce* Estrajeriae.

* Torn.

ffirmis in officio suo vij^{li} iij^s v^d et per manum Hugonis Shelles forrestarii ibidem de exitibus officii sui hujus anni xxv^{li} vij^{li} ob. in toto ex recognitione dicti receptoris super hunc compotum coram auditore xxxj^{li} iij^s ob. Summa, xxxj^{li} iij^s ob.

Summa allocationum et liberationum xxxij^{li} iij^s vij^d.

NINEBINKES CUM WESTALLAND: Compotus Christopheri Bee prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum. Arreragia: Nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus custum.: Sed reddet compotum de vj^s de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocat Kenlefilde in tenura Rogeri Kenlesyde per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
7s. 4d. ...	one parcel of land called Kindelfyldehil ...	Michael Kendlefilde ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
4s. 8d. ...	one tenement called Yeatehowse ...	Matthew Bee ...	"
5s. ...	one parcel of land called Whamlands ...	" ...	"
20d. ...	one cottage called Midlescoote ...	" ...	"
7s. 2d. ...	one parcel of land called Karkenpathe ...	" ...	"
4s. 6d. ...	" Driburne ...	" ...	"
17s. 6d. ...	" Esshes ...	" ...	"
23s. 6d. ...	one tenement called Nynnebinkes ...	" ...	"
2s. 6d. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ tenement called Harebanke ...	" ...	"
2s. 6d. ...	" " ...	" ...	"
7s. 5d. ...	one tenement called Spertewell... ...	" ...	"
2s. 4d. ...	one parcel of land called Bats Hille ...	" ...	"
7s. 7d. ...	one tenement called ffernesyde ...	" ...	"
4s. ...	" Giercootes... ...	Henry Pawterson ...	"
12d. ...	one parcel of land called Grenele cloughe ...	Wm. Bateson ...	"
3s. 1d. ...	one tenement called Mouphedd ...	Matthew Bee ...	"
2s. ...	" Highesheld ...	Le Layde prestland ...	"
2s. 10d. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ parcel of land called Nethermoppe ...	Christopher Wilkinson ...	"
2s. 10d. ...	" " ...	John ffraceller ...	"
11s. 5d. ...	one tenement called Readeheughe ...	Lawrence Wilkinson ...	"
6s. 4d. ...	" Kiresehrawe ...	John Wilkinson ...	"
6s. ...	" Netherkirkseylerawe ...	Alex. Vulston ...	"
2s. 3d. ...	" Grastead ...	Matt. Bee ...	"
15s. ...	" Hawcoppe ...	Matt. Wheteley... ...	"
6d. ...	one parcel of land called Essenbanke ...	Lawrence Wilkinson ...	"

Summa, vij^{li} xvj^s xj^d.

Firma herbagii de Crokedale meadowe: Et de x^s de redditu ejusdem herbagii vocati Crokedale medowe in tenura Willelmi Huchonson per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter. Summa x^s.

Firma molendini: Et de xxxij^s iij^d de firma unius molendini vocati Nynebynks myll in tenura Matt. Bee apparet tum nuper ad xl^s. Summa, xxxij^s iij^d.

[Firma c]ustumariorum [ten]entium de Westalland onere fforestarii: Et de xj^s iij^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Taylorborne in tenura Willelmi Watson per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
6s. ...	one tenement called Newfild ...	Wm. Watson ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
6s. 4d....	" Nether lynesane braye ...	Hugh Phillepson ...	"
5s. 8d....	two tenements called Whoofe & Cliffehill ...	Matt. Bee ...	"

Rent.	Nature of Land.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
3s. 8d....	one tenement called Overlynestame braye	... Thos. Woodemus	... St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
5s. ...	" Turneshell	... Henry Hawdon	...
6s. 4d....	" Herthecclough Shelldc	... Wm. Sparke	...
7s. 1d....	two tenements called Whiteshelde	... Cuthbert Robinson	...
7s. 6d....	" Overwhitell Shelde	... Matt. Bee	...
4s. 6d....	one tenement called Garesheld	... "	...
7s. 4d....	two tenements called Smalbouris	... "	...
2s. 2d....	one tenement called Blackcloughshell	... Robt. Jackson	...
3s. 3d....	" fferneshell	... Matt. Bee	...
7s. ...	" Haypesley	... "	...
6s. 4d....	" Bradeley	... Henry Hawden	...
6s. 4d....	" Newke	... Matt. Bee	...
[5s.] 7d....	" Bradeley	... "	...
6s. 1d....	" "	... Anthony Robinson	...
6s. 8d....	" Medley	... Matt. Bee	...
13s. 10d....	two tenements called Heslewell	... "	...
2s. ...	one tenement called Tresshell	... "	...
5s. 11d....	one close called Shepe meadowe (5s.), with 2 acres in a certain meadow called Mede meadowes (8d.), and pasture in the forest of Westalland (3d.)	... Matt. Whitefilde	...
8d. ...	2 acres pasture in Mede medowe	... Robert Pikeringe	...

Summa, xvj^{li} xvj^s vj^d.

Perquis. curie cum finibus terre : Et de vij^s j^d de perquis. duarum curiarum ibidem tentarum, viz., unius tenti xiiij^o die Octobris anno xxxviiij^{mo} Regis Henrici octavi et alteri x^o die Maii anno Regis Edwardi vij^{ti} primo scilicet xx^d de amerciamentis et de fine Rowlandi Stowte ij^s j^d et de fine Johannis Patenson ij^s iiij^d in toto ut supra prout patet rotulis eorundum super hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. Et de ij^s vj^d ob. de agistamentis xvij bestiarum pascentium infra fforrestam ibidem tempore estivali; quilibet eorum ad ij^d ob. prout per rotulos eorundem super hunc compotum examinat. plenius apparet. Summa, x^s vij^d ob.

Summa totalis oneris, xvij^{li} vij^s iiij^d.

Ffeodum et regardum cum expensis [seneschalli] curie : Idem computatus in feodo ipsius compoti pro collectore regis * et firm. predict. ad xv^s ij^d ob. per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti prout allocatum est in compotis annorum precedentium xv^s ij^d ob. Et in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti ij^s per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti prout allocatum est in compotis annorum precedentium ij^s. Et in expensis seneschalli et aliorum officium domini regis existentium ad curiam predictam, etc. Summa, xxvij^s ij^d ob.

Liberac. * denar. : Et in denariis oneratis super Robertum Bowes militem particularem receptorem dicte regalitatis de Hexham ut de tot denariis per ipsum receptorem de Matt. Bee preposito ac de fforestario de exitibus officii sui hujus anni et in manibus suis remanentibus adhuc insolutis prout in eodem compoto plenius apparet. Summa, xvj^{li} ij^d.

Summa allocationum et liberationum xvij^{li} vij^s iiij^d ob. que summa correspondet summe oneris predicti. Et equaliter.

NEWLANDE CUM ROWLEWARDE : Compotus Johannis Shell prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus custumariorum tenentium de Newland cum Rowleward in onere forestarii : Sed reddet compotum de vij^s viij^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati † in tenura Geo. Hurde per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

* Torn.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.	
2s. ...	one tenement called	Mierehowse	...	Geo. Hurde	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
12s. ...	"	Rowgrene	...	"	...	"
9s. 10d. ...	"	Woodsyde	...	"	...	"
6s. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ tenement called	* ...	...	"	...	"
6s. ...	"		...	"	...	"
18s. ...	one tenement called	Leyle	...	Rowland Readeshawe	...	"
26s. 7d. ...	"	Urdehall	...	Thos. Armstronge	...	"
60s. ...	"	†	...	Robert Thurbottell	...	"
17s. 1d. ...	"	Overardley	...	"	...	"
4s. 4d. ...	"	Wardeley	...	Richard Thurbottell...	...	"
22s. ...	all the lands of Ardele, $\frac{1}{2}$ of Turfehouse and $\frac{1}{2}$ Whitehall	...	...	Richard Readshawe...	...	"
4s. ...	one tenement called	Whitehall	...	Richard West	...	"
12d. ...	"	Cokrigshell	...	"	...	"
12d. ...	"	Stanhowse	...	"	...	"
8d. ...	"	Trusehowse	...	"	...	"
8s. ...	"	Lileswood, and the said tenement with its appurtenances is called Parkehowse, and le five dayes worke	...	Henry Hurd	...	"
8d. ...	one tenement called	Milnehowse	...	Richard West	...	"
4s. 4d. ...	"	Howborneshell and le fyve dayes worke	...	Agnes Hurde	...	"
10s. ...	one tenement called	Stobfolde	...	Cuthbert Hurd	...	"
2s. 6d. ...	"	Litterigem	...	Wm. Cokeman	...	"
7s. 9d. ...	"	Hesliwell	...	John Swinebourne	...	"
5s. 2d. ...	"	Hulhowse	...	Richard Swawdell	...	"
16s. ...	"	Langley	...	occupied by Wm. Hurd	...	"
8s. 6d. ...	"	Westerchell	...	Geo. Armestronge	...	"
40s. ...	"	Westerchell and	...		...	"
	Sowthe Shell alias Ridelamehoppe	...	John Armestronge	...	...	"

Redditum magistri et confratrum nuper hospitalis de Kepyre tempore contumacie ejusdem quem quidem tenuerunt de archiepiscopo Eboraci ut parcellum manerii sui de Hexham nunc in manibus domini regis existent. ratione excambii inter eundem dominum regem et dictum archiepiscopum factum redditu annuatim xl^s per redditum ejusdem. Ac cum dictus nuper hospitalis in manus domini regis sursum redd. erat dicta parcella terre valuata erat ut parcella possessionum ejusdem nuper hospitalis quod quidem hospitale dictus rex pro certa consideratione concessit ac vendidit Willelmo Paget militi per literas patentes sub magno sigillo Anglie et postea in manus domini regis devenit ratione excambii inter suum serenissimum majestatem et ejusdem Willelmum Paget prout in quadam indentura de eodem excambio facto apparere potest, hic non respondet eo quod dictus redditus responsus est dicto domino regi inter possessiones dicti nuper hospitalis de Kepyre ratione excambii predicti prout tamen in quibusdam indenturis de conventionem dicti excambii inter dictum dominum regem et predictum Willelmum Paget militem factum quam per quandam indenturam sub sigillo curie augmentationis post dictum excambium factum ejusdem Joh. Ffrankelyn de omnibus possessionibus dicte nuper hospitalis plenius patet.

Et de iiij^{li} xix^s viij^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Aldumshell in tenura Geo. Ogle per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo ad festa predicta.

* Torn.

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Rent.	Nature of Land.		Tenant.	Date of Payment.
8s. 10½d.	2 tenements called Nallertstede	...	John Swineborne	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
4s. 5½d.	land pertaining to one tenement called	Nallarstede	Richard Werdell	...
8s. ...	one tenement called Barkehowse	...	John Swineborne	...
4s. ...	"	Dalton	"	...
5s. 4d. ...	"	Mayhill	James Cheste	...
3s. ...	"	Hambrig hall	Thos. Cramere	...
12s. 6d. ...	"	Esshe Shells	Thos. Gibson	...
10s. ...	"	Winterhowse	"	...
6s. ...	"	Heghe	John Swineborne	...
6s. ...	"	Blackhall	"	...
8s. ...	"	Stelle	"	...
2s. 4d. ...	"	Netherstappleye	Thos. Rowland	...
2s. ...	one meadow called	Mire mede	John Swineburne	...
5s. 6d. ...	one tenement called	Westell	Richard Cookeman	...
5s. ...	"	Harsudlehowse	Wm. Armestronge	...
6s. ...	"	Lilewood	Geo. Armestronge	...
4s. 10d. ...	one meadow called	Edesmedowe	Cuthbert Ogle	...

Summa, xxij^{li} ix^d.

Firma certarum terrarum nuper in tenura prioris de Hexham: Et de xij^s de redditu unius tenementi vocati Harewood shell cum pertinentiis in tenura Reginaldi Carnabye per indentura per archiepiscopum Eboraci sibi inde confert. solvendo ad festa predicta equaliter.

Et de x^s iij^d de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Newbiggen in tenura executorum Reginaldi Carnabye per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Land.		Tenant.	Date of Payment.
12s. ...	divers tenements called Stobley	...	†	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
11s. ...	one tenement called Overshells	...	John Hidwine	"

Summa, xlv^s iv^d.

Agestamenta fforeste de Newland cum Rowleward: Et de xij^d de firma agestamenti averiorum tempore estivali infra dictam fforestam de Newlande cum Rowlewarde prout assessata est juxta portionem catallorum, etc. Summa, xij^d.

Firma molendini: Et de xxvi^s viij^d de redditu unius molendini aquatici ibidem vocati Whetlemyll in tenura Henrici Ogle et Georgii Ogle per copiam curie, etc. Summa patet.

Perquisitiones curie: Et de lvij^s iij^d de perquisitionibus duarum curiarum ibidem hoc anno tentarum, viz., unius tente 14^{to} die Maii anno Regis Edwardi vj^{ti} primo, alterius tente 4^{to} die Novembris dicto anno primo scilicet xij^d de amerciamentis necnon de finibus, viz., pro fine Thome Leshman iij^s v^d et de fine Thome Armestronge xix^s x^d et de fine Radulphi Hurd * et de fine Johannis Hurde x^s vij^d in toto ut su[pradictum] . . . per hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. Summa patet.

Summa totalis oneris xxix^{li} xj^s jd.

Feodum et regardum cum expensis seneschalli curie: Idem computatus in feodo ipsius computantis ad lx^s x^d per annum, cui Edwardus permissione divina Eboraci archiepiscopus Anglie primatus et metropolitan. dedit et concessit officium fforestarii in fforesta infra regaliam de Hexham vocata Newlande, officiumque alterius fforestarii in fforesta predicta quod Willelmus Simpson olim occupavit et nuper Johannes Crosley tenuit et occupavit habendum et tenendum et occupandum predictum officium unius fforestarii in fforesta infra regaliam de Hexham predictam vocata Newlands et alterius fforestarii in fforesta predicta quod quidem Willelmus Simsun olim occupavit et nuper Johannes Crosley tenuit et occupavit cum omnibus et singulis proficuis et commoditatibus et emolumentis ac predictis officiis

* Torn.

† Blank in MS.

et eorum alteri debitis et consuetis cuidem Roberto Crake et prefato Johanni Shell et eorum alteri per se ipsos et alter eorum per deputatos suos et alterius eorum pro termino vite cum ffeodo et vade subscriptis, viz., pro exercitio et occupatione officii unius fforestarii in fforresta infra regaliā de Hexham vocata Newlands unius denarii per diem et pro officio alterius fforestarii in fforresta predicta quod Willelmus Simson et Johannes Crosley olim occupaverunt vadium et ffeodum consuetum habendum et percipiendum omnia predicta ffeoda et vadia unius denarii per diem et ffeoda et vadia consueta predicta cum omnibus et singulis suis proficuis, commoditatibus, et emolumentis predictis Roberto Crake, et Johanni Shell et alteri eorum pro termino vite eorundem Roberti et Johannis et alterius diutius viventis tam per manus receptoris regalie predictae quam per manus generalis receptoris archiepiscopati Eboraci seu occupatoris dicte regalie pro tempore existentis ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli per equales portiones annuatim solvendo prout in litteris patentibus dicti archiepiscopi prefatis Roberto Crake et Johanni Shell confectis datis 3^o die Aprilis anno domini 1540 plenius patet, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi feodi per tempus hujus compoti pro officio suo ibidem hoc anno exercendo prout allocatum est in compotis annorum precedentium lx^s x^d. Et in riguardo dato clerico auditoris, etc., ij^s. Et in expensis seneschalli, etc. Summa, lxxvij^s x^d.

Liberaciones denariorum: Et in denariis oneratis super Robertum Bowes militem particularem receptorem dicti regalitatis de Hexham ut de tot denariis per ipsum receptis de exitibus officii sui hujus anni tam prepositi quam fforestarii et in manibus suis remanent. adhuc insolutis prout in eodem compoto apparet. Summa, xxv^{li} xvij^s iij^d.

Summa allocacionum et liberacionum xxix^{li} xj^s j^d que summa correspondet summe oneris predicti.

HEXHAM BURGUS: Compotus Roberti Thurwall collectoris reddituum ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia: Nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus et firmæ infra villam de Hexham: Sed reddet compotum l^s iij^d de firma diversorum burgagiorum cum pertinentiis in tenura Davidis Carnabye nuper in tenura Thome Carnabye per copiam curie, etc.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.	Nature of Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
20s. ...	ferm of divers burgages formerly Lisley ...	lately Geo. Ogle, now his widow ...	...St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
10s. ...	" "	formerly Nicholas Errington, now David Carnaby ...	"
28s. 7d. ...	ferm of one burgage ...	formerly Wm. Lawson, now Cuthbert Carnaby, during the minority of the daughters of Reynold Carnaby ...	"
4s. 6d. ...	divers burgages ...	formerly Rowland Redshawe, now ex ^{rs} Reynold Carnaby ...	"
3s. 4d. ...	" ...	formerly heirs of Mr. Swineborne, now executors of Reynold Carnaby ...	"
14s. 11d. ...	" ...	Chantry chapel called Le Ladye prest ...	"
3s. ...	rents and fermes ...	lately Matt. Bee, now Thos. Armstrong ...	"
2d. ...	one burgage ...	Chantry de Lez Roode, and chantry of Edw. Herrison ...	"
2d. ...	divers lands ...	formerly John Burnell, now John Morton ...	"
2s. 11d. ...	one burgage ...	" Rowland Rowtes, now Wm. Johnson ...	"
35s. 6d. ...	" ...	" Richard Bainebrigge, now Antony Bainbrigge ...	"
6s. 8d. ...	divers lands called Johnson's lond ...	formerly Edward Taylor, now Wm. Lettil- skill, 4s., and Thos. Smythe ...	"

Rent.	Nature of Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
2s. 8d. ¹ ...	divers lands ...	... formerly Edmund Gibson, now Richard Gibson ...	... St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
2s. ...	one burgage ...	... formerly Nicholas Ridley, now Robert Leyghton ...	...
10d. ...	divers burgages ...	... Edward, son and heir of Edward Leyghton ...	...
4s. 8d. ...	„ and lands (Cher- denlands) ...	... Rowland Lechman, Alexander Armstrong, Antony Towland ...	...
4s. 8d. ...	one burgage ...	... formerly John Rowlandson, now Robert Kelley ...	...
12d. ...	rents and ferm ...	... formerly John Swineborne, now Thos. Lyddall, Robert Stowte, and Antony Marle ...	...
1d. ...	ferm ...	... formerly Edw. Linewood, now Robert Gibson ...	...
5d. ...	divers burgages ...	... John Wilson formerly, now his wife ...	...
3d. ...	one burgage ...	... Matt. Hurste formerly, now Thos. Hurst ...	...
9d. ...	divers lands ...	... Thos. Ellenson formerly, now Wm. Ellenson ...	...
4s. 5d. ...	„ burgages ...	... Wife of John Stephenson ...	...
2d. ...	one garden within the precincts of the manor ...	... Matt. Cooke ...	...
12d. ...	divers burgages ...	... formerly John Ulstan, now Geo. Leyshman ...	...
6s. 4d. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ a land called Chamblond ...	... formerly wife of Robert Johnson, now Ninian Johnson ...	...
4s. 10d. ...	one burgage ...	... formerly Thos. Robson for Lord Ogle, now Mr. Stephenson, 2s., and for Carres' land, 2s. ...	...
14s. 11d. ...	divers burgages and Johnson lond ...	... Matt. Litleskell ...	...
1d. ...	certain lands formerly Litleskills' ...	... „ ...	...
1d. ...	certain lands ...	... formerly Wm. Hurst, now John Hurst ...	...
7s. 4d. ...	a moiety called Chamberlond ...	... formerly Thos. Robson, now Robert Stephanson ...	...
4d. ...	divers burgages ...	... Roger Pigge ...	...
4d. ...	one burgage ...	... formerly Robert Stephanson, now Wm. Crowe ...	...
3d. ...	divers burgages ...	... John Monkes ...	...
2d. ...	one burgage ...	... Jas. Herrison ...	...
6d. ...	one almshouse ...	... formerly Gilbert Errington, now John Linwood ...	...
4d. ...	one burgage ...	... formerly Archibald Stochell, now Nicholas Stochell, his son ...	...
4d. ...	„ ...	... Thos. Gibson ...	...
16d. ...	„ ...	... formerly John Arnestronge, now Gilbert Reede for the heirs of the said John ...	...
20d. ...	one tenement ...	... formerly prior of Lanercost, now Roger Shawe ...	...

¹ Distributed as follows: land formerly Cares', 12d., for rent of a parcel of land formerly Ulstan's, 4d., for the ferm of one cottage with a small garden annexed to the same, containing on an estimate half an acre, as well as a certain parcel of another called Howle orchard, 6d., for the land of Rowlandson, formerly fforsters, 4d., for lands lately Tho. Hirst's, 4s., and for the ferm of a parcel of land formerly Cares', 2d.

Rent.	Nature of Holding.			Tenant.			Date of Payment.	
3d.	...	garden	...	...	Roger Shawe	...	...	...St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
11d.	...	divers burgages	...	...	Wife of Hudson and Edmund Johnson	...	...	"
4d.	...	"	Thos. Smythe	...	...	"
15d.	...	certain lands	...	...	lately Ric. Cartinge, formerly John Hurd, now Cuthbert Hurd...	...	...	"
24s. 11d.	...	divers lands, etc.	...	...	Alex. Ulstan, heir of John Ulstan	...	...	"
10s. 8d.	...	"	lately wife of Richard Leishman, and now Richard Leyshman, 10s. 2d., and for lands formerly Ulstan's, 6d.	...	...	"
14s. 11d.	...	"	Isabella Witfforth, Robert Thurlwall, and Antony Errington	...	...	"
10d.	...	"	Richard Hurde	...	...	"
7s. 8d.	...	one tenement and burgage	...	...	wife of Thos. Sowreby	...	...	"
7s. 10d.	...	divers lands and burgages	...	...	John Armestronge	...	...	"
37s.	...	"	lately wife of Ecky, now Thos. Crane	...	...	"
2d.	...	one burgage	...	...	lately Ulstan, now Rowland Leychman	...	...	"
5s.	...	divers lands and burgages	...	...	John Ridley	...	...	"
3d.	...	one burgage	...	...	formerly Rowland Rowle, now Thos. Hynemers	...	...	"
6d.	...	"	Matt. Johnson	...	...	"
7d.	...	certain lands formerly fforster's	...	...	lately Wm. Johnson, now Arthur Lee	...	...	"
2d.	...	divers lands	...	...	lately Wm. Pilgrave, now Edw. Hurste	...	...	"
4d.	...	one burgage	...	...	lately Thos. Armestronge, now Wm. Little-skill and Roger Pigge	...	...	"
4d.	...	one garden within the aforesaid manor	...	...	John Errington	...	...	"
3s. 11d.	...	lands and burgages formerly in the hands of the late monastery of Hexham before the dissolution of the same; parcel of Carres land, 2s. 3d., parcell of Stephenson's land, 14d., and other lands, 6d.	...	...	Cuthbert Carnabye	...	...	"

FREEHOLDERS.

Libera firma: Et de xxxii^s iij^d de libero redditu Johannis Wetheringstone militis pro diversis terris in Buckcliffe secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini in hieme et Pentecostes equaliter.

Rent.	Holding.			Tenant.			Date of Payment.	
22s. 9d.	...	lands formerly John Errington's	...	...	Nicholas Errington and heirs of Gilbert Errington, formerly John Fallofilde's 12s. 5d., for lands formerly John Errington's, 3s., and for lands lately John Taylor's, 7s. 4d.	...	...	...St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
11s. 8d.	...	lands at Portgate and Portgate Leazes	...	...	Odinel Carnabye	...	...	"
2s. 4d.	...	"	Wm. Carnabye	...	...	"
12s. 10d.	...	"	Robert Errington	...	...	"

Rent.	Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
8s. 1d. ...	lands in Bingfield ...	Thos. Errington of Bingfield, formerly Roger Ashe, before that Cuthbert Shaftoo and Swinburne heirs ...	...St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
4d. ...	" " ...	John Witherington ...	"
100s. ...	" Thekerington ...	Cuthbert Shaftoo ...	"
15s. ...	" Heselden ...	Thomas Errington ...	"
38s. 5½d. ...	" Costeley, at 3s. for services and customs there ...	John Rewley (Ridley) ...	"
80s. ...	" Langhope alias Bagrowe ...	" "	"
24s. 8½d. ...	" Errington and Cokelaw	Nicholas Errington ...	"
Summa, xvij ^{li} viij ^s v ^d .			

Firma terrarum nuper in tenura prioris de Hexham : Et de xij^d ob. de redditu unius burgagii ibidem cum pertinentiis in tenura Willelmi Ellenson.

Rent.	Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
3d. ...	one burgage ...	John Ridley ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
8d. ...	" ...	" ...	"
12½d. ...	2 burgages ...	John Stokewall ...	"
16d. ...	" ...	Thos. Holland ...	"
16d. ...	" ...	John Sadler ...	"
2d. ...	one burgage ...	John Watson ...	"
25s. 1d. ...	" ...	John Heshlihope ...	"
2s. ...	" ...	Simon ffarlan ...	"
4d. ...	" ...	John Hutton ...	"
8d. ...	one garden ...	† ...	"
25s. 3d. ...	one burgage ...	Alexander Wilkinson ...	"
2s. ...	2 burgages, lately built in the Market place near Kirkstille ...	† ...	"
7d. ...	one burgage ...	Wm. Carrowke ...	"
3d. ...	" ...	Thos. Whelpedale ...	"
8d. ...	7 acres of land ...	lately Thos. Bartholemew ...	"
3d. ...	one burgage ...	Robert Parson ...	"
12d. ...	one tenement newly built in Hexham Market place ...	† ...	"
10d. ...	10 bovates of land lying in lees Netherhawgh ...	† ...	"
80s. ...	herbage called le Westwoode ...	Cuthbert Carnabye and Lady Carnabye, executors of Reynold Carnabye ...	"
26s. 8d. ...	certain lands called Leckingshawgh ...	" ...	"
9s. 1d. ...	" in Dotland parke ...	" ...	"
4s. 2d. ...	divers tofts in closes in the Seale ...	" ...	"
20s. ...	one close with wood called Yokesley ...	" ...	"
12d. ...	one parcel of land called Yarwithe hotte ...	" ...	"
6s. 8d. ...	one tenement called Bingfilde ...	" ...	"
64s. ...	32 acres of land in le Milne Hawghe at Halle flatte ...	" ...	"

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Rent.	Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
6s. ...	3 acres of land called Bollands	Cuthbert Carnabye and Lady Carnabye, executors of Reynold Carnabye	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
11d. ...	divers acres in le Northehawghe called Hartebartland	"	"
12d. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ an acre in le Northehawghe	"	"
2s. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ an acre in the wood of Alwoode, near the mill pond of the Tyne mill	"	"
8s. ...	divers lands called Proktor londs	Gilbert Errington	"
11s. 8d. ...	40 acres of land between Akewood and Aynewike township	†	"
21s. ...	the manor there with its appurtenances, called Bewfronte, and a water course of Kirkeborne	Executors of Raynold Carnabye	"
2s. ...	one burgage	Robert Watson	"
8d. ...	"	Archibald Stokehalle	"
15 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ...	divers lands and burgages	Executors of Raynold Carnabye	"
2s. 6d. ...	2 burgages	Thos. Robson and John Gibson	"
12d. ...	one windmill, built by the late prior of Hexham	†	"
40s. ...	one underwood called le West woode	Prior and convent of Hexham	"
10s. ...	†	†	"
3d. ...	one burgage	John Wardall	"
2d. ...	certain lands	lately Richard Armstrong	"
8d. ...	"	lately Robert Whitestales	"
2d. ...	"	Rosa Whitefield	"
8d. ...	divers tenements	Robert Whitestales	"

Summa, xvij^{li} iij^d ob.

Firma terrarum: Et de xxx^s de firma unius clausi vocati hall orchard in tenuta Roberti Bowes militis, ultra 4 carritat. ffeni et unum plaustrat. straminis per expens. equorum auditoris domini regis tempore audit. deliberand. apud Hexham ad custodem firmarii. Summa patet.

Exitus tolnet. cum aliis: Et de liij^s iij^d de firma tolnet. nundini et mercati de Hexham in tenuta Galfridi Parkenson liij^s iij^d per annum tamen solebat reddere iij^{li} solvendo ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli.

Et de x^s de firma passagii aque vocati les fferrye in tenuta Roberti Armstronge solvendo ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli.

Et de x^s iij^d de firma mineri carbonis in Cadden juxta villam de Alcon et ffallowfilde ad x^s iij^d per annum in tenuta Cuthberti Carnabye in jure Ricardi Carnabye minoris. Summa, lxxiij^s viij^d.

Minerum plumbi: ix^s iij^d in aliquo proficuo proveniente de exitu et proficuo unius mineri plumbi infra fforestam de Estealland ex recognitione Johannis Shele ffirmarii ejusdem solvendo ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli. Summa nulla.

Perquisitiones curie ad finibus terre: Et de xxvij^s ij^d de perquisitionibus curie ibidem hoc anno tente, viz., xliij^s vj^d de amerciamentis necnon de finibus, viz., pro fine Johannis Armstronge vij^s x^d et fine Roberti Stowte iij^d et pro fine Antonii Marlowe iij^d et pro fine Alexandri Armstronge xvij^d et de fine Rowlandi Lecheman iij^s et de fine Antonii Towland ij^d et de fine Johannis Armstronge viij^d. In toto prout per extracto earundem super hunc computum ostens. plenius patet. Summa, xxvij^s ij^d.

Summa totalis oneris, lix^{li} vj^d ob.

Idem computat in decremento redditus unius parcelli terre in [tenura] Cuthberti Shaftoo vocati Thokerington superius onerati ad c^s [per] annum sibi allocatum ex discretione Roberti Bowes militis

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receptoris particularis dictarum terrarum ratione guerri versus Scotos ibidem hoc anno * eo quod dicte terre jacent prope Tynesdale sic quod dictus tenens non potuit quietus occupare dictas terras ideo hic in allocacione per tempus hujus compoti xx*. Summa patet.

Feodum et regardum cum expensis seneschalli: Et in feodo Roberti Bowes militis capitalis seneschalli domini, libertatis, et ffranchesis de Hexham et Hexham sheyre in comitatu Northumbrie ac omnium et singularum terrarum, tenementorum et hereditamentorum domini regis quorumcunque in Hexham et Hexhamshire in dicto comitatu Northumbrie nuper parcellum possessionum archiepiscopi Eboraci, et jam in manibus domini regis existentium eidem concessum per litteras patentes domini regis datas apud Westmonasterium xix die Martii anno Regis Henrici viij^{vi} xxxvj^d habendum, tenendum gaudendum et exercendum dictum officium prefato Roberto Bowes militi per se vel per sufficientem deputatum sive deputatos suos sufficientes durante vita sua naturali una cum omnibus vadis, feodis, proficuis, commoditatibus, preeminentiis, regardis, et advantagiis eidem officio quovismodo pertinentibus vel spectantibus in tam amplis modo et forma prout aliquis alius sive aliqui alii officiales predicti perantea habentes exercentes, etc., habuerunt et perciperunt, etc., de et in eodem. Et insuper dictus dominus rex de uberiori gratia sua dedit et concessit prefato Roberto Bowes militi pro exercitione et occupatione officii predicti capitalis seneschalli vadium et feodum vj^{li} xij^s iij^d per annum habendum levandum et annuatim percipiendum eundem feodum durante vita sua naturali de exitibus revencionibus et proficuis predicti domini terre, etc., annuatim provenientibus sive crescentibus tam per manus suas proprias et in manibus suis propriis retinendis quam per manus firmarii tentis et occupatis et * pro tempore existente ad duos anni terminos, viz., ad festa annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli [equis] portionibus annuatim solvendis ad festa predicta equaliter prout in eisdem litteris patentibus apparet, viz., in allocacione hujusmodi feodi pro officio suo hoc anno exercendo vigore litterarum patantium predictarum pro toto anno ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Regis Edwardi vj^o primo vj^{li} xij^s iij^d et in feodo dicti Roberti Bowes militis gardiani de le Midle Marches in partibus borealibus Anglie versus Scotiam particularis receptoris omnium et singulorum reddituum revencionum et proficuum omnium et singulorum terrarum, etc., quorumcunque infra predictam libertatem, etc., de Hexham scilicet concess. per litteras patentibus apparet, viz., in allocacione hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti vigore litterarum patantium pro officio predicto exercendo vj^{li} xij^s iij^d.

Et in feodo predicti Roberti Bowes militis exercentis officium ballivi, etc., domini, libertatis, etc., de Hexham, etc., sibi concessum per litteras patentes, etc., cum feodo xij^{li} vj^s viij^d per annum ac omnibus proficuis, etc., ejusdem officii pertinentibus, etc., prout in eisdem litteris patentibus ad largum apparet, etc. Et in riguardo dato Johanni Gibson pro diligente labore suo in custodia bosci domini regis de le Westwoode ad xij^s iij^d per annum eidem allocatum ex conventu facta pro officio domini regis, viz., in allocacione hujusmodi feodi per tempus hujus compoti prout allocatum est in compotis precedentibus xij^s iij^d. Et in riguardo dato Johanni Marshall et Thome Hynnors vocato le sarjant curie de Hexham predicto pro diligente labore suo in serviendo officiaro curie predicte ad xij^s iij^d quilibet eorum per annum eisdem concess. ex antiqua consuetudine, viz., in allocacione, etc., xxvj^s viij^d. Et in denariis solutis ballivo de Hexham pro expensis suis existentibus ibidem apud duas nundinas tentas in festis Apostolorum Simonis et Jude et Sancti Jacobi secundum antiquam consuetudinem ibidem usitatam pro diligente, etc., facto in conservationem pacis domini regis, etc., xxvj^s viij^d. Et in riguardo dato Radulfo Errington custodi castri sive gaole domini regis apud Hexham ex discretione domini Bowes et Ricardi Huchonson auditoris domini regis ibidem ad xxvj^s viij^d per annum, etc. Et in expensis seneschali et aliorum officium domini regis existentium ad curiam predictam infra tempus hujus compoti tentam prout per extractas earundem super hunc compotum ostens. et examinat. xxij^s iij^d. Et in denariis per ipsum solutis tribus florestariis et ballivis et le sergiant tam pro expensis suis equitando a villa de Hexham usque villam de Alnewike ultra quam ex consuetudine solent quam pro diligenti labore, etc., in collectione bonorum ffelonum, etc., xv. * Et in regardis datis clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius * compoti prout consimilis allocatio facta est auditori domini [regis] ducatus sue Lancastrie ij*. Et in feodo Roberti Bowes militis curie totius regalie de Hexham

ad xl^s per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi prout consimilis allocatio facta fuit receptori Edwardi nuper Archiepiscopi Eboraci et predecessorum suorum ex antiqua consuetudine debet. ut per compotum ad usum dicti nuper Edwardi Archiepiscopi factum de anno Regis Henrici viij^{ti} 35^{to} xl^s. Et in denariis per dictum compotum solutis predicto Roberto Bowes militi particulariter receptori totius regalie de Hexham pro papiro, pargameno, et encaust. ad vj^s viij^d per annum, viz., in allocatione, etc., vj^s viij^d. Summa, xxxvj^{li} xv^s iij^d.

Summa allocationum: xxxvj^{li} xv^s iij^d. Et debet xxij^{li} v^s ij^d ob. ad quos oneratur de iij^{li} viij^s vij^d ob. provenientibus de bonis et catallis cujusdem Johannis Bullock felonis quia homicidium fecit, qua ratione omnia bona sua ad manus domini regis seisata fuerint extendentia ad valorem predictum (ultra xxij^s viij^d soluta pro firma sua dec. suo et pro ffecodo coronatoris ut patet particularem villam inter memorandum hujus anni remanentem, viz., in onere hujusmodi per tempus hujus compoti accidente.

Et summis conjunctis debet xxvj^{li} xij^s x^d que oneratur in compotum receptoris super dictum Robertum Bowes particulariter receptorem regalie de Hexham ut pro tot denariis per ipsum receptis de dicto computante de exitibus officii sui hujus anni et in manibus ejus remanentis et adhuc insolutis cum x^s que idem Robertus Bowes clamat habere pro expensis seneschali curie de Hexham per manus Walteri Hendley et Thome Moile militis disallocatis prout [in] dicto compoto receptoris hujus anni magis ad largum continetur. Et hic equaliter.

CADDEN: Compotus Roberti Phillipson prepositi ibidem per tempus predictum.

Arreragia: Nulla, etc. Summa nulla.

Redditus et firma: Sed reddit compotum de viij^s de firma unius tenementi cum pertinentiis vocati Cowkehowse in tenura Matthei Bee per copiam curie secundum consuetudinem manerii solvendo annuatim ad festa Sancti Martini et Pentecostes equaliter.

REMAINING COPYHOLDERS.

Rent.		Holding.		Tenant.		Date of Payment.
6s.	...	one tenement called Clowbanke	...	Wm. Hochonson	...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
3s. 5d.	...	"	†	Henry Hauden	...	"
14s.	...	"	Pytrewe	Hugh Hochonson	...	"
6s. 3d.	...	"	Crossehowse	Christopher Stowte	...	"
5s. 1d.	...	"	Akeden	Hugh Sheld	...	"
14s.	...	"	Bisshopfild	Matt. Bee	...	"
6s. 7d.	...	"	Rydhill	John Stowte, Alice Watson, and Nenyne Person	...	"
10d.	...	"	...	Matt. Bohetfild	...	"
10d.	...	"	...	Geo. ffisher	...	"
16d.	...	"	...	Thos. Howatson	...	"
4d.	...	one acre of land	...	Robert Pickeringe	...	"
6s. 8d.	...	one tenement called Coden	...	Robert Phillepson	...	"
14s. 4d.	...	"	...	Wm. Shorte	...	"
6s. 10d.	...	"	Oldecotes	Wm. Jottefforth	...	"
6s.	...	"	...	Edw. and Geo. Rowle	...	"
10s.	...	"	...	Geo. de Caddon	...	"
18d.	...	"	...	John Rowle	...	"
13s. 4d.	...	"	...	John Rowle de Caddon	...	"
2s. 1d.	...	"	...	Robert Phillepson de Caddon	...	"
13s. 4d.	...	"	...	Robert Phillepson, Rowland Stobte, and Hugh Robbinson	...	"
2s. 8d.	...	one parcel of meadow	...	Geo. Rowle	...	"
8s. 4d.	...	one tenement called Bishopside	...	Robert Bastenwette	...	"

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Rent.	Holding.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
4s. ...	one tenement ...	John Reclason and Thos. Stowte	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
3s. ...	called le Holehawghe ...	Matt. Whitefld ...	"
2s. 6d. ...	" Cowperhouse ...	Robert Pickering ...	"
13d. ...	one parcel of land called Stewteparke alias Staynes...	Edward Watson ...	"
Summa, viij ^{li} ij ^s iiij ^d .			

Redditus pert. officio scaccarii : Et de iiij^s vj^d de redditu unius tenementi vocati Pawpertonowe in tenura Thome Bee pertinente officio scaccarii ibidem solvendo ad festa predicta.

Rent.	Nature of Tenement.	Tenant.	Date of Payment.
2s. 3d. ...	one tenement called Sprodslemedowe ...	Thos. Phillepson ...	St. Martin's and Whitsuntide.
2s. 3d. ...	" Sprowslemedowe ...	Katerine Cowrer ...	"
3s. ...	" Breggette ...	Christopher Hawden ...	"
15s. ...	" Cotton leye ...	Cuthbert Hawdon ...	"
20s. ...	" Howsepette ...	Thos. Hawdon ...	"
3s. 4d. ...	a piece of land of Hawltonne ...	Thos. Stowte ...	"
6s. 8d. ...	another piece of land of Hawlton ...	John Robertson ...	"
14s. ...	certain lands called Oldetowne ...	Geo. Rewe ...	"
Summa, iiij ^{li} xj ^s .			

Regardus : Idem computat. in riguardo dato clerico auditoris pro scriptura istius compoti et parcell. ejusdem ad iiij^s (*sic*) per annum, viz., in allocatione hujusmodi, etc. Summa, ij^s.

Allocatio Redditus : Quoniam allocatio redditus unius tenementi cum pertinentiis in tenura Willelmi Hochonson superius in isto compoto oneratur ad vj^s per annum infra summam viij^{li} ij^s iiij^d et quod reddere debet in isto compoto nisi xij^d at aliter v^s oneratur est superius in isto libro in compoto prepositi de Kenleye infra summam viij^{li} v^s iiij^d sic quod dupliciter oneratur ideo hic alloc. per tempus hujus compoti v^s. Summa, v^s.

Liberacio denariorum : Quoniam denarius oneratur super Robertum Bowes militem, particularem receptorem dicte regalie de Hexham ut de tot denariis per ipsum receptis de exitibus officii sui hujus anni et manum suam remanent. adhuc insolutis prout in eodem compoto plenius patet xj^{li} vj^s iiij^d.

Summa allocationum et liberacionum xj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d que summa correspondet summe oneris predicti. Et equaliter.

SURVEY OF 1608.¹

A survey of the mannor and regalitie of Hexham within the countie of Northumberlande, ancientlye parcell of the possessions belonginge vnto the archbishoppricke of Yorke came to the crowne by exchange made betweene Kinge Henrye the eighte and Cardinall † then archbischopp of Yorke and soe hath remayned in the crowne euer since: made and taken in September. 1608. In the sixth yeere of the raigne of our soueraigne lorde Kinge James, etc., and of Scotlande the xliijth by Barth. Haggatt and George Warde gentlemen, by vertue of his majesties especiall comission to them in that behaulfe, directed out of his highnes courte of Exchequer dated the xjth daye of Julye in the yeere of our lorde abouesaide.

Hexham regalitie is diuided into seuerall greavships, viz., Alwenton greavship, Catton greavship, Keanlye greavship, Hexhamshire, Hexham towne, Eastalwentdale greavship, Weastalwentdale greavship, Wall greavship, Acombe greavship. Consisting of freehoulde, coppiholde, customarye, leasehoulde.

Memorandum: wheras vnder euerye particuler entrey of this booke ther is founde these wordes valor annualis vltra redditum, it is to be vnderstoode the cleere yeerly value aboue the ould rent. That is to saye, the rent is allready subducted, and that value ther expressed is the cleere improued rent aboue the ould rent.

* * * * *

¹ Land Revenue Office, Survey of Hexham Royalty, 1608.

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FREEHOLDERS WITHIN THE REGALTYE OF HEXHAM.

William Ridley houldeth ther in fee farme certaine lande called Westwood and payeth yeerlie rent
£7 6s. 8d.

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent. £ s. d.
Malye Lishman, widdowe	... certaine lande beinge but one acre	... 0 0 8
Edwarde Ratcliffe	... certaine land called Adensheeldes	... 4 19 8
William Bell	... a burgage withe the appurtenances	... 0 0 4
Roberte Humble	... one burgage and the appurtenances	... 0 1 8
Edwarde Hirste	... certaine lande	... 0 7 6
Edmunde Oliuer	... certaine lande	... 0 3 8
Edwarde Little	... certaine lande	... 0 0 8
William Liddall	... a burgage	... 0 1 8
John Stevenson	... certaine lande	... 0 0 4
William Soulbeye	... certaine lande	... 0 0 8
Gilberte Errington	... freelic, certaine landes called Westerrington alias Cocklawe, in free soccage	... 1 4 8
Idem	... certaine lande called Fallowfelde, freelye in free soccage	... 1 2 9
Thomas Carnabye	... certaine lande	... 0 11 6
John Errington	... certaine lande	... 0 12 10
Nicholas Carnabye	... houldeth in Portgate freelye certaine lande	... 0 2 4
Thomas Storye	... houldeth in Bingfelde freelic certaine lande	... 0 8 0

Somme of the freerentes ther, £2 17s. 5d.

COPPIHOLDERS.

ALWENTON GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regalitye :

John Dawson houldeth ther by coppie of courtroll sibi heredibus et assignatis suis secundum
consuetudinem, etc., a certaine tenement called the North houpe, per annum, 5s. 11d.

Valor annualis vltra redditum, £1 13s. 4d.

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent. £ s. d.	Yearly Value above Rent. £ s. d.
Hughe Sparke	... a tenement with the appurtenances, called the South Houpe	... 0 3 10	1 2 0
Nicholas Madson	... a certaine tenement called Cossehoill	... 0 1 4	0 12 0
Idem	... one halfe of a tenement called Moorehouse	... 0 4 6	1 6 8
George Dawson	... the other haulfe of the saide Moorehouse tenement	... 0 4 6	1 6 8
William Hucheson	... a certaine tenement called Bullishill	... 0 2 6	0 15 0
George Heselopp	... a certaine tenement called Draperhouse	... 0 6 5	1 15 0
Hugh Cottfourth	... a certaine tenement called Tommes house	... 0 7 3	2 0 0
John Madson	... Fostersteedes	... 0 7 7	2 0 0
William Hucheson	... Easterstonehouse	... 0 6 0	1 15 0
Idem	... Westerstonehouse	... 0 4 1	1 4 0
Idem Wm. Hucheson	... Poddishanke	... 0 2 2	0 13 4
George Heselop	... the one haulfe of a tenement called Lonkelie	... 0 3 6	1 0 0
John Heslopp	... the other haulfe of the saide tenement called Lonkelie	... 0 3 6	1 0 0
Matthew Bee	... a certaine howse in Allwenton	... 0 0 2	0 2 6
Hugh Sheele	... a certaine tenement in Allwentown	... 0 1 0	0 8 0
Cuthbert Sparke	... a certaine house and a barne	... 0 0 2	0 3 4
Hugh Sheile of Woye	... Burnefoute	... 0 5 7	1 13 4

Tenant.			Holding.				Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
							£	s	d.	£	s	d.	
William Rowell	the halfe of a certaine tenement called Bowes				...	0	3	6	1	0	0
			hott	...	...	...	...	0	3	6	1	0	0
Cuthbert Rowell	the other haulfe of the saide Bowes hott				...	0	3	6	1	0	0
Thomas Bee	Brodwoodhall	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	8	0	0
Idem	Weggor house	...	...	...	...	0	2	7	0	15	0
Thomas Williamson	Scotthall	...	...	...	...	0	6	1	2	0	0
Idem Thomas Williamson	...	...	one other tenement called the Neather Scotthall				0	4	7	1	10	0	
Idem	...	...	another parcell of Scotthall and a parcell of										
			Whiterigge Sheele	...	...	...	...	0	1	8	0	13	4
William Hucheson	Lammes house	...	...	...	...	0	0	6	0	5	0
John Hucheson	the Skoreheade	...	...	...	...	0	7	8	2	3	4
Idem	Fynchill	...	...	...	...	0	0	8	0	6	8
John Haddon	Allenton	...	...	...	...	0	1	8	0	10	0
Clement Heslop	Nethermill	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0	15	0
Anthonie Sheele	Chaunterie lande	...	...	...	...	0	1	6	0	10	0
Margarett Pattison	one other tenement called Chaunterie lande				...	0	1	4	0	10	0
Thomas Hewatson	a stonehouse	...	...	...	...	0	0	8	0	6	8
Some totall of the yeerly values of the coppiholde land within Allwenton, £40 15s. 2d. above the ould rent.													
Some totall of the old rent yeerlie paid, £6 7s. 11d.													

COPPIHOLDERS.

CATTON GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regalitie :

CATTON GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regallitie :							Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
Tenant.			Holding.				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Leonarde Wilson	a certaine tenement called Holehaughe				...	0	3	0	0	16	8
Widdowe Wilson	a certaine tenement in the Busshopside				...	0	8	4	2	10	0
John Frenche	a certaine tenement in Olde Towne ...				...	0	2	0	0	13	4
Jenkyn Stoute	a tenement in the Oulde Towne ...				...	0	2	0	0	13	4
James Routledge	a tenement in the Ould Towne ...				...	0	2	0	0	13	4
Marke Swingborne...	a certaine tenement called Couperhaughe				...	0	2	6	0	15	0
Richarde Robeson	in Catton a tenement ...				...	0	4	5½	1	4	0
George Heslopp and Gerarde													
Stocoe	a tenement ...				...	0	4	5½	1	4	0
John Hawdon	a tenement in Catton ...				...	0	4	5½	1	4	0
John Richeson	a tenement with the appurtenances ...				...	0	8	9	2	10	0
Cuthbert Rowell	a tenement with certaine landes ...				...	0	7	2	2	0	0
Hughe Sheele	a tenement ...				...	0	7	6	2	0	0
Jane Sparke and Elizabeth													
Armstronge	two tenementes ...				...	0	19	0	5	10	0
Hughe Rowle	a tenement with the appurtenances ...				...	0	7	7	2	0	0
Cuthbert Hawdon	a tenement cum pertinenciis ...				...	0	3	9	1	0	0
Thomas Stoute	a certaine tenement ...				...	0	1	8	0	10	0
Cuthberte Heslop	Stoniestile ...				...	0	4	7	1	0	0
John Cottforth	one tenement ...				...	0	4	0	1	0	0
Thomas Stoute	a tenement in Ridinghill ...				...	0	3	4	1	0	0
Richarde Pierson	a tenement in Ridinghill ...				...	0	1	7½	0	10	0
Cuthberte Sheele	a tenement in Ridinghill ...				...	0	1	7½	0	10	0
Matthew Bee	Busshopsfild ...				...	0	14	0	3	10	0
Anthony Dawson	Akedowne ...				...	0	5	1	1	10	0
Theires of Thomas Stoute	the Crossehouse ...				...	0	6	3	1	16	8
Leonarde Sheele	Piatroone ...				...	0	14	0	3	10	0

Tenant.							Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
John Maughan	Netherouslye	...	...	...	...	0	0	4	0	3	4
Thomas Cotforth	Hilhouse...	...	...	...	...	0	3	5	1	0	0
Matthew Bee	Cookeshowes	...	...	...	...	0	8	0	2	6	8
Thomas Hewatson	Stonyhill...	...	...	...	...	0	1	4	0	10	0
Cuthbert Hawdon	a tenement belonginge to Catton	...	...	...	...	0	0	4	0	3	4
Cuthberte Hawdon	a tenement at Catton Lee	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	3	15	0
Thomas Hewatson	Houstie	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	5	0	0
Leonarde Sheele	Brigeale	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	1	0	0
John Francis	a tenement in the Oulde Towne	...	...	...	...	0	5	4	1	13	4
Jenkyn Stoute	a tenement in Oulde Towne	...	...	...	...	0	4	8	1	8	0
James Rutledge	a tenement in the Ould Towne	...	...	...	...	0	14	0	3	10	0

CHECQUER RENTES.

Edwarde Tengage houldeth ther a tenement in Ouslie by coppie of courtroll to him his heires and assignes, according to the custome, and paith yeerlie rent 4s.

Valor annualis ultra redditum, £1 4s.

Tenant.		Holding.		Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
John Madgson	a tenement in Ouslie	...	...	...	0	5	0
John Sheele	the one haulfe of the Holmes mill	...	...	...	0	0	10
Edwarde Tengage and Jane, his wife	the other haulfe of the Holmes mill	...	...	...	0	0	10
John Hucheson	a certaine mill called Acton mill	...	...	...	0	0	8

Some totall of the yeerly rent of Catton, £11 9s. 10d.

Some totall of the yeerlye values of the coppiholdes of Catton about the yeerlie rent ys £64 7s. 4d.

COPPIHOLDERS.

KEANLY GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regaltie :

John Faraler houldeth ther a tenement called the Nuke by coppie of courtroll to him his heires and assignes, according to the custome, etc. And paieth yeerly rent, 12s. 4d.

Valor annualis ultra redditum, £3.

Tenant.		Holding.				Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
						£	s	d.	£	s	d.
Jenkyn Blacklocke	a certaine tenement called the Harlay banke	...	...	0	6	0	2	0	0
John Richeson	Westside	...	...	...	0	4 10	1	4	0
Hugh Hucheson	Essheybanke	...	...	...	0	8 6	2	0	0
Thomas Sparke	the Burnelaw	...	...	...	0	13 4	3	6	8
Richarde Stoute	the Burnelaw hill	...	...	...	0	2 1	0	12	0
Cuthbert Sparke	Huntergap	...	...	...	0	0 8	0	6	0
Matthew Bee	the Hunteroake	...	...	...	0	2 1	0	16	0
Lawrence Wilkynson	a tenement with certaine lande	...	...	...	0	4 2	1	0	0
John Bradwood	Hindlywrea	...	...	...	0	17 7	4	0	0
Thomas Wilson	Hindly hill	...	...	...	0	13 7	3	6	8
Roberte Pierson	Wydele	...	...	...	0	7 6	1	15	0
Leonarde Wilson	the Okepoole	...	...	...	0	4 0	1	0	0
John Heslopp	Frostes hall	...	...	...	0	12 0	3	0	0
Michaell Wilkynson	the halfe of a tenement called the Chappelhouse	...	...	...	0	6 1	1	13	4
Leonarde Wilson	the other haulfe of the Chappel house	...	...	...	0	5 9	1	10	0
Roberte Richeson	Keanly peath	...	...	...	0	3 6	1	0	0
John Heslopp	a tenement beinge parcell also of Keanlie peath	...	...	...	0	1 8	0	10	0

Tenant.		Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Thomas Hutcheson	...	Burnetongues ...	0	18	4	.....	
		wherof he paieth to the grave of Keanly	0	7	4	.....	
		collector of Westall-						
		went ...	0	10	0	.....	
		grave of Catton ...	0	1	0	5	0	0
Hughe Hucheson	...	Hauksteale ...	0	2	0	0	13	4
George Winter	...	a tenement called Hawksteale, parcell of the						
		abouesaide ...	0	2	0	0	13	4
William Ridley	...	Hollingreene ...	0	2	6	0	16	0
Idem	...	Heylees ...	0	2	0	0	12	0
Rowlande Wilson	...	Sparkes loning ...	0	0	3	0	1	8
Christopher Ridley and Lionell								
Ridley	...	the Little Heylees ...	0	2	6	0	13	4
John French	...	a parcell of grounde called the Highefelde,						
		belonginge to the house of the water-						
		meetings ...	0	1	0	0	6	8

Some totall of the yeerlye rent of Keanlye greushipp, £7 16s. 3d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlye values of the coppiholde landes of Keanlye greavshipp above the ouldre rent, £40 16s.

COPYHOLDERS.

HEXHAMSHIRE, parcell of Hexham regaltie :

Roberte Redshawe houldeth certaine landes by coppie of courtroll to him his heires and assignes accordinge to the custome, etc., and paieth yeerlie rent, 9s. Valor annualis vltra redditum, £2 10s.

Tenant.		Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rowlande Nicholson	...	a tenement and the appurtenances ...	0	4	6	1	4	0
John Ogle and his wife Francis								
Ogle	...	a tenement with certaine landes ...	0	4	6	1	4	0
Idem	...	a mill called Whitley mill and a close therto						
		belonginge ...	1	6	8	6	0	0
John Ogle...	...	a certaine messuage called the Neather Mire-						
		house ...	0	2	0	0	13	4
William Dixon	...	a certaine tenement called the Hilhouse ...	0	5	2	1	10	0
William Chester	...	a certain tenement called a Quarter of the Hill	0	2	8	0	16	0
John Hucheson	...	certaine lande beinge the one thirde parte of						
		the Maller Steedes ...	0	4	0	1	6	8
William Ridley of Willement								
Weeke, esquire	...	Harwood Sheel ...	0	12	0	3	0	0
George Ourde	...	the Longlez ...	0	16	0	3	10	0
James Dixon	...	a tenement called the Holmes with thappur-						
		tenances ...	0	8	8	1	16	8
George Ourde	...	certaine land called the Gleandysheele ...	0	1	0	0	6	0
Gawin Swingborne	...	certaine land beinge the one haulfe of Lills-						
		wood ...	0	6	0	2	0	0
Idem	...	a certaine peece of lande called the Loninges...	0	0	8	0	5	0
Edwarde Errington	...	the thirde parte of Eastergrindredge, the thirde						
		parte of Easte and West Newbiggin, the						
		thirde parte of Over Ardley, with other						
		landes and burgages in the towne of Hexham	1	17	1½	10	0	0

SURVEY OF HEXHAM MANOR.

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Tenant.		Holding.						Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
								£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
George Ourde	certaine landes, viz.: a tenement called the Stonehouse, a tenement called the Whitehall, and another tenement called Litteredge	0	10	6	3	0	0	
John Ourde	the Scottfouldes	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	2	13	4	
Richarde Thurlewall	the two thirde partes of Eastergrindredge	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	5	0	0	
Richarde Thurlewall	certaine lande, viz.: two thirde partes of East and West Newbiggin, and the two thirde partes of a water corne mill called Newbiggin mill	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	12	0	0	
Idem	Cockes house	...	...	...	...	0	3	4	1	0	0	
Idem	certaine landes and burgages	...	...	...	...	0	8	8	2	5	0	
Jane Errington	certaine landes called Neather Ardley, the one haulfe of yt with other landes ther	...	...	...	...	0	8	10	2	5	0	
John Thirlewall in the right of his wife	a parcell of Neather Ardley cum aliis	...	...	...	...	0	8	10	2	5	0	
Thomas Humble	the milhouse	...	...	...	...	0	0	8	0	6	8	
George Ogle	a certaine tenement called the Winter house, and another tenement called the Eshills	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	5	0	0	
Lancelott Armstronge	haulfe a tenement called Ourdlaye hall	...	...	...	...	0	13	4	4	0	0	
Robert Armstronge	one quarter of a tenement called Ourdlaye hall	...	...	...	...	0	6	8	2	0	0	
Charles Armstronge and							
Richarde Ridley	the other quarter of Ourdlay hall	...	...	...	...	0	6	8	2	0	0	
William Rowlande	certaine land beinge a quarter of the Hill	...	...	...	...	0	2	8	0	13	4	
Roberte Warde	Over-Ourdley	...	...	...	...	0	14	8	3	0	0	
Roberte Warde	the Neather Rawgreene	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	2	13	4	
Edwarde Armstronge	the Turfehouse	...	...	...	...	0	0	4	0	3	4	
Idem	Lillswood	...	...	...	...	0	6	0	2	0	0	
Elisabeth Liddell	Lillsworth parke	...	...	...	...	0	6	0	2	0	0	
Edwarde Ourde	the Woodside	...	...	...	...	0	9	10	2	13	4	
Reynarde Gibson	certaine lande	...	...	...	...	0	7	2	2	0	0	
John Ridley, of Costley, gentleman	certaine landes, viz.: a demayne called Costley, with the members and appurtenances therof; a water corne mill; a tenement called Hackforde, with the members therof; a tenement called Bagerey, with the appurtenances; a tenement called Longhope, with the appurtenances; and a tenement called Snape, with the members therof, all lyinge in Costley houe, and 7 burgages in Hexham called Costleyrawe, a burgage in St. Marie Chaire, a burgage in Pristpople, a close called the Boutstone leases, withe certaine lande lyinge in the Eastfieldes of Hexham, and certaine lande lyinge in the west fieldes of Hexham, and a close called the Feim	6	0	1½	...	40	0	0

Some totall of the yeerlie rent of Hexhamshire, the coppiholde landes ther, £23 19s. 1d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlye values of the coppiholde lande in Hexamshire above the oulde rente amounteth vnto £135.

COPHOLDERS.

HEXHAM TOWNE, parcell of Hexham regallie :

Hexham TOWNE, parcell of Hexham regalitie :											Yearly Value above Rent		
Tenant,			Holding,			Yearly Rent.							
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
Roberte Johnson	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	10	0	5	0
William Lange	...	...	a small spott of lande	...	...	...	0	2	0	1	8
William Bell	...	...	a parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	9	0	12	0
George Liddell	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
Hector Liddell	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
John Bell	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	3	0	1	8
William Heron, tanner	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	2 ½	0	13	4
Cuthberte Bell	...	...	a burgage with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
Thomas Noble	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	4 ½	0	10	0
Robert Ellwood	...	...	a tenement	...	...	...	0	5	0	2	6
Richarde Gibson	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	3	0	8	0
Richarde Elison	...	...	a tenement and certaine lande	...	...	...	0	2	1	0	0
John Chicken	...	...	certaine land	...	...	...	0	5	0	10	0
George Ourde	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	10	0	6	0
William Liddell	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
Thomas Gibson	...	...	certaine landes	...	...	...	0	8 ½	0	4	0
William Younger	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	0	0	6	8
Anthony Woodman	...	...	a tenement and certaine lande therto	...	...	...	0	1 ½	0	16	8
George Stocoe	...	...	a certaine small peece of lande	...	...	...	0	2	0	1	8
William Littleskill	...	...	a messuage with certaine lande	...	...	...	0	0 ¼	0	10	0
Martin Smith	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	3	0	1	6
Roger Smithe	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	1	0	1	0
John Crosire	...	...	certaine burgage and lande	...	...	...	0	1 ½	0	10	0
George Thompson	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	2	0	1	8
Thomas Browne	...	...	a tenement and a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	11	0	6	0
Thomas Cunningham	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
Thomas Liddell	...	...	a messuage and certaine lande therto	...	...	...	0	0	1	4	0
George Spurnston	...	...	a messuage with certaine lande therto belong- inge	...	...	...	0	3 4	1	0	0
Jane Smithe	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	3	0	1	8
John Sparte	...	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	3 3	1	0	0
Cuthberte Stocoe	...	...	a tenement with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	6	2	0	0
William Smith	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	1 1	0	8	0
Andrew Yealderte	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	0 ½	0	6	8
Pierciuall Armstronge	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	2	0	6	8
George Ourde	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	6	0	3	4
Richarde Gibson	...	...	a tenement and the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	2	1	0	0
Robert Humble	...	...	a small peece of lande	...	...	...	0	1	0	1	0
John Oliuer	...	...	a tenement and certaine land	...	...	...	0	3 10	1	0	0
Richarde Smithe	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	0	9	0	5	0
Edwarde Hirste	...	...	a small parcell of land	...	...	...	0	4	0	2	6
Roberte Ellrington	...	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	3	0	13	4
John Robson	...	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	5	1	0	0
Edmunde Oliuer	...	...	certaine lande	...	...	...	0	0	0	6	8
George Heslopp	...	...	a tenement with the appurtenances	...	...	...	0	4 4	1	0	0
Cuthberte Winter	...	...	certaine landes	...	...	...	0	9	0	5	0
Reynolde Thomson	...	...	a burgage	...	...	...	0	5	0	2	6
John Hucheson	...	...	a small peece of lande	...	...	...	0	5	0	2	6

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
William Sowelbye ...	a small parcell of lande ...	0	0	2	0	1	8
George Henderson...	certaine lande ...	0	0	9½	0	5	0
John Errington ...	one acre of lande ...	0	2	0	0	12	0
Thomas Fenwicke ...	one acre of lande and a halfe ...	0	0	9	0	5	0
Matthew Sowerbye...	two acres and a halfe of lande ...	0	1	0½	0	5	0
Matie Lichman ...	a barne in the hall garthe with the appurtenances ...	0	0	2	0	1	8
Thomas Leadbeater, webster...	certaine lande ...	0	1	3	0	6	8
Lawrence Sowelbye ...	two small parcells of lande...	0	0	3	0	2	0
William Leadbeater, tanner ...	certaine land ...	0	0	8	0	4	0
Richard Leadwood...	a burgage in Hencottes and groundes therto belonginge ...	0	0	9	0	5	0
Matthew Cragge ...	a house in Hencottes and lande therto belonginge ...	0	1	0	0	6	8
Thomas Gibson ...	certaine small parcells of lande by seuerall copies of courtroll ...	0	0	6½	0	3	4
William Armstronge ...	a tenement and certaine lande ...	0	6	11	1	13	4
Robert Jefferson ...	certaine landes ...	0	10	0	2	13	4
Richard Carre ...	certaine landes and burgages ...	0	3	3½	0	13	4
Edithe Oulde ...	certaine landes ...	0	5	10	1	6	8
Roger Walker ...	one acre of land ...	0	0	2½	0	2	0
George Kella ...	certaine landes ...	0	4	6	1	4	0
Roberte Adon ...	certaine land ...	0	2	3	0	12	0
Matthew Gibson ...	certaine landes ...	0	0	4	0	2	8
Roberte Kirsop ...	certaine land ...	0	1	7½	0	10	0
Thomas Kirsop ...	certaine lande ...	0	0	9½	0	5	0
Thomas Wanles and Edithe his wife ...	a certaine tenement and the appurtenances ...	0	2	6	0	13	4
Margarett Gibson ...	certaine lande ...	0	2	0	0	10	0
John Hirte ...	a small spott of land ...	0	0	1	0	1	0
George Thompson ...	certaine lande ...	0	1	0½	0	6	8
Phillipp Thurlewall...	a messuage and certaine lande ...	0	4	4	1	0	0
Richarde Cawarde ...	a roode of lande ...	0	0	2	0	1	4
John Heron ...	a tenement ...	0	0	11	0	6	8
Richarde Harrison ...	certaine lande ...	0	0	6	0	5	0
John Craggell ...	a small peece of lande ...	0	0	1	0	1	0
John Lowes ...	certaine land ...	0	2	0	0	10	0
John Cooke ...	certaine land ...	0	0	2	0	1	8
John Erlington ...	a certaine burgage ...	0	0	8	0	4	6
Nicholas Craine of Crawhall, gentleman ...	certaine landes and burgages ...	1	17	0	6	10	0
William Kirsopp ...	a corne mill ...	0	0	6	0	3	4
Roberte Yealderte ...	a burgage with the appurtenances ...	0	0	5	0	2	6
Roberte Winter ...	certaine land ...	0	3	9	0	13	4
Thomas Sparke ...	certaine landes ...	0	0	5	0	2	6
William Sparke ...	certaine lande ...	0	0	7	0	3	0
Arthure Sparke ...	certaine land ...	0	0	5	0	2	0

Some totall of the yeerlye rent of the coppiholde lande in Hexham towne, £8 8s. 5d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie values of the coppiholde within Hexham towne ys £44 14s.

LEASES.¹

HEXHAM TOWNE, parcell of Hexham regalie :

£ s. d.

Elizabeth Gibson, widdowe, houldeth ther tolles of faires and markettes ther late in the collection of Jefferay Parkinson or his assignes, by letters patents graunted to Edward Gibson for xxjth yeeres, dated vth Julii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxiiijth, and payeth ... 2 13 4
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, £4.

Phillipp Thurlewall houldeth ther a tenement called Yokesley alias Noback now in the occupacion of Gilbert Carnabie, by meane conveyance out of letters patents graunted to Mr. John Warde of Bushopsmidlam, dated xxvjth Maii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxviiijth for xxjth yeeres, and payeth yeerely rent ... 1 0 0
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, £2 10s.

Idem houldeth ther the Pais now in the occupacion of John Stocoe by meane conveyance out of letters patents graunted to John Warde, dated xxvjth Maii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxviiijth for xxjth yeres, and payeth yeerely rent ... 0 5 0
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, 15s.

Edward Armstrang houldeth the other halfe of the Pais late in the occupacion of † Armstrange, his father, by meane conveyance out of letters patents graunted to John Warde, dated xxvjth Maii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxviiijth, for xxjth yeeres, and payeth yeerely rent ... 0 5 0
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, 15s.

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Raphe Errington	a tenement called Harwoodsheles, late in the occupacion of Lancloft Armstrange	0	12	0	1	10	0
Rowland Humble	a tenement called the Hill, late in the occupacion of Thomas Humble, his father	0	2	8	0	10	0
Particulars: one house and a smithie; 2 barnes and a garth; arable land, 8 acres; meadowe ground, 4 acres; common on Dipton on both sides without stinte.							
William Roule	Hole howse, late in the occupacion of William Rowle, his father	0	5	0	0	15	0
Edward Dixon	the Stobbeley, late in the occupacion of Bartholomew Dixon, his father	0	12	0	1	10	0
Rinyon Foster, Thomas Rowlande, and Mathew Foster...	the Overeisheeles, late in the occupacion of †	0	11	0	1	4	0
William Chester, Nicholas Stocoe, Edmund Robinson, and Fortune Rutledge	Greenerigghall	1	4	4	2	6	8
Sir John Fenwick, knight	certaine toftes and crofts within the seale of Hexham, late in the tenure of Sir John Foster	0	3	2	0	6	8
Idem	all those lands and tenements called Proctor's lands, alias Shaftoe's lease, late in the tenure of Sir John Foster	0	8	0	0	13	4

Idem houldeth ther one close called the hall orcharde, containing 7 acres, late in the occupacion of Sir John Foster, by letters patents graunted to John Warde, dated xxvjth Maii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxviiijth, but noe conveyance made as yett, and payeth yeerely rent for the same ... 1 10 0
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, £2.

¹ Each leasehold in this list, except the two last ('the hall orcharde' and 'the mill haughe'), is held 'by meane conveyance out of letters patents granted to John Ward dated xxvjth Maii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxxviiijth, for xxjth yeeres.'
 † Blank in MS.

Yearly Rent.
£ s. d.

Thomas Carnabie houldeth ther a tenement called the Hermitage, late in the tenure of Christopher Charnaby, by letters patents graunted.¹

Sir John Fenwicke, knight, houldeth ther certaine demeane landes called the Mill Haughe, alias Hall Flatt, containing by estimation 32 acres, per annum £3 4s., and certaine landes and meadowe called the Kinge's Haughe, by estimation 14 acres, per annum £1 6s. 8d., and certaine landes and meadowe called the Widehaugh, containing by estimation 15 acres, per annum £1 10s., by meane conveyance out of letters patentes graunted to Sir Robert Carie, knight, dated 30 Januarii, anno 37 Elizabeth, etc., for 21 yeeres, in toto per annum 6 0 8

Valor annualis ultra redditum, £20.

Some totall of the leasholders ther, £15 12s. 2d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie value aboue the oulde rente, £38 15s. 8d.

COPHOLDERS.

EASTALWENTDALE GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regalitie :

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent. £ s. d.	Yearly Value above Rent. £ s. d.
Nicholas Sheele	one tenement with certaine lande therto belonginge called Woye	1 14 8	10 0 0
Idem	a tenement called Skell	1 6 8	5 13 4
John Robinson	one tenement with certaine lande called Buttershell	1 6 0	6 0 0
Richarde Renwicke	a tenement called the Hagge	0 14 0	3 0 0
John Sheele	two tenements called the Holmes and the New Sheele	1 18 4	10 0 0
John Huchinson	a certaine close called the Hollinclose and the greene dike	0 15 8	3 6 8
Thomas Williamson	the one haulfe of a tenement called Studdinge	1 1 5	5 0 0
Cuthbert Hawdon	the other haulfe of the Studdinge	1 3 0	5 0 0
Nicholas Sheele of the Woye	a water corne mill called the kinge's mill	3 6 8	10 0 0
Lionell Hucheson	the Hagburneyeat	0 2 0	0 13 4
Cuthberte Rowle	Peckridinge	0 10 0	2 0 0
Matthew Whitfield	a tenement called Hollinclose	0 2 0	0 13 4
George Rowle	Woodhead	0 1 4	0 10 0
George Heathrington	Whithill	0 2 4	0 13 4
William Rowle	a small parcell of lande	0 0 6	0 3 4
Cuthberte Rowle	another small parcell of land	0 0 6	0 3 4

THE FOREST OF EASTALWENTDALE.

Hugh Dawson	a tenement called Garrattes hill	0 2 0	
	and for common ther	0 0 7	0 16 8
Thomas Williamson	a tenement with certaine land called Harracke	0 7 0	
	and for his common ther	0 1 7	2 0 0
Idem	a tenement called Garrattes hill	0 2 0	
	and for his common there	0 0 7	1 0 0
Hughe Hucheson	Syndrop, and for common of pasture ther, in toto	0 8 3	2 0 0
William Hucheson	Sindropsheel, and for the common	0 4 1½	1 4 0
Mabell Sparke	Brodgatched, and for common of pasture ther	0 4 1½	1 4 0
Thomas Robinson	Shiptonsheel, and for common of pasture ther	0 8 0	2 0 0

¹ Crossed off. By the entry is written 'This parcell is entred in fol. 75.'

Tenant.		Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Thomas Williamson	...	Tedsam ... ..	...	0	1 11			
		and for the common of pasture	...	0	1 2	1	0	0
Thomas Stoute	...	Spartlee ... ..	...	0	5 0			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	2 0	2	0	0
Henrye Robinson	...	a tenement called Netherelsopp and the Water-house ... ..	...	0	5 3			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	1 6	1	16	8
Christopher Carro	...	Ellersope ... ..	...	0	2 3			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	1 1	1	0	0
George Carro	...	Ellersopegreene, and for common	...	0	0 8	0	5	0
Cuthberte Hawdon	...	Whithill ... ..	...	0	4 0			
		and for his common of pasture ther	...	0	1 10	1	5	0
Thomas Burdus	...	Peasemeddowes ... ..	...	0	3 6			
		and for common of pasture...	...	0	1 11	1	6	8
George Burdus	...	Ray vp haugh, and for common	...	0	0 6	0	3	4
Cuthbert Hawdon	...	half a tenement called Dirtpotsheelee, and for common of pasture	...	0	1 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	10	0
Thomas Todd	...	the other haulfe of Dirtpotsheelee, and for common	...	0	1 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	10	0
Matthew Bee	...	two tenements called Redburneshell and Rakkeshell ... ..	...	0	7 0			
		and for common of pasture	...	0	2 2	2	13	4
John Featherston	...	Medlopgreenes ... ..	...	0	1 4			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	16	8
Thomas Steuenson	...	Medlopgreenes ... ..	...	0	2 9			
		and for the common of pasture	...	0	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	0
William Reddome	...	Stripsell ... ..	...	0	2 0			
		and for the common of pasture	...	0	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0
William Younger	...	Scottes meadowes ... ..	...	0	4 7			
		and paieth for common	...	0	2 0	1	10	0
John Stoute	...	Huntwell ... ..	...	0	4 6			
		and for the common ther	...	0	2 0	1	10	0
William Younger	...	two tenementes called Overcattonhill and Neather Cattonhill ... ..	...	0	7 0			
		and for the common ther	...	0	2 0	2	6	8
Thomas Williamson	...	Whiterigshell ... ..	...	0	3 4			
		and for common of pasture...	...	0	1 4	1	3	4
Matthew Pattison	...	Harrake ... ..	...	0	5 0			
		and for common of pasture...	...	0	2 2	1	16	4
John Stubbes	...	haulfe a tenement called Halfamegreene, and for common	...	0	2 6	0	13	4
George Dawson	...	the other haulfe of Halfamegreene, and for his common	...	0	2 6	0	13	4
Henrie Faraler	...	the two thirde partes of a tenement called the blacke Cleugh ... ..	...	0	2 0			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	15	0
William Robinson	...	the one thirde parte of a tenement called the blacke Cleugh ... ..	...	0	1 0			
		and for his common of pasture	...	0	0 7	0	8	6

Tenant.		Holding.				Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Christopher Bee	Overswinnopshell...	...	...	...	0	4	0			
			and for his common of pasture	...	...	...	0	1	4	1	10	0
Henry Sheele	Swinnopshell	...	...	...	0	10	0			
			and for the common ther	...	...	...	0	2	0	3	10	0
William Farraler	Broomeknott	...	...	...	0	7	2			
			and for the common of pasture	...	...	...	0	2	6	2	6	8
Christopher Rood	Knockburne	...	...	...	0	3	4	0	16	8
Margarett Rowle	the Rowndetreestob	...	...	...	0	3	4	1	0	0
Christopher Roddam	Overacton	...	...	...	0	11	8			
			and for the common of pasture	...	...	...	0	2	6			
			and for another parcell of Overacton	...	...	...	0	1	0	4	0	0
John Hucheson	Neatheracton	...	...	...	0	11	6			
			and for his common of pasture	...	...	...	0	2	6	3	10	0
Leonard Sheele	Overhuntroud	...	...	...	0	5	0			
			and for his common of pasture	...	...	...	0	1	3	1	13	4
John Hucheson	Neatherhuntroud	...	...	...	0	5	0			
			and paieth for common of pasture	...	...	...	0	1	6	1	15	0
Matthew Roddam	haulfe of a tenement called the Dryeside	...	...	...	0	2	9			
			and for the common of pasture	...	...	...	0	0	8	1	0	0
Hugh Hucheson	the other haulfe of Dryeside	...	...	...	0	2	9			
			and for the common of pasture	...	...	...	0	0	8	1	0	0
Richarde Pierson	Whithill bogge	...	...	...	0	1	0	0	8	0
William Hucheson	Walde	...	...	...	0	1	4	0	10	0
Matthew Bee	Owsledalles	...	...	...	0	3	4	1	0	0
Edwarde Tyngate, clerke	Enstlegreenes	...	...	...	0	4	0	1	5	0
William Wallis	certaine groundes called Studdermeadowes	...	...	...			
			and Berkifield	...	...	...	0	5	0	1	10	0
Hugh Sheele	one Walkemill standinge in the Burnefoote,	...	...	...	0	2	0	0	13	4
			commonlye called the Walkemill	...	...	...			
Cuthbert Hawdon	a Watercornemill, but at present noughte	...	...	...			
			worthe by reason the water is turned from yt	...	...	...			
			by Hughe Sheele out of the ould race	...	...	...	0	5	0	1	10	0
The tenantes and occupiers of the groves or mines of leade houlde the same by lease expired accordinge to the custome as they nowe claime it, and pay												
yeerly rent	1	6	8	2	3	4

Some totall of the coppiholde rents within Eastalwentdale, £26 6s. 4d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerly value therof above the old rente is £128 5s. 11d.

The rent of the grooves of lead ther is £1 6s. 8d.

The cleere yeerlie value therof, £2 3s. 4d.

			£	s.	d.		Value above the ould Rent.		
			£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Coppihold rent	...	...	26	06	04	...	128	05	11
Groove rent	...	...	01	06	08	...	2	03	4
			27	13	00	...	130	09	3

NINEBANKES GREAVSHIP CUM WESTALWENTDALE, parcell of Hexham regalitie:

Matthew Bee, gentleman, houldeth ther by coppie of courtroll to him his heires and assignes, accordinge to the custome, etc., all these seuerall tenementes vnder these seuerall rentes, and paieth yeerlie for the whole

... .. 9 16 4

Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
The demeanse and water corne mill of Ninebankes	2	16	10	13	6	8	Whittle sheele ...	...	0	6	3	1	10	0
The Esshes	0	17	5	4	0	The Dikenewke ...	...	0	1	5	0	8	0
The Whamlandes	0	5	0	1	10	Karsheele ...	...	0	4	6	1	6	8
Middlecott	0	1	8	0	10	Smailebornes ...	...	0	7	8	2	3	4
Yeathowse	0	4	8	1	6	Farnesheelles ...	...	0	3	4	1	0	0
Britten peth	0	3	8	1	0	Harslawe ...	...	0	7	4	2	0	0
Birkhott	0	3	8	1	0	The Newke ...	...	0	6	4	1	15	0
Drye borne	0	4	6	1	6	Brodley ...	...	0	5	7	1	10	0
Cheirheards	0	2	6	0	10	The Middle ...	...	0	6	8	2	0	0
Spartiwell	0	2	5	0	12	Heslewells ...	...	0	13	10	3	10	0
Baitshill	0	2	4	0	12	Appletree sheele...	...	0	2	0	0	13	0
Farneside	0	6	7	1	16	Mouphead ...	...	0	3	1	0	18	0
Giercotes	0	4	2	1	4	Lighte sheele ...	...	0	2	0	0	13	4
Wolfe Cleugh	0	5	10	1	10	The moitye of Moupe	...	0	2	11	0	16	8
							The Whitstone ...	...	0	2	2	0	12	0

Some totall of the values above the old rent, £51 os. 8d.

Totus valor annualis vltra redditum omnium tenementorum in tenura Matthei Bee, patet.

COPYHOLDERS.

WEASTALWENTDALE CUM NINEBANKES, parcell of Hexham regalie :

UNREGISTERED FREE COMMONABLES, parish of Tuxham Regardle.										Yearly Value above Rent.		
Tenant.		Holding.				Yearly Rent.						
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
William Kinleyside...	...	a tenement called Kinleyside hill				...	0	13	8	4 0 0		
Mr. Francis Whitfield	and											
Elizabeth Stocoe	...	a tenement called Corry hill				...	0	2	6	0 15 0		
Christopher Baitson	...	Greenlaw	...	...	...	...	0	3	5	0 18 0		
William Bee	...	...	Tailerborne	...	...	...	0	8	0	2 0 0		
Idem	...	...	the moitie of a tenement called Woodmosse									
		walles	...	...	...	...	0	3	0	0 18 0		
Marmaduke Baitson	...	the other haulfe of the Woodmosse				...	0	3	0	0 18 0		
George Phillipson	...	...	Neather Limstonbrey	...	...	...	0	6	6	1 13 4		
William Stoute	...	...	Over Limstonbrey	...	...	...	0	3	8	1 0 0		
George Whitfield	...	...	Turner sheele	...	...	...	0	5	0	1 10 0		
Matthew Frawler	...	...	Hartecleugh	...	...	...	0	6	4	1 15 0		
William Lee	...	...	Whittle sheele	...	...	...	0	7	1	1 15 0		
John Jackson	...	...	Blackecleugh	...	...	...	0	2	2	0 13 4		
William Stubbes	...	...	Westerbradley	...	...	...	0	6	4	1 16 0		
Nicholas Robinson	...	...	Bradley	...	...	...	0	6	1	1 15 0		
Lawrence Wilkenson	...	the moitie of a tenement called Moupe				...	0	2	1	0 12 0		
James Wilkenson	...	...	Reddheugh	...	...	...	0	8	8	2 10 0		
William Moore	...	...	Furnes house	...	...	...	0	3	5	1 0 0		
Agnes Harrison	...	...	a tenement called the Kirsleywell			...	0	8	0	2 5 0		
Thomas Owston	...	...	Kersleyrawe	...	...	...	0	6	0	1 13 4		
Francis Whitfield	...	...	Hartopley	...	...	...	1	0	11	4 10 0		

Some totall of the yeerlye rente of coppihold lande in Westallwentdale, etc., £16 2s. 2d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie value of the coppihold landes in Westallwentdale, with the greaushipp of Ninebankes above the ould rente, £84 17s. 8d.

COPPIHOLDERS IN WALL.

WALL GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regallitie :

Tenant.		Holding.		Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
George Kell	...	certaine lande	...	0	14	2	1	10	0
Edwarde Kell of the Hill	...	certaine lande	...	0	3	4	0	10	0
Edwarde Kell of the Staire	...	a messuage and the lande therto belonginge	...	1	1	0	2	5	0
Thomas Storye	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	0	14	6	1	10	0
George Kell	...	certaine lande in the Chairhead	...	0	4	0	0	12	6
Edwarde Kell	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	0	15	9	1	16	8
William Lee	...	certaine landes in Wall and a tenement	...	1	6	3	3	0	0
John Gibson	...	a small tenement	...	0	5	3	0	15	0
Rowland Kell	...	a tenement	...	0	18	5	1	15	0
Heires of Thomas Yealderte...	...	certaine lande	...	0	1	5	0	5	0
George Kell of the Hall pool...	...	a certaine water corne mill...	...	0	10	0	5	0	0
Idem	...	a small parcell of lande	...	0	0	6	0	2	6

Some totall of the yeerlie rent of the coppiholders of Wall, £6 14s. 7d.

Some totall of the cleere yearly values of the coppihold landes in Wall about the rent, £19 1s. 8d.

CUSTOMARY TENANTES AND CHECQUER RENTES.

WALL GREAVSHIP, parcell of Hexham regallitie :

George Kell of the Hallpoole houldeth ther a tenement with thappurtenances by claime of ancient custome and tenantright to him his heires and assignes for euer et reddit per annum 1 1 0

Valor annualis ultra redditum, £2 5s.

Tenant.		Holding.		Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Edwarde Errington	...	a tenement with certaine landes therto belonginge	...	1	1	0	2	6	8
Idem	...	another tenement with the appurtenances	...	0	11	2	1	6	8
The heires of Thomas Yealdert	...	a messuage and certaine lande	...	0	14	0	1	13	4
Edwarde Kell of the Hill	...	a tenement with certaine lande	...	0	5	8	0	16	8
John Gibson	...	a small parcell of lande	...	0	1	1	0	3	6
Gerrarde Kell	...	a messuage and the lande therto belonginge	...	1	1	0	2	5	0
Edwarde Dawson	...	a tenement and certaine lande	...	0	14	0	1	3	4
Idem	...	certaine landes	...	1	1	0	2	5	0
George Kell of the Chaireheade	...	a messuage and the lande therto belonginge	...	0	10	6	1	6	8
Edwarde Kell of the Chaire	...	certaine lande	...	0	5	3	0	15	0
Agnes Robinson	...	certaine lande	...	0	6	6	1	0	0
Theires of Richarde Armstronge	...	certaine lande	...	0	5	3	0	15	0
Margarett Cleugh	...	a certaine tenement	...	0	5	3	0	15	
Jane the wife of William Robinson, daughter and heire of Rowlande Dawson	...	certaine lande	...	0	15	9	1	16	8

Some totall of the yeerlie rents of the customarye and checquer lands, £8 18s. 5d.

Some of the coppiholde rente as aforesaid, £6 14s. 7d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie values of the customarye lands in Wall with the checker rente aboute the oulde rente, £20 13s. 6d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie value of the coppiholde land of Wall greveshipp aboute the oulde rent, £19 1s. 8d.

COPPIHOLDERS.

ACOMBE GREAVESHIPP, parcell of Hexham regalitie :

Tenant.						Holding.			Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
									£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
John Lee	...	...	...	certaine landes	...	...	...	...	0	5	1	1	0	0
John Chicken	...	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	0	5	0	2	0
John Hucheson	...	...	...	a certaine parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	0	10	0	3	4
Rowlande Smithe	...	...	...	a small peece of lande	...	...	...	...	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	0
Matthew Fenwicke	...	...	...	houldeth ther in the right of Isabell his wife and Agnes Carnabie	...	...	...	...	0	5	1	1	0	0
her sister	...	...	...	a certaine tenement	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0	5	0
Richarde Armstronge	...	...	...	certaine parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0	5	0
John Armstronge of the Boat-house	...	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	1	0	0	5	6
Idem	...	...	...	the ferryboat to passe the water of Tyne, called the Eastbote	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	10	0
Roberte Armstronge	...	...	...	certaine lande called Chalmers Close	...	...	...	...	0	2	0	0	10	0
Thomas Carnabye	...	...	...	One acre of lande in Acombe haughe	...	...	...	...	0	0	4	0	2	6
Thomas Errington, gentleman of Bucliffe	...	...	...	the haulfe of a certaine tenement with the appurtenances called Buckliffe	...	...	...	...	0	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	13	4
Raphe Errington of Buckliffe, gentleman, sonne to Gilberte Errington of Cocklawe	...	...	...	the other haulfe of Buckliffe	...	...	...	...	0	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	13	4
John Ridley of Slaterfield	...	...	...	a tenement and certaine lande	...	...	...	...	0	9	4	1	10	0
William Armstronge	...	...	...	a certaine mill called Acombe mill	...	...	...	...	0	3	4	0	12	8

Some totall of the tenantes by coppie in Acombe, £3 11s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Some totall of the cleere yerlic values about the rent of the coppihold landes in Acombe amounteth to £10 9s. 8d.

CUSTOMARVE TENANTES IN ACOMBE.

John Lee houldeth ther a tenement by claime of ancient custome and tenantrighte to him his heires and assignes for euer, and paieth yerlic rent for the same ... 0 5 0
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, 10s.

Tenant.						Holding.			Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
									£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Perciuall Armstronge	...	...	...	a messuage withe the appurtenances	...	...	...	...	0	11	3	1	0	0
Sampson Huchinson	...	...	...	a small tenement	...	...	...	...	0	2	6	0	6	8
Robert Armstronge the younger	...	...	...	a tenement with the appurtenances	...	...	...	...	0	18	9	2	0	0
Roberte Armstronge thelder...	...	...	...	a tenement with certaine lande	...	...	...	...	0	2	9	0	6	8
Robert Spaine	...	...	...	a tenement and certaine lande therto belonginge	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	3	4
Roberte Huchinson	...	...	...	a tenement with the appurtenances	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Thomas Smith	...	...	...	a tenement and the landes therto belonginge...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Thomas Lee	...	...	...	a tenement and the lande therto belonginge	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	10	0
John Chicken	...	...	...	a messuage with the appurtenances	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Rowlande Rea	...	...	...	a messuage cum pertinenciis	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	2	6
George Armstronge	...	...	...	a tenement	...	...	...	...	0	7	6	0	15	0
Arthure Lee	...	...	...	a parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	1	3	0	5	0
Thomas Spaine	...	...	...	a small parcell of lande	...	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Roberte Armstronge sonne to George Armstronge	a tenement	0	5	0	0	10	0

SURVEY OF HEXHAM MANOR.

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Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
John Charlton ...	a tenement ...	0	2	6	0	6	8
William Lee ...	a messuage with the appurtenances ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Richarde Lee ...	a tenement with certaine lande therto belonginge ...	0	10	0	1	4	0
Edwarde Ridley ...	certaine lande ...	0	2	6	0	6	8
William Kell ...	a tenement and certaine land ...	0	12	6	1	6	8
William Smith ...	a tenement with the appurtenances ...	0	10	0	1	1	0
Roberte Chicken ...	a tenement with the appurtenances ...	0	17	6	2	0	0
Beniamin Woodrington ...	a tenement with certaine lande therto ...	0	16	3	2	0	0
John Hemsley ...	a tenement with the lande therto belonginge ...	1	3	0	2	6	8
Roberte Armstronge thelder...	a tenement with the appurtenances ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Matthew Armstronge ...	a tenement with the landes therto belonginge ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Richarde Lee ...	certaine lande ...	0	2	6	0	6	8
Gerrarde Armstronge ...	a messuage and the appurtenances ...	1	0	3	2	0	0
George Heslopp ...	a messuage and the appurtenances ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Nicholas Lee ...	a tenement and certaine landes therto belong- inge ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Roberte Pierson ...	a tenement with certaine landes therto belong- inge ...	0	17	6	2	0	0
Michaell Kell ...	a tenement with the appurtenances ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
John Chicken ...	a tenement and certaine lande ...	0	15	0	1	10	0
Richarde Armstronge ...	a small parcell of lande ...	0	0	3	0	1	8

All the tenaunts there claime to houlde ther by ancient custome the herbage of the Akewood for which they paie yeerlie vnto his majestie, £2.

Valor annualis vltra redditum, £2.

Whereof the towne of Anwicke paieth yeerlye, 13s. 4d.; the curate of St. John Lees paieth yeerlye, 4s.;

George Armstronge paieth yeerlye, 8d.; Thomas Carnabye of the Hermitage, 3s. 4d.

Tenant.	Holding.	Yearly Rent.			Yearly Value above Rent.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The lady Carnaby ...	a part of the Akewood ...	1	0	0	1	0	0
Thomas Carnaby of the Hermitage ...	a water corne mill latelie erected ...	0	3	4	0	10	0

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie values of the customarie lande in Acombe amounteth to £44 9s. 2d. above the olde rent.

Totus redditus cust., £22 12s. 1d.

TENANTES BY LEASE.

LEASERS IN ACOMBE GREAVSHIP, in Hexham regalitie :

		£ s. d.		
Thomas Carnabye, gentleman, houldeth a tenement called the Hermitage ther and two closes, beinge parcell of the Akewood, by vertue of a lease not shoven vnto vs, and paieth yeerlie rent ...	...	0	14	8

Valor annualis vltra redditum, £2 13s. 4d.

xviij yeeres to come.

Idem houldeth ther a certaine peece of lande called Gouldye close, the one haulfe beinge meadowe and thother haulfe arrable lande, by lease not shoven vnto vs, paieth yeerly ...

Valor annualis vltra redditum, 13s. 4d.

xviij yeeres to come.

Gilbert Errington, esquire, houldeth the colemine of Codden by lease expired, and paieth yeerlie rent ...

Valor annualis vltra redditum, 10s.

William Selbye, gentleman, houldeth ther the townshippe of Hallendon with thap-
 purtenances by lease not shoven vnto vs, and paieth yeerlie rent £ 7 13 4
 Valor annualis vltra redditum, £24.
 xij yeeres to come.

William Shaftoe houldeth in Thockrington certaine demaine landes by an ancient
 lease graunted to Cuthbert Shaftoe from the cardinall bearinge date xxixth Septembris
 anno ix^o, Henrici viii^{ti} for lxxxxix^{teen} yeeres, with a proviso of discountinge suche yeeres
 wherein ther shoulde happen to be warres bewixt the kingdomes of Englande and Scottlande
 payeth yeerly £5, wherby all, or moste parte of the landes lie waste, then to pay £4 per
 annum and that yeere not to be counted as parcell of the lease.

Particular: A dwellinge house with a garthe and outhowes; a close called the Hall
 close, containing 12 acres meadow; a close called the Battes, containing about 12 acres
 arrable; in the common fieldes of Thockrington, 20 acres pasture; two closes on the west
 side of the towne, 10 acres. Total, 54 acres.

Valor annualis vltra redditum, £10.

Whole rent of these leaseholders, £14 2s. 8d.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlie values of the leased lande aboue saide aboue the old
 rent, amounteth to the somme of £37 16s. 8d.

COPHOLDERS.

EASTERRINGTON, KEPWICKE, AND HESELDEN:

EASTERRINGTON, KEPWICKE, AND HESELDEN :										Yearly Value above Rent.		
Tenant,			Holding,			Yearly Rent.						
						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Isabell Carnabye alias Fenwicke and Agnes Carnabye, her sister, daughters and heires of John Carnabye ...			The villages of Est Errington and Kepwicke cum Kepwicke mill			...	14	14	0	53	6	8
Thomas Errington, of the Hirste, gentleman, and John Errington ...			certaine landes with the appurtenances called Hesselden			...	0	15	0	2	10	0

Memorandum: one Rafe Errington, gentleman, sonne of Thomas Errington, gentleman, deceased,
 maketh claime vnto this land of Hesselden, and ther for he showeth a late coppie dated xiiijth Octobris,
 anno 1606, et regni Regis Jacobi, etc., quarto, etc., with this clause of salvo iure cuiuscumque.

Some totall of the yeerly rente of Esterrington, Kepwicke, and Heselden, beinge copiholde lande, £15 9s.

Some totall of the cleere yeerlye valew of the same, aboue the oulde rente, £55 16s. 8d.

FEES AND DEDUCTIONS yeerlye paide and issuinge out of this mannor of Hexham.		£	s.	d.
Roger Woodrington, gentleman, at this present in banishment, is bailiffe ther by patent, and is allowed yeerly for his fee		13	6	8
Idem is stewarde ther by patent alsoe, and is allowed yeerlie for the fee of the steward- shippe		6	13	4
Richarde Thurlwall is receavor ther by patent, and hathe yeerlie allowed him for his fee therof somme of		6	13	4
John Littlekill is sargeant ther, to arrest, etc., by patent, and hathe yeerlie allowed him fee Idem is jaylor ther alsoe, by patent, and hathe yeerlie fee allowed him for the same the somme of		1	6	8
Richarde Parker is clarke of the mannor ther by patent, and hath yeerlie fee allowed him Idem is forrester ther by patent, and hathe fee		0	13	4
Idem is collector of Newlandes and Rowlye warde by patent, and hathe yeerlie fee allowed him		3	0	8
For two dinners ther is yeerlye allowed vnto the bailiffe the somme of		1	6	8
Somme totall of the fees and yeerlie deductions, £36 7s. 4d.				

THE GENERALL CONCLUSION OF THE MANNOR OF HEXHAM,
COPHOLDERS.

				Rente.			Value above the ould Rente.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Alwenton copiholde rentes	...	...	...	6	07	11	40	15	02
Catton copiholde rentes	...	...	...	11	09	10	64	07	04
Keanlye copiholde rentes	...	...	...	7	16	03	40	16	00
Hexhamshire copiholde rentes	...	...	...	23	19	01	135	00	00
Hexhamtowne copihold	...	...	...	8	08	05	44	14	00
Eastalwendale copihold, etc.	...	...	...	26	06	04	128	05	11
Westalwendale copihold	...	...	...	16	02	02	84	17	08
Wall copiholde rentes...	...	...	...	6	14	07	19	01	08
Acombe copihould rentes	...	...	...	3	11	01½	10	09	08
Esterrington, Kepwicke, etc.	...	...	...	15	09	00	55	16	08
				126	04	08½	624	04	01

LEASEHOULDERS AND CUSTUMARY TENANTS.

				Rents.			Value above the ould Rente.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Free rentes within the regalitie...	...	...	...	2	17	05	00	00	00
Hexham leasers	...	...	...	15	12	02	38	15	08
Eastalwendale grooves	...	...	...	1	06	08	2	03	04
Wall customary tenants	...	...	...	8	18	05	20	13	06
Acombe customary tenants	...	...	...	22	12	01	44	09	02
Acombe leaseholde rents	...	...	...	14	02	08	37	16	08
				65	09	05	143	18	04
				126	04	08½	624	04	01

Total rents 191 14 01½ 768 02 05
Per Barth: Haggatt, superuisor.

NEW RENTES.

Hughe Sheele houldeth ther one watercorne mill, erected within his majesties mannor of Hexham, for which was never answered any rent. Valet 0 3 4

Idem houldeth ther one other watercorne mill, latelie erected, called the New mill, of xxxij yeeres standinge or therabouts, built within his majesties mannor of Hexham, and neuer paid any rent for the same. Valet per annum 0 5 0

John Hucheson houldeth ther one watercorne mill, called Acton mill, of xlv yeeres standinge or therabouts, built within his majesties mannor of Hexham, and payeth yeerlye rent for the same 0 0 8

Valor annualis vltra redditum, 3s. 4d.

Cuthbert Hawdon houldeth ther a watercorne mill called Cattonlee mill, builte within his majesties mannor of Hexham, and payeth yeerlie rent for the same the somme of five shillinges per annum 0 5 0

Valor annualis vltra redditum, £1 10s., but at present not worth anythinge by reason one Hugh Sheele hath turned away the watercourse where yt hath runne

these xli^{ie} yeeres and vpwardes.

Christopher Bee houldeth ther a watercorne mill of xxj yeeres standinge or therabouts, built vpon his majesties mannor of Hexham, but never paid any rent for the same. Valet per annum 0 3 4

	£	s.	d.
William Hucheson houldeth ther a fullinge mill of about vj yeeres standing, built within his majesties mannor of Hexham, but neuer paid rent. Valet	0	2	6
Thomas Bee houldeth ther one other fullinge mill ther of about vj yeeres standinge, but neuer paide rent for the same. Valet per annum	0	3	4
Thomas Carnabye of the Hermitage hathe latelie erected ther a watercorne mill ther, and payeth yeerlye rent for the same	0	3	4
William Kirsop houldeth in Dipton, within the mannor of Hexham, a watercorne mill called Whinety mill, new erected, and rented per annum	0	0	6

Valor annualis ultra redditum, £2.

Within the towne of Hexham ther hath bene by auncient custome a toll of a certaine small quantitie of corne taken vpon every sacke of corne in the markett. In consideracion of clensinge and keepinge of the streetes cleane by the skeldraker, who is bounde therby to keepe the markett place cleane, and every yeere to pave c yardes of casway, either within the towne or in the highe wayes without the towne. The sayd skeldrakers office is now enioyed by Mary Lishman, widdowe, William Noble, John Perkinson, and Richard Cunigham, was never in charge before, but is yeerly worth to be lett 0 3 4
per Barth. Haggatt, superuisor.

Memorandum : The mannor or regaltie of Hexham, with the members therof, hathe ancientlye beene belonginge vnto the archbisshoppricke of Yorke, and came vnto the crowne by exchange, betweene Kinge Henrye the Eight and the cardinall, then archbisshopp of Yorke, and soe hathe remayned in the crowne ever since.

All the coppihoulde and custumarie tenantes ther clayme their landes as coppiholders of inheritance to them, their heires and assignes, accordinge to the custome, for rent, fine, and border service.

Their fines they pretende to be certaine, viz., one yeeres rent at everye change of tenant, but not herriotable.

They haue ther, for certaine, verie ancient evidences and courtrolls, but they woulde not shoue them vnto us, nor any of their coppies.

Their fines, issues, amerciaments of court, etc., are collected by Roger Woodrington, their bailiffe, or his deputie, who hathe the same graunted him by patent as is saide, but wee rather beleeeve the contrarye, viz., that he ought to account for them to his majestie. Sir John Fenwicke, knight, is stewarde ther at present. Ther are noe parkes or game within the regaltie of Hexham.



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL

HEXHAM BOROUGH.

THE CHURCH AND PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW.

It is a matter of some interest that the foundation of the church at Hexham took place not long after the synod of Whitby. At this important meeting, held in the year 664, the long pending struggle between Latin and Celtic Christianity was at length fought out and decided. Wilfrid, as the champion of the Roman church, had on this occasion won a complete victory, and Colman retired from Lindisfarne to his island home in Iona. Not long after this, Wilfrid founded a church at Ripon, but in the year 674 an even more favourable opportunity presented itself for celebrating and consolidating his triumph.

Ecgfrid, the reigning king of Northumbria, had married Etheldrid, daughter of Ine, king of the East Angles. The southern queen, reared in the traditions of Latin Christianity, would naturally turn instinctively towards its recognised champion in the north, preferring the successor of Paulinus to the disciples of Aidan. Her first inclinations speedily ripened into the warmest friendship and regard, feelings which Wilfrid's strong and noble personality might well be expected to inspire. Proofs of her esteem were not long wanting, for in the year 674 above mentioned she gave to Wilfrid out of her dower a grant of land, comprising in all probability the whole of the district known later as the regality of Hexham.¹ Wilfrid, whose numerous resources had been thus suddenly increased, resolved to gratify his love of architecture and prove his affection for the queen his mistress by raising a noble edifice, which by its Italian grace and beauty should stand as a lasting monument to the superior culture and power of the Roman church.²

It was in the fortieth year of his age that Wilfrid set about the erection of this his greatest architectural work. Of its form and plan we unfortunately know but little, in spite of two independent descriptions given by Eddi and Prior Richard. Overcome by the greatness and magnificence of their subject our authorities only indulge in vague generalities, and where we could wish for a detailed description only afford us a shadowy outline.³

¹ *Prior Richard* (printed by Surt. Soc. vol. 44), bk. i. cap. v.

² *Ibid.* bk. i. cap. ii.

³ *Ibid.* bk. i. cap. iii. Rolls series, *Historians of York*, i. Eddi, cap. xxii.

The new church was built after the Roman fashion, and was probably in the form of a basilica. The features which most impressed our historians were its large proportions, its polished stones, its fine arcades, its paintings and decorations, and its crypt or crypts with a network of passages designed for the safety of its clergy. Nor were the accessories neglected. Wilfrid supplied his new church with all that was required in vestments, plate, and relics; a cemetery was enclosed by thick walls that might serve for defensive purposes, and water was brought to the site by means of an aqueduct of earthenware pipes.¹ No such church, as Eddi enthusiastically observed, could be seen on this side of the Alps.²

Small wonder, then, that the Hexham monks looked with peculiar pride upon their church. Prior Richard even goes so far as to say that Wilfrid intended to resign his see of York, and devote himself entirely to Hexham, not only because Pope Agatho had forbidden a priest to hold more than one benefice, but because he sought in Hexham a quiet that he could not obtain in his former see.³ In this statement we can but think that Richard allowed himself to be led astray by his prejudices. Nevertheless it is certain that Wilfrid cherished a peculiar affection for this, the latest of his creations. Not only had he adorned it with all the resources of his art, not only did he endow it richly with all the wealth churchmen then most rejoiced to possess, but he consecrated it in honour of his own patron saint, St. Andrew, from whom he believed he had miraculously received increased intellectual powers.⁴ In the right of sanctuary the church received a new and important privilege, and for a distance of one mile in every direction men might rely upon the protection of its saints. Moreover Wilfrid set himself with such vigour to the work of construction, that notwithstanding the unusual vastness of his task and the large scale upon which it was planned, together with its wealth of ornament, he completed the building within a period of four years. The work had been begun in 674, and it seems that it was completed by 678.

If Wilfrid had come to Hexham in order to enjoy quiet and rest he was doomed to disappointment. At the end of the four years of busy work on his

¹ About the middle of the present century some pipes were found lying *in situ* near the manor office. Dr. Bruce considered them to be Roman, but the presumption is that they were put in by Wilfrid, who is known to have employed Italian workmen. Two of these pipes are now in the cathedral library at Durham.

² *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. iii.; Eddi, cap. xxii.; Rolls Series, *Symeon of Durham*, ii. p. 52, *Lanercost Chron.* p. 175.

³ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.* cap. iii. *cf.* Eddi, cap. v.

new church he found himself deprived of his protectress, Queen Etheldrid, and was once more forced to wander a homeless exile. The cause of the change was as follows: Queen Etheldrid, being under a vow to preserve her virginity, and desiring nothing so much as to live a saintly life, persistently refused the repeated solicitations of her husband. In this resolution she was fortified by the support of Wilfrid, who heartily approved of her action. At last becoming exasperated at so obstinate a resistance King Ecgfrid resolved to divorce his wife and marry another who would be more compliant. Etheldrid retired to the monastery of Coldingham, and the king wedded Ermenburg.

Wilfrid's power could not fail to be shaken by this change. King Ecgfrid had offered him money and lands if he would prevail upon the late queen to break her vow, but Wilfrid remained immovable, and the king well knew how much he owed to his opposition. The influence of the new queen only added fuel to Ecgfrid's resentment. Ermenburg felt jealous of Wilfrid's great power and influence, and she longed to ruin him.¹ An opportunity soon presented itself. Archbishop Theodore, who had been sent to fill the see of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian, came to England determined to thoroughly organise the English church under the head of one metropolitan. The see of York, however, presented the chief obstacle to his designs. It had become so powerful under Wilfrid, and its importance had been so much increased by the building of the church at Hexham that it threatened to become equal to the see of Canterbury. It was Theodore's determination, however, to reduce it to subjection to his own diocese. He therefore willingly accepted an invitation from King Ecgfrid to come and deal with the northern bishopric. Following the plan he had adopted in the other Saxon kingdoms, Theodore agreed with King Ecgfrid to divide Northumbria into the three dioceses of Deira, Bernicia, and Lindsey. York was made the see of Deira, and Hexham or Lindisfarne became the ecclesiastical capital of Bernicia. Bosa was consecrated to the former and Eata to the latter. Wilfrid was not present at the council at which these great alterations were made, but when he had been informed of their extent he strenuously protested. When he demanded of Theodore for what crime he had been thus despoiled, the archbishop was bound to admit Wilfrid's

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. ii.; *Beda, Hist. Eccles.* bk. iv. cap. xii.; *Eddi*, cap. xxiv. *Rolls series, A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 33.

innocence, and could plead nothing but expediency to justify the steps he had taken. Wilfrid, however, would not accept the position assigned to him. He considered himself to have been wantonly robbed; he rose in revolt against such an iniquitous administration of justice, and resolving to lay his cause before the pope, departed into Italy.¹

Eata, who was thus left in undisputed possession of the diocese of Bernicia, had been one of the twelve boys selected and educated by Aidan in the Christian faith. As a boy he had shown good parts, and was docile and humane. In riper years he possessed the same gentle qualities, and was patient, affable, and genial with all men. His first important office in the church was at Melrose, where he was abbot, and among his pupils were such men as Boisil and the renowned Cuthbert. Upon Colman's defeat at Whitby and his departure to Iona Eata had succeeded him at Lindisfarne; and it is a curious coincidence that he also should have been the one who profited by the fall of the man who had done the most to overthrow Colman's system.² When he formed the new diocese of Bernicia Theodore does not seem to have clearly decided whether the episcopal see should be at Hexham or Lindisfarne. Eata, who was already settled in the latter place, naturally preferred to remain where he was, and for three years he was bishop of all Bernicia. Apparently, however, this arrangement did not prove altogether satisfactory, for in the year 681 Trumbriht was consecrated bishop of Hexham.³ In spite of Prior Richard's assertion to the contrary, it may be regarded as certain that the diocese of Hexham was formed at this time. Eata had probably found it impossible to administer the whole of Bernicia, and this diocese was therefore divided into two parts, of which Hexham and Lindisfarne were the respective sees. Trumbriht must therefore be regarded as the first bishop of Hexham, actually consecrated as such, although both Wilfrid and Eata had preceded him as the bishops of a larger diocese, of which the new Hexham bishopric only formed a part. The line of division which was to separate the two new sees was taken at the Aln, and the bishops of Hexham accordingly ruled over all the district between that river and the Tees, while the bishopric of Lindisfarne included the northern part of Northumberland.

Of the new bishop, Trumbriht, we know nothing personally, nor are any

¹ Eddi, cap. xxiv.

² Surt. Soc. *Biog. Misc.* Life of Eata, p. 122.

³ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. ix. Rolls series, *A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 34.

events recorded during his short episcopate of three years. At the expiration of this time he was deposed, but the reason for his expulsion is obscure. The anonymous life of Eata states that it was for some act of disobedience.¹ Thorpe, on the other hand, suggests that he was driven out by the Picts, but unfortunately gives no authority for this statement.² The whole subject is a very obscure one, and Trumbriht disappears into the complete oblivion from which he emerged.

The see of Hexham seems to have remained vacant for a whole year. At the expiration of this time, in the winter of the year 684, a synod was summoned at Twyford on the banks of the Aln (probably Alnmouth), at which King Ecgfrid, Archbishop Theodore, and many ecclesiastics were present.³ At this conference the deposition of Trumbriht was probably confirmed, and then the council proceeded to discuss the appointment of a successor. For this post none seemed so fit as the recluse of the Farne Islands, the holy St. Cuthbert, whose fame had already spread far and wide. To overcome Cuthbert's known reluctance to leave a solitary life letters and messengers were sent to him urging him to consent to take the office, but all in vain. Cuthbert steadily refused to be drawn away from his quiet life of meditation and prayer, and it was not until the king himself and Bishop Trumwine 'with many men of religioun and other men of grete renoune'⁴ had gone in person to his cell and besought him on their knees to relent, that he at last reluctantly agreed to do as they desired.

But Cuthbert could not prevail upon himself to leave his loved island of Farne, and in his perplexity he found a true friend in his old master Eata. The latter possessed just as much fondness for Lindisfarne as Cuthbert did for Farne, and had shown his decided preference for the northern see by remaining there when he had the choice between the two bishoprics in 678. On the present occasion he generously decided to give way in favour of Cuthbert, relinquishing to him the see of Lindisfarne, and going himself to Hexham.⁵

The transfer having been thus amicably arranged, it was duly confirmed by the king and a large assembly at York, whither both Eata and Cuthbert had gone, the latter for the purpose of being consecrated by Archbishop

¹ 'Pro culpa cujusdam inobedientiae.' Surt. Soc. *Biog. Misc.* p. 123.

² Rolls series, *A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 34, note. This is probably owing to a confusion between Trumbriht and Trumwine. ³ Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* bk. iv. cap. xxviii. Cf. vol. ii., p. 468.

⁴ Surt. Soc. *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert*, p. 189. ⁵ Surt. Soc. *Biog. Misc.* p. 123; *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. x.

Theodore. From this conference Eata went straight to Hexham to take up his work there. On his arrival he was received with every manifestation of joy. The people of Hexham, who remembered his former connection with them, were glad to welcome back into their midst one whom they thought they had lost for ever. During the brief year of his episcopate Eata was untiring in good works and pious exhortations. His kind and gentle nature had still further endeared him to the people when he was carried off by dysentery A.D. 685. His body was interred at Hexham, over against the sacristy on the south side of the church, and a small stone chapel was raised there in his memory.¹

Eata's successor at Hexham was St. John of Beverley, a pupil of Archbishop Theodore, and master of the Venerable Beda. Like so many of the great saints of the north, he loved a life of quiet and seclusion, and used every Lent time to tear himself away from the cares of his bishopric and retire to the opposite bank of the Tyne. At this spot, then known as Erneshou, which may probably be identified with the modern St. John Lee, he secluded himself in the little oratory of St. Michael, and spent his time in fasting and prayer. Even here, however, his solitude was invaded by the crowd of poor and sick people who came to ask an alms or to be healed by the prayers of the holy man.²

John had not been in possession of his new bishopric for more than a year when Wilfrid at last returned from his long exile, fortified with letters from Pope Agatho, which decided all the questions in dispute in his favour. His old enemy, King Ecgfrid was dead, and his successor, Aldfrith, was more favourably disposed towards the persecuted bishop. Moreover, Archbishop Theodore, abandoning all his hostility, had become reconciled with Wilfrid, and wrote a letter to the king in his favour. Aldfrith at once decided upon the course he should pursue. He resolved to restore Wilfrid to his former possessions, and John was obliged to leave Hexham and his loved oratory at Erneshou.³

¹ *Biog. Misc.* pp. 123-4. In his history (v. i.) Ordericus Vitalis says: 'In hanc lucem xivth kal. Martii matris ex utero profusus sum, sabbatoque sequentis Paschae apud Ettingesham in ecclesia sancti Eattae confessoris sacro fonte renatus sum.' The modern name of the place is Atcham, in Shropshire. There is a church of St. Alchmund at Shrewsbury, about four miles distant, and Canon Raine, who has visited it, states that it contains some Saxon sculpture of an early date. It would be interesting to learn by what means the names of these northern saints became identified with a place so remote from the spot with which they are usually associated, for though the St. Alchmund referred to may be the prince and not the bishop, only one Eata is mentioned in the calendar. Cf. Anderson's *Shropshire*, p. 164.

² Rolls series, *Historians of York*, i. Folcard, caps. i.-iv.

³ Eddi, caps. xliii. xlv. Folcard, cap. m.

But Wilfrid's restoration was not so complete as it appeared. It is doubtful if he received York back again at all, but it is certain that he did not receive the greater part of its endowments. His monastery at Ripon had been changed into a bishopric, and he could not exercise his wonted authority there; in Hexham he was left unopposed, but even there he found he was subjected to the influence of Archbishop Theodore, and obliged to own his submission to the see of Canterbury in everything.

For five years he remained at Hexham chafing under a sense of his wrongs, till at length the situation becoming unbearable, he left the north and took refuge with Ethelred, king of Mercia.¹ King Aldfrith at once summoned a council to decide upon the questions in dispute. The bishops who had been dispossessed by Wilfrid's restoration appeared as his chief opponents, and we may fairly assume that St. John of Beverley was among the number. Their counsels prevailed, in the main, for though it was agreed to leave Ripon to Wilfrid with all its endowments, he was to be deprived of the other two sees and their possessions. Against this judgment Wilfrid again appealed to Rome, and left England for Italy in order the better to sustain his cause.²

After his departure St. John of Beverley appears to have returned to Hexham, where he occupied the see as he had done before. Although Prior Richard asserts that he held York at the same time,³ this cannot have been the case, for he did not go to York until 705, or fourteen years later, and after Wilfrid's second return to Hexham. It is not improbable, however, that he received some appointment in that diocese, since Theodore, though he had encouraged the restoration of Wilfrid, would not be likely to forget the claims of his former pupil.

Wilfrid's second exile lasted thirteen years. Less fortunate than he had been on the previous occasion, he found more difficulty in obtaining a papal decision in his favour than he had experienced before. Theodore's successor at Canterbury, Archbishop Brihtwald took care that his side of the question should also be represented at Rome, and the pope, who wished to settle the ecclesiastical disputes in the distant island kingdom, appears to have been anxious to arrange a compromise. At last Wilfrid obtained a

¹ Eddi, cap. xlv. Prior Richard declares he was expelled at the instance of the bishops for disobedience to Archbishop Theodore. Bk. i. cap. xii. The two stories may, however, very easily be reconciled.

² Eddi, caps. xlv. xlviii.

³ Bk. i. cap. xii. He asserts that St. John was appointed to York upon his dismissal from Hexham. On this point see Canon Raine's notes. *Hexham Priory*, i. pp. 28, 30.

decision in his favour, and about the year 705 hurried back to England in order to have it carried into effect. King Aldfrith, however, would not listen to him, and refused all his advances; and, though he died soon after, his successor Eardulf proved even more harsh and uncompromising.¹ The new king's reign was only a short one, and Osred, who succeeded him, at once listened to Wilfrid's complaints. Summoning a council at an unknown place on the river Nidd, Osred laid before the assembled ecclesiastics the whole question of Wilfrid and his rights. As on the former occasion, the bishops who were most concerned strenuously opposed any concession of his claims. Matters might yet have gone hard with Wilfrid had not the bishops received a timely reminder that King Aldfrith in his last moments had repented of his harshness and expressed a wish that Wilfrid should be restored. Anxious to respect the wishes of their late monarch, the bishops after conferring among themselves at last agreed to accept Wilfrid's restoration to Hexham and Ripon.²

After all the years he had spent in wandering and petitioning, with the sole purpose of making good his claim to his former possessions this was the utmost that Wilfrid could obtain. He was obliged to resign York, and it is improbable that he secured his independence against the claims of the archbishop of Canterbury. Immediately after the conclusion of the synod Wilfrid hurried away to enter upon his favourite see of Hexham, and to visit once more the beautiful church upon which he had lavished so much skill and money. On the road he was overtaken by the same mysterious sickness and lethargy that had attacked him in France a few years before. No doubt the late excitement had told upon him and so severe was his illness that his companions despaired of his life.³ He recovered, however, and thus gave another proof of his remarkable vitality. St. John of Beverley having retired to York, Wilfrid spent the remainder of his days in peace, and divided his time between his two sees of Hexham and Ripon. He ended his stormy career peacefully in his monastery at Oundle on the 12th of October, 709, or four years after his second restoration.⁴

Wilfrid's priest, Acca, was chosen to succeed him at Hexham. The pupil of Bosa, the companion of Wilfrid, and the fast friend of Beda,⁵ Acca

¹ Eddi, caps. lviii. lix.

² *Ibid.* cap. lx.

³ *Ibid.* cap. lxi.

⁴ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xii. *Beda, Hist. Eccles.* bk. v. cap. xix.

⁵ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. p. 32.

seemed a link between all that was greatest and best in contemporary northern Christianity. Certainly no one was better fitted to succeed to the work Wilfrid had relinquished and to carry it out in the spirit of its originator. He had faithfully accompanied Wilfrid on his last exile, and had anxiously watched at his bedside during his serious illness at Meaux. His was the first name on Wilfrid's lips when the great bishop recovered from his long lethargy, and to his sympathetic ear was first related the story of the mystic vision of the Virgin Mary.¹

A man of great activity, with an æsthetic love for beauty and order, whose sojourn at Rome had served to cultivate his natural taste for regularity and ritual, his episcopate forms an era in the history of the church of Hexham in connection with which he is almost a more important figure than Wilfrid himself. He at once set to work to adorn the interior of his church with all manner of beautiful decorations. From all sides he collected relics of the saints, and reared altars to their memory in various recesses of the building. He took great pains to improve the ceremonial of the worship at Hexham, and his extensive knowledge of ritual acquired at Rome enabled him to do this the more effectually. He provided his church with all necessary holy vessels and lights, and himself a good vocalist, invited Maban from Pope Gregory's choral school at Rome to instruct the people in the art of singing.²

An enthusiastic lover of letters he collected the history of all the martyrs whose relics he had acquired, and formed a noble library, which was destined to perish in the fires kindled by the Danes. It was due to his instigation and advice that Beda wrote his commentaries on the gospels of Mark and Luke.³

By his embellishments and paintings, by his collection of relics, and by his magnificent library Acca at once raised Hexham church to a height of importance it had perhaps never before attained, and had at least rescued it from the insignificance into which it seemed likely to fall, owing to the disputes about Wilfrid, and the continual changes of its bishops.

After an active and most productive episcopate of twenty-four years Acca was driven from his bishopric A.D. 733.⁴ What was the reason of this flight, whether he was driven out by an inroad of barbarians, or whether he

¹ Eddi, cap. lvi.

² Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* bk. v. cap. xix. *Prior Richard* gives the name as Mafan. Bk. i. cap. xiv.

³ *Prior Richard*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Roll series, *A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 40. *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xv.

was deposed by the king, history does not relate. He can hardly have been deposed for misconduct, for in that case he could not have been canonised so soon after. He may possibly have been asked to resign, on account of his great age, although the energetic language of all the chroniclers suggests that something far more violent took place. He survived the event four years, during which time a tradition current in the days of Prior Richard related that he founded the see of Whitherne.¹ At his death in 737, his body was brought back to the church for whose greatness he had done so much, and buried over against the sanctuary outside the wall of the building. Two large stone crosses of curious and elaborate workmanship, one placed at the head and the other at the foot marked his resting place. An inscription carved on one of them carried down to future generations the name of the great man whose bones lay beneath.²

At Acca's departure in 733, Fritheberht was appointed in his place. He lived until 23rd Dec., 766, and at his death was buried in Hexham church.³ But one event is recorded in his unusually long episcopate. In the year 750 a kinsman of the king fled for refuge to the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The saint, however, afforded him no protection, and his impious pursuers dragged the unfortunate man away from the sanctuary and slew him. King Eadbert in his wrath at this attack upon the royal race resolved to punish the inoffensive bishop of Lindisfarne, and sent the unlucky Cynewulf to prison in the royal fortress of Bamburgh. During his absence Fritheberht administered the diocese of Lindisfarne as well as his own for the space of a year. At the expiration of this time Eadbert's wrath was assuaged, and he restored Cynewulf to his former state.⁴

Alchmund, who succeeded Fritheberht, is usually ranked with Eata and Acca among the chief of the saintly bishops of Hexham, but the causes which combined to give him this pre-eminence cannot now be ascertained. The record of his life is all but a blank. He was buried next to Acca, as one whose merit was but little if at all inferior to that of the renowned friend of Wilfrid and Beda.⁵

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xv. The chronology of the English chronicle has been followed here and elsewhere. Prior Richard says that Acca survived eight years, and died in 740, *loc. cit.* The tradition as to Whitherne is untenable, because that see was already founded while Acca was still at Hexham. It has been suggested that Acca went northwards, and founded St. Andrews in Scotland.

² *Symeon of Durham*, ii. p. 33. The greater part of one of these stones is now in the cathedral library at Durham.

³ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xvi.

⁴ *Symeon of Durham*, i. p. 48.

⁵ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xvi. *Symeon of Durham*, ii. pp. 43, 47, *cf. supra*, p. 110, note.

The following bishop, Tilberht, was consecrated at Wlfeswelle, an unidentified place, on 2nd Oct., 780. It was during his episcopate that the good King Elfwald was treacherously murdered by the patrician Siegan, at a place called Scythlecester, near the Roman Wall. A great multitude of monks and clergy journeyed to the scene of the tragedy and brought the mangled body of the just king to Hexham for burial. A thirteenth-century tomb is still pointed out as the monument of the unfortunate monarch. The importance of Hexham during the reign of Elfwald is perhaps indicated by the fact that Bishop Tilberht signed the decrees of the synod of Pincanhale immediately after the king. Tilberht died in the year 789, and was buried in the church of Hexham.¹

The usual absence of information leaves us in complete ignorance as to the history of Hexham during the successive episcopates of Ethelberht (789-797), Heardred (797-800), Eanberht (800-806), Tidfirth (806 (?) - 821 (?)). Ethelberht came from Whitherne to Hexham, and he is the last of the bishops of whom it is recorded that he was buried at Hexham. Tidfirth apparently had been bishop of Dunwich since 797. Tradition relates that he died on his way to Rome. A memorial stone, on which his name is carved in Runic characters, was discovered at Monkwearmouth about the middle of the present century, and is now preserved in the British Museum.²

At this point a tabulated list of the Hexham bishops may prove useful for purposes of reference.³



SUPPOSED TOMB OF KING ELFWALD.

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, ii. pp. 50, 52.

² *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. xviii.; bk. ii. cap. i. Rolls series, *A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 50, spelt Tidfrith.

³ This list has been compiled from *Prior Richard* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Whenever there is any discrepancy between the two, preference has been given to the latter, as a contemporary account. The Anglo-Saxon spelling has also been adopted in preference to Prior Richard's latinized forms.

St. Wilfrid builds the church ...	...	...	...	...	674-678.
St. Eata governs Hexham and Lindisfarne together	...	...	...	...	678-681.
Trumbriht ...	...	...	...	...	681-683. (?)
St. Eata ...	...	...	...	...	685.
St. John of Beverley ...	...	...	...	...	685.
St. Wilfrid (first restoration) ...	...	...	...	...	686-691.
St. John of Beverley ...	...	...	...	...	691-705.
St. Wilfrid (second restoration)	...	...	...	705-7th May, 709.	
St. Acca ...	...	...	...	...	709-733.
St. Friðeberht ...	...	...	...	8th Sept., 734-23rd Dec., 766.	
St. Alchmund ...	...	...	...	24th April, 767-7th Sept., 780.	
St. Tilberht ...	...	...	...	...	2nd Oct., 780-789.
Ethelberht ...	...	...	...	...	789-16th Oct., 797.
Heardred ...	...	...	...	...	30th Oct., 797-800.
Eanberht ...	...	...	...	...	800-806.
Tidfirth ...	...	...	...	...	806 (?) - 821. (?)

About the year 821 the history of Hexham church mysteriously ceases, and the see, which had once been so important, becomes vacant. The reasons for this state of affairs can only be conjectured. History affords us no evidence, and Prior Richard simply mentions incidentally the fact that there had been no bishops at Hexham for fifty-four years before the Danish invasion of 875.¹ It seems evident that the bishopric had been put down by violence, and perhaps the unsettled state of the north made more than one bishopric superfluous. This would at any rate explain why Lindisfarne survived while Hexham perished.² The contemporary failure of the see of Whitherne, where a vacancy occurs in the same manner as at Hexham, points to the operation of some overwhelming destructive power in the whole of the district. The fact that the country between Carlisle and Lindisfarne is known soon after this time as the Waste or the Picts' country would seem to point to a great revival of the Pictish nation. In this connection it is interesting to note that at the moment when St. Andrew seemed to have deserted his princely see in Hexham, the celebrated monastery in his honour was being founded in Scotland at the place that still bears his name.

Even if a Pictish invasion had taken place about the year 821, it is probable that the conquerors, who were themselves Christians, spared the noble church of Hexham. It was still, in all probability, as fair as when Alcuin enthusiastically described it in a letter to Bishop Ethelberht,³ adorned by all the rich beauty of the gold and silver and precious stones

¹ 'A.D. 875 . . . et ex quo Haugustaldensis ecclesiae episcopi defecerunt quinquagesimo quarto. Bk. ii. cap. i. ² Cf. *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, pp. xl. xli. ³ *Ibid.* preface, p. xxxix.

with which Acca had decorated its numerous shrines, and on its walls the pictures of Wilfrid's day still remained unfaded. But in the year 875 appeared an enemy that knew no respect for Christianity, and who looked upon the magnificent church with the greedy eye of the sacrilegious plunderer. The Dane Halfdene, taking up his quarters at the mouth of the Tyne, ravaged the surrounding country with fire and sword.¹ In the general conflagration Hexham was one of the first places to suffer. Its stately abbey was burned to the ground, its riches were ruthlessly plundered, and the relics of its saintly bishops were buried under the ruins of the building where in happier days they had given such signal examples of their goodness and piety.

In the general disorganisation that followed, the see of Hexham was administered by Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne. But the connection between the two churches could not be very close. The proximity of the Danes would make residence at Hexham more than dangerous, and moreover Eardulf himself was a fugitive. Lindisfarne could no longer offer a secure asylum to its inhabitants. Gathering up their relics and other precious things and the body of St. Cuthbert, which they valued more than all, Eardulf and his clergy fled before the savage invaders. Bearing their precious burden, they wandered from place to place, with the dread of the Danes ever pursuing them, and they even attempted to cross into Ireland. At length they settled at Chester-le-Street. More peaceful times had supervened; the Danes had established themselves in the country and had become Christians. Their whole attitude towards the church was entirely altered, and few believers were more devout than these converted northmen. In the year 883 their king Guthred munificently endowed the followers of St. Cuthbert with all the land between the Tyne and the Wear, together with the right of sanctuary.²

In this way, perhaps, the bishops of Durham, who were the direct successors of the bishops at Lindisfarne and Chester-le-Street, first acquired a legal title to the possessions of the Hexham province. But the whole question is one of great obscurity. The close connection between Hexham and Lindisfarne during the whole of the period that those two sees existed is a very striking phenomenon, and many circumstances in their history suggest that

¹ Rolls series, *A. S. Chron.* ii. p. 63. *Aelred, de Sanctis*, cap. xi.

² The grant was confirmed by King Alfred as overlord. *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. p. 70.

Hexham was subordinate to Lindisfarne from the time of its foundation. In the year 854, however, when the sees of both York and Lindisfarne were vacant by the deaths of Wigmund and Eanberht, an opportunity was taken of readjusting the boundaries of both dioceses. The bishopric of Hexham was then divided between the two surviving sees. York received that part lying between the Tees and the Tyne, while Lindisfarne administered the lands between the Tyne and the Aln.

Although these limits should not, of course, be taken too absolutely, yet there seems to be no good reason why York should have been despoiled of her possessions in the year 883. But the whole of the north must have been in a very unsettled condition at that time, and the outlying districts in large dioceses could not fail to suffer neglect under such circumstances. The mere fact that Eardulf had taken the neglected bishopric of Hexham under his charge would no doubt of itself give him the prior claim to the possession of the diocese. At the same time the bishops of Durham were sensible of the insufficiency of their title. During the eleventh century they therefore obtained three separate confirmations from Archbishop Lanfranc, from Pope Gregory VII., and finally from the Archbishop of York himself, Thomas I. In each of these grants the church at Hexham, and all that belonged to it are expressly mentioned.¹

In spite of the anxiety of the bishops at Chester-le-Street to possess themselves of Hexham, they appear to have neglected to make use of it during the course of the tenth century. Matters were still far too unsettled in the north for any regular steps to be taken for the rebuilding of the church, and in all probability the town of Hexham itself remained waste and desolate with scarcely any resident population. Even at Chester-le-Street the safety of the episcopal seat could not be assured. In the year 995 a fresh incursion of the Danes drove Bishop Ealdhun and his clergy in flight to Ripon. After a sojourn of three months, peace was restored, and Ealdhun returned, no longer to Chester-le-Street but to Durham. Here the body of St. Cuthbert was at last to find its final resting place.²

It may be surmised that Ealdhun had not long been in full possession of his see before he thought about the administration of his lands in Hexhamshire. The exact date is uncertain, but it probably was about this time that he appointed one Collan, son of Edred, to be provost there. The spiritual

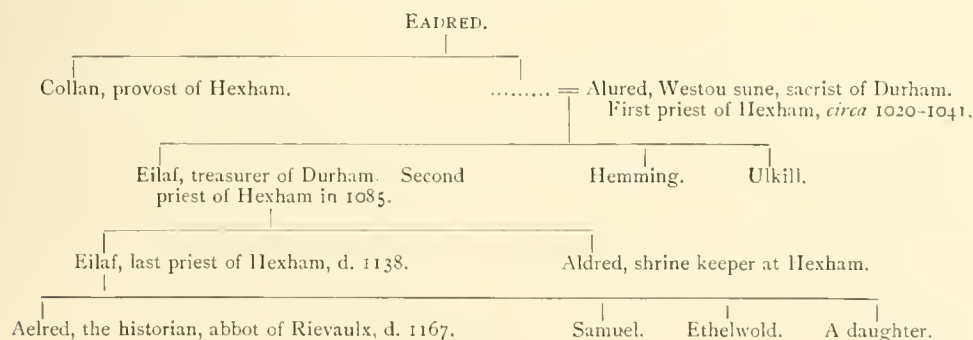
¹ *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptorum Tres.* Surt. Soc. pp. x. xiii. ccxxxi.

² *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. ii.

needs of Hexham were not fully attended to for another twenty years or so when Alured, the son of Westou, was appointed to take charge of them. Alured was probably a descendant of Eilaf Tod, one of the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert, and it was only natural that he should receive an appointment of some importance. He does not appear to have resided much at Hexham, though he went there and carried away some of the relics to Durham. He appointed as his deputy-priests two men named Gamel, apparently father and son.¹

The reign of the provosts and priests of Hexham lasted throughout the eleventh century, and although our authorities are very meagre, the period is one of very great importance and interest. The history of Hexham during this time illustrates in a very striking manner the laxity of discipline among the clergy of the eleventh century, a state of affairs that only succumbed to the strong will and restless activity of Hildebrand after a long and obstinate struggle. The priests of Hexham not only married and begot children like their lay brethren, but the son followed his father in the regular order of succession.² By these means the ecclesiastical possessions of the church were passed from father to son, like lay property, till at length they came to be regarded as actually belonging to the family. And thus it came about that when in later years the archbishop of York established Austin canons at Hexham they found almost all the property there in the hands of the priest, and were condemned to suffer the extremes of want and penury.

The following pedigree will explain more clearly than a lengthy description what actually took place during this period:³



¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. iv.

² Cf. *Arch. Ael.* n. s. iv. p. 11. In an interesting paper by Mr. Longstaffe.

³ This table is taken from Canon Raine's *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, p. li. The authorities are to be found among the Illustrative Documents, No. iv.

Although Alured carried away some relics from Hexham, he did not deprive the church of the bodies of its three principal saints and bishops. Most probably some of the principal inhabitants of Hexham interfered to prevent the proposed spoliation, and this may be the meaning of the following legend:

There was living in Hexham at this time a certain dreng (*dregmo quidam*), simple in manners, but of saintly life, and much respected by his neighbours. As he was sleeping one night in his house the place was filled with an unearthly light, and a glorious vision appeared. The radiant figure announced himself as St. Alchmund, and commanded the awe-stricken dreng to instruct Alured to remove his body from its lowly position outside the church and replace it in a more honourable situation within. Thus instructed, Alured could not think of carrying off the remains of the bishop to Durham. But he contrived, while the body was being translated, to cut off a finger as a relic for his favourite church. The next morning when it was proposed to continue the work of translation, the bier on which the saint's body lay was immovable. No efforts sufficed to lift it from the place where it rested. Dismayed and disheartened the toilers were forced to abandon the task that day, and retired home wondering by what means the saint had been so grievously offended. That same night Alchmund again appeared to the dreng, and, showing his mutilated hand, informed him of the theft that had been committed. On the following morning the dreng stood forth and told his hearers of the vision. The shamed Alured was obliged to restore the stolen finger, and the translation of the body proceeded without further interruption.¹

It will be remembered that the body of Alchmund had originally been buried beside that of Acca. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that the body of the former saint could have been removed to a more honourable resting place before that of his more celebrated predecessor. It is well known that the tomb of Acca was opened about this time, from the relation given in Symeon's *Historia Regum*.² His body was found without difficulty, and on his breast was a small tablet joined with silver pins, which had

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. pp. 48, 49.

² Symeon says the translation of Acca took place three hundred years after his burial, and that of Alchmund two hundred and fifty years. As Acca was buried in the year 733 and Alchmund in the year 780 the translation of the two bodies may be said to have taken place about the same time. Symeon is evidently only speaking in round numbers. The date of the event would thus be *circa* 1030. *Ibid.* pp. 33, 47.

probably served as a portable altar. An inscription on it read: 'Almae Trinitati, agiae Sophiae, Sanctae Mariae.' The remains were put into a shrine and placed on the altar of St. Michael on the south side of the church.¹

Perhaps the remains of Eata were also translated at this time and placed in a proper shrine. But the account, as given by Prior Richard, is confused, and it is not quite certain whether the event did not take place later.²

Alured's son Eilaf succeeded him at Hexham, and like his father he bore the honourable title of Lareow or doctor. He was appointed by Bishops Egelric and Egelwine of Durham, and it is therefore probable that he entered upon his office about the year 1050. His duties sat lightly upon him, and they were no doubt performed by the priest Sproh whom he sent to Hexham in his place.³ As treasurer of Durham he would have much to tie him to that place, while there would be little to attract him in the ravaged and desolated church on the Tyne. Time, however, brought with it events which entirely altered the quiet current of his life, and severed his connection with the church of St. Cuthbert. In the year 1071 William the Conqueror inflicted a terrible vengeance upon the rebellious north, and ravaged the country between the Humber and the Tyne with fire and sword. Bishop Egelwine fled for his life, and left his see vacant. In the resulting confusion, the Provost Uthred of Hexham offered the government of the district he administered to the see of York.⁴ Archbishop Thomas I. gladly accepted this ancient property of his predecessors, although there exists a charter in his name by which this same district was confirmed to the bishops of Durham.⁵ At the same time Eilaf's position does not seem to have been affected, and he continued to hold office as the nominee of the bishops of Durham. In the winter of 1080, however, William of St. Carilef was consecrated bishop of Durham, and three years later he proceeded to carry into effect a number of reforms among his clergy. The spirit of Hildebrand had at length penetrated to the north in the person of this great man. But he encountered a strong and obstinate resistance from the married clergy. Bishop William in carrying out his reforms, not only wished to eliminate the secular clergy, but insisted that none of his monks should hold private property of his own. Eilaf would naturally be strongly opposed to both measures, and rather than submit, he resolved to

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. p. 32.

² Bk. ii. cap. iv.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. iv.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Supra*, p. 118.

quit Durham altogether. To emphasize his independence of the church of which he had but lately been treasurer, he repaired to York to Archbishop Thomas, submitted to a fresh appointment by the northern primate, and obtained permission to rebuild the church at Hexham. By these means the archbishops of York regained their ancient rights to the church and district of Hexham. The transfer was not indeed complete, for the same provost and the same priest who had been originally appointed by the bishop of Durham still remained in office. Externally the situation did not appear to be sensibly changed. But the archbishops had gained a sure footing in the district, and they steadily increased their power over it.

On arriving at Hexham Eilaf must have been sorely discouraged at the state of things he found there. Although his father Alured had been very active in collecting relics, and in moving the bodies of the saints, he had apparently done very little for the building which was to shelter them.

When Eilaf reached Hexham he found everything in the most desolate condition. The once stately building of Wilfrid now stood a dismantled ruin, roofless, and overgrown with grass, shrubs, and trees. Nothing remained to call to mind its former grandeur, for the work of destruction begun by man had been effectually completed by nature. So desolate was the district around that Eilaf was forced to support himself and his family for two years by hunting. In spite of all these difficulties, which would have subdued a nature less stubborn, Eilaf energetically set to work to carry out his self-imposed task. Beginning at the east end, he addressed himself first of all to providing for the immediate needs of the people in his charge, and there erected an altar suitable for the limited requirements of his small congregation. He had intended to proceed with the complete restoration of the church, but when he had only got thus far he was surprised by death, and forced to leave the completion of the work to his son, who bore his own name.

The younger Eilaf was allowed to succeed his father without any action being taken by the archbishop of York. The time was not yet ripe for any considerable changes in these parts. Eilaf devoted himself thoroughly to the completion of the work his father had begun. After clearing the site of the church of the luxuriant undergrowth which encumbered it, he covered the building with a tiled roof, whitewashed its walls, and restored some of the paintings. In the east end of the church he laid

down a pavement of squared stones, and erected an altar supported by columns. The relics of the saints which lay buried in this part he carefully dug up and prepared to place them in a shrine above the high altar. He thought it unseemly that the bones of such holy men should be allowed to remain in the ground. In the meantime he laid them carefully in the south porch, which was dedicated to St. Michael, the place where the bones of Acca had already been placed by his grandfather Alured. This precious treasure he confided to the care of his younger brother Aldred.

The youth seems to have been animated by the family passion for relics. Gazing one day on the great mass of bones that lay stored in the porch of St. Michael, the idea entered his head that from so great a treasure one bone at least might be spared. So many relics he thought might be the glory of many churches. Yet he feared to touch these sacred bones, even though animated by the best motives, before he had recited to himself the seven penitential psalms. But on approaching the place where the relics lay it seemed to him that a rush of hot air drove him back from the spot, and warned him against his sacrilegious purpose. A second attempt with the same results, and convinced by the repetition of the phenomenon Aldred resolved to let the sacred bones rest in peace.¹

It was during Eilaf's administration of Hexham that Malcolm, king of Scotland, invaded Northumberland. At first he respected Hexham abbey and the rights of sanctuary which belonged to it. Crowds of terror-stricken people took advantage of this immunity and flocked for safety to the sacred spot. But it happened that one day some of the king's envoys, who were in the neighbourhood of Hexham, fell among thieves who robbed and maltreated them. Despoiled and wounded they returned to tell their story to their master. Malcolm swore an oath that he would be avenged. Laughing to scorn the priest who warned him against his sacrilegious purpose, the king marched towards Hexham with the intention of burning the town and of destroying every living thing there. The terror-stricken people crowded round their priest, demanding protection and comfort. The holy man could only advise them to pray and trust. That same night Malcolm arrived on the north bank of the Tyne, and the falling darkness alone prevented him from immediately carrying his purpose into execution.

¹ The above account of the two Eilafs is drawn from Aelred's discourse on the saints of Hexham, cap. xi. Aelred is an excellent authority, for these same Eilafs were his grandfather and father. He may be judged too partial towards his relations, but the accuracy of his information can hardly be impugned.

On the other side of the river, as Eilaf lay quietly and trustfully sleeping, he thought he saw two men, radiantly clothed, and mounted on white horses riding from the south towards the town. On reaching the spot where Eilaf stood, lost in amazement, they descended from their steeds. To their enquiries as to the cause of the disturbance among the people and their loud groans and lamentations, the priest related the coming of Malcolm and his revengeful purpose. 'Fear not,' said one of them; 'behold, in the early twilight I will stretch out my net from the source of the Tyne to its mouth, so that no one can cross it, or do you any harm.' The two mysterious visitors departed, and left Eilaf convinced that he had conversed with none other than St. Wilfrid and St. Cuthbert. It fell out as the saints had predicted. The next morning a thick mist overhung the Tyne valley, and the river flowed with a broad and rapid stream. Malcolm could not venture to ford the Tyne under these circumstances. For three days he waited for the swollen waters to abate, till at length, discerning in this intervention the finger of Providence, the king broke up his camp and left Hexham in peace.¹

The renovation of the church, the regular ministrations there, the renown of its rediscovered saints, and the recent proofs of their power to defend their suppliants, no doubt drew many fresh inhabitants to Hexham. The increase of his congregation and advancing years led Eilaf to take a decisive step. He thought himself unworthy to minister alone to such renowned saints, and he found it increasingly difficult to do so owing to the large number of persons who began to visit their shrines. He therefore appealed to the archbishop of York to send a body of clergy who would attend to all the necessities of divine service, for which he felt himself no longer fit.²

The northern primates had no intention of letting Hexham slip from their grasp when once they had regained possession of the district. Ever since the day when the Provost Uthred had submitted to Thomas I. as his overlord they had been tightening their hold on it. Even during the elder

¹ *Aelred, de Sanctis*, cap. ii. *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. pp. 36-38. This is evidently a story that has grown in being narrated. There is manifestly a large substratum of truth in it. It is strange, however, that the protecting saints should be Wilfrid and Cuthbert, and not Acca, Eata, or Alchmund. Symeon only mentions one person in the vision, and gives him no name.

² Such at least is the account given by *Aelred, de Sanctis*, cap. xi. He may, however, have represented his father in too favourable a light. Prior Richard gives a very different account of him: 'Mansit itaque in hoc miserabili statu . . . ob incolarum perfidiam, et malitiam gravem saecularium et carnalium hominum, oppressione divulsa ac pessumdata.' But then our monkish historian is also prejudiced against the secular clergy. Probably the truth is on Aelred's side, although Eilaf certainly repented in his old age, and died a monk at Durham. *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. v.

Eilaf's lifetime, Archbishop Thomas had taken a decisive step in this direction. By adding Hexham as an endowment to the prebend of Holm, at York, and giving the stall to a canon of Beverley, named Richard de Maton, he reduced Eilaf Lareow to a position of entire subordination.¹ The younger Eilaf continued in the same position of inferiority and under the same head, Richard de Maton. Thomas I. made no further alterations, and his successor Gerard attempted none. Thomas II., however, was a man of much more activity and energy. He had visited Hexham early in his pontificate, and had been struck by its extreme poverty and the desolation of the surrounding country. The appeal of Eilaf no longer permitted any excuse for delay. In the year 1113 Archbishop Thomas had made up his mind. The better to ensure the adequate administration of the church, he sent to Hexham two canons, one from Beverley and the other from York. He had recently introduced reforms into these two houses, and the new comers, though not regular canons, were secular canons, reformed according to the ideas of Archbishop Thomas. Those who would suffer most by the change were by no means allowed to go away empty handed. Richard de Maton became a canon residentiary of York in exchange for the prebend which he surrendered. Eilaf was permitted to continue to hold the cure of the parish, and retained a great part of its benefices, including one carucate of land and some houses in Hexham, together with six bovates of land at Anick.²

Eilaf received the new comers kindly, and built wooden conventual buildings to meet their requirements with his own hands.³ The advent of the new canons was in all probability merely a tentative measure, intended as a prologue to others of a more sweeping nature. The work carried out was entirely of this character. The church was reconsecrated, and the bodies of the saints put in more suitable places.⁴ Archbishop Thomas had intended to remove the bones of Eata to York, in spite of the entreaties of the Hexham people. But one night the saint appeared to him in a vision and administered such a castigation that he thought better of his purpose.⁵

For the support of the two canons whom he had sent Thomas endowed Hexham with the manor and township of Anick, the townships of Sandhoe

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. v.

² *Ibid.* cap. viii.

³ *Aelred, de Sanctis*, cap. xi.

⁴ *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. iv. *Symeon of Durham* (ii. p. 35) relates how Edric, one of the canons, rediscovered the relics of Acca in a box containing two leaden seals. It would almost seem as if the church had again fallen into ruins.

⁵ *Surt. Soc. Biog. Misc.* p. 125.

and Yarrow-ridge, a mill on the Tyne, a thousand eels yearly, and tithes from the whole of his property in Hexhamshire. He also granted an annuity of 100s. to buy clothes, besides various gifts of vestments, books, ornaments, etc.¹ More he undoubtedly intended to do had not death interrupted his benevolence.

The church at Hexham, however, suffered nothing by his loss, for his successor Thurstan proved even more generous. The new archbishop proceeded to complete the work begun by his predecessor. One of his first acts must have been to supersede the secular canons of Thomas by a body of regular canons under a prior named Asketill, who had been a canon of Huntingdon.²

The new canons who now entered upon the possession of the church of Hexham belonged to the order of St. Augustine. This order had been founded on the Continent about the middle of the eleventh century, but it can only have been newly instituted in England at the time of the reconstitution of the church of Hexham. Of the regulations and institutions of this new system, which replaced the old government by priests, there exists no information for so early a date as the beginning of the twelfth century. Some rules, however, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been preserved, and these may be taken as a sufficiently exact evidence of the conditions of life under which the Austin canons were living at the time which is being dealt with. Monastic institutions were not, as a rule, liable to sudden and complete changes, and the regulations of the fourteenth century would be framed in the same spirit as those which guided the life of the canons in the twelfth century, though at the earlier period they would naturally be more crude and less mature.

The members of the convent consisted of the prior, twenty-six canons, and an irregular number of *conversi*, who were qualifying for the canonicate. From among the twenty-six canons were chosen the officials of the priory, who were divided into two classes, the *maiores obedientiarii* and the *minores obedientiarii*. Among the former were ranked the sub-prior, the almoner, the cellarer, the bursar, the chamberlain, the terrarer, and the sacrist. The latter class included the precentor and succentor, the sub-sacrist and junior bursar, the keepers of the granary, refectory, and infirmary,

¹ Surt. Soc. *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. xxix. *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. xi.

² *Aelred, de Sanctis*, cap. xi.

with the hostillar.¹ The prior represented the archbishop within the house, and in him were vested the chief administrative powers. He was elected by the canons, over whom, on such occasions, the sub-prior presided. The archbishop simply consented to an election being made, and after the canons had made their choice, he ratified it by a confirmation; but in case of misdemeanour he possessed the right of deposing the prior, though apparently he only exercised it upon one occasion during the whole history of the priory.²

The ceremony of election took the form of a solemn religious service. After mass had been solemnised in the church, the canons proceeded to the chapter house, where the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung. A roll call of the members of the house was then read over, and at its conclusion the sub-prior announced that no one excommunicated, suspended, or interdicted could take part in the proceedings. All secular persons and strangers were excluded, although a lawyer or a member of a neighbouring religious house might occasionally be present to see that all the required ceremonies were duly carried out. The election was then proceeded with, and a majority of two-thirds was necessary for its validity. The person chosen was required to be a man of good life and character, a priest, well educated, of proper age, born in lawful wedlock, and a freeman. The election being finished, the canons returned to the church, chanting the *Te Deum*, the bells rang out, and the choice of the convent was made publicly known. Special messengers were charged to carry the news to the archbishop, and the election was not completed until he gave it his sanction.³ The consent of the archbishop ultimately became merely a matter of form, though he had the power of rejecting a candidate if there happened to be some defect in the form or manner of his election.⁴ The newly-elected prior was required to visit York and to tender an oath of obedience to the archbishop. This was conceived in the following form: 'I, brother M., prior of the monastery of St. Andrew of Hexham, being elected and confirmed, will be faithful and obedient to you, our venerable father in Christ and Lord, N., by the grace of

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. p. xvii. An infirmarius is also mentioned, though, apparently, he did not rank even with the *minores obedientiarum*.

² John of Hexham was deposed by Archbishop Bowet in 1408 for complicity in the rebellion of that year. *Ibid.* pp. xciii.-iv.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. pp. cxiv.-cxx. where there is a very interesting account of the election of William Bywell. The method of election seems to have been as old as the time of Robert Biseth, if we may so interpret a sentence in the opening paragraph of Prior John's history: 'Substituit loco ejus Turstinus archiep., eodem anno, electum a fratribus Rodbertum Biseth.'

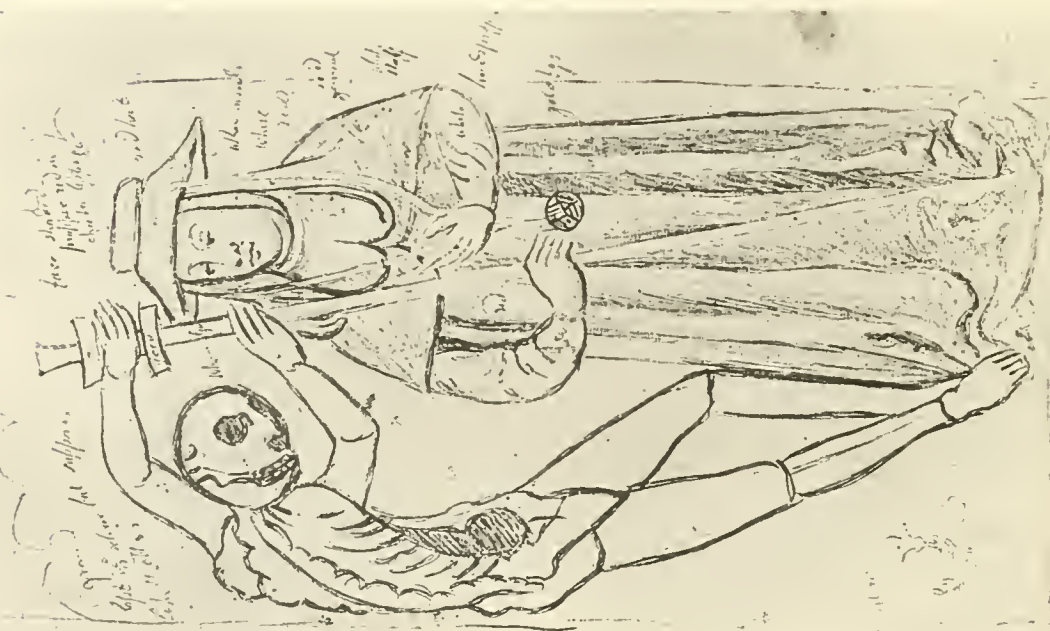
⁴ This right was exercised by Archbishop Giffard *circa* 1270. *Ibid.* p. xxii.

God archbishop of York, primate of England, etc., and to your successors. So help me God and the holy gospel of God. And I sign this with my own hand.'¹ The prior was the father of his convent, and his rule was to be by love and gentleness rather than by compulsion and power. He had direct jurisdiction over the *majores obedientiarii*, and might remove any one of them from his place except the sub-prior. He also decided upon all the most important matters of the monastery: the admission of canons, the alienation of possessions, perpetual leases, and such matters. In all these things, however, he was obliged to consult the members of the house, and patiently to hear the opinions of the youngest as well as of the oldest. Although his voice was apparently equal to that of all the other canons, yet he could decide nothing against the opposition of the whole of them; and in the event of such a division arising, the archbishop was to decide the cause. Each week he read out before all the brethren the rules of the order. The whole system of discipline being under his control, no canon could leave the monastery without his consent, and it was he who visited all transgressors with punishment. Though incapable of holding property, all the secular business passed through his hands. He had a house allotted to him, and was allowed all his travelling expenses, together with those of a canon who might accompany him. Once every year he enquired into the state of the monastery, and each *obedientiarius* was obliged to render an account of his office and duties.

Great as the powers of the prior might seem to be, he could never for one moment consider himself exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop. For all alienations of property, perpetual leases, and pensions, the consent of the primate was essential. Even the privilege of electing a prior was conceded to the canons rather as a favour than as a right, and the archbishop usually expected to receive in return a pension of four or five marks a year in favour of some person nominated by himself. Archiepiscopal visitations were not infrequent, and the primate from time to time sent injunctions that the rules of the order should be better observed, added provisions of his own, rebuked any breaches of discipline or laxity of manners, and even pointed out offenders for punishment.

The sub-prior acted as the head of the monastery during the prior's absence. He was, after the prior, the most important person of the house,

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. p. lxxvii.



THE DANCE OF DEATH

(From Carter's Drawings in the British Museum).

and kept one of the three keys of the conventual chest.¹ The names of the other *obedientiarii* sufficiently indicate their duties. The terrarer was to act with a layman appointed by the prior; the bursar was obliged to render an account of all the moneys he had received to the prior and senior canons twice every year. The terrarer and cellarer, moreover, possessed some sort of power over the prior himself. They were to see that the prior kept the courtyard free from pedlars, sutlers, and stray dogs, and if he neglected to do so they were instructed to report him to the archbishop.

The number of canons was to be maintained at twenty-six, chosen by the prior and convent from fit and suitable persons. The rules under which they lived were designed to enforce the maintenance of regular services in the church; the poverty, chastity, and sobriety of the canons; and the duties of hospitality and almsgiving. No canon was allowed to have any property except such as might be entrusted to him for the common benefit. No woman was to enter the claustrum, and the doors of the monastery were to be closed at sunset. Simplicity and severity of life were enjoined by numerous regulations. The canons were to leave the refectory immediately the meal was concluded, after singing *Salve Regina*. They were forbidden to go hunting, and could not even own a horse. Games such as draughts or chess were prohibited, even in the infirmary. They were forbidden to meddle in secular affairs except when appealed to, and even then only with the consent of the prior. Sick canons enjoyed but little relaxation of this severe discipline, and strenuous regulations provided against any attempts that might be made at pretended illness in the infirmary. Once in the year, after the feast of St. John the Baptist, the canons were allowed a short holiday of six days, which they might spend in some neighbouring manor house. For this purpose they were divided into four groups, and each party took its holiday in turn.

Although the duties of hospitality and of relieving the poor were strictly enjoined, only respectable persons might be admitted as guests. On the rare occasions when a person of importance visited the priory the prior might break the ordinary rule, and stay after the meal was over, to converse with his guest. The poor were to receive alms in kind and not in money. Brotherly love and concord were to reign supreme among the canons, and most severe were the penalties inflicted on those who stirred up strife.

¹ The other two keys were kept by the prior and a canon elected by the convent.

Though no canon was allowed to hide the fault of another, yet no brother was to accuse another unless he could prove the charge.¹

The new canons required increased means of support, and Thurstan did not intend to be less generous than his predecessor had been. Besides a large number of messuages in Hexham town, he gave them the township of Dotland, both the Grotingtons, and a tithe on all animals kept in the liberty. Nor was the church itself forgotten, for he provided it with several relics, two magnificent candelabra, and several other ornaments. The rich prebend of Salton, in Yorkshire, was also added to the Hexham property, and the prior became a canon *residentiary* of York by virtue of his office. The old connection with Holm was thus broken off once and for all.² So great was Thurstan's liberality that he, and not Archbishop Thomas, was regarded as the actual founder of the priory.

The archbishops of York had now entered into full possession of Hexham with its appurtenances. The action of Thomas II. and Thurstan had consolidated a claim that had long been growing in force. Royal and papal confirmations alone were necessary to complete the title, and these also speedily came into the possession of the archbishops. Henry I. is reported to have quarrelled with Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham, and in consequence to have deprived him of Hexham, and to have given it to York.³ If this be true it must have happened about this time, for Henry's reign began in the year 1100 and Flambard died in September, 1128. The king's liberality did not end here, for about the same time he granted that all the lands of St. Peter and St. John of Beverley, St. Mary of Southwell, St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and Hexham should be free from liability to military service, and the exactions of the castellans, as they had been in the time of his father and brother (William I. and William II.).⁴ In the great charter by which Henry I. confirms the possessions of the see of York, Hexham is not expressly mentioned, though it is probably tacitly included. In a bull of Pope Calixtus II., *circa* 1119, Hexham is included by name among the archiepiscopal possessions,⁵ and from this time forward the title of the archbishop was never disputed.

¹ This short account of the regulations of the Austin canons of Hexham has been compiled from a series of injunctions made by Archbishops Godfrey de Ludham, Greenfield, and Melton between the years 1265-1307. *Hexham Priory*, i. Illustrative Documents, Nos. xiii. xv. and xxv. They may be compared with the rule and constitutions of the Augustinian order.

² *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. xi.; Surt. Soc. *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. xxix. It is probable that the prior occupied a stall at York as the successor of Richard de Maton. ³ *Hexham Priory*, i. p. 220. The extract is taken from the *Cottonian MS.* Titus A. ii. 160-1. It is a compilation of the fifteenth century.

⁴ Surt. Soc. *Memorials of Ripon*, p. 93. ⁵ *Hexham Priory*, Illustrative Documents, No. vii. *cf.* preface, p. lviii.

The claims of Durham seem never to have been seriously advanced to contest the continual encroachments of York. The old connection between Hexham and Durham died out without a struggle, and nothing but a few unimportant customs remained to show that it had ever existed. In the year 1174 an agreement was come to between the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham as to what these customs should be. The chapel and cemetery of Allenton¹ were to be in the hands of the prior of Hexham, and neither the archbishop nor the bishop was to exercise any control over them. The prior was to attend the Durham synods, and was to receive the sacred chrism from the Durham church. The parishioners of Hexham might if they pleased visit Durham at Whitsuntide. The prior of Hexham was to judge all the suits of his parishioners and distribute punishments. The clergy and canons of Hexham were to receive their orders from the bishop of Durham. The bishops of Durham also advanced some pretensions to take part in the election of a new prior.²

How little account was taken of the above agreement may be seen by the way in which Prior Richard treats the whole question in his history. After roundly declaring that Hexham never had depended on the bishopric of Durham, he goes on to say that the prior or a canon could be summoned to Durham, but only for ecclesiastical questions, that the chrism might be received from York or Durham at will, and that the prior might send his clerks to be ordained to whichever church he preferred.³ So completely were these provisions forgotten in the sixteenth century that the archbishop of York could ask the bishop of Durham to ordain some canons to Hexham *as a favour*, as the following letter clearly shows :

Too the right reverende fadre in God, mye veray good lorde, my lorde of Duresme, is good lordeshipp.

My veraye good lorde. Aftre mye hertiest commendacion. I have a litle lordeshippe adjoininge too youre diocese, nyar, as I am enfourmed, too Duresme than too Yorke, called Hexham. I praye youre lordshippe that if the prior of the monasterie of the saied Hexham sende too the sayme for orders anye

¹ i.e., Allendale Town.

² 'Capella et cimiterium de Alventona in manu Prioris Hagustald. erunt ita quod archiepiscopus non coget aliquem ibi sepeliri nec episcopus prohibebit. Ecclesia Hagustald. crisma et oleum recipiet a Dunelmensi ecclesia sicut solet. Prior quoque veniet ad synodum Dunelmensem. Clerici et canonici Hagustald. ab episcopo Dunelmensi ordines recipient. Parochiani Hagustald. in Pentecosten, visitabunt, si voluerint, ecclesiam Dunelmensem sine coactione episcopi vel suorum et sine prohibitione archiepiscopi vel suorum. Quod si hoc facere praesumpserint ipsi domini corrigent. Prior Hagustald. omnia placita parochiae placitabit, sine poena pecuniaria, et poenitentias dabit. Decadente vero Priore Ricardo, qui nunc est, eam auctoritatem habebit episcopus Dunelmensis in alterius prioris constitutione, quam idem Prior Ricardus, et Prior Guisebertus et Petrus frater prioris de Brenlynton, juraverunt ecclesiam Dunelmensem habuisse in constitutione ejusdem Prioris Ricardi si quam habuisset eam juraverint.' Rolls series, *Historians of York*, iii. 79.

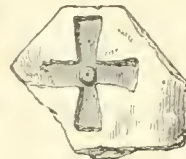
³ Bk. ii. cap. iii.

of his brotherin, that you wolbe contente, there qualitis beinge conveniente for suche orders as they demannde, too admitt them among youre owne. I shalbe glad to doo licke pleasor for you whan I maye. And thus faire you hertlye well. From Stockwell, the xxiiijth daye of March, 1531 [1532]. Yo^r lovinge broder,
EDWARDE LEE EBOR.¹

It seems hardly probable that the bishops of Durham looked with complete equanimity upon the alienation of their former property, and the energy with which Richard asserts the independence of Hexham may indicate that the claim was contested. Be that as it may, the arrangement of 1174 evidently marks an advanced stage in the decline of the claims of Durham, rather than an assertion and confirmation of rights and duties.

In spite of the munificent liberality of Thomas and Thurstan, the canons at Hexham suffered severely from want during the early years of their residence there. Eilaf, the priest, remained in possession of a great part of the endowments, which had descended to him from his grandfather and father, and which he had apparently come to regard as his own private property. With praiseworthy self-denial the canons cheerfully accepted this one-sided arrangement, and lived on terms of complete cordiality with Eilaf.² Prior Asketill, a man of great tact and of genial and conciliatory manners, no doubt fostered these friendly relations, and the little community eked out its scanty means as best it might. When Asketill died, the same situation continued under his successor, Robert Biseth, who was elected from among the canons.³

With increasing age and infirmities, however, Eilaf began to reflect seriously upon his selfishness. In 1138 he was seized with a severe illness at



ANCIENT TOMBSTONE TO A BOY—PUER JURDANUS.

Durham, and felt that his end was approaching. Summoning Prior Biset to his bedside, he handed over his possessions to him and his community

in the presence of several witnesses, among whom was the historian Richard. As a pledge of the validity of the transfer he presented the priory church with a crucifix in silver filagree work, containing some relics of Acca and Alchmund. Being received into the order of St. Benedict at Durham, he soon after died, a monk of that society.⁴

Good fortune, like the reverse, usually comes in a flood, and the canons

¹ MSS. Durham, b. iv. 26, fol. 46. Printed in *Hexham Priory*, i. Illustrative Documents, No. xciii.

² *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. viii.

³ *Prior John*, 1130 A.D.

⁴ *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. ix.

of Hexham must have enjoyed no little prosperity about this time. The liberality of Thurstan excited the emulation of other benefactors. Gifts of land poured in upon the new priory, among the donors being David, king of Scotland, and Henry, his son ; Robert de Setun ; Forno ; William, son of Ulf ; Sundulf, the priest ; Randulf de Merlai ; and Riched, mother of Robert Delaval.¹ The wooden erections of Eilaf had already been replaced by stone buildings before the death of Asketill.² The glory and prosperity of Hexham priory seemed assured.

But events soon showed how precarious was the condition of the priory, situated as it was on the marches, and how little the prior and canons could rely upon the security of their property, the immunity of their church, or even their own personal safety.

To the strong and wise government of Henry I. succeeded, in 1135, all the miseries of a disputed succession between Stephen and Mathilda. When King David of Scotland had decided to embrace the cause of his niece the peace of the Borders at once became compromised. In the year 1137 the Scots crossed into Northumberland, burning, ravishing, and slaying wherever they went. But whatever excesses he might be guilty of elsewhere King David respected the monastery of Hexham and its right of sanctuary, and granted to the canons a charter by which he conferred upon them perpetual peace and immunity from the violence of his subjects. While the storm raged round it on every side, the grey walls of Hexham abbey stood out in the midst of an island of security and peace, to which crowds of terrified country people fled for refuge.³

But the king and his officers had no little difficulty in inspiring their rough and unruly followers with the same feelings of piety and veneration they themselves possessed. A rich and powerful Scot actually attempted to despoil Hexham of its riches, and the righteous anger of some valiant Hexham youths alone put an end to his life and his nefarious purpose. The Scots stationed at Warden were witnesses of the affray, and their commander, William FitzDuncan, could with difficulty restrain their excited demands to go down and avenge their countrymen.⁴

After the Battle of the Standard the defeated Scots returned in no contented humour to Northumberland. The priory church continued to

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. xii.

² *Aelred de Sanctis*, cap. xi.

³ *Prior Richard de Gestis*,

⁴ *Prior John*, A.D. 1138.

enjoy its former immunity, but the prior, who happened to be at Dissington, did not escape insult, and two of his servants were slain by a marauding band under Eadgar, bastard son of Earl Cospatric.¹

The troubled and unsettled state of the north might well have continued had not the appearance of a peacemaker upon the scene brought about the cessation of hostilities. In the month of September, 1138, the legate Alberic, bishop of Ostia, visited the north of England, and rested awhile at Hexham, where he probably inspected the monastery. Soon after he passed on from Hexham to Carlisle where he met King David of Scotland. There he laid the complaints of the prior before the king who willingly promised that full restitution should be made.² The kings of Scotland were anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Hexham canons. They had considerable interests at stake in Northumberland and Cumberland, and a good understanding with Hexham would make their position in these districts more secure. King David always showed himself kind and considerate, whilst William the Lion was a munificent benefactor.

The close of the Scotch invasion inaugurated a long period of peace and prosperity for Hexham. The immunity it enjoyed during the war and the shelter it had given to numerous refugees could not fail to greatly increase its reputation. The bounds of the sanctuary had been re-arranged by Archbishop Thurstan, and various penalties assigned to those who should break it, according to the degree of their guilt. The culminating point was the crime of snatching a fugitive from off the fridstol, and for this offence alone no money compensation could be accepted, it was *botolos*.³

The Scotch troubles were hardly over before Prior Robert determined to resign his charge. He had been brought under the influence of St. Bernard, and wished to adopt a rule more severe than that of the Austin canons. He became a Cistercian in 1141, and left Hexham.⁴ His loss was not perhaps so severely felt as that of another man might have been. Though learned and deeply religious he was, like so many rulers in the Middle Ages, a better saint than administrator.⁵ He was succeeded in 1142 by Richard, one of the canons of the house, and author of the *History of the Church of Hexham* and of *The Acts of King Stephen*. Unfortunately he is

¹ *Prior Richard de Gestis*.

² *Ibid. Prior John*, 1138.

³ *Prior Richard*, bk. ii. cap. xiv.

⁴ *Prior John*, 1141. His resignation may possibly be connected with the visit of Alberic.

⁵ *Aelred de Sanctis*, cap. xi. 'Magis religioni, quam exteriorum administrationi aptus.'

very reticent about himself, but he was alive in 1174 at the time when the agreement between the sees of Durham and York was made. He must have died soon after, for John who succeeded him was witness to a deed to which Ada, the mother of William the Lion, was a party, who died in 1178.¹ The chief event in the history of Hexham that took place during Richard's priorate was the translation of the relics on 3rd March, 1154. With many solemnities and ceremonies the tombs of the saints were visited, and their identity established by inscriptions found in them. The remains of Acca, Alchmund, Fritheberht, and Eata were thus identified, and those of Tilberht were connected with his name by tradition. The new arrangement of the relics was then proceeded with. A richly decorated tabula being set up near the high altar, the bones of Acca, Alchmund, Fritheberht, and Tilberht were placed in a chest in the centre. Those of Eata and Babylas, bishop of Antioch, rested in separate chests on the south and north sides respectively. The ceremony of the day and the glories of the saints were perpetuated by Aelred, who wrote an account of both, intending to keep the canons of Hexham in mind of the splendour and historic interest of their house.²

John, who succeeded Richard about the last quarter of the twelfth century, though equally a historian, and the author of a chronicle, has left us no record of himself. The exact date of his death is not known, but it must have been before 1209, when one William, prior of Hexham bought land at Edston and Holme.³

The annals of the priory during the thirteenth century are exceedingly meagre. Although the period was one of singular prosperity no chronicler, no Richard or John, thought fit to write its history. One shadowy person succeeds another as ruler of the house. The saying, 'happy the country whose annals are vacant' was never better illustrated, for Hexham never enjoyed so much good fortune at any other period. Throughout the reign of Henry III. gifts poured in upon the abbey church. With increasing wealth came the desire to erect more beautiful and more extensive buildings.

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, p. clii. There is some doubt as to the time of Prior Richard's death. Aelred, in his account of the saints of Hexham (cap. xi.), refers to Richard in the words 'cum esset in saeculo,' which might imply that the historian was already dead. Aelred himself died in 1167 (*Surt. Soc. Liber Vitæ*, p. 141), and so Richard's decease may possibly have taken place before that date. The only alternative in the face of the mention of Richard in the charter of 1174 seems to be in supposing that there were two Richards, in succession who were priors of Hexham. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, if this were the case, that some effort would not have been made to distinguish one Richard from the other, but of any such attempt there is no trace. Moreover, the argumentative attitude of Richard in his history, with respect to Durham, tallies very well with the reference to Richard in the charter of 1174.

² *Aelred de Sanctis*, caps. xi. xiii.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, p. clviii.

The church of Wilfrid and Eilaf was replaced by a new priory in the style of the thirteenth century. With the exception of Wilfrid's crypt and modern restorations the whole of the church as it now stands dates from this period. It seems strange that no documentary evidence should exist to confirm the testimony so clearly given by the stones themselves. No chronicles, rolls or other documents throw any light upon a work which must have occupied many years, and which, during its progress, must have absorbed the attention of all interested in the priory.

But little occurred to distract the attention of the Hexham canons from their devotions and their building. About the middle of the century, however, they became engaged in a quarrel with the bishop of Durham, Nicholas de Farnham, with regard to the advowson of Stamfordham. Prior Bernard refused to present one of Nicholas's clergy to the living, but the bishop found means whereby he speedily reduced him to submission. The prior received the disputed right of advowson from the hands of the bishop to be exercised, no doubt, by his favour. From the five townships of Matfen, East Nesbit, Ulkeston (Ouston?), Hawkwell, and Bitchfield, over whose chapels the priory had probably claimed similar rights, it now only received tithes of sheaves.¹

Long peace and prosperity apparently exercised an unwholesome effect upon the Hexham canons. Even so early as 1152 Archbishop Murdac considered their discipline too lax, and wished for greater severity.² When Archbishop Ludham visited the priory in 1260 he found that the rules of the order were not strictly observed, and that there was not the proper number of canons. He drew up a new set of rules, and enjoined their observance.³ Nine years later, the canons of Hexham, after much wrangling, elected Richard of York to succeed their late prior, John of Lasenby. Archbishop Giffard, however, annulled the election, because the requisite majority of two-thirds had not been obtained, and also because Richard had not been born in lawful wedlock.⁴ In the place of the rejected candidate, he nominated Henry de Merdene, prior of Oseney, to the vacant post. On Martinmas day, 1269, the newly-appointed prior left his pleasant abode at Oxford for the

¹ *Ancient Petitions*, No. 9077. The names of the five chapels are given in the *Inspeximus* of 1298. See p. 141.

² *Canonicis in eadem ecclesia plurimam austeritatem quarundam institutionum superaddere studuit. Prior John*, 1152.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. pp. xvii.-xxii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxii.

wild and rugged north.¹ The canons of Hexham appear to have offered no resistance to the action of the archbishop, and the absence of any records of the government of Merdene, probably indicates a quiet and uneventful reign. The improvement in the discipline of the house, which was no doubt intended by this change, was not maintained. When Archbishop Romaine visited Hexham in the time of Merdene's successor, William del Clay, he complained that the discipline was loosely observed, and added fresh regulations to those imposed by Archbishop Ludham.²

Before long the hand of the reformer was rudely stayed by the sword of the destroyer. The lengthy peace between England and Scotland had at last been broken. In April, 1296, the Scots poured into Northumberland, committing everywhere those excesses and depredations that had made their name a terror and a curse in the country. Unprotected by the wise magnanimity of a David or a William, Hexham no longer commanded their respect, and shared the fate of the surrounding country. Its beautiful church was fired, its priceless relics wantonly thrown into the flames, and the gold and gems that adorned its shrines were torn off and carried away by the triumphant invaders. With a barbarous cruelty, distinguished even among their other excesses, the Scots blocked up the doors of the Hexham school, and set fire to the building, which was full of young scholars. Even their own patron saint could not command their respect, and they cut off the head of the image of St. Andrew, observing, amid loud laughter, that he might return and plough his own country. Pious onlookers thought they heard the muttered thunder of heaven's wrath at these atrocities.³

Little more than a year later, another Scotch army, under Wallace, crossed the Border. After gaining a complete victory over the English army at Stirling, they advanced to Durham, but being driven back from the shrine of St. Cuthbert by a storm, they retired to Hexham. The whole body of the canons had not returned since the disasters of 1296, but three of their number, bolder than the rest, had taken up their abode in Hexham in order to administer to the spiritual needs of the scattered population. On

¹ Rolls series, *Ann. Monast.* iv. p. 229.

² *Hexham Priory*, i. app. p. xxiii.

³ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp. 175-6. 'Andren se dort, Ou il est mort, Al Moustier, L'Escos ke fra, Quant il orra, Le rei parler.' Camden Soc. *Political Songs*, p. 301. 'Edward, parmy tuz vos reisuns, Volez penser des arsouns, Dn temple Deu omnipotent, Ad Exlysham, ou cel hoste, De la croix faisait roste, Figure de humaine salvement, Herodes i fert, l'emphle meurt, En ceste anguisse Rachael plourt, Edward or fa le vengement.' *Ibid.* Cf. also p. 287.

the approach of the Scots they withdrew to the sanctuary, resolved if necessary to meet their death there. The invaders broke into the holy place without scruple, and called out, 'Show us the treasures of your church or you shall all die on the spot.' But one of the canons, in no way terrified by their fierce words and the brandishing of their weapons, reminded the plunderers with dignity that they should best know where the treasures of the church might be found. 'It is some time ago,' he said, 'since you carried away almost all our goods into your own country. We have only been able to search out the few things that you see before you here.' At this moment Wallace very opportunely came in, and quieting his unruly followers, asked that mass might be celebrated. After the elevation of the host, Wallace went out, and the priest who was celebrating went into the sacristy to wash his hands. When he returned to the altar, he found, to his dismay, that the chalice, the napkins, and other furniture of the altar had disappeared. He had nothing with which to finish the service, and his perplexity and confusion in the face of that hostile congregation may well be imagined. At this moment Wallace re-entered and learned the facts of the case. He at once ordered the culprits to be searched for, threatening them with instant decapitation. The Scots made a great show of looking for the guilty men, but their search naturally proved fruitless. Wallace perceived that his influence had no weight against the greed of the plundering tribesmen, and he advised the canons to keep close to him and never to leave him. He soon afterwards gave them two charters guaranteeing their lands, men, and all their possessions. The Scotch invaders departed for their own country a few days later on.¹

But in spite of the departure of their enemies, the main body of the canons did not at once return to Hexham. They had been reduced by their losses to the utmost penury, and their estates were laid waste on every side. The very charters from which they derived their title to the estates of the priory had perished, and they could no longer tell what they might call their own. In November, 1297, Archbishop Newark asked the prior and canons of Bridlington to receive and entertain their unfortunate brethren.² But

¹ *Henry de Knyghton* (Rolls series), i. pp. 385-6. This story, so remarkable for its minute details and graphic description, 'was probably,' says Canon Raine, 'told to the historian by his brother canon, William de Hexham, who migrated from the north to Leicester in 1321.' *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, p. lxxxiii.

² *Hexham Priory*, i. app. p. xxvi. Others were entertained at Brinkburn, and the canons there asked to be excused a corrody on this account. Surt. Soc. *Brinkburn Chartulary*, p. 357.

meanwhile efforts were being made to re-establish them in their ancient abode. In the year 1298, Edward I. appointed a commission to sit at Newcastle and enquire what lands had belonged to the priory before the late invasions. The award of these commissioners was afterwards confirmed by the king, and the canons were thus protected against the evils that might have resulted from the loss of their title deeds. This award, known as the *Inspeximus* of 1298, from the first word of the king's charter of confirmation,¹ is here appended :

INSPEXIMUS OF 1298.²

Description of Property.	Name of Donor.	Date of Acquisition.
Church of Hexham, with appurtenances ...	Thomas II., archbishop of York ...	1113.
Manor and vill of Aynewyk ...	Thomas II., archbishop ...	1113.
Vills of Sandhou and Yaru rigg ...		
Tyne mill and pond, with appurtenances ...		
$\frac{1}{10}$ th of all in liberty of Hexham appertaining to archbishop ...		
All district in Hexham town called Cokeshou ...	Thurstan, archbishop ...	1113.
24 messuages in Prestpoffel ward ...		
14 " Vicus fori " ...		
16 " Hennecotes " ...		
Vill of Dotteland, Knitelhesell, both Grotintons ...	Germund
$\frac{1}{10}$ th of all animals in liberty ...		
$\frac{1}{2}$ vill of Bingfield ...	Robert de Skipton ...	27th Dec., 1289.
2 water mills in Hamburne and Newbiging, and 80 acres of land, with suits of all essarts ...	Archbishop Walter Grey ...	4th Aug., 1226.
1 rood of land in Akum ...	Archbishops Walter Grey and Walter Giffard ...	1216-55, 1265-79.
1 rood " Walle ...		
1 rood " Haliden ...		
1 rood " Kepwyk ...		
1 rood " Catteden ...		
1 rood " Ninebenk ...		
1 rood " Rouley ...		
Entire manor of Warden with church, and chapels of Stayncroft, Hayden, and Langley ...	Adam de Tyndal, confirmed by bishop of Durham
40 acres land, 6 acres meadow, 2 messuages in Sadelingstanes ...	Adam de Sadelingstan
2 messuages and 40 acres of land, and 10s. rent in Qwyneteley ...	Adam de Thorngraffton
All land of Byres, and common of pasture without bounds of said town ...	Adam de Tyndal

¹ 'Edwardus, etc., *Inspeximus* quandam inquisitionem quam per dilectos, etc., nuper fieri fecimus.'

² This charter has been printed in the second volume of Canon Raine's *Hexham Priory*, pp. 107-17, and in Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. pp. 156-70, the latter, however, from a very incorrect copy.

Description of Property.	Name of Donor.	Date of Acquisition.
Mill of Alrewess	Uctred de Alrewes ...	.....
1 carucate of land in Alrewes, with appurt. in Oulemers	Richard, bailiff of Hexham...	<i>circa</i> 1270.
Church of Cholverton, with its chapels, viz., Birteley, Chipchesse, Gonewarton, Est Swyneburne, Little Heton, Colewelle	Odenell de Umframvill ...	.....
8 bovates of land in vill of Cholverton, as endowment of church, and 5 acres called Michel-croft on north side of the church		
Hamlet of Beumond	Gilbert de Umframvill ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
1 toft and 7 acres land in Birteley	Ric. de Umframvill ...	.....
All land and pasture of Colden	Ric. de Umframvill ...	.....
Common pasture on moor of Gunwarton for 300 cattle coming from Colden	Radulf de Gunwarton ...	.....
2 tofts and 30 acres land in vill of Barweforde	Margerie de Umframvill ...	<i>temp.</i> Edward I.
2 tofts and 2 bovates of land in vill of Chestrehorp	Radulf de Gonewarton ...	.....
1 carucate of land in Neuton in Cokedal	Walter de Insula ...	.....
Common pasture for 32 oxen, 10 cows, and 240 sheep in Colewell	Walter Corbet ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
Manor of Little Heton and Caldestrother	Alina de Bolum; James de Caus and his wife Alisia ...	.....
1 toft and 6 acres land in Little Babington	Stephen Bataillie ...	.....
Also 2 tofts 3½ acres, common pasture for 15 cattle, 60 sheep, 2 horses	Gilbert de Wircestre ...	.....
3 tofts and barn, 2 bovates, 12 acres land in vill of Gonewarton	Radulf de Gonewarton and Thurkilly de Cadeiou ...	.....
Church of Slaveley for own use, and 1 carucate with appurt. as its endowment, and common pasture there for 260 sheep	Gilbert de Slaveley, con- firmed by bishop of Durham	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
Common pasture in le Stele for 260 sheep		
1 house and 1 acre land in vill of Chipches	Robert de Insula ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
£2 3s. 4d. rent for 8 messuages in Newcastle-on-Tyne	Divers people ...	.....
£2 3s. 2d. rent from 15 messuages in vill of Corbrigg	Divers people ...	.....
1 messuage, 7 acres land in Hayden, and common pasture for 260 sheep	Adam de Tindal ...	.....
1 acre land in field of West Swyneburne	Jn. de Wirecestre...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
Whole manor of Milneburne, with common pasture in moor of Crekelagh	Tho. de Dyvelston ...	25th May, 1285.
All land of Stelden in exchange for £1 3s. a year service	Abbot of Newminster ...	.....
Demesne of vill of Whitefeld, 16s. 4d. rent	Wm., king of Scotland ...	1174-8.
Moor called Karraue-sid	Wm., king of Scotland ...	1174-8.
Hamlet of Carrawer	Ric. Comyn ...	12th century.
1 carucate land in Rischeles and common pasture of Hetheneshalgh		
1 toft and 30 acres land in Stayncroft	Ric. Comyn ...	12th century.
6 tofts and 1 carucate in Thirlewall	Bricius de Thirlewall and Roger, his son ...	.....
Common pasture for 80 cattle, 80 mules, 40 pigs, 80 goats		
Pasture called Presdale	Ivo de Veteri Ponte ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
8 messuages and 1 carucate in Aldeneston		

Description of Property.	Name of Donor.	Date of Acquisition.
8s. rent in Teket... ..	Laurence de Teket ...	.....
13s. 4d. rent in mill of Elrington	Ivo de Veteri Ponte ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
8s. rent in Aldschel	Hen. de Graham ...	.....
$\frac{1}{2}$ manor of Echewyk	Robert, son of Hubert Delaval, and his mother Richolda	<i>circa</i> 1138.
10 acres land there	Tho. de Echewyk... ..	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
7 acres „	Peter de Faudon ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
13s. 8d. rent in vill of Stokesfeld, paying 7s. a year to the custody of the castle	Wm., son of Boso... ..	.....
3s. rent there	John, son of Helias ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
5 tofts, 10 bovates, 3 acres meadow in Thornton	Wm. de Insula, confirmed by Walter de Bolbek ...	.....
Manor and 3 acres land in Benwell	Hugh Delaval ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
2 acres land, 16s. rent in vill of Throkclagh... ..	Rob. de Ivestanes and Christine de Throkclagh ...	.....
Manor, 6 messuages, 3 carucates in East Matfen	Tho. de Fenewyke, confirmed by Robert de Insula	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
1 toft, 2 bovates in Stannington, also 1s. 6d. rent there	Roger de Merlay ...	.....
1 mark rent in Brinkelagh mill	Hen. de Ferlington ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
1 toft and croft, 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres common pasture for 400 sheep and their lambs in vill of Whalton	Walter, son of Wm., and Isabella, his wife ...	.....
8s. rent in vill of Riplengton		
2 fisheries in Tyne, 1 place for drying nets at Dripintell and Foul	Roger Bertram ...	.....
1 toft, 2 carucates in vill of Stanfordeham	Jn. de Normanvill, confirmed by lord of Balliol ...	.....
Manor of Cheseburgh, Nesebith		
Portion of church of Stanefordham	Nicholas, bishop of Durham	<i>circa</i> 1242.
10 garbs of 5 churches: Mathfen, Est Nesbith, Ulkeston, Haukewell, Bechefeld		
Manor of Stelling; 1 toft and 2 acres land in Newbigging on sea; 40s. rent in vill of Seton	Bernard de Balliol ...	.....
$\frac{1}{3}$ of vill of Dalton	Radulf de Gonewarton ...	.....
Also 4 bovates and 5s. 6d. rent from mill there	Wm. de Dalton ...	.....
1 toft and 8 acres land in vill of Prodehou	Ric. de Umframvill ...	.....
Chief messuage, Est Swinburne	Hugo de Balliol ...	.....
Homage by John of East Swinburne		
Homage of heirs of Nich. de West Swinburne and service of 3s. for chantry chapel of West Swinburne	Jn. de Wircestre ...	<i>temp.</i> Henry III.
Homage of John de Cambhou for lands in Little Heton and Caldstrother	Alina de Bolom, Jas. de Cauz and Alesia his wife ...	.....
Homage of Ric. de Thirlwall and 3s. rent for land he holds in Thirlewall	Bricius de Thirlewall and his son Roger ...	.....
Homage of Adam de Whitelagh and service of 4s. rent	Adam de Tindale ...	.....
Homage of Thos. son of Richard, son of Bricius de Thirlewall for lands in Thirlewall	Adam de Tindale ...	.....
Homage of John de Normanvill for Stokesfeld and Apetreley for service of 13s. 8d.	Wm., son of Boso... ..	.....
Homage of Robert de Ribil and service of 10s. rent, 3 suits a year at prior's court	Theophania de la Bataillie...	.....

Description of Property.	Name of Donor.	Date of Acquisition.
Homage of Matt. de Whitefeld for lands in Whitefeld, rent 16s. 8d.	Wm., king of Scotland ...	1165-1214.
Homage of Robert de Throkclagh for lands held there	Robt. de Ivestanes and Christiana de Throkclagh	.....
Tithe grange with garden in vill of Est Swyneburne ...	Hugh de Balliol ... ..	.....

This list includes only the property held by the priory in Northumberland. The priory also held considerable estates in Yorkshire, Durham, and Cumberland. Thurstan had given them Salton, and about the same time they probably received four bovates of land in Givendale from William son



TOMB OF GILBERT DE UMFRAVILLE AND HIS WIFE.

of Ulf. King David of Scotland gave them two houses in Carlisle, and the grant of Isell in Cumberland may probably be referred to Waldeve, a younger son of Earl Cospatric.¹

Some payments were due to the archbishop in lieu of services. Apparently these only amounted to £8 os. 4d. in 1298, and were to be paid from the lands given by Archbishops Grey and Giffard. In the time of Archbishop Zouche these payments had risen to £11 2s. 2½d.² The bishops of Durham also possessed rights in the churches of Chollerton, Warden,

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. v. cap. xii.; see note, *Hexham Priory*, i. p. 59.

² *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. xlv. Zouche was archbishop from May 2nd, 1340, to July 19th, 1352.

Slaley, and Stamfordham, and about the year 1340 Bishop Bury remitted a pension of 50 marks due to him from the last named place, on account of the poverty of the Hexham canons.¹

The prosperity of the priory reached its height just previous to the Scottish invasion. But from that time it rapidly declined. The Statute of Mortmain made further acquisitions exceedingly difficult to obtain. Border feuds and a continual state of war with the Scots exposed the lands of the priory to invasion and plunder, so that rents steadily fell until the time of the dissolution. When the canons returned to Hexham after the invasions of 1296 and 1297, they found the value of their property diminished by at least one-third. They had a cheerless task before them. The ruin and desolation that met them at every turn would have tried the fortitude of the strongest. To add to their other troubles, they speedily became involved in strained relations with the archbishop.

William de Greenfield had been elected to the see of York on 4th Dec., 1303. He appears to have been a man of a stern and unbending disposition, a rigid disciplinarian, possessing a very strong will and a determination to have his own way in all things.

In April, 1307, he visited Hexham, and was far from being satisfied with the state of discipline there. The forcible injunctions he then drew up on the duties of brotherly love, the maintenance of divine service, the possession of private property, and simple and chaste living,² may well excite the impression that the canons had been negligent in all these particulars. No doubt the events of recent years, which had so rudely interrupted the even life of the foundation, had also completely disorganised the discipline of its members. Four years later the archbishop was again at Hexham and issued a new set of regulations. Amongst other things he ordered the number of canons to be maintained at twenty-six.³ The prosperity of the priory was evidently increasing again. Although Edward I. required large sums for the support of his armies, he guaranteed Northumberland against invasion. The restoration of the church was proceeding, and in June, 1310, the bishop of Whitherne, acting as suffragan in Hexhamshire, consecrated the altars which had been repaired or renewed.⁴ More than a mere restoration seems to have been accomplished. By 1350 most of the fourteenth-century work in

¹ *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. xliii. and *cf.* note, p. 137.

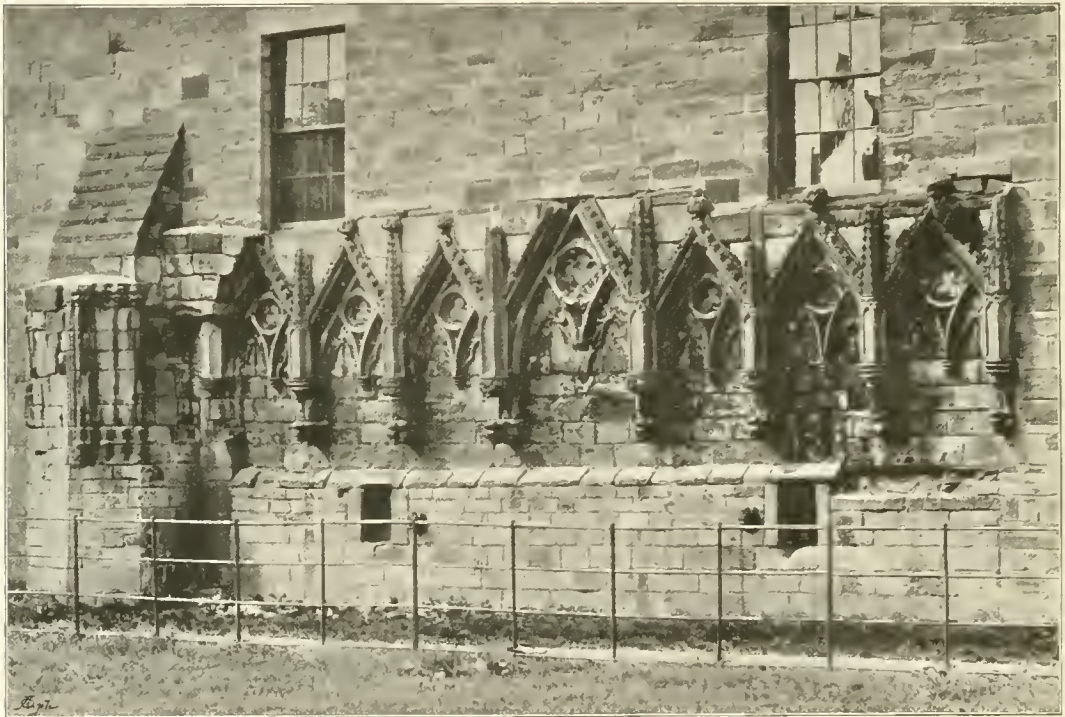
² *Ibid.* i. app. No. xxv.

³ *Ibid.* No. xxxiii.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. xxxi.

Hexham priory must have been completed, including the building at the east end of the church, which was afterwards known as the 'Old School' or Lady Chapel.¹

Apparently the canons of Hexham resented the action of the archbishop in reforming their house. They may have resisted the introduction of the new rules, or perhaps a party of them formed themselves into an opposition for the purpose of defying the archbishop. Of this party Robert de Whelpington must have been the chief, and it is probable that he had most of the canons on his side. Greenfield was not the man to suffer a revolt of this



THE LAVATORY.

sort to go unchecked, and he resolved to put it down with a firm hand. In August, 1309, he wrote a peremptory letter to the prior ordering him to send Robert de Whelpington to the monastery of St. Oswald in Gloucester for punishment, because 'he had not blushed to prejudice the interests of his

¹ This appears to be proved by a charter of Archbishop Zouche granting the priory 5 feet off the market place; the space that had previously existed had apparently been built upon, and the canons needed more room for their processions. *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. lviii.

spiritual mother, the church of York.' Archbishop Greenfield evidently considered that the prior had been no less an offender than Whelpington, and he threatened to excommunicate the whole community in case they should venture to disobey his mandate.¹

As the archbishop did not proceed to extreme measures, it may be surmised that Whelpington went quietly to his exile in Gloucestershire. The question was far from being settled however. Two years later the prior, Thomas de Fenwick, who had been elected in 1293, and who had governed the priory during the most trying period of its existence, resolved to resign. After having weathered the storm of invasion, he had seen and superintended the work of restoration. Broken down as he was with age and infirmities he might well, now that his work was accomplished, relinquish his charge. So far from bearing any ill-feeling against him, the archbishop speaks of him with affection and regard, and ordained that the canons should provide him with a special chamber, fit sustenance, and a pension of ten silver pounds for the rest of his life.²

In his zeal for reform the archbishop was tempted to exceed his rights. Wishing to ensure the execution of his rules, and anxious to secure the good order of the priory, he himself appointed a successor to Fenwick. This was one Gilbert de Boroughbridge, a canon of Nostell,³ and no doubt a capable man. But the archbishop's action raised a storm. The canons refused to submit to such an encroachment. They clung to a right that had belonged to their body ever since the days of Robert Biset. They refused to accept a stranger, and resolved to stand by their privilege of electing their own superior to the last. Although Greenfield had no precedents to justify his conduct, he continued to press the claims of his candidate by all the means in his power. His resentment must have been kindled by the action of the canons of Hexham, who had chosen his old enemy, Robert de Whelpington, to be their prior. On August 2nd he excommunicated the whole community for their disobedience,⁴ and proceeded to take even stronger measures. Finding his spiritual thunders insufficient to quell the spirit of the rebellious canons, he sequestered the whole of their property in Hexhamshire and Yorkshire, and persuaded the bishops of Durham and Carlisle to do the like in their own dioceses.

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. No. xxvii.

² *Ibid.* app. No. xxxiv.

³ *Ibid.* No. xxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. xxxvi.

Against this vindictive attack the canons petitioned the king in Parliament to procure for them the restitution of their possessions.¹ Apparently they obtained this concession, for their cause prospered. The archbishop had tried cajolment as well as threats; he had even promised that if the canons would accept Gilbert de Boroughbridge, their right of electing a prior should never again be disputed.² But his efforts were in vain, and the canons continued to defy him in spite of all his measures against them. At last, on November 20th, the excommunication was withdrawn, and in the following January a compromise was arranged by which all the fruits of victory rested with the canons. Their right of election was definitely recognised, and Robert de Whelpington was confirmed as prior. They bound themselves, however, to pay Gilbert de Boroughbridge a pension of £10 during the term of his natural life, or until he should accept some office or preferment.³

The canons might still have been rejoicing over their victory when the terrible storm of invasion again broke over their heads. King Edward I. was dead, and the government had passed into the feeble hands of his son, Edward II. The Borders were the first to feel the effects of the change. In August, 1312, Robert Bruce entered England, and burned Hexham and Corbridge. In the year 1314 the Scots again visited the banks of the Tyne, and appear to have taken up their quarters there.⁴

Once more, after an interval of only fifteen years, the canons of Hexham were obliged to leave their home and flee for their lives. In their distress they found a true friend in Archbishop Greenfield. In February, 1315, the primate lent the priory the sum of £40 to supply its immediate needs. But the money proved insufficient to keep the canons together, and they were dispersed throughout the various convents of their order in the province of York, to which the archbishop gave them letters of recommendation.⁵

¹ 'A nostre seingnour le roy e a soun counsail, prient le supprior e le couent de Hexsildisham pur dieu e l'alme vostre pere remedye, de ceo qe, en countir vostre proteccioun, le Ercewek de Euerwic par Roger de Thornewton soun balye de Hexsildisham ad sequestre toutes leurs benez e possessions dence la franchises de Hexsildisham e en Euerwic scire, e ad fete le Eweke de Dourem e le Eweke de Cardoill sequester toute leur possessions dence leur deocyse, par la resoune ke il ont elu priour de eusmeymis Robert de Welpington par noun, sicum il sunt priuilegez par bulle, et ne vult receyuir Gilbert de Pount de burg chanoyn de Seynt Oswaldis en leur priour, par maundement le dite Ercewek en countir leur priuilegg e le droyt de leur mesoun; par quai il priunt pur dieu, vostre lectir de inhibicioun a le Ercewek, e au dene e le chapitir de Euerwic, e a le Eweke de Dourem, e a le Eweke de Cardoile, e au balie de Hexsildisham, ke il ne seunt distraunt ne de leur bienz ne possessions greuez taunke le debate entir eus soyt decqus par jugement.' *Ancient Petitions*, No. 8013.

² *Hexham Priory*, i. app. p. lii. note.

³ *Ibid.* preface, p. clxiii. note.

⁴ *Lanercost Chron.* pp. 219, 229.

⁵ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. xlii. and note.

The sojourn of the Hexham canons in Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire lasted practically throughout the reign of Edward II. They indeed returned to Hexham for a short time in 1318, but another invasion, and a murrain among the cattle, again drove them southwards. During this troubled period they received some grants of lands, including one half of Little Heton manor,¹ and lands in Kirkheton, Nesbit, East Matfen, Eachwick, and Dalton.² But their condition continued to be one of extreme poverty, and the priory never thoroughly recovered from the blows thus repeatedly dealt at it.

With the accession of Edward III., and the return of a strong government, the state of the north became more settled. The canons returned to Hexham, and Archbishop Melton did his utmost to raise funds in Yorkshire for the restoration of the priory.³ Nevertheless, the distress of the canons continued to be very severe, and the Rolls of Parliament bear witness to



CORNER OF PRIOR LESCHMAN'S SHRINE.

their extreme poverty. They made petition for the grant of the advowson of Alston church, for a pension of 40 marks for eight canons out of the issues of Knaresborough or Barnard Castle, and for a remission of a debt of £63 10s., due to the Exchequer, all, as they allege, on account of the

¹ *Rot. Pat.* 7 Ed. II. m. 14.

² *Ibid.* 16 Ed. II. m. 4.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. lv.

devastation wrought by the Scots, and because they themselves are almost without the means of subsistence.¹

The priory, however, did not enjoy complete immunity under Edward III. The war with the Scots still continued, and in March, 1346, the dreaded enemy again broke into Northumberland, plundered Lanercost, and of course did not neglect Hexham.² This time, however, there was no incendiarism. If the priory was spoiled the building itself was respected. Moreover, the Scots did not long enjoy their triumph. Near Durham they sustained a complete defeat, and retreated, discomfited, to their own country.

After fifty years of invasions and plunderings, when neither life nor property could be considered secure for a moment, the priory of Hexham and its canons were at length enabled to enjoy the pleasures of safety and peace. From 1346 to the dissolution, the foundation remained unmolested by unholy and sacrilegious hands, however lawless its surroundings might be. But this period of relative prosperity is almost as much a blank, so far as the history of the priory is concerned, as the prosperous thirteenth century had been. One record indeed remains to show that the priory held and administered large estates at this period, from which it drew a considerable revenue. The Black Book of Hexham, though it bears the date Whitsuntide, 1479, is really the work of many years. It represents, in a very full manner, the extent to which the priory had recovered from the disastrous invasions of the fourteenth century. Although many places still remained waste, and most of the rents were reduced, the great majority of the lands was occupied, and some were even let on lease for more or less extended periods.

The following is only an abstract of this valuable document:³

HEXHAM: THE BLACK BOOK, DATED 1479.

HEXHAM:

Priestpoffle ward: Thomas Monk, 1 tenement, rent 1s. 6d.; Mariota Wer, 1 tenement, rent 8d.; Jn. Laverock, Patrick Laverock, Thomas Monk, Tho. Barthelemew, Jn. Greene, Jn. Wanles, Archbald Dikson, Robt. Milnar, who also holds a garden, Roger Bischof. Jn. Hurde, Herle Turpyn, Jn. Lee,

¹ 'A nostre seignour le roy priont ses pouers chapellayns le priour et le couvent de Hextildesham q'i sont ars et destrictz par les enemis d'Escoce et vnt este en dispersioun quatre aunz et plus, qil voille, si lui plect, de sa charite commander akune chose pur lur sustenance de prendre des issues de Chastelbernard ou de akune autre eschete ou il lui plerra tant qil poent aprocher lur mesoun demaigne. Et qil voille, si lui plect, en aide de la dite mesoun, releuer de sa grace graunter les le counge de approprier vne poure Eglise de Aldeston, qest de lur awoneisoun demaigne, et vaut en tens de pees x marcs, desicom ceo nest en charge ne en damage de nostre seignour le roy ne de nul autre.' *Ancient Petitions*, E. 403; see also Nos. 540, 13226, 15310, 2553, 5749, and E. 548.

² *Lanercost Chron.* p. 346.

³ The Black Book is so called from the colour of its cover. It has been printed in full, with many valuable notes and a number of illustrative documents, by Canon Raine, and forms vol. 46 of the Surt. Soc. publications.

Wm. Whytskalez, Wm. Chaumer, Archbald Diksun, Jn. Whyt, suitor, Jn. Whyt, Thomas Monk, widow of Jn. Whyt, Jn. Whytskale, Johanna Nuthode, Johanna Huton, Ric. Arnstrang, Ric. Hunter, Tho. Heslihopp.

Pudding Raw: Johanna Gladow, Wm. Chaumyr, Patrick Laverok, Rolland Watsun, Jn. Watsun, client, Jn. Scot, Jn. Leschman, widow of Robt. Hyn. One waste there. Wm. Spavyne, Robt. Nicolson, Robt. Stokall, Jn. Patonson, Thos. Elysun, Alicia Hudsun, Wm. Symson, Johanna Batsun, Robt. Barkar, Jn. Lytill, Wm. Gladow, Tho. Hyrd, Alicia Hird, Wm. Jonsun. Three gardens there.

Demesnes in the territory of Hexham: le Merchak, 10 acres; Wynd-myl-n-stob, on either side of the way, 8 acres and 1 acre of arable land; Harelaw, 5 acres; Hencotis at Haynyng crofte, 2 acres; Ovinhousgat, 4 acres; Milnflatte, with 2 acres meadow, in all 12 acres. The cellarer holds $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow, against the miln-fleme; John of Walworth holds 2 acres there by permission of the prior; 6 acres between the hall orchard and Holy well dene; 20 acres pasture between the Tyne and the miln-fleme.

Medhop close of 14 acres (5 acres belong to Aynwyk township) on north side of Tyne; 2 acres land by Tyne mill-pond, lying in Harthorn flatte.

Aynwyk: one grange containing divers buildings, orchards, and dovecotes; 1 sheepfold with a walled garden containing 2 acres; 1 walled garden containing 1 acre; 218 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres demesne land in culture, 1 acre meadow in divers places, of which 8 acres are devoted to the use of the grange and 42 acres to Hexham priory; 40 acres demesne land included with the Medhop; 30 acres land in the territory of Corbyrig, called le Bisschopprek. Sum total 363 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

There are 12 husband lands, each contains 16 acres, and renders services; there are 19 cottage lands containing 60 acres 1 rood, at a gross rental of £3 1s. 3d.; 5 acres demesne land, rent 3s. 8d.

Brewing of Aynwyk township, 5s.; rent of mill £3 13s. 4d.; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres near Beaufront, 2s.; the tenants of Aynwyk pay pannage, which is ordinarily worth 6d.

Sandow: the freeholders have 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, rent 2s. 8d.; demesne lands, 4 acres, rent 2s. 6d., 38 acres waste; 13 husband lands, each containing 24 acres land, gross rental £5 7s. 5d.; 12 cottage lands, besides services, containing 4 acres 3 roods; 1 garden, 1 lech; 3 sykes, at a gross rental of £1 4s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Tenants pay pannage, generally 6d.; one waste place formerly rented at 6d.; 8 acres glebe of St. John Lee church, at a rent of 13s. 4d.; 3 acres glebe of St. Oswald church, at a rent of 8d.

Byngfeld: the manor, containing various houses, a chapel, four gardens, containing 2 acres, and fith barn; 238 acres in demesne, arable land; 16 acres 3 roods meadow.

Arable land called Todridge or Litol Grotington.

Grange of Byngfeld, leased for 13 years, rent for first three years, £6 a year, for second three, £7 6s. 8d., for six following years, £8 a year; 22 acres waste land; 16 rigges containing 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres; also 25 rigges containing 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres; and 1 flat containing 7 acres, rent £8; sheepfold and garden containing 4 acres. Through this fold the prior and convent have a right of way to the territory of Colwell township to the common pasture of that township.

12 husband lands, each containing 24 acres arable and meadow land, at a gross rental of £9 12s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., besides services; 12 cottage lands, with 55 acres 3 roods, at a gross rental of £2 1s. 7d., besides services; 4 cottage lands are entered as waste.

For brewing, 2s.; for the mill, 10s.

Grotington at a rent, first of £2, then of £2 10s., on account of a new house there.

Dotland:¹ Dotland park, containing 27 acres 1 rood; 10 husband lands, each containing 15 acres arable and meadow land, at gross rental of £2 10s., besides services; 10 cottage lands, containing 19 acres $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, at a gross rental of 15s. 5d.

Dotland dene: places containing 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, at a rent of 2s.; 90 acres treasury lands, and one field of 60 acres treasury lands, and 24 acres treasury lands; 6 husband lands, at a gross rental of £1 16s.; 2 acres meadow for drying peats.

¹ Archbishop Thoresby (1354-73) gave the priory permission to enclose Dotland park. *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. xlv.

2 water mills, one waste, the other rented at 7 marks ; one place for bringing water to the mill, rent 6d.; one husband land in Roulye, rent 4s.

The lord of Cocelye pays the prior and convent 4 marks a year for permission to have a mill on his demesne of Cocelye or Langhope.

A house in Alwenton with $\frac{1}{2}$ acre land, rent 6s. 8d.

Tithe barn in Akome with 1 rood of land, rent 1s.; tithe barn in Wall and 1 rood of land, rent 6d.; tithe barn in Kepewyk and 1 rood of land, rent 6d.; tithe barn in Haliden and 1 rood of land, rent 6d.; tithe barn in Rouly and garden are waste ; tithe barn in Cadden and garden are waste ; 1 rood of land in Nynbenkes, rent 4d.

They likewise have sac and soc in Hexhamshire and other liberties, viz., the assize of bread and beer, making distrains, summonses, attachments, and fines for all transgressions from all tenants, in the prior's court.

LANDS IN CUMBERLAND:

Ravenwyke: 3 houses and 3 gardens with 14 acres 2 roods of land.

Scales: 11 acres, leased for 6 years at 10s. a year.

Isall:¹ Site of a rectory which is waste. The vicar has 2½ acres glebe, and pays 3s. 6d.; 16 acres 3 roods at a gross rental of £1 os. 4d., and two houses at 10s. a year; a wooded bank; two waste fields, common pasture.

A fourth share in Plumland mill, worth 15s. a year ordinarily.

In Alneburgh, 1 acre waste, 20 acres arable land, at a rent of 6s. 8d.

The tithes of Isale, etc., are farmed out for 22 marks a year, of which £10 are appropriated to the use of the cellarer for cooking.

One tenement in Carlisle leased for 20 years at 1s. 6d. a year, and another tenement at 2s. 6d. a year.

LIBERTY OF TYNDALE WITH PRESDALE AND ALDENNESTON MORE:

Elleryngton mill: annual income of 13s. 4d. from the mill of Elleryngton.

Stancroft: 1 toft and 20 acres at a rent of 8s.

Sadlyngstanes: 1 toft and 4½ acres, with pasture for 4 cows and 20 sheep; also 1 toft and 20 acres, and 4 acres of meadow, at a total rent of 10s.

Carrow: Pasture land at a rent of 8d. The whole township with its common pasture and coal mines, at a rent of £4. The water mill is ruined. Common pasture.

Annual rent of 8s. for Aldescheles: 40 years arrears.

One toft and croft in Teket and 10 acres of land; one rood in demesne toft at Grendon; 10½ acres land in Hennishalgh.

Ryscheles: gross rental from Henneshalgh and Ryschelez, £1 7s..

Thirlwall: 1 close called Wardrew; 1 acre in meadow of Crakdale, at a rent of 15s.; 3 roods of land at Wyrch-snake-colfe, at a rent of 5s.; Wyrthkeryne, at a rent of 4s.; Priorbank, at a rent of 3s.; Welhouse, with garden and croft, in all $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, with 2 acres 1 rood of land, at a rent of 1s. 6d.; one tenement called Croymagh, with two buildings.

Flagan Clough: 1½ acres land, at a rent of 6s. 8d.

Wardog hall: $\frac{1}{4}$ part, about 7 acres, at a rent of 13s. 4d., with common pasture.

Knaresdale: with pasture.

Whytlaw: at a rent of 4s.

Whytfeld: at a rent of 16s. 8d., of which 3s. 4d. is appropriated to the sacristan and 13s. 4d. to the cellarer.

Aldeneston: a part of the township with common pasture.

Gerard Gill: 1 toft and pasture for 10 cows and 2 horses.

Presdale, including right of way through fee of Aldestone. The right to use the wood of Aldestone wood for building.

Cestrehope: 24 acres, waste for 40 years. A rent of 10s., upon which a pension of 6s. 8d. is charged in favour of one Adam de Lee.

¹ The title to the livings of Renwick and Isell was confirmed by the bishop of Carlisle in 1359, who excused the prior, William de Kendal, from attending synods in his diocese. *Ibid.* No. xlix.

BARONY OF LANGLEY:

Byres,¹ a park in which the prioress of Lambley might keep cattle. For this privilege the prioress supplies the prior's table once a year with a board cloth. The prioress holds 2 acres pasture, and pays a rent of 4d.

Langdene and Ulgeham, at a total rent of £1 13s. 4d.; Langdene formerly paid £2 2s.; common pasture of Fethirstanhalgh.

Whynetye: rents amount to 4s. 4d.; pasture for 8 oxen, 24 cows, 100 sheep, 5 horses, 5 sows.

Hayden: 11 acres, at a rent of 4s., formerly 6s. 8d.; tithe barn and pasture in Hayden.

Allewasshe mill, with 5 roods of land.

Olmers, with the wood there.

Litill Olmers, at a rent of £1 3s.

Wardon manor,² with various buildings; 4 acres, called Le Cros flat; 1 acre, called Lang Acre, and 10 acres hard by.

Wardon township: 28 acres 3 roods of land; 6 cottage lands, containing 16 acres 2 roods, at a gross rental of £1, besides services; a place called Clerk place; the ferry is leased for 10 years at a rent of £1.

The rent of the manor is £6 13s. 4d., and it is appropriated to the use of the cellarer.

Walwyk: pasture for 200 sheep, 16 oxen, 10 cows, from Wardon manor.

Sclaveleye: 16 acres 3 roods, besides waste lands, at a gross rental of 11s.

Prest place, 1½ acres, at a rent of 2s.

Lumbards place, 1 acre, at a rent of 3s. 4d.

Husband lands contain 9½ acres, at a rent of 3s., let out on a lease for 3 years; a sheepfold of 1 acre in extent; a sheepfold in Le Stele, 1 acre in extent, and common pasture for 300 sheep.

Stokysfeld: at a rent of 13s. 8d.

Proudehowe: 8 acres ½ rood, at a rent of 8s.

Ovyngesham fishery.

Corbyrg: 10 burgages, at a gross rental of £1 14s. 4d.

Beaumont: with right of way to Chollirton pasture. Rent £2 13s. 4d., formerly 5 marks.

Chollirton: 29 acres 3 roods, and 2 cottage lands, containing about 4 acres, at a gross rental of £1 8s.; also 30 acres 3 roods, at a gross rental of £1 10s.

Barousford: 31 acres 3 roods. A tithe barn with ½ acre of land, at a rent of £1, of which 2s. are appropriated to the bursar, and 18s. to the needs of the convent.

Gunwardton: 36½ acres, at a gross rental of £1 1s.

Byrtelye: 6 acres, at a rent of 5s.

Chipches: a tithe grange and about 1 rood of land.

Colden: with right of way to Gonwarton moor, at a rental of £3 6s. 8d.

Stelden: with right of way to Gonwarton moor, at a rental of £2, of which £1 13s. 4d. is paid to the abbot of Newminster.

Swynburn Est: a piece of land 80 feet square, for a tithe barn, rented at 1d.

Collewelle: pasture for 400 sheep, 30 oxen, 10 cows, 1 bull, and right of way to Byngfeld. Tithe barn and garden about 1 rood in extent, rent 1d. Messuage in Swynburne West, at a rent of 3s. 1 acre of land.

Kirkheton with Caldstrothre: 7 parcels of land held by feudal tenure; rent 1d. 33 husband lands, each containing 34 acres, except one of 25 acres, at a gross rental of £7 17s. 8 cottage lands and 2 crofts, containing 46½ acres, at a gross rental of £1 1s. 2d.; two are waste. Demesne meadows, at a rent of 6s.; one part is waste.

Litil Babynton: 10½ acres common pasture for 15 cattle, 60 sheep, 2 horses; gross rental 2s., appropriated to the almoner.

¹ By a grant of Edward I. the priory enjoyed the right of free warren in their estates at Byres, Warden, Matfen, Colden, Cheseburn, and Milburn. *Rot. Chart.* 14 Ed. 1. m. 13.

² The prior collected the revenues of the church, but only enjoyed 22 marks of it, the rest, amounting in the fifteenth century to 24 marks, went to Durham. *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. pp. 91, 137, note.

- Neuton in Cook ale: 4 acres waste. 1 carucate of arable land; rent 13s. 4d.
- Temple Thornton: 91 acres 3 roods. 3 acres of meadow. 2 tofts and lands, one waste, at a rent of £1 10s. 2 tofts and lands, one waste, at a rent of £1.
- Whalton: 56½ acres; 1 acre 3 roods of meadow, with common of pasture, at a gross rental of 10s., appropriated to the kitchen. 8s. rent paid by the lord, appropriated to the sacristan.
- Newbiggyng-on-Sea: 5 roods of land, waste. 3 roods, at a rent of 2s., of which 1s. 4d. is paid to the lord as ferm, and 2d. to the cellarer.
- Stanyngton: 13 acres 1½ roods; 2 acres of meadow at a rent of 6s., appropriated to the cellarer.
- Clifton: rent of 1s. 6d. from a chantry at Stanyngton church. Lands are waste.
- Seton, Wodhorn: annual rent of £2.
- Brenklawe: annual rent of 13s. 4d. Waste.
- North Milburne: the whole grange, with common pasture on Craklaw moor, and liberty to build a mill; worth £5 6s. 8d. a year.
- Byresfeld de Milnburne, at a rent of 18s.
- The wife of the lord of Dissington provides every year, on St. Andrew's day, two corporax cloths for the high altar of Hexham, in exchange for the privilege, enjoyed by the lord of Dissington, of taking moulder from the prior's tenants at Eachwick. If the prior's tenants refuse to take their corn to the mill of the lord of Dissington they are to be judged in the prior's court. The lord of Dissington must rise whenever the prior of Hexham meets him, and offer him his seat.
- Echwyk:¹ one chief messuage with 4 gardens, 2 tofts, and 2 crofts; 88 acres of demesne land and 1½ acres of meadow; 1 toft with 30 acres, at a rent of 16s.; the rest at a rent of 17s.; 7 acres of demesne meadow, at a rent of 9s., formerly 10s.; one cottage and 8 acres, at a rent of 8d.
- Fremaydens land with 18 acres, at a rent of 6s., formerly 12s.
- 7 bondage lands of 24 acres each, at a gross rental of £3 7s., besides services; 8 cottage lands of 23 acres, at a gross rental of 7s. 6d.; 5 husband lands of 24 acres each, at a gross rental of £1 8s.; 2 cottage lands belonging to the above, rent 9d.
- Brewing farmed for 1s.; common pasture in Whitcheater.
- Dalton: 1 chief messuage, etc., with 140 acres of arable and meadow land; rents amount to £2 11s. 3d. 27 acres at a rent of 2s. 3d. 19 husband lands; 11 contain 23 acres each, and 8 contain 16 acres each; gross rental £4 13s. 8d. 7 cottage lands, containing 12 acres, at a rent of 10s. 11d. A water mill rented at £2 16s. 8d.
- Hoghe township: Dedisdyd 30 acres, at a rent of 4s. 169½ acres, in the town fields.
- Hol medow, 3 acres, at a rent of 4d. Private pasture in North more. 20 acres 1 rood pasture land. 3 tofts. 7 cottage lands containing about 10 acres, waste; rental 15s. 18 acres of husband lands, etc., at 20s.
- John de Fenwyk holds all the above and pays £4 13s. 4d. a year.
- Common pasture for 24 oxen, 4 horses, 2 cows; a sheepfold; peat field.
- Haukewell: 1 acre of arable land.
- Ulkeston: 1 acre of arable land; 3 acres of peat lands.
- Cheseburghe: the manor, with buildings, chapel, dovecote, etc., besides 83 acres 1 rood.
- Peslaw flatt, 6 acres. Rent for the whole manor £6 besides services.
- Nesbitte free ferm: 12 acres, rent 4d.
- 19 husband lands of 25 acres each, gross rental £7 13s. 10d.; 4 cottage lands and a garden; 15 acres, at a rent of 7s. 1d.; 3 waste.
- Stellyng: the manor, with common pasture of Bywell barony, rent 4 marks.
- Naffirton mill and Milner crofte cottage are waste.
- Throkclaw: one toft and croft and one half of a toft and croft; 51 acres 2½ roods in the fields.
- Newburne: 2 fisheries called Fyule and Drypintille, rent £1 6s. 8d.

¹ Besides the lands acquired there under Edward II. (*supra*, p. 147), the priory obtained 161 acres of land, 5 acres of meadow and a rent of 40s. at Eachwick in 1347 by licence from Edward III. This grant included appurtenances in Eachwick, Whitcheater, Harlow, and Dalton. *Rot. Pat.* 21 Ed. III. ii. m. 29.

Benwell: Wodhall, 4 acres, rent 5s.

Newcastle: 3 burgages at a rent of 8s., appropriated to the sacristan; 4 burgages and a narrow entry, rent £1 10s. 6d. 2 rents lost because the sites are no longer known.

BISHOPRIC OF DURHAM:

Gren Heley: one toft and one croft and one acre of wooded land called Devencrofte.

20 acres arable and meadow land; the whole at a rent of 5s. to the sacristan.

Fenhall in Grencroft: One messuage; rent 28s., 3s. for free ferm, 3s. to the lord of Grencroft; tenant to provide accommodation for the prior and his equipage.

Maydenstanhall in Langchestre: one messuage, rent £1 11s. 4d., 4d. to the treasurer of Durham, 23s. to Durham Treasury.

Kymesworthe: 1 toft with 3 buildings, orchard, and croft, with 3 acres of land; common pasture for 300 sheep, 8 oxen; Estoveria in woods, rent 10s. To provide accommodation as above.

Staynton in Strata: 2 tofts, with 3 buildings and a garden; 4 bovates, each of 18 acres; rent 40s. to the cellarer.

Hertyllpull: 2 tenements at a rent of 14s. and a rent of 5s.

Silkysworth: Farendon grange and Canon More; Morhous pott, 2½ acres, rent £3 13s. 4d.; windmill, at a rent of £1 6s. 8d.; 4 husband lands, 145 acres, at a rent of £14 os. 11d., besides services; 12 cottage lands, 43 acres, at a rent of £1 17s. 10d., one waste; common oven and brewing; 13 acres in West Heryngton, rent, £1 5s.

Hold court at Silkisworth and enjoy fines, etc.

CLEVELAND, CO. YORK:

Littil Broghton: the manor, 2 feudal fees, and a mill; sac and soc; all the meadow and pasture land, crofts, orchards, gardens; 103 acres separable land; 82½ acres inseparable land.

Casseholme: 2½ acres, rent 10d.; 10 acres meadow, paying no tithes, rent £3 13s. 4d.

Tenant to supply accommodation for prior and his equipage; 2 tenements by feudal service, rent 3s. 8d.; 9 husband lands and 26 bovates, 24 bovates contain 8 acres each, 2 contain 9 acres each, gross rental £6 3s., besides services; 11 cottage lands, containing 40 acres, at a rent of £1 19s. 10d., besides services: gross rental for all £3 10s. 8d.

Water mill and 3 acres, at a rent of 13s. 4d.

Broghton: one chief messuage with garden and croft; 3½ bovates, each of 18 acres; 2 cottage lands, gross rental of all £1 4s.; 14 acres of demesne land, with 2 acres 3 roods of meadow.

Ingleby: one toft with garden and croft, 1½ acres; one bovat, containing 15 acres; 1 cottage land of 3 acres, total rent 8s.

Kyrkbe: one tenement with garden and croft, 1 acre; one bovat, containing 12 acres 3 roods meadow; one cottage land, total rent 9s.; 17½ acres at a rent of £2 3s. 4d., besides services. Each cottage land to pay 1s. a year and services, or 2s. without services.

Adescroft: 2½ acres, rent 4s. 4d., formerly 6s.

Common oven, farmed out for 3s. 6d.; a water mill; each brewer to give the lord 2 lagenas¹ of beer at each brewing.

Manor of Salton: a hall with 3 chambers, chapel, kitchen, bakery, brewery, orchard, and gardens, a guest hall, gate house, a large barn, etc.; 16 bovates, each containing 9 acres; 12½ acres meadow, one close.

Frensholme wood: 2½ acres; the cotegarth for sheep, rent £1 13s., besides services; 73 bovates, each of 9 acres, and 2½ bondage lands, total rent £30 1s. 2d., besides services.

29 cottage lands, 3 waste containing 18½ acres each, rent £3 2s. 10d., besides services.

The vicar of Adescrofte holds 2½ acres at a rent of 3s. 4d.

¹ The lagena was an English measure, and is thus described in the assizes of David, king of Scotland, on weights and measures: 'A lagena ought to contain 12 lbs. of water, viz., 4 lbs. of sea water, 4 lbs. of lake or pond water, 4 lbs. of clear, running water. It should be 6½ inches broad, 8½ inches deep, with a circumference of 27 inches in the upper and 23 inches in the lower part.' Du Cange, *sub voce* lagena.

Common oven, farmed out for 4s. 4d. a year; the brewer to give 2 lagenas of beer at each brewing; water mill, rent £4 6s. 8d.; Salton fishery, 2s.; services of purveyance; tenants to give 12 silver marks to buy a palfrey for a newly elected prior.

Brawby: 51 bovates, of 9 acres each, 3 acres of land, one close; a brewery and fishery, gross rental £11 4s. 6d., besides services, including a palfrey as above; 13 cottage lands, 4 waste, containing 36 acres, etc., rent £2 5s. 9d., besides services.

Edeston: 40 bovates of 9 acres each, rent £8 9s. 8d., no services; 9 cottage lands, 3 waste, rent 6s., formerly 12s.; demesne meadow, 8 acres, at a rental of £1 4s.; inclosed land, rent 6s.

Great Bergh: 24 bovates, at a rental of £3 13s., besides services; one cottage land, at a rental of 3s.; 2 tofts and a place rented at 5s.

Lyttill Bergh: 4 bovates, one pays 4s. 6d. rent, formerly 11s. 8d., services.

Flaxton: one toft and one bovat, rent 8s.; 5 bovates each of 15 acres, gross rental £1 10s., besides services, including an aid for the palfrey above mentioned.

Millington: 2 bovates and one waste messuage.

Gleefeldale in le Hole: one toft with buildings and a garden; 4 bovates.

The total amount of the rents actually given in the Black Book is just under £300. But this is entirely exclusive of all services, of payments in kind, of tithes, etc. Many rents are omitted, notably those of Hexham town, and two important places are left out altogether: the hospital of St. Giles and the cell of Ovingham. The former came under the control of the priory in January, 1378, by virtue of a charter of Archbishop Neville.¹ In October of the same year the bishop of Durham confirmed to them the gift of the cell of Ovingham, made by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. The intention of the grant was to enable the canons to continue those duties of hospitality which it had become increasingly difficult to perform on account of the inroads of the Scots. In time of peace a master and three canons were to be maintained there, to perform the divine offices and to sing masses for the souls of Gilbert de Umfraville and Henry Percy.² Inclusive of everything, the property of Hexham probably amounted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to between £400 and £500 per annum.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the prior and canons became seriously involved in the rebellion of the earl of Northumberland, a treason which their lord, Archbishop Scrope, expiated on the scaffold. Bowet, Scrope's successor at York, anxious to prove his loyalty, deprived the prior, John of Hexham, of his office for the crime of high treason.³ The prior did not resist, and fled from Hexham, but with a wise clemency Henry IV.

¹ *Hexham Priory*, ii. app. No. li.

² The original charter is in the Bodleian library, Oxford, where it is designated *Northumberland Charters*. Chandler Deeds, No. 5. Mr. Hodgson has transcribed the same deed from the *Durham Registers*. *History of Northumberland*, III. ii. pp. 97-101.

³ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. lxxii.

resolved to pardon the canons,¹ whose treason was probably not of a very active character. John returned to resume his office, and ruled there till his death in 1409.

In the year 1464 the noise of battle once again resounded near Hexham priory. The Lancastrians, who had been defeated and driven out of the south, rallied in Northumberland for a last desperate struggle. The canons at Hexham, profiting by their former experiences, might have wished to remain neutral, though to do so was difficult in those times, the more so because King Edward and Warwick both ordered the archbishop of York to arm the clergy of his diocese against their enemies. About Whitsuntide a great battle was fought on the east side of the Devil's water, when the Lancastrians were completely defeated, the last stand being made within a mile of Hexham. Among the prisoners taken by the Yorkists was the duke of Somerset. That nobleman was too far compromised to expect any mercy from his enemies. He was immediately beheaded at Hexham, where his body found an obscure resting-place.²

The chequered and varied history of the priory was itself rapidly approaching its climax. The laxity of the discipline of the house had been noticeable ever since the days of Archbishop Murdac. Matters had not improved since the Scottish invasions, but rather went from bad to worse. When Archbishop Zouche instituted a visitation in 1347 he instructed his commissioners to punish all crimes and excesses.³ Fifty years later, however, the condition of the priory had become notorious; Archbishop Waldby, who instituted a visitation, describes it in no measured terms as a scandal and offence. Two canons are expressly mentioned by name as guilty of incontinence, and were ordered to appear before the archbishop for punishment. Soon after this visitation of 1397, the prior, Alexander de Marton, resigned, no doubt at the request of the archbishop, who was ill-satisfied with his conduct, though he had been in office over thirty years.⁴ But the energy of Waldby was thrown away. So little did the canons profit by his action that in 1409 they elected as prior William de Woodhorne, who was one of the two canons convicted of incontinence. It does not appear that there was any amelioration of manners during the fifteenth century. In 1535 Archbishop Lee made one more attempt to sweep away the abuses. His injunctions for

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. lxxiii.

² *Ibid.*, No. lxxxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, No. lvi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. lxx. lxxi.

that year, after enjoining the strict observance of the rules of St. Augustine, lay particular emphasis on the necessity of chaste behaviour in the members of the house. No canon was to associate with any woman of doubtful character; no women but mothers or sisters were to enter the close on any pretext, the doors of which were to be shut every night, and the keys left in the custody of the prior.¹

Whatever may have been the faults of the Hexham canons, the retribution which overtook them was sudden and terrible. Into the causes which led to the dissolution of the monasteries it is unnecessary to enter here, but a few of the facts in connection with this event call for notice. In 1534 took



MISERERE WITH PRIOR WOODHORNE'S DEVICE.

place a visitation of all the English monasteries, whose members were required to take the oath of supremacy to the king, and who were, at the same time, forced to deny the supremacy of the pope in the strongest terms. In 1535 another visitation was appointed to be held by Layton, Legh, and Ap Rice, with the object of enquiring into the moral and general condition of the religious

houses. Hexham was visited early in 1536, and the report upon it of the visitors is chiefly remarkable for its brevity. Two of the members of the house, one of whom was Prior Jay himself, were accused of incontinence, but the other remarks were of a less serious character. The convent is stated to have possessed a missal called the Red Mass Book of Hexham, and its rents amounted to £100 a year, its founder having been the archbishop of York.²

As it proved, the fate of Hexham turned, not so much upon the abuses of which the canons were but too guilty, as upon the value of its revenues. The so-called Reformation Parliament entered, in this year, upon its seventh session, and one of its earliest acts was to decree the dissolution of all monasteries whose annual value did not exceed £200. As the rents of Hexham priory amounted to little more than this sum much anxiety was felt

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. xciv.

² *Cal. State Papers*. Hen. VIII. ed Gairdner, x. 364.

for its safety. In April, 1536, Archbishop Lee wrote to Cromwell begging him to spare the monasteries of Hexham and St. Oswald, Gloucester. Of Hexham he wrote :

It was some tyme *sedes episcopalis*; and manye holie menn, somme tyme bussoppes ther, be buried in that church, saintes of name; and wiese men that knowe the Borders thinke that the landes therof, although they were x tymes as moche, can not contrevaille the damage that is lieke to ensue if it bee suppressed; and some waie, there is never a house between Scotland and the lordshippe of Hexham; and menn feare, if the monasterie goo downe, that in processe all shall be wast moche within the land. And what counfort that monasterie is daylie to the contre ther, and speciallie in tyme of warr, not onlie the contre men doo knowe, but also manye of the noble men of this realme, that hathe doone the kinge's highnes service in Scotland. I doubt not but that the land of that monasterie is bettur than twoo hundred pound by yere, as liekwiese th' archbushoppe's landes war moche bettur mccc marcs by yere, and nowe it is *communibus annis*, undre ii^{li}. I entierlie praye you, if you thinke that I have reason to sue for these ii, that you woll helpe me to save them. And, as for Hexham, I thinke it is necessarie to be considered, as I thinke theye that knowe the Borders woll saie.¹

Archbishop Lee's representations did not move Cromwell from his purpose. Although the revenues of Hexham amounted to more than £200 a year, by means of some juggling with the figures they were represented as being beneath that sum. In a state paper of the time the revenues of the houses of Newminster, Alnwick, Holystone, Brinkburn, Tynemouth, Hexham, Ovingham, and Blanchland, are represented as amounting to no more than £580 4s. 10d. taken all together.² A survey made by Layton and Legh gives the clear yearly value of the archbishop's possessions in Hexhamshire at £196 19s. 4³/₄d.³ Perhaps some attempt was made to confuse the property of the archbishop with the possessions of the priory. However this may have been, a detailed survey taken in July, when the monastery was already considered as dissolved, gives the gross revenues at £266 15s. 2d. This document is here appended, and it is interesting to compare the rents with those given in the Black Book. A depreciation in value may be noticed in almost every case, a circumstance which, after an interval of fifty years, in a time of peace, and when money had decreased in value, it is difficult to account for.



THE DEVICE OF PRIOR
SMITHSON.

SURVEY OF THE POSSESSIONS OF HEXHAM PRIORY TAKEN JULY, 1536.¹

Com. Northumbr. In libro superuisuum diuersorum monasteriorum ibidem, mense Julij, anno regni Regis Henrici viij^{vi}, xxvij^o; inter alia continetur prout inferius patet.

MONASTERIUM DE HEXHAM: Exitus terrarum, tenementorum et possessionum, tam spiritualium quam temporalium.

¹ *Cal. State Papers.* Henry VIII. ed Gairdner, x. 716.

² *Ibid.* 1238.

³ *Rentals and Surveys.* Roll 766.

⁴ *Aug. Off. Miscell. Bks.* vol. 399, pp. 310-5.

Terre diuerse in manu monasterij occupate: scitum monasterij ibidem, cum uno columbario, et diuersis graungiis siue orreis, uno pomario, et uno gardino infra precinctum dicti monasterij, continens per estimacionem ij acras terre. Et valet per annum	℥ s. d.
Item habent prope Hexham vnum hospitale Sancti Egidij, continens unum mesuagium, cum uno clauso et certas terras que valent per annum	0 4 0
	0 13 4
	0 17 4

Item habent ad firmam de archiepiscopo Ebor., certas terras iuxta Hexham videlicet: unum clausum vocatum Cowfeld; unum clausum vocatum Coteffeld; unum clausum vocatum Dotelande parke. Et reddunt per annum archiepiscopo Ebor., xxiiij^{li} et vltra de incremento per annum

Summa, 17s. 4d.

nihil

TEMPORALES POSSESSIONES IN DIUERSIS COMITATIBUS: et habent in Hexham villa diuersa burgagia que reddunt per annum... ..

burgagia que reddunt per annum... ..	12 14 5
Item habent in villa de Sandowe diuersa tenementa, que reddunt per annum	5 6 8
Item habent in villa de Anyk diuersa tenementa, que reddunt per annum... ..	8 13 1
Item in villa de Yarwithe unum tenementum, quod valet per annum	2 6 8
Item in villa de Dotlande diuersa tenementa, que reddunt per annum	3 6 8
Item in villa Bringfeldes diuersa tenementa, que reddunt per annum	7 0 0
Item vnam placeam vocatam Beauffront, que reddit per annum vltra £1 13s. 4d. resoluta archiepiscopo ibidem	1 0 0
Item habent manerium de Milborne graunge, in comitatu Northumbr., sic dimittitur Gawino Swynborne per commune sigillum... ..	5 6 8
Item in villa de Kirkeheton, diuersa terras et tenementa, que valent per annum	7 0 0
Item in Adestane More, diuersa terras et tenementa, que valent per annum	4 13 4
Item habent vnum solum vastum, vocatum Carrowe, in Tindall. Et est pastura larga que nihil reddit	nihil quia jacet vastum
Item habent in villa de Dalton, diuersa terras et tenementa, et duo molendina, que reddunt per annum	8 13 4
Item habent in villa de Nesseboth tenentes, qui reddunt per annum	5 6 8
Item habent graungeam de Chesbourne, que dimittitur ad firmam per annum	4 0 0
Item vnam placeam vocatam Stellyng, que valet per annum	1 13 4
Item habent in Echewike terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum	3 6 8
Item habent in Grotynghon iuxta Beyngfeld terras et tenementa, que valent per annum	2 0 0
Item habent mollendinum aquaticum de Ingoo, quod reddit per annum	0 13 4
Item habent in Purdowe unum tenementum quod valet per annum	0 8 0
Item habent in villa de Qualton vnum tenementum, quod reddit per annum	0 10 0
Item habent in Nouo Castro super Tinam diuersa burgagia, que valent per annum	1 7 8
Item habent in villa de Estmat[fen] certa terras et tenementa, que valent per annum	2 13 4
Item in villa de Westmatfen, certas terras per annum	0 1 4
Item in Slavele, certas terras per annum	0 5 4
Item in Stoxefeldes hall, terras et tenementa que reddunt per annum	0 13 4
Item in Birtle, terras et tenementa que valent per annum	0 3 4
Item habent apud Newbourne vnam piscariam, que reddit per annum	0 5 0
Item in villa de Stannyngton, certa terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum	0 5 0
Item in villa de Gunnerton, certa terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum	0 13 4
Item in Wardon, certa terras et tenementa vna cum decimis garbarum ibidem, per annum, sic dimittuntur... ..	6 13 4
Item vnam placeam terre, vocatam Byrds parke, continentem per estimacionem, dimissam Domino Dacres	1 13 4
Item in Kaersley, terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum	0 6 8
Item habent in Chellerton unum tenementum, quod reddit per annum	2 0 0

	£	s.	d.
Item habent vnam placeam vocatam Resshelles, continentem per estimacionem nuper ad } nihil quia 13s. 4d. ... } jacet vasta			
Item habent in Temple Thorneton terras et tenementa que reddunt per annum ...	...	1	6 8
Summa comitatus Northumbr. cum Hexham, £102 6s. 6d. ¹			

Episcopatus Dunolm :

Item habent vnam placeam vocatam Farynden hall que reddit per annum (per commune sigillum) ...	...	5	6 8
Item habent in villata de Staynton terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum ...	...	1	6 8
Item habent in villa de Launcestre terras et tenementa, que reddunt per annum ...	...	1	6 8
Item habent vnam placeam vocatam Madenstedhall, que reddit per annum ...	...	0	8 0
Summa, £8 8s.			

Comitatus Ebor :

Item in Litill Broughton, terras et tenementa in tenura Wilhelmi Edwardyne per commune sigillum ...	...	12	18 3½
Thys ys appoyntyd for [Hexham prior].			
Item habent prebendum de Saweton quod valet in temporalibus in villatis de Saweton Edston et Brawbye in comitatu predicto per annum per commune sigillum, vnde in terris diuersis, dimissis Jacobo Ridley £10 16s. per annum, per commune sigillum (for the prior of Hexham's pension) ...	...	24	0 0
Summa, £36 18s. 3½d.			

Spiritualitates comitatus Ebor.

Item habent de Sawton, grani decimales £4 13s. 4d., Edston £4 13s. 4d., et Brawbye £3, ac decimam lanarum et agnellorum infra parochiam predictam 14s. (per commune sigillum) ...	...	13	0 8
Item habent rectoriam de Ylkeley in tenura Thome Mering per commune sigillum ...	...	5	0 0

Adhuc spiritualitates. Hexham cum Hexhamshire.

Item habent rectoriam de Hexham cum lez shire, in grani decimalibus £10; decimis grani ville de Anyk 13s. 4d.; decimis grani de Sladehowe 8s.; decimis ville de Akome £2 13s. 4d.; decimis ville de Vaall £2 6s. 8d.; decimis ville de Bokley 10s.; decimis ville de Kepike 13s. 4d.; decimis ville de Eryngton £1; decimis et proficuis capelle de Alwendall dimissis diuersis personis per commune sigillum £15; in decimis agnellorum provenientibus de tota parochia de Hexhamshire £3 8s. 7d.; decimis lanarum per totam dictam parochiam £1 7s. 6d.; decimis personalibus oblacionibus et minutis decimacionibus tempore quadragesimali infra monasterium £9; decimacionibus et oblacionibus infra capellam Sancti Johannis £2 3s.; decimacionibus et oblacionibus infra capellam Sancti Oswoldi £3; decimacionibus et oblacionibus in capella beate Marie de Byngfeld £3 6s. 8d.	55	10 5
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Adhuc spiritualitates in comitatu Northumbr. :

Item habent decimas garbarum ecclesie de Aldstone £3 6s. 8d.; decimas garbarum de Newboruch £1 6s. 8d.; decimas garbarum de Alweiche £1 in manibus domini; decimas ville de Foustones 13s. 4d. in manibus domini; decimas ville de Slaveley cum capella ibidem, dimissas Johanni Swyneborne per commune sigillum £4; decimas garbarum de Shollerton £1 6s. 8d., in manibus domini; decimas garbarum de Barreffourthe, in manibus domini £1 13s. 4d.; decimas garbarum de Chipchesse, Howden, et lez Birthe, dimissas Johanni Heron £4 6s. 8d.; decimas garbarum de Gunerton £2, dimissas Johanni Wedryngton; decimas garbarum de Colwell £2 abque sigillum; decimas garbarum de Hayden brigg, cum diuersis parcellis infra Dunum et Langley et parochiam de Hayden, dimissas Reginaldo Carnabye militi per indenturam, per commune sigillum £17 13s. 4d.	39	6 8
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¹ This does not include first sum of 17s. 4d.

Adhuc spiritualitates Episcopatus Carlioll:
 Item habent decimacioem garbarum ecclesie de Ysell, que valet per annum (in manibus £ s. d.
 domini) 5 0 0
 Summa totalis valoris monasterii tam in temporalibus, quam in spiritualibus, £266 15s. 2d.
 Examinatur cum papiro libri supervisuum per me Jacobum Rokeby, auditorem.

Though these various valuations were made in July, no active steps to dissolve the priory seem to have been taken until two months later. On the 28th of September, 1536, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, Lionel Gray, William Grene, James Rokeby, and Robert Collingwood, the king's commissioners, with a few attendants, rode up along the banks of the Tyne with the purpose of putting an end to the foundation at Hexham. When they reached Dilston the strange news arrived that the canons were up in arms, and had fortified their house with guns and all manner of artillery, intending to defend themselves to the last. A halt was ordered, and an anxious discussion ensued as to the best steps to take under the circumstances. At last it was agreed that Gray and Collingwood should go forward with a small company. When they reached Hexham they found that the news they had received was perfectly true. The steep and narrow streets, as they passed through, were full of angry and excited men, who were hurrying to arms to the tolling of the town alarum bell, as if they were preparing to resist an invasion of the Scots. The great fray bell of the priory rang out an answering peal that only added to the general babel of sound, and announced the approach of the expected foe. The people hurried out to defend their beloved church, and the commissioners arrived only to find the doors all locked and barred and the walls lined with armed men. The master of Ovingham, who was the ringleader of the resistance, stood upon the walls in complete harness with a strung bow in his hands.

So dangerous a situation must have seriously disturbed the equanimity of the commissioners, but the least they could do would be to demand instant admittance and the respect due from loyal subjects to the king's writ and seal. But the master of Ovingham boldly replied: 'We be twenti brethern in this hous, and we shall dye all, or yt shall ye have this house.' The commissioners then presented their credentials, and the master of Ovingham retired to take counsel with his brethren. Before long, however, he reappeared, accompanied by the sub-prior.¹ His only answer was: 'We doo nott doubte bott ye bring with you the king's seall of auctorite for this

¹ His name was George Hyndmers. *Exchequer Special Commissions*, No. 1747, 18 Nov., 1587.

hous, albeitt ye shall se here the king's confirmacion of our hous under the great seall of King Henry the VIIIth. God save his grace. We think it nott the king's honor to gyff furthe oon seall contrarye to an other, and afore any other of our landes, goods, or hous be takin frome us we shall all dye, and yt is our full answer.'

Nothing could be done. The priory was protected by a force of at least sixty armed men, and an immediate retreat was the only course it was possible to pursue.¹ The commissioners retired to Corbridge, and sent a messenger to Windsor to inform the king of what had taken place. The messenger returned with letters to the earl of Westmorland with instructions to suppress the rebellion. But he could not get further than Brancepeth, near Durham. The commissioners in the meantime had hurried home, for the whole country was up in revolt.² The resistance of Hexham had set the example for a general rising, and only four days after the visit of the commissioners the rebellion known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' had begun.

The canons of Hexham had never anticipated such serious consequences of their resistance. They had endeavoured to represent themselves as acting in a perfectly loyal and legal spirit, and as peaceful men they undoubtedly would have quietly submitted had they not fallen victims to the schemes of an unprincipled man. John Heron of Chipchase, an enemy to the government, and therefore no friend to William Carnaby, whose son Reginald was the king's representative in Hexhamshire, determined to ruin the owner of Halton. He therefore called on him on the 15th of October and represented to him how necessary it was to put down the rebellion of the Hexham canons. Heron offered himself to go and negotiate with the rebels in order to try and arrange some pacification. To this proposal Carnaby readily agreed, but when Heron reached Hexham, so far from advising the canons to submit, he encouraged them to persist in their resistance, and asked them for money to support the rebellion. But the canons had scruples about allying themselves with thieves and outlaws. They were more anxious to make their peace with the Crown, and desired Heron to ask William Carnaby to get his son Reginald to act as mediator for them to the king, promising that 'the abbey shulde be delyvert to the kinge's commyssioners, to be ordered at theyre pleasure; soo that they myght there serve God, and remayne, though they beggyd for theyre lyvinges.'

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII. xi. 504.
VOL. III.

² *Exch. Ministers' Accounts*, 27-29 Henry VIII. No. 200, m. 6.

This touching appeal made no impression upon John Heron. He rode off to see Carnaby, but told him nothing about the canons' message. When he returned to Hexham the canons were anxious to know how he had sped. But he invented a story that Carnaby had demanded four men of the convent and four men of the town to be sent as hostages to the king. Thoroughly deceived by this lie, the canons reluctantly determined that since they might have no mercy it was 'better to defend theyre lyves as long as they myght than wilfully to kill theyme selves.' They threw aside their scruples of joining with thieves and outlaws, and cast in their lot with the Tynedale men, whom Heron had called out on every side.¹

When the revolt first broke out the king intended to put it down at once by force; but as it spread and became formidable he thought of other means of repressing it. In December he issued a proclamation promising pardon to all those who had taken part in the rebellion, if they would at once submit.² But as the government began to gain the upper hand, his tone became more severe. The duke of Norfolk, who was charged with the suppression of the rebellion, was at York on November 24th, and held a conference with the leaders of the rebels.³ The rising was then at its height, and mild measures seemed necessary. On the following 22nd of February, however, the complexion of affairs had changed, and King Henry wrote to the duke that: 'forasmuche as all these troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of those parties, we desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonerdecost, Saincte Agathe, and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistance, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens th'appointement at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, nowe that our baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons that be in any wise faultie to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple of others; wherein we thinke yon shall doo unto us highe service.'⁴

Norfolk lost no time in carrying out the orders of his sovereign. On the 24th of February he ordered Dacre to meet him at Hexham with one hundred horse,⁵ and wrote to the king that he intended to dissolve the priory on the following day.⁶ Two days later he was at Hexham, and the work of

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Gairdner, xii. pt. i. 1090, p. 507.

² *Ibid.* xi. 1235.

³ *Ibid.* xi. 1155.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii. pt. i. 479.

⁵ *Ibid.* 500.

⁶ *Ibid.* 498.



THE PRIORY GATEWAY.

dissolution was quietly carried out. The scene was very different from the one at which the royal commissioners had assisted five months before. The inhabitants listened quietly to the exhortations of the duke, and seemed sorry for all they had done amiss. The canons appear to have been treated with silent contempt, but they escaped with their lives. When Norfolk enquired if they had made any insurrection or resistance since the general pardon of the preceding December, Carnaby answered in a most decided negative.¹ The story goes that the last prior of Hexham was hanged at the old gateway of his house. This was not the case. So far from suffering an ignominious death, he was allowed to retain as a pension his prebend of Salton at York by royal grant.² It is not recorded of him that he took any part in the revolt in which the master of Ovingham and the sub-prior were so prominent. Father Gasquet has suggested that he was possibly a nominee of the Crown.³ He alone of the canons received anything to replace what he had lost. The others indeed escaped an ignominious death, as well on account of their peaceful disposition since December, as by reason of the revelations concerning Heron's conduct, but they were deprived of 'theyre lyvinges', for which they had so pathetically begged.⁴

Their house suffered from the vandalism that characterised the proceedings in nearly all the dissolutions of the period. The conventual buildings were destroyed, and lead to the value of £266 13s. 4d. was pulled off them. The church only escaped the common destruction because the inhabitants represented that it was the parish church. A few other buildings were likewise spared: the hall; some storehouses and offices; a room called Saint Thomas' chamber, with dwellings annexed; and a room over against 'lez fermery.' But all movables, including a shrine valued at 13s. 4d.,

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Gairdner, xii. pt. i. 546.

² *Ibid.* xiii. pt. i. 1520.

³ *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, ii. p. 40. This is hardly likely, however, in view of the fact that he was one of those accused of incontinency; and that before the dissolution he went up to London to make suit to the king for his house (*State Papers*, Henry VIII. xi. 689). Since tradition claims a victim, Father Gasquet suggests that he may possibly have been the sub-prior. It is almost certain, however, that the sub-prior survived the dissolution from the way in which he is referred to in a document already quoted (*Exch. Special Commissions*, No. 1747). There is absolutely no proof that any of the Hexham fraternity suffered for their rebellion. The king only ordered their execution if they had been in arms since his proclamation of pardon, and as they were absolved from this offence by Carnaby's declaration, it is almost certain that they all escaped. Augustine Webster, who has been confidently named as the last prior of Hexham, was really prior of Axholme and a Cistercian monk, not an Austin canon. That Jay was the last prior of Hexham is beyond a doubt.

⁴ This at least is Father Gasquet's opinion. Wright asserts, on the other hand, that only those under twenty four years of age were left penniless, the others were allowed 40s. a year and a gown. He says there were fourteen canons at this time. *History of Hexham*, p. 198. Unfortunately he gives no authority for these statements, and upon this subject the State papers are a blank.

were pillaged. Plate, jewels, etc., weighing 359 ounces, were found and valued at £68 9s. £10 was paid for vestments, and Carnaby bought a quantity of vessels for £14. The total value of the various movables thus taken, including a quantity of cattle, lead, etc., amounted to £506 10s. 8d. The inhabitants of the country side would not allow the authorised pillagers of the Crown to carry off everything. Some bold thieves entered the prior's chamber and stole a 'counterpoynte' and a candlestick. Others, meanwhile, drove off thirty-six head of cattle which the commissioners could not find. The duke of Norfolk, as his share of the plunder, claimed three splendid suits of vestments, one of cloth of gold, one of bawdkin, and one of velvet.¹

The site of the monastery was handed over to Reginald Carnaby at the low rent of 17s. 4d. Although soon after the sum of £400 was offered for it,² Carnaby remained in possession, and built a house for himself there. He farmed the lands of the late priory for the king, and he bought most of the movables as they were put up for sale. But he did not prosper. No son was born to his house, and when he died he left only three daughters to succeed him. A similar misfortune seemed to pursue his family, and the superstitious country people attributed all to his sin in entering upon the stolen possessions of the priory.

By the dissolution the history of the priory as a religious institution was definitely brought to a close, and this section in the history of the church may therefore be appropriately terminated with a list of those who officiated as priors from Asketill onwards.

LIST OF THE PRIORS OF HEXHAM.³

Asketill ...	...	...	1114	...	...	died 18th March, 1130.
Robert Biseth	...	...	1130	...	...	resigned 1141.
Richard ...	...	...	confirmed 1142	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1174-8. (?)
John ...	...	...	<i>circa</i> 1174-8	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1209.
William ...	...	...	<i>circa</i> 1209	...	...	<i>fl.</i> 1215.
Bernard ...	...	...	...	...	...	<i>fl.</i> 1226, 1242.
John de Lasenby	...	...	...	...	...	<i>fl.</i> 1251, 1271.
Henry de Merdene, prior of						
Oseney	...	...	elected 1269	...	...	died 1281.
William del Clay	...	...	Jan. 29th, 1281; con-			
			firmed Feb. 28th			died <i>circa</i> 1292.

¹ *Exch. Ministers' Accounts*, 27-29 Henry VIII. No. 200, m 1, 2.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. xii. pt. ii. 548.

³ Compiled from *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, pp. cxi.-clxxix. The reason for changing the date of Prior Richard's death will be seen on p. 135, note.

Thomas de Fenwick	...	1293	...	...	resigned April, 1311.
Gilbert de Boroughbridge	...	nominated 4th July,	1311	...	objected to by canons.
(As he was never properly elected he can hardly be classed among the priors.)					
Robert de Whelpington	...	12th Jan., 1312	...	...	resigned 12th Sept., 1328.
Thomas de Appleton	...	Oct., 1328	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1345.
John de Bridekirk	...	22nd Oct., 1345	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1349.
John de Walworth	...	Oct., 1349	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1358.
William de Kendal	...	Aug., 1358	...	...	died <i>circa</i> June, 1366.
Alexander de Marton	...	29th July, 1367	...	...	resigned <i>circa</i> 1398.
John de Hexham	...	19th Feb., 1399	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1409.
William de Woodhorne	...	June, 1409	...	...	died <i>circa</i> 1428.
John de Brawby	...	Feb., 1428	...	...	died <i>circa</i> May, 1443.
Thomas Ferrer	...	29th June, 1443	...	...	resigned 1457.
John Welles	...	1st Dec., 1457	...	...	died 27th Dec., 1475.
William Bywell	...	May, 1476	...	...	died 16th Feb., 1480.
Rowland Leschman	...	22nd March, 1480	...	...	died 1491.
Thomas Smithson	...	4th June, 1491	...	...	died 1524.
Edward Jay	...	9th May, 1524	...	...	deposed 26th Feb., 1536.

Although spared at the time of the dissolution because it was the parish church, the priory then lost all its possessions, and the whole of its endowments had disappeared. Before the dissolution the cure of the parish had been entrusted to a priest, probably one of the canons, who was nominated by the prior, but it is uncertain what provision was made for this subsequent to 1536. The accounts of the priory estate for the year running from Michaelmas, 1535, to Michaelmas, 1536, contain the entry, £4 paid to the curate of Hexham.¹ This sum is noted as having been paid by the prior, for though the dissolution had been decreed, it had not been carried out in Hexham at that date. From the nature of the entry it would seem as if Carnaby, the king's receiver for the possessions of the late priory, was bound to pay £4 yearly to the curate of Hexham out of the revenues which he received. Nothing certain, however, can be stated upon this point, and it is not until the 12th of April, 1579, that anything definite is known about the endowment of the curacy. In that year Queen Elizabeth granted the tithes which had belonged to the priory to Sir Christopher Hatton, especially reserving a certain sum for ecclesiastical purposes, out of which 20 marks, £13 6s. 8d., were to be paid annually to the curate of Hexham for ever.² With this small endowment the curates were forced to rest content until 1728, when the living was augmented by a sum from Queen Anne's

¹ *Exch. Min. Acct.* 27-28 Hen. VIII. No. 101, m. 5. *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* vol. 281, Bailiffs' Accounts p. 15 b.

² *Land Revenue Off. Auditors' Enrolments*, xviii. ff. 262-3 b.

bounty, amounting to £420, though the money was not definitely invested until 1747. In 1758 Sir William Blackett gave £389 towards the augmentation of the living, to which Sir Edward Blackett added another £100, and the money thus obtained was invested in a turnpike trust. In 1763 Archdeacon John Sharp, who was actively interesting himself in the district, caused a commission to be held on the nature of the living with a view to its further augmentation.¹ In a terrier of the church taken in 1817, besides the property mentioned above, two other items are included: lands at Delicate hall, in the town fields of Hexham, worth £18 10s. a year, and Smelting Sike, with a burgage in Hexham fields, worth £28 a year.² Archdeacon Thomas Sharp had previously interested himself in obtaining a house for the curate, and in 1746 he was able to write to the archbishop that Mr. Calverley Blackett had promised the ground, Dr. Thomlinson, of Durham, had offered to give £30, and Sir Edward Blackett and Mr. Thomas Allgood proposed to raise a subscription in the town, to which they themselves would contribute handsomely.³ It is doubtful, however, if this house was ever built. The residence usually occupied by the curates stood in the passage behind the old priory gateway, and was a seventeenth-century building. The house at present occupied by the rector, Mr. Barker, does not belong to the living.

Since the time of the drawing up of the terrier in 1817 two other endowments have been added to the living, both out of the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the one of £285 capital, and the other of £47 a year.⁴ In addition to the real property and fixed income mentioned above, the curate is entitled to the ordinary surplice fees, and besides these the terrier of 1817 mentions a payment of 4d. for each plough in the parish, and of 2d. from each family not possessing a plough. The present gross value of the living is returned at £320, the net value being £270.⁵

It was perhaps fortunate for Hexham that it was not forced to depend entirely upon the ministrations and slender resources of its curate. In 1625, by his will dated March 30th, Richard Fishborn, a member of the Mercers' company, London, bequeathed the sum of £2,800 to be devoted to ecclesiastical purposes:

Item, I give and bequeathe to the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of mercers at London the

¹ *Archbishop of York's Papers.*

² *Churchwardens' Papers.*

³ *Archbishop of York's Papers.*

⁴ *London Gazette*, Mar. 4, 1864; Jan. 1, 1867.

⁵ *Diocesan Calendar.*

sum of £2,800 therewith to buy and purchase two more parsonages, rectories, or church livings antiently appropriated to some abbey, monastery, or religious house or houses, and now commonly called impropriations, the same to be in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, or some other northern county or counties of this land, where the said company of mercers shall best fit themselves with such a purchase, and find most want of the preaching of the word of God to be. And the said church livings and impropriations so purchased and had, my will is, shall be from time to time, successively, for ever, by the said wardens and commonalty of the mystery of the mercers of London, after their wonted custom of election by most votes at their general courts conferred, bestowed, and conveyed upon two or more ministers respectively for and during such term or terms, and in such manner and form, and with such cautil and provision, that if they or any of them, shall prove non-resident, or have any other benefice or church living, with cure of souls, then the said warden and commonalty, and their successors, from time to time, for ever, shall and may remove, displace, dismiss, deprive, and eject them, or any of them, out of the said impropriations, or any of them, and elect and place another, or others, in his or their room, according to their good discretion.¹ And I heartily entreat the said wardens and commonalty, for God's sake, that they will be very careful from time to time to make choice of such as be well-known to be honest, discreet, learned men, fearing God, and painful in their ministry, that by their life and doctrine they may win many souls to Christ Jesus.²

In accordance with the directions contained in the foregoing clause the Mercers' company, in 1628, bought of Sir John Fenwick a messuage and orchard in Hexham, and all the great and little tithes of Little Swinburn, Keepwick, Errington, Bingfield, and Colwell, being part of the possessions of the late priory of Hexham. In 1631 they purchased the great tithes of Chollerton and Barrasford, with a moiety of the great tithes of Woodhorn, Widdrington, the two Steeds, North Seaton, Creswell, Horton, Horton demesnes, Hirst, Hutton, Ellington, Linton, and Linmouth, all in Northumberland.³ With this property the lectureship at Hexham was founded.

In 1746 Archdeacon Sharp stated that the original value of the lectureship was £80 a year, but he added that since the enclosure of the commons its value had doubled.⁴ Soon after, £50 was deducted from the Hexham lectureship to found a similar institution for Chollerton and the chapels of St. Oswald and St. Mary's, Bingfield.⁵ The value of the lectureship, nevertheless, continued to increase, and at the present time the commutation value is £562 10s. annually.

As might be supposed, the fabric suffered from the poverty of the church brought about by the dissolution. It seems certain that the building suffered from the most grievous neglect during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sometime in the seventeenth century an agreement was come to between the impropriator and the parishioners that the former should repair

¹ This provision has been construed as follows : the lecturer may not, at the time of his election, hold or retain another benefice, but if he shall subsequently take another benefice it is held that his so doing does not vacate the lectureship.

² Wallis, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 99.

³ *Ibid.* p. 100.

⁴ *Archbishop of York's Papers*.

⁵ Wallis, *Northumberland* ii. p. 100.

the choir and the latter the steeple, the north and south transepts, and all the remaining parts of the church.¹ It is doubtful which section of the church suffered most by this arrangement, for by the end of the seventeenth century the entire structure seems to have been in the most lamentable condition. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the churchwardens' accounts are full of entries of payments made for various repairs, and of church rates levied for the purpose of meeting such demands. None of these expedients sufficed, however, and finally the inhabitants of the town signed a memorial asking that the church might be repaired out of a county rate.² Apparently, this petition was not granted, but in 1725 a brief was issued which realised £1040, and considerable repairs were effected with this money.³ In 1740 Sir Edward Blackett, in pursuance of a faculty obtained from the archbishop, filled the interior of the choir with pews and galleries. This work was carried out at the sole expense of Sir Edward Blackett, who reserved the front seat for himself. The state of the church after it had received these interior fittings is, perhaps, most vividly described by Miss Mitford in a letter printed in a later part of this volume. The repairs carried out in 1725 were only of a temporary character, and more money was urgently needed to preserve the building from decay; none, however, was forthcoming. In 1828 a part of the east end of the church fell down, breaking through the roof of the 'Old School' below, and destroying the town lamps that were stored there.⁴ However nothing was done to save the church from ruin till several years later, when, in 1841, a public meeting was called to consider the question of thoroughly restoring the church. A subscription list was opened, and sufficient money for the repairs was soon collected. Once begun, the work was pushed

¹ Wright, *Hist. of Hexham*, p. 55.

² *Hodgson MSS.* Petition of minister, wardens, sidemen, and twenty-four of Hexham to the justices in quarter session, held at Hexham 13th July, 1709. The parishioners had expended upon the repairs of the abbey church sums amounting in all to £1,168 19s., including the roof of that part of it called St. Mary's chapel.

At the same sessions the grand jury made a presentment, 'We having viewed Hexham parish church doe find the same in very great decay, and severall rents and cracks on the walls, and the same being a very auncient fabrick, believe it is in very great danger of falling, whereby ye timber, lead, and other materiall will be much wasted and spoiled, and in regard that ye inhabitants have laid out upwards of £1,200 in endeavouring to support the same, and now part of it is lately fallen, upon the Lord's day, in time of divine service, to the great terror and consternation of the auditory and danger of their lives, and that the said inhabitants are not able to support much less to rebuild the same, and wee therefore make it our earnest request that the bench will be pleased to make such a certificate, in order to procure a briefe for her majestie to procure the charitable assistance of well-disposed christians through the kingdom for the rebuilding of the said church as shall be thought convenient.' *Bell Collection.*

³ Wright, *Hist. of Hexham*, p. 82.

⁴ Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. p. 225.

forward with great energy, but with more zeal than discretion. It having been admitted that Hexham was one of the finest examples of thirteenth-century architecture in England, it seems to have been concluded that everything in the building that was not of that date should be destroyed. The 'Old School' or 'Lady Chapel' and a doorway erected by the Mercers' company were speedily demolished. The numerous ancient gravestones of the place were either broken up and used as flag stones or thrown away. A great quantity of beautifully carved woodwork and some mediæval paintings, including the famed Ogle shrine and an altar-piece it contained, were given to the contractor as old lumber. But although so much harm was done, it would be unjust to deny that much good work was also accomplished. The unsightly galleries and pews in the interior of the church were swept away, as were the mean and ugly buildings which were built up against its east end, while the whole edifice was put in a thorough state of repair.

Since this date there is very little to be added to the history of the church. In 1837 the ecclesiastical connection with York was terminated, and the church became subject to the see of Durham. In 1842 it was included in the rural deanery of Hexham as part of the archdeaconry of Northumberland, and subsequently it has been transferred from the see of Durham to that of Newcastle.¹ On the 14th of December, 1866, the living was declared a rectory.²

CURATES OF HEXHAM.

1567, Dec. 6th. John Meke, mentioned in the depositions of the ecclesiastical court of York.

1587, 18th Nov. John Dobson, mentioned.

1603, 12th Oct. Anthonie Thompson, admitted.

1635, 10th July. Benoni Steer,* admitted.

1655 or 1656. George Ritschell,* born at Deutschkana, on the borders of Bohemia, 13th Feb., 1616, new style; educated at Strasburg university. He left Bohemia owing to the persecutions of the Emperor Ferdinand II., and settled his estate upon his younger brother upon the condition that he should receive money for his travelling expenses. He proceeded to Oxford, but on the outbreak of the Civil War he left England to travel in Holland, Denmark, and Poland. Returning to England after 1644, he took up quarters in Kettle hall, Oxford, and remained there until he was appointed master of the Newcastle grammar school. His next appointment was to Hexham, where he continued until his death in 1683. He was author of two learned works, which bore the following titles: *Contemplaciones Metaphysicæ*, Oxford, 1648, and reprinted at Frankfort 'by the desire of many learned men,' and *Dissertatio de Cere-moniis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ qua usus earum licitus ostenditur, et a superstitionis et idolatriæ crimine vindicatur*. Auctore Georgio Ritschell, Hexhamiæ, in Northumbria, ministro, London, 1661. The former of these works won him the friendship of Bishop Cosin of Durham.³

¹ *Supra*, p. 64.

² *London Gazette*.

³ Anthony a Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iv. 124.

* Also lecturer.

1683. George Ritschell,* son of the above. Baptised at St. John's, Newcastle, and educated at the Newcastle grammar school. He entered as a candidate for the Durham scholarship at Corpus Christi college, Oxford, but was passed over in favour of one who was not born in the diocese. The corporation of Newcastle appealed to the visitor of the college in his behalf, but without success. He subsequently entered St. Edmund hall at the same university, matriculating 29th of May, 1674, aged 17. He graduated B.A. 17th Jan., 1678. Upon the death of his father he succeeded him as curate of Hexham, a post he retained until his death in 1717. During the earlier part of his life at Hexham he appears to have suffered from the persistent enmity of Thomas Allgood, the bailiff of the manor. In 1699 a determined attempt was made to turn him out of the curacy. Allgood had organised a regular opposition in the town, and they drew up a series of accusations against the curate, which they laid before the archbishop of York. Of these charges the principal were: that Ritschell was a very litigious person, at variance with most of his parishioners; that he styled himself the archbishop's deputy, and threatened to cite people for every frivolous matter; that he intended to re-introduce the High Commission Court and the *ex-officio* oath; and that he was a man of a very unquiet temper, malicious, and much addicted to lying.

At the October court of 1698 Sir William Blackett had appeared and enquired whether it would be possible to remove Ritschell from the curacy, adding that, if it were, he would turn him out immediately. On the 20th of May, 1699, he wrote the following letter:

Newcastle, 20 May, 1699.

Sir, I am obliged to the assistance you gave my friends att Hexham against their scandalous parson, for he's a perfect plague to that town, and by his quarrelsome conversation drives people away from the church to conventicles. I am told he is no more than my curate att pleasure; if he be then I am sure my duty to the church would command me to turn him out, but he being within the diocess of one for whom I have more than an ordinary veneration I am not willing to do anything that might give the least umbrage of an offence to his lordship by seeming to intermeddle with any of his clergy more than does become me, but the truth is, I am made very uneasy with the man by perpetuall complaints against him, nor has his carriage to me been so civill as I might have expected from him. I must therefore desire you to advise me what manner I must do itt, and whether you think my lord archbishop will take any offence att itt, and you will much oblige, Sir, your most humble servant. WM. BLACKETT.

Against all these attacks Ritschell defended himself with energy and spirit, answering some of the charges brought against him, and pointing out the absurdity of others. He asserted that Sir William Blackett's action against him was caused by nothing else than his resentment because he had voted for Mr. Forster at the last election, and not for Sir William Blackett's candidate. He explains that his right to vote was derived from the curacy, and adds, 'Mr. Allgood desires to have a curate that he can manage at pleasure, because the lord of the manor is impropiator, and has an absolute right to the church, and that his bailiff ought to manage everything under him; and being *parsona imparsonée*, as every minister may chose his own curate, so he may turn me off at pleasure.' In spite of the efforts of his enemies, Ritschell was not turned out, and it may therefore be assumed that Sir William Blackett did not possess so much power over the curacy as he imagined, that it was, in fact, a perpetual curacy, even before the augmentation of the living.

While engaged in these disputes with Allgood, Ritschell entered into a religious controversy with a Roman Catholic polemic, Thomas Ward, a friend of the Radcliffe family. Ward published his account of the controversy in a book entitled *A Conference with Mr. Ritschel, Vicar of Hexham*. Ritschell replied in 1698 at great length; and long after Ward's death the last word in the dispute was issued, with the title *An Interesting Controversy with Mr. Ritschel, Vicar of Hexham, by Thomas Ward, from a MS. written by Himself*, Manchester, 1819.

Ritschell was indefatigable in collecting the records of his church and parish, and copied out with his own hand the old church registers, and the names of former churchwardens, from the churchwardens' books. His only published work is *An Account of certain Charities*, containing a catalogue of several Benefactors, who have given or left anything to pious and Charitable Uses, as the Church, the Poor or Free-Schools, in Tynedale-Ward, in the County of Northumberland. Made at Easter, 1713. Also

* Also lecturer.

copies and Abstracts of several Bequests and Settlements, for the Use of those concerned in the management and Distribution of such Charities. With some remarks thereupon. To which is added a Brief Account and Description of the Parish and Parish-Church of Hexham, in the County aforesaid. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1713. The book was republished, with additions, in 1780.¹

1724, Sep. 13th. William Graham, ordained deacon June 15th, 1712; priest 21st Dec., 1713. The first augmentation of the living was made in his time, and he at once licensed an assistant curate. This practice of appointing assistant curates has been regularly followed since then.

1765. Peter Rumney, M.A., also master of the grammar school.

1771. George Busby, also master of the grammar school, succeeded on Rumney's death.

1799, April 20th. William Fleming, M.A., licensed to the curacy on Busby's death.

1809. Anthony Hedley, son of Edward Hedley, born at Hopefoot, near Otterburn, 29th March, 1777. Educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh universities in 1795 and 1796. In 1809 he was appointed curate of St. John Lee. He resigned his charge at Hexham in 1813 and went as stipendiary curate to Whelpington, where he distinguished himself as 'a bold and unwearied manager of parochial schools.' In 1809 he resigned his charge, and went to live in Newcastle, where he remained until he was appointed rector of Whitfield. In this charge he remained until his death in 1835, aged 57 years. At Newcastle he acted as manager of the Savings Bank, and took an active part in the affairs of the Literary and Philosophical Society. As an antiquary he was enthusiastic and indefatigable. He contributed papers to the *Newcastle Magazine*, Mackenzie and Dent's *History of Northumberland*, and the *Archæologia Æliana*. He rendered valuable assistance to the Rev. John Hodgson in compiling his *History of Northumberland*, particularly by transcribing parts of several parish registers.²

1814, March 21st. John Gibson appointed; he resigned Sep. 25, 1826.

1826, Dec. 13. William Airey appointed. He had been assistant curate under Gibson for two years. Matriculated at Queen's college, Oxford, 10th October, 1818, aged 18. B.A., 1822; M.A., 1826. Vicar of Bramley, Hants, 1845, until his death, 16th March, 1869.³

1845, Feb. 22. Joseph Hudson, licensed by the bishop of Durham on the cession of Airey. Afterwards vicar of Chillingham.

1866, Aug. 18. Henry Christopher Barker,* licensed on the cession of Hudson. Educated at Caius college, Cambridge. B.A., 1840; M.A., 1845. Perpetual curate of Morton and East Stockwith, 1846-62; appointed lecturer of Hexham, 1862; became rector of Hexham, 1866; hon. canon of Durham, 1872-82; hon. canon of Newcastle, 1882; rural dean of Hexham, 1866-86.⁴

¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses. Scholæ Novocastrensis Alumni*. *Archbishop of York's Papers*. Ritschell's will is dated June 14th, 1717; it runs as follows:

George Ritschell of Hexham, clerk and lecturer of Hexham. To my dear and loving sister, Jane Ritschell, £500 to purchase a reall estate of £26 per ann., to descend, after her death, to my nephew, George Sheldon, he paying therefrom, when he enjoys it and is 35, £10 per ann. for ever, *i.e.*, to the minister and churchwardens of St. John's, Newcastle, the place of my nativity, 40s. a year to be distrib^d to 40 poor widows on St. Thomas' day, 1s. each; other 40s. per ann. to the min. and ch^{ws} of the city of Carlisle, where my dear mother was born, to 40 poor widows, on the same day; also 40s. to the Mercers' lecturer of Hexham, where I now dwell, to 40 poor widows on the same day; 40s. per ann. to the min^r of Whitley chappell in Hexhamshire, and failing a min^r there, to the mercers' lecturer at Hexham for the poor of Hexhamshire and Slealy parish; the other 40s. per ann. to the stewards of the Soc. of the Sons of the Clergy, which meet at Newcastle every year upon this anniv^{rs} feast. If the soc. be discontinued, or do not meet at Newcastle, the s^d 40s. to go to the mercers' lect^r at Hexham for six poor clergymen's widows within Tundale warde, a noble each, or to chⁿ if not widows, the mercers' lect^r at Hexham, the min^r of St. John's, Newcastle, and the stewards of the Sons of the Clergy to be in trust for these legacies. To my bro^r in law, Mr. Wm. Sheldon, and Mary, his wife, my dear and loving sister, each £5. Nephew and godson, Geo. Sheldon all my books. I order that my parcell of oake timber wood in Hexham old schoole, being about 22 tunn, be sold for the use of my ex^r. To my successor my buriall place in Hexham church, w^{ch} I bought of Mr. Thos. Johns, and the two moveable beehouses in the garden, etc., etc., in the lecturer's house, wherein I now dwell, on cond. that my sister, Jane Ritschell, may live there a year after my decease that she may settle her affaires. To Mr. Thos. Johns, some time my reader, and to John Goss, my parish clerk, each a guinea. Residue to sister, Jane Ritschell; she is executrix.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II. iii. pp. 331-4; Latimer, *Local Records*, pp. 34-5.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

⁴ *Diocesan Calendar*.

* Also lecturer.

LECTURERS OF HEXHAM.

- 1628, Dec. 15th. Benoni Steer.⁺
 1651, Feb. 17th. Thomas Tilham.¹
 1656, Feb. 18th. George Ritschell.[†]
 1684, June 18th. George Ritschell, [†] jun., on the death of his father.
 1717, Nov. 1. Thomas Andrews, on the death of Ritschell. Educated at Queen's college, Oxford.²
 Admitted at York, May 9th, 1718. Buried at Hexham, July 18th, 1757.
 1753, July 11th. Will of Thomas Andrews of Hexham, clerk To my niece, Honour Andrewes, my silver canns, waiter, and tea spoons, and my cabbonet of shell work: to my niece, Ann Andrews, my silver tankard and table spoons. To my brother, Mr. Gerard Andrewes, a ring of a guinea. My kinsman, Rev. Mr. Gerrard Andrews of Leicester; my friends, Rev. Mr. Peter Stewert, Dr. John Speed, and Mr. Thos. Henzell each a like ring. To my brother, Mr. Robert Andrews of Hexham, the garden I have purchased of Mrs. Doro. Shafto of Hexham, and the new stone house I have built therein, and in which I now dwell, a loft or gallery erected by my proper cost in the parish church of Hexham: a vault or 'burying place' at the west end of the said church, where I have deposited the body of my late brother, Mr. Lawrence Andrews; also the burying place in the north ile of Hexham church, which was bequeathed to me by the will of my predecessor, Mr. George Ritschel, on certain conditions, which were fully performed, and where I have deposited the body of my late sister, Mrs. Sarah Bloome; to him my other buildings, etc., in Hexham, and the lands, etc., in co. Hants, which I hold by lease from the provost and scholars of Queen's coll., Oxford, by the name of the manor of Heckley; also my lease of Bayly's lands adjoining to Heckley farm by lease from Mr. Nichols. To my late servant, Hannah Oliver, now wife of Thomas Oliver, of Hexham, an oaken box now standing in my chamber, marked Number 9, with the contents not opnd but by herself, and which I have already put into her possession by giving her the key of it and liberty to remove it after my decease. Residue to my brother, Mr. Robt. Andrews, my executor. Proved 4th Feb., 1758.³
 1758, March 10th. William Totton, M.A., on the death of Andrews. Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge; author of a sermon on the Hexham riot. Admitted at York, October 10th, 1758.
 1766, Feb. 26th. Slougher Clarke, B.A., on the resignation of Totton. Admitted at York, April 1st, 1766.
 1788, Dec. 6th. Joseph Fell, licensed at York as assistant lecturer; stipend £50 a year.
 1801, March 5th. Robert Clarke, M.A., a native of Hexham, on the resignation of Slougher Clarke. Admitted at York, March 19th, 1801. Died in London, April 20th, 1824; buried at Hexham on May 2nd following.
 1824. Charles Lee, M.A., on the death of Clarke. Admitted at York, Feb. 18th, 1825. Perpetual curate of St. John Lee; resided at Brunton.
 1862. Henry Christopher Barker,[†] M.A.

MISCELLANEA.

1567. Robert Bayman of Hexham, yeoman, says that he, beinge the paryshe clerke of Hexham, chanced to be in the parishe church of Hexham upon a Sunday, whiche was the 10th day of May last past, about x or xi of the clocke in the foore nowne, where and when he did here and se Sir John Meke, the curate of Hexham, standing in the pulpyt there say as followeth: Here I have a citacion frome my lorde his grace of Yorke againste John Colson, by vertue whereof I cite him the said John Colson to appeare at Yorke suche a day, expressinge a certaine day, to answeare to suche matters as George Stowte

For further particulars about Tilham see pp. 206-7.

² Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*) only gives one Andrews of Queen's college who could correspond with the lecturer of Hexham. He was the son of George Andrews of Battersea, Surrey, gent. He matriculated at Queen's college, May 26th, 1699, aged 20; B.A., 1703; M.A., 12th March, 1706. Vicar of Llanover, co. Monmouth, 1703, and of Burbage, Wilts. This does not quite agree with the monument to him in Hexham church, which says that he died in 1757, aged 80 years, though the discrepancy is not considerable.

Raine, *Test. Ebor.* † Also curate.

wolde ther lay against hime. And the said John Colsonne standing by said he wold answere yt; and ther openly charged the said George Stowte with felony, sayeing that he had burned his house: and therupon chardged two sergiantes, beinge the bailif of Hexham's officers, to areste the said George Stowte of felony. And the said Colson dyd then and ther give the same sergiantes his hande that he wolde enter bounde to fellow upon the said George Stowte at the nexte sessions at Newcastle so soone as the balif of Hexham came home. Whereupon the said two sergiantes did areste the said George Stowte of felony, and carried hime to Hexham prison imediately, where he remayned all nyghte, and after was bound in recognisaunce eyther in x^{li} or xx^{li}, with two sufficient suerties with him, viz., Cuthberte Hayden and Edwarde Stowte, that he shoulde appeare at the next sessions at Newcastle, and not to depart owte of the liberties of Hexham without leve and license of his said suerties, of this ex^{te} certaine knowledge; for although this ex^{te} were not presente when the same recognisaunce was acknowledged, yet nevertheles this ex^{te} many times helpinge the balif of Hexham to make recognisaunces and other wrytinge, did se the same recognisaunce and red yt over; at whiche time the said bailif asked him whether yt were in forme or no, and he said yea.¹

The parish register of Hexham begins in 1579.

1587, 14th Sept. Geo. Rowtlidge of Nobbock, slain.

1641, 15th June. Roberte Purde, a souldier of ye Scottish regiment, and — Sharpe, daughter of Thomas Tinker, by Mr. Samuel Augsten, preacher to y^t regiment.

1688, 27th Feb. Thomas Locke, a pretended doctor, married to Jane Inglesby; y^t he after married one Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke of Markett Welton in ye East Rideing, York, for which he was prosecuted, but pleaded his majestie's pardon.

1689, 16th July. Mr. John Eaton, a councill in Dublin, a private centinell in Capt. Kelham's troupe, slain by his comrades.

1689, 23rd Oct. Cuthbert Ridley, miller, perished with cold.

The earliest existing churchwardens' book begins in 1699, though George Ritschell, jun., copied out the names of the churchwardens from a much earlier period. In 1607 separate churchwardens were elected for the town and shire, four for each, chosen respectively by the four quarters of the shire and the four wards of the borough.

1699. Ritschell writes that the church slate roof is in a very bad state of repair. He had summoned meetings to deal with the matter, but nothing had been done, because it was thought that the roof was in such a bad condition that it would have to be entirely reconstructed. The churchwardens had refused to do anything, but he had persuaded the four and twenty to undertake the matter. Ritschell himself had caused the old lead roof to be replaced by one of slates, and obtained the consent of the churchwardens and four and twenty to this alteration.

Ritschell's efforts to repair the church called down the following order: 'Mr. Ritchell shall not hereafter medle with the repairs of the church, or make any bargains for repairs or other work, but leave the same to the management of the said four and twenty, as hath been accustomed.' The parish fees were also fixed as follows: Burial, 8d.; marriage, when the banns are published, 1s. 3d.; marriage license, 2s. 6d.; churching of women, 6d. Papists and dissenters double in each case.

Churchwardens' accounts, 1701. Paid the rogue money, 13s. 4d.; paid Amos Raw for ffox heads, 6s. 8d.; paid William Hill for brock heads, 4s. 10d.; paid Mr. Pearson for vermin, 6s. 8d.; paid Mr. Shaftoe for a ffox head and two otter heads, 1s. 8d.; paid Richard Gibson for a catt head, 4d.; paid George Kell for glazing windows, 24s.; paid Philip Aydon for dailes, 1s. 8d.; paid Thomas Hunter for making and mending the church window, 10s. 6d.

1702. Paid for powder to banish the pidgeons, 10d.; paid to James Renwick for a foomert's head, 4d.

1705. Paid Mr. Davison for oyles for the bells, 8d.

1726. Paid for Errington's coat and staff, 31s.; paid Harrison for the school windows, 14s. 6d.

A true and perfect inventory of all and singular ye goods and chattels, moveables and immoveables, rights and creditts of Mathew Mitcheson of Hexham, etc. Chapman deceased, apprized ye 13th day of March, 1699.

¹ *Eccles. Court of York*, Dec. 6, 1567.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
His purse and apparell ...	05	00	00	Cambrick stript line hoods skins			
A parcell of lining cloath ...	04	05	00	and hare ...	02	12	00
A parcell of kentings ...	05	00	00	More goods at Newcastle, sold for	03	00	00
Musling ...	02	00	00				
Dimitty and teeking ...	02	00	00		34	07	00
Blew lin ...	03	00	00	Debts owing to ye dec ^d ...	6	10	00
Blew and white linn ...	01	15	00				
Inckle handkerchiefs and skene	03	00	00	Total ...	40	17	00
Lace ...	02	05	00	Debts owing by ye dec ^d ...	33	00	00
Neckcloaths ...	00	10	00				

A true and perfect inventory of all and singular y^e goods and chattels . . . of Cuthbert Bell, late of Hexham, skinner and glover, deceased, valued and apprized the 27th day of September, A.D. 1704, by us whose names are hereunto subscribed, as followeth, viz.:

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, his apparrell and purse, valued at ...	3	6	8
Item, in ye store house, one press, cupbord, one table, one fforme, two wood chaires, one dresser, and one craddle, valued at ...	1	00	00
Item, in y ^e parlour, one close bedd, one ffeather bed and ffurniture, one cupbord, one pair of drawers, one table, one fform, eight chaires, one little box, one voider, and some pictures, valued at ...	3	00	00
Item, in y ^e roome above y ^e parlour, one old bedstead with a chaffe bedd, bolster and happins, one old chest, and one lint wheel, valued att ...	00	10	00
Item, in y ^e roome above y ^e storehouse, one little table, one old chest, one little chair, and a parcell of wool, valued att ...	4	3	4
Item, a parcel of dressed leather and sixty pelts, valued att ...	2	5	00
Item, pewther, brass, and iron geer, valued att ...	2	00	00
Item, one trunk with linnen, valued att ...	1	10	00
Item, wood and earthen vessell, valued att ...	00	3	4
Item, one galloway nagg, two kine, two cowes, and fifteen sheep, valued att ...	7	00	00
Item, one parcell of hay, valued att ...	2	00	00
Item, one swine, valued att ...	0	3	4
	27	1	8
Debts and funerall expenses ...	14	00	00
Rests ...	13	1	8

1702, 23rd Oct. Thomas Leanwood, glover, a drummer under Colonel Fenwick at Longmarston Moor, fought anno 1642 (*sic*); buried.

1710, 23rd June. If any dissenter's child, who hath been baptized, dye, if ye parents do not desire ye prayers of ye church for it before it dye, they are not to have the bell and bellman, and to pay double fee.

1713, 2nd March. John Thirlwall of East Grindridge, killed by creeping into a fox hole in Dipton Cleugh.

1716, 11th April. George Yarrow, hatter, aged towards 100 years, bellman and sexton of this parish for 70 years.

1716. Bowes, son of Gerard Andrew, gen., commissary or muster-master, bapt. about the latter end of Oct., 1715, and rec^d 3 May, 1716. Test: Dr. Bowes of Durham; Madam Jane Bowes, his sister; and Mrs. Mary Shafto of Spittle.

Gerard, another son, born 26 and bapt. 28 Apr., 1719. Test: Capt. Gills Peacock, Mr. Gills Dawson and Mrs. Ann Challoner.

1720, 12th July. Dorothy Christiana Withagen, a poore Hanoverian; buried.

1721, 2nd Jan. Ann Fairlamb of the shire, shot by Capt. Burley; buried.

1723. Office against Robert Allgood for buying a horse on Sunday.

1724. Office against William Heeron for feeding his swine within or at the church door.

1725. Office against Gilbert Errington for prophaneing the Lord's day by frequenting ale houses in time of divine service.

1725. Office against Edward Charleton and Eliza his wife. He did not appear. Eliza Bell was forcibly by him taken into a publick house on her way to church on Sunday morning, and married by James Laing.

1734. Office against Nicholas Ridley for prophaneing the Lord's day by gathering nuts.

1737. Licence to Thomas Andrews, lecturer of Hexham, and his family, while inhabiting in the parish of Hexham, to use as a burying place, an ancient stone vault scituate in the west part of the churchyard of Hexham, at the west end or side of the tower near to the great new buttress in the north, and the lesser buttress on the south, and the said tower on the east, and on the west, to that part of the churchyard which is not now made use of to bury in, about 10 feet under ground, 13 feet in length, and 7 feet in breadth.

1754. Licence to Sir Edward Blackett, bart., to convert a certain arch or vacant space of ground, under the ancient treasury, and the way leading thereto at the south end of the south aisle of the parish church, containing in length from east to west 14 yards, and in breadth from north to south 4 yards, into a family burying place, with a door leading thereto from the south aisle.

1767, 27th April. Will of Anne Andrewes the elder, of Hexham, widow, weak and advanced to great age. To my daughter Anne for life £10 per ann. To my daughter Hannah Andrews my lands and real estate, my silver tea kettle and lamp, etc. She executrix.

Codicil, 28th Sept., 1767. Whereas my daughter Anne eloped from my house into Scotland with Thomas Newton, and was there married without my consent and never returned to my house again, nor did I ever see her afterwards, and died soon after her marriage without leaving any issue, I give the £1,000 (as left to my disposal by her father) to my most affectionate and dutifull daughter Honour Andrewes. Proved 2 Sept., 1769.¹

1795. Resolved that a reward or bounty of £30 each shall be given to such able-bodied men as are willing to serve in his majesty's navy for the said township, and that such reward or bounty shall be immediately advertised in the *Newcastle Courant* and published by hand bills and other means.

1797, 10th Aug. The Rev. Michael Barrier, French priest; buried.

1799, 17th Aug. Nicholas Cann, emigrant clergyman, rector of a parish called Pretot, Normandy; hurried.

1801, 18th April. Nicholas Le Cesne, French priest, parish of Menville Le Bingard, Low Normandy; buried.

PLATE.

The Hexham church plate consists of eight pieces, which are as follows :

1 and 2. Two cups, 9 inches high, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Inscribed, 'Bequeath'd by Robert Andrews, esq., late of Hexham, to the parish church of Hexham, A.D. 1764.'

3 and 4. Two plates, each 8 inches in diameter; inscribed as the cups. The plates and cups together weigh 52 oz. 4 dwt.

5. A cup, 9 inches high, 5 inches wide at the top, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom. Inscribed, 'Given to St. Andrew's church in Hexham by Mabel Hoorde, wid., 1634.'

6. Paten, 8 inches in diameter at top, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at bottom, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Inscribed as No. 5. Weight, 12 oz.

7. Flagon, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at top, 8 inches at bottom. Inscribed, 'Ex dono Johannis Aynsley, gent., anno Domini 1722.' Weight, 51 oz.

8. Oak staff, with silver head representing St. Andrew on the cross. Inscribed, 'The gift of the Revd. R. Clarke, M.A., lecturer, to Hexham church, 1821.'²

During the restoration of the church an ancient miniature chalice was found on the breast of a skeleton in a stone coffin lying in the north transept of the church. It was of copper, and had been strongly gilt.

¹ Raine, *Test. Ebor.*

² *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iii. p. 72.

It was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. The bowl was hemispherical, with a beaded ring round the base. It had a short stem $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch high, and stood upon an inverted segment of a sphere $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch high. It was bought at the time by Mr. Featherstonhaugh.¹

CHARITIES.²

1634. Mabel Ord, widow, gave the double gilt chalice and paten, also the communion table and green cloth upon it, a pulpit cloth and cushion, and a mort cloth, all green; she also gave £100 to the poor.

1637. Jane Lawson, spinster, daughter of Sir Edw. Lawson of Topcliffe, Yorkshire (but then of Hexham), desired her father, upon her deathbed, to give 40s. a year for ever to 40 poor widows in Hexham, which has been continued ever since, and distributed yearly upon Good Friday.

1668. Dame Elizabeth Radcliffe, widow of Sir Edward Radcliffe of Dilston, bart., bequeathed £4 a year to the poor Roman Catholics in Hexham, to be distributed on St. Lucia's day.

1673. John Tyson, yeoman, left £10 to the poor of Hexham parish, the interest to be divided among them at Christmas and Easter yearly for ever.

1675. James Crasswell of Hexham, tanner, bequeathed an acre of land on Hexham haugh, commonly called Reah's acre, the yearly rent thereof, being 40s., to be distributed to the poor of the town of Hexham on the 3rd October, being his birthday.

1677. Robert Farbridge of Hackford bequeathed £10 to the poor of the High and Middle quarters of Hexhamshire, the interest to be distributed yearly at Whitley chapel upon All Saints' day.

1680. Ursula Mountney, widow, bequeathed an annuity of £3 to the poor of the parish of Hexham.

1681. Thomas Craig of Hexham, skinner and glover, bequeathed £20, the interest to be distributed yearly to poor widows and orphans resident within the town of Hexham, in the parish church of Hexham, upon St. Thomas' day.

1684. Robert Forster of Upper Eshells bequeathed £10 to the poor of Hexhamshire, the interest to be distributed yearly at Easter.

1686. Thomas Gibson of Hexham, cordwainer, bequeathed £20 to the poor, out of a close in Hexham fields.

1690. Anthony Farbridge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who was born at Hackford, bequeathed £14 to the poor of the High and Middle quarters of Hexhamshire, the interest to be distributed yearly on Good Friday at Whitley chapel.

1692. John Coulson, tanner, left £20 to the poor of Hexham town.

1693. Margaret Broadley of Hexham, widow, left £10 to be let out for the use of the poor, the interest to be distributed yearly on the 11th November.

1695. Robert Walton of Peacock house left £3 towards finding a minister at Whitley chapel, and failing a minister there, the interest to be distributed among the most needful people in the High quarter of Hexhamshire.

1702. Henry Dixon of the Staples gave £20 to the poor of the High, Low, and Middle quarters, the interest to be distributed yearly at Christmas.

1707. Margaret Allgood, widow of Lancelot Allgood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, attorney, left £100 to the poor of Hexham township; the interest to be distributed yearly upon Christmas day, after evening service, by the principal inhabitants, with the advice of the minister.

1709. Mary Allgood, spinster, daughter of Thomas Allgood, bailiff of Hexham, gave £40 to the poor of Hexham town.

1710. Nicholas Ridley of Newcastle-upon-Tyne bequeathed £20 to the poor of Hexham town, the interest to be distributed yearly to the more aged and infirm eight days before Christmas.

¹ *Proc. Newc. Soc. Ant.* iv. p. 278.

² Ritschell, *Tynedale Charities*, republished in 1780; *Further Report of the Charity Commissioners*, 1830. For the remaining charities, see under the grammar school. George Ritschell's will has been printed above, p. 171, note.



THE INTERIOR OF MELKHAM ABBEY CHURCH

1712. Dorothy Allgood, spinster, eldest daughter of Thomas Allgood, bailiff of Hexham, made over her fortune to her brother James upon certain conditions, one of which was that the interest of £40 should be yearly distributed to the poor of the town of Hexham if she died before marriage.

Elizabeth Gibson, widow, bequeathed £20 to the poor of Hexham town, the interest to be yearly distributed.

1714. George Gibson, tanner, left £30 to the poor of the township, to be distributed in portions of £3 half yearly for five years after his death.

1715. Joseph Bell gave £100 to the poor of the town, the interest to be distributed yearly on the 19th of March.

1748. Ann Johnson left an annual sum of £2 15s. to be distributed among the poor of Hexham every year.

1764. Robert Andrews gave 50s. yearly to the poor of the parish, and the Rev. Sloughter Clarke and his wife since granted a rent charge of 50s. out of a close near the Maiden Cross.

1773. David Johnson, mercer, left half an acre of land in the town fields near Maiden Cross to the poor of Hexham.

Thomas Howdon, tanner, bequeathed 20s., to be paid yearly out of the rent of a house in Fore Street, to 20 poor widows.

John Forbes, merchant, bequeathed £100 to the poor of Hexham, the interest to be distributed yearly for ever. Round close (1 acre 1 rood) was purchased with this money.

Lost charities : John Tyson, Thomas Craig, Thomas Gibson, Margaret Broadley, Margaret Allgood, Nicholas Ridley, Elizabeth Gibson.

At the division of the common in 1755, 1 acre 3 roods 8 poles were set out to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor in respect of land given by Creswell and Johnson.

The old almshouse was originally situated on Battle hill, but in 1812 it was exchanged for the building in Hencotes. There is accommodation for four persons, preference being always given to widows. It is under the control of the governors of the grammar school. The new almshouses in the Alnmouth road were built by the trustees of the will of the late Mr. Henry King of Hexham.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

The architectural history of Hexham priory begins with the church built by order of St. Wilfrid. Our knowledge of this building is unfortunately almost entirely literary. The three writers, to whom we are indebted for an account of it, give so much space to the description that it is clear the building made a great impression on the minds of these ecclesiastics. Eddi, chaplain to Wilfrid, Symeon of Durham, and Richard, prior of Hexham, must all have been familiar with it, and the account of the last is so curiously technical that it deserves to be quoted at length. After giving the reasons why Wilfrid dedicated his church to St. Andrew the Apostle, he goes on to say: 'He laid crypts and underground oratories beneath the foundations of his church, with branching passages, at a great depth and with great labour. The church above was built with stones, squared and of various sizes, supported by well-polished columns. It had three distinct

storeys or levels, which were carried all to an immense height and length. He also decorated the walls and the capitals of the columns by which they were supported and the arch of the sanctuary with figure subjects and statues and many carvings in relief upon the stone, as well as pictures and paintings in great variety and wonderful beauty. The body of the church he surrounded with aisles and porches on every side, which, with surprising and inexplicable skill, communicated with each other by winding stairs in stone towers. In these towers, and above them, he caused to be made flights of stairs, galleries, and various winding ways, above and below, so ingeniously contrived that an untold multitude of men might be there, surrounding the whole body of the church, and yet not be seen by those on the floor below. Both above and below were very many oratories, as private as they were beautiful. In the porticos before mentioned, which he arranged with great painstaking and care, altars were placed in honour of the Blessed Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, and St. Michael the Archangel, and St. John the Baptist, and of the holy apostles, confessors, martyrs, and virgins, with their furnishings richly provided. Some of these works have remained even to this day, the most conspicuous of which are the towers and turrets for defence. . . . The atrium also of the temple he surrounded by a wall of great thickness and strength, and, moreover, an aqueduct in a stone channel ran through the midst of the town for the use of the offices. We pass over his multifarious and most abundant buildings, which waste and devastation have overthrown, many of the foundations of which may be observed on all sides.¹

Prior Richard's account of the church should not be regarded as a mere eulogy, and when it is analysed it will be found to contain some valuable information with regard to the plan and decorations of the building. It is evident that it must have been of more than ordinary dimensions. Much stress is laid on the fact that the walls were carried out to a 'great length and height.' It had, therefore, a long nave, which had arcades with capitals of an ornate character, though whether these were ancient capitals taken from Roman buildings, or whether they were designed and made new by Wilfrid's masons, it is not possible to say. There was a triforium and a clerestory, and as the passages and galleries are said to have had 'many turnings and branches,' transepts may be implied. Whether the words

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. iii.

arcum sanctuarii refer to the arch opening into the apse or the vault of the apse, it is difficult to decide. The latter is more probable, as it seems to have been painted with figure subjects. The only towers mentioned are called *cocleæ*, which were small and round, containing newel stairs, situated probably in the angles of the transept or flanking the choir. The porches were chapels for minor altars projecting from the walls of the church, and possibly from the transepts also. Some of these seem to have been of two storeys, with one chapel above another, access to the upper chapels being obtained by the newel stairs in the *cocleæ*. Carved decorative work seems to have been abundant, and was not confined to the constructive features, such as capitals, but overran the walls in the form of bas-reliefs. Some portions of stones ornamented in this way have been found from time to time on the site of the nave,¹ which is without doubt the position occupied by the body of Wilfrid's church. Some of these are preserved in the cathedral library at Durham, and others are in the north transept of the present church. Among other ornamental fragments from the church are portions of carved string courses. These are variously ornamented, the most remarkable being those which have on them representations of lathe-turned baluster shafts, singly or arranged in groups of three and four, placed alternately in a vertical and horizontal position. String courses of this date, unless quite plain, are rare, but they occur *in situ* at Monkwearmouth in Durham and at Sompting in Sussex. The occurrence of the balusters amongst the carved decorations is significant, as it seems to indicate that there was native influence at work amongst the builders. Most of the decorations, however, indicate the designs and handiwork of the Roman masons, whom Wilfrid is said to have brought over with him from Rome, that his church might resemble, as far as possible, those he had become familiar with there.

The crypt is the only portion of St. Wilfrid's church remaining. It is a quite plain structure, and in it were no doubt deposited and exhibited the relics which Wilfrid is said to have brought from Rome, and which formed one of the great attractions of his church. Its plan is ingeniously arranged to adapt it to such an exhibition. It comprises a chapel with an antechapel across its west end, and two lateral and branching passages for entrance and exit, each of which had an enlarged vestibule at the west end.

¹ In the almost contemporary church at Monkwearmouth some of these carved stones are still *in situ* on the front of the western porch.

The chapel is covered with a barrel vault formed of large stones. It has two doorways, one opening into the chamber, at the west end of the south passage, the other into the ante-chapel. In the chapel are three lamp niches, which consist of small recesses in the walls. At the bottom of the recesses are cup-shaped hollows for holding oil or tallow, and at the top are funnel-shaped holes for condensing the smoke. On the east wall is a bracket, which may be a later insertion. Above the bracket is the tang of an iron crook, with the lead for fixing it into the stone, originally intended to hold securely some object, such as a crucifix, which stood upon the bracket. The floor is of earth. The ante-chapel also has a barrel vault and three doorways, in its east, west, and north walls respectively, and a lamp niche in its south wall. An opening in the roof (now filled up) once communicated with the church above. The passages are covered with large stones laid flat, but the vestibules are covered at a much greater height by two slabs sloping from the walls to the centre, and forming a triangular arch, one of the characteristics of the work of that time. All the stones used are of Roman workmanship. The walls are one stone thick. There are many carved stones from cornices, pilasters, capitals, and other portions of Roman buildings, and a large number have 'broached' tooling in various patterns. The crypt was plastered throughout, and advantage was taken of the broaching and carving on the stones to form a 'key' for the plaster, the removal of a large part of which has revealed the carving on the stones. There are two Roman inscriptions, one on a slab at the east end of the north passage, the other on a stone out of which the head of the doorway between the north passage and its vestibule has been cut. In the last century an inscribed Roman altar, now lost, was removed from the crypt.

Three separate entrances led from the church into the crypt. That on the south side led directly into the chapel, and was intended to be used by the priests. The west and north passages, with the ante-chapel, were for the use of the worshippers, who could descend by one and ascend by the other, and look into the chapel from the ante-chapel without entering it or interfering with the ceremonial of the altar. Such an arrangement and usage places the crypt at Hexham, like that at Ripon, in the same category as the *confessio* which exists under some of the early churches in Rome and elsewhere. It is therefore quite distinct both from the large undercrofts of the later cathedrals, and from the smaller crypts which served as charnel houses



Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 Feet.

W. G. Footitt.
1895

THE ACCA CROSS.

in many parish churches. Nothing remains of the furniture and accessories of St. Wilfrid's church except the frith-stol. This was used as the seat of sanctuary in later times, but was no doubt originally intended for the bishop's seat, and was probably copied from some episcopal chair in Italy with which Wilfrid was familiar. It has been frequently moved, and is not now on the spot it occupied during the days of the priory.

The remaining relics of the præ-Conquest period are portions of monumental crosses which were originally placed in the cemetery of the church. The most important of these is that which, there can be no doubt, once stood at the head of the grave of Acca. The greater part of the shaft, with the lower portion of the head, has been recovered, and is now erected in the cathedral library at Durham. The shaft is 11 feet in length, and the whole cross when complete was about 13 feet 9 inches high. It was therefore one of the largest, as it is certainly the most beautiful, of this class of memorial extant. Its art is evidently of Italian origin, though in the considerable interlacing of some of the stems it shows more northern influence than do similar designs in Italy. Three sides of the shaft and the head are entirely covered with a design consisting of two vine plants with rolling and meandering stems. As the cross stood originally, the side bearing the inscription, which appears to have occupied the whole length of the shaft, was towards the grave, and faced eastwards. The other broad face was therefore towards the west, and upon this the artist has exerted his utmost skill in design. Two vines spring from the angles at the foot of the cross. The stems divide just above the root, and are carried up in parallel lines, which continue to cross and recross as they rise, forming a series of nine loops of pointed oval form. The loops and the triangular spaces between them and the edges of the stone are closely filled with clusters of grapes, leaves, and tendrils, arranged in the most delicate and graceful manner, and with a wonderful variety of curves and twists, no two portions being alike. There is a much larger number of grape bunches in proportion to the leaves than is natural. This may be the result of a desire on the part of the designer to emphasise the symbolic use of the vine. The north and south sides are narrower than the other two. The north side has a somewhat similar design to the west side, but the stems make an intermediate crossing between the loops, so that there was a series of twelve large and eleven small loops in the length of the shaft. On this side there is also a good deal

more of the interlacing pattern, and more prominence is given to the stem, and less to the fruit, than on the broader side. The south side has a rolling scroll, there being fourteen circular volutes in the height of the shaft. The stem makes three revolutions in each volute, and throws off minor stems as it winds, and these bear at their terminations the clusters of grapes and a few leaves. The most remarkable, and not the least beautiful, of the divisions is the second from the foot. This is composed entirely of stems, without either fruit or leaves, and allows the interlacing band principle to predominate over the motive of the design. The stem makes four revolutions, and on reaching the centre is thrown back in the form of four long loops, which are placed saltirewise, and interlace themselves through the coils of the main stem. The inscription probably began with the word ACCA, and contained some passages from the Nicene creed, of which the words VNIGENITO FILIO DEI can still be read. The shaft has been broken into at least four pieces. The portion still wanting is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the shaft, near the top. This is now filled up with wood, painted, so that the proportions of the cross are maintained. The lowest piece is the longest, and was used as the lintel of a cottage door at Dilston. It had been reduced in thickness, and so much of the inscription as was upon it is consequently lost. The portion above this, which is in better preservation, was found in 1858 at the east end of the church. The upper portion was found under the foundation of a house near the west end of St. Mary's church about 1870.

A portion of what was once a large cross was found in 1854 on the site of St. Mary's church. This bears a design based upon the vine, and though similar, is much inferior to the Acca cross. It is now at Durham. The other stones in the same collection, besides the string courses already mentioned, are portions of carved wall slabs, with a very classical design of vine branches bearing fruit, and with figures introduced, one of which is a nude figure with a bow discharging an arrow; the head of a cross with a flower of eight leaves in the centre; a piece of a string course with a scroll pattern; and a carved stone with chequer work and scrolls of uncertain derivation and use.

Amongst the stones remaining in the church at Hexham is a portion of a wall slab, similar to two pieces in the library at Durham. It has a vine pattern upon it, and has had human figures and birds among the stems.

There is in private possession in Hexham a small portion of the base of a cross, with carving on two adjoining sides and the top. At the Spital is preserved the middle portion of the shaft of a cross, carved on all sides. One bears the crucifixion, with the attendant figures. The other three have vine patterns, which are evidently bad copies of the Acca cross, as the same arrangement is adopted, though the design and execution are much inferior.

St. Wilfrid's church remained without change or injury for nearly two centuries. In 875 it was burnt by the Danes, and though it was subsequently repaired and used as a parish church, it was never thoroughly restored. When the Austin canons came to Hexham it seems clear that they made use of the old church and the surrounding buildings until sufficient funds had accumulated to provide new buildings on a scale commensurate with the rank of the new foundation. Before this took place the Norman period in architecture had come and gone. The architectural history of Hexham priory is therefore peculiar in the fact that, though it was founded under a Norman prelate who was a great encourager of building, and during the Norman period in architecture, yet it never possessed a Norman church or any buildings in that style.¹ When the work of rebuilding was begun, it was doubtless intended to erect an entirely new priory in the style of the period, to replace Wilfrid's structure, which was still in use. But what actually took place was merely an eastward extension from the nave of Wilfrid's church, which, from the solidity of its construction, being built of large Roman ashlar stones, no doubt remained in a substantial condition. The priory at Hexham presented, therefore, the unique feature of a *præ-Conquest* nave existing side by side with a Gothic choir, transepts, and central tower. Its appearance must consequently have been very striking, and though such a combination of early and late work, in totally different styles, was frequent enough in the case of parish churches, as, for example, in the neighbouring and dependent church at Ovingham, yet it was extremely rare in churches of the magnitude of that at Hexham.

Any influence which the plan of Wilfrid's church may have exercised on the arrangement of the new building need not be discussed here. It seems certain that the crypt was under either the choir or the crossing of

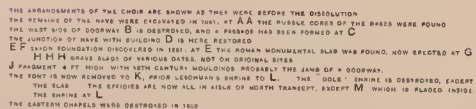
¹ The few fragments of worked stones of Norman style found during the last few years have come from St. Mary's church.

Wilfrid's church; and, as one of the objects in building an extended choir was to gain more space for the shrines around the high altar, the foundations of the new choir were laid at some distance to the east of the old one, and beyond its lateral walls, so that as much work as possible could be executed before the old building was removed.¹ Hence the aisle walls contain the work of the earliest date, as these could easily be carried up before the foundations for the arcade piers were laid in. The difference in the details of the various portions of the choir, the way in which they unfold the gradual growth of the building, and the exact order in which the work was done are very instructive, and form a most interesting study, particularly as the work was in progress at the time when the 'transition' from Norman to Gothic was passing into the fully developed 'lancet' style of the earlier years of the thirteenth century.

The plan of the choir consists of a central alley, divided into six bays, with north and south aisles. The elevation of the side walls exhibits the usual division of a main arcade, triforium, and clerestory, all fully developed. The work is throughout well designed and rich in its details and mouldings. A comparison with some other similar buildings, of which the date is known, shows that the choir was begun about 1180 and completed about 1220. There are a great many minor differences between corresponding parts, and many interesting peculiarities and inconsistencies, some of which call for special notice. The wall of the north aisle is a foot thicker than that of the south. In the main arcades, which have a fine series of rich mouldings, there are some differences between the north and the south arcades which show that the latter was built first. The most important of these is the dentelle ornament to the hood moulding of the arches. This is a lingering trace of Norman influence, and is a common form in many churches in the county of Durham built towards the end of the twelfth century. The triforium and clerestory are of the early part of the thirteenth century, and the only trace of the earlier styles to be seen is in the pear-shaped section of some of the mouldings, notably in the vaulting shafts, which spring from corbels below the triforium string course and rise almost to the wall heads. The clerestory is, both from its position and its design, the crowning feature of the choir. It is of full size, and in individual height exceeds those of many much larger churches, such as Southwell or Lichfield. The triple

¹ The axes of the choir and the crypt are nearly coincident the difference being only 15 inches.

४० ३० २० १० ० १० २० ३० ४० ५० ६० ७० ८० ९० १००



internal arcade masks a wall gallery, and has a curious arrangement of a double tier of shafts, each with bases and capitals. There is a parallel example in the clerestory of the transepts at Romsey, though not so well carried out as it is at Hexham.

The choir is planned on a smaller scale than most of the monastic churches of Yorkshire, but is not exceeded by any church in the other northern counties not of the rank of a cathedral. The design is a bold one, and the details are both abundant and rich, and as a whole it is strikingly similar to the nave at Jedburgh. Indeed, Hexham bears a much closer resemblance to the churches on the Scotch side of the Border than it does to any on the English side. The design of the transepts is almost exactly repeated, but on a much smaller scale, at Pluscardyn, near Elgin. The most noticeable features in the composition of the choir are the pear-shaped forms of the clustered columns, the complicated mouldings of all the arches, the bold sweep of the semicircular containing-arches of the triforium arcade, and the double tier of shafts to all three arches in the clerestory arcade.

Before the dissolution, two additions were made to the choir, which altered its plan and extended its area. The most important of these was the erection of a transverse aisle across the lower part of the east wall, which opened to the choir by five arches, one at the end of either aisle and three in the central portion. It was lighted by seven large traceried windows of good design. Those at either end were of five lights, the central one in the east front was of four lights, while the remaining four in the east front were of three lights each. There were doorways at either end, while internally two steps ran the whole length near the east wall, to form a raised platform, on which five altars seem to have been placed, one beneath each of the eastern windows. The roof was an open timbered one of low pitch. The date of this addition seems to be fixed by a deed of Archbishop Zouche, dated at Cawood, 28th May, 1350, which gives the prior and convent power to enclose a strip of the Market Place, 5 feet wide, and in length from the chapel of St. Mary on the south to the abbey gate on the north, so that they could make their processions round the church.¹ The necessity for this enclosure arose from the extension of the church towards the east by the building of the new aisle. The use of this extension was evidently to provide more space for minor altars and for chantries. The two doorways

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. app. No. lviii.

were placed to the west of the centre of the aisle and opposite to one another, so that the passage between them should be clear of the altar steps. This building was a parallel, but on a much smaller scale, to the great eastern transepts at Durham and Fountains, called the Nine Altars.¹ The other alteration was the building of a chapel parallel to the south aisle, and in connection with it, which was entered by a doorway that still remains, though now blocked up. This was, in all probability, the chapel of the Umfraville family, as their monuments had been moved out of the chapel and placed in the aisle adjoining when the earliest account of the priory was written. The date of the destruction of this chapel is unknown. Its length was equal to two bays of the aisle wall and it had a lean-to roof. A piscina of fourteenth-century date adjoins the doorway which led into it. A fourteenth-century window had been inserted in the east bay of the south aisle, but it was destroyed in 1858.

When the extended choir was added to the old church its eastern end was taken down, and the building of the new transepts was immediately begun. The central tower was built directly afterwards, and the work was probably completed about 1250, having been carried on during the space of from thirty to thirty-five years.

The transepts at Hexham are designed in a very imposing manner, and are excessively long in proportion to the scale of the building, longer, in fact, considering the total length of the church, than in any other church in England. Whether this peculiarity arose from any special desire on the part of the builders, the taste of their architect,² or some local circumstances it is difficult to say; but it is certain that this feature gives Hexham abbey its chief charm. The view of the interior, whether looking north or south, is certainly unrivalled among English churches.

The two eastern piers of the tower are carried up along with the choir, and the various sections of the work all joined together at the tower as a centre. The whole order of building was arranged so as to postpone the removal of the old church until the last moment. For this reason the transept was begun at the south end, after the calefactory and the rest of

¹ In the timbering of the north triforium of the choir, which is of modern date, is an old beam, on which is inscribed in black letter characters, 'Orate pro anima Georgii Eryngtoun.' It is not unlikely that this came from the roof of the eastern aisle, to which the Erringtons may have been benefactors.

² Unusually long transepts for the size of the churches occur at Corbridge, Ovingham, and Rothbury, all erected about the same time as the Hexham transepts.

the eastern range had been built, and the work was then continued towards the north, the east side having been built first, the closing section being the west wall, from the north side of the slype to the south-western tower pier. The north transept was carried on in like manner. The east side was first built, then the north and west walls in their lower portion, the west wall being carried on from north to south till the tower pier was joined. The clerestory was then commenced, beginning on the east side and finishing at the tower on the west. A change was made in the composition of the north end while the work was in progress. It was originally intended to have three tiers of lancets, as in the east walls of Whitby, Bridlington, Brinkburn, and other conventual churches. The effect of the alteration was to raise the level of the upper gallery to that of the clerestory, instead of to the level of the capitals of the triforium arcade, and to carry the upper tier of lancets right into the gable. The alteration also included the removal of the newel stair from the north-eastern to the north-western angle of the transept. The proofs of this and other changes in the structure are ample and conclusive, but are too technical to be given in detail.

The design of the transept, taken as a whole, is a very fine one, and the result is eminently satisfactory. The two wings exhibit so many varieties and contrasts in the parts which are complements of one another, that monotony is avoided, and the plain and somewhat severe work of the south wing is in pleasing contrast to the rich and almost exuberant detail of the northern one.

The most striking feature of the south transept is produced by the intrusion of the slype,¹ which served, among other uses, as a passage of communication between the cloister and the cemetery, lying to the south of the choir and east of the chapter house. This arrangement robs the south transept of its southern bay at the floor level, but as the slype is low and vaulted it is treated as a gallery within the church, and the triforium and clerestory are carried over it, so that in their upper parts the transepts are of equal length. Access to the gallery is obtained by a bold and imposing flight of stone stairs placed against the west wall, with a stepped balustrade on their east side. These served as the night stairs to give admission, through

¹ The only other example of this arrangement is in the priory church of St. Frideswide, Oxford, now the cathedral, also an Austin canons' church, where the clerestory and triforium of the south transept are carried over the slype.

a doorway on the south side of the transept, now built up, to the church from the level of the dormitory.

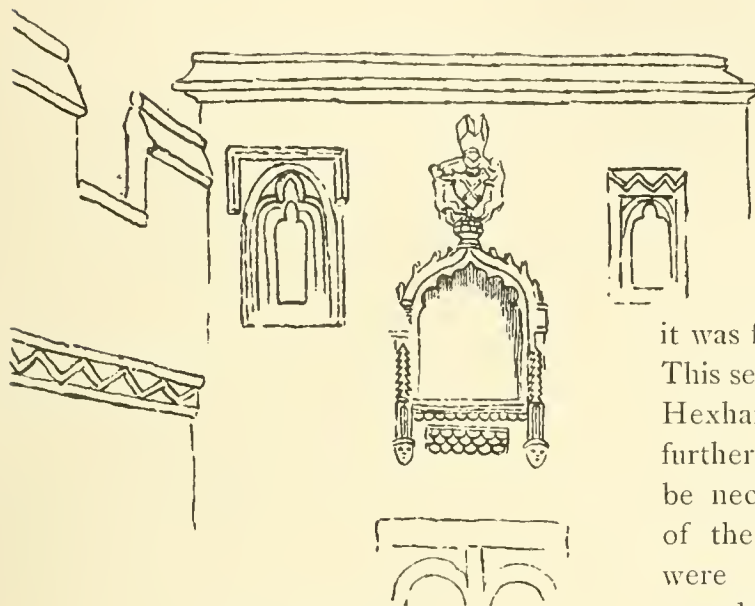
The chapter house has almost entirely disappeared, but its dimensions are known from foundations and from the remains of its vault on those portions of its walls left as buttresses to the south-east angle of the transept. It had an enriched western doorway, with much carving. This was blown out in a thunderstorm early in this century. The vestibule was vaulted in nine compartments, and had four columns. The dormitory extended over it and over the calefactory. These buildings were erected either with the earliest section of the south transept or before the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The tower is a low one, rising only one stage above the weather mouldings of the original thirteenth-century roofs. This stage is ornamented with an arcade of five members, two of them being pierced for belfry windows, and subdivided by mullions into two pointed lights. The other three arches are blank. The arches and jambs are well moulded. All four sides are alike, except in some minor details. Broad buttresses enclose the angles and die into the walls beneath a corbel table, which is carried all round. Above is an embattled parapet of later date than the tower, and probably contemporary with the parapets and roofs of the rest of the church, which seem to have been added in the closing years of the fourteenth century. At the angles are the stumps of pinnacles, which appear never to have been finished. The roof is pyramidal, and in the main, ancient, but reduced in height by the shortening of the old timbers.

The middle of the thirteenth century found the canons in possession of a complete church, the whole of which, with the exception of the nave, was in the style of that time, and of ample dimensions. It had been nearly three-quarters of a century in building, and, like many other churches, it shows indications of the necessity for economy at one time and the opportunity of more lavish expenditure at another. The richest work is the earliest and the latest, the intervening portion, the south wing of the transept, being destitute of either carving or ornament.

When a religious house required to be rebuilt on an extended scale, it was not an unusual proceeding to erect first the eastern portion of the church, then to complete the buildings around the other three sides of the cloister court, and, last of all, to build or rebuild the nave of the church, finishing off

at the west front. In the greater number of the more important monastic houses the erection of the nave could be delayed without great inconvenience



PRIOR LESCHMAN'S WINDOW.

(From a Drawing by Grimm in the British Museum.)

to the convent, and in some instances its building or rebuilding on a larger scale, as the case might be, was so long postponed that the Dissolution came before

it was finished, or even begun. This seems to have occurred at Hexham. But before dealing further with the nave it will be necessary to mention such of the domestic buildings as were erected between the completion of the tower and the destructive raid of the Scots in 1296. This period

of about half a century was the most prosperous that the house of Hexham experienced, and during that time much building work was carried out. The three eastern arms of the church, with the tower, the chapter house, and the vaulted vestibule between it and the cloister, the calefactory to the south, and the dormitory extending over the vestibule to the chapter house and the calefactory, were finished, the new buildings thus forming a complete range in continuation of the south arm of the transept. But the new nave, the frater, the cellarage, the kitchen, the prior's house, and the base court beyond it, had still to be built. The buildings on the south and west sides of the cloister were certainly erected in the interval above mentioned. The few remains that are left show that they were of the most sumptuous kind, and had they not suffered almost immediate damage or destruction, would have ranked high amongst the very best examples of mediæval architecture. The frater occupied the whole of the south side of the cloister, and was a long and lofty hall, lighted with large traceried windows. It seems to have had an open timbered roof, the beams of which rested on carved corbels.

It was entered at its south-west angle by a richly moulded doorway with carved capitals, under an equally rich wall arcade. This doorway was gained by a flight of steps from the cloister level, the hall being raised on a vaulted undercroft in two alleys with a central range of clustered columns, some of which were standing as late as 1818. At the east end of the undercroft was a passage, as at Durham, Carlisle, Kirkham, and other monastic houses. Adjoining the doorway of the frater on the west wall of the cloister was the lavatory, of which the arcade or wall decoration remains in a fairly complete condition. It is a bright jewel amongst architectural gems, and is valuable as indicating how exquisite the contemporary work must have been.¹ The whole of the undercroft of the western range is of the same period as the frater. It is divided into four sections of varying size, and is covered with barrel vaults with bold chamfered ribs. The doorways are shoulder-headed, except that which enters the central passage from the prior's court. The wall between the undercroft and the cloister is of great thickness, and was probably designed to prevent the sound of work going on there from disturbing the quiet of the cloister enclosure. How much of the upper story of the western range was built at this period is doubtful, for it was entirely transformed in the fifteenth century in the time of Prior Leschman. The south-west angle of the nave was, to a certain height, rebuilt at this time, along with the western range. A few yards of the base moulding along the west front are of this period. The modern archway, which provides a road through the north-west angle of the cloister, had no existence in ancient times, the cloister being entirely shut in by buildings on all sides.

The loss and destruction occasioned by the raids of the Scots between 1296 and 1314 were so great that all building operations ceased for a long period. The rebuilding of the nave, which was to have been in its turn undertaken, was, in consequence, indefinitely postponed. It is clear that the nave of St. Wilfrid's church had not been replaced up to the time of the first raid. It must therefore have been in use until that time, for the chronicle of Lanercost, in giving an account of this raid, describes it, and says that it remained standing.² The whole church was burnt and pillaged and the shrines and relics destroyed. It was no doubt intended that the nave should be rebuilt, but it does not seem to have been repaired after the raid,

¹ See illustration, p. 144.

² *Lanercost Chron.*, p. 176.

and when a period of quietude succeeded the battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346, the next work undertaken was the erection of the transverse aisle across the east front, a much less important work than the rebuilding of the nave. The general repair of the church, which was carried out during the fourteenth century, does not appear to have extended to the nave, which continued in its ruined condition from 1296 until the rebuilding in the fifteenth century was begun; hence the tradition which has come down to our time, that the Scots destroyed the nave, is in the main true, if the nave of St. Wilfrid's church was meant.

There is nothing to show that the rebuilding of the nave was actually undertaken until the beginning of the fifteenth century. The slight remains of it are in the style of that period, and consist of the lower portion of the south and west walls, a short length of the north wall, rising scarcely above the foundations, and the cores of the bases of some of the piers. The details are scanty, but are sufficient to indicate that the work was to be plain and substantial. The base of the half column against the west wall remains. The western doorway has been shorn of its arch and jamb mouldings, but is standing to its full height, and above it there still remains the floor of the gallery across the west front. A plan by Carter shows that at the end of last century portions of the jambs of the south windows were still standing, and that the gallery was continued along the south wall. There was a newel stair provided in the north-west angle of the nave, where an enormous buttress projected to receive the thrust of the arcade. The stair was entered by a passage in the west wall of the aisle, and this was in its turn entered from the north-west angle of the aisle. The whole of the stone used in the walls of the nave is of Roman origin, while all that used in the choir and transepts is newly quarried stone of much inferior quality, taken from the south side of the Tyne. This seems to show that the nave was, at all events, begun with the material from St. Wilfrid's church, which was therefore used in it for the third time. It is almost needless to point out that this source of supply was not available when the choir and transepts were added to the earlier church.¹

¹ A clause in the will of Roger Thornton, of Newcastle, who died in 1429, has an indirect allusion to the nave. He says, 'It'm, I wylle yat CCCC marc' whilk yat ye priour and couent Hexham awe me beee dispendet upon bygging of yeir kyrk, if ye wol make greable seurtez yat it shal soo be deuly doon.' The words 'yeir kyrk' can only refer to the nave, the word church being used in its restricted sense as alluding to the church of the people, in contradistinction to the monastic portion, which would have been termed 'quire.' This seems to indicate that the work was in progress, but delayed from want of funds.

Unlike many churches, Hexham abbey underwent but little alteration during the later periods of mediæval architecture. It did not, however, escape the prevailing fashion of the fifteenth century, the insertion of a large 'Perpendicular' window in its eastern end. This was of five lights, and occupied the whole of the east end of the choir above the arches which opened into the eastern transverse aisle. It is shown in two old views, one by King, in the first edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and the other by Buck, dated July, 1728. It seems to have been taken out about 1730 and replaced by a window of similar size, but of bastard Gothic character. This was again replaced by a similar window about 1830. This in its turn perished at the hands of its own designer, along with the eastern aisle and many other interesting features, in 1838. The present east end, which is a poor copy of that of Whitby abbey, was finished in 1862.

The aisles are all vaulted, but the main roofs are of open timber construction of low pitch but good design, with curved braces and carved bosses at the intersections. Those in the choir and south transept are original. Those in the north transept were added to the ancient timbers in 1877.

The monuments are varied and of considerable interest. Besides the præ-Conquest memorial crosses already mentioned, there is an early hog-backed grave cover, and a small coped grave cover, and one or two fragments of similar covers, all of Norman date.

The only altar tomb *in situ* is built up between the north aisle of the choir and that of the north transept. It has a richly moulded segmental arch and ridged capping, some carved corbel heads, and a good canopied niche. The slab of the tomb is richly ornamented with an incised cross formed of a vine plant with fruit and leaves. There is nothing to show whom this monument commemorates, but tradition says it is that of Elfwald, a Saxon king who was murdered in 788.¹ The date of the monument is about 1295. There are five sculptured effigies; two are of females, which were found in digging in the churchyard, one in the last century, the other a few years ago. They are both much worn and without any features to lead to their identification. In the north transept are two effigies of knights. The earlier of these is clad in chain mail, over which is a sleeveless surcoat. The sword is suspended by a strap to the belt. The

¹ See illustration, p. 115.

shield is on the left arm, and has carved upon it *three garbs on a fess*. This armorial bearing was worn by the Tindals, lords of Dilston. The effigy is probably that of Thomas de Devilstone (Dilston), who died in 1297. The other effigy is that of Gilbert de Umfraville, who died in 1307, and is similar in its character and armour to the earlier one. The Umfraville arms, *a cinquefoil between eight crosses patonce*, are well cut in relief on the shield. There are traces of the fastenings of an iron hearse over the figure.¹ The remaining effigy is that of Prior Leschman, who died in 1491. His chapel, and that of the Ogle family, were formerly the chief monuments in the choir, and stood between the columns, one on either side. Leschman's chapel² had a low stone screen wall, with open wooden lattices above, and a flat ceiling with carved bosses. It retained its ancient reredos and stone altar. The effigy lay on an altar tomb outside the chapel on the south. It was mutilated when the church was restored in 1858-60. The tomb is a low altar-tomb, with plain sides and moulded cornice and plinth. On the south side, as it originally lay, and at the east end, is a shield bearing the rebus of Prior Leschman, his initials in black letter characters, **r** and **l**, placed in saltire, and thus representing the arms of the priory, which were *azure, a saltire argent*. The effigy represents the prior habited in the dress of the Austin order, with the hood of the cloak drawn over the eyes and hiding the upper portion of the face.³ The hands are clasped on the breast. The execution is rude, and evidently by a local man. Beneath the altar slab in the monumental chapel is a recess for the vessels, which has carving in panels at its sides. One of these is a piece of blundered interlaced work. Similar interlaced patterns are among the decorations of the screen wall of the chapel, and are a curious example of imitative work of the earlier periods executed near the end of the fifteenth century. The Ogle chapel was also swept away in 1858-60, but the slab, with a portion of the brass, and parts of the wooden lattices are in the church. The slab lies on the site of the chapel, and the woodwork is in the vestry.⁴

¹ See illustration, p. 142.

² See illustration, p. 147.

³ Representations of Austin canons in sculpture are very rare. There is a good example in the case of the end of the Brus cenotaph at Guisborough, where the prior is shown holding a shield with the canons kneeling around him. The prior wears the hood of his cloak on his head, but the canons are bareheaded, with the hoods hanging down their backs.

⁴ The inscription on the slab runs: 'Hic jacet Robertus Ogle, filius Elene Bertram, filie Roberti Bertram militis, qui obiit in vigilia omnium sanctorum, anno domini mccc., cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.' The will of Robert Ogle, dated 7th Feb., 1411, is printed in *Durham Wills*, Surt. Soc. ii. p. 47.

The church is unusually rich in ancient furniture and panel paintings. The original rood screen and loft remain *in situ*, though much altered on their eastern side. This was the work of Prior Smithson, as stated on the *patera* of the cornice on the west side. The stalls were a fine series, thirty-eight in number, and they remained undisturbed, though mutilated in their canopies, until 1858, when they were removed. A series of canopied paintings of seven of the bishops of Hexham was formerly on the north side of the altar. They date between 1463-74, as they bear the arms of archbishop George Neville. The sedilia of four stalls are of carved oak, and stood on the south side of the altar before the period of destruction. They are still preserved in the vestry, though in a mutilated condition. There are also some fragments of parciose screens left, but none is *in situ*. The last was moved in 1869. A great quantity of carved woodwork was taken out of the church in 1858. Seventy-two of the carved standards of the stall canopies lay in a joiner's yard till a few years ago, and the beautiful panel paintings which formed the reredos of the altar of the Ogle chapel (1410) were treated as lumber, and are now in private possession.

The principal entrance to the precinct was by the gateway in Market Street, until recent times the most important street in the town. This gateway is complete in its lower portion, except the vaulting and the central wall, which had two arches in it, the main entrance and the wicket. This wall and the vault were removed about 1820. The two outer arches are well moulded semicircular arches of fine proportions. The angles are buttressed, and the doorway to the porter's lodge remains on the west side, now built up.

There are still some considerable remains of the precinct wall. It is well built, of large ashlar, and is 4 feet in thickness. Much of it has been removed in recent years. There was a western gateway through the wall, and possibly another to the south. No traces of these are now to be seen.

THE BELLS.

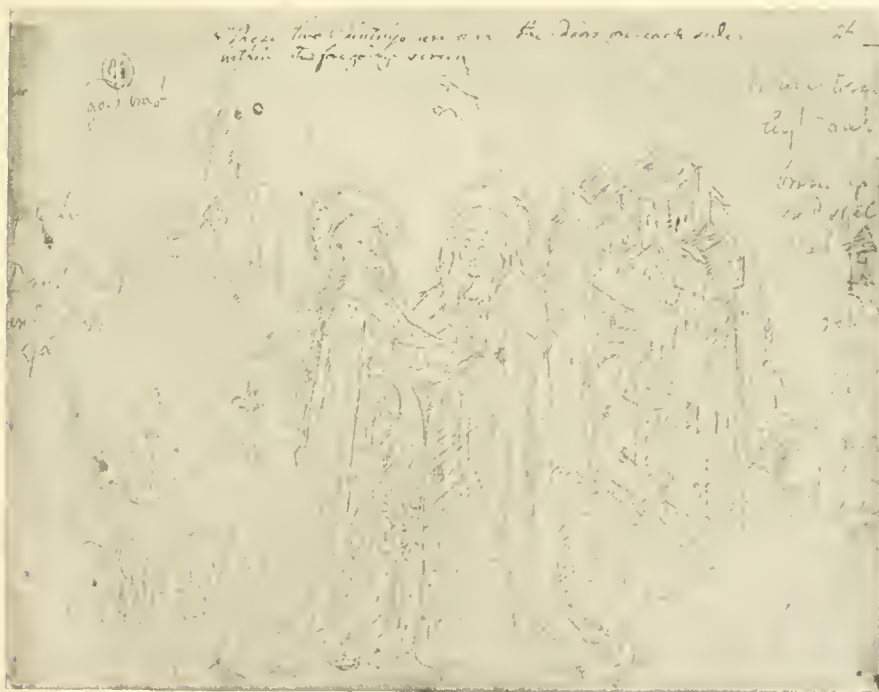
Like most old English churches of any importance, Hexham priory seems to have possessed a ring of bells from an early period. The earliest ring known appears to have been cast about the beginning of the fifteenth century, as three of the bells were dated 1404, though Wright supposes that

MEDIAEVAL PAINTINGS ON THE ROOD SCREEN.

(From drawings by Carter, in the British Museum.)



THE ANNUNCIATION.



THE VISITATION.

the others were made even earlier. This ring consisted of six bells, each bearing a legend. The inscriptions have been printed by Wright,¹ and, unfortunately, the inaccuracies they contain cannot now be corrected. They are given as follows :

1. AD PRIMOS CANTUS PULSAT NOS
REX GLORIOSUS
2. ET CANTARE TRA-I FACIET.
NOS VOX ———²
3. EST NOBIS DIGNA
KATERINE VOX BENIGNA³
4. OMNIBUS IN ANNIS
EST VOX DEO ORATA JOHANNIS. A.D. MCCCCHII.⁴
5. ANDREA MI CARE
JOHANNI CONSOCIARE. A.D. MCCCCHII
6. EST MEA VOX ORATA
DUM SIM MARIA VOCATA. A.D. MCCCCHII.

The last of these bells, dedicated to St. Mary, was generally known as 'the fray bell,' as it was rung to warn the inhabitants of the approach of an enemy. It weighed 70 cwt., and might be heard at a great distance.⁵ The bell next in size, and dedicated to St. Andrew, was known as the soul or haly bell, it being used for tolling at funerals, and as the passing bell.⁶ In 1742 these six bells were taken down and recast as eight, a twelve-fold cress having been taken for the purpose in 1737. The work was carried out by Thomas Lester of London. Six of the bells have subsequently been recast at various times. The present inscriptions are :

- Treble. 1742. T. LESTER.
2. THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON FOUNDER
3. THOMAS LESTER. 1742. ALFREDUS S. LAWSON REFECIT. A.D. 1884.
4. No inscription. The date 1742 is roughly chiselled on its upper part.
5. THOMAS LESTER OF LONDON MADE US ALL & TOBIAS BENTON HANGED US ALL. ALFREDUS S. LAWSON ME ET TERTIUM EX MEIS SOCIIS REFECIT. A.D. 1884.
6. REV. W. FLEMING M.A. MINISTER. REV ROBT CLARKE LECTURER. RALPH LONSTAFF, MATT. LEE, EDW. SWINEBURN, MATT. COULSON, CHURCHWARDENS. THOS. MEARS OF LONDON FECIT
7. 1742. THOMAS LESTER MADE ME.
ALFREDUS S. LAWSON ME REFECIT. 1884.
Tenor. WALTER BLACKETT ESQ. LORD. REV. WM. GRAHAM MINISTER. WM. VAZIE, JOHN JOHNSON, THOS. LEE, & ROBERT ROBSON, CHURCHWARDENS. 1742. THOMAS LESTER OF LONDON MADE US ALL.⁷

¹ *Hist. of Hexham*, pp. 101-2.

² The blank must have been filled with the name of some saint.

³ (?) 'Est nobis digna Katerina voce benigna.'

⁴ (?) Resonata for 'deo orata.'

⁵ Mackenzie and Dent, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 335.

⁶ Wright, *Hexham*, p. 100.

⁷ *Archæologia Acliana*, n.s. xii. pp. 303-4.

In 1695 there was a dispute between George Ritschell, jun., the curate, and his parishioners with regard to the proper use of the bells and the fees that were to be paid for the privilege of using them. The question was ultimately brought before the borough jury for decision. The terms of the dispute and the award of the jury are both interesting.

Whereas in former times when any person dyed in y^e town or parish of Hexham in the county of Northumberland, only one bell called y^e soul or hally bell did tole or ring out to give notice y^t such an one was dead: and if the friends of the deceased desired to have the bells rung they paid a fee of 16^d to y^e church to help to repair the bells; as also a certaine fee to the minister, clerke & sexton viz to each of them one shilling.

And whereas of late years diverse have endeavoured to break y^e antient custome ringing all y^e bells & do insist upon it as matter of right & priviledge upon such occasions as y^e death of any friend to ring all y^e bells at pleasure without paying any fee at all for y^e same.

You are therefore to enquire for & on behalfe of the lord of this mannor whether y^e bells of y^e parish church of Hexham in ye county of Northumberland did ring in former times or y^e same ought now to be rung at y^e death of any person whatsoever, without paying the antient accustomed fees to y^e minister, clerke & sexton viz^t to each of them one shilling. And present as you find upon your oathes.

We fiend that the bells of the parish church of Hexham aforesaid in former times were rung and now may be rung at or upon the death of any person or persons whatsoever without the leive or consent of the curate or minister there and without paying all or any of the said pretended ffees, nor did wee ever knowe or heare of any such pretended ffees paid or demanded, and doe present and fiend that theres no such fees due to the minister or curatt, clerk or sexton there or any of them. And wee doe order that neither the minister, curate, clarke nor sexton there or any of them do presume to take or exact any such undue fees as aforesaid upon paine of xij^s iij^d for or against any of them offending therein.¹

During the progress of the war of the Spanish Succession the following payments to the bell ringers occur:

For Prince Eugene's victory at Luzara ...	...	...	...	6s. 9d.
For the taking of Kaiserworth, half a day ...	...	...	...	6s. 9d.
For the taking of Liege ...	...	...	...	6s. 9d.
For the destroying of the fleet at Vigo ...	...	...	...	13s. 0d.
5 Oct., 1702 ...	...	...	...	13s. 0d.
Thanksgiving, 3 Dec., 1702 ...	...	...	...	13s. 0d.
The Queen's birthday, a dozen of ale ...	...	...	...	4s. 0d.
For the taking of Gibraltar ...	...	...	...	13s. 0d.
For the victory at Blenheim ...	...	...	...	13s. 0d.

And so on. Of course the victories in the Peninsular War and the battle of Waterloo were celebrated in a similar manner,² and those who have read De Quincey's 'English Mail Coach' will remember that the same thing was taking place all over the country.

In 1701 there is an entry of 9s. 10d. for mending 'the hally bell' and 12s. 6d. for mending the fray bell.

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1695.

² *Churchwardens' Books*.

On September 20th, 1725, the old fray bell was broken during the exuberant rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of Sir William Blackett with Lady Barbara Villiers, daughter of William, earl of Jersey.¹

When the working day was longer, it was customary to ring a bell at half-past five o'clock in the morning and at six o'clock in the evening as a signal to begin and to leave off work. Shorter hours have brought about the abandonment of this custom.²

INSCRIPTIONS.

West wall, north transept : Deposited in the family vault are the remains of the Rev. Thomas Andrewes, M.A., Lecturer of Hexham, who died July 16th, 1757, aged 80 years.

Robert Andrewes, esq., died Dec. 28th, 1764, aged 82.

Ann Newton, daughter of the above Robert Andrewes, esq., Died July 12th, 1767, aged 32.

Ann Andrewes, wife of Robert Andrewes, esq., and daughter of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, knight, Alderman of London, died July 31st, 1769, aged 75 years.

Sacred to the memory of Honor, daughter of the above Robert Andrewes, esq., and wife of the Rev. Sloughter Clarke, A.B., 25 years lecturer of Hexham, which preferment he resigned 1801. She died March 9th, 1805, aged 72 years. Was pious, just, and generous, prudent, candid, and benevolent.

The Rev. Sloughter Clarke, A.B., died 22nd April, 1820, aged 79 years. The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

The Rev. Robert Clarke, M.A., lecturer of Hexham for 23 years, during which period he performed the duties of that office with conscientious attention. Kind and affable to all, his hand was ever open to relieve the want and necessities of the poor. He lived beloved, and died on the 20th of April, 1825, in the 53rd year of his age, universally lamented.

South transept, floor : Sepulchrum Johannis Anesley generosi. Here lyeth the body of John Aynsley, esq., who died Sept. 12th, 1751, aged 92.

Choir, floor : John Carr, gentleman, dyed the 29th day of October, 1715, aged 60 years.

Thomas Carr, gentleman, only son of the said John Carr, dyed the 7th day of March, 1731, aged 42 years.

Here lyeth the body of John Carr, son of Mr. Thomas Carr, who departed this life, the 5th day of May, 1738, in the 27th year of his age.

Here lyeth the body of Mr. James Carr, son of Mr. Thomas Carr, who departed this life, July the 5th, 1717, in the 29th year of his age.

Here lyeth also the body of Mrs. Ann Carr, widow of Mr. Thomas Carr, daughter of Thomas Burrell, esq., of Broome park, who died May 30, A.D. 1750, aged 68 years.

Choir, south wall : Mark William Carr, major in the Madras staff corps, son of William and grandson of Mark William Carr of the family of Carr, anciently of Hetton and Eshot, lost at sea off Goa, in the S.S. "Outram," January 15th, 1871, in the 17th year of his age.

North transept, floor : M.S. Patris heu ! nunquam visi ; matris piae optime meritae grati animi et pietatis indicium, B. Dixon fil. posuit. A.D. 1749.

Hic inhumatur Lydia Downes, vid., obiit 3 die Oct. Aº Dni 1717, Etat suae 47.

Underneath this stone lies interred the body of Shafto Downes, gentleman, who deqate^d (*sic*) this life Aqirl (*sic*) 6, 1777, aged 79 years.

Choir, south wall : To the memory of Margaret Featherstonhalgh, relict of W. Featherstonhalgh, esq., late of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Ob. 19th May, 1800, æt 78.

South transept, east wall : Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Fell, who died July 24th, 1795, aged 40 years. Also Mary, wife of the above, who died Jan. 13th, 1837, aged 85 years. Also Sarah, eldest

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, i. p. 141.

² *Arch. Ael.* n.s. xii. p. 305.

daughter of the above, who died Nov. 18th, 1861, aged 73 years. Also Elizabeth, second daughter of the above, who died June 14th, 1870, aged 80 years.

South transept, floor: Thomas Fenwick, died 22nd of February, A.D. 1633.

Here lieth the body of John Fenwick, who died May 6, 1682. I.F. 1693. W.F.

North transept, floor: The family burial place of Henry Fenwick and Katherine, his wife. George, their son, died March 20, 1768, aged 19. His wife Katherine died April 11, 1783, aged 65. Katherine, their daughter, died August 19, 1793, aged 55. The above-named Henry Fenwick died June 1, 1796, aged 81. Mary, their daughter, widow of John Pratt, died November 29, 1829, aged 67.

North transept, east wall: Edvardus Fenwick, primo hujus oppidi, deinde Novicastro super Tynam incola, ephippiorum artifex, decessit die vi^{to} kal. sextilis anno sacro M.D. CCCXXXIX., ætatis LXXXII.

A Fenwick perillustri de Fenwick turri et Wallington in hoc comitatu ortus, cenus ab majoribus duxit ad quos pertinuerunt nomina illa clarissima Plantaganet et Percy et Neville principibus magnis et regibus sanguine conjunctis ineuntis tamen ætatis patrono debuit permulta Gualtero Blackett baroneto hujus prædij regalis domino summa viro benevolentia cujus post mortem vitam ignotam egit et obscuram. Johannes Fenwick procurator rerum forensium Novocastrensis, solus de liberis ejus superstes patres esse gloriam filiorum existimans in memoriam parentis optime de se meriti hoc faciendam curavit tabellam. Fuimus, Erimus.

North transept, west wall: H. S. E. Guilelmus Johnson, mercator, laboribus finitis, naturae cessit 26^o die Maii, A.D. 1725. Act. suae, 69. And of Elizabeth, daughter of the late John Douglas, 189, Oxford Street, London, who died at Hexham, 8 Nov., 1861, aged 28 years, and is interred at the cemetery.

North transept, east wall: In memory of Thomas Kirsopp of Gilligate, who died 18 Dec., 1798, aged 48 years. Ann Kirsopp, his wife, died 10 Nov., 1820, aged 69 years. Wilkinson Kirsopp, their eldest son, died 12th Jan., 1810, aged 34 years, and was buried at Jedburgh. His only child, Jane Brunton Anne, wife of Joseph John Wright of Sunderland, died 2nd March, 1836, aged 30 years, and was buried at Jarrow.

William Kirsopp, their second son, died 20th Dec., 1816, aged 38 years. Issue of the said William Kirsopp: J. W. Kirsopp, died 27 Sept., 1814, aged 2 months. Thomas, died 11th July, 1810, aged 4 years. Anne, died 1 Feb., aged 26 years. Rebecca, died 19th Jan., 1840, aged 29 years. Elizabeth Margaret, died 3rd Sept., 1840, aged 29 years. Ann, his wife, died 7th Aug., 1858, aged 76 years.

Thomas Kirsopp, their third son, died 14th March, 1806, aged 26 years. John, their fourth son, died 16 March, 1824, aged 38 years. Ann, their first daughter, died 3rd April, 1774, aged one year. Rebecca, their second daughter, died 13 Jan., 1795, aged 21 years. Ann, their third daughter, died 23 April, 1800, aged 16 years. Abigail, their fourth daughter, died 4 July, 1839, aged 37 years.

Sub hoc marmore sacrae reconduntur reliquiae Georgii Ritschel, patria Bohemi, religione reformati: qui saeviente in protestantes Ferdinando 2^{do} omnibus gentilitis hereditatibus exutus, sed Higentorati Lugduni Batavorum, aliarumque, academiarum externum, spoliis onustus quicquid eruditionis in istis florentissimis musarum emporiis vixit, secum detulit Oxonium, Anno Domini 1644. Qua cele berrima academia consummatis studiis aliorum commodo studere cœpit. Et contemplationibus metaphysicis, vindiciis ceremoniarum ecclesiae Anglicanae, aliisque scriptis eruditissimis editis toto orbe statim inclaruit. Tanta fama auctus, ecclesiam Augustaldensem, ad quam electus erat, et cui praefuit annos plus minus 27, magis augustam, et tantum non cathedralem, qualis olim fuit, reliquit. Natus Anno Domini 1616, denatus 1683.

North transept, west wall: To the memory of Caleb Rotheram, late of Kendal, D.D., who successfully united the force of genius and industry in the cause of religion, truth, and liberty. The Holy Scriptures were his favourite study, the doctrines he taught, and the rule of his life. With extensive knowledge, unlimited benevolence, and rational affection, he adorned the characters of a minister, tutor, parent, and friend, and died June 8th, 1752, aged 58.

South transept, east wall: Johannes Rotheram, M.D., obiit 18^o Martii, 1787, ætatis suae 68. Eximias animi dotes, Scientiarum studio excultas publico non suo emolumento impertivit.

Choir, south wall: M.S. Rex^{us} Petri Rumney de Hexham, qui ob. 16 Feb., 1771 æt 56 et Eliz^a uxoris ejus quae ob. 7 Nov., 1795, æt 79. Grata et pia proles hoc monumentum posuit 1796.

Choir, north wall: In memory of Ralphe Sparke, esq., of Summerrods, who died the 9th of May, 1805, aged 65 years. Also of Jane, his wife, who died the 6th of July, 1806, aged 56 years. And also of Isaac Sparke of Summerrods, their son, who died 15th September, 1816, aged 23 years. And also of Elizabeth Mary Sparke, his wife, who died the 27th March, 1819, aged 22 years.

Choir, floor: Here lies the body of Elizabeth Shaftoe, who departed this life the 12th May, 1776, aged 43. Also Charles Shaftoe, who died the 24th February, 1806, aged 77. *Bell Collection*.

North transept, east wall: In memory of Mary Shaftoe, relict of Sir Cuthbert Shaftoe of Bavington hall, who died June 15th, 1840, aged 86 years.

Choir, south wall: Sacred to the memory of Paul Vaillant of Hexham, who died Jan. 6, 1816, aged 76 years.

Choir, window on north side: In memoriam. The Rev. W. J. D. Waddilove of Beacon Grange, obiit Oct. 26, 1859. Elizabeth Anne, his wife, obiit March 7, 1874. Caroline Hope, wife of J. Errington, esq., High Warden, obiit March 31st 1862. Georgina Maria, wife of C. C. Oxley, esq., Redcar, obiit December 7, 1864. Robert James Darley, obiit Oct. 7, 1844. Caroline Gertrude, obiit Sep. 15, 1856. Francis William Darley, obiit June 4, 1849. Louisa Fanny, obiit Nov. 3, 1831.

Graveyard: Here lieth the body of Lazarus Angas, son of William and Hannah Angas of Juniper Dye house, who departed this life, March 1, 1762, aged 13 years.

Swift was his flight and short the road,
He closed his eyes and saw his God.
The flesh rests here till Jesus come
And claim the treasure from the tomb.

In memory of Matthew Carr, who died 30 Nov., 1757, in his 70th year, and of his wife Mary, who died 18 September, aged 51.

Sacred to the memory of John Headlam Charlton of Hexham, surgeon, who died Jan. 7, 1831, aged 31 years. Also of Hannah, his daughter, who died Feb. 15, 1833, aged 10 years.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Gordon, for upwards of 11 years minister of the Scotch church, Hexham, who died July 17, 1855, in the 37th year of his age.

On Thomas Graham, tinker, who departed this life Feby. 7, 1778, aged 103.

Stop here ambition, ancestry, and state,
Delusive phantoms of the empty great;
Here honest poverty for mercy pleads,
Waits the last trump, and gloriously succeeds.

The place of interment of the Rev. Jasper Leadbitter, the sixth Leadbitter of the order of St. Dominic, born at Low Warden on the 11th of May, 1749, resided at Hexham 50 years, and died on the * of July, 1830, aged 81 years.

Mary Loraine, died January 8, 1779, aged 63.

Sacred to the memory of Nevison Loraine, ironmonger, Hexham, who departed this life Sep. 24, 1839, in the 40th year of his age. Also Robert Whitfield and Isabella, son and daughter of the above, who died in infancy.

Here lies the body of the Rev. Benjamin Peile * Oct. 13, 1790, aged 74 years. Elizabeth, his widow, died March 24, 1797, aged 66 years. *Bell Collection*.

In memory of Christina Campbell, who was born on the 19th of January, 1793, and who died on the 6th of April, 1828, at Gordon castle, in the parish, and was buried in the churchyard of Inveresk, in Scotland. Erected by her husband, James Richardson, pastor of the Scotch church here.

In memory of the Rev. James Richardson, who was minister of the Scotch church here above 13 years, who died 11th Dec., 1830, in the 40th year of his age.

Here lies interred the body of John Nattrass, gentleman, who departed this life, February 9, 1787, aged 70 years. Also of Henry, son of Nicholas and Isabella Ruddock, and grandson of John Nattrass, who departed this life 3 March, 1784, an infant.

To the memory of Nicholas Ruddock, of Oakerland, who died 16 Sept., 1818, aged 65 years. Also

* Obliterated.

of May Ruddock, wife of Nicholas Ruddock, of Hexham, who died 11 April, 1831, aged 45 years. Also of Isabel Ruddock, relict of Nicholas Ruddock, of Oakerland, who died 23 May, 1832, aged 86 years. Also of Nicholas Ruddock, of Oakerland, son of the above, who died 31 Dec., 1839, aged 57. Also of John Ruddock, of Oakerland, who died June 5, 1857, aged 76 years.

At the east end of the church: Here lies buried Dorothy Surtees, the wife of Cuthbert Surtees of Newbiggin, who died Feb. 15, 1751, aged 49 years. Here lies buried Cuthbert Surtees of Newbiggin, who died Dec. 10, 1759, aged 52 years. Also Elizabeth Wilson of Newbiggin, who died 12 July, 1803, aged 36 years. Anthony Surtees, esq., of Newbiggin, son of the above-named Cuthbert and Dorothy, and many years major of the Northumberland Militia, who died 20 July, 1803, aged 60 years. Also Jane Wilson, niece of the above-named Anthony Surtees, esq., who died June 23, 1826, aged 57 years. Also Leonard Wilson, esq., of Newbiggin, who was buried Dec. 7, 1839, aged 70 years. Also Dorothy Atkinson of Newbiggin, who was buried Sept. 9, 1840, aged 78 years. John Atkinson, esq., of Newbiggin, buried Dec. 31, 1844, aged 76 years. Also Emma Atkinson, youngest daughter of John Atkinson, esq., of Newbiggin, who died May 5, aged 3 months.

THE CHURCHES OF ST. MARY AND ST. PETER.

Besides his principal building, the church of St. Andrew, Wilfrid erected two other churches at Hexham, dedicated respectively to St. Mary the Virgin and to St. Peter.¹

Of the church of St. Peter nothing is known. It is stated by Richard to have been somewhat further removed from the priory than St. Mary's church.² It possibly may have stood on the east side of an open space, corresponding roughly to the modern market place, facing the church of St. Andrew. When the Danes burned the two sister churches of St. Andrew and St. Mary, in the year 875, it can hardly have escaped destruction, and in all probability was never restored. Some remains, however, may have existed in the twelfth century, since Prior Richard speaks of the church, but as he says nothing of its architecture, though he describes that of St. Mary's, it may be inferred that the building was in ruins. At all events, by the year 1310 it had disappeared entirely, for it is not referred to in a list of the churches of Hexham and the neighbourhood then drawn up. No further trace of it appears, and to-day it is impossible even to identify its site.

The history of the church of St. Mary is somewhat fuller. It is clear from Eddi's account that it was built some time after the erection of the

¹ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. iv.

² 'Aliquantulum remotior.' *Ibid.*

church of St. Peter.¹ The latter probably rose contemporaneously with the priory, between the years 674 and 678, but St. Mary's was not built until about the years 705 to 709.

The events which led to the erection of this third church at Hexham are thus recorded by Eddi. On Wilfrid's return from Rome about the year 705 he had occasion to pass through France. On the way he was seized by a serious illness. His devoted followers carried their master to Meaux, where he lay four days and four nights in a trance, so that all men thought his end was near. On the fourth day it seemed to him that the Archangel Michael appeared at his bedside. The visitor announced himself as the messenger of the most high God, and added that on account of the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and the tears of his followers, Wilfrid's life would be spared a few years longer. Finally, Wilfrid was admonished to build a church in honour of the Virgin, in addition to those he had already erected to the apostles Peter and Andrew.² Shortly after, Wilfrid returned to England, where he was almost immediately restored to his former sees of Hexham and Ripon. Hardly had the synod which carried out these decrees broken up, when Wilfrid was again seized by a trance similar to that which he had fallen into when at Meaux. This second visitation of so mysterious a sickness, must have stimulated his purpose, and quickened his memory. He can hardly have delayed long after his recovery before he began to execute the mandate of the archangel. He erected the new building on the east side of the church of St. Andrew, with only a graveyard intervening between them, and a narrow lane for foot passengers. It was round in plan, with four apses, facing north, south, east, and west.³ The altar was probably in the middle. This church, left unfinished by Wilfrid, was completed by Acca,⁴ who did so much for the sister churches of St. Andrew and St. Peter. In the year 875 it was destroyed in the great inroad of the Danes. It probably remained in ruins for some time, until it was restored, on the original plan, by a person whom Aelred describes as a certain priest.⁵ This may have been Sproh or one of the Gamels, and in that case St. Mary's was restored before St. Andrew's. Indeed it is not unlikely that when Hexham

¹ 'Jam enim memento quod in honore Sancti Petri et Andreae apostolorum domos aedificasti. Sanctae vero Mariae semper Virgini, intercedenti pro te, nullam fecisti.' Eddi, cap. lxvi. *Historians of York* (Rolls series), i. p. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ Aelred, *de Sanctis*, caps. iii. v. *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. iv.

⁴ *Prior Richard*, bk. i. cap. iv.

⁵ Aelred, *de Sanctis*, cap. v.

became again inhabited, it seemed more expedient to undertake the easier task of repairing the smaller church rather than begin with the restoration of the abbey. When the church of St. Andrew was at length renovated by the Eilafs, St. Mary's continued to be used. The sanctity of the blessed Virgin was held in awe and reverence, and it was related that an impious youth who wished sacrilegiously to break into the church, had become suddenly possessed by the devil.¹

When the Austin canons came to Hexham in the year 1113, St. Mary's must necessarily have lost some of its importance, but it was, in all probability, regularly served by one or more of the canons. In the thirteenth century it was at least of sufficient importance to justify the entire rebuilding of the structure upon a rectangular plan, or perhaps the addition of a nave to the original circular church.² This labour was, however, thrown away to a great extent. The Scottish invasions of 1296 and the succeeding years so depopulated the district, that the priory church was alone more than sufficient to serve the needs of the surviving inhabitants, and in consequence the canons of Hexham neglected to carry on the services at St. Mary's. In November, 1310, Archbishop Greenfield wrote complaining that no vicar had been appointed to St. Mary's and other chapels in the shire.³ A month later the primate ordered Roger de Folketon, his guardian of the spiritualities in Hexhamshire, to visit St. Mary's and other chapels in the district, because their roofs were defective, and they were notoriously lacking in books, vestments, and other ornaments, and to compel the parishioners to carry out the necessary repairs.⁴

However successful Folketon may have been for the time, St. Mary's seems to have subsequently suffered from neglect, and probably was allowed gradually to decay. In his *History of Hexham*, Wright states that St.

¹ Aelred, *de Sanctis*, cap. v.

² The existing remains of the church are all of undoubted thirteenth-century workmanship.

³ *Hexham Priory*, ii. p. 123.

⁴ Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio domini Rogero de Folketon, custodi spiritualitatis nostre de Hextildesham, salutem, etc. Quia intelleximus quod capelle Beate Marie de Hextildesham, de Alwenton, Sancti Johannis de Lega, Sancti Oswaldi, et de Byngefeld, infra libertatem nostram de Hextildesham constitute, tam in coopertura, quam libris, et vestimentis ac aliis ornamentis, defectum notorium patiuntur, vobis ad visitandum predictas capellas; ac ad corrigendum et reformandum omnia que in eisdem videritis debite reformanda necnon ad compellendum canonice parochianos earundem capellarum ad reformationem debitam prout eis incumbit; ac omnia alia et singula faciendum, que in premissis et circa ea necessaria fuerint, seu etiam oportuna, vobis tenore presentium committimus vices nostras, cum coercionis canonice potestate. Valete. Data apud Cawod, xviii^{mo} kalendas Januarii, anno domini m^{ccc}x^o [15th Dec., 1310] et pontificatus nostri quinto. *York Registers*, Greenfield, i. f. 51a.

Mary's was the parish church, and that, according to tradition, when it 'began to decay and grow out of repair, the abbey church being a noble and more beautiful structure, it was agreed upon between the impropiator and the parishioners to let the parish church go to ruin, and to keep in repair the abbey church, and to make it the parish church.'¹ But St. Mary's never was the parish church of Hexham, except, possibly for a short time in the eleventh century, before Eilaf restored the priory. In the charter of November, 1310, quoted above, St. Andrew's is expressly referred to as the parish church, and St. Mary's is described as a chapel. At the dissolution in 1537, the priory was spared because it was the parish church. St. Mary's had become a ruin, and had been diverted to secular purposes long before the time of the agreement referred to by Wright, as the following extract from the *Borough Book* of the year 1634 will show :

We find that the owners of the bakehouse in the old church and Mary Robson wyddow and Maly Mountgonerie shall repaire and make a sufficient cawsay in the old church betwixt this and lammas next upon paine of vi^s viii^d every one makeing defalt therein and that they shall lay noe dunge there upon the like paine.²

The 'old church' here can scarcely be any other than St. Mary's, and by this name it seems, even in its ruinous condition, to have been generally known. That it was long since it had been used for religious purposes is evident from the state to which it was then reduced. Part of it was used as a bakehouse, a public thoroughfare ran through the middle of it, and apparently refuse had been freely deposited there. This path through the church seems to have existed for some time, and in the year 1718 it is again referred to by one Thomas Green, who states that he and a companion named Davison went through 'the old church,' where they encountered some drunken rioters, one of whom struck Davison on the head with a whip.³ In later years, dwelling houses and shops gradually encroached upon the building, which has now been completely absorbed in this way. A few columns and other parts of thirteenth century workmanship may still be seen. The church seems to have been of considerable dimensions, with two arcades of eight bays each, separating the nave from the aisles.⁴ In 1878 one of the arches of the church was exposed. It had been walled up in mediæval times,

¹ Wright, *Hist. of Hexham*, p. 54.

² Hexham Manor Rolls. *Borough Book*, 1634.

³ *Sessions Records*, 29th October, 1718. Deposition of Thomas Green of Hexham.

⁴ *Proc. Newc. Soc. of Antiquaries*, 1887, which contains a paper by Mr. C. C. Hodges on the subject.

probably for defensive purposes and as a means of resisting the raids of the Scots. A small lancet window had been pierced in the middle of this wall, which has since been destroyed. No traces of the præ-Conquest



ARCH OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

building exist, but in 1854 a window was discovered in the house of Mr. Bell, a chemist, 6 feet high by 7 inches wide, and triangularly headed, which was supposed, on account of its form, to belong to the earlier church.¹ In 1880, when an old wall behind the 'Grapes' inn was being removed, two small cushion capitals and a hood moulding of Norman workmanship were discovered, which, it is suggested, may very well all belong to some portion of St. Mary's church.²

Of the chantry chapels once existing at Hexham but little is known, as the traces they have left are exceedingly scanty. On the south side of the choir of the priory church a door still remains, which

led into an adjacent chantry of thirteenth-century date. All other traces of this building, even to its foundations, have disappeared.³ In the Survey of 1547 three chantry chapels are referred to, known respectively as Le Ladye prest, Lez Roode, and Edward Herrison's chantry,⁴ and the first of these

¹ *Arch. Acl.* v. p. 151.

² Hodges' *Hexham Abbey*, p. 22 n.

³ *Ibid.* p. 31.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 79.

must be identical with St. Mary's chantry, which is mentioned in another document. The Survey of 1608 does not mention a single chantry in Hexham, and it is reasonable to suppose that, at the Reformation, they were devoted to secular uses, and that subsequently their original character was lost sight of.

NON-ESTABLISHED CHURCHES.

Roman Catholics have always been an important body in the north of England, and in Hexham and the shire the Reformation movement perhaps made less impression than in most parts of the country. The Pilgrimage of Grace was warmly taken up by the inhabitants of the district, as was every other distinctively Roman Catholic movement. In 1677 a list of 'Popish Recusants' living in Hexham was taken, and twenty-six names are given. On a similar list, taken in 1745, forty-five names occur, and at the present time a number of the inhabitants belong to the communion of Rome. The buildings which are attached to Roman Catholic worship are necessarily of modern date. Some years ago there were two chapels in Hexham, one in Cockshaw (built in 1751), served by secular priests, and the other (built in 1796) belonging to the Dominican order.¹ The new chapel in Hencotes was not begun till 1821, when the Rev. Mr. Singleton laid the foundation stone (April 22nd), and on Sept. 22nd, 1830, the chapel was opened by Dr. Penswick of Liverpool.² In 1850 the Pope, when dividing England into bishoprics, created the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, comprising the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Westmorland, and Cumberland, having an area of 5,464 square miles. Although Hexham takes the first place in the title of the diocese, the cathedral is at Newcastle, and it was

¹ The following are the names of the Roman Catholic priests at Hexham, so far as they can be ascertained: William Gascoigne, buried 23rd Dec., 1690; Goodger, buried 20th April, 1698; Constantine Jackson, probably a Dominican, died 29th April, 1717; Burn, probably secular; Halsall, O.S.D., died 11th Feb., 1737; Edward Tait, 'buried in Hexham quire,' 21st Feb., 1736; Girlington, probably secular; Chantrill, probably secular, buried 29th Sept., 1753; Clavering, probably secular; George Gibson, secular, 1757-78; Jasper Leadbitter, O.S.D., 'the sixth Leadbitter of the order of St. Dominic,' 1780-1830; Taylor, secular, 1779-87; Thomas Story, secular, 1788-94; J. Fletcher, secular, 1795-1806; Matt. Sharp, secular, 1806-26; Michael Singleton, 1826-63, under whose charge the two congregations were united; John A. Cooke, 1863, the present priest at Hexham, a canon of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Newcastle. *Hexham Register*, etc. In the possession of the priest are the following registers: The Dominican beginning in 1715; the Cockshaw; the Capheaton; the Woodhead; the Stonecroft; all belonging to discontinued missions.

² Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. pp. 217, 231, 282.

only by a rescript, dated May 23rd, 1861, that the name Newcastle was added to the original title, Hexham. The bishops who have occupied the see since its foundation are: William Hogarth (Sept. 29th, 1850–Jan. 29th, 1866); James Chadwick (Oct. 28th, 1866–May 14th, 1882); John William Bewick (Oct. 18th, 1882–Oct. 29th, 1886); Henry O'Callaghan (Jan. 18th, 1888–Sept. 27th, 1889); and Thomas William Wilkinson, consecrated 28th Dec., 1889.¹

In 1651 Mr. Thomas Tilham, a native, apparently, of Cheshire, was appointed lecturer of Hexham, where he came to live on Dec. 27th, in the same year. After an interval of seven months he decided to found a Baptist church there. Within a very short time over eighty persons had joined the congregation, which claimed to be the first church, with the exception of Newcastle, in the north of England to receive the new faith. The young community was not destined to remain long undisturbed. On the 4th of June, 1653, there came to Hexham a man professing himself to be a Jewish Rabbi, called Joseph Ben Israel. Before the assembled congregation he declared himself converted to Christianity, recited the reasons for his change of faith, and explained why he had chosen to become a Baptist. His statement was accepted without reserve. Tilham agreed to baptize him on the spot, and would have administered the communion had not the young man declined to partake of it at that moment. So rejoiced was Tilham at his new convert, that he published a tract relating the circumstances of the case, and giving the Jew's confession. The Baptists of Newcastle, however, were not so ready to accept the genuineness of the conversion of Joseph Ben Israel as their brethren at Hexham. They therefore wrote to him inviting him to come to Newcastle to defend himself against the charges that were made against him. On June 21st he went to Newcastle, accompanied by several members of the Hexham Baptist church, and upon his arrival he was confronted by several witnesses, and submitted to a severe cross-examination. In spite of a great weight of testimony to prove that the pretended Jew was none other than the son of Alexander Ramsay, a Scotch physician, Tilham would not confess that he had been deceived, until at length Ramsay himself drew him aside, and confessed that his accusers spoke the truth. Tilham's pamphlet was answered by another, entitled, 'The False Jew ;

¹ *The Northern Catholic Calendar for the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle*, 1895. A long account of the Bishops is given in Brady's *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 3 vols. Rome, 1876-7.

or a wonderful discovery of a Scot baptized at London as a Christian, rebaptized at Hexham as a believer, but found out at Newcastle to be a cheat.'

During the progress of this controversy in 1653, the Baptists at Hexham supplied General Lilburne's army, then stationed at Dalkeith, with a chaplain, in the person of Thomas Stackhouse, who went to perform this duty at the earnest request of Edward Hickhorngill. Fresh troubles, however, were in store for the community. In the discussion about the false Jew, Tilham had accused the ministers of Newcastle of acting from spite. The heat of Tilham on this occasion seems to have prejudiced the Newcastle congregation against him. In the following month, Thomas Gower, of Newcastle, furiously attacked him for having celebrated a marriage between two persons who were not both Baptists, and for using too great severity to one Major Hobson, a member of Gower's congregation. The Hexham congregation took up the cause of their minister with heat, and an acrimonious correspondence ensued. Tilham was accused of want of orthodoxy, and Stephen Anderton, a member of his church, endeavoured to raise the question of the laying on of hands, but his plans were cut short by a summary excommunication. Gower meanwhile pursued his attack, and brought twelve articles of accusation against Tilham, and prevailed upon the congregation of Coleman Street, London, to denounce him and all those who were in favour of the laying on of hands. At last, in 1656, Tilham, wearied at these repeated attacks, resigned, and withdrew to Germany. His departure seems to have been the signal for the Hexham congregation to split into two sections, one under Richard Orde, the other under John Ward, situated respectively on the Tyne and Derwent; Ward's party was a secession from that of Tilham, while Orde was his devoted partisan. Continual schism and the persecutions of the Clarendon Code reduced the Baptists to a very low condition, which was hardly improved by a great revival in 1674, carried out by Ward of the Derwent church. After this event the original Baptist church disappears, and the last entry in their church book is dated 1682. A Baptist congregation, however, survived in Hexham for many years after this date, and about 1760 it attained to considerable influence under the ministrations of David Fernie, who took a prominent part in the foundation of the Tuthill Stairs chapel at Newcastle. A dissension in the church occurred at this time, caused by the action of

some of the members who thought Fernie occupied too sacerdotal a position. After Fernie's death, in 1789, the Baptists at Hexham seemed to have died out as a community, and no more is heard of their congregation.¹

One of the chief difficulties with which the Baptists had to contend was the proneness of their members to join the Quakers. At the time of the Commonwealth this body was very numerous at Hexham. George Fox himself visited the town about this time, and writes in his journal: 'Then passed we on to Hexham, where we had a great meeting at top of an hill. And the everlasting day, and renowned truth of the ever living God was sounded over those dark countries, and his Son exalted over all.'² Like the Baptists, the Quakers seem to have early disappeared from Hexham as a community.

The work of the Baptists in Hexham was taken up by the Independents, who built a chapel in Broadgates in 1789. The congregation had been formed in 1786,³ and had met in a house called 'the Globe,' formerly an inn, on Battle Hill. Thomas Robinson was the first regular minister, and after his departure to Monkswearmouth, in 1795, he was succeeded by William Robertson. The other ministers of the chapel, in the order of their pastorates, have been John Scott, William Colefax, W. H. Hobson, John Warde, S. Fairley, and J. Waland. The new church in Hencotes was begun in 1869, and the Rev. Augustus Julian is the present minister.⁴

John Wesley visited Hexham five times altogether. His first visit was on 5th April, 1747, when he writes: 'We set out early, and about eight went out into the market place at Hexham. A multitude of people soon ran together, the greater part mad as colts untamed.' On 8th June, 1761, and 23rd June, 1781, the behaviour of his audiences had improved, and on the latter occasion he was able to write, 'none were rude or uncivil in any respect, and very few were inattentive.' On the 17th July, 1782, Wesley was again in Hexham and preached, near the old priory, to an immense multitude.⁵ In 1789, John Stobart, a glover, of Hexham, surrendered the Cross house and garden in Gilligate, together with £150 at 5 per cent. interest, out of which £7 was to be paid yearly to permit John Wesley and such other persons as he shall appoint to the free use and benefit of the said

¹ Douglas, *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England*; Hanserd Knollys Soc. *Records of Baptist Churches*; Surtees Soc. *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*.

² Journal, i. pp. 217-8.

³ Petition from John Knipe, minister, George and William Bell, for a large room in a stone-built house to be set apart for a congregation of Protestant dissenters called Independents. 1st Dec., 1786. *Faculty Book*, York.

⁴ Ridley, *Hexham Chronicle*, pp. 22-3, etc.

⁵ Journal, *sub annis*.

premises, to the intent that the said John Wesley and such other persons as he may appoint may therein preach and expound God's Holy Word. Upon Stobart's death trustees were to be appointed by the Society of Methodists, the said trustees to be resident not more than fifty miles from the property.¹ A chapel was built shortly after upon the site Stobart had given, and when John Wesley paid his last visit to Hexham on the 3rd June, 1793, he writes: 'At Hexham they have lately built a convenient preaching house, but it is too small already.'² The chapel at the Abbey Gate was built in 1839, and subsequently the Wesleyans removed to the present large building in Beaumont Street. A Primitive Methodist congregation was formed in 1822. In 1827 they erected their first meeting house in Battle Hill, and in 1830 the Bull Bank chapel was built. At the present time they have three places of worship, at Tanner's Row, Back Street, and Holy Island.³

It is uncertain when the Presbyterian congregation at Hexham was formed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century two ministers are mentioned, Joseph Gill, in July, 1708, and Ralph Lazenby, in Dec., 1714.⁴

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*. On April 11th, 1781, Joseph Rodam, John Stobart, John Knott, Robert Lowes, Wm. Favour, and Edw. Bearpark petitioned the archbishop of York for licence to use the house of Joseph Rodam for public worship. The certificate was delivered on the 16th of the same month. *Faculty Book, York*. ² *Journal, sub anno*. ³ Ridley, *Hexham Chronicle*, p. 47.

⁴ The following paper contains one of the earliest notices of the community: 'In the information of Ralph Lazonby, dissenting minister; Thos. Carrick, chapman; Edw. Straight, cordwainer; Robt. Dawson, shopkeeper; Geo. Rutherford, chapman; John Gibson and John English, curriers; all of Hexham, in the county aforesaid, taken on oath before me this 8 June, 1713. Whoe doe severally and respectively upon their oath say that Cuthbert Robison of Hexham, attorney att lawe, came onto the 'Geenced' meeting house in Hexham aforesaid on the 7 day of this present month of June, being Sunday, betwixt the hours of thre & foure on the afternoone of the same day, the doore of the said meeting house standing open & the minister there in the pulpit preaching, the said Cuthbert Robeson did swcare many oathes and uttered many execerations, to the disturbing of the said congregation upon w^{ch} two of the persons then present tooke the said Cuthbert Robinson by the shoulders and turned him out of the house, after w^{ch} the said Cuthbert Robison did breake the windowes of the said meeting house, and did beate and maimed George Ffarbridge, one of the said congregation, with thick end of his whip for endeavouring to hinder him, the s^d Robison, from committing this outrage, and furth^r say not. Sworn before J. Cotesworth. Signed, Ralph Lazonby, Thos. Carrick, Edward Straight, Robt. Dawson, Geo. Rutherford, Joh. Gibson, Joh. English.' *Bell Collection*.

26th July, 1708, Mr. Jos. Gill preacher at ye meeting house buried in the church. *Register*. Administration to his effects was granted at York, 13th September, 1708, to his son Humphrey. Gill was of a family of prominent nonconformists in Newcastle. In 1669 Gill was one of those assembled at the conventicle at Gilpin's house in the White Friars, four years before he obtained a lease from the Common Council to carry coals from Fenham fields across a portion of the Town Moor. Samuel Gill, Esq., who died 26th October, 1720, was buried in St. George's porch in St. Nicholas'. By his will, which was proved at York, he devised his lands at Wooden and elsewhere to his nephew, Henry Gill, 'son of my brother-in-law, Joseph Gill', but charged with an annuity to his neice, Elizabeth, wife of Ralph Lazonby of Hexham. Joseph Lazenby of Hexham married in 1751 Mary, sister of Enoch Hall of Newbigin and Catcleugh. He was buried at Newburn, as appears by his wife's will, dated 6th September, 1771, wherein she desires to be buried beside him, and devises her manor of Sadling Stones, in the parish of Netherwarden, and the house in Hencotes, which her husband had purchased of Mr. Robert Ilderton, to the use of her cousin, John Gill, Esq., practitioner in physic, then residing in Ireland. She also gave £300 to Ralph Lazonby of Sunderland, brother of the half-blood to her late husband, and £400 to Benjamin Peile. *Ambrose Barnes*, 408; *Brand, Newcastle*, vol. i. pp. 298, 433; *York Testa. cf.* vol. ii. p. 465.

The meeting house in Gilligate was not built till about 1716. Lazenby was minister at this time, and he was succeeded by Howpe, Scarsfield, and others. About 1740 there was a secession, owing apparently to some objections raised against Scarsfield's successor. Benjamin Peile (1756-90) succeeded to the ministry of the Gilligate chapel, while Mr. Wardroper became pastor of the secession party, which built a meeting house at the Hall orchard. Patrick Kerr, Scott, and Liddle succeeded him, and upon the death of the last, the congregation were reunited, about 1806, and chose William Sinclair as their pastor. Robert Laurie, J. Wilson, and James Richardson (1817-30) were the succeeding ministers. It was during Mr. Richardson's pastorate that the Scotch church in Hencotes was built by subscription, upon ground presented by Mr. T. W. Beaumont, and opened 8th July, 1825. Upon Richardson's death in 1830, a dispute took place about the election of a successor, and on the appointment of William Nixon, a number of members left the church and formed themselves into a separate congregation, obtaining as a place of worship the old Roman Catholic chapel at Cockshaw. They joined themselves to the United Presbyterian body. Their first minister was John Boyd, D.D., of Glasgow (1833-44), and his successors have been Peter Bannatyne (1845-8), Alexander Henderson (1851-4), and in 1856 the Rev. John M. Wilson, the present minister. At the Hencotes chapel, which was connected with the Established Church of Scotland,¹ Nixon was succeeded by Robert Carswell (1833-8), James Blair (1839-44), Joseph Gordon (1844-55), — Lockhart, Andrew Irving, — Patterson, George Brocher, George Heron Watson, George Farquharson (1859-61), Robert Smith, and Robert Brochie (1881-3). On Mr. Brochie's resignation in 1883, the two Presbyterian congregations were reunited under the Rev. J. M. Wilson, minister of the secession chapel. The old Scotch church has been let to the incumbent and churchwardens of Hexham as a school and parish room, and the Hexham Presbyterians now worship in a new building on Battle Hill.²

According to a census taken in 1810, the number of Nonconformists in

¹ 'The members of the congregation are in direct communion with the established church of Scotland . . . although they are connected with no presbytery, nor are cognizable by any synod or assembly beyond the reach of their own session, composed of ministers and elders.' Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 58. They were subsequently connected with the newly-formed presbytery of Berwick, to whom the building known as the Scotch church actually belongs.

² Wright, *Hexham*, pp. 57-8. Ridley, *Hexham Chronicle*, pp. 36-7. Mackenzie and Dent, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 275. MacCrie, *Account of the United Presbyterian Church*. *Hexham Register*.

Hexham at that time was as follows: 'Roman Catholics, 233, including all the members of every family; Presbyterians, 192; 83 joined members in the Methodist Connection; besides a few Baptists, who have no established place of worship.'¹

THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

During the Middle Ages, and even after the Renaissance, education was only partially carried out in England. The religious houses maintained schools for the instruction of the young, and the education of novices and others connected with them. That of Hexham is incidentally mentioned in connection with the Scotch invasion of 1296.² But even these schools were swept away at the dissolution. This destruction of the monastic houses undoubtedly dealt a severe blow at learning in the north of England, at least for the time being. In 1578 it is recorded that there were only twenty-one schoolmasters in the whole of Northumberland, of whom eleven were at Newcastle. The remaining ten were distributed as follows: Three at Berwick, two each at Alnwick and Morpeth, and one each at Corbridge, Alston Moor, and Woodhorne.³ Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth all endeavoured to remedy this state of affairs by the foundation of grammar schools in all parts of the kingdom. Among the schools thus founded, one was established at Hexham. A charter was issued July 18th, 1599.⁴ The new foundation was to be styled the Free grammar school of Queen Elizabeth at Hexham. Its management was entrusted to twelve governors: John Ridley of Coastley, Gabriel Blenkinsopp of Greenridge, Philip Thirlwall of Over Ardley, John Swinburne of Blackhall, Richard Carr, Richard Gibson, John Sparke, Peter Bell, Edward Gibson, Gilbert Robson, Robert Jackson, and Thomas Liddell. The appointment was to be for life, though a governor was free to resign, or he might be deposed for misconduct by a resolution of

¹ Mackenzie and Dent, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 333.

² On the 1st of May, 1294, Archbishop Romaine visited Hexham, and made Thomas de Wervelton master of his grammar school there. *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, p. lxxix.

³ Raine, *North Durham*, p. xlix.

⁴ The original charter is still preserved among the archives of the school. See also *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic. Eliz. cclxxi. p. 214.

his colleagues.¹ Within a month after a vacancy had occurred, the remaining governors were required to appoint a suitable person to fill the post, the consent of the archbishop of York being necessary to confirm the election. Only fit persons, of full age, and inhabitants of Hexham parish, were eligible. In case the governors neglected to fill up vacancies within the specified time, the power of doing so lapsed to the archbishop of York. Possibly it was in conformity with this clause that in 1791 the archbishop was requested to make good the election of two governors, whose appointment was invalid owing to the neglect of certain formalities.²

The governors constitute a body corporate, with all the rights and duties thereto attached, having a common seal, and the right of acquiring property to the value of £40 per annum, the Statute of Mortmain notwithstanding. They were required to take an oath properly to discharge their functions, and to observe faithfully the terms of the charter under which they were constituted. They were further required to appoint two of their number annually to act as stewards of the revenues of the school, who should render an account to their colleagues at the expiration of their term of office.

The appointment of a schoolmaster rested with the governors, though the approval of the archbishop of York was necessary to confirm his election. He was required to be an honest, learned, and discreet man, of the age of twenty-six or upwards, a member of the Church of England, and at least a master of arts of Oxford or Cambridge. Besides subscribing the thirty-nine articles and the oath of supremacy, he also took an oath to diligently execute his office, and faithfully observe all the ordinances and statutes of the school. He could only be dismissed by the vote of the governors, made with the approval of the archbishop of York. In the whole history of the school only one master was dismissed, although another was apparently forced to resign.

In order that the schoolmaster might not remain unaided in his work, it was further provided that 'the aforesaid school shall have one able and

¹ 'Att a meeting of the governors whose names are here subscribed, this day had, it is noted and agreed that Thomas Gibson of Hexham, one of the governors of this free schoole, being now a person of a very bad carriage & behaviour ffor generall good reasons & sufficient . . . shall bee removed from ye said government. And therefore wee doe hereby note agree and declare ye said Thomas Gibson to be none of ye governors of ye said schoole, nor to have any thing to doe with ye said schoole revenues, hee not discharging the trust that was reposed in him, etc.' *School Minute Books*, 24th Nov., 1673. One or two similar cases occur later on.

² *Ibid.* 13th Sep., 1791.

sufficient usher, discreet, sober, and of godly conversation, a professor of true religion, and sufficiently furnished both with the Greek and Latin tongues.' The schoolmaster himself might make this appointment with the approval of the governors. Like the schoolmaster, the usher was required to take an oath, engaging himself to observe the statutes of the school and to obey the schoolmaster.

The general rules for the government of the school were drawn up a year after the issue of the charter (Sept. 10th, 1600), apparently by the governors. As an illustration of the views held at the time about the education of boys, they possess great interest, although from the nature of some parts of the scheme, and the curious arrangement of the whole, it may be thought that those who framed them had a theoretical, rather than a practical, acquaintance with the education of the young.

On the principle that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, the first place was to be given to religious instruction. Prayers, specially selected from the Prayer Book, were to be used both morning and evening, at the opening and closing of the school. Once a week the schoolmaster was to teach his pupils some short catechism, and on Fridays the scholars



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were publicly to discuss the sermons they had listened to on the preceding Sunday. School was to be opened at six o'clock in the morning, and continued until eleven, when the scholars went away to dinner. At quarter to one they reassembled, and remained at work until five, when they were to go home, 'after they shall have made some short prayer to be said by one of the schollars.' A monitor was appointed from among the elder boys to see that his companions arrived punctually at school hours, and at the end of every week he delivered to the schoolmaster his list of delinquents.

The first and chief subject taught in the school was grammar (Latin apparently, and not English), because 'ye principles and foundation of any art being surely groundd, ye whole building will be both fayre and sure.' For the sake of convenience the school was divided into seven forms, the first being the lowest. The following course of study was prescribed for each form :

First form: The rules at the beginning of Lyly's Grammar; and *Pueriles confabulationuculae*.

Second form: Cato, *Disticha*; Æsop's Fables.

Third form: Latin grammar; Erasmus' Colloquies; Nowell's Catechism; and 'some comedie in Terence.'

Fourth form: 'Grammar, figures, and prosodia'; Tullie's (*i.e.*, Cicero's) Epistles, collected by Sturmius; Terence; Ovid, *de Tristibus*.

Fifth form: Grammar; 'Tullie's *Epistolae familiares*, or Mr. Askam's Epistles; and for poets, Ovid's Epistles; Palengenus and Mantuan, or some of them.'

Sixth form: Greek grammar, repeating every morning some portion of the Latin grammar; some oration of Tullie; Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*; Ovid, *Metamorphosis*. Greek writers: Basil's Epistles at the end of Clenard's Grammar, and *Theognis*.

Seventh form: Greek grammar, and the daily repetition of some part of the Latin grammar. Latin authors: Tulle's Orations; Cæsar's Commentaries or Sallust; Virgil's *Aeneid*; Horace or Lucan. Greek authors: Isocrates; 'especiallie then Demosthenes'; Homer, Hesiod, Phocilides, and such like.

In the last form much latitude was naturally left to the master, who would select the books he thought most suitable and best adapted to the requirements and abilities of his pupils.

Latin composition was to be encouraged at the earliest possible opportunity. 'First, so soon as the scholler hath any perceiving or tast in the Latin tongue, ye scholmaster shall cause all and every scholler to make one epistle weekly; and every one of his own mind both in matter and wordes, without anie help anie way, according to ye precepts of Erasmus and Ludovicus Vives in their books *de conscribendis Epistolis*.' After this form of composition had been perfected, the master was to teach Aphonius'

exercises, and read Cicero's rules on the oratorical art, together with the general principles of rhetoric. He was then to propose a subject for disputation, which was to be taken up by two of the principal scholars, and after they had prepared and learnt their respective parts by heart, the disputation took place publicly before the rest of the school. Naturally the art of Latin versification was not forgotten, though that, as the most difficult part of the course, was taught last. The study of Greek was to proceed on similar lines, the grammar and parts of some author were first to be mastered, then the pupils might begin to compose epistles, and finally turn to versification.

In the midst of more ambitious studies the art of writing was not forgotten, and it was especially provided that the pupils should learn the 'Greek, Roman, and secretary hands.' An examination in this subject was to be held every week, in which two of the most proficient scholars acted as judges.

Because 'Socrates saith that love and comendacion of praiseys are a great spurr unto a scholler to stir him up to virtue' it was provided that every quarter at least all manner of compositions, whether Latin or Greek, prepared by the boys should be handed in to the master, who, 'after due examining, peruseing, and reading, shall place that scholler who hath ye best epistle, etc., in ye chieftest or best seat of that form in the which he remayneth, without anie favour or respecte of persouns whatsoever.'

The three lower forms of the school were under the charge of the usher, but the master taught the remaining four, unless for any reason he was absent, in which case the usher took charge of the whole school.

Although the wisdom of putting a comedy of Terence or Ovid's *Tristia* into the hands of a pupil before Cæsar's Commentaries or even Virgil was mastered might appear questionable, not to mention the introduction of modern writers in Greek and Latin, it is evident that the course given above would suffice to give a very adequate knowledge of the ancient classics. It seems clear that the education it was proposed to provide was not intended as a preparation for a business and commercial career.

On the important question of discipline the statutes are very explicit. The school hours, and the monitors who were to see that they were observed, have already been mentioned. Pupils were required to use the Latin tongue in school, as soon as they were able to do so, and they were to

make their entrance and exit to and from school with 'some select or chosen sentence in Latin or Greek.' Amusements tending to evil were strictly forbidden: 'They shall use, in or neare the schole, no weppons, as dagger, sworde, staffe, cudgell, or suche like. They shall use no buyinge, sellinge, or defrauding of their fellowes by anie waies or meanes. They shall haunte no ailehouses or playeinge at unlawfull games, as dice, cardes, or such like.' Wholesome exercise was, however, duly provided for, because 'recreation of myndes and relaxacion of studies are in some sorte or respecte necessarie.' This excellent reason, if stated somewhat haltingly, led to the insertion of a provision in favour of the boys that 'for theire exercise uppon playe dayes, they shalbe furnished with bowes and arrowes.' The 'playe dayes' were themselves duly regulated. There were to be three vacations in the year, beginning on the Monday before St. Thomas' day (Dec. 21), the Wednesday before Easter, and the Wednesday before Whitsuntide, each vacation lasting twelve days. This regulation was tempered by a provision that on every day during holiday time the scholars should repair to the school between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning and 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon to repeat such things as the schoolmaster might think profitable. Saturday after 2 o'clock, in every week, was set apart as a holiday, but all other holidays, as for 'shooting days and potacions,' were to be at the discretion of the schoolmaster. There was not to be more than one play day a week, and for this rule Saturday did not count nor such saints' days as were set apart as holidays by the church calendar. The master himself was not allowed to be absent from Hexham for more than thirty days in the year, except by the express permission of the governors, because 'a negligent master doth make careless scollers.' Expulsion was the most severe punishment for breaches of discipline, and a pupil once expelled could only be received back again into the school by making a full confession of his fault and by humbly petitioning the governors to allow him to be readmitted.

Apparently exercise with bows and arrows was much out of date for the boys of the school, even before the eighteenth century had become very old. Many of the neighbouring gentry seem to have sent their sons to school at Hexham, and these boys preferred the more fashionable sport of cockfighting. This sport was an expensive one, and as the poorer scholars were naturally anxious not to be outdone by their more wealthy fellows, there was danger that their parents would object to the expense, or else that

they would leave off sending their sons to the school from fear that the cost would be too great. It was a consideration of these questions that induced the governors to issue the following order :

Forasmuch as an evill and unwarranted custome hath for many years last past been kept upp and practised by the scholars of and belonging to the ffree gramar school, founded by her late majesty Queen Elizabeth, in Hexham, whereby they have had, and yett demand it as their due, play or recess from their studys every Tnesday and Thursday from twelve of the clocke of those days, from the time of their coming to school after every Christmas till the Shrovetide after; and doe take upon themselves on the first day of their coming to school after every Christmas to nominate or chuse two scholars to stand candidates for captain or victor of the said school, and to decide the same by fighting of cocks' att every Shrovetide for a silver bell, which is given to the candidate who wins or getts two matches out of three. And in respect it is found by good experience that such the aforesaid evill custome hath not onely tended to the alienateing and withdrawing the minds of the said scholars from their books and studys, but hath alsoe putt the parents of such candidates to great expense and charge, to the great discouragement of the neighbouring gentry in sending their children to the said school, and to the manifest disadvantage of the master thereof. Wee, the governors of the said school, att a meeting this day had, having taken the premisses into our serious deliberation, and having the wellfare and advancement of the said school very much att heart, doe therefore order that for the future the said scholars shall have play from their entering to school after every Christmas, on the Thursday afternoon onely in every week, till the Shrovetide after, and not on the Tuesday afternoon as formerly. And wee doe further order that the aforesaid custome of chuseing such candidates as aforesaid, and for fighting cocks for the said silver bell, shall for ever hereafter be abrogated and laid aside; and that the said silver bell shall, upon demand, be delivered upp to the said governours, to be disposed off as they shall thinke fitt; and that if any scholar or scholars now being, or hereafter to be, att the said school shall wilfully doe any thing in breach of this order, he or they soe offending shall be expelled the said school, provided that nothing herein contained shall hinder or prevent the scholars of the said school from having att every Shrovetide hereafter the usuall time of play or recess from their study.²

The charter of Elizabeth, in spite of the numerous articles it contained for the regulation of the property of the school, and notwithstanding the fact that the school was meant to be free, was accompanied by no royal grant of money or of land. It was hoped that the locality itself would supply the endowment, and the charter was undoubtedly intended to stimulate private generosity. As a further inducement it was provided that a vellum tablet, inscribed with the names of the benefactors of the school should be hung up in the school room. No such tablet seems ever to have been prepared, and this appears to imply that the benefactors of the school were few and the sums they gave inconsiderable. The maximum revenue of £40, provided for in the charter, would have been sufficient to maintain the school at the time the charter was drawn up, if it had ever been obtained. But the revenues of the school rarely exceeded one-half of that sum, and it

The Hexham cockpit was situated in a yard in Back Row. Robb, *Hexham Fifty Years Ago*, p. 5.

² *School Minute Books*, 27th March, 1719.

was evident from the first that the term free as applied to the school was a misnomer. Even in the regulations drawn up by the original governors in 1600, there is the following stipulation: 'and forasmuche as hitherunto the beginnings of the said school are verie small, and not sufficient for the entertainment of a learned schoolmaster, it is neverthelesse thought fitt that the said schoolmaster and usher shall, above theire said stipends, receive at the fower severall quarter daies of alle the scollers under them for theire ferrulas the summes following, viz.: of everie scholler born within the parrish of Hexham only fower pence by the year . . . and the schoolmaster's ferrulas for everie of his scollers born withoute the said parrish shalbe fower shillings yearely . . . and the usher's ferrulas of everie of the said scollers in his fourme, born withoute the said parrish shalbe two shillings by the yeare.'

It may be stated that in 1587, or twelve years before the issue of Elizabeth's charter, George Lawson of Little Usworth, had bequeathed £20 for 'the maintenance of a gramer scole in Hexam.'¹ This money was almost certainly appropriated by the governors of the school as soon as their body was constituted, and perhaps the bequest itself was the occasion that led to the drawing up of the charter. But no benefactions came in immediately after 1599, and the school regulations were not drawn up till a year later, while at the end of them the date 1602 is written. As no endowments were given the governors seem to have fallen back upon a sort of voluntary rate, paid by persons who gave their bonds to contribute so much annually towards the maintenance of the school. There was a small collection taken in 1602, in Allendale, but there was no regular collection from those who gave bonds till 1608, when nearly £13 was raised, Sir Ralph Lawson of Brough contributing £10. From 1608 to 1736 these collections were taken uninterruptedly twice in the year, and they gradually increased in value, until about 1675 they almost realised the maximum amount of £40. Subsequently, however, they fell off rapidly, and the last time the rate was levied it realised less than £19.²

In the meantime a few endowments had been left to the school. In 1634 Mrs. Ord bequeathed £100 to it; and in 1637 Ralph Carr, B.D., of St. John's college, Cambridge, presented the school with seven acres of land,

¹ Surt. Soc. *Wills and Inventories*, ii. p. 323.

² *School Minute Books*.

lying in the west field of Hexham, called Gilligate fields.¹ Other smaller endowments followed later on, of which may be mentioned £10 from Henry Simpson in 1684; £20 from John Coulson in 1692; £10 from John Carr in 1710; and £10 from Dame Mary Blackett in 1757. In addition to these, in 1679, Dame Mary Fenwick, widow of Sir John Fenwick, late lord of the manor, who was killed at Marston Moor, gave £100 in trust to the governors of the school to be used for binding poor children apprentices. The existence of the body of governors of the grammar school was found convenient by those who wished to found charities which were quite unconnected with the school. Thus, in 1702, Mrs. Ann Radcliffe of Dilston, sister of the earl of Derwentwater, left £10 annually to be distributed to the poor of Hexham. Similarly, John Carr left £100 for alms houses, which still continue to be administered by the governors; in 1715 Edward Smith bequeathed £60, the interest of which was to be annually distributed among the poor of Hexham by the same body, and in 1773 William Bell, of High Shield, left £60 for the poor, of which the governors were appointed the trustees.² The money acquired by the voluntary rate was often employed in buying mortgages or making money advances upon similar securities, and the other funds seem to have been spent in investments in real property. This was leased out to various farmers for short periods, as the statutes of the school did not permit the governors to give leases for more than twenty-one years. The school, though only possessed of these slender resources, was probably carried on from about 1608, when the regular accounts begin, for

¹ 'Ad hanc curiam compertum est per homagium, quod Radulphus Carr de coll. Sci. Johannis in academia Cantabrigiensi, theologii bachelareus, in propria persona sua extra curiam, scilicet xxv^o die mensis Novembris anno regis Caroli nunc Anglie, hoc xii^o A.D. 1636 venit apud Hexham predictum in aedibus Ricardi Carr fratris sui coram ipso dicto Ricardo Carr, ballivo regalitatis sive manerii predicti et coram Geo. Gibson, sen^r, glover, et Arthuro Sparke, taylor, duobus tenentibus per copiam rotulorum curie manerii predicti, in presenciam Joh. Cliuth, Wm. Leschman, et aliorum hoc testantium et absente reddidit in manus dicti domini manerii per manus ipsorum ballivi et tenentium prefatorum, totum illum clausum suum prout includitur per se, et continentem per estimationem septem acras terre, prati, vel pasture sive sit plus vel minus, jacentem in campis occidentalibus de Hexham predicto, vocatis anglie Gilligate feilds, et inter terras nuper Joh. Ridley generosi de Coastley, defuncti, et jam in tenura Joh. Bell, tanner, ex parte occidentali, et terras Rob. Kirrsopp ex parte orientali, et vulgo vocatas per nomen del Burswellflatt, cum singulis pertinentiis eidem spectantibus, ad opus et usum Benoni Steer, clerici, Joh. Hearon, Wm. Heslopp, et Ric. Gibson, quatuor gubernatorum libere schole grammaticalis Regine Elizabethæ in Hexham infra comitatum Northumbrie predictum, et ceterorum sociorum suorum gubernatorum ejusdem schole, et successorum suorum, a tempore in tempus in perpetuum. Qui gubernatores, etc., tam pro se quam pro ceteris sociis suis gubernatoribus dicte libere schole, presentes hoc in curia, petunt se admitti ad premissa predicta secundum intencionem prioris sursum redditionis et secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii quibus dictus dominus manerii, per seneschallum suum concessit inde seisinam, tenendum, etc., reddendum inde annuatim dicto domino manerii iiij^d. ad festa predicta.' *Hexham Manor Rolls*, May, 1637.

² Ritschell, *Tyndale Charities*; Wright, *Hexham*, pp. 232-4.

although there is no definite mention of a master before 1638, it is certain that Forster occupied the position before that time. How long he did so it is impossible to say, though it is probable that he occupied the post of master between 1608 and 1638.

No building was originally erected for the accommodation of the master and his scholars, and it has been suggested that the building at the east end of the church was used for this purpose, since it was commonly known as the 'Old School.'¹ Whatever the school house may have been, money was spent upon it in 1652, as the following payments show :

For three lockes and keyes for the schoole doores ...	...	...	00	06	00
To William Smith for iron for the schoole chymny ...	...	...	00	12	09
To John Taylor, whytesmith, for making the chymny and mending					
two locks ...	...	...	00	02	06
Two Matthew Stokoe for writing one petition ² ...	...	...	00	01	08

Less than twelve years later some attempt was made to provide the school with a proper and definite habitation. The governors of the school consulted the four-and-twenty, and the latter agreed to put a cess on the town for the purpose of building a school house. £28 was gathered in this way, though those who were charged with the collection of the money detained it in their own hands until 1680.³ Further collections seem to have been made, for in 1684 the present school house on the Hall Stile Bank was erected at a cost of £150.⁴ The town had subscribed the greater part of this sum, but not the whole, and to make up the deficiency the governors of the school instructed their stewards to rigorously collect all the rate money that was overdue :

Whereas we, the governors of this free schoole of Hexham, together with the fflower and twenty of this s^d towne, haveing undertaken the building of a schoole house for the use and benifitt of the schoole master and scholars of the s^d schoole, & haveing alsoe taken the subscription of all or most part of the inhabitants of the s^d parish what they would freely contribute to the carrying on of the s^d worke, wee doe

¹ Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 43.

² *School Minute Books*, 1652.

³ 'Whereas there was, in or about the year of our Lord God 1665 collected within this towne the sum of twenty eight pounds, which sum as yett remaines in the hands of Cuthbert Bell, Wm. Robson, Tho. Leadbitter, Jane Dickinson, Edw. Smith, Jn. Soulby, Ant. Stokoe, Edw. Rowland, Jn. Wilkinson, jun., Jn. Thompson, & Hen. Stokoe, or some of them, wee doe therefore present and order that the said persons shall, within one month next after the giving in of this verdict, pay in the said sum of twenty eight pounds (with consideration according to the statute) to the governors of the ffree grammar schoole of Queen Elizabeth in Hexham, upon paine of xv^s every one refusing to pay in his parte thereof. And wee doe further order that the said moneys soe paid to the governors of the aforesaid schoole shall be by them bestowed upon and towards the buying & building of a schoole house for this towne. And if it shall happen at any time hereafter that any action shall be comenced by any person against any of the said parties by whom the said sess was collected, and by this order to be paid as aforesaid, wee doe present and order that the parties soe sued or troubled as aforesaid shall, at the towne's charge, be kept harneless & indemnified of & from all actions or suits to be brought for the same.' *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1680.

⁴ Mackenzie and Dent, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 334.

finde the s^d severall sums soe by them subscribed as afores^d to come farr short of the charge of finishing the s^d worke. We doe therefor order & agree that John Carr, one of the present stewards of the stock & revenue of the s^d schoole, shall forthwith collect as much of the arreare money belonging to the revenue of the s^d schoole (over and above what payeth the master his yearly salliary) as conveniently he can, & that he pay the same towards the carrying on of the s^d worke, & wee doe hereby agree that what money he disburseth as aboves^d belonging to the revenue of the s^d schoole shall be allowed him in his account of his stewardship. Witness our hands this one and thirtieth day of July, A.D. 1685.¹

It is doubtful if the provisions of the original charter of the school were ever thoroughly carried out. It has already been stated that at no time in the course of its history has the school been free. The scheme of education was designed on too ambitious a scale to suit the requirements of a remote country town, and although the sons of the gentry might receive a full classical training, their poorer companions, who were ultimately destined for trade or agriculture, would be unwilling to spend their time upon subjects so unprofitable as far as they were concerned. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there appears to have been a great maladministration of the rules, for there was no usher, and it is doubtful if there ever had been one; the accounts were kept secret, and it seems probable that some of the money belonging to the school had been lost. George Ritschell, who had carefully gathered information on these and other matters, wrote to the archbishop of York on the subject :

Most rev^d father in God : I conceive it my duty, being under your grace's jurisdiction, to give you an account of ye state of our ffree grammar school, how ye governors of later years seem to have laid asyde their constitutions, and govern according to pleasure, for they keep no usher, and hire a master for so much a year; and to take of y^e odium of turning him off upon every little peak, they made y^e late master sign a writing to resign y^e school upon three months' warning, nor did they acquaint him with their constitutions, and y^e affaires of ye school, nor have they a table of y^e benefactors' names, etc., and they keep their accounts amongst ymselves.

Some years ago I accidentally gott a sight and copy of their charter and constitutions (which has been no small pece of mortification to them) and a while after I spoke to some of them about reforming some things, which they seemd willing to do, but when I spoke to Mr. John Carr, who is Sir William Blackett's steward here, he resented it ill, and said would they be governd by an arch bishop's constitutions, and before middsummer last when I read the processe for a court I cited John Wilkinson and Robert Bell, the late stewards, to bring in their accounts, he could not forbear to speak, and said 'not to you,' and after service was ended he continued in great passion and reproved me for meddling with their school, would they give an account to y^e curate of Hexham, it should cost him 100 ^{li}, etc.

They have also y^e disposing of some moneys for y^e use of the poor; how they manage that affair is known to themselves, yet it seems as if due care has not been taken thereof, for that they have a rent charge of 100 ^{li} from old Sir John Fenwicke, and none of them can remember any demand either of

¹ *School Minute Books, sub anno.* It may be mentioned that this reservation of a part of the revenue for the building fund was not strictly legal, for by the original charter the whole of the income of the school was to be paid to the master, with the exception of £4, which constituted the salary of the usher. Geo. Ritschell states that the school building was subsequently used as the sessions house (*Tyndale Charities*, p. 9); but this must only have been temporary. Ritschell's book bears the date 1713.

interest or principal, and when they demanded it of ye late Sir John after he had sold ye estate, his attorney told me he had pleaded or would plead it was paid, and a governor confest they had other money in bad hands, and madam Mary ffenwick haveing left 100^{li} to ye town to buy somewhat to bind poor children apprentices, Mr. Algood, ye bailife, has gott that mony into his hands. It's true that some few have been bound by him, but I have heard some of ye partys complain that they could not gett ye mony due upon that account. Haveing trespassed upon your patiene by so many particulars these begg pardon for this trouble and leave to subscribe myself, your grace's most humble servant,

GEORGE RITSCHELL.¹

It is only right to state that Ritschell at that time was anxious to find out anything which told against the bailiff, Thomas Allgood, who was the principal governor of the school. Allgood, on his side, had done his utmost to eject Ritschell from his curacy, who may have made his complaint to the archbishop rather from resentment against Allgood than from zeal for the school.

Even in the most flourishing days of the school the endowments had been very meagre, and the inducements for an efficient man to take charge of the school were not great. As the value of money declined, and as the expense of an education at Oxford and Cambridge increased, this difficulty became greater. A man who had incurred the expense consequent upon obtaining the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford or Cambridge, would not easily be tempted by the insignificant endowment of the Hexham grammar school, even though supplemented by the fees of the scholars, which had been considerably increased since their amount was first settled. In Wright's time, besides an entrance fee of 5s., the boys paid 30s. a year for their education.² At the present time the same entrance fee is maintained, but the other fees have been raised from 30s. yearly to a guinea a quarter for a rudimentary education, and a guinea and a half per quarter for the higher branches.

In 1824, upon the resignation of Thomas Scurr, there was great difficulty in filling the vacant mastership, since no fit person applied for the post. At last the governors took counsel's opinion on the possibility of making alterations in their charter. They were advised to apply to the Court of Chancery, and accordingly they made their petition in 1827. After their case had been stated, an order was obtained which sanctioned most of the alterations in the charter which they had asked for, notably the provision dealing with the status of the schoolmaster, who was no longer required to be a Master of Arts, and they were released from the obligation of employing an usher. These alterations led to a modification of the governors' oath

¹ *Archbishop of York's Papers*. The letter is dated March 4, 1699.

² *History of Hexham*, p. 226.

which was drawn up to suit the newer form of regulations. While this question was pending, James Urwin was appointed to conduct the work of the school, upon the understanding that he should not receive any share in the endowments until the cost of the legal proceedings had been defrayed. As these costs were very considerable, Urwin did not definitely become master till 1833.¹

Of late years an attempt has been made to raise the standard of the school by diverting the Fenwick and Radcliffe charities and other moneys for that purpose. This scheme of creating a higher grade school in Hexham is at present under the consideration of the charity commissioners. The present master, Mr. Hyslop, has about thirty pupils under his care, and he teaches Greek, Latin, French, and elementary mathematics, among other subjects.

The endowments of the school throughout the nineteenth century have amounted to about £20, with very little variation on either side. In the year 1892 the governors made the following return of the property in their hands :

DR.	£	s.	d.	CR	£	s.	d.
To apprentices' bank (Hudshaw bank, 6 ac. 3 r. 19 p.)	24	0	0	By almshouses	4	7	10
„ Causey field, 1 ac. 3 r. 1 p.	13	0	0	„ apprentices	43	2	6
„ £667 4s. 8d., consols at 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.	17	17	8	„ schoolmaster's salary ²	18	6	8
„ Mrs. Radcliffe's charity	10	0	0	„ insurance	0	12	3
„ P.O. savings bank, £50 8s. 10d. at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	1	4	10	„ balance in P.O. savings bank	49	15	7

A statement made in the present year of property exclusively belonging to the school differs somewhat from the above :

	£	s.	d.
School-house and site, master's house adjoining, worth yearly	14	0	0
Garden, £3; stable, £3	6	0	0
Undivided share of Causey hill field, 43 ac. 2 r. 39 p.	6	5	5
Consols, £551 18s. 9d.	13	9	9

LIST OF MASTERS.³

1638, before Whitsuntide. — Forster.

„ „ „ Robert Thompson. 'Desbursed to Robert Thompson for teaching the scoole after Mr. fforster schoole M^r his departure from the schoole, 30s.'⁴

¹ *Further Report of the Charity Commissioners*, 1830, p. 480.

² The master is allowed to let the dwelling house, garden, and stables for his own profit, their annual value being set down here at £20 annually.

³ Compiled from the *School Minute Books*. The names of Carelton and Dodson are given on the authority of the Hexham Register; those of Ogle and Stackhouse on that of Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 229.

⁴ *School Minute Books*.

1640. Leech.¹

1642, 1st Sep. — Anderton. 'Monyes disbursed by me, Launcelot Algood, at his entrance: ffor his horse hire from Newcastle to Hexham, 3s.; item, to Peter Bell, carpenter, and his sonne, the 1st of September, 2s. 4d.; item, to Peter Bell, the 2nd of September, 1s.; item, for iron nales to Peter Bell for y^e M^r his seate and table, 4d.'²

1658, 5th March. Andrew Carelton mentioned.

1660, 3rd March. Peter Dodson mentioned.

1661, 25th Nov. Robert Leedes appointed. 'Bestowed upon y^e master at his entering to ye school, in wine and tobacco, 7s.'³

Circa 1673, Whitsuntide. — Collingwood appointed.

Circa 1677, Martinmas. Christopher Smith appointed.

Circa 1685, May. James Cocking appointed.

1696. William Bewick. He was born at Hexham, and educated at Durham school, and matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, June 13th, 1688, aged 17. He published 'Several Letters and Miscellany Poems, at the request of several ingenious and learned persons. The second edition, with the addition of many others; Newcastle, printed for the author, and sold by James Fleming, bookseller, on Tyne bridge, 1742.' He translated 'Mantua', in which was a satire against women, and published 'A Sermon, preached at Hexham upon the public occasion and fast, being the 20th of June, 1696, dedicated to the right worshipful Sir William Blackett, and others his gracious benefactors.'⁴

1698. Robert Cocking.

1701. John Ogle.

1702. Thomas Stackhouse, born 1680. He also acted as minister of the English church at Amsterdam. Later on he was successively curate at Richmond, Ealing, and Finchley. He was ultimately appointed vicar of Benham Valence, in Berkshire, where he died Oct. 11, 1752. His principal works were: 'A New History of the Bible,' 'A Complete Body of Divinity,' and 'Memoirs of Bishop Atterbury.' Several of his sermons and controversial works were also printed.⁵

1705. William Haswell.

Circa 1713. William Bewick appointed.

1716. Nicholas Lowes.

1717, 6th March. William Rotheram appointed.

Circa 1720, June. William Johnson appointed.

1723, 6th Nov. Alexander Stokoe of Haydon Bridge; appointed curate of St. John Lee.

1729, 10th Feb. Thomas Bolton of Stokesley appointed.

1735, 10th March. Richard Stokoe of Haydon Bridge. He was ejected 9th February, 1737, on a charge of mismanagement.

1737, 2nd March. Joseph Railton of Carlisle appointed. Afterwards rector of Knaresdale.

1742, 4th February. Thomas Hudson of Durham appointed. He was also curate of Whitley and of Blanchland. 'I am sorry to find so great complaints at Hexham against the schoolmaster. The more so because I had a hand in recommending him; for he was usher here and behaved very well while with us. I perceive, if he will not go off of himself, the governours design to article against him and eject him.' *Archdeacon Sharpe to the Archbishop of York*, dated Durham, 28th Oct., 1746.⁶

1747, 11th May. Abraham Brown of Corsenside appointed. Also minister of Whitley chapel for 60 years. Licensed at York, June 2, 1748.

1765, 17th June. Peter Rumney, late of Kirby hill, Yorkshire, appointed. Also perpetual curate of Hexham.

1771, 24th June. George Busby of Gateshead appointed. Also perpetual curate of Hexham.⁷

¹ John Todd, son of Andrew Todd of Hexham, merchant; educated at Hexham school (Mr Leech); admitted to St. Joh. Coll., Cam., 7 July, aged 16, as sizar for Mr. Tyrwhitt. *Admissions to St. John's Coll., Cambridge.*

² *School Minute Books.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Communicated by the Rev. E. H. Adamson.*

⁵ *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.*

⁶ *Archbishop of York's papers.*

⁷ See notice of him in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1799, p. 168.



THE MOOT HALL.

1802, May. Thomas Scurr entered the school, but he was not definitely appointed till 14th Sep., 1806. He acted as perpetual curate of Allendale and Thockerington, and resigned the grammar school 18th June, 1824. 'He was a mathematician of repute.'

1833, 28th Feb. James Urwin appointed. He had actually held the appointment since 1825, though in an informal manner. See *supra*, p. 223. Licensed at York on resignation of Thomas Scurr, Sep. 18, 1833.

1862, 10th April. Thomas Dobson, B.A., appointed. He was born at Hexham, 13th October, 1814, and was educated at the grammar school under Scurr and Urwin. In 1847 he went to St. John's college, Cambridge, and was placed seventeenth wrangler in 1849. From 1850 to 1853 he was head master of the chief school in Hobart Town, Tasmania. On returning to England he became in succession assistant master at the naval school at Greenwich hospital, and head master of the school frigate 'Conway,' stationed in the Mersey. In 1862, hearing that the mastership of the school at Hexham was vacant, he applied for the post, and in a few years restored to it its former prosperity and consideration. In 1876 he was appointed head master at the marine school, South Shields, and he remained at this post till his death, on the 8th October, 1885. He interested himself chiefly in meteorology, particularly cyclonology, upon which he published several tracts. His book, *Contributions to Local History*, contains a brief summary of the early history of his native town.¹

1875, 1st Dec. George Bowker appointed.

1882, 2nd Feb. John Hyslop appointed.

For a long time the grammar school was the only place of education of any importance in Hexham. In 1813, however, a subscription school was built at the head of the Skinner Burn Street. Towards the total cost of the building, £347, Colonel Beaumont contributed £150, and T. W. Beaumont £20. The number of scholars soon after its foundation was 240.² On January 16th, 1874, a school board was formed compulsorily. It consists of seven members, who are elected triennially, the school buildings are situated in the Sele, on a site given by Mr. W. B. Beaumont. There is accommodation for 900 children, and the average attendance is 700. St. Mary's Roman Catholic school on Battle Hill was built in 1840 for 180 children, and the average attendance is 190.

THE TWO TOWERS.

Though less important than the church, the two ancient towers attract attention as soon as the town is entered. One of these, the Moot hall, stands in the market place, opposite the church, and the other, now known as the Manor office, as situated somewhat further to the east. The date at which the latter building was erected may be almost exactly ascertained from two entries in the registers at York. The first of these contains an order from Archbishop Melton, dated June 8th, 1330, directing Thomas Fox, the receiver of Hexham, to cause a gaol to be built, in which prisoners may be

¹ Welford, *Men of Mark*, ii. pp. 84-8.

² Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 48, 49.

incarcerated and securely guarded, the expenses of which were to be paid out of the revenues of the shire.¹ The other, dated nineteen months later, is directed to Robert de Bridelington, the steward of the regality, ordering him to furnish the gaol at Hexham with chains, manacles, and all things necessary for the repair of the building and the safeguarding of the prisoners. At the same time, one John de Cawode, a barber, was appointed gaoler, at a salary of two pence a day.² It seems evident that at this latter date the gaol had been completed.

The documentary evidence bearing upon the date of the erection of the Moot hall is not nearly so satisfactory or conclusive as that which concerns the other tower. A letter of Archbishop Thoresby to his receiver, dated the 25th of May, 1355, does not go far to elucidate this question. The archbishop writes to say that he has heard that the chamber of his bailiff and the hall of his pleas at Hexham are in a very ruinous condition, and he orders the receiver to take steps to have the repairs carried out, the money necessary for the work to be charged upon his account.³

From this document it is clear that some kind of building for the transaction of manorial business had been in existence long before 1355, and it

¹ 'Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio domino Thomae Fox receptori nostro de Hextildesham, salutem, etc. Volumus et tibi mandamus quatinus unam bonam gaolam et fortem fieri facias, in qua nostri prisiones et incarcerati secure valeant custodiri, et expensas quas circa illius edificacionem rationabiliter apposeris tibi super tuo compoto volumus allocari. Vale. Dat. apud Thorp juxta Ebor. sexto Idus Junii, pontificatus nostri tercio decimo' [June 8, 1330]. *York Registers*, Melton, f. 28 a.

² 'Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio magistro Roberto de Bridelington, terrarum nostrarum senescallo, salutem. Volumus et vobis mandamus quatinus gaolam nostram apud Hextildesham, compedes, manuculas, aliaque ferramenta et utensilia quae, pro ipsius gaolae reparacione et custodia incarceratorum in eadem necessaria fuerint debita, faciatis reparari. Ad haec quia Johannem de Cawode, barbitonsorem, praesentium bajulum, praefecimus servientem manerii et villae nostrae de Hextildesham et custodem gaolae nostrae ibidem; volumus quod eidem Johanni pro obsequiis suis in officio predicto, stipendia sua pro salario suo impendi et liberari faciatis, prout alii in eodem officio ante haec tempora nobis deservientes pro salario suo percipere consueverunt; saltem quod singulis diebus duos denarios optineat prout consuetum erat existentibus in officio praedicto hactenus liberari. Valete. Data apud Cawode, xiiij kalendas Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno quinto decimo' [January 19th, 1332]. *Ibid.* f. 431 a.

Subsequent gaolers were not satisfied with this pittance. In 1635 William Lishman, the gaoler of Hexham, sued Christopher Ridley of Linhurst for a debt of 7s. 2d. for gaol fees, charges, diet, etc., which Ridley had incurred while a prisoner upon a warrant of the High Commission Court. Lishman was nonsuited; but he and his predecessors had probably made money out of their prisoners from fees, etc., for many years. *Hexham Manor Rolls*.

³ 'Johan par la soeffrance de Dieu ercevesque d'Euerwyk, etc., a notre receivour de Hextildesham quore est ou pour temps serra, saluz. Por ceo si nous avons entenduz qe nos molyns celles parties et la chaumbre notre baillif a Hextildesham et la sale de noz plees illoeques sont mout ruinouses et busoignent mout de reparacion, si volons et vous mandons qi vous farez reparailler les dites molins et mesons par la ou il busoigne et par veue et testmoignance notre dit baillif Richard de Ask, et volons qi de ces qi serra issint mis sur les dites molins et mesons eiez due allouance sur votre acounte. Done souz notre prive seal a notre manoir pres de Westm. le xxv jour de Maii l'an du regne notre seigneur sire Edward, roi d'Engleterre et de France, c'est assavoir d'Engleterre vingesme noefsisme, et de France sezisme' [25th May, 1355]. *York Registers*. Thoresby, f. 300 a.

may have been a fortified structure similar to that now existing at Hexham. In other respects the letter is unsatisfactory. The archbishop is so ignorant of the affairs of the locality that he does not even know the name of his own receiver. A report has reached him that the building is exceedingly dilapidated, and he at once writes to see that the defect is remedied. In view of these circumstances it would be unwise to lay too much stress on the wording of the letter. It is possible that in compliance with its terms the



THE GAOL OR MANOR OFFICE.

old building was patched up to serve for a few years longer, or the present building may have been erected at that time because the old one was not worth repairing.

It is curious, however, that only one tower at Hexham is mentioned in the list of castles and fortalices in Northumberland taken in 1415, although there is nothing in the entry to indicate whether the gaol or the Moot hall

is referred to.¹ At the same time no inference can be drawn from this omission, for the two towers may have been joined together by a curtain wall, and considered as one castle. In the survey of Northumbrian castles taken by Sir Robert Bowes in 1550, only one tower is spoken of in the earlier part of the document, and it is clear from the context that the gaol is referred to, but the two towers were both in existence at that time at all events, and indeed they are expressly referred to in a later part of the same paper.²

A more significant reference is in the will of Thomas Lyndley of Lyndley, near Ottley, dated 1439, by which the testator bequeathes his armour then lying in the new tower at Hexham.³ The Moot hall must be the building referred to in this document, for the gaol was over a hundred years old at that time. But here, again, the evidence does not justify any certain conclusions, and the Moot hall, though it was then several years old, may have been styled new by comparison with the older building, the gaol. When all the documentary evidence upon the subject has been weighed, the only positive deduction that can be drawn from it is that the Moot hall was erected at some time between 1355 and 1439.

The history of the towers belongs exclusively to the history of the regality in which they were placed, and the events connected with them possess only a local interest. During the administration of Lord Dacre, and generally in the early part of the sixteenth century, the gaol was almost always full of prisoners. Lord Dacre's methods of dealing with refractory tenants have already been described, and large numbers of them found their way into the manorial prison. In 1515, after several of these men had been imprisoned, there was a serious riot in the town, and the mob angrily demanded the release of the delinquents. This riot, however, was put down by force.⁴ Lord Dacre, during his administration of the regality, seems to have kept the gaol constantly full, to such an extent, indeed, that in 1526 he himself complained that it was a great charge, some of the prisoners having been confined there for a year.⁵

During the time Lord Dacre had been in office he was successful in safeguarding the prisoners in the gaol; but six years after he had resigned

¹ The entry is simply: 'Turris de Hexham . . . Archiepiscopi Eboraci.' Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 29.

² *Ibid.* III. ii. pp. 227, 228, 245.

³ *Test. Ebor.* ii. Surt. Soc. p. 71.

⁴ *Cat. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Brewer, ii. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 2052.

his office the place was broken open, and the prisoners were liberated. The circumstances of the rescue, as far as they can be gathered from the contemporary documents, were as follows: It appears that, early in December, 1538, a man named Robert More, styling himself a priest of Chichester, was arrested at Hexham, and confined in the gaol. The country was at that time in a very agitated state; the dissolution of Hexham priory had only recently taken place, the Pilgrimage of Grace was still fresh in men's memories, bands of desperate outlaws frequented the whole district, and some disturbance seems to have been anticipated. Reynold Carnaby, the bailiff, was away from Hexham, for the plague was raging there, but Lewis Ogle, his deputy, ordered the constables of the town to be in readiness in their harness, and gave instructions that twenty-four men should be posted to watch outside the town, a special guard being set about the prison. The watch was faithfully kept until long after midnight, when some of the guards being 'symple poore men withowte harneys or goode weapyns,' thought that all danger was past, and accordingly departed, 'sum of theym for to see ther catall in ther closez.' Before the night was over, however, the remaining watchmen were surprised by a band of outlaws, who robbed and beat them, broke into the prison, and rescued the inmates, amongst whom, besides More, were some notorious characters, notably one Jerry Charlton, *alias* Topping, Clement Armstrong, and two men named Dodd.

Carnaby hastened to inform the council in the North of the event, stating that the assailants were Scots of Liddesdale, joined with the Tynedale men and other English outlaws, among whom the Charltons were prominent. A strict enquiry was at once made, under the direction of the earl of Westmorland, Thomas Tempest, and Richard Belassez. In their notes and evidences some particulars are given of the state of the gaol at that time, which are worthy of notice:

We thynke upon all th' examinacions that we cowde make, the cheffe defawte and pryncypall caus of the brekyng of the seid prysonn and escape of the said prisonerz was in defaulte that ther was no gaoler or other persoun certeyn appoynted for the sure kepyng of the seid gaole; for ther was noon other keping of theym but sumtyme oon, sumtyme oon other wheche broght mete to the prysoun.

And also we fynde that ther were two strong wodde doores and oon yronn doore or any man coude cum to the hous where the prysoners were, wheche two wodde doores were opyn withowte lokke or other festyneng for theym. Also upon the yronn doore was no goode lokkes to lokke theym, but ther was two symple hangyng lokkes upon the utter syde of the seyd yronn doore, wheche were of small strenght or defens. Also that the prysoners myght cum and so didde at ther pleasure, at all tymes, to the utter doore, and ther spake wth ther freendes when they wold. And that they were not fetterd, but lowse in the hous at the tyme of the brekyng of the seid prysoun. Also that the seid lokkys were so symple and wayke

that w^t the fyrst strokes that were geven they did breke, and so the seid thevys were taken owte of prysoun w^t owte taryeng and sodeynlye had aweye or the towne had any warnyng or were assembled togiddres.

Also we fynde that ther be two prysoun pytts or doughtions in the same prysoun towre; and ther were grete stokkes there, made both for legges and armes, wheche hadde beene taken a soundre and not yoyned ayen w^t ther yronns and festynenges as they sholde have been, and that ther was no fetters, oon pair excepted, or other thinges for sure keypyng of prysoners within the seid towre; and as we be enformed, ten shillings in moneye expended upon the premissis in tyme wold have made the prysoun so strong that it coude not have been easelye broken upon oon nyght.

Also that upon the towre hede, where as the watchemen sholde have defended the seid towre, were no stonys or other thynges to caste downe for defens of the prysoun doore.

Fynallye, we thynke surelye that necligent kepyng of the seid prysoun, and not makyng sure lokkes for the doores of the same, and no gaoler appoynted for the sure keypyng of the prysoun, were chefe causes of the seid escapes.¹

In spite of the strong terms of this report no improvements were made in the condition of the gaol, or if they were made things speedily returned to their former state. In the great survey of the Borders, taken by Sir Robert Bowes in 1552, both the towers at Hexham are reported to be 'munche in decaye, because there is no yerly reparacions allowed to be doone upon them.' The report also states that 'the towre (*i.e.*, the gaol) standethe alone without the towne, and euery man may come to the dore of the prison and talke with the prisoners at all tymes, which were convenyent to be amended if it sholde be used as a warde or prison for offenders.' Sir Robert Bowes was of opinion that the gaol could be made into a useful residence for the keeper of Tynedale, 'if it were made something stronger, and had a house made adioyning thereunto, sufficyent for a keper of Tyne-dale to dwell in.'² The same opinion was also expressed, some years afterwards, by Sir Ralph Sadler.³

No more notice seems to have been taken of Sir Robert Bowes' recommendations than of those of the earl of Westmorland and his successors. The towers were allowed gradually to fall into decay, though they attracted the attention of every one who visited the town. When the survey of 1608 was taken, the surveyors added a short memorandum about the towers to their account of the regality:

Memorandum. His majestie hath within the towne of Hexham aforesaid two faire towers or buildinges, the one called the courthouse, thother the gaole, both built of freestone and couered with leade. The first, beinge vsed for keepinge of his majesties court letes, and the iij weekes court ther, is in

¹ 'The examynacionn of Hexham men.' *Cottonian MSS.* Caligula, b. v. 37. This has also supplied most of the materials for the account of the breaking of the gaol. Other authorities have been *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Gairdner, xiii. pt. ii. Nos. 1030, 1075, 1095, 1101.

² *State Papers*, Domestic, addenda, Ed. VI. iii. No. 30, printed in Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. pp. 227-8.

³ *Infra*, p. 248.

good reparation, saue onely in the rooffe wher the leade is wantinge in diuers places, which might in tyme be amended and repaired with a small chardge. Thother, beinge vsed for a gaole or prison (wherin are vsuallie imprisoned not onely felons, but also such as are sued in the court ther for debts betweene partie and partie, which oftentimes are verie many, as is seldome without somme) is at this present in very great ruine and decay, both in the timber and leade, especiallie in the leade vpon the rooffe, which is worne soe thinne and therby exceedinglie decayed, and somme purloyned away, as that the raine continuallie falleth into the house vpon the timber and flowres within, have rotted them so much as that of necessitie they must either be newmade, or els all will fall to the grounde. The iurie ther haue certified vpon their verdict that cl^{ie} will hardly repaire both the said buildings in leade and timber.

Neuertheles vpon our viewe and conference had with experienced men wee doe iudge and verilie thinke that if the leade yet remaininge vpon the gaole should be taken of and sold at the best advantage, that the money therof ariseinge would be sufficient with somme xxxⁱⁱ more both to repaire the courthouse and to buy timber for makinge a new rooffe vpon the gaole, to be covered with slaites instead of lead (which would serue for that purpose almost as well as the other). But howsocuer, in our opinions, wee thinke it fitt two soe goodly buildings belongidge to soe large auncient and populous a signiory should not be lett fall to the ground for wante of a litle chardge, though they were not soe necessarie for present and continuall vse as they are. Per Barth: Haggatt, superuisor.¹

During the Scotch war of 1640 Hexham was inspected by Sir Michael Ernle and Captain Lloyd, with a view to its defensive capabilities. Both officers agreed that it would be impossible to put artillery in the towers, but they suggested that they might be garrisoned with 150 musketeers.² Subsequently the towers were devoted to more peaceful purposes, though prisoners were confined in the gaol as late as 1824. The modern name, Manor office, is derived from the fact that business of the manor was transacted there till the time when the courts ceased to be held, in 1867. The Moot hall was used as a court house till 1838, when the sessions were transferred to the restored abbey house. Both buildings are the property of the lord of the manor.

It is evident that the two towers and the subordinate buildings which were once connected with them formed what was in effect a castle, which had a curtain wall surrounding a bailey, the Moot hall being the main entrance gateway. The gaol, answering to the keep in a castle, was an isolated building within the bailey on the side furthest from the town. The position was the strongest one that the site of the town afforded, the defences being in the main provided by nature. There are no indications of the existence of a moat, which does not seem to have been required, as the steep banks to the north and east were a sufficient defence on two sides, while on the southern side there ran the Cowgarth burn, which formed to some extent a natural moat.

¹ *Land Revenue Office*. Survey of Hexham Royalty, 1608.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Chas. I. ccccxli. 3; ccccxlii. 52, etc.

The fact that the entrance passage of the gateway was protected by no less than three pairs of gates shows how elaborate were the means taken to defend the bailey, not only against an attack from the open side of the site, but also from the town itself. It may perhaps be inferred that the bailey wall was provided with towers at its angles, and possibly in the intermediate space also.

Although no record of an earlier date than 1330 is at present known which refers to these buildings, there can be no doubt that some defensive arrangement existed on the site from the time when the archbishop of York first became lord of the regality.

The order for the building of a gaol in the register of Archbishop Melton can refer to none other than the existing building and its curtain wall, and this, with the subsequent order for the fitting up of the gaol and the appointment of a gaoler, dated 19th January, 1332, show that the building was erected between those two dates.

The Moot hall is later in date, and, to judge from the few parts of it which have remained unchanged, it cannot be much earlier than the closing years of the fourteenth century. That the two towers were not in course of erection at the same time is evident from the nature of the material of which they are composed. The gateway is entirely of freshly quarried stone from the beds on the south side of the Tyne, while the gaol is almost entirely of re-used material, chiefly of Roman dressing. The stone, which is similar to that of all the Roman material used at Hexham, has come from the fine free-stone beds on the north side of the Tyne. It is more than probable that all the stone in the gaol came from the station at Corbridge, and that this source of supply had become exhausted when the new gateway was built. At any rate not a single stone of Roman dressing has been observed in the walls of the gateway as far as they are visible, and like the transepts of the church they are all of newly quarried stone, and built of ashlar of large dimensions.

The earliest known drawing of the gaol is one by Carter in the British Museum.¹ It is valuable, as it shows some features now destroyed, and a small plan on the same sheet gives the internal arrangements of the ground floor before the alterations made in this century had been carried out. The building was entered by a doorway on the ground level in the west wall.

¹ *Add. MSS* 29,933, f. 103.

The original doorway seems to have still existed in Carter's time ; but it has since been removed, and another inserted a little more to the north. The ground floor was divided by a cross wall into two equal portions. In the floor of the northern room was an opening which communicated with an underground vault, long since filled in and built up, but which is remembered as having been open by some old Hexham people. The ground story is still covered by a semicircular barrel vault in one span. Immediately to the north of the doorway, and entered from the room to the north, is the newel stair, by which access to the upper floors and the roof and battlements was gained. The upper part of this stair still remains, and its course up the wall can be traced on the outside, where three of the four slits which lighted it still exist. The original windows that remain are confined to the upper story. Some have two lights and some only one. They have trefoiled heads, with fully developed cusps, but no hood moulds. Externally, the elevation is divided into three stages by set-offs. The first is a high plinth, close to the ground. This is stepped down where the original doorway was placed. At the level of the upper floor a bold set-off, with a moulding below it, is carried entirely round the building. The most striking feature of the tower is the fine range of corbels which surmounts the walls, having formerly supported the machicolated parapet. The corbels are in three projections, rounded underneath, and are of large size, and all perfect. They are sixty-four in number, one being omitted on the west side where the staircase passes to gain the level of the battlements. They form a striking feature in the building, as their continuity is entirely unbroken by galleries, turrets, or angle bartizans.

The Moot hall was intended to serve a distinct purpose from the gaol, and is therefore built upon another plan with different arrangements. Its construction admirably adapts it for its various functions of gateway, justice hall, and dwelling for the seneschal or bailiff. The ground floor consists of two divisions, one being the covered passage of the gateway ; the other, the northern portion, occupies the remainder of the space, and consists of a chamber, measuring 30 feet 10 inches in length and 20 feet in breadth, covered with a plain segmental barrel vault. There are two doorways into it ; one having a square head leads from the passage, the other on the east side is now blocked up by the later stone steps. It is a good pointed doorway of fair size. There were two windows to light this room, one to the

north, now blocked, is of two lights, with cusped heads; the other is towards the bailey, and is of four lights. The passage has a pointed vault of four-centered form, which is interrupted by the jambs and arches of three gateways, each of two leaves. The two western gates closed the passage on the town side, the eastern one shut it off from the bailey. The crooks on which the gates hung still remain, though the gates themselves are gone. Beyond the outer gateway arch, on either side, a much more lofty arch spans the passage, and carries the outer walls of the gateway portion of the structure, so that the upper floor, which is clear above the passage, is of the T plan, the head of the T lying to the south. These higher portions of the passage are covered with a four-centered vault, of much higher pitch than that in the rest of the passage, and are carried on two moulded ribs. Between the inner rib and the wall surface there is, in each case, a narrow space of the width of the vaulting rib, and as long as the whole span of the arch, open to the floor above. These spaces were used in the same way as the machicolations under the parapets. Above the passage there are two floors in the main building, both of which occupy the whole area, except the ends of the arms of the T. There were, therefore, two halls, 45 feet 9 inches long and 20 feet wide. These are now so completely changed internally by modern additions and alterations that their original arrangements can no longer be made out. Above the ceiling of the upper rooms there are, however, some interesting details left. These consist of the internal arches of the windows, three in number. These arches are of considerable size, and segmental in form, the angles being relieved by the hollow chamfer. The fireplaces were on the east side, where a large chimney breast projects from the wall, and rises to the top of the parapet, but being no longer in use, the chimney which surmounted it has been removed in modern times. At the north end of the side walls of the upper hall, and close to the wall head, are two lengths of a bold cornice in two projections, 8 feet in length, and overstanding the wall surface 15 inches. They have the hollow moulding like other parts of the building, and as the mouldings return into the wall at the south end, they have not extended further in that direction. Their use was probably to carry a platform for balistæ or catapults, the north end of the building being the most advantageous position for placing such engines of war. The chief entrance to the lower hall was no doubt by a stair from the bailey, the predecessor of the more recent stone steps; but as all the doors and windows

in the main hall are modernized, no traces of it remain. There is a newel stair the whole height of the building at the north-east angle of the T. It there rises into a turret above the highest level of the surrounding walls, and forms the crowning feature of the building. The staircase is entered by doors on each floor, and is lighted by six loops facing the bailey. The ends of the arms of the T where they project beyond the main building are each occupied by a series of three rooms of small size. The rooms on the east side have each a window, that of the middle room being of two lights, with cusped heads, and a very flat segmental arch above. Those in the other two rooms are of one light, with trefoiled head. The rooms to the west were of less importance, and the window of the upper one is the only one visible, the others being built up and hidden by the boards forming the face of the old town clock, which still hang to the wall.

The roof is modern, of lead, and nearly flat. The ancient parapet has been taken off the corbels which formed the machicolations, and re-set on the top of the walls. The corbels, therefore, appear isolated as they do in the gaol, and support nothing. They extend all round the main building where it is not flanked by the projections forming the arms of the T, a corbel standing out at each of the northern angles, in a similar position to those at the four angles of the gaol. They occur again on the south wall in the centre of its length, so that the whole of the main building was machicolated. The portions projecting beyond the main building rise above the roof, where they form guard chambers with doors from the roof level. The roofs of the guard chambers and staircase turret are reached by straight flights of stone steps of slight projection, intended only for the use of the garrison.

To assign to each portion of this interesting building its original use is not a difficult matter. The vault on the ground floor was used for stores and general purposes. The lower hall answered for the hall of justice, the dais being at the south end. The hall above constituted the hall of the seneschal, and the room to the east, with the two light window, would be his solar, the dais again being at the south end. The other small rooms were for use as retiring rooms and other purposes. The rooms in the turrets above the roof were guard rooms and store places for arms and ammunition. The kitchen and other offices were within the bailey, and have entirely disappeared since its area has in modern times become densely covered with houses and is intersected by narrow lanes.

Two objects of interest formerly preserved in the gaol are worthy of notice. One of these is an oak beam, which seems to have served as a mantel-piece. It is 6 feet long by 9 inches high, and is covered with letters or inscriptions. Various attempts to decipher the meaning of these inscriptions have been made, but none of them can be considered altogether satisfactory.¹ It is probable that they are the work of some of the prisoners in the tower, and from the nature of the letters they are evidently of considerable antiquity.

The other is the so-called Fenwick salade, which is said to have been worn by Colonel Fenwick at the battle of Marston Moor. A skull was formerly shown along with the salade, which was said to be that of Colonel Fenwick, and a hole in the skull exactly corresponded with the hole in the helmet. Salades of this pattern, however, were not worn at the time of the Commonwealth, but first came into use about the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is not likely that Sir John Fenwick would have worn so old fashioned a helmet, and probably neither the skull nor the salade are in any way connected with him. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle are in possession of a helmet which is said to have belonged to Sir John Fenwick.² The oak beam is now at Dilston castle, and the salade is hung up in the church at Hexham.

HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH.

The town of Hexham³ is situated upon the south bank of the river Tyne, a mile below the place where the streams of the north and south Tyne meet. For a space of some 500 yards back from the river the land is low and flat, but at that distance the ground rises abruptly to a height of about 170 feet above the sea level, where it forms a shelf or terrace, beyond which the ground again slopes upwards to a yet greater height. Upon this terrace Hexham is built, a circumstance which has naturally determined the arrangement of the town, so that when it is approached from the railway station its three most prominent buildings, the square mass of the manor office, the irregularly-shaped donjon of the Moot hall, and the grey weather-beaten tower of the priory, stand out in a line against the sky in a way which is very striking.

¹ Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 111-2; a leaflet issued by Mr. Ralph Carr of Hedgeley, headed 'The Oak Lintel in the Manor Keep, Hexham.'² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, vi. p. 144.

³ Census Returns: 1801, 3,427; 1811, 3,518; 1821, 4,116; 1831, 4,666; 1841, 4,742; 1851, 5,231; 1861, 5,270; 1871, 5,331; 1881, 5,929; 1891, 5,945.



HEATHAM FROM THE NORTHEAST

The spot seems selected by nature to be the site of a town of some importance. Roads from Newcastle, Shotley, Alston, Carlisle, Bellingham, and Jedburgh meet at or near the place, and appear to mark it as a convenient situation for the centre of a large country district. Such considerations probably determined the general position of the town, while the shelf or terrace above referred to decided the original settlers to fix upon the exact spot. Although not a position of great strength, for hills surround it on three sides, yet it was strong enough to preserve its inhabitants from any sudden attack or predatory incursion. Its strongest natural defences lay on the sides from which the approach of an enemy might most probably be expected. The river Tyne, though fordable at several places, is sufficiently deep to impede the progress of an enemy, while the quicksands in its bed made the passage dangerous for all who were not acquainted with the fords. At flood time it was impossible to cross it. Even if it were successfully forded, the sharp acclivity upon which the town is built formed a second line of defence no less strong than the first, while on the west the little Cockshaw burn, running at the foot of the steep bank of the Sele, constituted a barrier of no small strength.

But few prehistoric remains appear to have been found within a mile and a half of Hexham. On the summit of Windmill hill are what appear to be the remains of a small earthen rampart, possibly of British origin. In 1874 a small urn of burnt clay was discovered at the foot of this hill. The vessel is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter,¹ and it probably had been interred with a body, the remains of which had disappeared through decay.

The question whether or not Hexham is on the site of a Roman settlement has not yet been finally decided.² In the absence of any fresh evidence on the subject, it is impossible to do more than to summarise results already obtained.

The most striking fact in connection with this question is the large number of Roman stones that have been found at Hexham. The crypt of the priory church and the manor office are principally made up of them; great numbers are known to exist in the foundations of the church, while

¹ Now in the British Museum.

² The late Dr. Bruce was a most earnest advocate of the Roman occupation of Hexham. See *Arch. Acl.* n.s. v. p. 146, ix. p. 164; *The Roman Wall*, pp. 343-6. The other side of the question is sustained by Mr. Hodges, *Hexham Abbey*, pp. 2-4.

others have been found in various parts of the town. A few of these stones bear inscriptions. One, of great historic interest, still remains in the crypt, at the head of one of the passages. It reads thus :

IMP · CAES · L · SEP · S	Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus
PERTINAX · ET · IMP · CA . .	Pertinax et imperator Caesar
AVR · ANTONINVS	Aurelius Antoninus
VS · ET · P	us et Publius Septimius Geta
. HORTES	Caesar Cohortes et
VEXILLATION · M	Vexillationes
FEC . . . NT · SV . .	Fecerunt sub.

Another inscribed stone was noticed in the crypt by Stukeley and Gale when they visited Hexham in 1725, but this has unfortunately disappeared. In 1864, during the construction of a road between the market place and Battle hill, two Roman altars were discovered, one of which bears the inscription :

A P O L L I N I	Apollini
M A P O N O	Mapono
— T E R E N T I V S	Terentius
. . . . F · O V F	-- filius Oufentina tribu
FIRMVS · SAEN	Firmus Saena
PRAEF · CASTR	praefectus castrorum
LEG · VI · V · P · F	legionis sextae victricis piae fidelis
D · D	donum dat

Some time later, the demolition of some buildings revealed the existence of two other inscribed stones.¹ The legend on one was undecipherable, but the other reads as follows :

I N S T A N T E	Instante
FL · HYGIN	Flavio Hygino
LEG · VI · V	legionis sextae victricis ²

referring also, it will be observed, to the sixth legion.

But the most interesting of these discoveries came to light in 1881, while some excavations were being made in the slype of the church. This is a slab, about 9 feet in height by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, upon which is sculptured the representation of a Roman cavalry soldier, bearing the ensign of his troop, and riding over a naked foe who is crouching beneath. The inscription upon this monumental stone reads as follows :

DIS · MANIBVS · FLAVINVS	Dis manibus. Flavinus
EQ · ALAE · PETR · SIGNIFER	eques alae Petrianæ signifer
TVR · CANDIDI · AN · XXV	turma Candidi, annorum xxv
STIP · VII · H · S.	stipendiorum septem, hic sistus

This find, so interesting in itself, seemed to have gained an additional

¹ In the library of the Dean and Chapter, at Durham.

² This stone is claimed by the historians of Northallerton as having come from that place. *Eph. Epig.* iii. 484.

significance by the almost simultaneous discovery of a milestone on the Roman wall, near Cawfields mile castle, bearing the inscription :

IMP · CAES · M · AVREL
SEVER · ALEXANDRO
PI · FEL · AVG · P · M · TR · P
COS · PP · CVR · CL · XENEPHON
TE · LEG · AVG · PR · PR
[A · PE]T · M · P · XVIII

Imperatore Caesare Marco Aurelio
Severo Alexandro
Pio felice Augusto pontifice maximo tribunicia potestate
Consule, patre patriae, curante Claudio Xenephonte.
Legato Augusti pro praetore.
A Petrianis milia pasuum XVIII.¹

The inscription was deciphered by Dr. Bruce, and attempts were immediately made to identify Petriana with Hexham.² It was pointed out that the milestone was found near, though not actually on, the 'Stane gate' road. By this route, the distance from Cawfields to Hexham is almost exactly eighteen Roman miles. The monument to Flavinus, who belonged to the Petriana regiment, seemed to decide the issue, and it was contended that if Hexham was not the site of Petriana, the only alternative was Castlesteads, a station to the west of the Cawfields milestone. Unfortunately, it is by no means certain that the last line of the inscription on the milestone has been correctly deciphered. Stones referring to the Petriana regiment have been found elsewhere.

Objections of all kinds have been raised against the claims of Hexham. No Roman road can be traced to the town, for the 'Stane gate' referred to above strikes the



ROMAN MONUMENT FOUND IN THE SLYPE.

¹ This stone is now in the south transept of the church at Hexham. The inscriptions of these and other stones at Hexham are given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii., Nos. 480-5, 1345, and *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iii., No. 484, vii., Nos. 995-7, 1115.

² Mr. W. T. Watkin in the *Arch. Journal*, xl. pp. 235-6.

North Tyne three and a half miles north-west of Hexham, and it is only suggested that a cross road may have connected the town with it. In spite of the large number of Roman stones that have been found there, none have been discovered *in situ*; no Roman pottery or coins have ever been discovered there, so far as can be ascertained, and some earthenware pipes dug up in the market place some years ago, though once considered to be of Roman workmanship, may now be confidently identified with the pipes Wilfrid laid to carry water to the priory.¹

The mere presence of Roman stones at Hexham is of itself no argument that the place was once a Roman station. Even so late as the eighteenth century builders sometimes preferred to bring squared stones from a distance rather than incur the trouble of quarrying and squaring them. The Hexham workmen in Saxon and more recent times may well have resorted to this expedient, for in the large station of Corstopitum (Corbridge) they had abundant material very near at hand. That the Roman stones found at Hexham were brought there from Corbridge seems to be confirmed by a discovery made in the summer of 1887. In the bed of the river below Hexham, and on a spot pointed out by tradition as an ancient fording place, were found three Roman stones. It would appear as if a cartload had been accidentally overturned on its way from Corbridge to Hexham, and the stones left in the stream, the workmen preferring to return for a new load rather than incur the labour of raising and reloading them.

Whatever may have been the position of Hexham under the Romans, or earlier, in Saxon times it undoubtedly became a very flourishing town. All the names by which the town has been known in historic times appear to be of Saxon origin. The oldest name of the place seems to have been Hagustald, which is thus given, with only very slight variations in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and is also adopted by both Bede and Eddi in almost precisely the same form, latinized. This is the name most usually employed by Symeon, of Durham, though he also makes use of other forms, two of which, Hestaldesige and Hehstealdesige,² are peculiar to himself. Symeon also is the first to make use of the more modern name, Hextildesham, which he spells Hestaldesham or Extoldesham.³ Hagustald, however, is the name used by Richard, John, and Aelred in the twelfth century, and it is not until the following century that the word Hextildesham begins to be

¹ *Supra*, p. 106, note.

² Rolls series edition, ii. pp. 52, 59.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 114, 198.

freely employed. This was the name that was destined to survive, and the older word, Hagustald, dropped out of use. It is not until the fifteenth century that the abbreviated form, Hexham, is met with, at least in writing.

Of the origin of the word Hextildesham¹ and the other names of the town, many and various opinions have been expressed. Prior Richard says that it was derived from Hestild (Hextild or Hextold), the ancient name of the Cockshaw burn.² Similarly the word Hagustald is said to have come from Halgut, the ancient name of the Cowgarth burn, but even if true this explanation only carries the difficulty one step further back. Much wider of the mark was Camden's conjecture that the name was derived from the Roman station Axelodunum, with which he endeavoured to identify the town. As the terminations -stadt or -ham present no difficulty, conjecture has been principally employed on the first part of the words. Some have attempted to derive these prefixes from the Saxon words *hexta* (highest) and *halig* (holy). It has been suggested that the ancient name of Hagustald was altered to Hextildesham in the twelfth century in honour of Hextilda, the wife of Richard Cumin, a liberal benefactor of the priory. As most names of places ending in -ham and -ton are associated with proper names, it is most probable that if the town is not called after an individual, it perpetuates the name of some clan or family. None of these explanations is altogether satisfactory, and each is open to one or more objections. Perhaps the theory advanced last is the most plausible, though even this does not explain why two or three different names should have been used simultaneously for the same place.

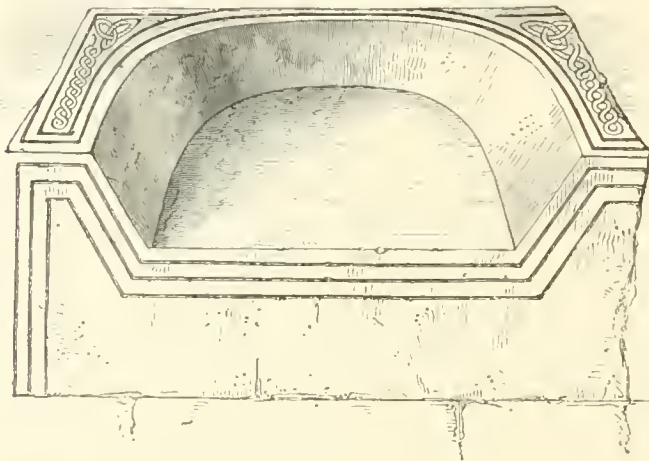
Prior Richard, writing in the twelfth century, states that though in his day Hexham was a town of moderate note, and but sparsely inhabited, yet the ruins which it contained bore witness that it had formerly been both extensive and magnificent.³ It is unlikely that Wilfrid would have chosen an insignificant place as the seat of his new bishopric, and the works which he carried out there must have added greatly to the importance of the

¹ On the origin of the names of the town see *Hexham Priory*, i. pp. 8, 9; Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 9-11; Bates, *Northumberland*, p. 61.

² It is curious that in speaking of the origin of the name of the town Prior Richard only refers to *Hestoldesham*, yet in every other part of his work he uses the more ancient form *Hagustald*. Bk. i. cap. i.

³ 'Villa quaedam, nunc quidam modica, et raro cultore habitata, sed, ut antiquitatis vestigia testantur, quondam ampla et magnifica.' *Ibid.*

town. The privilege of sanctuary granted to the new church would attract inhabitants to the town.¹ For a mile in every direction from the building protection against violence was offered to all comers. The attraction offered by such a privilege cannot be over-estimated, especially as Hexham was one of the earliest places to receive it, and in that wild and exposed



THE FRITHSTOOL.

country the protection would only too frequently be required. The limits of sanctuary were marked by stone crosses. Traces of these are still in existence, though they are not found at what one would imagine to be the proper distance from the church. A considerable fragment of one is still preserved in the union workhouse, about half a mile east of

the priory, a site known in Wright's time as the White Cross fields. At the west end of the town the Maiden Cross fields probably preserve the name and mark the site of the boundary on that side. On the north the cross formerly stood in the river,² but all trace of any such monument on the south side has long since disappeared.

The history of Hexham in Saxon times has already been given in the account of the priory. Many important remains of that time have been found in the town, but nearly all of them are connected more or less intimately with the church. A valuable discovery was made on the 15th of October, 1832, while digging a grave on the western side of the churchyard, when a bronze vessel, shaped like a bucket, was met with. Its dimensions are $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the bottom, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the top. The vessel was filled with bronze coins known as stycas,

¹ *Hexham Priory*, i. pp. 60, 61, note; Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 16, 17. In 1292 this privilege was called in question, but the archbishop pleaded immemorial usage, and, as usual, obtained a verdict in his favour. *Ibid.* p. 145, note.

² The socket of a cross still exists on the Alnwick road, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Hexham. It is said to be the remains of the old sanctuary cross, which was moved to its present situation because in flood time it was completely covered by the water when it stood on the north bank of the river. *Ibid.* p. 17.

struck in the reigns of Eanred, Ethelred, Redulf, Osbercht, and Aella, kings of Northumbria, and during the pontificates of Eanbald, Wigmund, and Wulfhere, archbishops of York. The coins were about nine thousand in number, and though they were at first dispersed through many hands, many of them have found their way into the British Museum, while the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle possesses about a hundred well-selected specimens.¹ It has been conjectured that the coins had been buried to preserve them from the Danes, about the time of Halfdene's invasion in the year 875.

The story of the numerous raids upon Hexham and its neighbourhood has been related in the preceding pages. The town and shire, as well as the church, suffered from the common disaster. Dane and Norman alike destroyed everything that could be destroyed, until, in the eleventh century, the whole district had been almost completely depopulated. When Eilaf Lareow went there in 1080, the land had ceased to be cultivated, and for two years he was forced to support himself and his family by hunting. In the passage quoted above, Prior Richard says that only ruins remained to testify to the former importance of the place, while a story of Aelred tells us that the population was so scanty in his day that one smith sufficed to supply its needs.²

When William the Conqueror harried the north he passed through Hexham, and from the Tweed he again marched to that town (January, 1071), though the purpose of his visit is unknown. Ordericus Vitalis, who relates the event, describes the district as full of lofty hills and deep valleys, which were watered by the snows.³ In 1151 Hexham received another distinguished visitor in the person of Cardinal Paparone, who had landed at Tynemouth with palls for four Scottish bishops. On his arrival at Tynemouth the cardinal sent messengers to King David, asking for a safe conduct, and proceeded himself to Hexham, whither the king's chancellor had been sent to meet him. The cardinal, the chancellor, and an unnamed Irish bishop were all hospitably entertained at the priory before proceeding on their several ways.⁴ It was not until 1202 that the town was called upon to receive another royal visitor, in the person of King John. The king returned again in 1208 and 1212,⁵ but on none of his visits was his

¹ *Arch. Ael.* 4to series, iii. pp. 77-111.

² *De Sanctis*, cap. ix. 'Faber, qui solus civitatis hujus incolis eo tempore artis suae beneficio serviebat.'

³ 'Mense Januario, rex Guillelmus Haugustaldem revertebatur a Teisia, via quae hactenus exercitui erat intentata, qua crebro acutissima juga et vallium humillimae sedes cum vicinia serenitate verna gaudet, nivibus compluuntur.' *Ordericus Vitalis*, lib. iv. sec. 4. Bates, *Border Holds*, p. 427.

⁴ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. p. 326.

⁵ *Hexham Priory*, i. preface, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii., ii. p. 89.

attention directed towards Hexham, as he came in the hope of finding buried treasure at Corbridge; a few charters, dated at Hexham, alone bear witness to John's visits.

The thirteenth century seems to have passed quietly and uneventfully away at Hexham, but it was followed by an almost unexampled period of invasion, slaughter, devastation, and consequent famine. In the year 1296, the Scots began a long series of attacks upon the north of England, and these incursions lasted, with very slight interruptions, until the year 1314. Hexham suffered more than almost any place in the country. It was repeatedly burnt, its sacred buildings desecrated, and its inhabitants ruthlessly slaughtered or driven off to slavery. When the Scots had gone, the royal armies that came to oppose them entered the district, and demanded contributions from the inhabitants for the expenses of the campaign. In this way the miseries of the population were prolonged beyond the period of invasion. Indeed, the people of Hexham had not even seen the last of invasion itself. In 1346 the Scots were once more in Northumberland, and King David spent three days in the town, where he is said to have mustered his troops in the church. As he intended to use Hexham as a victualling place, together with Corbridge, Durham, and Darlington, he gave orders that it should be spared by the soldiers. The influence of the king, however, did not prevent the priory from being sacked and fired, and no doubt many private persons suffered as well as the religious foundation.¹ The battle of Neville's Cross, which took place soon after, finally relieved Hexham from the invaders.

In 1351 it was proposed that Edward, king of England, and Edward Balliol, king of Scotland, should meet at Hexham, at the festival of Easter, to discuss questions relating to the kingdoms of England and Scotland. King Edward issued a proclamation to his sheriffs and officers that Balliol and his followers were to have safe conduct to and from the town.² It is

¹ *Lanercost Chron.* p. 346.

² 'Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, majoribus ballivis ministris, etc., tam infra libertates quam extra, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod cum inter quosdam fideles nostros ex parte nostra apud Hextildesham, in proximo post festum Paschae proximo futurum, et quosdam alios de Scotia super aliquibus regna Angliae et Scotie specialiter tangentibus, sit tractandum, ac dilectus consanguineus et fidelis noster, magnificus princeps, Edwardus Rex Scotiae, ad dictam villam de Hextildesham, ex dicta causa ut accepimus sit venturus. Nos volentes securitati ipsius regni et suorum, si ad dictum tractatum venire voluerint, providere suscepimus ipsum regem, homines, equos, etc., veniendo apud eandem villam de Hextildesham, ibidem morando et exinde redeundo, in protectionem et defensionem nostram specialem, necnon in saluum et securum conductum nostrum, etc.' *Rymer (Record edit.)*, III. i. 215.

doubtful if the interview ever took place, but it is at least a tribute to the importance of Hexham as a Border town, that it should have been selected as the meeting place of the two sovereigns.

After this event, nothing is known of the history of Hexham for nearly 120 years. When it is next mentioned, we have passed from the prosperous and victorious reign of Edward III. to the troubled and lawless time of the Wars of the Roses. The so-called battle of Hexham took place about two miles from the town, and not in the parish of Hexham, the actual scene of light being on the right bank of the Devil's Water. However, the battle took place sufficiently near to Hexham to cause a considerable stir in the town, and when the fight was over the victorious Yorkists entered its gates in triumph. Almost immediately afterwards, on the 15th of May, 1464, the duke of Somerset, the foremost of the Lancastrian prisoners, was beheaded, and on the same day the inhabitants of Hexham also witnessed the execution of four of the duke's partisans, Sir Edmund Fitzhugh, knight, Bradshaw, Walter Hunt, and Black Jack.¹

Although the accession of the house of Tudor restored tranquility to the greater part of the kingdom, Hexhamshire remained in a state of disorder, of which the borough was the centre. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the town on market days was not a safe place of resort. Thieves robbed people there in the light of day, and though their proceedings were perfectly open, yet no one dared to protest against them.² Border raids and forays were still frequent, and in November, 1527, a band of outlaws, one hundred in number, among whom were several members of the Fenwick, Shaftoe, and Ogle clans, descended upon Hexham, and carried off twenty-four prisoners, tenants of the king.³ During the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, Hexham was the centre of disaffection in the north, and it was in the priory that Sir Thomas Percy is said to have summoned the men of Tynedale to his side.⁴ Even before the dissolution of the monasteries the government had felt ill assured of the feelings of the men of the franchises, and dreaded lest their religious sympathies should

¹ 'Quinto decimo die mensis Maii apud Exham decapitati sunt Dux Somersett, Edmundus Fitzhugh, miles, Bradshaw, Wauter Hunt, Black Jakes.' *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc., p. 179. It seems doubtful, however, whether the last four were really beheaded at Hexham, as another chronicle of the same period states that 'Sir Edmond Fyssh, knyght, Bradshawe, Rawlyne Honte, and Blacke Jackett were beheded at Yorke the xv day of May.' *Rymer* (Record edit.), III. i. p. 79.

² See the letter of the bishop of Carlisle, *supra*, p. 47.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Brewer, iv. No. 3552.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 52.

triumph over their loyalty. On September 15th, 1535, the duke of Norfolk wrote to the king informing him that he had been to Hexham, accompanied by 'the most substantial persons of Northumberland,' and had there taken bonds of all the heads-men of Tynedale for the delivery of offenders.¹ He hoped, no doubt, that by this means he had secured the pacification of the district. The events of the succeeding months proved how far he had miscalculated.

A similar attempt to ensure the quiet of the district seems to have been made soon after the Pilgrimage of Grace had been suppressed. In 1537, Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe of Dilston was at Hexham, and took oaths of allegiance from the 'spoilers' of Tynedale. Edward and Cuthbert Charlton were among those who submitted, though they did so, apparently, with a bad grace. The former, however, offered to leave his son Edward, a boy only thirteen years of age, behind him as a hostage.² The inhabitants of Tynedale, objecting to their oppressors escaping thus easily, sent to Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe protesting against what had been done. At this juncture the outlaws seem to have played into the hands of their enemies, for when Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, Leonard Dacre, and others who were charged with the government of Tynedale, met at Hexham in 1538, it was discovered that many of the 'spoilers' had refused to submit, and bills were accordingly filed against them.³

It may be inferred from what has been above related that, during the sixteenth century at least, Hexham was regarded, not only as the chief town in the regality of Hexhamshire, but as the centre of a large district, which included Tynedale;⁴ in fact, it was practically the capital of the whole of south-west Northumberland. In 1552, indeed, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, appears to have thought the town a suitable place for the headquarters of the lord warden of the Middle Marches. A closer examination, however, convinced him that Hexham was not adapted for such a purpose, as it contained no sufficient residence, and no ordnance 'for the repression of rebels' could be kept there; and accordingly Alnwick was selected as the more suitable and convenient place.⁵

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII. ed. Gairdner, ix. No. 371.

² *Ibid.* xii. pt. ii. No. 280.

³ *Ibid.* xiii. pt. i. No. 635.

⁴ Hexham was the market town of South Tynedale, as well as of Hexhamshire.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, addenda, Edward VI. iv. No. 8. Letter of the duke of Northumberland to his son-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney.

Seven years later, Henry Percy, the seventh earl of Northumberland, came to a different conclusion on this subject. In 1559 he was desirous that his brother-in-law, Slingsby, who had been appointed keeper of Tynedale, should live at Hexham, in the residence that had been formed out of the old priory buildings by Sir Reynold Carnaby. This house, known as the 'Abbey,' was by far the most commodious in the town; but it was already in the occupation of Sir Reynold's widow, Lady Dorothy Carnaby, who was living there with one of her daughters. The earl none the less persisted in his demand, and was so far fortunate that he obtained a letter from Queen Elizabeth requesting Lady Carnaby to give up her house in favour of Mr. Slingsby. This request, in spite of the source from whence it came, was immediately refused by Lady Carnaby, who owned no other suitable residence besides the 'Abbey,' and who did not wish to be put to the inconvenience of entertaining a stranger and all the following the keeper of Tynedale would necessarily bring with him. Fortunately for her she found a ready and efficient supporter in Sir Ralph Sadler, to whom the queen's letter of request had been originally directed. The earl of Northumberland was a Roman Catholic, and being suspected of favouring the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, was viewed with disfavour at court. Sadler, on the other hand, was a warm friend and faithful servant of the government, and he may have been glad of the opportunity of entering upon a struggle with the chief of the Percies, when everything seemed to promise him the ultimate victory. Whatever circumstances may have induced Sadler to take up Lady Carnaby's cause, he espoused it with zeal, and was speedily engaged in a voluminous and lively correspondence with the earl. As this interchange of letters did not appear to advance the matter very much, he finally wrote to Cecil detailing the circumstances of the case from his own standpoint and asking for a decision upon the matter:

Sir Ralph Sadler to Mr. Secretary Cecil.

Sir, Amongst my lettres and instructions whiche I receyved from you by Mr. Raylton after my departure from the courte, there was one lettre addressed from the quenes majestie to the Lady Carnabie, and by myn instructions I perceyved that it was to borowe her house at Hexham for the keper of Tyndale, and that I might use my discrecion therein as I shoulde see cause. If I had then conferred with you upon the same, I coulde have declared unto you that Hexham is no apte ne mete place for the service of the keper of Tyndale. Nor in my tyme I am sure there never lay any such in Hexham saving only Sir Reynolde Carnaby, who had lever lye in his owne house, though it were not the metest place for the service, then seke any others. But undoubtedly the most apte and convenyent placis for that purpose on all the frontiers are Haughton, Langley, or Chipehace, in one of which iij placis men of service have alwayes been placed, and specially for the well executing of that office of Tyndale. Never-

theless, I have lerned syns my comyng hither, that Mr. Slingsbie, brother to my lord of Northumberland by maryage of his sister, being keper of Tyndale, and by all lykelihood seking rather his own ease and commodyte then the service of the quenes majestie, and the stay and quyetness of the countrey, hath a gret desyre to lye in Hexham, wher indede he hath lyen for the most parte this xij moneth, ever syns he had thoffice, in a hous, which, if he woll neds lye in Hexham, may serve him as well now as it hathe don before; and if he be wery of that house, yet is there in Hexham ij towers of the quenes majesties, which, as I am credibly informed, with thexpens of xx^{li} to make a litle reparacion, woll serve as good a man as Mr. Slingsbie is; but for his more ease and comodyte, he must neds have my ladie Carnabie's house, because it is the fayrest house in the towne; and well he can be content that she, being a powre wydowe, and her daughter also a poure wydowe, and one of the heyres of the house, having none other place to bestowe themselffs in and theyr famylye, shoulde seke a new dwelling to give place to him, his wyf, and his famylye, as you know it is reason, and all uppon pretence that it is for the better service of the quenes majestie, which I assure you is mere contrary. In this matier my lord of Northumberland is very earnest for his saide brother, and hath wrytten therein to my Ladie Carnabye in suche sorte, as when I compare the quenes majesties lettres and his together, being bothe wrytten to the said lady for one matier, I fynde a grete difference betwixt them; thone conteyning a gentill request to her that she woll condescende to let the keper of Tyndale have the use of her house for the better discharge of his office, the same being mete for the purpose; thother conteyning an imperious commandement and straight charge, uppon payne of contempt and disobedyence, that she woll suffer the saide keper to be placed in her house for the better service as is aforesaide. As though his auctoryte did extende so farre as he may do wrong to whom he lysteth. I speke not this uppon informacion; for I have his lettres to shew, the lyke whereof I have not sene wrytten in such a case by any subject. The poure gentilwoman, that cannot spare her house because she hath no mo, hath had moche ado to kepe it from my lord and his brother. And therefore when I had well understood the matier, I wrote my poure mynde to my lord thereon, and in the same declared to him what commission I had, with also myn opynyon toching thaptenes of the place, and desyred that it might please his lord to stay in it till I might speke with him. Whereuppon, he perceyving that I lyked not his proceedings therein, and that I semed to be against his opynyon for the convenyence of the place, he wrote to me very earnestly agayn, amongst other things, that he wolde not bere such contempt and dispite as was offered unto him in that parte by the Lady Carnaby and her frends, whills the auctoritie was in his hande, with other fond matier, which is not worth the rehersall. And now I here say that he intendeth to sende up his saide brother Slingsbie, or som other, cyther to complayne, wherein I think he woll make some untrew suggestion, or ells to make menes and sute to the lordes of the counsaile to disturbe the poure gentilwoman in her house. I assure you, without any good grounde, or cause reasonable. Wherefore I have thought mete to advertise you of that I know therein. And if any complaynt or sute be made there by the said Slingsby, or any other, if it may please you to retourne the matier hither by commission or lettres direct to therle of Northumberland, Sir James Croft, and me, or such others as you shall thinke mete, giving charge unto them to examyn the circumstances of it, and to call before them the most experte and wise gentlemen of the countrey, and by them to lerne, which be the most mete placis for the service of the keper of Tyndale; then shall you know whether the saide keper seke my Lady Carnabye's house for his own commodyte, or for the well executing of his office. Att the least, I make a certen accompte that you woll not give credite to thone partie till you have harde thother.¹

The earl of Northumberland seems to have followed Sadler's example, for he also wrote a letter to the council explaining his side of the question. After a very short deliberation (Sir Ralph Sadler wrote on the 12th of September, 1559, and the answer was dated the 25th of the same month), the lords of the council replied as follows :

¹ *Sadler State Papers*, i. 441.

The lordes of the counsaile to therle of Northumberland and Sir Rafe Sadler.

After our very hartie commendacions to your good lordshipe. We have resayd your lettres of the fourte of this present, and hard suche instructions as you sent by Mr. Slingsbie, your brother-in-lawe, for answere whereunto you shall understand as followith: first, wher your lordship wryteth that the Lady Carnabie hath refused the livyng of hyr house at Hexham to the keper of Tyndale, notwithstanding the quenis majesties lettres addressyd unto hyr, and your lordships perswaysons; we havynge sythens consydered both how farre hyr house is from thenymie, and the frountiers, and thereby the more unmete to serve for thys purpose; and also that she, beyng a widow, and havynge hyr daughter, also a widowe, with hyr, cannot convenyently, for sundrye respectes, spare any parte of hyr howse, do wysse that your lordship had fownd owte some more fyttre place for the sayd offyccer, consydering that the same myght have bene done withoute offence or hurt to others, and serve to as good or better purpose then we persave the howse of the Lady Carnabie can do; and yett, nevertheles, for that your lordship hayth already enterryd into thys matter, and therfor your credyt, as well in respecte of your owne estate as of thauctoryte of your offyccer under the quenis majestie, is to be maynteynd, we have thought good that your lordships former resolucion for the placynge of the keper of Tyndale ther, shall take effecte in thys sorte; that he shall remayne there xiiij or xx dayes at the most, exceptyd the sayd Lady Carnabie can be enduced to agre to hys abode ther for longer tyme; and at thend of the sayd xiiij or xx dayes, yf she shall not otherwyse agre, to be removed from thens to some other place, and that to be done with your behalf, or your said brothers, in a kynde of gratyfied the sayd lady. And because the sayd offyccer of Tyndale shuld not in thys sorte contynue destitute of a convenyent place of abode, nor the quenis majestie thus drevyn for theyr serveyse, to borow the howses of others, we pray your lordship, and you, Mr. Sadler, that takynge the advysses of some discrete persones of that countre, ye wyll consyder whether therbe any fyttre place of the quenis majesties ther, that may, with some cost, be mayd mete for that purpose, or yf any others have ther any such howses, as hyr majestie may compownde with them for the same, either by purchase or exchange. And here we have thought mete to put you in remembrance of Tarsett hall, belonging to the Lord Bowrows, and Hawgston, belonging to Sir John Wetheryngton, beyng thought mete places to serve thys torne, whyche we pray you to consyder, and to syngnifie your opynions unto us touchinge the same, or touchinge any other that shalbe thought more mete, either by your lettres or at the coming up of you therle, etc.

From Hampton court, the 25 September, 1559.¹

Although the council had apparently arranged a compromise, success rested with Sir Ralph Sadler and Lady Carnaby, whose proceedings had been completely justified throughout. No one felt this so keenly as Slingsby, who almost immediately resigned his office of keeper of Tyndedale. The earl himself only held his office of lord warden of the Middle Marches for a few months longer, and in the following year he tendered his resignation.²

Nine years after these events Hexham became, for a short time, the centre of an important struggle. The dissatisfaction with which the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland viewed the proceedings of the Protestant government of Elizabeth, and more especially the treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots, induced them, in 1569, to break out into open revolt. After having gained unexpected successes at the outset of their undertaking, they most unwisely abandoned an actively offensive attitude, and awaited the attack of the enemy. This inaction not only gave the government time to collect its

¹ *Sadler State Papers*, i. 489.
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² Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. p. 13.

forces, but also discouraged the more ardent and enterprising among the rebels, many of whom, declining to associate themselves any longer with a movement which they perceived was foredoomed to failure, returned to their homes.

In the meantime the earl of Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler, having collected a considerable force in the Midlands, were marching northwards to meet the earls and their forces, while Sir John Forster, the lord warden of the Middle Marches, displayed great activity, and threatened to cut off the rebels from their base of operations. On the 8th of December Forster came to Hexham, and assembling a force of a thousand horse from the men residing in his wardenry, withdrew to Newcastle.¹ A few days after his departure the earls entered Hexham. Owing to their fatal inaction during the preceding month retreat had become imperative, and Hexham was only a halting place in their march towards Alnwick, where they hoped to make their final resistance. They had only a small number of horse, for their infantry had dispersed or been dismissed, but at Hexham they were joined by some fresh recruits, and this circumstance probably induced them to remain in the town longer than they would otherwise have done. During this short respite the countess of Northumberland hid the greater part of the Percy plate in the neighbourhood of the town.²

It was not long before dangers began to gather round the fugitives. On Sunday, the 18th of December, the royal forces under the earl of Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler reached Durham, and the earl of Sussex wrote to Cecil that he intended to press on to Hexham before sunrise on the next day, to meet the enemy, adding, 'I will remove them of ther lodgyng or make them paye derly for it, and so wyll followe ther fotesteppes, whersoever they flye, over hylles, wastes, or waters, untell I have ether geven them the overthrow or put them owte of the realme.'³ At the same time Sir John Forster was hanging on the rear of the rebels, and threatened to obstruct their march northwards. But in spite of these difficulties the earls resolved to set out from Hexham at once, and on the same Sunday that the royalist forces reached Durham they left the town with 1,500 men, intending to push on to Alnwick. They had not marched more than six miles before their scouts

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, addenda*, xv. 101. Letter of Sir Valentine Brown to the council. ² *Ibid.* xxi. 63, sec. 10. Examination of the earl of Northumberland, June 24th, 1572.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, addenda*, xv. 109.

fell in with those of Sir John Forster, and after a brisk skirmish the earls decided to retreat to Hexham. The next day, however, they made another attempt to leave the town, and this time they seem to have escaped unmolested by the lord warden. Sussex, with his 1,500 men, instead of pushing on to Hexham as he had proposed, marched, on Monday the 19th, to Newcastle, apparently with the intention of intercepting the retreat of the rebels upon Alnwick. When he reached Newcastle, however, he received the news of Sir John Forster's success on the previous day. He was thus assured of the presence of a royalist force on the flank of the retreating army, and, returning to his original plan, he proceeded on the following day (Tuesday, the 20th) to Hexham, which the rebel forces had only recently evacuated. The royal army resolved to abandon the pursuit for the moment, and to remain in the town for a few days. The winter was one of unusual severity, and both men and horses had suffered severely from the previous forced marches. It was felt moreover that the enemy must sooner or later fall an easy prey into their hands. The turn of events was even better than they had anticipated. Sir John Forster entered Alnwick and captured the castle before the rebels could get there. Nothing, therefore, remained for the earls but to disband their forces and flee into Scotland. The rebellion of 1569 was virtually at an end.

Retribution followed swiftly on the track of the offenders. Sir John Forster was appointed to carry out the execution of rebels in Bywell lordship, Hexhamshire, and Northumberland. He reached Hexham on the 31st of December, 1569,¹ but it is uncertain how long he remained there, or how many persons suffered for their treason.

The rebellion had not been entirely stamped out even at that time. Leonard Dacre, who had been a lukewarm partisan when the rebellion was at its height, had openly declared his hostility to the government now that the earls were helpless fugitives. Throwing himself into Naworth castle with an army of 3,000 men, he for some time bade defiance to the royal forces. In February, 1570, Lord Hunsdon was sent from Berwick to attack him, and on the 18th of the same month the royal forces halted at Hexham on their way to Naworth. On the following morning the march was continued, and the same day witnessed the complete rout of the rebels. Dacre fled in haste to Liddesdale, while Lord Hunsdon took possession of Naworth.²

¹ Sharpe, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, pp. 126, 187.

² *Ibid.* pp. 218, 219.

The history of Hexham, though usually a blank in times of peace, became eventful whenever a war or a rebellion chanced to break out. Although there was a long interval of apparent quiet after the rebellion of 1569, the defence of the town became a matter for serious consideration in 1639, when the quarrel between King Charles I. and his Scottish subjects threatened to develop into civil war. It was anticipated that the Scots would invade the country, and the government was anxious, if possible, to prevent them from crossing the Tyne. The greatest care was therefore taken to see that the bridges and fords of that river should be well guarded. On the 1st of January, 1640, Captain Charles Lloyd was at Hexham, where he inspected the town and its fortifications. The same day he drew up a report and sent it to secretary Windebank. Its tenour is as follows:

I have followed your command. I inspected Hexham, which, in regard of its circuit, will be equal to Berwick, and being overlooked by hills, and lying half a mile from the water, which is fordable almost at any time, I think it not worth the charge [of fortifying]; besides, it stands in a place where no carriages can come or go to the borders. There are two towers, defensible enough, on the south side, overlooking the town and river, in which 150 musketeers might be placed to defend the town from incursions, for an army cannot march that way without great difficulty; but ordnance I would not trust in them.¹

Captain Lloyd was soon followed by another officer who came on a similar errand. About a month later Sir Michael Ernle came to Hexham to inspect the fortifications, and wrote advising the government to put a small garrison in the town for the purpose of guarding the ford over the Tyne:

We conceive that 100 men at the least were very necessary at Hexham, and I suppose that one company of the dragoons, which I conceive to be now in the king's pay, may supply that place; two squadrons of the company may be in the bigger tower, and the third in the lesser, and if it be not convenient that one particular company should remain constantly there, they may be relieved as their commander in chief shall think fit.²

Windebank replied that Ernle and Lloyd should consult together as to the best means of placing a garrison of 150 men in Hexham,³ and subsequently the king suggested that the town should be additionally fortified with a slight musket-proof breastwork.⁴ Ernle and Lloyd appear to have ultimately agreed to send a troop of horse under Sir John Fenwick to garrison the town. This force, however, did not even consist of 150 men, the number originally selected, for by a return made in August of the same year, Sir John Fenwick stated that he had with him no more than 10 officers and 60 horsemen.⁵

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.* ccccxli. 3.

² *Ibid.* ccccxliii. 19.

³ *Ibid.* ccccxlii. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.* ccccxliv. 25.

⁵ *Ibid.* ccccxliii. 42.

In August, 1640, the impression that the revolted Scots would attempt to cross the Tyne at Hexham seems to have been widely current. Lord Conyers, in a letter to Lord Conway, expresses his belief that they will do so,¹ and the latter, writing before he could have received Lord Conyers' letter, suggests to Sir Henry Vane the advisability of massing the whole of the English cavalry at Hexham, as it was important that the advance of the Scots should be arrested at the river Tyne.² All these conjectures, however, proved fallacious; as is well known, the battle which actually took place between the royal forces and the rebels was fought at Newburn, where the Scots effected a crossing.

During the civil wars Hexham does not appear to have suffered to any appreciable extent. The Borough Books and other records show that the government of the town and its business were being carried on as they formerly had been. Yet the town did not altogether escape unharmed in the struggle.

Early in 1644 a party of Royalist cavalry were stationed at Hexham, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. On February 19th Langdale attacked the Parliamentary forces quartered near Corbridge. After a brisk engagement the Roundheads drew off, leaving their adversaries in possession of the field. Major Agnew, of the Parliamentary army, was taken prisoner in this encounter, and carried off to Hexham, where he was lodged in the Abbey, and courteously entertained by Col. Fenwick, the owner. The even balance between the opposing armies in this district was disturbed on February 23rd, when the Scotch army reached the Tyne, and took up its quarters along the riverside between Ovingham and Corbridge. Before these superior forces the Royalists retired, leaving Major Agnew behind as a safeguard to the house of Colonel Fenwick.³ The Scots remained for some time on the banks of the Tyne, and Hexham, amongst other places, was called upon to contribute towards their support. Accounts exist of assessments taken at Hexham for this purpose on the 17th of March, and the 20th of August.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. cccclxiv. 90.

² *Ibid.* 84. Both letters are dated 24th August, 1640.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1644, vol. di. No. 13. *Tanner MSS.* lxiv. 570. *Proceedings of the Scottish Army*, 21st March, 1644 (Richardson Reprints).

An accompt of the constables given in to burrow jury at the head court holden at Hexham on the 8th October, 1644.¹

	£	s.	d.
An assessment laid on the 17th March, 1643, of £11, whereof received	6	7	8
Markett Steed ward: And disbursed to Jn. Salmon, 15s. 6d.; Wm. Thompson, 14s. 10d.; William Smith, thelder, 47s. 4d.; Tho. Fenwicke, 20s.; Wm. Johnson, 10s.; Robert Hutchinson, 20s.; concerning their severall horses the said sume of	6	7	8
Remains unpaide of the aforesaid assessment: In the hands of John Carr, 4s.; Wm. Todd, 5s. 4d.; Howgh Sparke, 16d.; Tho. Gibson, thelder, 2s. 8d.; Tho. Gibson, jun., 2s. 8d.; Rob. Fenwick, 10s.; John Hutchinson, 8d.; Jn. Younger, 2s.; Tho. Browne, 2s.; Geo. Hutchinson, 16d.; Wm. Heslopp, 20s.; Elsa Heron, 8s.; Wm. Gibson, 8s. 6d.; Tho. Elwood, 2s. 8d.; Edw. Terry, 6s.; Jane Parker, 2s. 8d.; Arth. Hobkirke, 2s.; Mary Robson, 2s.; in all	4	12	0
An assessment laid on ye 20th of August, 1644, of	5	10	0

Concerning horses for Col. Welden.

Whereof received and disbursed to my sesse for one horse, iii ^{li} vi ^s viii ^d ; for a bridle, crippe, and garth, xiii ^{li} ; to James Olliver, xv ^s ; to Wm. Rowland, ix ^s ix ^d ; in all	5	2	0
Remains unpaid of the said assessment: In the hands of Jn. Carr, ii ^s ; Tho. Browne, i ^s ; Chas. Armstrong, viii ^{li} ; Nich. Currey, viii ^{li} ; Richard Drowey, vi ^{li} ; Jane Parker, i ^s ; Arch. Hobkirke, i ^s ; Gilbert Thompson, ii ^s vi ^d	0	8	0
Also disbursed by me for and on the behalfe of the said towne of Hexham to ye English and Scottish army in severall particulers, as by my note appeareth over and beside my receits and disbursements aforesaid	3	7	0
Matthew ffarllam (constable).			

Then follow similar assessments for each of the other wards.

Moreover the aforesaid constables doe stand engaged unto severall persons within the towne of Hexham for a meddow close, iiiii^{li}; for flesh, bread, and beare, sent unto the Scottish army at Corbridge on the behalfe of the said towne the sume of iiiii^{li} xvi^s; in all ... 8 16 0

The accounts of the remaining three wards of the borough, Hencotes, Priestpoppole, and Gilligate, are so much torn that it is impossible to reproduce them. From the fragments which still remain it is clear that these assessments were much the same as those for the Market steed ward given above, with the exception, of course, of the names of the contributors.

An interesting account of Hexham in the seventeenth century is given by 'three Norwich soldiers' who visited the town in 1634:

And now when wee had thought that dangers were pass'd, wee met a gulfe too, at the entrance unto Hexam over the rapid river Tyne, where, for want of a boat or bridge, we were enforc'd in the vale of night to passe a swift, deepe streame, over high great stumbling stones, in such danger both to o^r horse and to o^r selves, as we had not fortuneately happen'd on a guide that knew the foording place well, we had there ended o^r travells.

Well, over we got in safety, thanks to o^r guide, and although wee found this towne but small and the inhabitants poore, yet was there in it two fayre towers, w^{ch} were built as well there as in other places of these wild countryes, to defend them against the Scots. Sure this towne hath bene of greater note and receipt, for in her is a large cathedral like church, much defac'd and decay'd, and now unseamly kept. Here in this place there sometimes rested the bones of St. Cuthbert, brought hither from Holy Island,

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1644.

neere Berwicke, and where sat six bishops in succession before the translation of the sayd saint's bones to Durham. In this church there are some old monuments of note, one of a duke that was slaine in a battell against the Scotts. Neere adjoining to it is a fayre and handsome abbey, wherein liveth a noble knight (Sir John Fenwicke), that giveth free entertainment. And to say something of o' inne, wee were as well accomodated wth cheape and good fare, sweet lodging, and kind usages, as travellers would desire.¹

During the short struggle of 1648, known as the second civil war, Hexham was temporarily occupied by the Parliamentary forces on their way to attack the Royalists. The stay of the troops was short, and they soon after proceeded by Chollerford northwards to meet the foe.

After the Restoration Hexham suffered from an experience hardly less terrible than that of war. The Borough Book of 1663 refers to fires which devastated whole streets, and through which many families were utterly ruined.² The reference is vague, and unfortunately there exists no record of any particular fire, nor is there any information as to the exact extent of the damage done. The Session Book of the parish of Hutton, in Berwickshire, contains a curious record bearing upon this subject under the date February 22nd, 1663. The entry runs thus: 'Given to ane Walter Drummond, who had great losses by burning at Hexim, 12sh.'³ The recurrence of the date 1663 probably fixes the time about which the most destructive of these fires took place. The disaster was attributed to the careless use of bakehouses or malt kilns, and the borough jury issued orders for the better regulation of these places in the future.

As might be expected, the rebellion of 1715 brought Hexham once more into prominence. The Jacobite movement of that year was started in Northumberland by Thomas Forster, one of the representatives of the county, who persuaded the earl of Derwentwater, and several of the country gentlemen to join him. Their force, which soon grew to a considerable size, assembled at Morpeth, whence they proposed to make a descent upon Newcastle. This scheme, however, was not carried out, and the rebels marched instead to Hexham, where they had a great number of friends, and from which they hoped they might, with better advantage make an attempt to capture Newcastle. While at Hexham they were joined by a party of Scotch horse, and it was confidently expected that Sir William Blackett

¹ *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties in 1634.*

² 'There hath most lamentable and sad experience happened to many inhabitants of this town by that fearefull judgement of fire, diverse tymes to the utter ruine and undoing of many famillies; and to the devastating of whole streets with all their goods and subsistance.' *Hexham Manor Rolls, Borough Book, 1663.*

³ *Proc. Berw. Nat. Club, 1873-75, p. 224.*

would also join them. But the cautious baronet was being closely watched to Wallington by the sheriff's officers, and perhaps his prudence overcame any desire he may have had of rising against the government.

Although they had not received all the support they expected, the rebels would probably have marched upon Newcastle at once had they not been informed that owing to the energy and vigilance of the magistrates the town was in a condition to defend itself. They therefore employed themselves by seizing all the arms and horses that they could find in Hexham, especially such as belonged to good subjects of King George. The curate having declined to read prayers in the name of James III., this office was performed by Mr. Buxton, the chaplain of Mr. Forster's troop. At last the news arrived that a body of Scottish troops had reached Rothbury. On the night of October the 18th the rebels assembled in the market place, and there proclaimed the Pretender as King James III., fixing the proclamation to the market cross. On the following day they left the town to join their friends at Rothbury. For several days after their departure the proclamation remained untouched, a circumstance that was attributed to the fact that the bailiff and clerk, as well as the lord of the manor, were Jacobites in their sympathies.¹

No army again approached Hexham during the few weeks that the rebellion lasted. No sooner was it crushed, however, than a number of informers were ready to bear testimony against those who had shown any sympathy with the movement. For the next few years the records of the Quarter Sessions are full of such accusations, which are, for the most part, of a very trifling character. One example will suffice to show their nature :

Informacion of Thomas Leadbitter of Hexham. Saith that on or about the 22nd day of October instant he, this informant, heard Benjamin Cook, a reputed papist, say 'Away with Hanover; the devill in hell fetch them all.' And that the next day he, this informant, standing in his father's door & seeing the said Cook comeing past he reproved him for speaking the above mencioned words, upon which the s^d Cook said 'God bless King James,' meaning, as this informant believes, the Pretender, and saith it is credibly reported that the s^d Cook was actually in the late rebellion.²

The feeling between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Hexham about this time was evidently very strong. On September 16th, 1718, there took place in the town a somewhat serious riot, which might perhaps be classed with any other pot-house brawl were it not for the rank and religion of the principal offenders. These were Dr. Edward Charlton of Walwick

¹ Patten, *History of the Rebellion in 1715*, pp. 16-26.

² *Sessions Records*, 1719.

Grange, and Jasper Gibson, members of two of the most prominent Roman Catholic families in the district. Popular feeling was evidently strongly on the side of the defeated party, and when the magistrates issued warrants for the apprehension of Charlton and Gibson, Edward Walker, petty constable of Newbrough, refused to execute it, and it was even believed that he had given warning to the accused, which had enabled them to make good their escape.¹

The rebellion of 1745 did not have the same effect in Hexham as the rising of 1715. The chief reason for this was that the royal army took possession of Newcastle and the east coast, while the Pretender's forces chose the western side of England. The rebellion broke out in September, and in the same month a list was taken of all persons who were suspected of sympathy with the house of Stuart. By this means a considerable check was placed upon those who were disaffected towards the government. The list, it will be noted, in spite of the reputation of Hexham for Jacobitism, contains only forty-five names :

Papists, reputed papists, and non-jurors in Hexham borough, September, 1745.

Thomas Jefferson, tanner.	Joshua Cook, skinner.	Richard Ellis, gentleman.
Robert Jefferson, shoemaker.	Jas. Gray, tailor.	Robert Allgood.
John Brown, weaver.	Philip Jefferson, surgeon.	John Fairlam, jun.
Robert Wilson, weaver.	Thos. Kirsopp, surgeon.	Edw. Brown, skinner.
John Jefferson, hatter.	John Errington, mason.	John Brown, breeches maker.
Cuthbert Weir, woodman.	Wm. Hutchinson.	John Swinburn, clockmaker.
Mr. Chaunterell.	Nicholas Machin.	Edw. Wilson, shoemaker.
Geo. Leadbitter, tanner.	Geo. Studholme, butcher.	Cuthbert Swinburn, sen., taylor.
Ralph Leadbitter.	Thos. Taylor, sen., taylor.	Wm. Swinburn, taylor.
Wm. Ridley, shoemaker.	Edw. Taylor, staymaker.	Cuthbert Swinburn, jun., taylor.
Christopher Dickinson.	Thos. Taylor, jun., taylor.	Peter Higginsbotham, innkeeper.
Edw. Charlton.	John Ridley, gentleman.	Geo. Rowland, taylor.
Esquire Hardwick.	Robert Rymer, merchant.	Bartholemew Allgood, merchant.
John Thompson, wigmaker.	Wm. Ridley, taylor.	Thos. Grey, smith.
Mr. Thompson.	Stephen Ridley, taylor.	Robert Wilson, merchant. ²

On November 16th General Wade reached Hexham from Newcastle, having a portion of the royal army with him. His intention was to prevent Carlisle from falling into the hands of the enemy. But before he left Hexham the news arrived that Carlisle had already opened its gates to the Pretender, and Wade at once returned to Newcastle.³ The war did not again approach Hexham until January, 1746. The army of the duke of Cumberland was at that time pressing northwards in pursuit of the rebels.

¹ *Sessions Records*, Michaelmas, 1718.

² *Ibid.* *sub anno*.

³ Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*, ii. 528 n.

On the 4th of the month Cobham's dragoons passed through Hexham on their march to Edinburgh by way of Morpeth.¹

An Act for the division of Hexham East and West common was passed on the 3rd of May, 1755. The amount of land to be divided was 4,150 acres 2 roods 13 poles. Of this one-sixteenth was set apart as the share of Sir Walter Blackett, the lord of the manor. The remaining claimants were classified in three divisions, freeholders, copyholders of Hexham, and copyholders of Anick Grange. Value for value, house property only received half the acreage that was allotted to land. Provision was made for eleven high roads, and for twenty-three smaller ways.² The following contemporary account of the enclosure (and of some other matters) is of interest :

I can tell you a notable piece of husbandry at this juncture, executing by the inhabitants of Hexam town. 4,000 acres of waste lands are divided among them as their own property ; the act of Parliament, eight commissioners at a guinea a day, and all expences, cost £2,000; and before these commissioners thought fit to finish the division our industrious neighbours had sown and inclosed several hundred acres, all with quick set hedges. Provisions are of various prices, according to the season of the year: beef, mutton, lamb, from 2d. to 3½d.; pork generally, 2½d.; a goose, 12d., at the latter end of harvest, and 2s. or 2s. 6d. at Christmas; chickens, 3d., generally; a hen, 6d.; and five eggs a penny. I have just received an account that salmon is now selling at the Cross for 1½d. a pound, and that they will not all be sold for that price. Day labouring men's wages, within these two years, was 8d., now 12d.; carpenters, etc., 1s. 4d., the master, 1s. 6d.; taylors that work by day, 6d. and their victuals. . . . In cultivating our common, already spoken of, we pare off the surface and burn it, and upon each acre lay four fother of lime, which will, before laid on, slake to 8 fother; this, with the ashes, will produce a fine crop of rye, with once ploughing.³

In the year 1761 occurred a deplorable tumult which is generally known as the Hexham riot. According to the laws then in force, all persons liable to serve in the militia were enrolled, and their names submitted to the ballot. Those who were drawn were obliged to go out under the colours. A general feeling prevailed in Northumberland and Durham that these proceedings were unjust, and the men protested that the landowners ought to hire men to serve in the militia, according to the former custom. The balloting on this occasion began at Durham, and it was at once seen that the proceedings would probably lead to a disturbance. Mobs prevented the work of balloting from being carried out at Morpeth and Whittingham, and

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, i. 178.

² *Bell Collection*. The total rental of Hexham, taken for the purpose of this division, was £3,416 9s. 5d., and the following were the principal holders: Sir Walter Blackett, £228 14s.; Greenwich Hospital Commissioners, £219 9s. 5d.; the countess of Oxford, £98 17s. The governors of the grammar school claimed a share for Hudshaw and Cooks bank, £6 10s.; the alms house, £2; and the school house and garden, £5 0s. 1d. The following claims are also interesting: Thomas Andrews, as lecturer, for a house and garden near the abbey; William Graham, curate, for a tenement called Smelting Sike, and another called Delicate hall; the churchwardens and overseers for one acre of ground, a close near the Maiden cross. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1755, p. 298; article signed W. B.

the authorities, aware that some resistance would be offered to the enlistments at Hexham, sent to Newcastle for military assistance. On Sunday, the 8th of March, two battalions of the North York militia arrived at Hexham, and the next day, the troops being about 240 in number, were marched into the market place and drawn up in a hollow square against the Town hall. At the same time the town crier was sent round advising the inhabitants to keep within doors. Meanwhile men from all the country round continued to flock into the market place, armed with pistols, clubs, and other weapons. By one o'clock it was estimated that the crowd numbered about 5,000. The justices established themselves in the Town hall, all the avenues of which were carefully guarded, and to them were presented petitions against the militia laws, the men declaring that they would not submit to the ballot. The magistrates replied that they were bound to carry out the law, but the mob only became fiercer and more excited. Horns were sounded, announcing the arrival of newcomers, and the crowd was constantly assuming a more and more menacing attitude. At two o'clock the Riot Act was read, but so far from causing the mob to disperse, this only seemed to excite them the more. Waving their sticks and clubs, the mob pressed nearer and nearer to the soldiery, upon whom they heaped insults and threats. At last they succeeded in breaking through the line. One soldier was shot dead with his own weapon, and Ensign Hart fell mortally wounded by a pistol shot. These outrages gave the signal for the soldiers to act. Their ranks were closed up, and the word was given to fire. For a few minutes the troops fired steadily, and the market place was rapidly cleared, a rush being made through all the narrow streets opening on to it. Fifty-one persons are said to have lost their lives in this affair, and about 300 were reported to be wounded. No arrests were made on the spot, as the magistrates preferred to issue warrants in the usual way. Peter Patterson and William Elder, two of the rioters, were subsequently convicted of high treason at Morpeth assizes. Elder was reprieved, but Patterson was hanged. This man, the only judicial victim of the affair, was probably one of the most innocent of those concerned in the riot.¹ Ensign Hart died on the day following the event, and was buried the same evening with military honours.

¹ When Patterson was being hanged the rope gave way, and he is said to have exclaimed, 'Innocent blood is ill to shed.' As a matter of fact he did not take part in the affair at Hexham, and only joined the rioters by force, and much against his will, as they were on the road from Hexham to Morpeth.

The riot had thus been suppressed with a loss to the troops of only two men and the temporary disablement of three others, though for some time afterwards dragoons scoured the country round, and the whole district was placed under military law. A great deal of ill-feeling was excited by these repressive measures in the district, where the North York militia were for many years known as 'the Hexham butchers.'¹

The following list of the killed is given by Ridley in his *Hexham Chronicle*; Hexham: Joseph Heart; David Greenock, soldier; Sarah Carter, with child; Thos. Levestone's wife, with child; John Dobb, shoemaker; David Turnbull, labourer; Thos. Usher, servant; Christopher Johnson, son of Robert Johnson; David Marrow, labourer; John Armstrong of New House, Hexhamshire. Slaley parish: Matt. Carr; Michael Burdess; Jas. Robson's son; Matt. Fairlamb; Andrew Lamb. Broomly: Henry Leighton; Robt. Brown, servant. Corbridge: Ralph Shotton; Thos. Richardson. Bywell parish and Whittonstall: — Brown; — Brown, his son; Humphrey Brown, his son. Prudhoe: — Heslip, pitman. Simonburn: John Mintaff; Jas. Young. Blanchland: Geo. Siddle of Crook Oak. Newburn: Wm. Crow, weaver. Fourstones and Newbrough: Wm. Watson; Henry Hoggart. Haydon Bridge: Nicholas Fewster of Staward. Hollings: Mr. Thos. Forster. Ryall Town: Henry Dun, son of Richard Dun. Throckley: Wm. Rotherford; — Pescott of Heddon on the Wall; John Cutter of Heddon on the Wall. Chollerton: Jacob Coulson; John Charlton, Birtley; Wm. Hepple, Birtley; Thos. Dodd; Wm. Scott of Swinburn. St. John Lee: Thos. English, Anick; Ant. Brown, Sandoe; Geo. Johnson, Wall. Stamfordham: Joseph Dodd; John Proud; John Elliott; John Appleby; Thos. Hudspeth. Hartburn: John Row. Walwick: Thos. Forster. Kirkheaton: Robt. Atkinson. It will be observed that the victims came from many and distant parts of Northumberland. Ridley also gives a list of wounded, containing fifty names, but the majority of those hurt would, when possible, conceal the evidence of their participation in the riot.

This event added three sermons to Hexham bibliography, whose titles it may be worth while to quote. They are:

'On the natural duty of a personal service in defence of ourselves and country. A sermon preached at St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle, on occasion of a late dangerous insurrection at Hexham. To which is prefixed a short and authentic account of the insurrection. By John Brown, D.D., vicar of Newcastle. London: Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, against Grays-Inn, Holborn, MDCCLXI.'

'On the important duty of subjection to the civil powers. A sermon preached at Hexham, in Northumberland, on Sunday, April 12, 1761. Occasioned by a late unhappy insurrection. By William Totton, M.A., lecturer of Hexham, and formerly Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge. Power is given them of the Lord, and sovereignty from the highest. Wis. vi. 3. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson, esq., and Company, and sold by Mr. Richardson, in Pater Noster Row, London; Mr. Featherstone, in Hexham; and by the booksellers in Newcastle.'

¹ Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 202, 203. Ridley, *Hexham Chronicle*, pp. 1-32. Sykes, *Local Records*, i. pp. 231-4. *Newcastle Courant*, March 14, 1761.

'A serious address to the common people on account of the late insurrection.' Published anonymously. Ridley conjectures that it was the production of the curate of Hexham, Peter Rumney, but he has not stated the grounds of his belief.

Since the riot, the annals of Hexham contain little but the peaceful records of an ordinary quiet country town.

In 1766 the shambles, still existing in the market place, were erected at the cost of Sir Walter Blackett, the lord of the manor. In 1771 the old market cross, upon which the proclamation of the Pretender had been fixed fifty-six years before, was removed to Haydon Bridge and set up there.¹

On the 1st of November, 1806, Miss Mary Russell Mitford, who afterwards became famous as the authoress of *Our Village*, visited Hexham, which was the birthplace of her father. In an interesting letter, she records her impressions of the quaint old town :

To Mrs. Mitford, Bertram house.

Little Harle tower, Nov. 2, 1806.

The promising appearance of yesterday morning, my dearest mamma, tempted us to set forward on our expedition to Hexham. On our arrival we drove immediately to the abbey, where Colonel Beaumont had arrived only the night before. The colonel was delighted to see us, and pressed us much to stay dinner. This we of course refused, as it was rather too much to travel twenty miles after a six o'clock dinner. We, however, accepted his offer of seeing the beautiful church, which joins his house; and Lady Charles took me to see the abbey itself. Upon repairing and beautifying this house, in which they only spend about a month in the year, the poor colonel has lately expended upwards of twelve thousand pounds. It was a fine specimen of the Saxon-Gothic architecture (*sic*); but he has built upon the same foundation, retained all the inconveniences of the ancient style, and lost all its grandeur. It has on the outside an appearance of a manufactory, and the inside conveys the exact idea of an inn. I should have thought it absolutely impossible to construct so bad a house with so many rooms. There is but one good one, which is the ball room, and this is made the passage to the bed chambers. . . .

In order to render the bad taste of this abominable modern house still more conspicuous, it is contrasted with the singular beauty of the adjoining cathedral, whose gloomy magnificence and fine pointed arches delighted me extremely. The colonel is the patron, I may almost say the proprietor, of this fine church (for he is what they call a lay bishop, and still receives the tributary pence from the communicants), yet that part of the edifice where the pews are placed is in a most shocking state. The bottom of one of the pews, situated exactly under his own, is covered with straw like a London hackney coach; and even his own pew seems quietly resigned to the moths and other depredators. Everything, in short, seemed to testify it was a place he seldom visited.

We dined at a very wretched inn, for I must confess, in spite of the prepossession I felt in favour of my dear Ittey's native town, that Hexham is a shocking gloomy place. After dinner I had the pleasure of visiting the house where my darling was born. It has been an extremely good one, and still retains a very respectable appearance; but it is now divided, and on one side of the street door, which still remains, is a collar maker's shop, and on the other a milliner's. We entered the latter, and purchased three pair of Hexham gloves, one for papa, one for my dearest mamma, and one for Ammy. I thought that, both as a memorial of the town and of the house, you would like that better than any other trifle I could procure.²

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, i. pp. 259, 278.

² L'Estrange, *Life of Miss Mitford* (London, Bentley), i. pp. 57, 58.

Less than twelve years after Miss Mitford's visit, on the afternoon of September the 24th, 1818, the old Abbey house which she had so much decried was almost destroyed by fire. The buildings were arranged in the form of a quadrangle, and of these the south and west sides were entirely consumed, together with a considerable portion of the north side. The total amount of the damage done was estimated at £10,000. The fire is supposed to have originated from the overheating of the flues, and it appears that less than twelve months before another fire had broken out in the house, due to the defective state of the chimneys.¹ The buildings which remain now serve for the accommodation of the local police force, and as a court house.

On the 18th of November, 1824, Hexham was first lighted with oil lamps, and in January, 1835, it was lighted with gas, the latter event being publicly celebrated.² Jonathan Martin, the incendiary of York minster, was apprehended there in February, 1829. At his trial, which followed soon after, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty on the ground of insanity.³

The passing of the great Reform Bill of 1832 was celebrated with great rejoicings, a public procession, and dinner at the club house of each of the guilds. Similar rejoicings had heralded the liberation of Wilkes from prison sixty-two years before.⁴

In September, 1866, the public buildings in Beaumont Street were opened. The scheme was originated by the Local Board of Health, but it was assisted by the co-operation of Mr. W. B. Beaumont, the lord of the manor.⁵ The Hexham water works were opened in 1865. More recently, in 1888, the town has been supplied with pure spring water from the Ladle wells. In 1878 a thorough system of drainage was carried out, under the direction of Mr. John S. Hodgson, C.E.⁶

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

The position of Hexham as a large agricultural centre and as the capital of Hexhamshire and Tynedale rendered necessary a ready means of access across the Tyne to the country north and west of that river. In the earliest times the fords over the river would be used to approach the town from that direction, and at a later period a ferryboat may also have been stationed there for the use of travellers. It is impossible to ascertain

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. p. 115; *Newcastle Courant*, Oct. 3, 1818.

² Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. p. 180, iii. p. 31.

³ *Ibid.* ii. pp. 241-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 272, ii. 394.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. p. 436.

⁶ Hodges, *Guide to Hexham*, p. 31.

HEXHAM ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

(From a drawing by Grimm, in the British Museum, made circa 1780.)



CHURCH AND NORTH FRONT OF THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.



WEST FRONT OF THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

at what date the first bridge was built. It may, however, be assumed that there was nothing of the kind in existence at the end of the eleventh century, for it will be remembered that, in the curious legend about the attempt of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, to desecrate the church, the Scots were prevented from crossing the river by the thick fog and swollen stream.¹ From the manner in which this event is recorded by Aelred, nearly one hundred years later, it is probable that there was no bridge at Hexham even at that date. Shortly after, however, about the close of the twelfth century, a bridge seems to have been built. In June, 1263, the abbot of Holmcultram claimed free passage of carts and carriages beyond the bridge of Hexham as an ancient privilege.² Too much stress must not, of course, be placed upon the words ancient privilege, especially in a claim of this kind; it proves, however, that the bridge had been in existence for many years, probably beyond the memory of living man.³ Soon after this date of 1263, the bridge referred to must have been destroyed, for in 1294 we find Archbishop Romaine, writing to Robert de Harum, a canon of Hexham, and Walter, priest of St. Mary's, granting them the deodands which were due to him from Hexhamshire for the purpose of building a bridge at Hexham.⁴ Archbishop Romaine died in 1296, apparently before anything further had been done towards the erection of a bridge, and the matter rested in abeyance until the year 1307, when it was taken up by Archbishop Greenfield. The men who had been originally charged to collect funds for the purpose, seem to have diverted the money to their own uses, and the archbishop gave orders that they should be compelled to give up all that they had received. He further ordered that two worthy men should be selected to take these funds, and devote them to the purpose for which they were originally intended.⁵

¹ *Supra*, p. 124.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Scotland, i. 2340.

³ It is conceivable, however, that the privilege claimed was anciently a free right of way across a ferry or ford, and that the contention of the abbot was that the erection of a bridge could not deprive him of this right, though the bridge may have been recent.

⁴ 'J. primas, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis fratri Roberto de Harum canonico et Waltero presbitero capellae Beatae Mariae de Hextildesham, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ad fabricam pontis de Hextildesham deodanda itineris justiciariorum nostrorum ibidem de corona vobis concedimus tenore presencium et donamus; proviso quod de ipsis nobis seu nostris per compotum respondeatis fideliter, cum fueritis requisiti. Data supra proxima' [13th May, 1294]. *York Registers*, Romanus. f. 98 a.

⁵ 'Willelmus, permissione divina, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, domino Johanni de Vallibus militi, et Henrico de Menill ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum nonnulli in diversis summis pecuniae tam ex legato quam dono et alio modo, ad fabricam pontis de Hextildesham, ut intelleximus, teneantur, quam pecuniam hactenus solvere distulerint, propter quod fabrica ipsa dispendiosius est tardata. Nos de vestra industria confidentes ad investigandum et inquirendum solerte

If Archbishop Greenfield's efforts were successful, the bridge which he caused to be built must speedily have been destroyed, either by the floods, or at the time of the Scotch invasions of 1314 and 1315. In 1328 Archbishop Melton, while ordering the receiver Fox to build two mills at Hexham, also instructs him to build a boat.¹ It would appear most probable that the plan of building a bridge had been abandoned, and that the more economical expedient of using a ferry had been substituted. A charter of Archbishop Thoresby, dated January 30th, 1356, is more explicit. In this document the archbishop farms out the ferry across the Tyne to William de Kernetly for the sum of twenty shillings annually, upon condition that he will provide a new boat for the purpose, and do no harm or wrong to anyone using the ferry.² In the preceding year, on the 18th of May, the archbishop had granted a charter giving Henry de Barton, his auditor, and Richard de Ask, his bailiff, the power to farm out the Tyne ferry (*le passage de Tyne*).³

During a period of nearly two hundred years there is no mention of either a bridge or a ferry at Hexham. The first record that breaks this long silence is the survey of 1547, which speaks of a water passage called 'les fferrye,' farmed out to Robert Armstrong at a yearly rent of ten shillings.⁴ The survey of 1608 contains the additional information that the ferry was called the Eastboat, and that it was worth thirty shillings yearly above the rent of ten shillings due to the lord of the manor.⁵ This 'Eastboat' ferry was in Acomb township, probably at some point between New Bridge End and Old Bridge End, on the north bank of the Tyne.

de legatis, donis et debitis quibuslibet ad pontem assignatis predictum, in quorumcumque manibus fuerint, et ad compellendum et distringendum quoslibet debitores hujusmodi declaratis debitis ad solvendum, necnon ad deputandum duos viros fidedignos per vos et alios de libertate nostra de Hextildesham fidedigniores celeriter eligendos, qui colligant et recipiant omnia legata, dona et debita hujusmodi eaque constanter, fideliter, et discrete in usum fabricae memoratae, inde etiam reddant compotum ad nostrum scaccarium omni anno vobis tenore praesencium tribuimus potestatem. In cujus rei testimonium literas nostras fieri fecimus has patentes. Data apud Hextildesham xvij. kalendas Februarii anno gratiae m^occc^o sexto, et pontificatus nostri primo¹ [16th January, 1307]. *York Registers*, Greenfield, i. f. 346.

¹ *Ibid.* Melton, f. 427 a.

² 'Haec indentura, facta inter venerabilem patrem et dominum J., Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopum, Angliae primatem, ex una parte, et Willelmum de Kernetly ex altera, testatur quod predictus archiepiscopus concessit et dimisit praefato Willelmo, passagium ultra aquam de Tyna subtus villam de Hextildesham infra libertatem ipsius archiepiscopi de Hextildesham, ad totam vitam ipsius archiepiscopi, reddendo inde annuatim predicto archiepiscopo viginti solidos. Et predictus Willelmus, sumptibus propriis faciet batillam de novo, pro dicto passagio, et toto tempore predicto in omnibus sustentabit et reparabit, et passagium illud faciet tam pro domino archiepiscopo, quam pro tota civitate debite serviri, dampna, extorsiones, vel aliqua alia molesta nemini per se vel per alium facere non praesumat. Et si fecerit, tunc liceat praefato archiepiscopo predictum passagium in manus suas accipere et inde pro voluntate suo disponere et ordinare. Data in manerio dicti domini archiepiscopi juxta Westmonasterium xxx die Januarii, anno domini m^occc^olv.' *Ibid.* Thoresby, f. 300 a.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Supra*, p. 83.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 100.

During the whole of the seventeenth century the inhabitants of Hexham had no means of communication with the country north of the Tyne except by a ferry. The household books of Lord William Howard show that there was no bridge at Hexham in his day. Under August the 6th, 1621, is the following entry: 'To seven tenants bringing seven loads of wheat from Morpeth, vijs; to them for their ferrying over at Hexham, the waters being out, ijs.'¹

The account given by the Norwich soldiers in 1634 is even more conclusive,² and in 1632 the ferry is expressly mentioned as part of the manorial property transferred to Sir John Fenwick in that year.³ Again, in 1640, when Sir Michael Ernle and Captain Lloyd made their report on Hexham, they make no reference to a bridge, though they were expressly instructed to destroy it if they should find one there.⁴

In the absence of a bridge, two ferries seem to have been used at this later period, one called the 'Eastboat', which has been already referred to, and the other known as the 'Westboat.' The name of the 'Westboat' ferry is still preserved in a homestead situated on the south bank of the south Tyne, about a mile above the Spital. The one ferry opened communications through St. John Lee parish; the other performed the same office through Warden parish to the districts lying respectively on the east and west banks of the north Tyne.

The need of a bridge connecting Hexham with the northern part of the county was severely felt by the inhabitants of the town. It was, therefore, amid great rejoicings, that the first stone of a bridge was laid by Sir Walter Blackett on the 15th of October, 1767. This bridge of seven arches, built under the direction of Mr. Yolt, was not finished until 1770, but it had hardly been in existence a year before it was swept away by the great flood of 1771.⁵

Undeterred by this disaster, the inhabitants of Hexham determined to make another attempt. In 1774 preparations were made with a view to constructing a bridge fifty yards westward of the former one. It was proposed to build the piers upon piles, but the discovery that the gravel in the bed of the river covered a quicksand, caused this plan to be abandoned. It was not until 1777 that John Errington of Beaufront undertook to

¹ Surt. Soc. vol. 68, p. 182.

² *Supra*, p. 254.

³ *Supra*, p. 59.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, cccclxv. 10.

⁵ Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. pp. 264, 286.

provide Hexham with a bridge, and engaged Smeaton, then at the height of his reputation, to carry out the work. The contract was for £5,700, to be paid in instalments as the work advanced, together with £400 for making an approach to the bridge. Mr. Errington was likewise to have the materials of the former bridge, which were valued at £3,000. After the piers in course of construction had been washed away by a flood in 1778, the new bridge was successfully completed in 1780, and opened on the 1st of July in that year.

Unfortunately this structure was not destined to last much longer than its predecessor. On March the 10th, 1782, there was a fall of snow, followed by a gale of wind, and the new bridge was swept away by the swollen stream. Unhappily, for himself, John Errington had not only engaged to build the bridge, but he had also undertaken to keep it in a proper state of repair for seven years. Immediately after the destruction of the bridge he wrote to Smeaton enquiring upon what terms the bridge could be restored. The engineer replied that it might be done for £2,863, but that it would be madness to attempt it, because a bridge built upon the same plan would be equally liable to destruction. Acting upon this advice Mr. Errington resolved not to rebuild the bridge, and offered the county the sum of £3,000 as compensation. The magistrates, not being satisfied with this sum, ultimately took the case into the courts, where it dragged on until 1787, when judgment was given against John Errington for £4,000.¹

The bridge which at present exists was built from the design of Mr. Mylne, and was completed on the 19th of September, 1793.²

Towards the close of the eighteenth century it was proposed to connect Hexham with Newcastle by a canal. Two different routes were suggested, the one running along the north bank of the Tyne, the other along the south. A third proposal was to make the Tyne navigable up to Hexham. All these schemes fell through, being strongly opposed in many quarters, and not meeting with sufficient encouragement from their supporters.³

Nevertheless other means of communication had not been neglected. Between 1753 and 1754, when the port of Alnmouth was in a flourishing condition, a road was made from that town to Hexham, and the part of it which enters the latter town is still known as the Alemouth road.⁴

¹ *Smeaton's Reports*, iii. pp. 267-344. *Narrative of the Proceedings Relative to Hexham Bridge*; London printed by J. P. Coghlan, 1788.

² Sykes, *Local Records*, i. p. 301.

³ *Report on the Proposed Line of Navigation from Stella to Hexham*.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 489.

In 1828 a post coach began running between Hexham and Penrith, passing through districts that had never before been visited by public conveyances for passengers. There was also a system of well-horsed wag-gons for the carriage of goods between Newcastle and Carlisle, belonging to, and worked by, the Wrights of Temon.¹

Hexham was one of the first places in the country to which a line of rail was constructed, the section of the Newcastle and Carlisle railway from Blaydon to Hexham having been opened in 1835. The remainder of the railway to Carlisle was finished in 1838.² Twenty years later, in 1858, the Border Counties railway, connecting the town with the North British system was completed, and in 1869 the Hexham and Allendale line was opened.

TRADE.

In spite of the comparatively recent date of all these means of communication, Hexham was a place of commercial importance in early times. When tillage was the principal occupation of rural communities, Hexham was the market town of a wide-spreading and fertile agricultural district. The weekly market was held on Monday, and there was a fair on St. Luke's day and the day preceding (October 17 and 18). These dates were fixed in 1239, by a grant of King Henry III.³ The quantity of grain regularly brought into the market must have been considerable, and some of the minor officials of the town were paid in that commodity. So late as 1820, Wright states that 4,000 quarters of wheat, 2,000 quarters of oats, 1,000 quarters of barley, and 1,500 quarters of rye were annually sold at Hexham.⁴

By the fourteenth century a two days' fair had apparently become insufficient for the growing needs of the town, and, in 1319, Archbishop Melton petitioned King Edward II. to grant him two fairs at Hexham, one at the time of St. James' day, for five days (July 22-26), and the other at the time of the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude, for six days (Oct. 24-29).⁵

¹ *Newcastle Courant*, Sept. 8th, 1778.

² Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. 385; iii. 32, 59.

³ 'Et quod habeant unam feriam singulis annis apud manerium suum de Hextildesham per duos dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia et in die Sancti Lucae Evangelistae; et quod habeant ibidem unam mercatam singulis septimanis per diem lunae.' *Historians of York*, Rolls series, iii. p. 149.

⁴ Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 31. 'Hexham measure' was, until quite recently, used proverbially to denote very full measure. The Hexham bushel consisted of two Winchester bushels of wheat and rye, and two and a half Winchester bushels of oats and barley. The table of measures used in the town was: For wheat, peas, and rye, 4 quarts = 1 forpit; 4 forpits = 1 peck; 4 pecks = 1 bushel; 2 bushels = 1 boll; for barley and oats, the same, except that 5 forpits = 1 peck. *Ibid. Arch. Acl.* n.s. i. p. 109. Bailey and Culley, *View of Agriculture in Northumberland in 1805*, p. 181.

⁵ *York Registers*, Melton, f. 404 b.

The request of the archbishop was granted, subject to one reservation, that the alteration was not to be made if neighbouring markets or fairs would suffer any damage by it.¹

No alteration of the dates for holding these fairs seems to have taken place till 1662. In that year, Sir William Fenwick, the lord of the manor, petitioned King Charles II. to change the market day from Monday to Tuesday. He also asked permission to hold a cattle market on the Tuesday next before the feast of St. Cuthbert (*i.e.*, on Tuesday, March 18th), and every Tuesday fortnight between that day and the feast of St. Martin the bishop, in winter, for the buying and selling of all manner of cattle. After an inquisition *ad quod damnum* had been held, this petition was granted, and in the terms of the grant it is incidentally mentioned that the fairs were held in Hencotes and Priestpapple Streets, and not, as might have been expected, in the market place.² The request for a cattle market is interesting, because it probably indicates a considerable growth in the cattle trade of the town, and it forms a striking commentary upon the fact that after the reign of Elizabeth large numbers of tillage farms were converted into pasture.

If the number of fairs is any criterion, the cattle trade of Hexham must have grown largely during the eighteenth century, for in 1741 it was ordered that a fortnightly fair for cattle and sheep should be held in Hexham on the 10th of March and the following days. On the 25th of March, 1826, Colonel and Mrs. Beaumont, the lord and lady of the manor, instituted a tryst fair to be held in a field provided by them for the purpose. In 1741, at the time when the cattle fair was instituted, two fairs for leather were appointed to be held annually, the one on the 29th of July, and the other

¹ 'Rex archiepiscopis, etc., salutem. Sciatis nos, de gracia nostra speciali, concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse venerabili patri Willelmo de Melton, archiepiscopo Ebor. Anglie primati, quod ipse et successores sui imperpetuum habeant unam feriam apud manerium suum de Hextildesham in comitatu Northumbrie, singulis annis per quinque dies duraturam; videlicet per tres dies ante festum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, et in die et in crastino ejusdem festi; et unam aliam feriam ibidem singulis annis per sex dies duraturam, videlicet per quatuor dies ante festum Apostolorum Simonis et Jude, et in die, et in crastino ejusdem festi, nisi ferie ille sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatarum et vicinarum feriarum. Quare volumus, etc. Hiis testibus: venerabilibus patribus J. Norwicensi episcopo, cancellario nostro; W. Exoniensi episcopo thesaurario nostro; Adomaro de Valencia, comite Pembr.; Humfrido de Bohun, comite Hereford et Essex; Johanne de Warran, comite Surr.; Edmundo, comite Arundell, Hugone le Despenser juniore et aliis. Data per manum nostram apud Lambhelhe xvij die Aprilis [1320] per ipsum regem.' *Rot. Chart.* 13 Edward II. No. 9.

² *State Papers*, Domestic, Charles II. liv. Nos. 7 and 42. Later on the fairs were held on the Tyne green, and appear to have acquired a malodorous reputation. 'The Tyne green; that's ten miles ayont hell', was a local saying of these times. *Denham Tracts*, Folk Lore Society, i. p. 280.

on the 29th of October.¹ When Wright wrote in 1823, the times of the fairs seem to have been further altered. He speaks of two annual fairs, 'the first for cattle, horses, swine, sheep, and lambs, altered from the 5th to the 6th of August; the other for fat and lean cattle, swine, and horses, altered from the 8th to the 9th of November.' Though Tuesday continued to be the principal market day, an inferior market was held on Saturday. The times for hirings of servants were May day and Martinmas.²

Although Hexham was originally and principally a market for agricultural produce, it was also for a long time the centre of two or three flourishing industries. Of these, by far the most important was the leather trade, in many of its branches. In the Court Rolls of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, almost every other person named is a tanner, a glover, a cordwainer, or a saddler. The industry upon which the leather trade was based was naturally tanning. This had been carried on in Hexham for many years, though the exact time at which the trade sprang up is uncertain. It was in a flourishing condition in the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier. During the earlier years of the present century the trade was at its height. In 1823 there were four tan yards at Hexham. The number of hands employed, however, did not exceed eighteen, and the yearly output consisted of 5,000 hides and 12,000 calf skins. Almost all the skins that were dressed were devoted to the use of the glovers. A more important industry even than tanning was glove-making, which was the principal trade of Hexham, and the gloves called Hexham 'Tans' were long famous.

The state of this industry in 1823 is thus described by Wright:

Men and boys employed as leather dressers and glove-cutters	...	71
Boys employed as dusters	... ..	40
Women in Hexham and its vicinity employed in sewing	... ..	1,000
Total	... ..	1,111
Raw skins used annually	... ..	80,000
Skins of dressed leather imported annually	... ..	18,000
Total	... ..	98,000 ³

As many as 23,504 dozens of pairs of gloves were annually made and sent to various parts of the kingdom.

¹ Sykes, *Local Records*, ii. p. 165; iii. p. 196.

² Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 30. Hirings are now held on the 13th of May and the 11th of November, and for hinds on the first Tuesday in April. Hodges, *Guide to Hexham*, p. 103.

³ *History of Hexham*, p. 25.

An interesting circumstance in connection with this industry is worthy of record. In the manufacture of gloves, about five tons of Dutch ochre were used annually. During the wars with Napoleon, the exportation of this commodity to England was prohibited, and the manufacturers of Hexham were forced to fall back upon the fell clay of their own country side. From this circumstance the farm of Okerland, situated about a mile south-east of Hexham, is said to derive its name.

Another important industry that flourished in Hexham about the same time was the manufacture of stuff hats. The trade seems to have been started in Hexham as soon as it was introduced into the country, and though it never attained the proportions of the glove manufacture, it was a flourishing one. In 1823 there were sixteen master hatters in the town, and the number of hands employed varied between 20 and 40.

A small woollen manufactory was also started in the town by Messrs. W. & H. Hart about the beginning of the present century. Their premises were situated near the abbey gate. The work carried on was not great, and consisted principally in the carding and dressing of wool for consumption in the neighbourhood. About twenty hands were employed. Other small industries were the weaving of linen, cotton, etc., by hand looms, the manufacture of rope, and brewing.

Although Hexham never possessed a charter of incorporation, it has always been known as a borough, and it at one time possessed guilds or free companies, which enjoyed all the privileges that are usually considered to be the prerogative of chartered companies only, and which took a leading part in the government of the town. These companies were four in number, and were known respectively as: (1) Weavers, (2) Tanners and Shoemakers, (3) Skinners and Glovers, and (4) Hatters.¹ Of the rules and regulations and the general operation of these companies, scarcely a trace remains. The companies themselves have died out, and their papers have disappeared with them. Fortunately a set of rules, drawn up for the skinners and glovers in 1613, still exists. These rules contain valuable evidence on the state of trading at that time, and they are here printed in full:

Rules of the Skinners' and Glovers' Company.²

Forasmuch as the borough of Hexham is and hath beene before the memory of man an antient borough, the head and seate of the mannor and regallitie of Hexham and Hexhamshire, and att this present is and allwaies hath beene principally inhabited with burgesses and tradesmen of severall traides

¹ Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 107.

² *Hodgson MSS.*

and occupations, such as have beene educated and trained up apprentices within the sayd borough in there severall trades, emonghs which the skynners and glovers hath beene most in numbers and eminencye. And whereas there hath beene before the memory of man sundrie antient orders and constitutions agreed upon, and from tyme to tyme presented by the sayd company of skynners and glovers, ffremen in the sayd borough, some whereof neverthelesse hath of late beene controverted, partly by furroners and partly by the perversnesse of some few of the sayd company, and thereupon the sayd whole company became humble sutors to the right worshipfull Sir John Fenwick, knight, head steward to the king's most excellent majestie of the sayd mannor and regallities of Hexham and Hexhamshire, att a head courte there houlden for the sayd mannor att Hexham aforesayd, the twelfth day of October, 1613, that the sayd orders and constitutions might bee renewed and confirmed. The consideration of which orders being by the sayd steward commended to bee considered of by the grand jury chosen at the said courte for the sayd whole mannor and libertie and jurie of the sayd borough, which sayd severall juries upon perusall of the sayd orders and conference with Robert Cowper, esquire, learned steward of the sayd mannor, found and presented these orders following, fitt and convenient, thenceforth to bee continued and observed, both for the honestie and profit of the sayd company, and benefit of all his majesties subjectes inhabiting within the said mannor and regallities, or elsewhere, resorting to the said borough, or trayding for any the commodities belonging the said trayd. Which order soe presented and approved was, by the comaundment of the said steward inrolled in the rolls of the said courte, the coppie whereof is as followeth, which, att the request of the present alderman and stewards of the sayd company, was delivered unto them to the end they may seeke such further confirmation thereof as by law is requisitt. And that the same may remaine with the said company to be from tyme to tyme putt in execution. In testimony whereof att there sayd instance the sayd stewardes have subscribed there names, and the sayd Sir John Fenwick hath hereunto alsoe sett his seale.

1. First, that as hath antiently accustomed the alderman, stewards, and every one of the said whole company of skynners and glovers, freemen in the said towne of Hexham, shall and may yearely assemble themselves and meet together at there usuall meeting place in Hexham aforesaid ffoure tymes in the yeare (that is to say) upon Tuesday in Whittson weeke, upon the feast day of St. Michael the arch angell, upon St. Thomas day, after Christmas day, and upon Weddensday in Shrovetide week, as formerly hath beene accustomed, and also att all other tymes upon urgent occasions concerning the said traid upon lawfull warning given by the alderman and stewards of the said fellowship by there officer or minnister appointed for that purpose upon paine of six pence of every one of the said fellowship making such default therein.

2. Item. That the bretheren and the fellowship of the said company shall and may, upon the feast day of St. Michael the arch angell yearely att there said usuall meeting place make choice of one of the sufficientest of the s^d company to bee alderman, and two other to bee stewards for the yeare following, and two or more to be searchers of leather and worke wrought by the said company or bretheren of the s^d borough to search for the yeare following. And if any of the saide company or most of them shall refuse to take upon him or them such office or place to the which hee or they shall bee soe severall elected shall forfeit for every such refusall these severall summes following respectively (*viz*) every one to be chosen alderman and refusing the same shall forfeit the some of ffortie shillings; every one elected to bee steward and refusing the same, twentie shillings a man; and every one to bee chosen to bee searcher and refusing, tenn shillings for every offence in soe refusing.

3. Item. That the searchers of the s^d company for the tyme being shall once att the least in every twenty dayes search thoroughout and amongst the whole company and fellowship of the sayd trayd if there bee any unlawfull wares amongst them, and if any such bee found to seize and keep them in there handes, and to give notice to the alderman and stewards of the s^d company thereof, and att the next meeting of the s^d fellowship and company to present the s^d unlawfull wares soe seized and their doeings therein. And if upon examination and vew thereof by the s^d company the same bee adjudged and declared to bee unlawfull wares, they, the said wares, to bee reteyned as forfeited, and the forfeitures thereof as of any other arising by any of the said articles herein mentioned to be disposed of as followeth, *viz*, the one moiety to the kinge's majestie, his heires and successors,

lordes of the s^d mannor and borrough, and the other moietie to the common use of the fellowship and company of the sayd trayd.

4. Item. If any of the sayd company shall hinder or lett the searchers, or any of them, in such there search or seizure or other lawfull execution of there s^d office of searchers, every person soe offending to forfeit iii^s iiij^d for every such offence. And if the sayd searchers, or any of them, shall neglect to make search every twentie daies, everie of the said searchers to forfeit twelve pence.

5. Item. That none of the sayd fellowship shall take any apprentice to serve him for any lesse tearme then for the tearme of seaven yeares at the least, upon paine of fforfeiting of ffortie shillings.

6. Item. That none of the sayd trayd or occupation shall take any apprentices but one att a tyme and noe more untill three yeares of his last taken apprentice bee expired, upon paine to fforfeitt ffortie shillings.

7. Item. That every one of the s^d fellowship that taketh any apprentice shall, at the next Whittson tuesday of such apprentice, present the s^d apprentice to the alderman, steward, and fellowship of the said traid att there usuall place of meeting and bringe the indentures of y^e aprentishipp to bee inrolled in the common booke kept for that purpose; and if any of the s^d company doe not present his new taken apprentice accordingly, hee shall forfeit and pay six shillings eight pence for every such offence, and that every apprentice shall pay ii^s vi^d for the inrolling of his said indentures, and noe more.

8. Item. That none shall bee made free butt att the gennerall meeting upon Whittson tuesdaie, and the parties that is made free to pay for the entrie of his freedome onely iii^s iiij^d, and that if any apprentice be lawfully convicted of felony or pettie larconie hee shall not bee made free in the sayd towne.

9. Item. That none of the sayd fellowship, being a young man, and a new setter upp, shall take any apprentice before hee shall have kept shop three whole yeares, upon paine of fortie shillings.

10. Item. If any of the s^d fellowship doe return or assigne the yeares or service of his apprentice, either to the apprentice himselfe or any other, that the maister soe returneing or assigneing his s^d apprentice shall not take a new apprentice to serve him untill the yeares which his apprentice was to serve him bee by course of law expended, upon paine of twentie shillings for every offence.

11. Item. That noe apprentice to the said occupation shall buy his yeares of apprentishipp, nor sett upp a shepp to traid as a free brother of the said company, untill hee have served forth his yeares, upon paine of ffortie shillings to bee fforfeited by the maister, and three pounds six shillings eight pence by the apprentice offending therein.

12. Item. That none of the sayd fellowship shall set any apprentice to any maister whoe setteth him or them on worke shall first bringe him or them to the alderman and stewards of the sayd traid for the tyme being to discerne whether they bee sufficient to bee kept on worke in the sayd towne or noe, upon paine of ffortie shillings for every such default.

13. Item. That noe younger brother of the sayd fellowship shall place or sett upp his stall or booth in the market place of the sayd borrough above his antient brother of the sayd fellowship, but shall sett upp his stall or booth amongst his sayd bretheren in there accustomed standing place, upon paine of two shillings for every such offence.

14. Item. That none of the sayd company, either upon ffaire daies or markett daies, shall sett forth his wares to sell butt in or upon one shopp or stall, upon paine of two shillings for every such default.

15. Item. That noe man of the sayd trayd shall open any wares to sell upon the usuall faire dayes or markett dayes before eleaven of the clocke, upon paine of fforfeiting three shillings foure pence.

16. Item. That noe foreyner, not having beene an apprentice to the said traid in the s^d towne, nor having formerly compounded to become a brother of the said company in the s^d towne, shall keep or sett upp shopp or use the said traid within the s^d towne of Hexham, upon paine of fforfeiting of twenty shillings for every moneth hee shall soe keep shopp, or exercise the s^d traid in the s^d towne. And that the alderman and stewards of the s^d traid for the tyme being taking there assistance the

duputie bayliffe of the s^d mannor, or the sergeant or ministers of the s^d courte, or some of them, and soe many of the s^d company and fellowship as shall be thought requisite, shall and may shutt upp the shopp and keep the same barred and shutt upp, not permitting him or them to keep any shopp or exercise the s^d traid in the s^d towne. And if the alderman and stewards of the s^d company shall permitt any foreyner to keep shopp or exercise the said traid in the s^d towne one moneth, they haveing knowledge thereof, the s^d alderman and stewards to fforfeit ffortie shillings for every such default. And every of the s^d company being called to assist the s^d alderman and stewards, and refusing to come to assist them, shall forfeit tenn shillings. And that noe man bee admitted to bee a freeman in the s^d company upon any composition except they have served seaven yeares an appren- tice att the said trayd.

17. Item. Iff any person or persons being not a free brother of the sayd company, or not haveing served as an apprentice in the said traide for the space of seaven yeares, shall buy any sheep skynnes, lambe skynnes, kid skynnes, or other skynnes, within the s^d towne proper to and for the said traid and occupation, contrary to the law and statutes of this realme, and that the stewards of the s^d fellowship (for the tyme being) shall dilligently attend and enquire thereof, and cause such skynnes to be seized, and prosecute against the offenders for such fforfeiture as by the lawes and statuts of this realme is or shal be thereby forfeited. And if the forfeiture bee thereupon attained, the benefitt thereupon arising shal bee to and for the common use of the s^d fellowship, and they supply the common charge of such suits. And if the stewards for the tyme being shall bee remiss and negligent therein, for every such offence committed and not seized by them, if they shall have reasonable knowledge thereof by any brother of the said fellowship, they shall forfeit three shillings four pence.

18. Item. That such person as shall for the tyme being bee elected and used for the common officer or minister to warne the bretheren of the sayd company to meet att there usuall place of meeting, shall dilligently give sufficient warneing either to every perticular brother of the said company, or else leave express note in writing or by worde of mouth, att his or there house, of the day and tyme of the assemblie appointed, upon paine of ffour pence for every such default.

19. Item. Iff any of the sayd fellowship bee lawfully warned to meet att any assembly appointed by the alderman and stewards for any affaires of the said fellowship, touching and concerneing the same, shall not come and bee reddy there att the tyme appointed, butt absent himself, shall at the next assemblie, except he can show a reasonable cause or occasion of such his absence, forfeit twelve pence for every such his absence or offence.

20. Item. That none of the said fellowship in there assemblies, att there usuall place of meeting, shall revile, miscall, or in wordes abuse one another. Iff any doe offend therein the alderman and stewards for the tyme being shall and may committ him or them soe offending to the sergeant or minister of this courte, to bee imprissoned for the space of six houres or under, and alsoe to impose a fyne upon him or them soe offending, so the same doe not exceed three shillings ffoure pence for an offence.

21. Item. Iff any brother of the said fellowship shall wilfully denie and refuse the performance of the orders abovesaid, or shall not paie to the handes of the said alderman and stewards for the tyme being all such summes of money and forfeitures hee or they shall forfeit or bee according to the orders abovesaid imposed upon them within twentie daies after demand thereof by the common maister of the said fellowship, or upon demaund by any two bretheren of the said company att any gennerall assemblie appointed to bee collected of the ffynes or pennalties to bee forfeited upon breach or not performance of the orders above said; or if any brother of the said company shall refuse to contribute such summe or summes of money as hee or they shall by the alderman, stewards, and fellowship, or most of them att any assemblie bee assessed to pay, that every such offender shall for every such offence shall forfeitt twentie shillings. Moreover, that it shall bee lawfull to and for the said alderman and stewards of the said fellowship, with the assistance of such of the company as they shall call and other the kinge's officers there, to shutt upp the shopp windowes of such offenders, and to prohibitt and not to allow him or them to buy or sell within the said towne untill hee or they shall satisfie and pay the said ffyne assessed upon them.

22. Item. That none of the said fellowship or foreyner shall buy for any merchant of the towne of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the absence of the merchant or of his apprentice any sheep skynnes, fell skynnes, lambe skynnes, mort skynnes, or shearelings, or any other skynnes brought to the s^d markett to bee solde as factor for them before one of the clocke in the afternoon; but if any of the said company will, hee may have opportunitie to buy them. And that they shall in noe wise forestall the said markett or ingrosse the commodities abovesayd, but buy them in open markett upon paine of fforfeiting vj. viij^d for every such offence.

23. Item. That the moietie or halfe parte of the sayd ffynnes, amercyaments, and fforfeites to arise by breach or not performing the sayd orders and constitutions abovesayd, or any of them, shal bee forfeited and paid to the kinges most excellent majestie, his heires, and successors, lordes of the sayd mannor and towne of Hexham, and the other moietie to the generall and common use of the sayd fellowship. And that the alderman, stewards, and ministers shall receive and collect the same, and shall every feast day of St. Michael the archangell give and yeild a perfect accompt before the said company, or some ffoure of them, for that purpose to be assigned, and that the summes soe by them received, or which they might with convenience have received upon the sayd accompt remaining in there handes, shall within twentie daies next after the said feast bee payd to the succeeding alderman and stewards to bee kept for the use of the sayd fellowship. And if default of payment thereof it shall bee lawful for the succeeding alderman and stewards, with the assistance of the sayd company and his majestie's officers in the said towne, to shutt upp the shopp window, and to prohibitt and not permitt him or them that soe ought to pay such summe, to sell any wares either upon any stall in the same markett or faires or in his shopp till hee or they have satisfied all such summes and arreages as hee or they have received or ought to have payd; and that if any some or forfeiture cannott bee obtained by the meanes abovesaid, the same shall att the next head courte of the sayd mannor be presented by the alderman and stewards, or some other of the said company to the jury of the said borough, to the end the same may bee estreeted and levied, and the one moietie there by them delivered for the use of the said company, the other moietie reteyned for the use of the kinges majestie, his heires, successors, or assignes, lordes of the sayd mannor for the tyme being.

(Signed as an attested copy in 1681 with names of borough jury.)

As the skimmers and glovers formed the most important of the Hexham guilds, it is only reasonable to suppose that the other companies were formed upon the same model. They also, in all probability, had as their chief officers an alderman and two stewards, elected every year, to preside at the quarterly meetings of the company and conduct its government. They also were, no doubt, provided with regulations as to the apprentices, and employed searchers to ascertain whether the trade of the company was being carried on legitimately, and to preserve the monopoly. It is known that the Tanners' company was officered by an alderman, two sealers, and six wardens, and that in the year 1708 there were fifty-seven freemen belonging to it.¹

It will be seen from the preamble to the above rules that the privileges claimed by the free companies had been called in question, and the object they aimed at in drawing up the rules was to obtain a confirmation of their

¹ Dobson, *Contributions to Local History*, p. 3. Until quite recently a book of orders of the Tanners' company (1583-1786) was preserved at the Manor office, Hexham; but it appears to have been lost, and all efforts to trace it have failed.

legal privileges from the lord of the manor, and the borough jury. In 1755, after the passing of the Act for the division of Hexham common, the free companies claimed a share of the East and West commons, on which they declared they had rights of pasture. In their case, submitted to counsel, they acknowledged that Hexham was not a corporate town, but they asserted that they had enjoyed the right of common without interruption from time immemorial. 'It was granted that persons who had served a legal apprenticeship to any of the trades above mentioned, and who rented a house having a right of common, had and held that right; but that as they had not claimed before the Act was passed, and as no clause favourable to their claim had been inserted in the Act, it was adjudged that they had lost their right, or that it could only be redeemed at an expense greater than the common of pasture would be worth.'¹

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The part actually taken by the guilds in the government of the town cannot now be ascertained. That they enjoyed a preponderating influence in local affairs seems certain from the nature of some of the orders issued by the borough jury, and it is even likely that the franchise belonged exclusively to the freemen of the companies. As the chief town in a manor, Hexham occupied a somewhat peculiar position, and its local government must have been largely influenced by this circumstance. There are no records dealing with Hexham town exclusively before the seventeenth century, but for this period the borough jury books afford a large amount of information.

The precise nature of the borough jury will be best explained by the extracts which follow. It seems clear that although Hexham was only a part of the manor of Hexhamshire, it possessed a separate court of its own as indeed did all the other sub-divisions of the regality, and that while admissions and surrenders and all transfers of property were transacted at a central Court Baron for the whole district, the other business of the shire, chiefly of a criminal character, was performed in the lesser courts.² The Hexham borough jury consisted of twelve persons, the usual number in a

¹ Wright, *History of Hexham*, pp. 107, 108.

² The courts of a manor were two: the Court Baron and the Court Leet. At the former, where two freeholders at least were required, civil business was transacted, and the suitors were the judges. The Court Leet was presided over by the bailiff or steward, and the business transacted was of a criminal character. It was not at all unusual for the two courts to be confounded (Selden Soc. vol. ii. p. xix.), though in Hexham, apparently, this was not the case.

Court Leet, who were chosen by the lord of the manor, or his representative, and over whom the bailiff or steward of the manor presided. All questions of police and local government came before this body, which, while it sat, was the chief administrative authority in the town. As it was only in session twice a year, at the times when the manorial courts were held, one of the most important duties of this jury was to preside at the appointment of the local officials.

The most important body of these local officials was the four and twenty. As its name implies, it consisted of twenty-four persons, selected in rotation from among a limited number of townsmen (? freemen of the companies), six being chosen from each of the wards, Market stead, Gilligate, Priestpopple, and Hencoats. The following extract explains their position and chief duties, and gives the names of those who held the office in 1661:

We present and order that those whose names are under written, are to lay on all assessments as formerly hath been accustomed to be done by the foure and twentie to the utmost of their understanding, skill, and knowledge. And that from tyme to tyme, when and as often as occasion shall require, they advise with Mr. Patricke Crow, baliffe of this towne, in all such matters and busynesse as shall be thought fitt, expedient, and beneficiall for the good and benefitt of the towne of Hexham, for his help and assistance, in whatsoever the said bailiffe shall be desyred by the foure and twentie now appointed. And that they shall from tyme to tyme, and as often as occasion shall require, meet together at the appointment of the bailiffe aforesaid, upon notice or warneing given by the constables. And shall meet at all other tymes when and as often as any eminent occasion shall offer it selfe, upon notice given by the constables aforesaid. And that they and everye of them shall be sworne immediately after the givinge in of this verdict to execute and faithfully to performe the tenor and effect of this present order, every one refusing to take his place and thereunto to be sworne, to be amerced unto the lord vi^s viii^d. And that the seauerrall assessments so to be layd on as aforesaid from tyme to tyme shall be paid by the seauerrall inhabitants of this towne and the precyncts thereof, as they are duely taxed and assessed by the foure and twentie. Euery one refusing to pay his sesse to be amerced iii^s iiiii^d.

THE NAMES OF THE FOURE AND TWENTIE.

Markett steed ward.	Gylegate ward.	Priestpopple ward.	Hencotts ward.
George Allgood	John Bell, tanner	Thomas Gibson	Richard Gibson
William Hutchinson	Martyn Dickinson	Anthony Sharpe	Hector Robson
Richard Parker	Edward Smith	Peter Yealdert	William Caward
Edmund Liddle	Christopher Dickinson	James Wainman	Edward Rowland
Cuthbert Bell	John Hearon, jun.	John ffarlam	Thomas Little
[vacant]	Matthew Johnson	John Cooke, glasier	Matthew Cragg ¹

The duties of the four and twenty were evidently extensive, though they are somewhat vaguely set down. Upon all matters that might arise in connection with the administration of the borough, they were first to be consulted. This clearly appears in 1634:

We order that whatsoever occasion or business is or shalbe befittinge or come ether for dividinge of the commons or for anie other occasions belonginge to the towne that there shalbe fower and twentie of

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

the sufficient men in the towne to consider thereof, and whatsoever they doe we, the jurye at this tyme, doth promise to allowe of with the assistance of the officer and these fower and twentie shall not deny to do ther help and assistance therin whatsoever shalbe lawfully desired them to agree of upon paine to forfeite vis. viiid., being lawfully warned by the constables upon every one of them offending therin.¹

Though they were principally deputed to assist the bailiff of the manor, yet they were also liable to be called upon to help the churchwardens,² and, in fact, their power of assessment, in other words the power of the purse, gave them a great influence in the conduct of the affairs of the town.

The executive officers of the borough were the following, those here named being the persons selected in the year 1661 :

	Markett steed.	Gilligate.	Priestpople.	Hencotts.
Constables for the year ...	William Thomson	Richard Wainman	Anthony Stokoe	Michael Hydon
Markett keepers, apprizers, & sealers ...	William Robson	Gerard Yearow	William Stokoe	Thomas Little
Ale tasters for this year ...	Nicholas Dixon	Jude Kirsopp	John Aydon	Martyn Errington
Affearers ...	John Tait	John Bell	John Soulbie	Hector Robson
Surveyors of highways ...	William Hutchinson	William Bell	Benony Gibson	John Bell, carpenter
Allerkeepers for the Tyne greene: Thomas Charleton, George Thompson, Thomas Hutchinson, & franke Dixsen. Allerkeepers for the quicksand ford: Hugh Drurey and Nicholas Yealdert. ³				

The constables were the most important of these officials. They were charged with the maintenance of good order in the town, and were required to present all offenders at the annual courts, to be dealt with by the jury. Only special offences, which were the peculiar province of the other officers mentioned above, were outside their jurisdiction. They were obliged to see that the orders given by the borough jury were effectually carried out, and to enforce the penalties for disobedience. These orders referred not to petty criminal cases or misdemeanours so much as to the sanitary regulations of the town, the repair of streets and houses, and, in short, all the matters with which the borough jury was called upon to deal. The extracts here given will illustrate a few of the manifold duties of the constables :

We find that the fower constables shall take fower sufficient neighboures and lay on a sufficient seisement for the buildinge of a stone pinfold in Preistpople ward, and another in Gilligate neere the accustomed place, and that the neighbours of Preistpople and Hencoats hall build Preistpople fould, and Markett steed and Gillygate the other.⁴

We present and order that the foure constables of this towne shall out of the townes charge, amend and repaire the bridges in Gilligate imedieatly after the giueing of this verdict. And that they shall cause the burne race betwixt Wm. Coulson's house and the Bowbridge to be scoured that the water may have a currant passage, betweene the giving in of this verdict and kandlemasse next, upon paine of vi^s viiid^d, each of them herein neglecting.⁵

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1634.

² In 1699 they decided upon the manner in which the church registers were to be kept, and compelled Ritschell to submit. Ritschell was also informed that he must not meddle with repairs to the church, but leave that to the four and twenty. See *Churchwardens' Books* for that year.

³ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1634.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1661.

Duties so onerous were apt to be neglected, and the borough jury was sometimes called upon to punish those who had not performed all that they had been instructed to do.

We fynd the paine broken in John Elliott, Tho. Leadbitter, Jn. Cooke, & Tho. Little, constables for the yeare 1659, for that they have not caused an assessment to be laid on, and hyred workmen for to face with a stone wall that part of the street betweene the Bowbridge upwards unto John ffarlamb's house in the burne side, the which said street is become soe ruinous and in soe great decay that a cart or wayne cannot passe that way without great danger, and therfor according unto the said verdict amercyed each of them xiii^s iiii^d for euery of their neglects herein. And that the now constables, with the assistance of two or three in euery ward, shall lay on assessment to do the same accordingly by the sight and view of two neighbours of every ward before S^t James faire next upon paine of xiii^s iiii^d, euery one of them neglecting herein: to be repaired with a stone wall as aforesaid.¹

Note by the affearers: We acquit them because they had noe monie in their handes to doe the worke with.

Undoubtedly many men would have refused to undertake so great a responsibility had not the law obliged them to serve when called upon to do so, under pain of a fine. As some compensation for the labour they were bound to undergo, their dignity was fully hedged about and protected, and punishments were distributed, not only to those who assaulted them, but even to those who simply abused them.²

The affearers, mentioned above, performed the task of revising the list of fines imposed by the borough jury, and of regulating their amount, according to any extenuating circumstances that might come to their knowledge, or in relation to the property of the persons convicted. As in the above mentioned case, they might even remit the fine altogether.

In some cases, however, the powers of the affearers were restricted.

We present William Robson, tailor, for refusing to take his oath for the executeing of the place of a markt keepers, contrary to all former verdicts, and therefor amercyed according to the former verdict vj^s viij^d, and the former verdict requires that this presentment be not affeared.³

The allerkeepers were charged with the duty of protecting the trees on the Tyne green and at the quicksand ford. These trees were chiefly alders, and hence the title of the officials. They were required to present at the manor courts all persons found cutting the trees, without licence, who were fined 3s. 4d. for each offence.

In 1678 four common keepers were appointed, 'for preserving the heather and grass upon the commons, and freeing the town from inmates, and preserving the East common from being overstocked.'⁴ The exact

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

² Hugh Sparke for abuseing Edmund Liddle, constable of Markett steed ward, vj^s viij^d. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 1680. ⁴ *Ibid.* 1678. Inmates are persons living in the house of another, who are not able to support themselves.

nature of the duties of the market keepers, ale tasters, and surveyors of highways are not stated anywhere in the existing Borough Books, but the names themselves indicate the character of their respective offices.

Besides these honorary officials there were lesser functionaries, who had important duties to perform in the town. These were the pounder, the wait, the herd, and the scalerakers. The duties of the pounder were subsidiary to those of the constable. He was expected to impound stray cattle, and cause the owners to be presented at the next court. As payment he received a toll in corn, which was therefore called pounder corn, as well as a certain quantity of hay. The exact duties of this official are shown by the following presentments :

Presentments by the pounder of Gilligate.						s.	d.
Tho. Jefferson for letting his garth dyke lie downe	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Nich. Dixon, glover, Jn. Robson, Jn. Yealdert, Isaac Armestronge, for the same, each						1	0
Jn. Pynte for breakeinge the locke of the haugh yeat	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Tho. ffenwicke, jun., for refusing to give the pounder of Gilligate his pounder corne						3	4
Jn. Sparke for 2 unbowed and unringed swyne trespassing in his neighbour's ground						2	0
Tho. Jefferson, Nich. Dixon, Jn. Snawdon, Geo. Allgood, Jas. Oliver, Mary Maughen, for 1 swine, each	...	...	...	...	...	1	0 ¹

A pounder was appointed by the borough jury in 1661, and this is doubtless only one instance of numerous similar appointments.

We order that Geo. Richinson shall be pounder for Gilligate feilds and the towne haugh, and shall have the benefit of the same in as large and ample manner as Rowland Lishman formerly had, the same with the pounder corne and hay, where it hath beene formerly due, and that the said pounder shall be enjoyned either to bring goods to the fold or else to pay the damage himself.²

Another pounder was appointed for the East fields in the same year, with a similar privilege of exacting tolls of corn and hay. It seems clear that at least two of these pounders were employed in Hexham at the same time. They belonged to a lower class than the officials before mentioned, the distinction being chiefly marked by the payment they received for discharging their duties.

In the year 1680 the borough jury elected a wait.

We present & order that Thomas Hill, pyper, shall be the towne's waite untill the next head court, provided he be very diligent, ready, & willing to waite upon the towne, & not to departe out of it & remaine in the countrey aboue a week's time ; and that he shall be ready to serue the towne both at the mending of the high waies, ridding of fairs & commons, or for any publicke service that he shall be called unto by the constable or other chief officer of the towne when occasion requires.³

His presence was expected upon all public occasions, and he had to exercise his calling at ordinary times. His instrument may have been the

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 1680.

Northumberland small pipes, though in other parts the waits used a hautboy.¹ He was not always intended only to serve these lighter purposes, for in 1665 a wait was appointed whose functions as indicated in the following order, were rather those of a watchman than a piper :

We, the burrow jurie of Hexham for the tyme being, have beene diverse tymes, and especially at this tyme desired to consider the good and benefit of the whole towne in generall. And whereas seuerall addresses and motions haue beene propounded and moued unto us for the constituteing and appointing them a waite, for the better stirring up their servants and apprentices to their labour and imployment, urging the custome and practise of other good townes (as laudable in this particular) unto us. We therefor order and & present Tho. Patteson to be waite and servant to this towne, and soe to continue untill the next court, and untill another be appointed in his roome; and that he shall goe about the towne once every night, betweene the houres of seaven & nyne a clocke at night, and every morneing betweene three and fve of the clocke, playing upon some audible musicall instrument, and shall often as he goeth alonge salute the people, acquainteing them with the tyme of the night and morneing, and what weather then blowes, and thus shall he continue betweene Michaelmasse & Kandlemasse, and in all other things shall carefully & honestly demcane himselfe in the said service in as large and ample manner as others who have had the same office haue formerly done; and if any great complaint against him shall be, that the same be referred unto the lord of this mannor to be ordered by his discretion. In lieu & consideration of such his said seruice, all other pipers and musitions whatsoever shall be debarred from playing in this towne in any companie or at any meeting whatsoever, unlesse they first compound with him for the same, and in case they will not take a discharge from him, that then the constable bringe them before the baliffe of this towne for such their contempt; and that the said Tho. Patteson shall haue the accustomed benevolence of every neighbour in this towne at the Christmasse tyme as other waits haue formerly had; and that y^e constables shall out of the townes charge buy him a red coat, which he shall weare at meetings as the townes liuerie; and we hereby request the lord of this manner to bestow upon him the cognisance that formerly John Blakelocke had bestowed upon him that he may be knowne from others to be the lord of the mannors servant, and the townes servant, and thus shall he continue to be the townes waite, *quandiu bene se gesserit*.²

A herd was appointed in 1695, most probably to look to the cattle kept on the common, and to see that the regulations dealing with the stints were properly observed. It was also proposed that a house should be built for him on the common.³

The scalerakers seem, at least in name, to have been peculiar to Hexham. They are specially mentioned in the survey of 1608, as four persons who were charged with keeping the market place clean, and paving 100 yards of causey either within or without the town for a toll taken upon every sack of corn brought into the market.⁴ The name scaleraker itself is descriptive of their duties, for scale means to disperse,⁵ while to rake is to gather together, and these people would rake up the offal, etc., which had 'scaled' during the market time. The toll they exacted upon the corn

¹ Busby, *Dict. of Music*. 'Every one for their ain hand, like the pipers o' Hexham', is or was a local proverb. *Denham Tracts*, Folk Lore Soc. i. p. 279.

² *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1665.

³ *Ibid.* 1695.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 104.

⁵ Heslop, *Northumberland Words*.

seems to have been considered a vexatious impost by many of the inhabitants of the town, who tried in various ways to avoid payment, and in many cases refused to pay their toll, so that at length the borough jury was compelled to take the matter up, and declare that there were to be no exemptions from this toll on any pretext whatever.

Whereas there is a company of poore people within this towne called scalerakers or scavengers who once every week sweep & make clean the markett place, pave and repair seuerall causeys and laines in & about this towne, for which time out of mind they have had & taken the tolle corne in kind—(to witt): the eighty parte or fower score parte of all sorts of graine that comes to this markett or towne to be sold, and whereas of late seuerall persons refuse to pay the same, pretending & saying that they are ffreeholders & ought not to pay any such tolle, with such like vaine, frivolous, & insignificant pretences & excuses, and to encourage such persons soe refuseing to pay the said tolle to continue & persist in their obstinacy some of the inhabitants of this said towne, especially those to whose houses the country people bring & sett up their corne, doe persuade & informe them that they need not pay the same, and doe threaten the said scalerakers (when they goe into their houses where such corne is sett up and sold to demand & take the said tolle as formerly they haue done) that they will indict them and sue them, which is a great discouragement & prejudice to the said scavengers and a meanes to bring the said tolls to nothing. It is, therefore, at this court, thought fitt & ordered, that noe person or persons whatsoever, inhabiting within this said towne or the precincts thereof, shall permitt & suffer any person or persons to sett up any manner of corne within his or their houses without paying the said tolle corne due & accustomed, upon paine that as well such inhabitant where such towne shall be sett up as the seller thereof shall forfeit to the lord of this manor 6^s 8^d for every offence or neglect respectively.¹

One of the scalerakers fulfilled the office of bellman in the market place, ringing the 'corn bell', which was the signal for the trafficking to begin. He was obliged to perform his full share of the work as scaleraker, and his duties as bellman were in addition to this. The following extract contains a few more details about these peculiar town servants:

We order those whose names are underwritten—to witt: Catherine Croser, Eliz. Johnson, Anas Leadbitter, Isabell Adeson, Mabell Bunton, John Liddell, Robt. Liddell, John Charleton, Thomas Leenwood, sen., Ann Robson, Jane Chicken, Rob. Hutchinson, Jane Younger, Alex. Maughen, Anne Bateson, Jane Cooke, Rob. Dridon, Alice Millner, Thos. Caward, and Jane Johnson, shall be scalerakers for the yeare and untill the next court, and that they shall sweepe and make cleane the markett place once everye weeke, upon paine to be put out of their places upon complainte made by any of the constables unto the bailiffe of this towne. And that they shall enter their bonds unto the surveyors for the paveing and performeing their seaverall proportions. And that Geo. Yearow shall have the bellman-shipp for this yeare, and a part with ye scaldrakers for himselfe, he performeing his full preportion of the worke with the rest aforementioned, and that they shall performe and make ye worke before Whittsunday next, upon paine to lose their places, and that the surveyors shall set them forth their worke seauerally for paucing before Easter next or thereabout, that they may have tyme sufficient for the performeing the same, upon paine of xx^s every surveyor for his neglect herein.²

A new duty was added to the office of scaleraker in 1678, when they were ordered to place flakes or hurdles in the market, once every week.³

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1680.

² *Ibid.* 1661.

³ *Ibid.* 1678.

The office of overseer was created by a statute, 43 Elizabeth, c. 2., but no mention is made of these officials in the Borough Book till the year 1674, when their nature and duties are defined. They were to be householders, and selected one from each ward of the town. They were to act with the churchwardens who were the custodians of the charities, etc. Their chief duty was to keep a register of all poor and needy persons within their district and to make an estimate 'of what may be thought reasonable to keep them monethly.' For the purpose of providing this reasonable subsistence they had power to assess and tax, monthly or weekly, every inhabitant, 'parson or vicar, owner or occupier, tythes impropriate and their impropriators, coal mines, underwoods, etc.' The children of these poor persons were to be apprenticed at the cost of the town. Another order, issued by the borough jury of this year directed that henceforward the churchwardens were to be chosen by the minister, the overseers, and the outgoing churchwardens.¹

One of the principal duties of the officers above mentioned was the exaction of fines for various breaches of the borough by-laws. Some specimens of these fines, extracted from all parts of the manor rolls, are here given :

SELECTION FROM AMERCIAMENTS BY THE BOROUGH JURY. ²						s.	d.
Wm. Dawson for letting his swine goe abroode	...	...	...	...	...	0	4
Robert Robson, under the Cragg, for his swine unringed	...	...	...	...	...	0	2
Robert Hucheson for macking a scappe in the fogge ³	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
John Hucheson for letting a beast goe longer than it ought to goe in the neitheir feild	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Milles Pearson for teathering in the feild	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Geo. Dunglese for an outlaw amongst the towne	...	...	...	...	...	6	8
John Hemsley for cutting of brume whar it is not allowed, in the feild of Acam...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Wm. Currow for humleinge ⁴ unlawfully on the commone	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Andrew Maydowell for his forefront	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Geo. Pearson for his backfront	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Geo. Duglesse for letting a yate lye downe at the stokewell	...	...	...	...	...	0	4
Andrew Maydowell for a rescue	...	...	...	...	...	3	4
Tho. Chickine a fald Brust	...	...	...	...	...	3	4
Geo. Duglese for an overstinte ⁵ with his kyne in the haugh	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Ric. Chawelton for driveing through Acam feild to Fallowfield	...	...	...	...	...	1	0

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1674.

² *Manor Rolls*, *passim*.

³ *i.e.*, letting his cattle escape into the fog field.

⁴ Humleinge is to break stones, or to break off the beards from barley with a flail. Heslop, *Northumberland Words*, *sub voce*, 'humel.'

⁵ An overstint is the offence of putting more cattle, etc., on the common than the tenant is allowed to have there. A stint is an allowance of pasture.

	s.	d.
John Chicken for his decke ¹ lying downe	1	0
Nicholas Ridley for cutting of wood	1	0
Tho. Yealdert for defalt in his hedges	3	4
Tho. Hedlee for takeing of water wracke ²	3	4
Nicholas Ridley for a night laire	3	4
Elizabeth Smith, spinster, for a scold, amerced	6	8
Tho. Hutchinson for cutting allers in the Tyne green	13	4
Wm. Kell for bating	3	4
Edw. Kell for deeing up John Hemsley's meddow	0	4

Some other fines levied under the authority of the borough jury are also curious.

We renew a former order made at the last court, that if anie two women within the towne and burrough of Hexham doe balle or scould with anie undecent and uncomelye speeches on against the other, either in open streets or in anie house att anie time, and they or them soe doeing shall be amerced vi^s viii^d for everie defaulte soe made, and that the constables shall see this order inviolablelye kept, and to levie the said fine for the lord's use or else to present it att the next court.³

Puritan ascendancy during the Commonwealth period left its mark upon the borough in the shape of stricter regulations for the observance of Sunday than had been in force before that time.

We lay a paine of ii^s that none shall play att futbaile on the Sabbath day.⁴

This order was made in 1647, and in 1656, when the government of Cromwell was at its height, one Thomas Dawson was fined for a desecration of the Sabbath.

We present Thomas Dawson of Garrets hill for hounding uppon the common on the Sabbath day, according to a former paine amerced xii^d.⁵

The following case affords another instance of the powers of the borough jury as a Court Leet :

We present Rob. Dridon for couzenage in that he hath very dishonestly and cunningly cheated the rest of his brethren, ye tollers, in takeing 2 pecks of bigg⁶ of one man in the country, thereby promising to free the said country man for a yeare afterward, and therefore amerced vi^s viii^d. And that if any further complaint be made against him, to be put out of his place, upon such complaint made.⁷

The punitive apparatus belonging to the town was carefully guarded, repaired, and renewed by the same authority.

We present & order that the constables & surveyors at the towne's charge shall cause a dooking stoole to be made & placed at the place where the former stood, before Easter next.⁸

¹ Dyke.

² Wracke = branches, rubbish brought down by a swollen stream; sea wreck is the weed, coal, wood, etc., cast up on the beach.

³ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1637.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1647.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1656.

⁶ Bigg = barley. See *Northumberland Words*.

⁷ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

⁸ *Borough Book*, 1680.

We present and fynd that whereas every corporation, brough, and towne are enioyned by the lawes of this kyngdome to have a pound ouert and a paire of stocks, with diverse other necessary things, charged upon euery towne and place of any worth, we therefor order (that for the preventing of penallties and other inconveniences which may fall upon this our towne and burrow for the want of such necessities) that the seauerrall constables of this towne shall cause the stocks to be repaired upon the townes charge, with a locke for the same, and the same to be sett up in the markett steed, in the accustomed place. And whereas the common pound in Priestpople is fallen downe and in great decay, we likewise order that the same be enlarged, built, and repaired at the charge of the towne, and that the constables aforesaid shall contract for and hyre the leading of stones for building and repaireing the same as aforesaid, and to hyre a workman for effecting the same; and allsoe that the seauerrall bridges in Gillygate be amended and repaired at the townes cost, that neighbours may passe and repasse to and from their houses without danger, and that the said bridges be amended sufficiently betweene this and Christmas next, upon paine of x^s euery constable for his neglect herein; and the stocks with the pinfold aforesaid to be repaired before Candlemas next, upon the like paine.¹

We present and order that the constables att the townes charge shall sett up a pillory in the markett place, near the rogue post, before midsomer next, upon paine of vi^s viii^d euery one neglecting herein.²

Sanitary regulations of all kinds form an important series among the contents of the Borough Books. It is only necessary to give a selection from the very large number therein contained.

We fynd the paine broken in John Clints for that he hath not taken away the chaffe and rubbish out of the high street neare Bowbridge, whereby the said street and passage is become very myrie and dirtie, he being thereunto enioyned by a former verdict and therefor amercy'd according unto the said verdict vi^s viii^d; and that noe manner of persons for the tyme to come shall wynow any corne of what kynde soeuer in the said place neare Bowbridge, but after the same is soe wynnowed they shall imediately take away the chaffe, rubbish, and strawe, that the street may be kept cleanly, soe as passingers passing to and againe that way may without annoyance, upon paine of vi^s viii^d euery one offending herein.³

We order that noe tanner or glover liveing and inhabitting above the west burne in Hencotts ward shall emptie or cast forth any of their lyme pitts, dubbs, or baits betwixt four of the clocke in the morning and five in the afternoone upon paine of vi^s viii^d euery one offending therein, but shall when need is cleanse and emptie the said pitts after five of the clock at night that the same may run away in the night tyme; whereby the inhabitants of this towne may have wholesome and cleane water for their severall uses upon the like paine.⁴

We fynd that paine broken in Benony Gibson and John Sparke for that they have not scoured their seughs by their close sydes in the clay poole, by neglect whereof the water comeing that way is soe obstructed that the highway is ouerrune with water and become very deep and noysome for neighbours with their horses carrying mannure that way, and likewise for foot passingers and ther for amercy'd according to the former verdict each of them vi^s viii^d. And that they and either of them shall scoure and cleanse their sewghs soe as the water may haue a currant passage, and to take notice to performe ye verdict made in the yeare 1659 in that behalf upon paine of vi^s viii^d either of them neglect herein.⁵

We fynd that noe person or persons shall lay forth any manure or mucke or any other rubbish in the markett place, or any other place within the streets of Hexham, whereby it may be prejudiciall to any person, but to be caryed away within the space of 8 dayes at the furthest, upon paine of vi^s viii^d, and likewise that all dungehills and mydings from the Abbey gate throughout Market steed, St. Marye's chaire, and Coastley raw to the Bowbridge shall be carryed away within 8 dayes after, upon the like paine of vi^s viii^d.⁶

¹ *Borough Book*, 1661.

² *Ibid.* 1688. The rogue post was a stake fixed in the ground to which thieves were tied when they were flogged.

³ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, *Borough Book*, 1661.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

We present and order that noe inhabitant in or about this towne shall wash any puddings in the west burne called ye Abbey garth burne or Cockshaw burne in Gilligate ward, or shall wash any fillthy thinge in either of the same burnes but till they come below Geo. Leadbitter's house. being the nethermost house in the towne, upon paine of vi^s viii^d every default. As alsoe that noe manner of person shall wash any blacke woole in either of the said places upon the like paine.¹

We find that noe inhabitante within the towne shall keep any swyne within the towne to goe abroad, but shall keep them within there owne houses or garth and backe syde and not sufer them to goe abrode upon paine to forfeit xii^d for every swyne taken goeing abroade after Candlemas next, and that every swyne soe found goeing abroade to be impounded by the pownders, and not to be releessed untill they paie xii^d, the one half to the pounder thother to the lorde of the manner.²

From the nature of these orders, and the frequency with which they are repeated, it is evident that Hexham of the seventeenth century was not a cleanly or wholesome place, though probably it was no worse than similar towns at that period.

After the outbreak of several destructive fires in the seventeenth century, an attempt was made to introduce regulations which should protect the inhabitants against the frequent recurrence of this scourge.

We renew the order made at the last court for preventing of danger which may happen by fire in malt kilnes, and doe present that noe manner of person whatsoever, either haueing a malt kill of their owne or letting the same to farme to any other, shall put in any fewell for the drying of any malt in any such kilne unlesse it be betweene foure of the clocke in the morneing and eight at night in the summer tyme, and in the winter tyme from seaven a clocke in the morneing and untill fve a clocke at night, upon paine of xli^s.

We present & find that the seauerall bakehouses within this towne being built & placed in the seauerall streets amongst thatched houses, are of very dangerous consequence unto neighbours about them, and great harme & losse may happen to diuerse, by negligence of the owner & occupiers of them if very great care be not taken for the preventing thereof; we therefor order that none of the said owners or occupiers shall heat their ouens after people are gone to beds, that is to say from ten a clocke at night untill foure of the clocke in the morneing, because if any danger should in that tyme happen (which God defend), people being in beds are not in readynesse to make assistance or helpe. neither shall any of them set their linge stacks in any street or among thatch houses, but shall set them at a distance fortie yards from any houses, and that those that haue malt kills shall set their stacks at the said distance, upon paine of xiii^s iiii^d; and we appoint Cuthbert Bell, Jn. Gibson. Gerard Yearow, & Hen. Stokoe to be searchers of the said kills & bakehouses & to se this order duely kept, & to present offenders at the next court.³

A further important duty of the borough jury was to provide for the repair and maintenance of the public thoroughfares, and public buildings, with all kindred matters. These are provided for in numerous orders issued from time to time.

We find that every inhabitant within the towne shall repaire there cawses and fruntes before ther doores betwixt this and Easter next, upon paine of vi^s viii^d, and the connstables to take notice of the necklects thereof; and that every dweller or householder shall every Saterdag after noone clense and swipe there cawsey before there doores according to a former verdict, upon paine of iiii^d, everye default to be levyed presently by the connstables, and the connstables to forfeitt xii^d for necklectinge therein, and to take away there rubish presently after they have swipt them together, upon the like paine.⁴

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

² *Ibid.* 1634.

³ *Ibid.* 1665.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1634.

A fine was also levied in case of neglect to repair a causey when necessary.

Rob. Dickinson, Wm. Stokoe, Tho. Raine, fined iii^s iiiij^d each, because they have not joined together to make a causey.¹

In cases of obstruction the borough jury had power to punish offenders as well as to issue orders prohibiting offences.

We find the paine broken in Tho. Adeson for that he hath not layd out and opened the loning at the farr end of his pasture close adjoining on Dillston parke wall, the same being allways a lonning and highway for the inhabitants of this towne to drive, lead, and carry any thinge to and from the east common, the aforesaid inhabitants being greatly prejudiced by the stopping up the said way, he being enjoyned by a former verdict to make up his hedge at the east end of his pasture close aforesaid in the ould dikesteed where formerly it stood, and therefore amerced xlii.²

An order made in 1665 forbade anyone to encroach upon the highways with porches, etc.³ At the same time, the town as a whole undertook a part of this work of repairing causeys, which was not entirely abandoned to individuals. One hundred yards of the causeys were annually repaired by the scalerakers, for the general benefit of the town. A further order in 1661 provided for the repair of apparently the only alms house then existing in the town:

We present and fynd that the 4 constables of this towne shall by vertue of this present order, wherein we have had reference to an ancyent order at this court, in the yeare 1605, lay on an assessment through the whole towne, by the assistance of the 24, for the repaireing of the almes house, especyallie the rooffe thereof, with what else shall be thought used full to be repaired by the discretion of the foure and twentie aforesaid; and being soe repaired as aforesaid, there shall noe poore people be harboured, taken, or received into the said house, but such as shall be thought meet, and such impotent and needful persons as the 4 constables shall appoint to be lodged there; euery constable for the poore that shall come into his ward, and this to be performed before Lammasse next, upon paine of vi^s viiiij^d euery constable for his neglect herein; and iii^s iiiij^d euery inhabitant refusing to pay his sesse to the same. And that the 4 constables shall veiwe, enquire, and true presentment make at the next head court whether any person have encroached and taken in the ground belonging unto the said house where the stone stairs formerly stood, upon the like paine of vi^s viiiij^d.⁴

Water ways as well as land ways were under the jurisdiction of the jury, as the following regulations show:

We order likewise that Jn. Smith, tanner, shall build up his warrant before his ground in Tynker's orchard as farr as his land reacheth, that the burne overfloweth the highway, and is very troublesome to the high way between the Tyne greenes and the causey there, and therefor amerced vi^s viiiij^d. Christopher Dickinson for the like, vi^s viiiij^d.⁵

We renew the order of fformer courts that the surveyor and constable shall, att the towne's charge, erect and make a weare or warren att the head of the high Tyne green to preserve the high way from the water, on paine of 6^s 8^d each & euery of them neglecting herein.⁶

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 1665.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1661.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 1720.

Strict regulations about the harbouring of vagrants and wandering beggars have formed a part of the laws of England ever since the days of Henry I. All persons coming from other parts of the kingdom, and known as 'foreigners',¹ were looked upon with suspicion and dislike. Questions relating to these 'foreigners' were also dealt with by the borough jury and their orders on this matter are frequently recurring in the borough jury books.

We order that noe inhabitant within the towne of Hexham or the preeynts thereof shall entertaine any poore vagabond or begger into their houses any longer then 2 dayes; because they may, and oft are seene to be abusive and troublesome unto the towne by their bad carriage, upon paine of iii^s iiiii^d for euery default. Nether shall any inhabitant in or about this towne entertaine and take to tenant any forraigne inmate and cottager, by means whereof the towne may suffer preduce and dammage, being bound to maintaine such beggarly brood if they fall into pouertie, but that euery such inmate and cottager shall first enter their bonds with surties for them unto the baliffe and constables for their good abeareing and allsoe for keeping the towne harmelesse by them and their offspringe, upon paine of xl^s euery such person that shall entertaine any such forraigner contrarie to the tenor of this verdict, and the seauerall constables are hereby required to be very diligent to enquire and present euery offender herein, upon paine of vi^s viiii^d for euery of their neglect.²

A similar order was issued again in 1688. In 1661 one William Stokoe had been convicted of having harboured a man named Richard Stampoe before he had entered his bond for him for keeping the town harmless by him, and was fined the full penalty of 40s.³ A specimen of one of these 'foreigner's bonds' may prove interesting:

FOREIGNER'S BOND.⁴

Noverint universi per presentes nos Barbariam Riddip de Hexham in comitatu Northumbrie. . . . Philippum Jefferson et Wm. Hutchinson, de eadem teneri et firmiter obligari Joh. Fenwick militi et bart. Domino regalitatis sive manerii de Hexham in xx^{li} bone et legalis monete Anglie solvendis eidem domino regi heredibus et successoribus suis, quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciemus obligamus nostros firmiter per presentes sigillis nostris sigillatis; datum vi^o die Decembris, A.D. 1638. Anno domini nostri Caroli, etc., xiv^o.

The condition of this obligation is such that whereas the above bounden Barbary Riddip, being a forrayner and a stranger in the towne liberties and regalitie of Hexham aforesaid, is comed into the said towne to inhabit and dwell in a house of one Annas Stokoe, scituated within a streete there called Gilligate, and is here as his tenant to the same for his ffarme or rent paying: nowe, forasmuch as the said Barbary Riddip, by the costomes and^rprivilidg of this mannor and the court thereof, ought not to reside nor make her abode or dwelling in the said libertie without lysence of the officer and inhabitants of the said towne first obtained; if she, therefore, the said Barbarye Riddip, shall and will well, honestly, and trully demeane, carry, and behave herself in all things soe longe as she shall soe inhabitt and dwell within the said towne and libertie aforesaid, soe as noe losse, damage, charg, or hindrance doe happen, come, arise, and growe unto the said towne, parish, or liberties, or regalities aforesaid by her, the said Barbary Riddip, her children, or other her familie, by any there meaner of meanes waies, or procureing, either by over charging of the commons, moures, or pastures with her cattle, or otherwise doe any act contrary to the orders of court or custom of the said mannor; and further, whenas the said Barbary

¹ The word outlandishman was employed for the natives of other countries.

² *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Riddip is amynded and pleased to departe and goo out of the said mannor to dwall, doe then honestly and quietly departe and goe fourth & from the said towne and libertie, according to the orders hertofore in the head court or Court Leete for this said manner made in such behalfe, and according to the true intent and meaning of the same order and euerie branch and article therof, that then this present obligation to be void, or ells the same to abide, remaine, and be in force, strength, & vertue.

Sealed, signed, & delivered in the presence of us—John Cooke, John fletcher, Tho. Gibson.

Barbara Riddip, Philippe Jefferson, Wm. Hutchinson.

The mistrust of foreigners, and the generally hostile feelings entertained by the inhabitants of Hexham against those who were not born in or near the town, was by no means confined to those who were indigent. In fact, those who were active and strong and well off were looked upon with even greater alarm, because they might become more dangerous by taking the local industries out of the hands of the natives. The orders of the jury were very precise on these points, and were framed with the design of protecting the inhabitants to the uttermost. Thus, no foreigner was allowed to set up a stall or booth in the town except on market or fair days, or was eligible to be appointed to any responsible office. No local tradesman might take any foreigner's son as an apprentice,¹ and none but inhabitants of the town might work the slate quarries of Raggonside.² The mere fact of selling a commodity to a stranger before the townspeople were served was an offence.

We present Ann Whitefourd of Corbridg for buying of eggs and caring them to a nother place before ye towne be served, and therefore amerced her 3^s 4^d.³

It was even unlawful to take the home produce to the market of Newcastle or other towns, as appears by the following order :

We find that noe person shall buy anie tallowe of anie butcher or other person in this towne or markett, and carrye the same to Newcastle or anie other place to sell the same againe, being hurtfull to the commonwealth upon paine of xx^s.⁴

A similar offence had been committed by one George Henderson in 1643, and he had to pay double the penalty set down above.

We present Geo. Henderson, glover, for buyinge of woyle of diuers seuerall inhabitants (being glouers skyne woyle) and sellinge the same againe to Scots men (in the said towne of Hexham), and never soe much as goeinge anie further with the same, and also for buyinge of fleece woyle of diuers seuerall persons comeinge to the markett of Hexham, whereby noe man's wife or others can ether buy anie of the said fleece woyle to mainetayne and releiue there household or familye to thier great losse & hinderance, but also buyeth upp the same both in the countrey and in his owne house, and there sellethe the same to diuers & seuerall Scots men, contrary to the lawes & statutes of this realme; and also to the great losse & damage of his neighbours, and that nether he nor anie other inhabitant, ether glouer or other shall doe the like hereafter upon paine of xi^s.⁵

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1693.

² *Ibid.* 1680.

³ *Ibid.* 1720.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 1643.

Even the stones and slates in the neighbouring quarries were not to be sent away from the district.

We present and finde that the quarryes belonging to this towne are frequently abused by a companie of incomeing labourers, wallers, and other workemen that ought not to be permitted nor suffered to digg upp our stones and slates, selling them at their owne prices, not onely to the towne's people, but wining them for country folkes, who ought not to have priuiledge in our quarries, for the preventing whereof for the time to come we hereby order that noe workeman, whatsoever in this towne or out of the towne, shall digg or wynn any sclates in any of the commons belonging to this towne, and expose the same to sale to any country man whatsoever, or shall winn them for hyre to any in the country whatsoever, unlesse it be to such persons for building as liue within the towne, and for the towne's use upon paine of fortie shillings euery workeman, labourer, or other that shall presume to breake this present order; and that this order may be duely kept and observed, we appoint Wm. Smith, glouer, and Ric. Gibson, sen., Wm. Smith, tanner, and Jn. Coulson to be quarry keepers, and to be very deligent to present offenders at the next court.¹

The worst offenders were apparently the Scots, who, after having devastated the district with fire and sword from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, changed their tactics in the seventeenth century, and by their thrift and frugality threatened to take away the trade of the town from its inhabitants. Not content with quietly doing this, they openly proclaimed the fact, and boasted of it. The borough jury took up this question with warmth and decision, and issued a most stringent order against these interloping 'Scotch pedlars and petty chapmen':

Whereas of late yeares severall Scots pedlars and petty chapmen have come into this towne of Hexham to reside, and theire do drive and cary one a trade not onely in the said towne, but they and theire agents, seruants, or runners doe ride and goe up and downe the liberty and country carrying packs, selling most sorts of waires and merchantdices by crying them in the streets and offering them from dore to dore, to sell them up and downe the country, to the great loss & damage of the freemen and shopkeepers of the said towne of Hexham, insomuch that seuerall of the antient inhabitants theire can scarce maintaine and relieve their familiees, and some of the said Scots are growne very insolent, proud, haughty, and sawcy in theire carriage, behaviour, and language to the said inhabitants that they hector, domineare, and over runn the said townes men, telling them that they, the said Scotsmen, are the chieff pillars of the said towne, which is a great reflection upon, dishonour, scandell, and discredit to the said towne and inhabitants theireof, for the prevention of such like practices for the futer, itt is thought fitt & ordered that noe frehold, copy holde, townesman or inhabitant of this towne of Hexham shall demise or lett any house, roome, or chamber to, or permitt or suffer any Scots pedler to reside, inhabitt, live, or dwell theirein, upon paine of xl^s and mensein to be paid by the owner, tennant, or occuppier of such house, etc., to be lett as aforesaid to y^e lord of the said maner.²

At the same time that this order was published, all the old regulations against foreigners were renewed.

As might be expected from the nature of the place, much of the attention of the borough jury was directed towards the regulation of the trade

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1693. The fines may have been inflicted rather as a punishment for regrating or reselling, than because the articles were home produce.

² *Ibid.*

and industries of the town, and to ensuring the monopoly of the privileged corporations, not only against foreigners but also against the townsmen who were not members. In this way an order was issued to protect the places occupied by the glovers' stalls from intruders.

We renew the order of former courts that noe person whatsoever shall build any stalls or sett any fflaikes within two yards of the glovers stalls for the future, they hindring the passage, on paine of 6^s 8^d every one offending herein.¹

Other trades than those privileged might be exercised in the town by the sufferance of the borough jury. Thus in 1676 permission was given to Henry Roberts, a brickmaker, to exercise his trade in the town because it was likely to prove useful.² This trade seems to have grown and flourished, but it was subjected to restriction by the borough jury, and in 1702 an order was issued limiting the price which inhabitants of Hexham were to pay for bricks thus made upon commons or moors belonging to the town.

We present & order that James Simpson & Hairy Roberts, brickmakers, shall not exceed the price of 6^d per 100 for bricks or tyles which they shall make upon any of the comon or moores belonging to this town, to any of the cobby holders or ffreholders or other inhabitants of this town, upon paine of xl^s for every offence committed.³

The severity of this order, however, was somewhat mitigated later on.

We renew the order of fformer courts that the brickmaker shall sell noe bricks into the countrey till the towns people be served, and that the said brickmaker shall give notice by the bellman to the inhabitants of this towne by the space of fourteen dayes, and after the expiration of that time to be at liberty to sell them to countrey people. And that the ffreholders of this towne shall pay to the brickmaker tenn pence per hundred for his bricks, provided they be well made and well burnt.⁴

Naturally the privileges claimed and exercised by the four companies of the borough were coveted and envied by the other craftsmen there. About the middle of the seventeenth century a determined attempt seems to have been made to set up a guild of tailors. This attempt was resisted by the older companies, who were anxious to preserve their monopoly. Accordingly in 1659 the borough jury issued an order forbidding the tailors to form themselves into an exclusive corporation.⁵ This order did not apparently quench the desire of the tailors for a guild, and they continued to presevere until in 1665 a more effective edict was issued to check the movement by an order giving power to all tailors who might wish to do so, to come and exercise their trade in the town.

We renew an order made at this court in the yeare 1659. And doe present order & declare (with the consent of the lord of this manner) that noe person or persons whatsoever professing the trade of a

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1720.

² *Ibid.* 1676.

³ *Ibid.* 1702.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1720.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1659.

tailor, being of honest life & conversation, dwelling and inhabiting within this mannor or places neare adjacent, shall be prohibited or hindered from workeing within the said towne of Hexham in any house or houses whereunto they shall be desired, nor from carrying away any worke foorth of the said towne unto their owne dwelling to make, if the owner of such worke shall soe thinke fitt, and that whosoever shall molest or trouble any such person or persons professing the trade of a taylor as aforesaid, either in workeing within the said towne or in carrying away any worke foorth of the said towne unto their owne dwelling to make as aforesaid, shall forfeit and be amerced to the lord of the mannor the summe of xi^s.¹

This measure appears to have had the desired effect, for no more is heard of the tailors in the Borough Books, and there appears never to have been a company of that trade in the town.

The regulations for the grain market were no less carefully framed than those which governed the industrial trades. Here also an attempt was made to prevent itinerant vendors, middlemen, and hucksters from interfering with the interests of the townspeople.

We fynd that whereas there is of late tyme a great disorder and abuse in the markett by seauerrall persons comeing out of the country, who under the pretence that they are badgers² lycenced, whereas in truth they are none doe contract for and buy up the seauerrall sorts of corne before it present the markett to the great prejudice of diuerse, both poore and others, in this towne, and whereas we fynd yt the greatest inconuenience doth arise by the setting up of corne in houses; and selling the same there privately unto diuerse persons who have now taken upon them the trade of badgeing unlycenced, contrary to the lawes of this kyngdome, and contrary to the good orders and constitutions of this towne in contracting for and buying up the said corne before the corne bell ryng. We therefor order that noe inhabitant in this towne or the precyncts thereof shall suffer any corne to be sould within their houses, unto any pretending the trade of badgeing; or unto any other person whatsoever, except it be unto such persons as shall buy the same for household use, nor shall suffer any of their guests to sell any corne in their houses unto any person whatsoever before it present the market upon paine of xiii^s iiiii^d euery inhabitant for suffering such corne to sould (*sic*) in soe unlawfull manner; and upon the like paine of xiii^s iiiii^d euery country man for selling their corne before the ringeing of the corne bell, and before it present the markett where our scaldrakers may not be wronged of their toll corne by such priuate and close selling as aforesaid; and the markett keepers are hereby required to see this order invyolably kept, and to present the offenders at the next court.³

As has already been stated, the fixing of the times when markets and fairs might be held in Hexham was a prerogative of the Crown. The borough jury, however, undertook to fix the date of the hiring of servants:

Whereas for seuerall yeares last past there hath been at the Martinmas time seuerall dayes for hireing of servants (*viz*!) Munday and Tuesday before Martinmas day, & Munday and Tuesday after Martinmas day, which we find to be prejudiciall to the tradesmen of this towne, because there is noe certaine day prefixed for the same. We doe, therefore, present & order that the day for hireing of servants shall alwaies hereafter be the first Tuesday after Martinmas day, and not before, except Martinmas day shall happen to be on a Tuesday, & then for that year the hireing day shall be on the same day. And that proclamation thereof be made by the sergeant of this manor twenty dayes before Martinmas next.¹

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1665.

² A badger is one who buys corn, etc., and carries them elsewhere to sell. *New English Dict.* ed. Murray.

³ *Ibid.* 1661.

¹ *Borough Book*, 1680.

This ancient custom of hirings is still continued at Hexham. There are two in the year, one at Martinmas and the other in May, and this seems to have been the case throughout the present century.

Although the attention of the borough jury was chiefly directed towards the maintenance of the privileges of the free companies, the interests of other sections of the community were not neglected. The borough jury of 1665 in particular seems to have determined to resist to the uttermost the encroachments attempted to be made by the rich and powerful classes upon their poorer neighbours. Two orders especially are directed against this abuse. The first is against the practice of enclosing common ground to the prejudice of the copyholders of the district :

We allsoe present & find that whereas the seauerrall commons belonging to the copyholders of this towne and to other neighbouring coppieholders who haue entercommen & eatage with us are some part of them incroached, hedged in, & stobed out, intending to build thereupon, and the same to convert to their owne private use, thereby to disinherit such coppieholders and others who haue anciently & legally by good custome enjoyed the same, and this done under a pretence of purchase from the lord of this mannor; whereas we conceive that such common is soe inseparably incident to the copiehold land as appurtenante to the same, and to diuerse freeholders as common appendant by prescription; and therefor we hope that we have not soe farr disingaged ourselves unto the lord of this mannor that he will take away our just freedome & right from us, but doe hereby (under submission unto him) declare our disents in such proceedings, and doe hereby order that if any person whatsoever will attempt the hedgeing in or building upon any such common aforesaid, soe as to convert the same to his owne private use (except it be the lord for his owne particular), we are resolved to throw downe such hedges and to prostrate such building, with the helpe & assistance of our neighbours, and will take such further suit against him or them (that shall hazard soe to doe) as the law will afford; but we hereby begg & intreat the lord of the mannor that there may be no cause for it.¹

The other order was directed against a practice that has not been confined to the seventeenth or any other century :

We present & find that whereas many poore people in and about this towne and the precincts thereof are very oft put to great charges & expences by persons more potent then themselves, and rather through mallice & revenge then any just ground or cause of suit, in that they will frequently for euery small & inconsiderable debt, trespasse, or otherwise, cause London writts to be sent for, thereby undoeing his poore neighbour and forcing him to compound with him upon his owne tearmes, and thereby giueing occasion to others to suspect injustice in our courts at home; we therefor order that noe person whatsoever within this towne or the libertie thereof shall sue to London in any action whatsoever where the reall debt is under xl^s, or where in trespasse the damage is not to that value, but that all actions whatsoever to the value of the aforesaid summe & under shall be sued & tryed in our owne Court Barron, where they may haue justice at lesse charge, upon paine of xl^s against those who shall be found to breake this present order.²

Curiously enough, on the cover of the book which contains these orders is the note, in a contemporary handwriting: 'Men will say more in a day then they will doe in twenty.'

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1665.

² *Ibid.*

In the midst of their more serious duties the borough jury did not neglect to provide amusements for the people. It is interesting to meet with an order of this kind at the time of the great reaction that followed the breakdown of the Commonwealth in 1660. It is less agreeable to add that it encouraged the brutal and brutalising sport of bull-baiting :

We present and order that noe person or persons exercising or professing the trade of a butcher in and about this towne or the precyncts thereof shall kill any bulls or expose the flesh of them to sale before they be baited by doggs, and such bulls soe to be killed shall upon the Saturday be brought unto the markett place by the butcher or owner thereof, unto the bull ryng, and there baited with doggs a sufficient tyme according unto former orders in this towne; and that the foure constables shall out of the townes charge buy and provide a rope with a collar and a paire of sweels, that such butcher or others aforesaid may not plead freedome for the lacke of such rope and collar, and these to be bought before Whittsunday next upon paine of iii^s iiiii^d euery constable and xx^s euery butcher breaking this order.¹

Two other orders, though indicating the existence of various amusements in the town, do not so well illustrate the care of the jury for the relaxation of the townspeople as their anxiety that nothing should be wasted :

We find that the fouwer constables shall take the money which the lords of misrule or May game collected in his or there tyme or tymes, and also to lay one unequall seisment of the whole towne for the repayinge and mendinge of the broken briges neer the Tyne greine and the east loneinge neer the Steavenson's and other wayes wher they shall thinke needfull and befittinge before Lammas next, upon paine of vi^s and for the connstables default therein, and 3^s 4^d everye one denying his seisment to the connstables, being layed one by 4 sufficient neighbours.²

We present and order that immediately after the givinge in of this verdict the foure constables of this towne shall take downe the seauerall summer trees or May poles in the seauerall streets or wards of this towne, and shall upon the townes charge cause them to be made into ladders for the use and service of neighbours in and about the saide towne, provided that none of the said neighbours shall take any of them after they are soe made, but shall first of all goe unto the said constables and acquaint them with what use they have for the same, and shall promise to bringe them backe unto such place as the said constables shall appoint.³

It is, perhaps, singular that there should be so little mention of the lord of the manor in the borough jury books of this period. His steward presided at the court, and no doubt his influence was predominant there. The few references to him that occur are of a trifling character. Persons accused of assault seem as a rule to have submitted themselves to the mercy of the lord. In 1635, one Thomas Fenwick was fined for grinding his corn away from the

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1661.

² *Ibid.* 1634.

³ *Ibid.* 1661. The practical spirit which induced the borough jury to turn these revels to account had a parallel at Morpeth, where a lord of misrule was elected at Easter and held office until the Wednesday following. He kept a barrel of ale upon the bridge, made all passengers drink of it, and collected a toll for the repair of the highways, rendering an account of the money thus collected at Whitsuntide. *Proc. Berw. Nat. Club*, xiv. p. 130.

lord's mill.¹ In 1653, there is a curious entry that Matthew Armstrong of Hexham, blacksmith, 'did finde a swarme of bees nigh unto ye Lynells, which we finde due to ye lord of ye manor.'²

During the seventeenth century, the period which has supplied almost all the illustrative extracts above quoted, the local government of the town seems to have been well carried out, and the guilds and the trades probably reached the height of their prosperity. This prosperity did not outlast the century, and towards its close a period of depression supervened. Trade was reduced to such a low level that many of the handicraftsmen were obliged to set up shop as retail dealers in order to eke out their scanty earnings. Some busybodies thought that they had discovered an illegal practice in this, and threatened to prosecute the offenders. The latter in alarm addressed a petition to Sir John Fenwick, the lord of the manor, in the year 1689, praying for his protection.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF HEXHAM.

Humbly sheweth: That the said town of Hexham, or the greatest part thereof, consisteth of mechanics, handicraftsmen, or tradesmen who, for the better support and maintenance of themselves and families have, time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, kept shops, and traded in the buying and selling of groceries, and all other sorts of merchandise, whereby they made a very good shift to live very creditably and honestly, and discharged the merchants of Newcastle, and others they dealt and traded with, from time to time, to the great comfort and satisfaction of their friends and relatives, and benefit and advantage to themselves and families, and never troubled or molested for so doing, until now of late some wicked and malicious persons envying the happy estate and condition of the said tradesmen, out of a peevish and perverse humour, and self-interest, go about and endeavour to foment and set up suits against the said tradesmen and shopkeepers of the said town, and threaten to indict them in the Crown office, and at the assizes and sessions, upon the statute of the fifth of Elizabeth, and for following more trades than one, which will be a very great loss and prejudice to the said tradesmen, and to the impoverishing, undoing, and ruining of them and their posterities, and in a manner depopulating of the said town, some tradesmen being so numerous there, viz., tanners, glovers, and shoemakers, that they are scarce able to maintain their families by one of these single trades, without making malt, keeping shop, or following some other employment, which if they continue to do, they are threatened to be indicted, and if so they must be forced to look for a livelihood somewhere else for themselves, and leave part of their children to the town to be maintained, which will be a great and insupportable burden for the said inhabitants to undergo.

May it therefore please your honour to take the premises into your serious and judicious consideration, and not to give any encouragement to any such promoters & informers, but rather to aid and assist your petitioners in making their just defence to such hard and vexatious dealings and pleadings, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.³

The trade of the town revived again in later years, the renewed prosperity in all probability being largely due to the construction of the bridges across the Tyne. At the beginning of the present century trade was

¹ *Hexham Manor Rolls*, Borough Book, 1653.

² *Ibid.*

³ Wallis, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 93.

in a most flourishing state, but in later years the old industries have almost entirely died out.¹ At the present time there are only two tan yards in Hexham, and though the once famous gloves may still be bought there, they are only produced in small quantities. The hatters have entirely disappeared. Market gardening is the chief industry of to-day, and there are one or two considerable establishments of seedsmen and florists.

The decline of the local industries naturally involved the collapse of the guilds. Established originally for the purpose of securing a monopoly of trade in return for payments made to the lord, they gradually lost their privilege. As time went on they sank by degrees to the condition of mere social clubs, their annual meetings became mere festive gatherings, and their insignia and banners never saw the light except on the occasion of public celebrations, when the members of the guilds walked in procession. Their gatherings took place in the various inns of the town, which were called after them, and the 'Skinners' arms' and the 'Tanners' arms', both in Gilligate, preserve the memory of this connection. Until a comparatively recent date the cordwainers of the town were accustomed to celebrate the festival of their patron, Saint Crispin (October 25th), by a public procession and *fête*. A king was chosen from among the master shoemakers, and he paraded the town in his robes, accompanied by his attendants, bearing the insignia of the company.² Even this custom has died out, and with it the Hexham guilds may be said to have come to an end.

The borough jury, which so long governed the town has also ceased to exist. After the passing of the first Public Health Act in 1849 it was superseded by a Local Board, and this body has in its turn given place to a District Council, established by the Parish Councils Act of 1894.

PERSONAL HISTORY.

The personal history of Hexham is of no great importance, and possesses only a minor interest. The celebrities who have been, in one way or another

¹ Possibly the decline has been due to misdirected energy. 'Hexham, where they knee-band lops and put spectacles upon blind spiders,' is a local saying. The inhabitants have not been famed for their wisdom: 'Go to Hexham' is a Newcastle malediction, and the townspeople have been known as 'Hexham geese.' 'Silly good-natured, like a Hexham goose; bid him sit down and he will lie down,' is another saying recorded against the natives of the place. *Denham Tracts*, Folk Lore Soc. i. pp. 279-81.

² The last time the festival of St. Crispin was celebrated was in 1825 or 1826. But even at that date the cost of the celebration so severely taxed the slender resources of the cordwainers that no meeting was held afterwards. Robb, *Hexham Fifty Years Ago*, p. 9.

connected with the place are, with one exception, of small importance. The wealthier families who, from time to time, resided there, had their seats elsewhere, or were cadet branches of the main line.

The principal residence in Hexham after the dissolution was the Abbey house, formed out of the old priory buildings. It was inhabited at that time, and subsequently, by Sir Reynold Carnaby and his family, a younger branch of the Carnabys of Halton. It will be remembered that Sir Reynold Carnaby left three daughters, Katherine, Mabel, and Ursula. Of these Katherine married Cuthbert, Lord Ogle, and subsequently parted with a portion of her share in the manor to Sir John Forster. A part of her copyhold property, however, was retained. It was situated in each of the four wards of the borough, and was rented in 1663 at £427.¹ Another Cuthbert, Lord Ogle, a descendant of Lord Ogle and Katherine Carnaby, had two daughters, Johanna and Catharine. The Hexham property descended to the latter, who married Charles Cavendish of Welbeck abbey, and was created Baroness Ogle. In 1664 her husband was created duke of Newcastle, but through default of male heirs the property passed by the female line, first to John Hobbs, duke of Newcastle, then to Edward, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and lastly to the duke of Portland.² After continuing in this family for some time, it was sold to various purchasers.

After the death of Lady Carnaby and her daughters, it is uncertain who became the occupants of the Abbey house. It probably constituted one of the residences of the lord of the manor for the time being, and in this way would be inhabited by the Forster, Fenwick, and Blackett families in succession. Upon the death of Sir Edward Blackett in March, 1756, the house was left in the hands of his widow, Dame Mary Blackett, who died in November of the same year. Before marrying Sir Edward Blackett she had been the wife of Nicholas Roberts. By Mr. Roberts she had one son, Nicholas, to whom she devised her property, by virtue of the terms of Sir Edward Blackett's will. After the removal of the Roberts family the Abbey again became the residence of the lords of the manor, though their visits to it were infrequent and short. The use of the house as a family seat was not abandoned till the disastrous fire referred to above.³

¹ Wright, *Hexham*, p. 240.

² Hodgson, *Description of Northumberland*, p. 186.

³ *Supra*, p. 262.

ROBERTS OF HEXHAM.

NICHOLAS ROBERTS = Mary, daughter of Thomas Jekyll, D.D. [? of = 2. Sir Edward Blackett, third baronet,
of, merchant. Sidney Sussex college, and brother to Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the Rolls]; died 29th Nov., 1756, aged 82; buried in Hexham church (b); will dated 27th Nov., 1756; proved at York (c). of Hexham abbey; died *s.p.* 1st March, 1756, aged 74 (a) and (b); will dated 7th Feb., 1756; proved at York (c).

Nicholas Roberts of Hexham abbey, to whom = Katherine, daughter of George Kaye and sister of Sir John Lister Kaye, his mother devised her estates at Humshaugh, Greencarts, and a house at Windsor; died 8th Dec., 1761, aged 61 (b); will dated 25th Aug., 1758 (c).* baronet, of Denby Grange, co. York, to whom her husband devised his farmholds of Lincoln Hill, Single Laws, Houghton Green, and Greencarts, in Northumberland, and a house at Windsor, with remainder to their son, Joseph Roberts; died 22nd May, 1764, aged 63 (b); † will dated 31st Jan., 1763; proved at York (c).

Edward Roberts, eldest son, baptised 29th Oct., 1725 (a); died 22nd Sept., 1757, aged 32 (b); administered at York, 5th Dec., 1757.	Joseph Roberts of Hexham, named in grandmother's will; a wool-len manufacturer in Hexham; to whom his mother devised 'all the stock in trade, etc., belonging to the manufactory.' ‡ daughter of ... Dixon of Hawkswell, 'an amiable young lady with a considerable fortune'; married at Stamfordham, 23rd April, 1764 (d).	John, baptised 1726; buried 1727 (a). Thomas, baptised 1729 (c); died in childhood. George, baptised 1740; buried 1741 (a). Henry, baptised 1741; buried 1747 (a).	John Roberts, baptised 21st Sept., 1743 (a); [? married 11th Sept., 1764, Jane Charlton (a)].
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Mary, baptised 27th Nov., 1727 (a); living unmarried 1763.	Tryphena, baptised 13th March, 1733/4 (d); buried 22nd March, 1734/5 (a).
Katherine, baptised 27th Aug., 1728 (a); married 28th Nov., 1750, John Rotherham of Hexham, M.D. ↓	Ann, baptised 28th April, 1735 (a); unmarried 1763.
Dorothy, baptised 12th Nov., 1730; living unmarried 1763.	Margaret, baptised 26th April, 1736; unmarried 1763.
Elizabeth, baptised 6th Nov., 1731 (a); married 3rd March, 1757, Nicholas Lee (a).	Charlotte, baptised 25th May, 1737 (a); married 31st Dec., 1763, William Bell of High Shield, Hexham (a); died 24th May, 1764 (d).
Alice, baptised 2nd Nov., 1732 (a); married 10th July, 1755, William Robson of the parish of Hexham (a).	Isabella, baptised 4th Aug., 1739 (a); died unmarried 8th May, 1781, aged 41 (d).

(a) *Hexham Register.* (b) M.I., Hexham. (c) *Raine, Testamenta.* (d) *Newcastle Courant.*

* 'A main of cocks to be fought at Mr. Francis Rumney's covered pit, at the Phoenix, in Hexham, between Ambrose Edwards, esq., of Barnard Castle, and Mr. Nicholas Roberts of Hexham, to shew 31 cocks on each side, on the Monday, 27th of Dec., to fight the three following days for 2 guineas a battle and 40 the main or odd battle.' *Newcastle Courant*, 11th Dec., 1731.

† 'Suddenly, in the 63rd year of her age, as she was taking the air in her garden at Hexham, Mrs. Roberts, relict of the late Nicholas Roberts, esq., and sister of the late Sir John Lister Kaye, bart.' *Newcastle Courant*, 22nd May, 1764.

‡ 'Joseph Roberts' lands at Lincoln Hill and Cockplay, in the township of Humshaugh, were sold shortly before 1770 to John Ridley of Park End.' *Raine, Testamenta.*

A better known and more interesting family were the Mitfords. John Mitford, though well connected, was a miller at Dam mills, Ovingham. His third son, John, took the Tyne mill at Hexham, situated on a small island in the river close to the present bridge. A younger brother, George, practised as a surgeon in Hexham, and his son Francis followed his father's profession. George, the son of Francis Mitford, though born in Hexham,

MITFORD OF HEXHAM.

ROGER MITFORD, lessee of Heddon tithes = Anne, succeeded to lease of Heddon tithes (*g*).

Oswald Mitford succeeded Anne Mitford in lease of Heddon tithes, = Ellen, party to suit
and devised same to his wife Ellen (*g*). of 1602.

John Mitford of the Dam mills, near Ovingham, afterwards of Tyne mills, Hexham; will dated 22nd Oct., 1725; proved at York, 13th June, 1727 (*f*). Catherine, daughter of George Bates of Horsley; married *circa* 1678; buried 2nd June, 1730 (*a*).

Robert, baptised 20th Feb., 1679 (<i>b</i>). George, baptised 5th June, 1682 (<i>b</i>); died in infancy.	John Mitford of Tyne mills, baptised 25th Dec., 1686 (<i>b</i>); buried 9th July, 1762 (<i>a</i>); administered at York, 28th April, 1763 (<i>f</i>).	= Deborah, daughter of ... Mayer of Simondburn and sister of John Mayer of York; buried 8th May, 1780 (<i>a</i>).	Thomas, baptised 31st Aug., 1691 (<i>b</i>).
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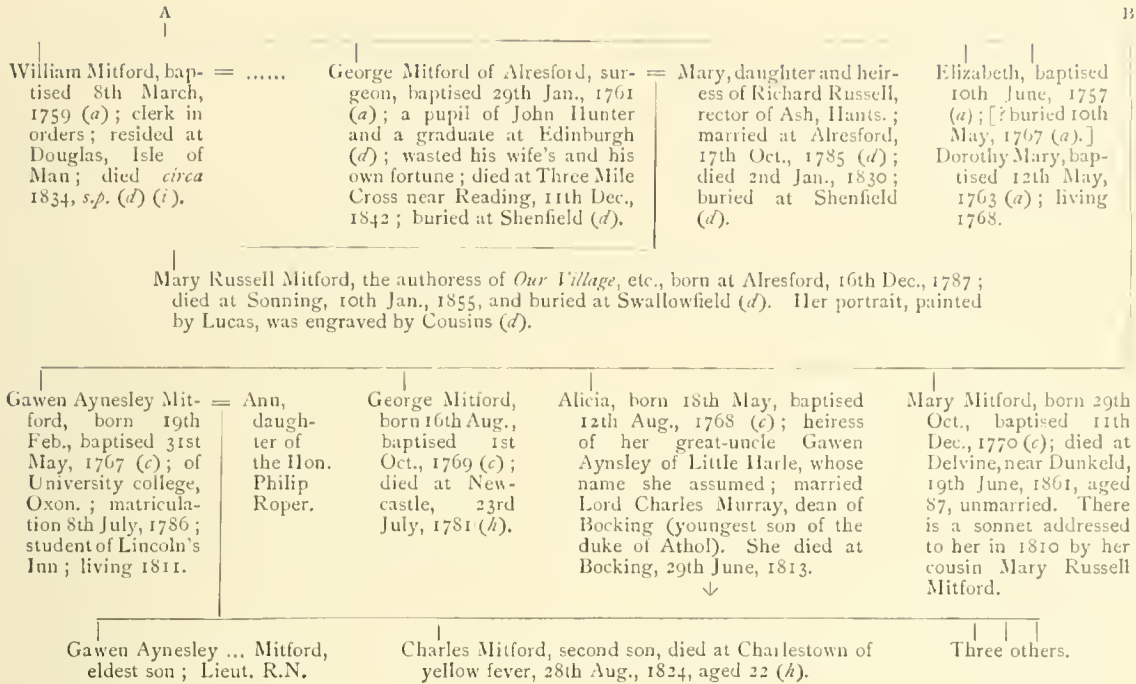
John Mitford of Tyne mills, baptised 8th June, 1726 (<i>a</i>); died 11th Nov., buried 15th Nov., 1794 (<i>a</i>) (<i>e</i>); administration at York, 21st Feb., 1798 (<i>f</i>).	= Ann, died 11th May, 1800, aged 79 (<i>e</i>).	Thomas, baptised 21st Jan., 1729/30 (<i>a</i>); buried 19th Mar., 1736/7 (<i>a</i>).	Elizabeth, baptised 19th Jan., 1731/2 (<i>a</i>); died 29th Jan., buried 2nd Feb., 1804 (<i>a</i>) (<i>e</i>).
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Thomas Mitford, died 23rd Jan., 1845, aged 82 (<i>e</i>).	John Mitford of London, baptised 20th Aug., 1762 (<i>a</i>); died at Hexham, 7th Feb., 1841, aged 77 (<i>e</i>).	Jane, baptised 1st Jan., 1767 (<i>a</i>); buried 10th October, 1770 (<i>a</i>). Elizabeth, baptised 12th July, 1765 (<i>a</i>); buried 28th June, 1778 (<i>a</i>). Mary, baptised 19th July, 1759 (<i>a</i>); died in infancy. Deborah, baptised 16th Oct., 1760 (<i>a</i>); died 11th Feb., 1835, aged 74 (<i>e</i>). Mary, baptised 10th July, 1768 (<i>a</i>); died 6th Mar., 1860, aged 91 (<i>e</i>). Margaret, married ... Robson of Burnfoot, near Chipchase.
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George Mitford of Hexham, surgeon and apothecary, baptised 9th April, 1694 (<i>b</i>); entered of Barber Surgeons' company of Newcastle, 6th Feb., 1707/8; buried 25th March, 1750 (<i>a</i>); will dated 17th March, 1749/50; devised lands at Kirkley to wife for life (<i>f</i>).	= Elizabeth daughter of ... Paston; bond of marriage, 5th Feb., 1714; buried 25th Feb., 1768 (<i>a</i>); will dated 25th Nov., 1767 (<i>f</i>).	Mabel, baptised 27th Dec., 1688 (<i>b</i>); died in infancy. Catherine, baptised 8th Dec., 1696 (<i>b</i>); married Robert Fenwick of Hexham (<i>f</i>).	Mabel, baptised 24th July, 1699 (<i>b</i>); living 1725. Barbara, baptised 17th April, 1704 (<i>a</i>); buried 9th July, 1712 (<i>a</i>).
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Francis Mitford = Jane, daughter of William Graham, curate of Hexham; married 30th June, 1756 (<i>a</i>); buried 25th Nov., 1765 (<i>a</i>); possessed of an estate at Old Wall, in Westmorland (<i>d</i>).	George Mitford of Morpeth, surgeon, baptised 16th June, 1726 (<i>a</i>); took house in Hencoots under mother's will; admitted free of Barber Surgeons, 10th Nov., 1743; died at Morpeth ... 1815; will dated 22nd Nov., 1811.	= Mary, daughter of John Threlkeld of Tritlington; married 19th Dec., 1764 (<i>e</i>); died ... March, 1810 (<i>b</i>).	John, baptised 4th July, 1727 (<i>a</i>); living 1767.
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Elizabeth, baptised 26th Aug., 1716 (*a*); buried 13th Dec., 1764 (*a*).
Catherine, baptised 20th March, 1717/8 (*a*); married 12th Aug., 1747 (*a*), Henry Fenwick of Hexham; died ... April, 1783, aged 65 (*e*).
Isabel, baptised 4th Feb., 1719/20 (*a*); buried 11th March, 1753 (*a*).
Sarah, baptised 19th June, 1724 (*a*); married ... Bates; living in 1767 a widow.
Mary, baptised 22nd Aug., 1729 (*a*); living 1767.
Dorothy, baptised 27th May, 1731 (*a*); buried 18th April, 1767 (*a*).
Barbara, baptised 9th March, 1732/3 (*a*); buried 5th Jan., 1734/5 (*a*).

(a) *Hexham Register*.(b) *Ovingham Register*.(c) *Morpeth Register*.(d) Rev. A. G. Lestrangle, *Life of Miss Mitford*, 3 vols. London, 1870.

(e) M.I., Hexham.

(f) Raine, *Testamenta*.(g) *Arch. Ael*, vol. xi, p. 277.

(h) Local newspapers.

(i) Thos. Dobson, *Contributions to Local History*.

left his native town, and practised as a surgeon at Alresford. He is described as a clever, selfish, unprincipled, and extravagant man, who during his life squandered three fortunes, amounting in all to £70,000, and ultimately died in poverty. His daughter, Mary Russell Mitford, was born at Alresford, December 16th, 1787. If she did not actually 'lisp in numbers', she began to write early in life, though her first volume of poems was not published till 1810, when she was twenty-three years of age. This first volume was soon followed by others, and from poetry she turned her attention to the drama. Her first tragedy was entitled 'Julian', which was performed by Macready at Covent Garden in 1823, but with little success. Her most successful play was 'Rienzi', which was put on the stage at Drury Lane in 1828, with Young in the title-rôle. Her poems and plays are now forgotten, but there is one work by which Miss Mitford's name will live. *Our Village*, that charming series of sketches, appeared first in parts in an

obscure periodical called the *Lady's Magazine*, after having been refused by other magazines as too light for a high-class periodical. The articles, however, at once attracted attention, and were eagerly read by the public. The sale of the *Lady's Magazine* increased almost immediately from 250 copies to 2,000. When published in book form, *Our Village* enjoyed a great success, and its popularity has continued almost undiminished. Miss Mitford wrote one other novel, called *Belford Regis*, giving sketches of Reading, near which she was residing, and several other books and fugitive pieces, but she produced nothing that at all vied with the charm and popularity of *Our Village*. Miss Mitford's great literary activity was continually spurred by the financial necessities which her spendthrift father had brought upon her, and which only ended with his death on December 11th, 1842. A public subscription and a civil list pension relieved Miss Mitford from the necessities in which her father's extravagance had involved her, and the remainder of her life was passed in comparative comfort. In 1851 she removed to Swallowfield, where she died four years later, January the 5th, 1855, at the age of 67 years. Her conversation has been pronounced to have been even more delightful than her books, and her private correspondence was most voluminous. Her friends were numerous, many of them being distinguished, and one of the closest was Miss Elizabeth Barrett, who subsequently married the poet Browning.¹

Among the families resident in Hexham the Carrs and Allgoods have long occupied an important, if not the foremost, position. The Carrs of Hexham sprang from a branch of the family that had been settled at Woodhall, from whence they came to Hexham about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Though some of them were Roman Catholics, their faith did not prevent them from occupying a prominent place in the town, and six members of the family were bailiffs of Hexham. The family residence was near the priory church, if not adjoining it, and probably facing the market place. About 1617, however, Ralph Carr, the head of the family, acquired the Spital, and went to reside there.²

The Allgoods, like the Carrs, were prominent in the local government of Hexham, and five bailiffs of the name presided over the manor courts. The Hexham Allgoods were a cadet branch of the Allgoods now settled at

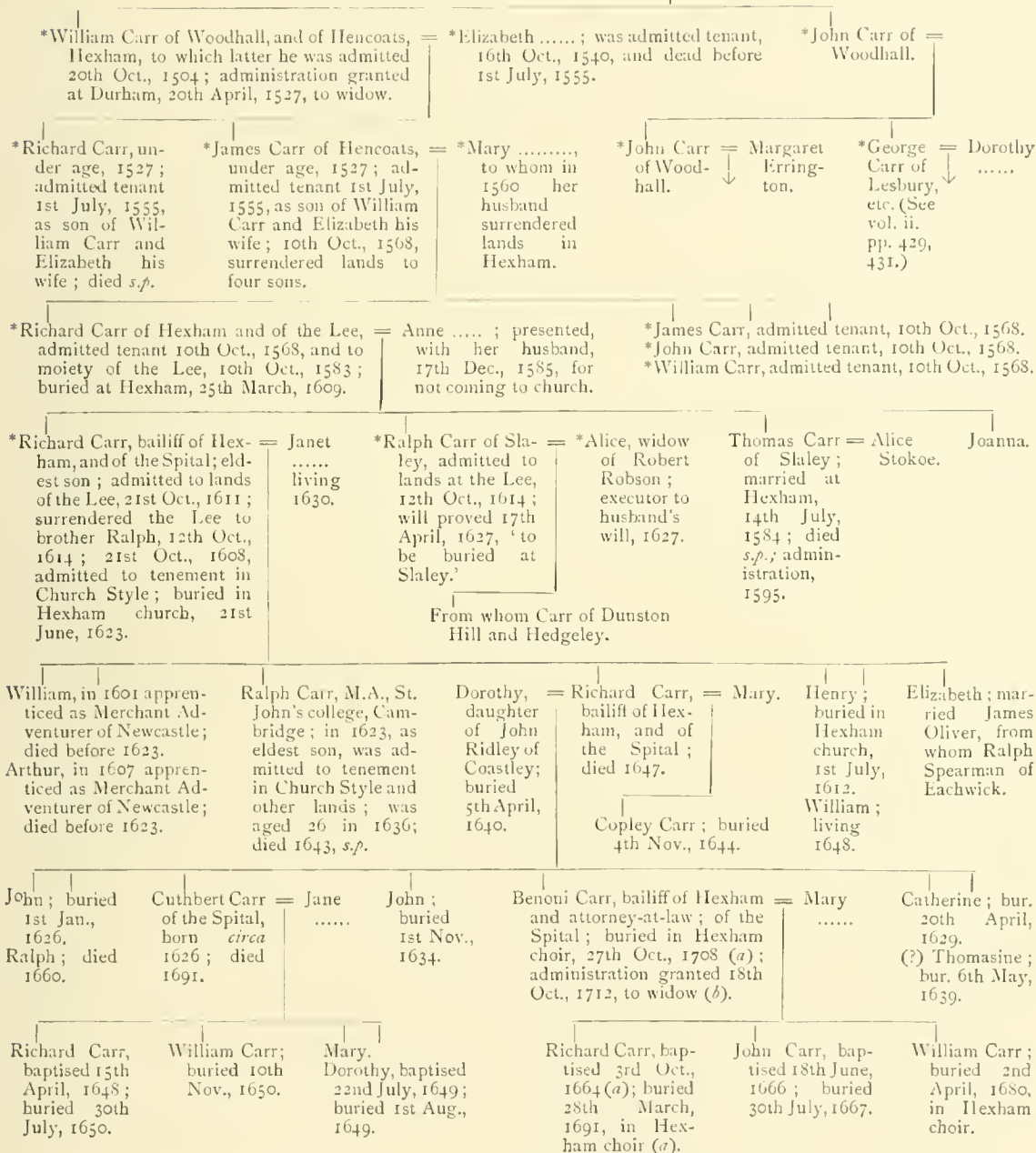
¹ L'Estrange, *Life and Letters of Miss Mitford*. London, Bentley, in 3 vols.

² *The Family of Carr*, by R. E. and C. E. Carr, i. pp. 12-27.

CARR OF HEXHAM.

ARMS: *Quarterly. 1 and 4, on a chevron three estoiles. 2 and 3, argent, two bars and in chief three escallops azure.*
Carr of Woodhall. *Visitation.*

*JOHN CARR of Woodhall, was aged 65 20th March, =
1515; held Hetton in 1474.



(a) *Hexham Register.*

(b) *Raine, Testaments.*

* From pedigree registered at Heralds' college in 1891.

This pedigree, with a very few additions, is taken from the exhaustive *History of the Family of Carr of Dunston Hill*, by Colonel Ralph Edward Carr and Cuthbert Ellison Carr, vol. i. pp. 13-23, 230. London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1893.

Nunwick, though the main line may have resided in Hexham before they moved westwards. It is uncertain at what time the Allgoods came to Hexham, but they had acquired considerable influence there by the middle of the seventeenth century, when Thomas Allgood was bailiff. It was he who succeeded in stirring up a majority of the townspeople against the curate Ritschell in 1698 and 1699, himself being the leader and spirit of the opposition. About 1741, Mr. Major Allgood began to act as lord of the manor, in which he was trustee for the heirs. He continued in this position until his death in 1748, when he was succeeded by his daughter Mary, who subsequently married the Rev. William Rastell. The two remained at the head of the manor until 1778, when Sir Thomas Wentworth Blackett entered upon his inheritance.

In the sixteenth century one Richard Gibson obtained from the Crown a grant of lands in Hexham. Ever since that time the family has been prominent in the town, and the main branch has always remained steadfast in its adherence to the Roman Catholic faith. Six members of the family attained to high position in the church to which they belonged. George and William, sons of Richard Gibson, born in the latter half of the seventeenth century, entered the Dominican order, and both became priors. The third brother, Thomas, acquired the estates of Hawkhope, Stagshaw Close house, Stonecroft, etc., and left Hexham. A descendant of his, George Gibson, born March, 1726, after being educated at Douay returned to Hexham. As chief of the Roman Catholic mission there he established a manufactory for spinning wool, to provide employment for the children of the poor. He died at Hexham on the 3rd of December, 1778. Two of his brothers, Matthew and William, were successively consecrated bishops of the 'Northern District' of England, and Matthew became the founder of Ushaw college.¹

Turning from families to individuals, the first name that claims attention is that of John Bate, a Carmelite, who lived at the end of the fourteenth century. Leland tells us that he was born west of the Severn, but Wright asserts, though without stating on what authority, that he was born near Hexham.² Bate was first educated at the seminary of the Carmelites at York, where he distinguished himself and was sent to Oxford. After a successful career at the university he returned to York, where he was elected prior of the Carmelites. In this office he continued till his death, which occurred in

¹ Welford, *Men of Mark*. The Gibsons of Hexham and Stonecroft. ² *History of Hexham*, p. 223.

January, 1429. He was one of the very few western Europeans of that time who had any knowledge of Greek. He was noted for his learning, and he devoted especial attention to divinity and philosophy. Fourteen works are ascribed to him, of which the principal are treatises on the parts of speech, *Porphyry's Universals*, and *Aristotle's Ethics*. Bale, while admitting his learning, accuses him of heresy.¹

Near Hexham, though on the slender authority of *The Modern Universal British Traveller*, Bishop Bryan Walton is said to have been born. His father appears to have been a merchant, but the son was early destined for the church. Educated at the Newcastle grammar school, he went, in 1616, to Magdalen college, Cambridge, but he took his degree from Peterhouse, graduating B.A. in 1619, and M.A. in 1623. His first curacy was in Suffolk, whence he proceeded to London, where, after acting as assistant at All-hallows, Bread Street, he became rector of St. Martin Orgar (1626). Here he took an active part in the discussion of the tithes question, as one of their foremost defenders. In 1636 he was appointed to the living of Sandon in Essex, which he held in conjunction with his London rectory. On the outbreak of the civil war he was persecuted by the Puritans as a 'mystical pluralist' and the champion of tithes. He succeeded in escaping to Oxford, but on the termination of the war he returned to London, living with Fuller, the historian, whose daughter Jane he had married as his second wife. It was at this time that he projected the polyglot bible, which is said to have been the first work published in England by subscription. It was issued in 1656. Though a work of great learning and value, it caused the gravest dissatisfaction to persons of very different opinions. The pope caused the new bible to be placed on the Index, and John Owen, a prominent Independent, attacked it with great violence as injurious to the Reformation and Christianity. This attack was answered by Walton in a pamphlet, which for the sake of brevity may be called the 'Considerator Considered.' At the Restoration Walton was made bishop of Chester, and the appointment appears to have been satisfactory to the diocese. He died soon after on the 29th of November, 1661, and was buried in St. Paul's.²

William Hewatson, or Hewson, was born at Hexham on the 14th of November, 1739, his father being a surgeon apothecary in the town, and his mother a member of the Heron family. Educated at the free grammar school

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Chalmers, *General Biog. Dict.*; Rose, *Biog. Dict.*

² Welford, *Men of Mark*.

and by his father, who taught him the rudiments of chemistry and surgery, he served his time with a surgeon in Newcastle. He went to London to complete his studies, and attended Dr. William Hunter's lectures on anatomy, lodging with the professor's brother, John. These eminent men conceived so high an opinion of him that when, in 1761, John Hunter went abroad, they entrusted to Hewson the instruction of his fellow-pupils in the dissecting room, though he was no more than twenty-two years of age at the time. The following year he spent in study at Edinburgh, and in 1762 he returned to London to enter into partnership with Dr. William Hunter. In 1770 he became a fellow of the Royal Society, and won the Copley medal for a paper on the 'Lymphatic System in Fish.' Soon afterwards he married Miss Mary Stevenson, the daughter of a friend of Benjamin Franklin. In 1771 the partnership with Dr. Hunter was dissolved, but Hewson's reputation went on increasing. On the 1st of May, 1774, at the early age of thirty-four, he died from an injury received in dissection. His collected works were published by the Sydenham Society in 1846.¹

Joseph Richardson, born at Hexham in 1755, and educated at the free grammar school, was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge, to qualify for holy orders. On the death of his father, before his studies were completed, he went to London, and was entered at the Middle Temple, where he made the acquaintance of some of the foremost wits of the time. He became a political partisan, and one of the foremost of the hack writers of the Whig party. He was one of the contributors to the 'Rolliad' and other political satires. In 1792 he produced a comedy, entitled 'The Fugitive.' He was presented to Hugh, duke of Northumberland, in 1796, and was nominated by him for the borough of Newpott, in Cornwall. Richardson was elected for that place the same year, and again in 1802. In 1803 the duke of Northumberland lent him £2,000 to enable him to join Sheridan in the proprietorship of the Drury Lane theatre. But the enterprise failed disastrously, and the trouble and anxiety that ensued cost Richardson his life. He died on the 9th of June, 1803. His works were published in 1807 by his widow, a relative of the celebrated Dr. Watts, in a volume, entitled the *Literary Relics of the Late Joseph Richardson, Esq.*²

Edward Rotheram, son of Dr. John Rotheram, who for some time practised as a physician in the town, was born at Hexham in 1753. Entering

¹ Welford, *Men of Mark*.

² *Ibid.*

the Royal navy he passed through many conflicts, including the American War, the glorious First of June, and the wars of the French revolution. At Trafalgar he was captain of Collingwood's flagship, the 'Royal Sovereign.' At the conclusion of the peace in 1815 he was created a Commander of the Bath, and later he was appointed to an extra captaincy at Greenwich hospital. He died at Bideston, in Sussex, on the 2nd November, 1830.¹

One of the most prominent figures at Hexham during the early part of the present century was Joseph Fairless. Though archæology had not attained the accuracy of a science in his days, yet he did a great deal towards popularising the study of the past in his own neighbourhood, and contributed not a little to making known the rich treasures of his native town, and in bringing to public notice several fresh discoveries. His son, Thomas Kerr Fairless, born at Hexham in 1825, studied under Bewick's pupil, Nicholson, the wood engraver; but feeling dissatisfied with his progress, went to London, and devoted himself to landscape painting. In this branch of art he attained considerable proficiency; but his constitution had been undermined, and returning to his native town, he died on the 14th of July, 1853, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.²

STREETS AND HOUSES.

In the town of Hexham as it exists to-day, the priory, the two towers, a few old houses, and ancient place-names still preserve the memory of the past. Old ward names survive in Hencotes, Priestpopple, Market Street, and Gilesgate. Hencotes recalls the spot where the poultry belonging to the convent was kept. It has been suggested that Priestpopple may refer to the distribution of alms by the canons; that those who partook of their bounty had free lodgings there.³ Market Street leads directly into the market place, and Gilesgate passes north-westwards to the Spital, where the hospital of St. Giles once stood. Contrary to the plan of most country towns the market place of Hexham is not the centre of roads leading in every direction. The main thoroughfare to Newcastle, Carlisle, and Alledale Town does not pass through it at all, but follows Priestpopple and Hencotes. A lower road connecting the town with the north bank of the Tyne passes through the market place, which it enters by the Hall Stile

¹ Welford, *Men of Mark*.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ Mackenzie and Dent, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 323.

bank on the one side and by Market Street on the other. These two distinct lines of traffic are connected by Fore Street, formerly Costeley Row, which consequently forms the principal business thoroughfare. The



OLD HOUSES FORMERLY IN GILESGATE.

road running due south from Fore Street is known as Eastgate,¹ because the eastern gateway of the town was situated at or near its junction

¹ Formerly Skinners Burn, and Bondgate.

with Battle Hill. The latter name, given to the almost level street connecting Hencotes and Priestpopple, is suggestive of the Yorkist and Lancastrian conflict of 1464, though it seems impossible to connect it with an event which took place so far away.¹

Between Market Street and Hencotes lies the Sele, a large meadow which was laid out for public use by Sir Walter Calverley Blackett. About 1820 it was proposed to carry the Newcastle and Carlisle road through it, but the plan was fortunately abandoned.² It had formerly been attached to the possessions of the priory, and it is conjectured that Sele may be a corruption of Champs du Ciel, a name frequently given to such monastic enclosures.³

Connected with Gilesgate are two narrow streets called Holy Island and Cockshaw, the latter so named from the little burn which runs beside it, and which also forms 'Holy Island.' Beyond these is Eillan's Lane, which, considered in connection with Eillan's hole, a cave near Warden,⁴ may possibly have something to do with the connection of the two Eilafs, father and son, with Hexham.

The progress of modern improvement has deprived Hexham of some of its most characteristic features. The houses on the west side of the market place, which stood against the church, were pulled down between 1840 and 1852. The Allgood house, which was built over the entrance to St. Mary's Chare, was demolished in 1879, and the fine old 'White Horse' inn has given place to a row of modern shops. An old doorhead, which was once a part of this structure, has been built into a house behind the market place. It is carved in five panels, and bears the date, 1604. On approaching the town from the station, the remains of some ancient vaults may be noticed near the top of the Hall Stile bank, on the left hand side. In Fore Street, opposite the site of St. Mary's church, was formerly a house bearing the date 1693. In Back Street is a Tudor building, now called the 'Grapes' inn, bearing a stone, upon which are carved the arms of Thomas, Lord Dacre.⁵ The largest number of old houses, however, was, until comparatively

¹ To battle is to beat cloth, Heslop, *Northumberland Words*; it seems more probable that the name is derived from this provincialism than from the battle of 1464.

² Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 62; *Newcastle Courant*, 1823, July 4th, Oct. 4th, etc.

³ This is hardly likely, however, for in Heddon parish there is a lane leading to Newburn, which is known as Sele Lane, though there never was any monastery near there.

⁴ Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 53, note.

⁵ See illustration, *supra*, p. 48.

recent times, in the street known as Market Street and Gilesgate. At the top of the former, and on the west side, was a picturesque group of seventeenth-century buildings, with a door bearing the inscription, SOLI DEO CAELI AC SOLI CREATORI LAUS. JULII. 15 AO. DNI. 1641. Another old house, built in the same century, is still standing in the same street, a little lower down. Further down Gilesgate, and on the opposite side of the way, was a house bearing the date, 1638, and the motto of the Order of the Garter, 'Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense.' At the bottom of the same street and on an old inn, called the 'Skinners' Arms', is the following inscription, carved on a large stone, which forms the lintel of the doorway :

C.D. 1683. I.D.

Reason doth wonder, but faith he can tell
That a maid was a mother, and God was a man;
Let reason look down, and faith see the wonder,
For faith sees above, and reason sees under.
Reason doth wonder what by scripture is meant,
Which saith that Christ's body is our sacrament,
That our bread is His body and our drink is His blood,
Which cannot by reason be well understood;
For faith sees above and reason below,
For faith can see more than reason doth know.

Over the Cowgarth burn, in a passage between the priory and the Sele, is an ancient bridge of solid stone.¹

¹ For an account of the buildings of Hexham, see Hodges' *Guide to Hexham*, pp. 95-8, Hewitt, *Handbook to Hexham*, pp. 103-5. The inscription on the 'Skinners' Arms,' which is now almost illegible, is also given by Wright, *History of Hexham*, p. 245.



THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES.

About three-quarters of a mile north-west of the priory church, on a pleasant, shady eminence overlooking the Tyne, stands the modern residence known as the Spital. The name alone serves to recall the fact that on this site once stood the hospital of St. Giles.¹ This institution is said to have been founded by one of the archbishops of York, in conjunction with a prior of Hexham. It cannot therefore have been established before the year 1114, though it was in all probability founded soon after the arrival of the Austin canons at Hexham. The house was never a large one, its inmates were few, and its endowments insignificant. It was ruled by a master, who was appointed by the archbishop. The inmates were to be poor labourers, infirm persons, or lepers, who were in need of some such charity, and must be natives of the liberty. The archbishop had the right of nominating two persons to the hospital, and the prior could propose two others. This was the full complement of the institution, though others who would support themselves might be admitted, with the consent of the archbishop's guardian of the spiritualities, and in this way the total number of brethren sometimes rose to seven or eight. The property upon which this little community subsisted was always exceedingly small. Besides the building itself they owned 2 acres of pasture land, 30 acres of arable land, and a rent charge of 11s. 2d. on property in Hexham, Fallowfield, and Portgate. In all, their income amounted to about 4 marks yearly. The neighbouring priory supplied them with six loaves of black bread and four lagenas² of ale daily, and they claimed in addition one lagena from every brewing on the priory estate.

The earliest mention of the foundation is in a charter of King John, dated February 16th, 1201, who granted to the lepers of Hexham freedom from all manner of tolls in the counties of Northumberland and York. The

¹ In Ellis' edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* the hospital of St. Giles and the Spital are treated as if they were two distinct places. This error seems to have been copied from Wallis' *History of Northumberland*.

² See p. 153, note.

thirteenth century seems to have passed quietly and uneventfully enough until 1296, when the Scotch invasions began, and these successive devastations completely ruined the house. In the year 1320, the inmates complained that the rents on Hexham, Fallowfield, and Portgate were no longer paid, because the lands were waste. They only had four mules and four oxen for ploughing, with one cow, and of these two mules and two oxen had been lent to them by one William le Walde. Their corn would hardly suffice for the sowing of the year. Finally, the priory, itself in greatly straitened circumstances, instead of supplying six loaves of bread and four lagenas of ale a day, had latterly only sent six loaves and two lagenas a week.

It is curious that these complaints should have been brought against the mother church at a time when the same person, Robert de Whelpington, was both master of the hospital and prior of Hexham. Such, however, was the case, and it must have been about this time that the hospital brought an action against the priory before the archbishop, for the purpose of compelling the latter to supply the loaves and lagenas as they had done previously. Against this action the prior and convent replied that the hospital of St. Giles was not a free chapel, but a dependent of the parish church. As for the 'hynbrede' and the ale, they were supplied as a gift of charity, and the hospital was not entitled to them as a right. They also complain that the witnesses brought against them were vagabonds of evil reputation who had been paid to give false evidence. It is uncertain how the case was ultimately decided, but the hospital continued to struggle on until 1378. By this time the plague had completed the work of the Scots, and the hospital, having gone from bad to worse, was at length ruined. Archbishop Neville, therefore, in that year made it over to the prior and convent of Hexham, together with all its property, only requiring that they should maintain two poor people, either at the hospital or in the priory, and find a chaplain to perform service in the hospital once a week. This arrangement apparently continued for about twenty years, when the archbishops again began to appoint masters. Before long, however, the hospital reverted to the priory, and both houses ultimately became the property of Sir Raynold Carnaby at the dissolution, the former being valued at 13s. 4d. a year. Like the conventual buildings of the priory, the hospital was at once secularised, and converted into a private residence.

PRÆ-CONQUEST CROSS AT THE SPITAL.



LIST OF MASTERS.

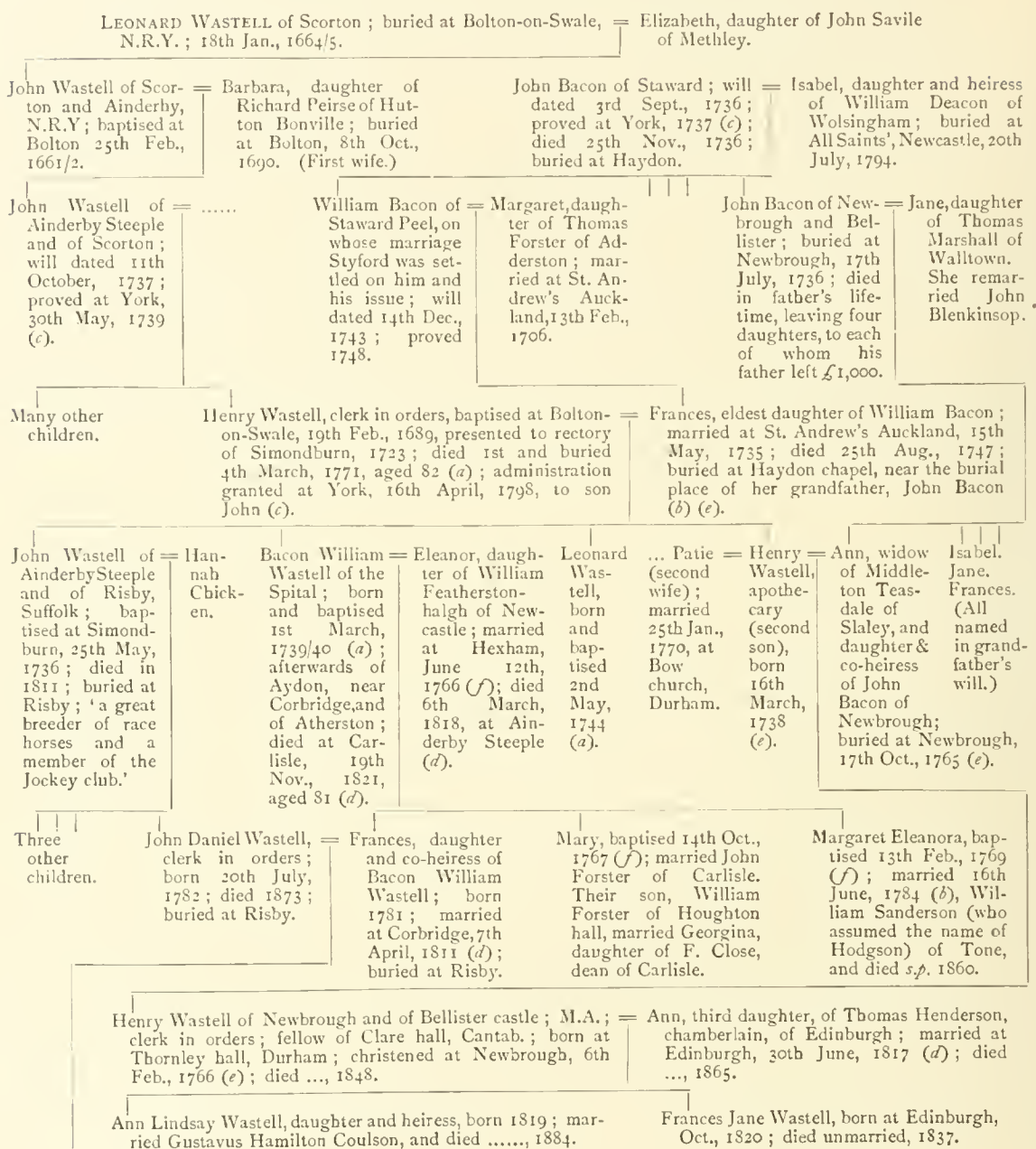
- 1274, August 20. Walter de Scrapetoft, collated.
 1313, June 11. Robert le Porter, collated.
 1318, April, 26. Robert de Whelpington, prior of Hexham, collated.
 1328, July 22. Robert de Ferghan of Corbridge, chaplain, collated.
 Apparently reappointed on July 14, 1334, and February 2, 1344.
 1354, May 5. Roger de Clone, domestic chaplain of the archbishop.
 1354, July 20. Mr. William de Fenton, collated on Clone's resignation.
 1359, August 6. John, son of William de Redshawe, sen. He resigned in 1378.
 1398, July 18. John Martyn, the archbishop's domestic chaplain.
 Thomas Parker.
 1409, June 28. Nicholas Tydd, clerk, collated, exchanging for it with Parker a stall
 in St. Sepulchre's chapel at York.
 1409, July 24. Mr. John Storthwayte collated.¹

It is uncertain how long the Carnaby's remained in possession of the Spital, but in 1626 the place was owned by Roger Widdrington, bailiff of the manor. Soon after this it was bought by Richard Carr, also bailiff of the manor, and it remained for many years the residence of the Hexham branch of the Carr family. In 1673, however, the name of William Pearson occurs as the owner. The Pearson family also possessed the Spital at Haltwhistle, and they remained at Hexham until 1717, when they sold the Spital to Cuthbert Robinson for £1,325. By his will, proved February 1st, 1721, Robinson devised the estate to Fenwick and Shafto Downes, who subsequently sold it to Joseph Ledgard of Elswick. The daughter and heiress of Joseph Ledgard, by her will dated November 10th, 1754, bequeathed all her real and personal estate to her friend Mary Featherstonhalgh, daughter of Ralph Featherstonhalgh. In 1766 Mary Featherstonhalgh devised the Spital to her niece, Eleanor, the wife of Bacon William Wastell of Simondburn. Finally, in 1802, Wastell sold the estate to James Gibson, who built the present house, and who subsequently changed his name to Kirsopp. His grandson, Mr. James Kirsopp, is the present owner.

Among the curiosities preserved at the Spital are a prae-Conquest cross, and an ancient image of St. Giles, which is said to have been cast upon the fire as a yule log, and to have escaped without being burned.

¹ This account is drawn from documents printed in *Hexham Priory*, ii. pp. 89, 130-2, and from a MS. of a suit between the priory and the hospital before the Ecclesiastical Court at York. See also *Hexham Priory*, ii. preface, pp. x.-xiii.

WASTELL OF SIMONDBURN, THE SPITAL, AND OF NEWBROUGH.*

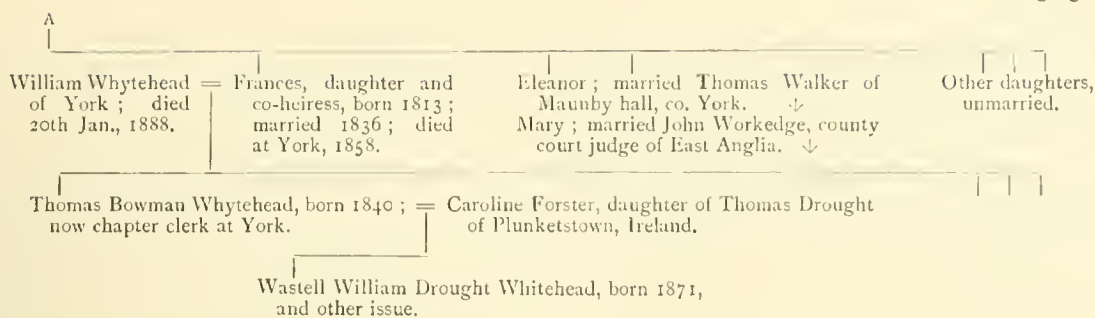


(a) *Simondburn Register* and M.I.
(b) *Chollerton Register*.

(c) *Raine, Testamenta*.
(d) *Newcastle papers*.

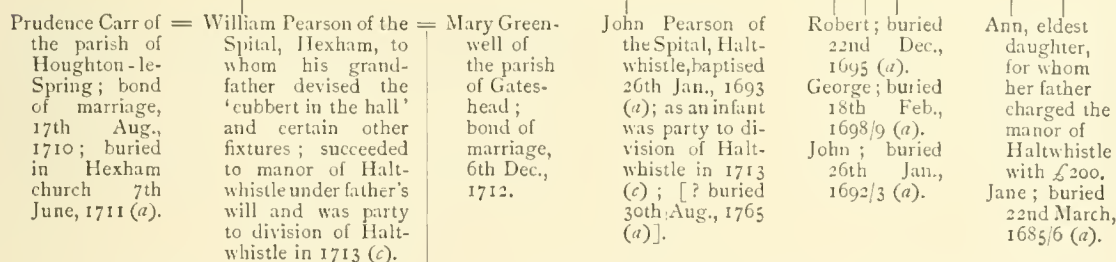
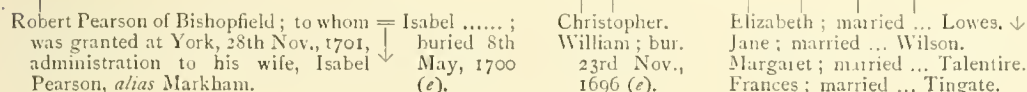
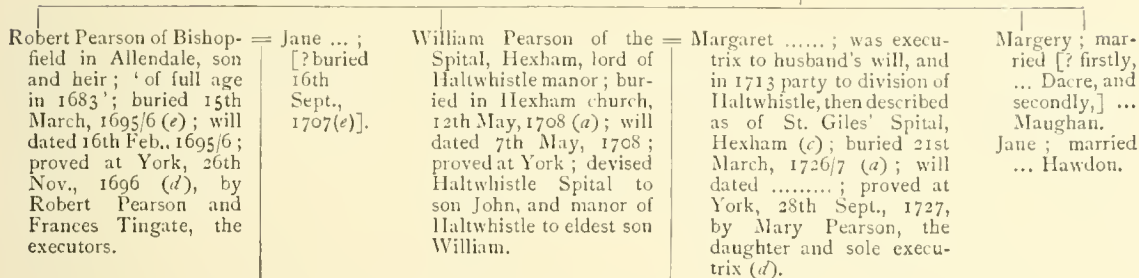
(e) *Hodgson, Northumberland*, ii. vol. iii. pp. 324, 345, 349, 375.
(f) *Hexham Register*.

* See also Wastell pedigree in Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*.



PEARSON OF THE SPITAL.

WILLIAM PEARSON of the Spital, Hexham; was assessed in =
1663 for Haltwhistle; will dated 3rd June, 1680; proved at York, 5th Dec., 1681 (*d*); *Inq. p.m.*, 1683.



William Pearson; baptised Dec., 1715 (*a*). [? '24th Oct., Mr. Wm. Pearson of the shire buried'] (*a*).

Mary, married at Warden, 20th June, 1728, Matthew Leadbitter of Wharmley (third wife). Articles before marriage, 10th May, 1728. He purchased Haltwhistle Spital in 1726 (*c*). Their only child Mary was living unmarried in 1760 (*b*) (*c*).

(*a*) *Hexham Register*.

(*b*) Hodgson, *Northumberland*, ii. vol. iii. p. 410.

(*c*) *Arch. Ael.* vol. xvi. p. 169.

(*d*) Raine, *Testamenta*.

(*e*) *Allendale Register*.

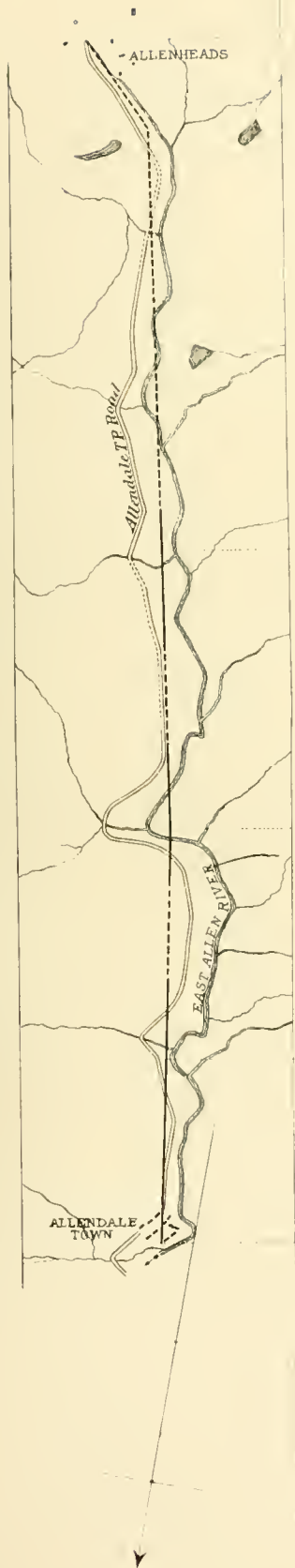
APPENDIX I.

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APPENDIX II.

BLACKETT LEVEL



PLAN

GIN HILL SHAFT

BRECKON HILL SHAFT

SIPTON SHAFT

HOLMES LINN SHAFT

STUDDON DENE SHAFT

BLACKETT L.M. or ADIT

LITTLE LIMESTONE

GREAT LIMESTONE

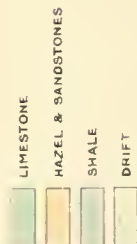
4 FATHOM LIMESTONE

3 YARD "

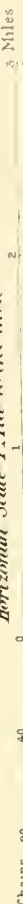
5 YARD "

SCAR "

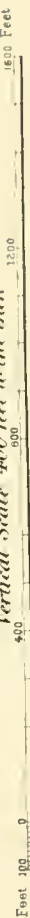
SECTION



Horizontal Scale 1 Mile to the inch



Vertical Scale 400 feet to the inch



APPENDIX III.

SECTIONS OF STRATA PIERCED BY THE SHAFTS ON THE LINE OF THE
'BLACKETT LEVEL' IN EAST ALLENDALE.

STUDDON DENE SHAFT.*				Ft.	Ins.					Ft.	Ins.
White hazel	...	...	...	—	—	Little limestone	...	...	...	12	0
Plate	...	...	...	27	0	Hazel	...	...	...	3	0
Limestone and hazel	...	...	...	5	8	Plate and coal	...	...	...	13	0
Famp	...	...	...	3	2	Crankey level.					
Hazel	...	...	...	—	—	High coal sill	...	...	...	17	0
HOLMES LINN SHAFT.						Plate	...	...	...	12	0
Gravel	...	...	...	12	0	Low coal sill	...	...	...	6	0
Plate	...	...	...	29	3½	Coal and plate	...	...	...	18	6
Little limestone	...	...	...	6	5	Great limestone	...	...	...	60	0
Hazel posts	...	...	...	3	11	New Gin level.					
Plate and coal	...	...	...	7	4	Shale	...	...	...	30	0
High coal sill	...	...	...	28	4	Mark's level.					
Plate and coal	...	...	...	1	5	Plate	...	...	...	24	0
Low coal sill	...	...	...	4	7	Limestone post	...	...	...	3	0
Plate	...	...	...	34	1	Quarry hazel	...	...	...	24	0
Great firestone	...	...	...	6	7	Four fathom level.					
Famp	...	...	...	0	6	Plate	...	...	...	45	0
Plate	...	...	...	20	6	Four-fathom limestone	...	...	...	24	0
Great limestone	...	...	...	45	0	Natrass Gill hazel	...	...	...	25	0
'Blackett level.'						SIPTON SHAFT.					
HOLMES LINN SHAFT.						Alluvium	...	...	...	108	0
Gravel	...	...	...	12	0	Quarry hazel	...	...	...	31	0
Plate	...	...	...	29	3½	Plate	...	...	...	36	9½
Little limestone	...	...	...	6	5	Four-fathom limestone	...	...	...	21	8½
Hazel post	...	...	...	3	11	Famp	...	...	...	1	11½
Plate and coal	...	...	...	7	4	Natrass Gill hazel	...	...	...	24	8
High coal sill	...	...	...	28	4	Shale	...	...	...	62	4
Plate and coal	...	...	...	1	5	Three yard limestone	...	...	...	9	11
Low coal sill	...	...	...	4	7	Grey famp	...	...	...	3	2
Plate	...	...	...	34	1	Six fathom hazel...	...	...	...	14	8
Great firestone	...	...	...	6	7	'Blackett level.'					
Famp	...	...	...	0	6	BRECKON HILL SHAFT.					
Plate	...	...	...	20	6	Alluvium	...	...	...	40	6
Great limestone	...	...	...	45	0	Great limestone	...	...	...	68	6
'Blackett level.'						Shale	...	...	...	19	0
GIN HILL SHAFT.*						Quarry hazel	...	...	...	74	7
Plate and coal	...	...	...	15	5	Plate	...	...	...	10	3
Firestone	...	...	...	33	0	Four-fathom limestone	...	...	...	22	0
Plate	...	...	...	24	0	Famp	...	...	...	2	10
'Whin' sill	...	...	...	15	0	Natrass Gill hazel	...	...	...	30	8
Plate	...	...	...	27	0	Shale	...	...	...	52	8
Top level.						Three yard limestone	...	...	...	10	7
Pattinson's sill	...	...	...	12	0	Famp	...	...	...	3	5
Shale	...	...	...	21	0	'Blackett level.'					

* N.B. These shafts do not penetrate to the depth of the 'Blackett level.'

STRATIGRAPHIC CORRELATION OF THE COAL-FIELD

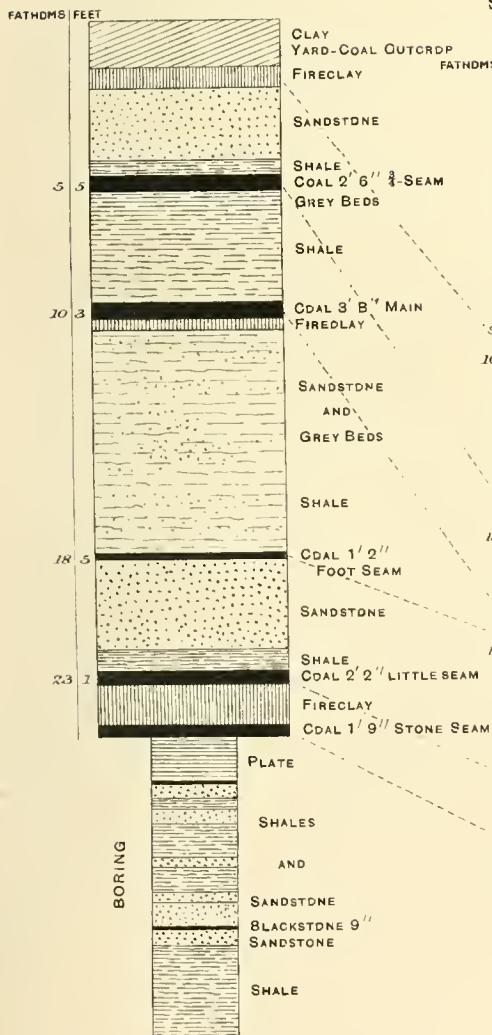


APPENDIX IV.

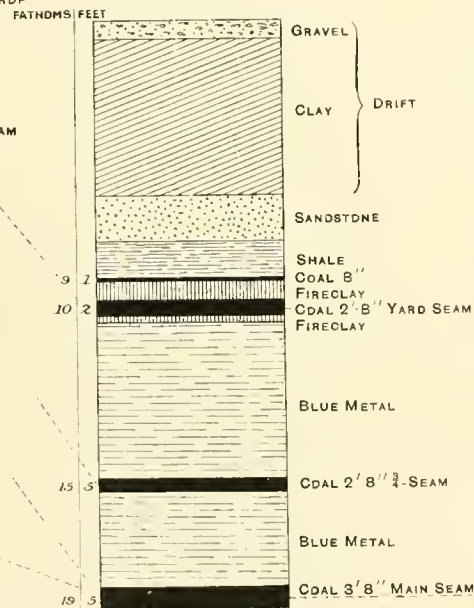
SECTIONS THROUGH THE STUBLICK COAL-FIELD.

AFTER H.M. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY SHEETS.

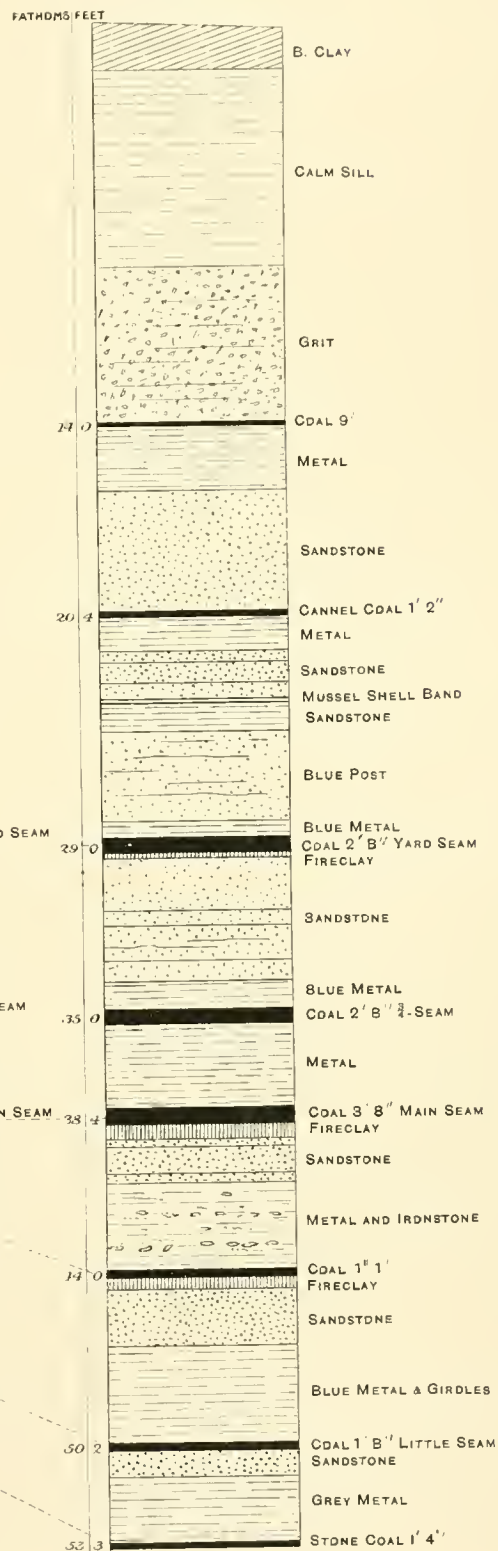
CARTSBOGG COLLIERY,
ENGINE PIT.



STUBLICK COLLIERY,
WEST PIT.



STUBLICK COLLIERY,
WET SHAFT.



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