

ART. XVI.—*Kirkby Stephen Church.* By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

Read at that place, September 13th, 1871.

IN offering the following account of the Church of Kirkby Stephen to the members of the two Northern Architectural Societies,* I would beg, at the outset, to disclaim all idea of entering upon such external or collateral parts of the subject as attach to the general history of the manor or parish—topics which fall rather within the province of the county historian or local antiquary than of the architectural student—and may all be found, more or less adequately set forth, in the pages of Nicolson and Burn. My purpose is simply to undertake an examination of the fabric itself; and, failing other sources of information, to trace its architectural history directly through internal evidence; making use, nevertheless, of any such facts contained in Dugdale and other writers, as may serve either to elucidate or lend additional interest to it.—

“The Church, dedicated to S. Stephen,” says Machell,† in his MS. notes, “giveth name to the town;” an assumption which, wholly improbable and all but certainly false, has been echoed ever since and found general credence.

Next to that of Kendal,‡ or rather Kirkby Kendal, it is the largest in the county; and, as we shall see presently,

* This paper was read at a joint meeting of the Archæological and Architectural Society of Durham and Northumberland, and this Society, held at Kirkby Stephen, on September 13th, 1871.

† The Rev. Thomas Machell, M.A., sometime Fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford, and Rector of Kirkby Thore, an intimate friend of Sir William Dugdale, was assiduously employed from first entering the University in collecting materials for a History of Westmorland. These which were ‘all in loose papers, imperfect, and undigested,’ were left by him to Bishop Nicolson, who caused them to be bound up in six vols. folio and lodged in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. See an account of these manuscripts in the first article in this volume.

‡ The vast, low, wide-spreading church of Kirkby Kendal, originally a Lance building of moderate dimensions, was entirely remodelled on a greatly enlarged
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from its intrinsic merits and relative importance, of considerable local interest. With the solitary exception of the Abbey Church at Shap,* a small and ruined but admiral work of the thirteenth century, the churches of Westmorland are all parochial, and, generally speaking, of very simple and humble character. Nor is this surprising. For in no part of the country, probably, during the whole of the middle ages were general circumstances more adverse than in this to the progress of so costly and refined an art as ecclesiastical architecture. The singular absence of religious houses,—such frequent centres of its loftiest and and purest expression in more populous and fertile districts—from whatever cause arising,—whether, as Fuller

scale during the late Rectilinear period. It consists of a plain and massive western tower, with double belfry windows; and nave and chancel of five continuous aisles, without any interior structural line of demarcation between them. According to Nicolson and Burn, "It is 180 feet long, and 99 feet in breadth." The outer aisles—of great width—and their arcades, which are well proportioned, and of singularly 13th century contour, are, together with the tower, wholly Rectilinear. Whatever of interest and dignity this great church possesses must be referred entirely to the mere qualities of bulk and local association. It would be no easy matter, I think, to adduce another of equal size and importance so utterly destitute of detail, or harmony of parts; the great width of the outer aisles, and the narrowness and lowness of the central one, producing an effect of gloom and confusion, which, though perhaps picturesque, is far from satisfactory. As it has, moreover, during the last thirty years and more been undergoing a course of well-meant but severe restoration, involving, among other things, the loss of all, or nearly all the ancient roofs, whatever value in an antiquarian sense it may formerly have had is now considerably diminished.

* The Abbey of Shap, or, as it was formerly written, Heppe (from the fruit of the wild-rose), stands in deep retirement in a narrow, lonely vale to the west of the river Lowther, about a mile beyond the village. Founded, in the first instance, at Preston, in Kentdale, by Thomas Fitz-Gospatric, circa 1191 (Nicolson and Burn, by a strange error, says "1119, in the 20 Hen. 1."), it was afterwards transferred by him to its present site, when, by a fresh charter, he granted "to God and the Church of S. Mary Magdalene, of the vale of Magdalene, and the Canons of the order of Præmonstratenses, serving God there," many additional and extensive endowments, as therein are set forth at length. Dying Dec. 7th, 1152, according to Nicolson and Burn, but probably not before 1202 (in which year the custody of Appleby castle, &c., held previously by his father and himself since 1170, was bestowed on Robert de Veteripont), he was buried in this new abbey. The whole of the church—choir, transept, nave, and north aisle, together with the dependent offices—cloisters, chapterhouse, &c., are cotemporaneous and of this date. The massive western tower, with its enormous and deep-set window, is an addition of the late Rectilinear period, and (thanks to the care of the present owners) in remarkably perfect preservation. Altogether,—the beauty of the buildings,—the intense solitude,—the weird melancholy and desolation that reign around,—combine, with the startling unexpectedness of the whole scene, to produce a most impressive effect upon the mind. I know few, if any, churches of its size, indeed, which so well repay a visit; or which, once seen, are so little likely to be forgotten.

asserts

asserts, because "such lazy folk did hate labour as a house of correction, and knew there was nothing to be had here but what art and industry wrested from nature,"—or because of "the devotion of the ancestors of these parts judiciously expressing itself not in building convents for the use of monks, but churches for the worship of God,"*

* How entirely false and unjust the accusation is, may be seen at once, either by reference to the authentic annals of the several orders, or the concurrent testimony of history. Not only will it prove to be untrue (a slight thing where Protestant changes are concerned) but the exact reverse of the truth, the special title, above all others, perhaps, that the monks won to themselves, and with the strictest justice, being that of "Défricheurs de l'Europe." That the lords of the soil (*contrary to the prevailing idea*) were influenced by no antagonistic feeling towards the monastic system in not founding religious houses on the spot (a supposition sufficiently incredible) is evident from the fact of their endowing them not only with two thirds of the churches in the county, but also with rents, lands, and pensions in several of the same, and remaining parishes. Thus, out of a total of thirty parish churches,—

The Abbey of S. Mary at York had those of Kirkby Kendal, with rents in the chapels of Grasmere and Windermere; Heversham, with the manor; Betham; Burton in Kendal, with one carucate of land; Kirkby Lonsdale, with the manor; and Kirkby Stephen, with three carucates of land and his tithe, by grant from Ivo de Taillebois; the churches of S. Lawrence and S. Michael, Appleby, with two parts of the tithes of all his demesne lands, from Ranulph de Meschines; the church of Morland, with two carucates of land, from Ketel, son of Eldred, son of Ivo de Taillebois, besides other lands given to it, and its dependent cell of Wetheral, by Henry Legate, and Peter his brother; and the churches of Cliburn, Musgrave, and Ormside.

The Priory of Wartre had the church of Barton, from Sir John de Lancaster; and that of Askham, with half a carucate of land.

The Priory of Conishead was endowed with the church of Orton, by Gamel de Penington; together with divers lands, by Alan, son of Alan de Penington, and Thomas de Musgrave.

The Abbey of Whittby had the church of Crosby-Ravensthorpe, with two carucates, and 140 acres of land, by gift of Torfin de Alverstain, temp. H. 1; the Abbey of S. Mary, York, holding also a pension, and the cell of Wetheral, possessions in the parish.

The Priory of Watton, Yorks., held the manor and advowson of Ravensthorpe, by the gift of Torphin, son of Robert, son of Copsus, temp. H. 2, with free warren in Ravensthorpe and Langdale, by grant of Henry III., and

The Abbey of Shap, holding the churches of Warcop, Shap with the manor, &c., and Bampton—in all twenty—left the following only unappropriated, viz. :—

Duften, Marton, Newbiggin, Kirkby Thore, Broughton, Clifton, Lowther, Asby, Crosby-Garret, and Brough—in all ten—among which, in—

Newbiggin, the Abbey of Holm Cultram held the grange of Hale, by gift of Waldeve, son of Gamel, and divers lands from Lawrence, son of Robert de Newbiggin: in—

Kirkby Thore, the Abbey of Holm Cultram held divers lands, with common of pasture, from the same Waldeve; together with other lands and rights from Alan, and Gilbert de Kirby Thore; Lyulph, son of Lyulph; Robert de Brov; Amabil, daughter of Robert de Berford; and John de Veteripont: in—

Brougham, the priory of Wetheral had a yearly grant of firewood out of the forest of Whinfell, by gift of John de Veteripont: in—

Clifton, the priory of Wartre had an annual pension of one mark:— in

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was in itself a serious drawback. The scantiness and poverty of the people too, quite independently of any artistic inaptitude which may possibly have characterized them, were such as must have forbidden any indulgence in architectural display. Then, again, their proximity to the Scottish border, and the chronic state of raid and pillage resulting from such neighbourhood, were further causes, which would operate powerfully against the exhibition of any qualities, save those of mere strength and utilitarianism in the churches. And such we shall find to be their leading characteristics. They reflect, in fact, with

Lowther, the priory of Carlisle had a third part of the advowson, by gift of Humphrey Machel; the priory of Watton holding another third:—

Asby, the abbey of Shap held three tenements in Great Asby; the abbey of Byland, the estate of Grange in Asby Cotesford, and the hospital of S. Leonard at York, the manor of Garthorne.

Besides these, among the parishes of the appropriated churches, in—

Kendal, the priory of Conishead held the patronage of the hospital of lepers, by gift of William de Lancastre: the abbey of S. Mary, with the cells of Wetheral, and S. Bees in Coupland, lands in Great Strickland, by gift of Walter de Strickland; the same abbey holding also lands and tenements in Skelsmergh: the abbey of Shap had lands in Hutton: the hospital of S. Leonard in York, the manor of Docker: the abbey of Byland had Fawcet Forest, by gift of William de Lancastre: the priory of Conishead a moiety of the lands in Patton; and the abbey of Cockersand lands in Strickland Roger, called Hundhow: in (the chapelry of)—

Windermere, the abbey of Shap had a tenement: in—

Heversham, the abbey of S. Mary held the manor of Heversham or great part thereof; the priory of Conishead the fishery of Levene, by gift of William de Lancastre; and the priory of Cartmell, the chapel of Stainton, from Sir William de Strickland: in—

Betham, the abbey of S. Mary, and the priory of Wetheral, held certain lands in Haverbrack; and the hospital of S. Leonard, certain rights of forest, by gift of Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz-Reinfred: the priory of Conishead, the capital messuage, and divers demesne lands of Haverbrack, by gift of Margaret de Ross; a messuage, with gardens, and divers lands, from William de Haverbrec; all the lands in Haverbrec of Elias de Gyle, with the fourth part of the mill, &c.; and all the lands in the same place of Thomas, son of the said Elias, with their appurtenances; and the abbey of Shap had also lands at Farleton: in—

Burton, the abbey of Shap had extensive possessions in Burton Patrick, where the abbey was first founded, from Thomas Fitz-Cospatrick: in—

Kirkby Lonsdale, the abbey of Cockersand had lands in Middleton, by gift of Edmund de Nevil, knt.: in—

S. Lawrence, Appleby, the priory of Wetheral had a carucate of land at Colby, from Ranulph de Meschines: the abbey of S. Mary, and the priory of Wetheral, a carucate of land in the same place, from Emsand, son of Walter; and the priory of Carlisle, lands between Colby and Bolton: the abbey of Shap had a pension in Hoff; and the hospital of S. Leonard, two ox gangs of land in Drybeck: in—

S. Michael's, Appleby, was a hospital of S. Nicholas, given to the abbey of Shap by John de Veteripont, which in 12 Jac. 1, was sold for £700: also a priory

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simple but absolute truthfulness, the spirit of the times when they were built; and tell us in language, compared with which that of the historian is but as a dull and doubtful echo, what manner of men they were who built them. And it is, I think, precisely in this quality of contemporary witnesses to times so far removed and different from our own—the artlessness of whose rude tale makes it only the more precious—that the real value of these buildings consists. As architectural models, they have little worth. Built commonly, perhaps,—in some cases it would seem certainly—with an eye to defence* as well as worship,

founded in 1281, by the Lords Clifford, Percy, and Vesey, with upwards of twenty acres of land appurtenant thereto; the priory of Carlisle having lands at Crackenthorp, by gift of Halth le Malchael: in—

Morland, the priory of Wetheral had the greater part of the manor of Morland; certain lands at Thrimby, with a grange, by gift of John, son of William de Thirneby; lands, with a grange at King's Meaburn; and five tenements in Bolton: the priory of Watton, a carucate of land, with pasturage for 1000 sheep, &c., in the same place: the hospital of S. Leonard, lands at Newby: the abbey of Shap, divers lands at Slegill, with a rent in Bolton; and the priory of Carlisle, two ox gangs of land in Meburn Field, with common of pasture for the cattle of their men: in—

Barton, the hospital of S. Leonard had two carucates of land at High Barton: in—

Orton, the priory of Watton held the manor of Langdale, by the grant of Henry II.; and the abbey of Byland, the pasture of Breredale: in—

Crosby-Ravensworth, the abbey of Shap held the whole manor of Regill, with a pension of 22s. yearly out of Mauld's Meburn, by name of alms corn; the hospital of S. Leonard holding four ox gangs of land in the same place, by gift of William de Veteripont, to which divers other lands were added by his son, Ivo de Veteripont: in—

Warcop, the abbey of Shap had a tenement and cottage at Sandford, in which manor was a hospital at Coupman-beck: Byland abbey held the manor of Blea Tarn, where it had also a cell of monks, and divers lands at Warcop, by gift of John Taillebois, Torphin, son of Robert, W. de Bereford, and Richard, son of Ketel; and in—

Shap, besides the endowments of the founder, the abbey held 9 acres of land in the vill of Heppe, from Johanna de Veteripont; the grange of Milnburn, and tithes of all his mills in Westmoreland, from Robert de Veteripont; and the grange of Sleddale: the abbey of Byland, certain lands in Shap, with pasture for 500 sheep in Heppe and Heppeshow, from Thomas, son of Cospatrick; and the manor of Hardendale and Wasdale.

* The necessity of utilizing the churches as strongholds in disturbed districts was of far too frequent occurrence for such contingent use to be lost sight of in their construction. However ill adapted many of them may now seem for the purpose, they were still, it must be remembered, even in the humblest cases, much larger and stronger buildings than the wretched hovels of the common people; and, with their walled enclosures, would very generally offer the best position for defence. Among the Westmoreland churches, those of Crosby-Garret (or Gerard) and Great Ormside, though small, and not structurally fortified, seem un mistake-

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“Half house of God, half castle 'gainst the Scot,”

their most salient characteristic is rough and unpretending solidity. This, with simple directness of purpose, and a general breadth and dignity of effect, resulting from massive construction, and the absence of all vulgar and meretricious ornament, make up their chief merit. For such higher qualities as scientific composition, beauty of proportion, refinement of detail, or elevation and purity of style, we shall look in vain. For after all, these churches are evidently, in the main, the work, not of architects in any true sense of the term, but of unscientific local masons; plain, practical men, very imperfectly educated in the art of their day; and whose knowledge of design, so far as it went, was gained only by working under, or copying from the works, of more skilled masters. But, what strikes us most forcibly, perhaps about these buildings, and serves to impress so

ably posted as citadels. In size and plan they are curiously alike, each occupying the summit of an extremely steep conical mound, which it almost covers. At Crosby-Garret the mound is a natural one: at Ormside, where it commands a passage of the Eden, purely artificial; the size and shape of each basketful of the various materials which compose it being, it is said, easily detected whenever it is cut into. Orton church too, both in structure and position, is admirably suited for defence. Plain and massive, with broad lead roofs, and strong western tower, it crowns the apex of a bold grassy knoll, and plainly forms the natural stronghold of the village. At Brough, the church, a massive and easily defensible building, is set upon the precipitous bank of the Hellebeck, and forms a sort of outwork to the castle. The church of Kirkby Stephen also, is strongly planted on the Eden, and that of Cliburn on the Leeth. In Cumberland, the churches of Burgh-on-the-Sands, Newton Arlosh, and Great Salkeld, of which an interesting account, with illustrations, by Mr. Cory, will be found in the *Journal of the Arch. Institute*, Vol. XVI., p. 318, *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II., p. 49, are all more or less distinctly fortified. What cannot fail to strike the most cursory observer, however, in the whole of these, as well as several like examples in Northumberland, is the very partial and inadequate nature of the defences; the tower, when there was one, being commonly the only part capable of offering much resistance. The contrast presented to these crude and unscientific expedients, by the complete and logical way in which a like, but graver difficulty, was met in the fortified churches of the south of France, is very characteristic; and offers perhaps as interesting a field for research as any in the domain of Mediæval Architecture. Like most others, it is best explored upon the spot; but notices and illustrations of several of these most curious and instructive buildings, which include numerous cathedral and other churches of the most surprising character, among which may be instanced those of Agde and Les Saintes Maries—veritable fortresses—may be found in many vols. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, and the magnificent *Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques*, now in course of publication by the French Government.

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special, and peculiarly local a character on them, is the recurrence, in almost every instance, of very extensive, and very late Perpendicular insertions and additions—witnesses no doubt to many a wild foray*—utterly unlike anything of the kind we are accustomed to meet with elsewhere; and differing hardly, if at all, in type, from the Elizabethan, or even post Restoration work, in the farm and manor houses. The main walls being usually of very moderate height, the general effect of this work, which commonly takes the form of rather large square-headed windows, of two, though more frequently three, flattened lights, combines, with their low roofs, and other peculiarities of structure, to produce a whole of wonderfully quaint and homely look. Taken as a whole, and viewed in a scientific or coldly critical light, these Westmorland churches would rank humbly enough. Neither in detail, nor at large, can they be said to come up to, or even closely approach, the general average of such structures in other parts of the country. And yet,—pervading and penetrating these old fanes is a spirit of calm repose and power, altogether admirable in its way;—a pastoral simplicity, and atmosphere of bygone days, that appeals strangely to the imagination; and invests them, backed as they are by settings of glorious landscape, with a charm to which otherwise they could make no pretence.

II.—Prominent among those of more purely urban type, is that of Kirkby Stephen. Of its original foundation we know nothing. Nor can we now say when the name of the place itself first took its present form, though it had

* During the year 1544 alone, in a single expedition of this kind in Scotland, which occurred between the 2nd of July and the 17th of November, the number of "Towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, parish churches, and bastel houses, cast down and burnt," is given at a *hundred and ninety-two*. In the year following, among other items, "seven monasteries and friar houses" are returned as "burnt and destroyed," in a foray made by the Earl of Hertford, between the 8th and 23rd of September (*Haine's State Papers*, pp. 51-54). Reprisals were never slow to follow and the churches of Westmorland seem to shew clearly, in the advanced 16th century character of their repairs, with what extreme severity they must have suffered about this period.

certainly

certainly done so as early as the eleventh century. That the Stephen of its distinguishing suffix, however, is the Saint and Protomartyr of that name, as asserted by Mr. Machell, is, to say the least, and on the face of it, utterly improbable. We have altogether thirty-four names of places similarly compounded, but in no single instance is there any reference to the Patron Saint of the church. The suffix invariably indicates either locality, as in Kirkby Wiske, Kirkby Moorside, Kirkby Underdale, &c.; or ownership, as at Kirkby Bellars, Kirkby Mallory, or, perhaps, to take a local and neighbouring example, Kirkby Thore.* In this last instance, indeed, Mr. Machell—with a weakness, it may be, for sacred persons—entirely over looking the plain and obvious sense of the word, tells us gravely that this place “is so called from a temple anciently dedicated to the great idol of the Pagan Saxons, called Thor, which was of more estimation among them than any of the rest of their idols.” The instance of Kirkby Stephen is, no doubt, perfectly analogous with the rest. Not, however, that there is any actual Stephen in the case at all, whether as founder, or owner, any more than as Patron Saint. The name is neither a British nor a Saxon one, and therefore, altogether unlikely to have belonged to a lord of the soil in pre-Conquest times. It is, in fact, pretty certainly (strange as it may seem at first sight), not a personal name at all, but a purely local or geographical one, a process of corruption, precisely parallel to that which in Leominster, has converted the Lug into *Leo*; and in Robertsbridge, the Rother into *Robert*; having here, in Kirkby Stephen, transformed the Eden into *Stephen*;

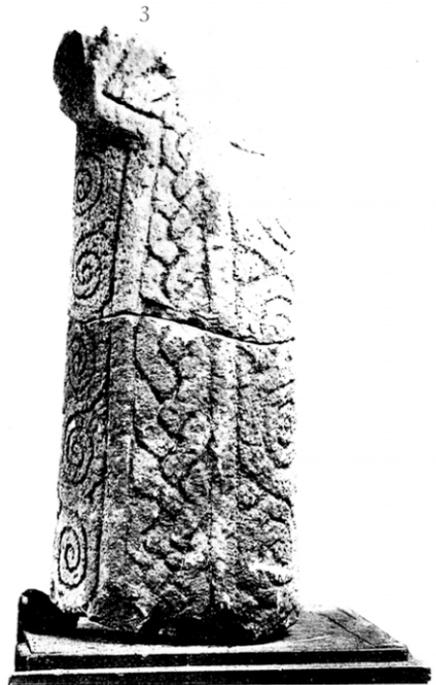
* Such would seem at first sight, from the common occurrence of the word as a personal name among the Danish, and other northern settlers, to be its natural sense in the present instance. In his work on Cumberland and Westmorland, Mr. J. Sullivan, however, maintains that while “Kirby Thore cannot have any connection with the god Thor, it is so called from the Roman road, *N. thor, H. C. tochar*, a highway.” Granting this, it only strengthens the view I have taken (*infra*), since the suffixes of all the four Westmorland Kirkbys will then have reference to local physical features, viz.:—one to the road, and three to the rivers.

and given us, instead of “*church town on the Eden*” — the true signification of the name—that of an individual whose existence is simply mythical.*

But, if unable to point to the precise time of the first ecclesiastical foundation, we can at least trace it up to a period beyond which it is hardly likely to have gone. The evidence—yielded by the building itself—consists of several sculptured fragments, chiefly parts of crosses (see Plates I. and II.), which were brought to light during the rebuilding of the chancel in 1847. The earliest and most interesting of them (Plate I., fig 1.), of singularly classical design, is, unhappily, very slight and imperfect. In style, it closely resembles the early remains from Hexham, now in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham; with three of the patterns on which it is almost identical. See Vol. II., Plate 88 and 94, of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, where they are engraved. Essentially the same character of composition, though with the addition of birds and beasts, will be found in the designs of the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses figured in Vol. II., Plates 19-22, of the same work. As both of these are all but certainly of the seventh century, and the Hexham stones, whilst possibly of that age, cannot, owing to the very distinct and peculiar style of their work, be later than 875,† the question of date is brought within reasonable limits. We shall not, I think, be far wrong in referring it to the first half of the

* Other instances of corrupt change of name are rife enough in Westmorland; —thus, Breredale has been converted into *Bretherdale*; Coupman-beck, into *Coupland-beck*; Rutman-fell, into *Roman-fell*; Bertha, into *Bela*, &c. Kirkby on the Eden, —Kirkby o' t' Eden, —Kirkby t' Eden, not improbably, perhaps, present the gradations by which the name has grown into Kirkby Stephen. The letter S, which may be thought to offer the chief difficulty, facilitates the pronunciation, and is, moreover, actually found in the case of Heppe, now, and a long time universally known as *Shap*.

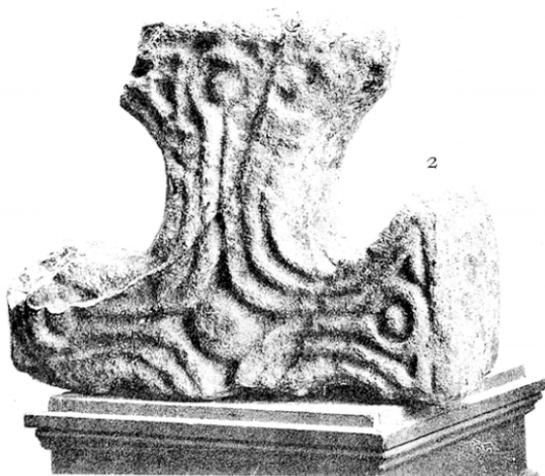
† The year of the Danish devastations; Simeon telling us “Denique postquam scævissima paganorum devastatio gladio ac flamma ecclesias ac monasteria in cineres redegerat deficiente pene Christianitate, vix aliquæ ecclesiæ et hæc virgis fænoque contextæ sed nulla uspiam monasteria per cc annos reædificabantur, tepescente paulatim fidei religione, cultu vero religionis penitus deficiente; monachorum nomen erat provincialibus inauditum.”—(*Simeon de Gestis regum Anglor*).



KIRKBY STEPHEN CHURCH. Plate I. pp. 186-8.



1



2

KIRKBY STEPHEN CHURCH. Plate II, pp 186-8.

eighth century, or regarding it as a probable witness to the first foundation of the church, of whose cemetery cross it may well have formed a part.

The next, in chronological sequence, is the head of a cross (Plate II., fig. 2), not later probably than the middle of the ninth century. With an outline somewhat recalling that of the pectoral cross of S. Cuthbert, this fragment, as regards the bosses and connecting lines of its surface decoration, has considerable likeness to one of those incised upon the very curious tablet stones of the seventh century, found in 1833 and subsequent years, in the Saxon graves at Hartlepool, and described, with illustrations, by Mr. Haigh in the first Vol. of the *Journal of the Archæological Association* (see p. 190). In form, it may be compared with one found at Carlisle, and figured, with a description by Mr. Purday, in Vol. XV., p. 85, of the *Journal of the Arch. Institute*; this, however, which is of distinctly earlier character, being ascribed by Mr. Westwood, from the peculiar lettering of the inscription, to about the year 700. A second, very similar to this last in outline, also inscribed, but of later aspect, and in its five bosses, bound together with knotwork, more nearly resembling the Kirkby Stephen example, may be found in Vol. III., p. 72, of the same *Journal*. It was found in 1807, in the churchyard of S. Mary, Lancaster, and ascribed by Professor Finn Magnussen, to whom the inscription was referred, to the eighth or ninth centuries.

The remaining subjects are of altogether different character. They belong, without doubt, to that latter class of Saxon work, of the end of the ninth and following centuries, so frequently met with—utterly rude and coarse—and in which the delicacy and refinement of earlier days are replaced by confused masses of men, monsters, and knotwork, all equally well drawn and uncouth. Both appear to be of about the same date—the tenth century probably—and show the same rude method of manufacture. This
appears

appears to have been entirely effected with a small sharp pointed pick, the punctures of which may be traced both on the surface of the designs and of the intervening ground-work; the latter, which is merely sunk out, leaving the patterns square-edged, and perfectly flat.

The first, and rudest of them (Plate I., figs. 2 and 3), consists of the very irregularly formed shaft of a cross, shewing just the commencement of a head. As will be seen, the workmanship is of the feeblest, and ruder, if possible, than the design; which, instead of being in relief, is, in a great measure only picked in outline.

In the other (Plate II., fig. 1.), also part of a cross shaft, the sculpture, barbarous as it is, has more boldness; and the merit, for once at least, of turning the intricate, and usually unmeaning, ribbon-work to practical account: the subject,—appropriately enough—representing Satan bound.

III.—The cotemporary Saxon church has left us no remains. Whatever its extent, or its materials, may have been,—whether wood or stone—it continued in use apparently down to a late period. Such, at least, is the inference I draw from the fact, that the earliest details, either found or remaining incorporated in the present building, and which now constitute all the evidence we possess of its presumable successor, show it to have been constructed towards the beginning of the last quarter of the twelfth century, circa 1170-80. They consist chiefly of capitals in the latest Norman, or early Transitional style* (see Plate III.); and though but few and mutilated,

* Of these capitals—all characteristic and interesting in their way—one (fig. 2), happily in all but perfect preservation, is remarkable alike for its subject, and the vigour with which it is illustrated. Despite defects of drawing and other shortcomings, it would be difficult (in so small a space and under such conditions) to conceive anything exceeding its expression of weird and supernatural horror. A question at once arises as to the meaning of the scene. A single human figure, usually but not always standing, between two lions, or monsters intended for them, is frequently found in the mystical or symbolic sculpture of the 12th and 13th centuries, specially upon the continent. Examples occur, among others, on the tympana of the doorways of the churches at Tonnerre, Burgundy (*Bulletin Monumental*, T.

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KIRKBY STEPHEN. Plate III, p. 188.

indicate a church of much dignity. The plan was a very unusual one in England, at all times, although occasionally met with, as at Dowdeswell, near Cheltenham; Pottern, Devizes; Alderminster, Warwickshire; Llandabern,

XVIII., p. 329); Bully, Calvados (*Bull. Mon.* T. XIX., p. 553); and, in England, on those at Shallfleet, in the Isle of Wight; and Handborough, Oxfordshire (*Britton's Antiq. of Gt. Britain*, V. V., p. 208). The subject, which is meant for Daniel in the den of lions—a type of the resurrection—is one of the earliest met with in Christian art. It forms a principal feature in some of the oldest Christian paintings extant, viz:—those in the Cemetery at S. Domitilla, at Tor Marancia, on the Via Ardeatina, which De Rossi confidently ascribes to the 1st century, and considers as not improbably belonging to the *memoria* of the consul and martyr, Flavius Clemens. Nothing is more striking than the way in which the simple treatment there adopted, served as a type in all later representations of the scene; the figures being constantly three in number, the human one in the centre, with the lions grouped symmetrically on either side. The chief variations consists in the attitude of the lions, and their relative proportion to the central figure. In the instance just quoted, they are much below their proper size, but rear themselves with considerable vivacity against the piece of rock on which the prophet stands calmly, with arms outstretched, in the posture of an *orante*. In a beautiful fresco of the 2nd century, on the ceiling of a cubiculum in the cemetery of S. Lucina, where the same subject occurs as a centrepiece, the lions, somewhat smaller still, sit quietly upon their haunches like dogs. More diminutive again, we find them in precisely the same attitude, on the front of a very rich sarcophagus of the 4th, or early part of the 5th century, discovered a few years since in the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, immediately above the tomb of the Apostle, and now in the Lateran Museum. On a bronze buckle of the Merovingian or Carolingian period, figured by De Caumont in the 17th volume of the *Bulletin Monumental*, p. 136, where the superscription DANIEL PROPHETA, leaves no doubt as to the subject, the lions, or rather nondescript monsters which do duty for them, are of full size, and with bodies raised aloft, and heads upon the ground, appear as though doing obeisance to the prophet, who stands between them in an attitude of prayer. In the Tonnerre tympanum, which is of the 12th century, the two lions, larger than life, are shewn walking; the outstretched hands of the central figure, which is very diminutive, resting on either of their heads. At Bully, of the same period, but where the work is utterly grotesque, the central figure, which is small and quite naked, sits with arms and legs extended in parallel lines between two enormous catlike monsters, and grasps them by their tails, which, breaking out into foliage, are carried round the arch. The same scene is found again on the foot of a very singular ciborium, or covered cup of ivory, of doubtful date, but not earlier than the 14th century—probably as late as the 15th—now in the Museum of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. In this instance, which is perhaps unique, the prophet, who is of very diminutive size, and clothed only with a narrow girdle, is shewn kneeling on his knees in prayer, and with his hands joined upon his breast; while the lions sit, each with a fore-paw raised, facing him as usual on either side.

In all these instances, however, minor differences notwithstanding one thing comes out conspicuously the same, and that is, the perfectly self-possessed and assured attitude of the central figure.

Now what is specially interesting and significant in the sculpture of the capital before us, is, that with the same arrangement of figures, we see the exact contrary of this; the *intention* pointing plainly to swift and hideous destruction. Clearly, therefore, the group can have nothing to do with Daniel, and some other solution of its meaning must be sought. The sculptured tympanum of the doorway of the church at Treviers (Calvados), supplies the key. It is of the 12th cent., and of singular interest, from its design being undoubtedly based on the conventional representation of the scene in the den of lions. At the same time, there is no re-

Aberystwith,

Aberystwith; and in the small conventual churches of Penmôn and Porchester. It consisted of a chancel, north and south transepts, nave without aisles, and central tower.* This last, which stood above the crossing, was carried by four recessed arches on massive clustered piers,

ference whatever to the historic fact; and the lesson symbolized is evidently a different one, for the beasts—no longer even meant for lions—are composite winged monsters, with lion-like heads and necks, whose bodies, instead of having hind-quarters, taper off severally to a tail, and two dog, or lion-headed snakes. Nor are their mouths “shut,” for with wide-open jaws, they furiously attack the man, who, though bitten by the snakes in his feet, stands firmly in the midst, and with outstretched arms grasps them by the throat and holds them off. Evidently it is the Christian who resists, and that successfully, his “adversary the devil”—“that old serpent”—who “*tanquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem devoret.*” Precisely the same subject, though with a special application, occurs on the circular 12th cent. font at East Haddon, Northamptonshire. In this instance, the evil power is represented by two great snake-like birds or dragons attacking the central human figure, which, vested in a robe reaching to the ground—the white robe of baptism—and seizing them by their necks, appears to strangle them. On the Kirkby Stephen capital, we see the other issue:—the man who, “overcome”—not “overcometh”—is “delivered” to—not “out of”—“the mouth of the lion” and “power of the dog.” The same fate is expressed in a strikingly similar way, on one of the cloister capitals of the conventual church of Milstat in Kärnten (*Fährbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central Com.*, B. IV., s. 101). Exactly as in the Kirkby Stephen example, the two beasts—in this case, however, grand judicial-looking lions—advance from different sides; and holding, each, with a raised fore-paw inserted in the mouth, a human head between them in the angle, are just about rending it in twain. Another instance, shewing the impending doom in actual progress, is found in the perforated sculpture which fills one of the circular windows opening between the narthex or portico, and nave of the cathedral of Traù in Dalmatia (*Fährbuch* B. V., s. 198). The same triple grouping is followed here as elsewhere; but now the central figure is that of a woman, struggling hopelessly with two winged and crested dragons or basilisks, which have already partly swallowed, and are devouring her lower limbs. Had all the Kirkby Stephen capitals been preserved, we should probably have seen each issue represented. Both appear on adjoining capitals of the doorway of the 12 cent. church of S. Agnan, at Cosne sur Loir (*Bull. Mon.* T. XVI., p. 489), a brief notice of which, in conclusion of the subject, I subjoin, in the words of the writer, the late M. l’abbé Crosnier:—

“Au côté droit (gauche du spectateur), le chapiteau le plus rapproché de la porte est orné de deux lions, entre lesquels se trouvent, nous ne dirons pas un homme, mais une quasi-forme humaine; la tête touche le sol, et les jambes se dressent contre le cou des lions. Ne doit-on pas reconnaître ici l’homme terrestre qui s’est laissé dominer par ses passions; les pieds, qui doivent être au service de la tête, ont pris sa place, et les deux lions, symboles de la force et la tyrannie du démon, semblent contempler leur victime. Le chapiteau voisin est le combat que nous avons à soutenir sur la terre et dans lequel Dieu nous rendra victorieux, si notre volonté ne se montre pas rebelle à sa grâce. Le démon se présente sous la forme du lion et du dragon, mais le chrétien n’a rien à craindre, il est assuré qu’il sera plus fort que le lion et le dragon, *conculcabis leonem et draconem*: ici il ne les foule pas aux pieds, il leur déchire la mâchoire d’une main vigoureuse. Le premier chapiteau présente la défaite, le second la victoire.

* Churches with central towers, transepts, and aisles to the nave, are far from infrequent;—whether parochial, as at Darlington, Stratford-on-Avon, Bishop’s Canning’s, Ashford, Witney, &c.;—conventual, as at S. Bees, Buildwas,

the

the capitals of whose many shafts were richly decked with sculpture (see *ante*, pp. 188-190). As at S. John's, Devizes; and in many other Norman examples, the plan of this tower—regulated by the width of the respective cross-limbs—was not a square, but a parallelogram; whose major axis, measuring internally 18ft. 10in., was north and south; and the minor, 15ft. 7in., east and west. Beyond these leading, if somewhat meagre outlines, there remains little to tell of its appearance. The only other fragments of an architectural character that have been discovered, consist of one or two voussoirs, which have probably formed part of the south or west doorways. They are of good zig-zag work, set point to point rectangularly; and serve to shew, in connection with the pier capitals, that, if a little rude, the detail generally was both vigorous and elaborate. And here, as perhaps explaining the superior character of the new work in a satisfactory way, the documentary evidence is interesting. For we find that towards the close of the 11th century—Nicolson and Burn, on what authority does not appear, say in 1088*—Ivo de Taillebois, baron of Kendal, gave “to God and the church of S. Mary at York, and Stephen the abbot there and the brethren,”—“the church of Kirkby Stephen and three carucates of land and his tithes.” In Henry III's charter of confirmation† it is,

Lindisfarne; or even cathedral, as at Bangor and S. Asaph. Churches with central towers, but without transepts, are also of very common occurrence in Norman work, as at Iffley, Stewkley, South Lopham, &c. What we so rarely meet with—built at one effort, and after a uniform plan—is, an aisleless church with central tower and *transepts*. The latter feature, it cannot be too generally known, especially among architects—not one of whom hardly seems to have made the discovery—*were always, and without exception*, in parish churches, mortuary or chantry chapels; never, under any circumstances, applied to congregational use; and invariably screened off from the body of the church itself, to which, for the sake of convenience, they were set cross-wise. To see, therefore, as we do now, new churches constantly built on a cruciform plan, and seated throughout; argues either a complete contempt for ritual propriety, or profound ignorance of ancient usage:—very commonly—both.

* The date of the foundation of the abbey by King Henry II.

† The charter, according to Dugdale (Vol. III., p. 553, ed. Caley), runs as follows: *Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Ivo Taillebois, pro salute animæ meæ necnon et uxoris meæ Lucie, et pro animâ patris mei, et*
 “the

“the half of my domain of Kirkby Stephen, and of the church of the same vill and my tithē.” To this great and wealthy abbey* therefore, as I suppose, in conjunction probably with the then head of the house of Taillebois, the building of this Norman church was chiefly due.

IV.—Unlike the Saxon structure it superseded, it stood but for a very short time—scarce fifty years. for some cause or other, now impossible to specify, either insufficiency of size, or such failure of foundations as involved ruin of the superstructure,—a catastrophe to which Norman buildings were singularly liable—or from both combined, it was all but completely pulled down, and re-erected in the altered fashion of the day, during the early part of the 13th century, circa 1220-30. Such sweeping and all but complete effacement of so fine a church, so soon after its erection, is a fact almost without parallel, and one which seems to point directly both to extensive, and radical defects of construction. At any rate, whatever condition the rest of the building may have been in, the tower piers were, even at that early date, so crushed or sunk, as to render the rebuilding of at least one of the arches, viz.: that of the south transept, matter of necessity; and, as there is every reason to think, of the western one, opening into the nave, also. The remains of it, which only came to light during the recent restoration, shewed the Norman capital of the southern nook shaft, supporting

matris meæ, omniumque fidelium animabus, concessisse et dedisse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ Ebor, et Stephano abbati, omnibusque fratribus ibidem imperpetuum Deo servientibus, dimidium domini mei de Cherkaby-Stephan, et ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ, et decimam meam; in Wyntunâ duas bovatas terræ, et decimam meam: et ecclesias de Cherkaby-Kendale, et Eversham, et Cherkaby-Lonnesdala, et terras ac comunias, quæ ad easdem ecclesias pertinent: et villam, quæ vocatur Hutton; et ecclesiam de Bethome, et terram, quæ vocatur Halfrebek: et ecclesiam de Burton, et unam carucatam terræ, cum comuniâ; et ecclesiam de Clepeam, et unam carucatam terræ. Hiis testibus Luciâ uxore meâ, Ribaldo genero meo, Radulpho Taillebois, Roberto clerico, Girardo de Sancto Albano, et multis aliis.

* At the time of the dissolution, the endowment of Kirkby Stephen was held by the priory of S. Martin at Richmond, a cell of S. Mary's; but when the transfer was made does not appear.

of

a springer, not profiled to its square-shaped abacus, as it naturally would be in cotemporary work, and as actually is the case in the transept arch; but, on the contrary, broadly chamfered in the later style, and bearing no manner of relation to it whatever.* As to the other two arches, it is now impossible to speak; both having long since been destroyed and rebuilt; the chancel arch, at least once, and that of the north transept, twice. What befell the chancel itself is uncertain. Beyond the ground plan, all that now remains even of its thirteenth century successor, is the piscina and sedilia, which consist of well moulded trefoil arches under gabled pediments, and carried on slender shafts with capitals of foliage. The work, which is somewhat more advanced in character than the nave and transept, seems to shew that it was the latest part proceeded with; and, in accordance with the prevailing taste of the age, as also, perhaps, to bring it more into proportion with the new nave, that it was greatly lengthened eastwards.† The north transept was rebuilt from the foundations. The new work, though simple, was of effective design; having good basement mouldings, central, and flat

* Though actual proof of the fact is wanting, it appears probable that the arches of the tower, as originally built, were semicircular on the broad faces towards the nave and chancel, and pointed towards the transepts. Of the four, only the outer ring of the South transept arch, and that rebuilt in the 13th century, remained, at the time of the late restoration. It was, and is now, (for it was necessary to rebuild it again) obtusely pointed. As the springer of the outer ring of the western arch was found embedded, in situ, in the masonry of the south nave wall, (where it still remains) it would seem, both that the aisleless Norman nave was a trifle wider than the present one; and that the piers of the east and west arches were set back as far as possible, so as not to impede the view: sufficient support for the tower being obtained, as usual, by projecting the piers of the transepts. The increased relative span which this arrangement gave to the nave and chancel arches, even where the cross-limbs were equal in diameter, would here, of course when the transept was actually narrower by above three feet, be greatly exaggerated; and render either excessive stilting, or the adoption of the pointed arch, necessary to secure uniformity of height. The former plan was followed at Malmesbury and Wimborne: the latter, at Oxford and S. David's.

† Two remarkable instances of Norman chancels lengthened, but otherwise undisturbed, occur in Northumberland, at Norham, and the priory church of Lindisfarne; the former, especially curious, from the original work being of exceptional length. The choir of Bolton priory offers an interesting example of elongation, with rebuilding of the upper parts in flowing pointed: that of Wimborne

square corner buttresses, and plain lancet windows; two facing north, and two others west. The eastern elevation, which was no doubt similar, has been destroyed. So also, has the whole of the south transept. As to the nave, whether ruinous or not, it would seem, at least, to have become inadequate to the wants of the parish. At all events, it was completely swept away and rebuilt; of far greater length, probably, than before—and, with the addition of north and south aisles. Its new dimensions were 18 ft. 6 in. in width, by 79 ft. 0 in. in length beyond crossing, or upwards of four diameters. As originally built, the aisles were in the proportion usually observed in the thirteenth century towards the central part, viz.: one half, or somewhat less. Here, it was 8 ft. 3 in. on the south side, and 8 ft. 0 in. on the north.

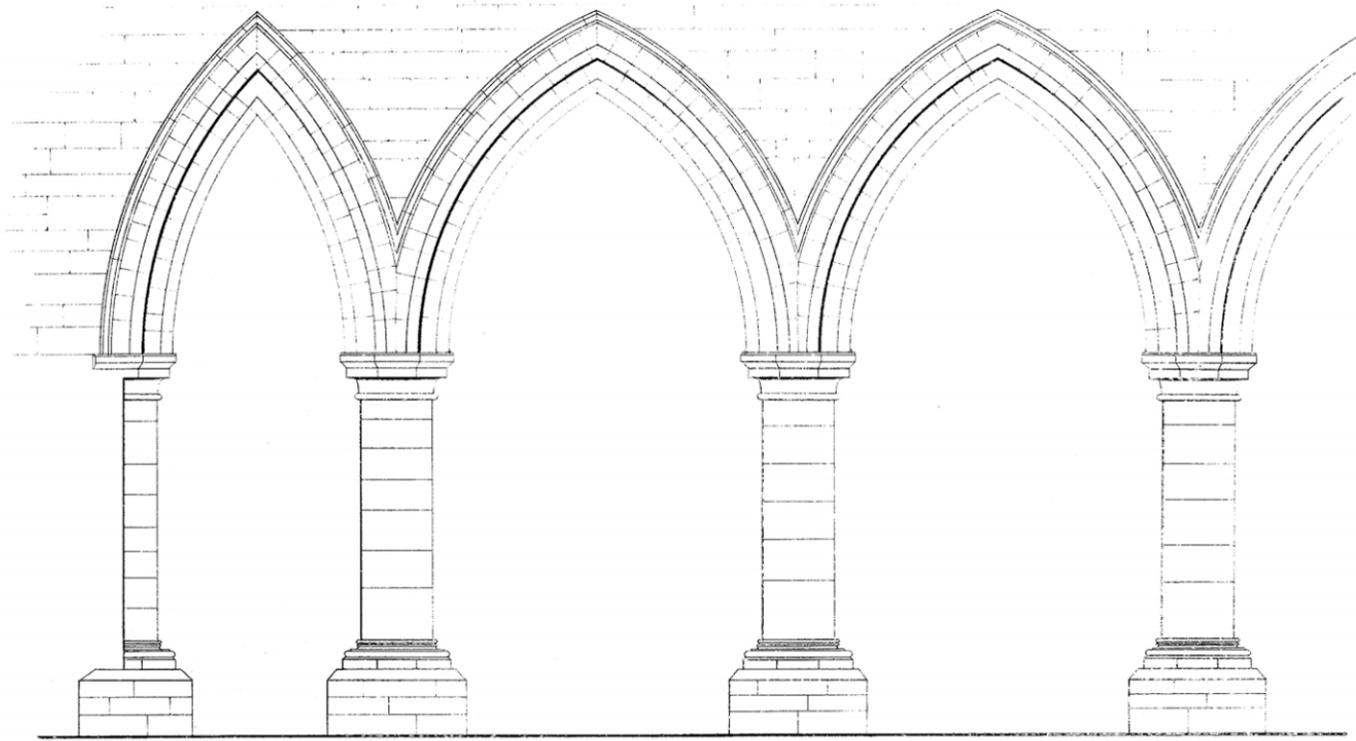
The great extent of this grand nave was fully equalled by its excellence. Solidly built of well dressed stone, within and without, it was divided internally into six bays on the north, and seven on the south; where the extra bay towards the east, though of the same height as the rest, was considerably narrower* (see Plate IV). Nor was this irregularity, as might appear at first sight, a piece of

minster, of one nearly trebled in length by rich and beautiful Early English additions. Perhaps as striking a case as any is found in the cathedral of S. Magnus at Kirkwall; where, on the completion of a gradually built, and greatly extended nave, three extra bays—absolutely necessary for proportion—were added to the short Norman choir, the low clerestory walls of which were slightly raised to match them. At Carlisle, and generally wherever means permitted, especially in monastic churches, as at Rievaulx, Selby, Southwell, Fountains, Tynemouth, &c., all traces of the earlier style were utterly obliterated.

* This accuracy seems to indicate a more than common care and forethought; uniformity of height being obtainable only by keeping the point of the intrados lower in the narrow, than in the other arches. Had it been fixed at the same level, that of the extrados, owing to the acuter angle of intersection in the narrow arch, would have been thrown too high, as in the eastern and western arches of the choir at Carlisle; where, at the east end, for want of this precaution, the string-course of the triforium has had to be broken, and stepped up to admit the apex of the arch below.

It may perhaps be permitted me to add (for the task was both a tedious and a dirty one) that every separate stone in this narrow arch, and the adjoining one together with those of the columns and wall above, was exactly measured before being drawn to scale. The masonry, in mediæval work, is often as characteristic a feature, and quite as decisive of date as the mouldings themselves, and cannot be too carefully studied, either by architects or archæologists.

mere



mere purposeless caprice, or the result of any error in setting out the plan, but of exact and careful design. For, from certain indications, partly visible before the late works were commenced, and partly discovered during their progress, it became manifest that the north aisle, as first constructed, was not prolonged in the ordinary way till it joined the transept, but was cut short some few feet to the west of it. Thus much was suggested by a vertical break in the masonry of the external wall, now rebuilt. Decisive proof of the fact was subsequently obtained by the discovery of the foundations of the east wall itself, in an exact line with this break, and with the eastern respond of the arcade, which it just cleared. The reason for this most unusual arrangement was not, at first, very apparent. Further exploration, however, served to clear up the difficulty satisfactorily. On taking down the eastern respond of the arcade just mentioned, with a mass of masonry which lay beyond it, and immediately opposite the narrow bay of the southern arcade; the western jamb of a doorway, cotemporary in character with the arcades, was found, just eastward of the east wall of the aisle. It was simply chamfered towards the nave, from which, as the rebate showed, the door must have opened outwardly. Evidently, therefore, the doorway could not have been external, but connected with some structure narrower than the aisle, and inserted between its eastern extremity and the transept:—doubtless, the external stair-case turret of the Norman tower, which, on the reconstruction of the nave, was allowed to retain its original position. That its projection northward, was less than that of the aisle, was proved by the fact that when, on the final destruction of the central tower at a later date, this turret was removed, and the aisle wall continued in a straight line eastwards, it ran end-onwards against the south-western lancet of the transept, which it cut vertically in two. The *raison d'être* of the seventh, or extra eastern bay of the south arcade, as also

also of its narrower span, is thus clearly established: it occupied a space exactly corresponding to that between the end of the original north aisle and transept, and which, for the most part, was taken up by the tower stairs. Slight and unimportant as the arrangement of these latter might be thought, a moment's reflection only is needed to shew how carefully the matter was considered in planning the new nave; and how, in all likelihood, it affected, even if it did not rule the proportion of its arcades,—by far the noblest and most striking features of the building. Perfectly simple, and without any advantages of sculpture or detail to aid them, their fine effect is due entirely to good proportion, and the principle of continuous iteration. The whole of the columns are circular; and the arches, which are of two chamfered orders, with hood moulds, equilateral. Apart from the general charm of the composition as a whole, heightened, perhaps, by just such a *souffçon* of provincial rudeness as suffices to impress local character; the most striking features of these arcades is found in the bases of the columns, which are of unusual, and (as might be thought in comparison of the height of the shafts, and intercolumnar spaces) disproportionate size; but which, in fact, help most materially to produce that effect of power and solidity which gives so marked and stately a character to the work. They are wholly circular; the abaci of the capitals, which are of severe bell-shaped outline, being octagonal. Though somewhat low, perhaps, even from the first, when it had all the advantages of high pitched roofs and symmetrical proportions to help it; the idea of indefinite length, induced by simple repetition of parts—arch after arch, and pillar after pillar, in long drawn vista—all leading up to and centring in the massive piers, and deep-set, gloomy arches of the tower—admirable foils to the light and beauty of the chancel which lay beyond—must have been peculiarly fine; and proves that the architect, whoever he may have been, was fully equal to his task.

Had

Had his points of support been fewer, and his arches of greater span (as without any actual fault might easily have been the case) ; it is clear that the design—so telling even now—would merely have reached the level of the commonplace ; and that, instead of the work of an artist, we should see here, as now-a-days, alas ! in our new churches we do but too frequently, that of a mere builder or mechanic.

Thus, in the short space of something like half a century, was the Norman church—itsself a supplanter—so completely effaced that hardly a vestige was left to tell of its existence. A new fabric, larger, lighter, and more commodious had risen from its ruins ; like it, to endure for a while, and then in turn to be so transformed as to become a history.

V.—As its builders left it, the new church would seem to have continued with little alteration till the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and then a period of alteration and addition set in, which was only brought to a close in the latter half of the sixteenth. At what point these new works were commenced, in what order they proceeded, or by what peculiarities of detail they were distinguished, we have now, unfortunately, but little means of ascertaining. The only erection of which the successive dates can be specified with tolerable accuracy, is the southern chapel of the choir, otherwise known as the Musgrave, S. George's or Hartley chapel. Machell, in his unpublished MS. notes, speaking of it before its destruction in 1847, says :

“ The Quier is in Length 15 passes or yards. In bredth 7. Haueing on South Hartley Quier w^{ch} extends in Length from the Screen or body of the Church Eastward 9 and in Breadth 8. w^{ch} looks through one Arch into the great Quier wher in are 2 Monuments, One vnder an Arch on ye S. Side wall, wth Musgrave's Armes on the pitch of the Tablings, and a blew Marble Through (as they call them here) wth Musgrave's Armes upon the Edge of it and this inscription—* ”

* Inscription omitted in MS. See following page.

“ Above

“Above the arch Musgrave’s Armes supported by a Lyon seiant and a pelican in her piety. The other in the middle of the Skreen w^{ch} divides it from the Quier sc a Man in Armour wth a Sword at his right Side and something like a broken Spear or Truncheon; and on his head an old fashion’d helmet, and a Lyon couch’t at his feet. Laying upon a Table of Stone, enclos’d like a through haueing sides of Nich’d worke (This is all of Hewn stone) and has bin long taken for Sr Andrew Hartley’s Effigy; but by this () escutcheon on the hilt of his hanger, I discovr’d it to be one of the Musgraves. And above on the timber () are Musg. Armes impale Clifford, and Musgrave’s Armes impaleing. And in truith this may seem to have bin builded by some of the Musg. upon their accession to Hartley C.”

“In the S. Window were Clifford impaling Musgrave and Musgrave quartering Stapleton, and Musgrave and other coats, Wharton, Clifford, and Musgrave impaling Ward.”

Of the two monuments thus described, — which still occupy similar positions in the new building—the former was evidently, from its structural character, and similarity in style to such small fragments of it as survive, cotemporary with the chapel of which it formed a part. This, I think, is perhaps the chief interest it possesses, for its details, though characteristic enough of late local Gothic, are of very slight merit. The inscription, which Mr. Machell omitted to copy, reads thus: —*

Hic . iacet . Ricard' . Musgrave . miles . int' . Elizabeth
uxorē . suā . et . Thomā . filiū . et . herē' . eorū . q̄i . obiit
ix^o . die . mēsis . Nouemb . aū . dñi . mcccclxiii . qui . animę
ppietē' . d' s . amēn .

* It is given very inaccurately in Nicolson and Burn’s History, where (no attention being paid to the contractions) it is printed in full; and with the reading “juxta” instead of “inter” although the three first letters of that word are perfectly distinct. The general condition of the inscription, however, from the perishable quality of the stone, which flakes off bedwise, is very fragmentary. The Hi, in “Hic,” vembris,” “an dni,” and the “m” in the date, have disappeared entirely; while several letters forming parts of the words “Elizabetham,” “heredem,” “animæ,” and “propietetur,” are so much defaced as to render an exact reading all but impossible.

It

It is cut as a border, on the top of a perfectly plain altar-tomb, whose base and covering stone are simply chamfered; "Musgrave's Armes," a small and poorly cut shield, only, being worked in the centre of the latter, to the front. The tomb itself stands half within, half outside, a flat segmental-pointed arch of meagre detail; surmounted, however, by a deep and elaborate hood-mould of rather uncommon character, on which, it may be observed, the whole expression of the monument (such as it is) depends. This hood-mould is crocketed on its upper side: the splayed under side being filled by a lace-like scroll of foliage, with two little birds near the apex, and at the eastern end, a couchant hound. Above the centre—"on the pitch of the Tablings"—another and larger shield of Musgrave is displayed, enfolded in the wings of a kneeling angel, and supported on either hand by a Lyon sejeant and a "Pelican in her piety." At the spring, where they serve as terminals, are arranged respectively, a square-shaped mass of foliage, and a tablet bearing the sacred monogram *I H C*; the whole work, however, (owing in some degree, possibly, to the nature of the material—a dark blue limestone) being excessively hard and thin. On the roof—most happily preserved from the ancient one—are six oaken bosses as follows, viz.:—1st a shield, Clifford impaling Musgrave:—2nd, foliage:—3rd, a shield, Clifford imp. Musgrave, as before:—4th, a shield, Musgrave and Stapleton quarterly;—5th, foliage; and 6th, an elongated tablet, divided in the centre, and charged with two devices, meant perhaps—from the figure of a heart which occurs in each—as rebusses for Hartley.

The heraldic evidence thus afforded is especially valuable; for it proves that neither the tomb nor chapel were erected by Richard de Musgrave himself,—whose son and heir Thomas, according to the inscription, might seem to have pre-deceased him—nor yet by his immediate successor, as the same son really was; but, by his grandson,
Sir

Sir Richard de Musgrave, son and heir of the said Thomas, and husband of Johan, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford; whose arms, by reason of her superior rank, he impaled on the dexter side of his two shields of Clifford and Musgrave; and who, further, as heir of his mother, Johanna de Stapleton, (daughter and coheir of Sir William de Stapleton) as well as of his father, Thomas de Musgrave, was alone entitled to bear (as on the third shield) the arms of Musgrave and Stapleton *quarterly*. As Thomas de Musgrave's death occurred in 1469, and the erection of his (and of his father's) tomb would not, in all probability, be long delayed; we may safely assign both tomb and chapel to circa, 1470. Some remnants of oaken tracery, taken from the ancient screen (of cotemporary date) are at present worked up in that which fills the arch opening to the transept. Though very thin, and somewhat rude, they are by no means devoid of merit, and—in common with many other examples of late wood-work—exceedingly suggestive of, or of a reminiscence of, the designs of an earlier period. The other monument, on the north side of the chapel, which Mr. Machell states to have been taken in his day for that of Sir Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, degraded and executed temp. Ed. II., is, as the armour alone shews, later than the date of that nobleman's death by nearly a century. As the heraldry proves it to belong to a head of the house of Musgrave, and all the details of dress and armour point to about 1420; * we shall

* Should this date be thought somewhat late, it must be remembered that the north was ever slow to change, and given rather to follow than to set the fashion. Although the baldric and jupon disappear rapidly after 1420, not only are both found on the splendid monument of Ralph Nevill, the 1st, or great Earl of Westmorland, at Staindrop, who died in 1425, but also the high-peaked bascinet and chain camail, defences, which at that time had become well nigh obsolete. If the harness of the great Earl Marshall himself be somewhat antiquated, what wonder that the Hartley Knight's should be so too! We cannot, I think, assign the effigy to his father, Sir Thomas de Musgrave, who died in 1409, since that would give us almost the earliest example of complete plate armour known, and put him in the very fore-front of the fashionable leaders of his day. Still less can it be attributed to his son and successor Thomas, who died in 1442; a period at which all the accoutrements displayed, were either greatly changed in form, or

not

not err I think, in assigning it to Sir Richard de Musgrave—grandfather of the Richard of the tomb opposite—who succeeded his father, Sir Thomas de Musgrave, in 1409,—was living in 1422,—and whose son and successor, Thomas, died in 1442. It is only a small and poor work, 6 ft. 8 in. long, 2 ft. 4 in. broad, and 2 ft. 10 in. high; not ill-designed indeed, nor lacking a certain picturesqueness, but coarse and rude. The ends are plain: the sides, relieved by six crocketed, ogee-trefoiled niches, or “hovels,” with groined canopies, and separated by buttresses terminating in short pinnacles. The Effigy is clad in complete armour of plate. The head, which is bare, has flowing curly locks divided in the midst, and rests upon a tilting helm, whence issue a pair of arms—the extremities now broken off.—The hands—

“in adoration press'd
Palm against palm,”

are encased in gauntlets; the arms, in vambraces rerebraces, and coudières. A short surcoat or jupon, embroidered with enriched annulets, covers the back and breast plates, immediately above whose lower *undèe*, or waved edge, is seen the broad horizontal Cingulum militare, Bawdric, or Knightly belt; its pattern—with a special allusion perhaps to the coat armour of the house—being made up of strongly defined annulets. Crossing this diagonally, is the rich and narrow sword belt, from which depends—to the right, the sword, with the arms of Musgrave on its hilt,—to the left, the *misericorde* or anlace, but both much broken. Below the jupon, appears a narrow fringe of

discarded altogether. If, however, we suppose, what is in every way likely to have been the case, that both the Nevill and Musgrave tombs were prepared during the life-time of the individuals represented on them, every trace of difficulty vanishes at once, for we shall see in both cases, the usual fashion of the day. Now, the Nevill monument would almost certainly be erected between the date of the foundation of the college at Staindrop in 1412, and the Earl's death in 1425; and as Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Richard de Musgrave, died in 1415, when the vault would be constructed, nothing is more probable, than that after the common custom, the tomb which covered it, should be set up either then, or shortly afterwards.

A A

mail.

mail. Cuisses, genouillières, and jambarts of plate protect the legs, and laminated sollerets the feet, which, furnished with rowelled spurs, rest upon a lion couchant. Mr. Machell's quickness in detecting the obscure annulets of Musgrave on the sword hilt, while entirely overlooking their display upon the surcoat, is curious enough. Equally so, his assertion—"on his head an old fashion'd helmet,"—the head resting in fact on the helmet, not the helmet on the head." The "Sword at his *right* side," is, of course, at his left; and the—"something like a broken Spear or Truncheon"—something very like a flight of fancy, since it is simply the dagger, or rather what is left of it, and nothing else. A singular tradition was connected with this tomb. The man whose image it supported, and who slept below,—so went the story—had killed the last wild boar, on Wild-boar fell. Testimony, strangely corroborating this lingering tale, was brought to light some thirty years ago. In 1847, during the rebuilding of the chancel, it became necessary, in laying the foundations of a new pillar, to remove the tomb, and expose the vault when—

"confirmations strong
As proofs of holy writ"

were at once revealed. There lay the body of the Knight : beside it, another : his wife's most probably—and there also, *mirabile dictū!* carefully interred,—a relic, treasured, we may be sure in life, since neither death nor the grave itself could part him from it—the tusk of the last wild-boar.* I append, in a foot-note, a detailed account of

* A similar example of a cherished trophy of the chase, buried with the deceased hunter, will be found in Vol. II., p. 80, of the *Journal of the Arch. Institute*. It was discovered in a barrow at Dale Park, near Arundel, in June 1810, and consisted of a pair of large stag's antlers, on which reposed the feet of a skeleton—that of an ancient Briton—six feet in length. In connection with this subject, the following quotation from Roach Smith's *Richborough, &c.*, may not be without interest.—Richborough.—'Tusks of the boar were also numerous. One of these has a piece of ornamented bronze fastened to it, evidently to admit of its being worn as an ornament, or perhaps as a trophy; for hunting the wild boar was one of the field sports with which the Romans in Britain diverted themselves, as is curiously recorded by an inscription on an altar found at Stanhope, in the County

the

the discovery, as given by Mr. King, the then vicar, in a letter to Sir George Musgrave, which as the evidence of an eye-witness, seems well worthy of preservation.* Another, and still earlier tomb remains in this chapel. Though the least pretentious, it is yet, in some respects, perhaps, the most interesting of the three, being, pretty certainly, (for it is uninscribed) that of Sir Thomas de Musgrave, the most illustrious of all the line; the first of the name who possessed Hartley—and, as there is every reason to believe, the original founder of the chapel, whose death

of Durham, dedicated to the god Sylvanus, by a hunter, on account of his success in taking a boar of enormous size, which many before him had tried in vain to take. The inscription is as follows: 'Sylvano invicto sacrum C. Tetius Veturius Micianus Præf. Alæ Seborianæ ob aprum eximie formæ captum quem multi antecessores ejus prædari non potuerunt v. s. l. p.' Gough's Camden, V. III., p. 117."

* Vicarage, Kirkby Stephen, July 12th, 1847.

Dear Sir George,

On removing the monument and digging for a foundation for the central pillar of the arches between the Chancel and your chapel, we came to a vault walled with ashlar work. At the bottom of the vault, which extended as far as the rock, about 7 feet from the surface, two persons had been interred; one in a lead coffin, the other apparently not so. The lead, however, was so far corroded by age that no trace of any inscription can be found, nor indeed does it appear certain whether it had ever been in the usual form of a coffin, but, perhaps, wrapped round the body. The face was downwards. In the vault we also found a boar's tusk, which I enclose, on account of the curious coincidence of a tradition prevailing in these parts that the man who hunted the last wild-boar on Wild-boar Fell, in this parish, was interred under the monument with the recumbent figure and a tusk being discovered among the remains.

I am happy to say that rapid progress is being made with the rebuilding of the Chancel, so that I am now in hopes of having it covered in by November.

Your Chapel is, of course, left standing, but the walls and roof, in removing the arch between it and the Chancel, have turned out so much worse than was expected, that I fear the whole must soon be taken down, or it will fall of its own accord. The portion which has shrunk I have propped as well as I can, but two irremediable errors have been committed in building, the not laying the foundation sufficiently deep, so as to be out of the way of injury from graves, the other the want of throughs or bond-stones, in consequence of which the ashlar work is separating from the main wall. Should the east wall of the Chapel threaten to give way any further I trust I may have your sanction for at once taking down a portion that is dangerous. At the same time it would be more satisfactory both to yourself and me if some one in your employ were to examine it, when it might be taken down or afterwards rebuilt at your own convenience. The drawings and details of the new Chapel (the same dimensions as the present one) you will remember examining, they being in conformity with the plans for the restoration of the whole Church as furnished by the architect.

I remain, Dear Sir George,
Yours very faithfully,
HENRY KING.

Sir George Musgrave, Bart., Edenhall.

occurred

occurred circa 1376. It lies on the eastern platform, immediately south of the place of the high altar, and consists of a slab of red sandstone, with a floriated, or fleur-de-lysed cross in relief, rising from a stepped base, which is perforated with an ogee-headed trefoil: to the north, or left of the cross-shaft (with which it is parallel), lies a long straight sword, and over it a plain heater-shaped shield: the whole in state of great decay.

A small piscina, with a fluted bowl, of the same material as the grave stone, is now all that remains *in situ* of this (as I presume) the first Musgrave chapel; though the tracery of a square-headed window, of three ogee-trefoiled lights, of cotemporary dates, which seems to have been inserted in the later chapel, and which was removed altogether on its rebuilding in 1847, may still be seen, as a piece of ornamental railing, in the town.

VI.—At what period the work of transformation, commenced, as we may suppose by the erection of the first Hartley chapel in the fourteenth century, was followed up by the Whartons with their corresponding chapel on the opposite side of the choir, is somewhat uncertain. From the fact of their being the only family in the parish of equal rank with the Musgraves, it might seem probable that they would not long be content to remain without the like mark of distinction. Not a vestige, however, remains to testify to its date, or tell us whether the chapel which received the vault and tomb of Thomas, 1st Lord Wharton* (temp. Eliz.), was built by him (as apparently was the case) in the first instance, or not. Nor have any

* "Sir Thomas Wharton, of Wharton, Co. Westmd., Kt., Governor of the Town of Carlisle, 33 Hen. VIII., 1541, summoned to Parlt. as a baron, Ed. VI. to 8 Eliz., died 10 Eliz., 1568; buried at Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, M.I."—*H.M. College of Arms*. His will, however (Appendix B), which was not proved till 7th April, 1570, nearly two years afterwards, directs his burial to take place "in the parish church of Healaughe in the queare there." That of the lady Anne, his widow (Appendix C), dated 12th March, 1582, proves that this direction was carried out, since she orders her body "To be buried in the parishe church of Healy in the queare ther wher my late good lord and husband the Lord Wharton doth lie."

of

of their monuments, save one, come down to us, to throw light upon the subject. This, which Machell describes as a "great Marble Through near the Church door," is a plain altar tomb, 8 ft. 4in. in length, 4 ft. 0 in. breadth, and 2 ft. 9 in. high; with a small shield bearing a Maunch (worked out of the thickness of the covering slab), in the centre of the south side, and standing, not as he states, near the door of the church, but near the gate of the churchyard. It is precisely similar to that of Sir Richard Musgrave, circa 1470; and, from the absence of any inscription, may be thought to confirm the tradition mentioned by him, that previous to the first Lord Wharton's time, all the members of that family—for whom, apparently, it did general duty—were buried under it. If this were really the case, then, any question of an earlier chapel is at once disposed of, for Lord Wharton's must have been the first. After finishing his account of the Hartley chapel, Mr. Machell thus proceeds:—

"On the opposite side is Wharton quier, much of the same bigness, but divided by a Screen under 2 Arches, with a pillar in the middle. In the Center of w^{ch} is placed a large Through wth The Armes and Quarterings of Lord Wharton's family on ends and sides of it, and round about the edge is this inscription — . . . *"

"and above on the Table is [Lord] Wharton w^h his Wives one on the right hand and the other on [the left].

"This Monument also is cut of hewn stone. *Materiam superat opus.* And all about and dais (*sic*) of Wainiscot Rails and Ballusters, Locked up th^t I could not take an exact account of it.

"Beneath this Quier is a vault [to] Bury in, and 'tis said before the making of it, that they Bury'd under a great Marble Through near the church door; and there is this probability of it that on edge of the Tube (? Table)

* Inscription omitted, see p. 209.

about

about the middle of it is an Escutcheon wth a Manche upon it: w^{ch} shews however that it has belonged to some of the Whartons.

“Nor is it any derogation to them to be buried, since it shews their humility* and *O: ps:* Till of late it was not permitted to bury in the Church, no not in the Church Yard.”

With the single exception of the tomb, the whole of the details above referred to,—“Arches, pillar, Screen, desks, Rails, Ballusters”—have disappeared as completely as the chapel itself, which, for many years prior to its rebuilding in 1851, lay in a state of roofless and abject ruin. The vast monument of Lord Wharton and his two wives, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Bryan Stapleton, of Wighill, Knt.; and Anne, daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury; occupies (as formerly) the centre.† Grandiose and imposing (after a fashion) as it is, it cannot, however, be considered as a favourable specimen, even of the degraded art of its day. The whole composition is ponderous and clumsy: the drawing poor: the execution spiritless: and the general expression, that of dull and feeble pomposity. It is built of a fine, white, close-grained stone; ‡ and is 7 ft. 1 in. in length and breadth, and 3 ft. 5 in. high. The effigies, it is clear,

* This, and the following sentence, explain clearly enough, that by “Church door,” is meant the *door leading to the Church*; i.e., the door opening from the street into the Churchyard, near which the tomb actually stands, as doubtless it has done from the first.

† Though wholly free from the many forms of injury, with which, ever since the sixteenth century the native barbarian has delighted to deface such ancient monuments as he has had access to, this tomb is, nevertheless, pitifully mutilated. The “mischief,” far from being of the ordinary sort,—such, I mean, as an eminent personage is said to find “still for idle hands to do,”—bears witness, on the contrary, to a sudden and violent catastrophe, such as the falling of the roof of the chapel; the whole of the parts directly struck, being broken clean off, but otherwise uninjured. Thus at the upper end, all the hands and forearms are severed from the bodies; and at the lower, the bull supporting the feet of the central effigy is decapitated; while the feet of the others, with the animals beneath them, and the extremities of the slabs out of which they are worked, are completely knocked away. The whole of the balusters, also, which originally surrounded the tomb, and supported the tabling, though otherwise undamaged, are smashed up into short lengths, as from the shock of a severe concussion.

‡ Nicolson and Burn call it *alabaster*.

are

are all three carefully modelled portrait statues; and shew us their originals, down even to the minutest details of dress and ornament, exactly in their habits as they lived. In the centre lies Lord Wharton, a lean, ill-favoured grisly old man, with hollow cheeks, wrinkled brow, and short, thick beard and moustache. He is in a full suit of plate; his head bare, and resting on his tilting-helm, which is surmounted by his crest,—a bull's head erased, and collared with a ducal coronet. A bull supports his feet.

On his right, is his first wife, Eleanor Stapleton, a plain, homely looking woman, in early middle life. Strongly marked lines surround her mouth, giving it, (though really somewhat prominent) a sunken appearance, and imparting to her whole face a severe and disagreeable expression. Her hair—parted in the middle—is laced transversely, on either side, into small parallel bands, by a narrow braid. Immediately above it, is seen the indented edge of a linen cap—perhaps the lining of the close-fitting skull-cap, or “Paris head,” (?) * of silk, or velvet, which, with its falling lappet, and a demi-wreath, or coronal of jewellery, compose her head-dress. Her gown,—stiff and expanded—with long drooping sleeves, is open in the front, displaying the petticoat. It falls on each side, in heavy folds; and terminates, upwardly, in a high recurved collar, embroidered in simple lines. Underneath, appears the chemise, gathered in plaits about her neck, and finished with a band and scalloped edging. A plain, and very narrow belt of silk or leather, tied in a simple knot, encompasses her waist; dependent from which, is a long, square-linked chain, supporting a jewel—its design, a rose between two intersecting triangles. A plain, square cushion supports her head: her feet rest upon a dog.

Anne Talbot, whose effigy appears to the left of her

* A close cap, which projected forward at each side of the face, in a way somewhat recalling the cheek-plates of the ancient Greek helmets. It was accompanied by a veil, or lappet, which fell backwards upon the shoulders; and was enriched at the front with a fillet of gold or jewels.

husband,

husband, is of another class altogether. Fair and stately, she looks young, even for the daughter of the ghastly old man who lies beside her; while her delicate features—so calm and proud in their repose—are of the highest, and most aristocratic type of beauty. Her hair, perfectly plain, is simply parted from her brows beneath a cap and lappet, in all respects similar to her companion's; but the fillet, or demi-coronal of gold and jewels, is of much greater richness, and about her throat she wears a double ruff.* The rest of her habiliments, though (like the head-dress) generally resembling those of Eleanor Stapleton, are yet marked by a few peculiarities which deserve notice; the most striking of them, being the substitution for the "Maunch," of a tight, close-fitting sleeve, puffed and slashed above the elbows, and closed with buttons. The simple raised lines of the earlier collar, too, are, in her's enriched with cross-bars; and its point of termination on her breast is accentuated with a brooch, or locket, of pure mediæval design—a faithful portraiture, no doubt, of some rich hereditary jewel.† It is vesica-shaped, with an elaborate border of goldsmiths' work, enclosing a central pointed quatrefoil; and enriched at the sides and base, with three boldly projecting pearls. Another beautiful piece of jewellery—apparently a pomander—depends from

* The way in which these several parts of the head-gear were connected is very distinctly shewn. Next the hair, and probably for cleanliness, appears the edge of an under cap, or lining: over this, the rich outer cap, with its dependant lappet: then the fillet, passing about an inch above the forehead, and concealing the junction of the two; and lastly, the ruff, which, merely covering the throat, has its ends attached to the extremities of the fillet below the ears. It served also to cover, if it did not (as probably was the case,) supply the place of the string, by which the entire structure was secured beneath the chin.

† That her family jewels were both rich and numerous is obvious from the following clause of her husband's will,—“My deare and wel beloved wyfe to occupy and enjoy the maner lands” &c., “and all such jewels &c. as wer her's before my marriage, according to the indenture made thereof betwixt the Right Honourable George Erle of Shrewesburie and me.” In her own will, the bequests in which consist almost exclusively of *jocalia* (and, as may be inferred from the “talbots” which occur on several of them,—pieces of family plate), may be specially noticed the “signett of goulde which was my ladie my mother's;—“a girdle of coralle and gould;”—“a tablet of gould blake enameled;”—and “a ringe which I use to were with a rubie sett in the same.”

the

the waist-belt. It is circular, convex, and very large; being not less than three inches and a half in extreme diameter. Like the breast jewel, with which it exactly corresponds in style, it seems of a period considerably anterior to the monument—certainly not later than the beginning of the century. The face is composed of delicately cut tracery, reproducing with the utmost exactness—so far as the dimensions will allow—the form of a “Marigold,” or “Catherine wheel” window, the cusping of which is shewn perfectly. Outside the tracery, is a solid band of metal work—a sort of “casement moulding”—and outside this, three large pearls or other jewels, as in the locket; from which, in connection with their agreement in other respects, we may safely infer that the originals—both scrupulously copied, no doubt, proceeded from the same atelier. But one other variation in her costume need be named—the petticoat—which, instead of being plain, as in the other effigy, is enriched about its lower edge with a band of roses. Like the other lady’s, her head is supported on a single tasseled cushion, but her feet, with their support (a Talbot possibly) are now both broken off.

The upper slab,* which sustains these effigies, and which overhangs the body of the tomb table-wise, is supported at the angles by four balusters, with two intermediate ones on each side. Upon the edge of it, commencing at the north-west corner, is cut the following, in beautifully formed capitals:—

✠ THOMAS WHARTONUS JACEO HIC, HIC UTRAQUE
 CONIUNS.†
 ELIONORA SUUM HINC, HINC HABET ANNA LOCUM.‡
 EN TIBI TERRA TUUM, CARNES AC OSSA [RESUME,
 IN CÆLOS] ANIMAS TU DEUS ALME, TUUM.

* This upper slab, or table, is really composed of three large stones; each of which carries an effigy cut out of the same block.

† Nicolson and Burn read *conjux*.

‡ Notwithstanding this positive, and, as might be thought, authentic testimony, see note, page 204.

The ends are divided into three scalloped niches; the western ones, containing as many shields of arms*—the eastern, faced by a long oval panel, which is thus inscribed:—

GENS WHARTONA GENUS, DAT HONORES DEXTERA VICTRIX
 IN SCOTOS,† STAPLETONA DOMUS MIHI QUAM DEDIT UXOR
 ELIONORA FACIT‡ TER BINA PROLE PARENTEM.
 BINAM ADIMUNT TENERIS, BINAM JUVENILIBUS ANNIS
 FATA MIHI, DAT NOMEN AVI MIHI BINA SUPERSTES.
 ANNA SECUNDA UXOR CELEBRI EST DE GENTE SALOPUM.

The sides have each four niches, which contain shields of arms, and kneeling figures alternately.§ On the north, are two females, with the initials J.P., and A.M., respectively, on the arch spandrils above their heads; and on the south, two bearded men, in full armour of plate, with the letters H.W., and T.W., similarly disposed. They represent the four of Lord Wharton's six children by his first wife, who attained maturity, viz: Joan, wife of William Pennington, of Muncaster, Esqre.; Agnes, wife of Sir Richard Musgrave, Knt.; Sir Henry Wharton, Knt., married to Joan, daughter of Thomas Mauleverer, of Allerton; and Thomas, 2nd Lord Wharton, who married Anne, daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Sussex, and died, 1572.

The arms of each,—which precede their several effigies—together with those of Lord Wharton, and his two wives,

* Which, notwithstanding the extraordinary statement of Nicolson and Burn, that, "At the west end have been three coats of arms, *now defaced*; most probably, of the said lord Wharton and his two wives respectively," are still as perfect as at the first.

† At Sollom Moss; where, with 1,400 horse and foot he "attacked an army of 15,000 Scots, and with very little resistance took prisoner almost every person of distinction in the Scotch army, with 800 common soldiers and all their baggage and artillery."

‡ Nicolson and Burn read *fecit*.

§ Nicolson and Burn say—"niches wherein *have been* the effigies of several persons, with their respective bearings; probably branches of the Wharton family." They are not only in situ, but in excellent preservation.

at

at the head of the tomb, are thus described by Mr. Machell ; in whose days much of the original colouring would seem to have remained:—

Machell, MSS., Vol. III., pp. 211-212.

“ Wharton Tomb —

West Side

Shield No. 1 is —

Wharton and his quarterings, impaling one of his wives
9 quarterings.

Wharton, within a border engrailed, quartering a quarterly coat, viz. :—1 and 4th 3 Ermines in base, and 3 Lions rampant, in chief, 2^d and 3^d quarterly G. and A. a bend Or.

Impaling —

1. B. within a bordure engrailed, * a Lyon rt O.
2. G. within a bordure engrailed, † a Lyon rt O.
3. A. Bend sinister. ‡
4. A quarterly coat with 3 Garbs in the 1st quarter. §
5. G. a Saltire, || A.
6. A. a bend between 6 martlets G.
7. O. a fret G.
8. A. 2 Lions ramp^t G. ¶
9. A. a lion ramp^t G.

Shield No. 2 (Middle) is Wharton and his quarterings as before, except that in the Quarterly coats he quarters 4 Ermines, when y^e other had only 3. But both are erreurs of y^e graver, for the field sh^d be Ermine. This is also adorned with crest and supporters (as in Bloome's Guillim^{**}

* Not engrailed. † Not engrailed.

‡ A double error : the coat is simply bendy.

§ In the 1st and 4th. The 2nd and 3rd (omitted) are Barruly, an orle of martlets.

|| This is charged with a martlet.

¶ They are passant.

** Curiously enough, “ Bloome's Guillim ” and the sculpture on the monument are in exact contradiction with respect to these supporters ; that work placing the Lion on the sinister, while the tomb shews it on the *dexter* side. The following communication, received in reply to an enquiry addressed to the College of Arms on the subject, will be read with interest.—

wch

w^{ch} may be drawn out at any time) and with the motto which at Wharton appears to be PLEASUR EN FAYTS. D'ARMES* or LE . . .

Shield No 3 West side.

Wharton and his quarterings as before, impaling a coat of 5 quarters.

1. A. a Lyon r^t
2. 3 bendlets.
3. a chief and a saltire.
4. A. on a fess 3 fleur-de-lis.
5. A. a bend between 6 martlets.

The East Side has three Scalloped niches over which Gens Whartona, &c.

South Side. Supported by 4 Ballusters. 4 Niches.

An old man w^h a long forked beard in Armour and Sword kneeling on a cushion in a praying posture w^h his helmet before him, and above are H.W.

Wharton's Arms as before (*i.e.* Wharton and his quartering) impaling quarterly. 1 and 4. 3 hounds currant.

2. a bend † with a canton in sinister point.

3. a bend charged with a crescent for difference in the top, between 3 martlets. ‡

"The arms of Wharton are, as you know, sa., a maunch arg. . In the reign of Edward the 6th, there was an augmentation, however, of armes to Sir Thomas Wharton, lord Wharton, viz : a border engrailed or, charged with lions' jamps ("legges") saltire-wise erased ; the grant adds, armed azure, onguled arg. .

Supporters. On the *dexter*, is the bull argent, horned or, gorged with a duke's coronet, per pale, or and gu : *sinister*, the lion gu., fretted or. Crest, a bull's head erased arg., horned or, and gorged with a Duke's coronet, per pale, gu. and or.

Errors. The supporters are reversed in one entry, as to position, but a note corrects the mistake. Walker, in his 'Nobility,' and the emblazoned arms in the continued pedigree, "Norf. I.," put the border as plain, in the arms, but the original grant must be right, engrailed.

EDW. BELLASIS, (Bluemantle.)"

* The motto on the tomb is "PLEASUR EN FAYTS D' ARMS."

† The bend is shewn as compony.

‡ Six martlets.

An

An old Knight with a beard not so much forked, and a side helmet before him, above which T.W.

Wharton and its quarterings impaling a coat of 8 pieces.

1. A bend engrailed.
2. A fess between two chevrons.
3. A Lyon 1^t crowned.
4. A Saltire engrailed.
5. 3 fishes.
6. 3 bars.
7. Poured with fleur de lis.
8. An Eagle and child.

North End.

4. Ballusters and 4 Niches.

1. A. Coat quarterly 1^t and 4^h a fess fusilee
2 and 3. 2 . . . *

all impaling Wharton and its quarterings.

2. A Gentlewoman praying, a book before her, and above J.P. lace down her sleeves.
3. Musgrave quartering† a quarterly coat of 3 daggers‡ in the 1st and 9 annulets in the 2nd; thirdly the same quarterly coat, 4th a cross fleurie—
all impaling Wharton and its quarterings.
4. Another lady praying as before having buttons down her sleeves and over A.M..”

Far too intimately connected with this tomb and chapel to be here passed by unnoticed, was the free grammar school, founded by Lord Wharton for the benefit of this, and the adjacent district, in the 10th of Elizabeth, 1568. The statute or “constitutions” for its government (Nicolson’s Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle, p. 225), drawn up by himself with much minuteness, are singularly interesting and characteristic, both of the man and of the time; and the link of close personal connection, which, it is evident, he was so anxious to establish

* The 2nd and 3rd are, A canton, three bars.

† Impaling. ‡ Three swords in triangle, the points outwards.

between

between himself and his foundation—his scholars, and his own last resting-place* and *vera effigies* which surmounted it—is very striking. The daily work of the school was to be preceded by a visit to his tomb. Daily, the head master,—for whose strict orthodoxy,† as well as godly life, provision was duly made—the assistant master, or usher, and all the scholars, two and two, were to repair diligently, at 6 of the clock, in summer, and 7 in the winter, to the church; and there kneeling at the entrance of the choir, devoutly to say a prayer. Which duty, reverently paid before the altar, they were to proceed to his chapel, and standing about his tomb, to sing together such one of the psalms following “as the Scholemaster shall appoint; so as every of the said psalms be sung through in fifteen dayes accounted together: viz. *Benedic Anima mea*, 103. *Confitemini Domino*, 136. *Exaltabo Te Deus*, 145. *Deus nostrum Refugium*, 46. *Confitebor Tibi Domine*, 111. *Exaudi Deus*, 61. *Domini est Terra*, 24. *Exaltabo Te Domine*, 30. *Domine Refugium*, 90. *Cantate Domino*, 96. *Jubilate Deo*, 100. *Miserere mei Deus*, 51. *Quam Dilecta Tabernacula*, 84. *Inclina Domine Aurem*, 86. *Omnes Gentes plaudite*, 45.”

There seems something pathetic in this tenacious clinging to human recollection; and both striking and impressive, in the means adopted to secure it,—as we picture to ourselves the master and his scholars, at early morn in summer time, kneeling silently before the chancel screen, while (though the great rood and its attendant saints be gone) the rising sun still bathes them, as with a halo, in all the glories of the ancient glass;—or, as in the darkness and cold of winter,—the gloom of the great church

* As doubtless, at the time of framing the “Constitutions,” this “Chaple or Quier” was intended to be.

† He was to “read to them” (the scholars) “no corrupt or reprobate book, or workes set forth at any time contrary to the Determination of the Universal Catholic Church, whereby they might be infected in their youth with any kind of Heresy or corrupt Doctrine, or else be induced to an insolent manner of “Liveing;” &c.

scarce

scarce pierced by the feeble rushlight—they stand singing at the vault, around the stark and glimmering figures of the dead. A generation earlier, and it would have been the chantry priest offering daily sacrifice for the weal of the departed souls. Yet possibly, the change was not one for the worse; and the voices of these children, helped forward in knowledge and virtuous life, might “go up for a memorial,” not less efficacious. The school, or a *school* rather, still exists,—for there is an endowment; but as to the “pious founder,” and his “constitutions,”—“*nous avons changé tout cela.*”

VII.—Although neither of these side chapels was, probably, of any architectural merit, their effect, both internally and externally, must have been to add much to the dignity and picturesqueness of the eastern end of the church; with the altered character of which they harmonized completely. Beyond the fact that the chancel itself was entirely recast in the later style, we know but little; a small view, in pen and ink, taken before its final destruction in 1847, and reproduced in Plate V., embodying nearly all the evidence that exists. The roof, as there shewn, indeed, is only a modern one of slate; and had evidently taken the place of that which, there can be little doubt, succeeded to the original high pitched one, in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. That all the early windows were removed, and replaced by others of late Rectilinear character, may be inferred, however, from the only one visible, and which still survives, in close companionship with its neighbour from the Hartley chapel. The fact, also, seems further confirmed by Bishop Nicolson, (Miscellany Accounts, p. 133,) who, describing the church as it appeared in 1702, writes,—“Large and Lightsome is the choir; and wants onely the Ornament of Rails about the Communion Table, which are promis’d.” Machell, who gives no particulars of the East Window, from which (owing to the side chapels) nearly all the Lightsome character of the choir

choir must have been derived, and which, therefore, would appear to have been of great size, says only, and that in a side note,—“Clifford’s Armes in the East Window,* middle light.” The particular is interesting:—also instructive, since it indicates clearly enough, the fate of all the rest of the old glass, and accounts, more completely still, for that “Lightsome” effect with which the bishop seems to have been so much pleased.

And here, before taking account of the later and more important works, it seems convenient to notice the few isolated fourteenth and fifteenth century insertions, which, extending once probably to all parts of the building, have alone escaped obliteration.

These are, a small doorway, with a hood mould, stopped in a rather effective way by a thistle, in the front of the south transept—contrived doubtless for the convenience of the priest serving the altar of the Hartley chapel;—and a square-headed window, of three ogee-trefoliated lights, set in the front of the north transept. In the eastern wall of the latter, too, about the middle, and under the Early English string-course, which has been stepped up to receive it, a recess, apparently of the 15th century, has been constructed, to receive, and serve as reredos to an altar. It is 7 ft. 0 in. wide, 1 ft. 7 in. deep, and 5 ft. 4½ in. high, from the solid part or sill (which is 2ft. 0 in. above the floor line), to the top of the arch,—a plain segmental-pointed one, with a small hollow chamfer, carried down the side. Within it, and above the centre of the altar, is a pretty little bracket of red sandstone, enriched with four-leaved flowers. Another, and larger one, plain and broken, has been placed immediately above the arch. Southwards, and close to the springer, are the remains of a piscina, but the projecting bowl is gone. With these may be mentioned a small ogee-trefoiled niche, worked

* From its position in the MS., however, it is very uncertain whether this note refers to the east window of the chancel, or to that of the Hartley chapel.

out of the respond of the north arcade of the nave—most probably for a statue of the saint whose altar occupied the eastern bay of the aisle—and a small square-topped window head of two traceried lights, cut out of a single stone, now in the vicarage garden ; and which,—taken doubtless from some other part of the building—was inserted late in the 16th century, into the upper part of the north nave wall just below the roof. Trivial as these details may appear, they yet have their value in the history of the church, as shewing how continuously the work of remodelling was carried on; and by what successive steps it came eventually to assume an aspect so completely at variance with that which its first builders gave it.

VIII.—But however numerous and considerable the alterations and additions of the 14th and 15th centuries may have been, and however much they may have served to modify the expression of the 13th century architect's design, they were trifling in comparison of those of the 16th, which, no longer restricted to mere details, or even integral portions of the building, completely revolutionized its whole type and aspect. In the first place, the central tower and spire, which all along had dominated the 12th and 13th century churches, and given such effect to the leading idea of each, viz., its distinctly cruciform plan, were altogether, and finally removed. The entire structure—thoroughly disintegrated, as it would seem—had again, and more completely than before, fallen into a state of ruin, which was utter and irremediable. The root of all the mischief was fully revealed during the late work of restoration. It was precisely what might have been expected,—the old familiar story over again. Insufficiency of foundation, or to speak more accurately, the absence of all foundation worth mentioning, coupled with indifferent construction and defective bonding, were found to account as completely for the second catastrophe, as for the first.

Judging from the remains of the south-west piers,—

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which were then, to a certain extent, taken down and reset—the 13th century architect, unwarned by, or rather, perhaps failing to realize the causes which led to the failure of his predecessor's work, would appear (in the course of his own rebuilding and repair) to have retained as much of it as possible. Nor, was this all, since he was seen, even in those parts which were purely his own, to have committed exactly the same mistake:—the foundations of the inner, or sub-arch of the south transept, and its beautiful responds, for example, being just as miserably inadequate as the rest. Humiliating as the evidence is, and gravely as it may be thought to impugn the capacity of both architects, their faults were yet, after all, rather those of their times, than of themselves individually; nor would it be reasonable, in estimating their work, to look for a degree of skill and forethought which we utterly fail to find in the stateliest of our abbey and cathedral churches. The fate of their tower and spire, both first and last, was simply that which sooner or later, and from the self-same causes, befel nearly all the grandest early central towers and spires in the land.

Thus,—to take a few, only, of the more conspicuous examples:—The Norman central tower of Winchester Cathedral, built by bishop Walkelin towards the end of the 11th century, fell in 1107; popular superstition attributing the catastrophe to the burial beneath it of William Rufus, seven years previously. On its reconstruction immediately afterwards, though merely as a lantern rising a single stage above the roof, we find the architect—evidently under the influence of panic—not only constructing the new piers of good, close-jointed masonry, but “of enormous and disproportionate magnitude,” so as to be, according to the late professor Willis, “the largest tower-piers in England in proportion to the span of the arches that rest on them.”

At Ely Cathedral, the great centre tower built by Abbot Simeon, the brother of Walkelin of Winchester, fell as his
brother's

brother's had done, though very much later, viz., in 1321. Before its fall, however, it was in so threatening a state that the monks, fearing any longer to occupy the choir stalls below it, held their services in the chapel of S. Catherine. The *Historia Eliensis*, describing the event says,—“On the night before the Feast of St Ermenilda, after they had made a procession to the shrines in her honour, and the convent were returning back to the Dormitory, a few only of the brethren had entered their beds when suddenly and without warning, the Campanile fell upon the choir with so much noise and crashing, that it appeared like an earthquake, but neither wounding nor crushing any person.” The famous Alan de Walsyngham, lately appointed Sacrist, was thereupon called in to remedy the mischief. He seems to have understood the causes which led to it well enough, and to have set to work in a very business-like and sensible way, for the history proceeds,—“First of all, he caused all the stones and timber which had fallen into that ruin, to be carried out of the church, with great labour and expense. He then cleared the Church of the excessive dust, which covered it, as quickly as possible. He caused the site where the new Campanile was to be built, *to be excavated down to the solid ground*, upon which the foundation of the work might be safely laid, in eight places, measured and set out with architectural skill, on which eight stone piers were to be built, for the support of the superstructure, and within which, the choir, with its stalls, was to be constructed. The eight places having been carefully examined, *and made strong, by ramming in stones and sand*, he began the eight piers, with the work above,” &c. At Worcester Cathedral, to take a somewhat later instance, the “new tower” as the *Annales Ecclesie Wygorniensis* calls it—doubtless, the centre one—fell in 1175; and in 1221, on S. Andrew's Day, during a great storm, the two “lesser towers” fell. At Bury St. Edmunds, which “far sur-
passed

passed in size any other church or cathedral in the Kingdom of that era,"* the tower of the church, viz., that above the choir, built by abbots Robert, and Albold, (1107-1120), fell from the violence of the wind on October 22nd, 1210. Two hundred years afterwards, on the 18th December, 1430, "about the first hour past noon, the south side of the great campanile," or "greater tower at the west door,"† as it is called in the *Liber Albus*, built by Samson, sub-sacrist, and abbot, in the later part of the twelfth century, fell without any previous warning. A little more than a year elapsed, when on December 30th, 1431, the east side of the same tower fell similarly to the ground. In the meantime, the lead and timber of the roof, the bells and their frames had been removed; and now two skilful workmen were employed to undermine the north side of the tower, so that on March 28th, 1432, that part was thrown to the ground without damage to any other portion of the building. The central tower of Evesham Abbey, commenced, and carried up to the height of the first storey above the arches, by Abbot Walter (1077-1086), but not finished till nearly a century afterwards, was thrown down by a tempest in 1207, very shortly after

* Measured within the walls, and exclusive of the eastern chapel of S. Mary, this church was not less than 472 feet in length: Winchester, reduced by the excision of later chapels to its original Norman dimensions, would be 445 feet; Canterbury, about 414 feet; Salisbury, without the Lady Chapel, 404; Westminster, similarly reduced, 390 feet; and S. Alban's the largest English church, not a cathedral, 490 feet, without the added Lady Chapel, though in its original Norman state less than 400.

† The design of the west front, which had "a vastness of dimension with which no other church or cathedral in England could have competed," was founded on a combination of the best features of those of Ely,—with which, on the whole, perhaps, it most closely agreed—Peterborough and Lincoln. Upwards of 250 feet in breadth, it had "three arches, smaller than those of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral," but larger than those of Lincoln, which "formed a front to the nave and its north and south aisles;" each aisle, as at Lincoln and Ely, being out-flanked by two large chapels (those of S. Faith, and S. Denis), and these again by two large octagonal towers.

The "great campanile," the lower portion of which—westwards of a transverse wall from north to south—formed part of an open porticus, stood above the principal arch, in the centre. It opened by a smaller arch through the middle, or transverse wall, to the nave; by north and south arches within it, to the aisle; and had its eastern side carried on a great arch similar to that of the west front, which spanned the full width of the building.

its

its completion, when it destroyed a large portion of the presbytery. At S. David's Cathedral, the great central, or "new tower," built by bishop Peter de Leia (1180-1189), fell in 1220, crushing the choir and transepts. The lower part, at once rebuilt, was afterwards added to by bishops Gower (1328-1347), and Vaughan (1509-1522), but so injudiciously was the work performed that it never ceased to threaten a second ruin till 1866, when, after an infinite expenditure of skill and labour, it was rendered perfectly secure. The fall of the central tower and spire of Chichester Cathedral, February 21st, 1861,—a result directly due to the vicious construction and absolute pulverization of the Norman piers of bishops Ralph Luffa and Seffrid Pelochin (1091-1145),—is fresh in the recollection of us all.

At Ripon Minster, the south and east sides of the great tower, built by Roger de Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop of York (1154-1181), fell in 1454: the central tower of Selby Abbey fell March 30th, 1690, destroying the south transept; and the great central, or "rood tower" of Lincoln Minster, built by S. Hugh of Lincoln, and Bishops William de Blois, Hugh de Wells, and Robert Grostete (1186-1253), fell in 1240, "*propter artificii insolentiam*," as Abbot Benedict records, after which, its rebuilding, as we now see it, was undertaken by the last of those prelates upon enormously increased piers.

These, be it observed, are all *recorded* examples only, of the towers of our chief churches which actually fell,—as upon the general evidence I am inclined to think the first or Norman tower at Kirkby Stephen did—and represent but a mere tithe of similar disasters in less important structures, of which we have no account whatever.

IX.—But there is a far larger, and more interesting class of examples, in which, either by timely demolition,—as in the case of the second, or Early English tower—or the introduction of various mechanical appliances, the otherwise inevitable catastrophe has been averted.

At

At old S. Paul's, for instance, the great centre tower was in so dangerous a condition in 1663, that Sir Christopher Wren, when called in to report upon it, was compelled to recommend its removal altogether. A similar course was found necessary at Peterborough as early as the fourteenth century, when, in order to prevent its fall, Abbot Waterville's central tower of four stages (1155-1177), was taken down as far as the crowns of the arches. Two of them, viz., those to the east and west, were then rebuilt in a pointed form; the others being relieved by having pointed discharging arches built over them in such a manner, as to throw the superincumbent weight directly upon the piers. To the unhappy retention (without rebuilding) of these last, and their evident inability, notwithstanding their vast bulk, to support a tower proportionate to the size of the building, is due the design of the present low and flimsy lantern* which, however curious or interesting as a makeshift, is so miserably unworthy of its place.

At Hereford Cathedral, the central tower was also taken down to the arches, and rebuilt at an early period in the fourteenth century; the preamble to a papal Bull of 1320, which assigned the churches of Shenyngheld and Swalefeld to the fabric, reciting, that whereas the Dean and Chapter had erected sumptuous buildings upon an ancient foundation, which in the opinion of skilful masons or architects, was firm and solid, *the building now so threatens ruin*, that it must be completely renewed from the foundation. Nothing of the kind was done, however; the piers were merely patched with new ashlar; "the smaller Norman arches

* It is of the slightest form of construction imaginable, consisting of two excessively thin walls—like the merest boards set on edge—pierced with large flowing-traceried windows, and tied together at intervals with through-stones. Nothing that I can remember, ever impressed me with a more painful sense of the incapacity of the Norman builders, than standing beneath this unsubstantial erection, and then taking note of its supporting piers; the south-eastern one of which, sunken, swollen, and strapped together with iron, seemed hardly able to support its own weight. An attempt to gain an effect of height for this lantern, by crowning the external angles with tall and slender octagonal turrets of open work, can hardly be considered successful; and may not improbably be thought to aggravate, instead of remedying its defects.

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in connection with them, filled with solid masonry, leaving only doorways," and the rotten hearts or cores left untouched. Other patchings followed from time to time, as the process of crushing and settling went on, till eventually the north and south arches were closed with perforated walling carried on low central columns and flying buttresses, or half-arches, which springing off from them, supported the piers on either side. But all would not do. In 1841, the late Professor Willis, in his Report, pronounced the masonry of the great arches and their spandrels to be in such a state of ruin, as to make an immediate repair absolutely necessary for the preservation of the tower. So, what should have been done at first, had to be done at last :—the piers were solidly rebuilt from their foundation, the arches reset, and all the patchings and fillings in swept away, to the infinite advantage of the building.

At Chester Cathedral, the choir and central tower (1095), had, according to the authority of the "Red Book," become so ruinous before 1194, as to require an entire rebuilding which was completed by 1211. Yet, so faulty was the masonry of the tower,—whether in itself, or owing to the retention of the original supports—that a second rebuilding upon new arches was found necessary under Abbots Ripley (1485-1492), and Birchenshaw (1493-1537).

Gloucester Cathedral, again, offers another example of an early tower removed ; displaying at the same time, a degree of forethought and ability in the design of its successor—one of the noblest in the world—which is probably unparalleled. Whatever the exact state of the original tower may have been,—and that it was a ruinous one cannot be doubted—it was entirely taken down by Abbot Staunton (1337-1351), together with its arches, and the upper parts of their piers. The lower parts were left ; partly, perhaps for economy ; partly, and perhaps chiefly,
for

for the sake of affording the extremely clever school of local masons an opportunity (which they seem never to have let slip) of exhibiting their skill. The beauty of their work is evident to all, and commands universal praise; but its daring construction and scientific buttressing, which,—practically dispensing with the untrustworthy Norman piers—have maintained the whole structure in pristine perfection to the present day, will be viewed with no less delight by the practical builder, in whom they cannot but raise feelings of the liveliest admiration.*

At Wells Cathedral, on the other hand, all the constructive ingenuity has been expended, not, as in the last instance, in designing the tower, but in intercepting its fall. The lower, and original portion of it, built by bishop Jocelyn (1206-1242), was carried up only to the roof. Upon this substructure, the canons, having voluntarily taxed themselves to the extent of a fifth part of their income, raised, from 1318 to 1321, the four external stories. But a very short time elapsed before alarming symptoms appeared. "In 1337, and subsequent years, Chapter Meetings declare the threatened ruin of the structure, which they allege to be enormously shattered (*enormiter confracta*). £1000 spent, and £200 of debt, attest the expenditure, and the means resorted to are still too visible. The lofty tower arches, excepting the eastern, are each obstructed by a massive frame of masonry consisting of an

* In the interior, the usual effect of a central tower is so completely done away with, by continuing the splendid vault of the choir, without a break, across (and above the height of) that of the transept to the western tower wall, that its very existence could hardly be suspected. The eastern tower arch is not seen at all, being above the vaulting. The western, is so much higher than even the external roof of the nave, as to allow of the insertion of a large traceried window between the two. Both arches—the extradoses of which appear *outside* the building—are of immense strength, very flat, and supported, partly by the angle buttresses, and partly by means of a most complex and masterly system of flying buttresses, rectangular, diagonal, internal, external, and embedded in the walls. The pair of light, horizontal, flying arches which are thrown so airily across those opening to the transept, and upon whose centres the springers of the tower vaulting are made to droop, and seem to rest, serve still further to conceal the presence of the tower; and testify to the possession of as consummate taste and artistic feeling on the part of their builders, as the other dispositions, to their engineering skill.

inverted

inverted arch, resting upon a low arch, each spandril space being occupied by a circle connecting these two arches with the tower arch responds, between which they stand in such a manner as effectually to prevent the latter from bulging out. The fractured and distorted masonry of the nave was also repaired or rebuilt, its triforium spaces walled up, and other buttressing contrivances introduced. The great windows of the tower were filled up with masonry—and its internal arches fortified.—These various devices have proved perfectly successful in sustaining the tower, but detract greatly from the beauty of the interior.” (Professor Willis’s Introductory Essay to *Chichester Cathedral*, pp. vi. vii.)

Canterbury Cathedral, again, exhibits an amount of internal propping, which if less unsightly, perhaps, than that at Wells, is very much more extensive. The cause of the failure which necessitated it, is to be found, as usual, in the heartings of the piers. When, in 1378, the rebuilding of the nave of Lanfranc’s church was resolved upon, *propter ipsius notoriam et evidentem ruinam*,” as Abbot Sedbury’s mandate expressed it, the first active step taken was the “utter demolition” of its pillars “and all that rested on them,” nothing being suffered to remain but “the plinths of the side-aisle walls.” The temptation of utilizing such great masses as those of the tower piers, however, was irresistible. Instead of being taken down, therefore, like the rest, they were substantially retained; increased in bulk, indeed, by the inner faces of the walls being brought forward so as to obtain a greater thickness for those of the new tower which was in contemplation; as well as by the general face, or casing of moulded stonework which they also received, in order to bring them into harmony with that of the new nave and renovated transept. Upon the piers thus typically constructed, Prior Goldston II., about a century afterwards “*Turrim satis excelsam Angyll Stepyll vulgariter nuncupatam, testudine pulcherrimâ*”

cherrimâ concameratam ac opere decenti artificiose undique sculptam et deauratam, cum fenestris vitreatis satis amplis et ferramentis, ope et auxilio Revⁱ Patris J. Morton Cardinalis necnon et Domⁱ W. Sellyng Prioris, in medio Ecclesiæ vid^t inter chorum et navem Ecclesiæ egregie erexit et magnifice consummavit." The natural consequences were soon seen. The piers, neither sound nor properly bonded together, began to bulge. Energetic measures, however, were at once taken, and a system of buttressing, more complete and elaborate, perhaps, than anything of the kind to be found elsewhere, was adopted to avert the threatened downfall. The eastern piers, owing to the support which they derived from the deep and solid western abutments of Ernulph's choir, were fairly equal to the task. The danger lay in the slighter piers to the west; and it was to these only, in consequence, that the fortifying processes were applied. Two great strainer arches, therefore, were erected at their mid-height; one, stretching between them from north to south; the other, from the southern pier to its opposite one, eastwards. A similar arch from the northern pier to the other eastern one not having been built,—out of respect, as Professor Willis suggests, to the "Martyrdom" (as the south-east part of the north transept is called)—the result is, that it has bulged out very considerably in that direction. But, besides the aid derived from these horizontal stays, the piers themselves were augmented vertically, by means of additional members, both in the direction of the nave and of the transept; similar members being at the same time applied to the eastern faces of the adjoining nave pillars, and to the outer responds of the transeptal aisle-arches, so as greatly to reduce their openings in width and height. Midway up the four arches thus curtailed and strengthened, four other strainer arches were introduced, in all respects similar to the two large ones already mentioned. They have proved fully adequate to their requirements, for, save the eastwardly bulging

bulging of the north-west pier, there has been no further failure.

The last instance I will take,—for it would be both endless and unprofitable to pursue the subject further—shall be from the mother church of the diocese, the Cathedral of Carlisle. Though its Norman central tower—judging as well from the general character of the building, as from the height of its piers—could never have been but of very moderate dimensions, it nevertheless, owing to the want of proper foundation, drove those piers bodily into the ground nearly a foot, if not immediately after its erection in the first quarter of the twelfth century (as has been asserted),* at any rate before the rebuilding of the choir after the great fire of 1292, the abutting arches of which, with their responds, have sustained no injury. Some of the results, as they affected the older parts of the building, may still be seen. All the adjoining arches of the ground, blind (triforiate), and clear stories of the nave and transepts, are dragged down and distorted in the most frightful manner, and the walls thrown greatly out of the perpendicular.† As to the tower itself, whether it fell, or, as most likely

* By Mr. Billings, e.g., *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 41, and the late Professor Willis, (following him), in the Introductory Essay to his work on Chichester Cathedral, p. viii. The statement, if taken literally, is hardly accurate, perhaps, since, on the whole, it would seem far more likely that the settlements took place, not so much from the weight of the actual Norman tower itself,—which, if following the general rule in such cases, rose probably only about a square above the roofs—as from the 12th and 13th century additions it may have received, and of which such excessive failure would be the more natural result.

† Professor Willis, by a strange oversight, attributes these disasters to the action of the present, or second, Perpendicular tower, though it is clear, that if, as he states, the Norman piers “sank at their first erection nearly a foot,” they must necessarily have dragged down with them the adjoining walls and arches, as at York, Wells, Darlington, &c. The proof that the present tower could not have caused the mischief, is found in the fact (which he admits), of the Decorated responds of the choir arches being undisturbed. Yet, that some crushing and settlement took place after its erection is perfectly true. On reference to Mr. Billings’s admirable work on the Cathedral, it will be seen (Plate VII., fig 2),—and the circumstance is not without its interest in reference to the failure of the early English tower at Kirkby Stephen—that independently of the settlements in the eastern walls of the transepts, caused by the first sinking, the inner half of the rich Early English arch opening to the north choir aisle, on whose respond the Perpendicular stair turret presses, has been split in two in so dangerous a way as to have necessitated the introduction of a buttressing and discharging arch above it in the wall.

happened,

happened, was taken down, is uncertain, for there is no record. It was rebuilt, as we now see it, above the line of the original piers, which he retained intact, by Bishop Strickland (1400-1419); its wretchedly stunted and undignified appearance—barely equal to that of the tower of an ordinary parish church—being due in great measure no doubt, to the fear of loading such worthless supports with one of more adequate proportions.

X—To return, however, to Kirkby Stephen. So complete was the ruin of the second, or Early English central tower here that its demolition, instead of stopping short at the crown of the arches as at Hereford, or at the height of their piers, as at Peterborough or Carlisle, was continued on at least two, if not three of its sides, to the very ground. The north-west pier, which would seem to have been in a worse state than the rest, was taken out entirely, together with the west and north arches, their opposite responds and all that stood above them.* Whether the eastern, or chancel arch, was also taken down, does not appear; as whatever stood there prior to 1847, was removed in that year, on the erection of the present chancel, with its rich, and exceedingly lofty arch, by the late Mr. Carpenter. The only part of which the retention is certain, was the arch of the south transept and its responds; but the latter, so greatly crippled and thrust out of place, that it became necessary during the late work of restoration, to take down and reset the whole.

Whatever other lessons the collapse of the second tower and spire may have taught the sixteenth century architect, one, at any rate, he would seem to have laid to heart, and that was a wholesome fear of trusting to their shattered piers any further. The site of the new campanile—the erection of which, in all probability, followed swiftly upon

* Though somewhat anticipating it, the ultimate issue is here given for the sake of convenience. As a matter of chronological sequence, the *substructures* above referred to were not removed till a later period, to be noticed in due order.

the

the destruction of the ancient central one—was accordingly transferred to the west end of the nave, or, to speak more precisely, a trifle beyond it; its eastern arch having been built just outside, and independently of the west gable.* It is in all respects an admirable work,—massive, well-proportioned, strongly built of large close-jointed ashlar, within and without,† and perfectly adapted to the building it surmounts. Simple to a degree, as the design appears when viewed in geometrical elevation upon plan, the actual effect is excellent. It rises from a good basement, in three bold well graduated stages;‡ the lower being occupied by the west doorway, and the three-light western window over it; the middle, by a ringing chamber; and the upper, by pairs of two-light belfry windows, which have ogee-headed hood moulds terminating in tufts of foliage. Diagonal buttresses with moulded set-offs support the angles, and the whole is finished with a plain battlemented parapet; a cresting of pinnacles at the angles and in the centre of each face, which apparently

* In all similar cases this is, of course, the surest and best course to adopt, as allowing the construction of independent foundations, without disturbing those of the original building. A further advantage—especially where the work proceeded slowly—was, that the general uses of the church could be carried on continuously and without inconvenience, till the full height of the nave was gained, and the lower part, being covered in, could be thrown open to it.

An exactly parallel instance, which was never completed, however, (whether happily or otherwise, it is hard to say) exists at Bolton Abbey, where to the Early English nave of a cruciform church, the basement story of a late Rectilinear tower of most sumptuous design was attached just previous to the dissolution; its lofty eastern arch being raised immediately outside the lovely western façade, which (for the time) was left, and still remains untouched.

† In connection with this ashlar-work, Nicolson and Burn (Vol. I., p. 606), in their account of Warcop,—a village some four or five miles north-west of Kirkby-Stephen, have the following:—"About 100 yards south-east from the village of Warcop, was a *castle*, which appears to have been a large building, and to have taken up more than one acre of ground. Mr. Machel says, that he had seen some part of the walls dug up, which were 15 foot thick, and of fair hewn stone, well cemented with lime and sand. And their was a tradition, he says, that the stones of the steeple of the church at Kirkby Stephen (which was built about the year 1606)"—an error probably for 1506—"were fetched from thence. The place where the castle stood still goes by the name of *Castle-hill*."

‡ As marked by the buttress set-offs; the tower itself has only a single weathering below the third, or belfry stage, which is thus the more sharply defined.

was

was intended, having never been proceeded with further than their seats. With some faint points of resemblance, possibly, to those of Brough and Kendal, this third, or Rectilinear tower at Kirkby Stephen—distinctly the finest in the county—has always struck me as being of a type essentially different from the rest, and suggested the idea that it was the work, if not of a stranger, at least of one whose knowledge of his art must have been gained elsewhere. Independently of style, its approximate date, together with the chief contributors to its erection, are shewn by an interesting (and in north-country work, somewhat unusual) display of heraldry, within and around the head of the west doorway, (see Plate VI.). Of the five shields which compose the group, two occupy the spandrils between the arch and the square-headed outer moulding; the other three being arranged above, and at either end of the horizontal line of the hood mould. The uppermost, and central coat (fig 4)—CLIFFORD, Lord of Westmorland (*Chequée or and az., a fess gu.*), is noteworthy as being that of Henry, the shepherd lord (1454-1524). The next, or outermost one to the left (fig 5),—BEAUCHAMP, (*gu., a fess between six cross crosslets or*), impaling Musgrave, (*az., six annulets or, three, two, and one*), charged with what appears to be meant as a crescent for difference, is that of a daughter and coheir of Thomas Beauchamp, and one of the heirs of Thomas Musgrave, who, with divers others, held, in the 18th Hen. VIII., a moiety of the manor of Waitby; the lady's arms, owing to her higher rank, being placed in the dexter. The opposite coat, to the right (fig. 3),—WARCOP, of Smardale, (*ar., on a fess gu. three cushions of the field buttoned or*), is either that of Edward Warcop (*born 1468*), or of his son, John Warcop, who in the said 18th Hen. VIII., held the manor of Henry, Earl of Cumberland. In the north spandril (fig. 2), is MUSGRAVE, impaling WARD (*az., a cross fleury or*). It is the coat of Sir Edward Musgrave, of Hartley, Knt., and his second wife;
 Johan,



1



6



2



3



4



5

KIRKBY STEPHEN CHURCH. Plate VI. pp. 230, 231.

Johan, daughter, and coheir of Sir Christopher Ward, of Gryndall, Knt., and valuable as limiting the erection of the tower to a date posterior to 1492, Sir Richard Musgrave, father of Sir Edward, being then alive. In the south spandril (fig. 1), the fifth and last coat,*—WHARTON, (*sa.*, *a maunch ar.*), impaling STAPLETON, (*arg.*, *lion rampt. sa.*), is that of Thomas, Lord Wharton, and his first wife Eleanor, daughter of Sir Bryan Stapleton, of Wighill, Knt. As he died August 24th, 1568, and was not only a married man but the head of his house at the time the tower was erected, we have its date brought within still narrower limits;—that of 1506, the traditional one to which Mr. Machell seems to point, and which may not impossibly be correct, being about as early as we can well carry it.

Of greater interest, however, than the heraldry, and far apart from it, being set above the point of the west window, is a small monogram, or rebus (fig. 6), the reading and appropriation of which are equally uncertain. It has been suggested that the initial object represents a mason's plummet or level; the name indicated being the local one of Waller, and the individual referred to, the then vicar of the parish. With regard to the last particular, it is, unfortunately impossible to speak, as the episcopal registers of the period are no longer in existence. But that the name of Waller was intended, seems to me utterly improbable,—the *rebus* invariably conveying the sound of the name it was designed to perpetuate, as *e.g.*,—an owl bearing a scroll on which is inscribed the syllable **Dom**, for

* Upon all these coats, except perhaps, that of Clifford, an indented or engrailed edging has been cut at the top. In two, those namely, of Warcop, and Beauchamp impaling Musgrave, this edging appears to have been purposely struck off, as though objected to by the owners as a liberty taken with their bearings. It seems perfectly clear, however, that it was meant simply to represent the ornamental metal border, usually in the form of foliage, which is so frequently met with in late examples of mediæval heraldry, whether at the top and bottom of, or all round the shield, as in the Garter plates, at Windsor, Abbot Ramrydge's chantry at S. Alban's, the coats of bishops Ruthal and Tunstall, at Auckland Castle, Durham, and many others.

Oldham,

Oldham, adopted by Bishop Oldham in his chapel at Exeter Cathedral; and, an ox, the letter N, and a bridge, for Oxenbridge, upon the doorway of that Chantry at S. George's Chapel, Windsor. The object itself, too, cannot possibly be meant for a level, being not only too high and narrow for that implement, but without any attempt to indicate the line and drop,—details which a mason would certainly not have neglected to shew. Nor, even had it been so meant, could Waller have been the reading, a plummet having no more connection with a wall, or wall building than a hammer or trowel—commonly far less. The name, in that case, would most naturally read Plummer. Now, as seems equally clear, both from its shape, and the absence of a tongue—a feature always represented with great distinctness—that the object is not intended for a bell, and, as it has, moreover, a narrow, well-defined ring for elevation at the top, it can only, I think, be taken for a weight,—a pound, or perhaps a stone, and the reading consequently be Pounder, or Stonor; the **R.** from its position, being manifestly a terminal syllable, and not an initial letter. As regards the appropriation, without at all disputing the *possibility* of the rebus being that of the ecclesiastic of the day, my own feeling leans rather towards the only person to whom it could apply, viz.,—the master mason, or architect, and who, especially if a stranger, as I have supposed, might thus desire to leave some mark of personal identity upon his work.*

But though of so late a date, this new western tower was by no means the last addition which the church received in the 16th century. Some time after its completion,—not very long, perhaps—the old south aisle was taken down, and rebuilt of enormous width; its original diameter of about eight feet, being increased to twenty,—or an average excess of a foot and a half over that of the

* The note in illustration, which but for its length would have been inserted here, will appear as a separate paper.

central

central* nave. This extreme disproportion, which at an earlier period could hardly have failed to ruin the external appearance of the building, was now, however, owing to the bold projection of the tower effectually preventing its being seen in combination with the north aisle and nave, permissible enough. As compared with the tower, it was a very inferior piece of work, its walls being roughly built, and having little or no foundation, though supported by rather good buttresses. The windows, (See Plate V.), which were all square headed, seems to have been filled with plain unfoliated lights, as at Wharton hall. From their close agreement in date, style, and locality, indeed, there can be little doubt that both works proceeded from the same hand, and in great measure, probably, from the same purse, Machell in a side note observing,—“in the 3rd Window, counting from the door, at the Top in one of the Corners is a plane manch.”

To the same period must be referred the roof, and south front, or greater part of it, of the south transept; the whole western side of which—enveloped by the aisle—was pierced with a wide segmental-pointed arch, of its full width. Though the new walling, and heavy angle buttress, which was probably then erected to resist the thrust of this arch, were of the rudest character, the woodwork of the roof (which still remains) was admirable; the massive oaken beams being both well moulded, and singular to say, enriched with nail-head—an adoption of an early form of decoration which is very effective. Of a still later period was the roof of the nave, one of the beams being dated 1558. On the removal of the original roof—which, at the time of the erection of the tower was probably in a state of great decay, since no weather mould was worked to receive it—two low, and ill-built walls, pierced with

* This is, towards the east, exactly 18 ft. 4 in., to the west, 18 ft. 8 in., an irregularity, which, though in the right direction, is doubtless accidental, as it seems difficult to imagine the architect indulging in so subtle a device for heightening the effect of the perspective.

small irregular openings, were raised above the arcades, and upon these the new one, a slight and very poor structure, with flat cambered beams, was placed. Like the miserable walls which carried it, it was quite unworthy of the church. It was while these works were in progress, and indeed, in immediate connection with them, that as has been already stated (p. 228), the north-west pier of the old central tower, the arches connected with it, their responds and superstructures were taken out, as was shewn by the new walls and roof being both continued uninterruptedly above the crossing to the west wall of the chancel. However necessary such an operation might have become, the way in which it was carried out was barbarous in the extreme. The central space being thus thrown open, a great sprawling arch of immense span, was thrown from the eastern face of the north transept wall, to a point just eastward of the respond of the north arcade of the nave, which, as it may be recollected, did not join the transept, but terminated one bay westward of it, so as to leave room for the stair-turret. The latter, or rather, perhaps, what remained of it, would seem to have been also taken down at the same time; when, the outer wall of the aisle being carried forward to the transept, blocked up the innermost of its two western lancets. (See Plate VII., fig. 1). Thus, the grand cruciform effect of the interior was at last effectually destroyed; a gaping and unsightly void taking the place of what, till then, had doubtless been by far the most striking and solemn feature of the design. In this state of mutilation and disfigurement, the church continued down to about the middle of the present century, in exact agreement with Mr. Machell's description of it as, "a large but humble building with a lofty Tower of good ashlar work."

It remains now only for me to state the condition in which we found it at the time the late works of restoration were commenced; and to describe, as concisely as may be, the several changes which since then have been carried out.

XI.

FIG. 1.

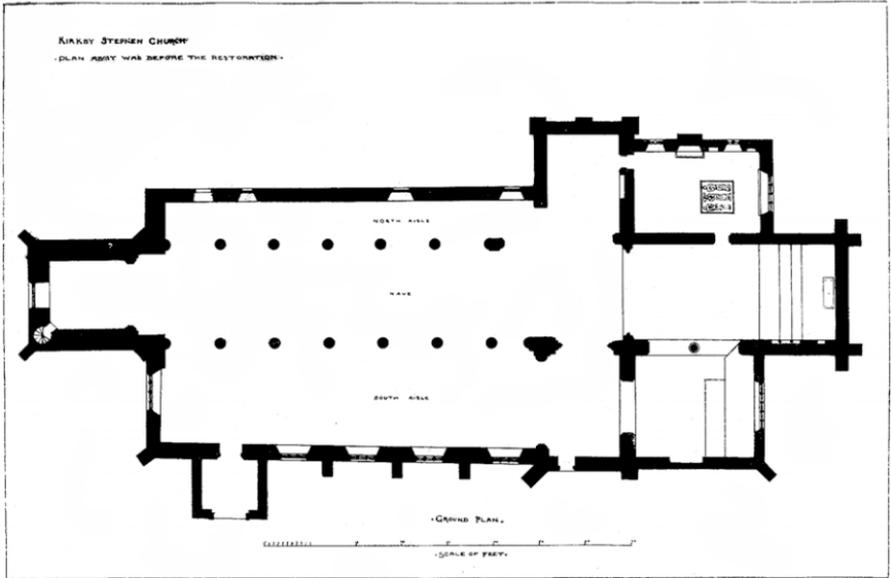
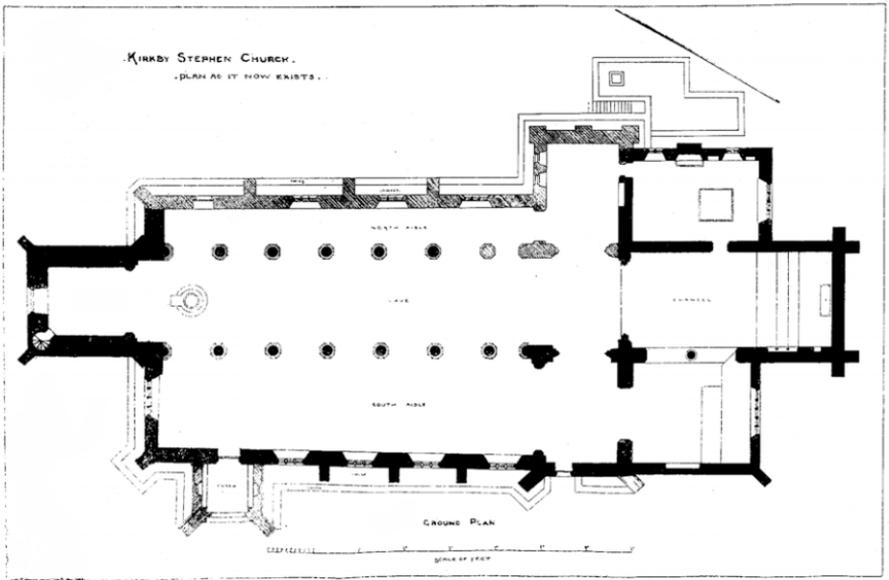


FIG. 2.



XI.—In 1847, the whole fabric having fallen into a state of extreme decay, a course of general repair and rebuilding was determined on, and the late Mr. Carpenter, an architect of acknowledged reputation, appointed to prepare the plans. His scheme, unfortunately, though marked in many respect, as to details, with very great ability, was founded on the then very prevalent, but unhappy principle of eclecticism. Instead of restoring and reinstating the various decayed portions after their own proper styles, the Early English type of the nave and north transept was adopted—with the exception of the two eastern chapels, and south aisle—for the complete reconstruction, and recasting of the edifice. The chancel, and its side chapels, were thereupon taken down to the foundation, and rebuilt; not with their old materials, however, but new, and those too of the most violently incongruous and offensive kind,—an ashey-grey ragstone being used for the walling, and deep blood-red sandstone for the dressings. For the two chapels,—which were made exactly alike—a quasi Rectilinear style was adopted. Here, happily, the mischief stopped. But, it was proposed to rebuild the transept in unison with the new chancel, to erect a tall Early English clerestory upon the nave, covering it with a vast equilateral roof of slate, in all respects similar to that upon the chancel, and finally,—as the tower would then be completely swamped—either to heighten, or cap it with a lofty spire. In the same condition in which Mr. Carpenter left it, the church remained till, 1871, when the late great and general work of repair was undertaken. But in what a state of wretchedness and decay! The roofs rotten, the arcades hacked, chipped and imbedded in countless coats of dirty whitewash,—the walls ruinous,—the window traceries destroyed,—the north transept, in great part, a roofless wreck, and devoted to the purpose of a hen-house,—the floors wet and broken,—and, as though all this were not enough,—a solid stone wall, the full height of the
building,

building, and serving as a background to an immense gallery, carried across the western half of the nave and aisles, which were thus doubly cut in two,—vertically and horizontally. Besides the usual array of vast and hideous pews (both upstairs and down), the flues of divers stoves suspended hither and thither, as occasion offered, and holding a black and tortuous course in various directions till they found eventual exit through roofs or windows, lent an additional element of hideousness to the scene. As to the outside of the building, its appearance, especially at a little distance, was as singular as that of the interior was frightful. At one extremity, standing by itself, was seen a lofty ash-grey chancel—a chapel or public building, of some kind, apparently—at the other, altogether disconnected with it, and from some points, as it seemed, in a different part of the town—a massive tower of dark red-brown sandstone, for the great length of nave which lay between them, was so low as to be quite invisible.—Such was the condition of things which it was sought to remedy.

XII.—To carry out Mr. Carpenter's scheme, was, of course, impossible. The difficulty was, how to unite the old and new works, and, without destroying either, to bring them, if possible, into slight combination. One way only, appeared practicable, viz. :— first to clear away the dwarf walls which carried the nave roof, and then to raise above the arcade, a clerestory of such proportions as, on the one hand, should not encroach unduly upon the tower; and on the other, should suffice to connect it in a becoming way with the chancel, either as it stood, or as it might at some future time be remodelled. That the plan was in perfect accordance with the scheme of the architect of the tower, was evident from its eastern arch rising high above the leads of the Marian or Elizabethan roof; the clerestory, which he might seem to have had in view, and to such extent provided for, being at the time, very possibly, deferred for lack of funds. It has now been
built ;—

built;—of just sufficient height to enclose the tower arch at the one end, and the very noble chancel arch of Mr. Carpenter at the other, which, previously, also appeared outside the roof, in the same strange fashion. The execution, it is pleasant to record, is of the most solid and costly character; large, fine, close-jointed blocks of ashlar being used both inside and out. The timbers of the roof also are of the like substantial character,—as massive as in the best old examples; three lines of emblazoned heraldic bosses which stud its closely-set, arched principals, producing an excellent effect. With the exception of its western end,—containing a small, and rather curious square-headed window—the whole of the north aisle, which was without any feature of interest, and in a very insecure state, has been rebuilt in a similar manner to the clerestory. The same simple and massive Perpendicular style has been adopted as prevails in the tower, which has throughout given the key-note for the new works. A like course of rebuilding (and with similar materials) was also found necessary in the front of the south transept, which was in a very mean and dilapidated condition; the priests' doorway, the only portion with any claim to antiquity, being carefully reset. A handsome traceried window of three lights* has been placed above it, in lieu of a poor Elizabethan, or later, square-headed one; and in order to give this all but obliterated feature of the church a certain emphasis and relief, a second buttress, similar to that towards the west, has been added to the south-east angle adjoining the Hartley chapel.

The north transept, which was quite ruinous, has been carefully rebuilt with its own materials; new, and much needed foundations being put in, and the north window, a simple Decorated insertion, retained and repaired. A good,

* This window has been filled with excellent stained glass, by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, at the cost of his family, to the memory of the late vicar, Mr. King.

but

but plain oaken roof has been framed for it out of that taken off the nave.

The south porch, a miserable erection of the last, or early part of the present century, has also been very handsomely rebuilt; its roof,—likewise composed from the old one of the nave—preserving the dated beam.

In the south aisle, the new work has been confined exclusively to restoration. The walls and parapets, where necessary, have been repaired; two of the buttresses, which were ruinous, rebuilt; new foundations (for there were no old ones worth mentioning) inserted; and the windows—the original lights of which had been completely obliterated,—filled with tracery of a late and quiet type, so as to bring them into harmony with those of the clerestory and north aisle. (See Plate VIII.)

As regards the interior, the whole of the ancient stonework has been cleansed and repaired in a most scrupulously careful way, so as in every part to preserve the original surfaces intact. The monstrous arch which overlapped the north transept, has been removed; and another, answering in point of size and detail to the original one opening to the south transept (which it became necessary to take down and reset), erected in its place. In the interval between it and the north arcade, a new, and extra, narrow arch has been introduced, uniform with that on the south side; the old respond, which, of course, had to be taken out to make way for the pillar, being reinstated as before. (See Plate VII., fig. 2). The strip of wall-space on the south side also, between the transept arch and the respond of the arcade (originally occupied by part of the south-western pier of the old tower), and which, at the time of its demolition, was left in a very ragged and unsightly state, has been faced with finely dressed ashlar like the rest. This part of the church, consequently, which, till recently, had been most unsightly and repulsive, is now, in point of appearance, all that could be wished.

The

The floor,—cold, wet, and in a miserable state,—has been taken up over the whole surface, the soil excavated, and the space filled up with concrete, laid with black and red tiles. The usual method of heating by hot water having also been applied, the church has thus been rendered permanently dry and comfortable.

The unsightly pews having likewise been got rid of, handsome carved seats of oak have been placed in the eastern part of the nave below the crossing, which—slightly raised—has very judiciously been left open,* as has also, a large space—or sort of narthex—to the west.

For the tower, happily, very little was required, as the mullions, and part of tracery of the belfry windows only had been destroyed. These have now been replaced, and small pinnacles set upon the ancient seats, greatly to its advantage.

Bishop Nicolson mentions “a good Ring of five musical Bells,” though Nicolson and Burn only speak of four, which was probably the full number. All were out of tune, more or less modern, and uninteresting. The first (I quote from the vicar’s account, having unfortunately omitted to examine them in person), measured across the mouth, 2 ft. 6 in., and had the following inscription round the upper part of the barrel :—

BE IT KNOWN TO ALL MEN THAT ME SEE
 . . . THOMAS STAFFORD OF PENRITH MADE ME. 1631.

The second, with a diameter of 2 ft. 8 in., was inscribed :—

INSONET CET† AD SACRA CUM NOSTRIS TINTINATIONIBUS.
 ANNO DOMINI. 1693. CH. M. RB. JR. RP. RB. CHURCHWARDENS.

The third, with a diameter of 2ft. 11½ in. :—

QUI PIUS EST VENIAT PROPERANS, UT NUMEN ADORET.
 F.H. R.A. E.F. J.G. T.G. ANNO DOMINI 1658.

* Upon it, at the north side of the chancel arch, a sumptuous pulpit of Shap granite, alabaster, &c., (a trifle too gorgeous, perhaps,) has been erected by the freemasons of the district, as a tribute to the present vicar, Dr. Simpson.

† The T, seems to be an error for L;—the word intended being probably *cælum*. This, and the next bell, as appears from some old accounts, were cast at Carlisle, in 1658, by William and John Langshaw.

The

The fourth, with a diameter of 3 ft. 3 in. :—

CUM SONO BUSTA MORI, CUM PULPITA VIVERE DISCE 1749.	
{ HARTLEY, CHR. ISLOP. THOS. EVBANK	{ CHURCH
{ MINISTER:—WILL. PARKER. JOHN WAISTELL	{ WARDENS.

With the exception of the tenor (which has been preserved and now forms the seventh bell), they have lately (1877), been taken down and recast by the aid of additional metal, into a full peal of eight, ranging in weight from between 6 and 7, to nearly 16 cwt., by Messrs. Warner, of London. The work appears to have been achieved with complete success, the bells being reported as both sweetly toned and in perfect tune.

Long may their melody resound o'er hill and dale, to gladden the hearts and ears of all who have so liberally come forward, not merely to provide their music, but to rescue the noble fabric in which they hang from a state of shameful squalor and degradation, and render it in some sort, worthy of its sacred uses.

APPENDIX.

LORD WHARTON'S WILL.

In the name of God, Amen. The eighteenth daye of July in the yeare of our Lord God 1568, I, Thomas Wharton knight lord Wharton, makethe my last will and testament in maner and forme followinge. Fyrst, thankes be gyven to Almyghtie God, beinge holle of bodie and in perfitt mind and memorie, do call to my remembraunce howe dangerous a thinge yt is in the howre of deathe to be troubled withe the disposicion of worldlie things and transitorie vanyties, I do fyrst humble gyve my soull to Almyghtie God, desyringe the Blessed Virgine Marie and all the hollie Companye in heaven and in earthe to praye for me, and my bodie to be buried in the parishe churché of Healaughe in the queare ther. And for the order and disposicione of my manors, landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes, withe th' appurtenaunces in all places within this realme, and also of my goodes and cattells, plaite and debttes, I wille executed and done in maner and forme following, (that is to witt) where I the Lord Wharton at this presente standethe seased fullie in my demesne as of fee of and in the maners landes &c in Ravenstondail and Langdail withe the tithe corne sheaves &c belonginge to
the

the rectorie of Ravenstondail in the Countie of Westmoreland, and also in the parke demesnes &c in Helay in Swodail I will the profitts of the same yearlie shall be received by myne executors for the payment of my funeralls debts &c &c. My deare and wel beloved wife to occupy and enjoy the manors lands and tene-ments in Helaugh, Synningthwaite and Catterton with the rectorie and tithes of Helaughe in y^e countie of y^e citie of Yorke and all such jewels &c as wer hers before my marriage accordinge to the indenture maide thereof betwixt the Right Honorable George Erle of Shrewesburie and me; my manors &c in Trymedon co. Duresme and all the landes in Wensladaill called Weddell, Greysdail and Udaill and my leases of the Prebende of Strensall and manors of Foston and Flaxtone for her lyf. And after her decease my sonne Sir Thomas Wharton Knt and Phillippe Wharton his sonne and ther heires joyntlie to have them. All my household stuffe at my house of Wharton to remain ther to my sonne and his heires and they to have the residue of my leases. Also I will that all my frendes and servauntes to whom I have gyven or hereafter shall gyve any letters patentes, annuyties, fees, or leases sealed withe the seall of myne armes or signet and signed with my hand shall stande, be, and take full effects accordinge to these letters patentes, annuyties, fees, or leases without any lette, vexacion, or incombrance to be maid to them, or any of them by myne executors, administrators, my sonne his heirs or assignes or any of them. Also I will that every one of my household servauntes shall have paide within one monthe after my deathe there full waiges that shal be owenge to any of them at my deathe, and to be contynewed in my house at meate, drynke and lodginge one half yeare after my deathe, servinge and pleasinge my wyf and my sonne, and every of them servinge as gentlemen and yoman for to have xls gyven by waye of reward; and every one of the others not servinge as gentilmen nor yomen for to have xxs gyven besides ther waiges dewe, also for that half yeare to be paide by myne executors. Also I will and hartelic desire my supervisors and executors to be good to all my said servauntes and to do for them at al tymes as my trust is in them. To Mary Wharton and Anne Wharton daughters to my said sonne either of them 500 marks towards there mariages. To Thomas Wharton my sonnes second son the manors &c of Marton and Warcoppe in Westmerland for his lyf. To my cosyn Anne Bowes £6. 13. 4. To Ketherine Copley £6. 13. 4. To Elizabeth Charleton £5. To Marye Wharton £20. To Alice Roides £3. 6. 8. Whease the Quenes Majestie hathe graunted me her license to erecte a free schole in the towne of Kirkbe Stephen and haithe graunted in the same that I may gyve tythes or landes to yearlie valewe of forty marks for the relief aide and continuance of the saide free scoole, scoolmr and scollers, I thereuppon will that a house in Kirkbi Stephan called the parsonage house nere to the church with the garthe orcharde &c remayne to the scolemaister for his necessarie lodginge and a free scoole house of Grammer to be ther for the erudition and bringinge uppe of scollers in vertue and learnynge, and for the supportacion of the said scolemr and scollers £20 by yeare out of the tythe corne and sheaves of Kirkbe Stephen and Wynton; and £6 13 4 of the vicar, farmer or farmers of the vicaridge of Kirkbi Stephen, to be for the use of two scollers accordinge to the consente and agreemente of me the Lord Wharton patron and my chaplain Sir Percivall Wharton, now vicar of the saide church and withe the confyrmacion of the Busshoppe which I truste he will confyrme. The Residewe to be disposed by my deare and welbeloved wyf, my sonne Sir Thomas Wharton Knight, and myne entierlie beloved cosyn Robert Bowes Esquier as executors and I give to every one of them £40. The right

F F

honorable

honorable and my very good lordes and deare frends George Erle of Shrewesburie, Thomas Erle of Sussex and William Erle of Pembroke and myne entierlie beloved cosyn Sir George Bowes Knight supervisors, and I give to each of them £50 trusting that they and my executors will do for me accordinge to this my will as they loved me in my lyff and as I by this my will do putt my trust in them. To my welbeloved frende Roberte Monsone esquier £10 for his counsell and aide to my executors.

Witn. Anne Wharton Thomas Wharton Edmunde Vernon John Croslande (Proved 7 April 1570. Admⁿ to Dame Anne Wharton and Mr Robert Bowes, potest res. dom. Thomæ Wharton).

LADY WHARTON'S WILL.

In the name of God Amen. The xiith day of Merche, 1582, I Ladie Anne Wharton, calinge to my remembrance howe daungerous a thinge yt is in the hour of death or being attacked with extremitie of sickness to be troubled with the disposition of worldlie things, do therefore nowe beinge whole of bodie and in perfect mynd and memorie, thankes be geven to Almyghtie God, make and declare my last will and testament in maner and forme following. First I humble comend my soule to Almyghtie God, desyeringe the Blessed Virgeine Marie, and all the holie companie of heaven and earthe to praye for me: and my bodie I will to be buried in the parish church of Healey in the quere ther wher my late good lord and husband the Lord Wharton dothe lye. To my lord and brother th' Earle of Shrewesburie one gilt boule with a cover and my signett of goulde which was my ladie my mothers. To my nephew Gilbert Lord Talbott one paire of sylver pottes gilte. To my nece the Ladie Talbott his wyfe a suger box of sylver. To my nece the Ladie Anne Talbot one standinge cup gilt. To my nece Mary Saville a paire of pottes parcell gilte with talbottes upon the covers. To my nece Grace Cavendishe one gilt boul. To Phillipe Lord Wharton a teaster of red and whyt damaske branched with gould with a counter poynt and two quishens of the same, and to my daughter the Ladie Wharton his wyf a girde of corall and gould. To my nephewe Edward Talbot a standinge cupe gilt. To my nephewe Henrie Talbot one gilt boule. To Mr John Maners my stone cupe covered with silver and to Elizabeth Maners his wyfe one sylver cupe with a talbott upon the cover. To my doughter Marie Wharton a tablet of gould blacke enameled and to her syster Anne Wharton a castinge bottell of sylver. To Sir Roberte Stapleton Knight one aile cupe of sylver gilt with a cover. To Marie Roodes wife of Mr Serjiant Rodes one litle sylver salt. To Mr Avery Copley one goblett of sylver and to Grace Copley his wyfe a litle sylver salt. My cosyne John Talbott of Grafton esquier my verie frende Frances Roods serjeant at law and my servant John Crossland executors [Legacies to servants and the poor]. To my cosen John Talbott I give £10 and a ringe which I used to were with a rubie sett in the same. To Fraunces Roods £10 and a goblett of sylver and to John Crossland £6. 13. 4. The rest to my nephew Gilbert Lord Talbott my nephewe Edward Talbott and my nece Marie Savell and my buriall shalle not be in any sumptuous sorte but decete. (Proved 21 July, 1585, & adm. to John Crosland an exr, power reserved to the other exrs).

LORD

LORD WHARTON'S FUNERAL.

MS. *Ashmole vol. 836, page 189 and 191.*

The order of the proceedinge to the church att the funerall of the right honorable Thomas Lorde Wharton from his manner house of Heley unto the parishe church of the same, beinge in distance one myle, the xxijti daye of Septembar A^o Domini 1568.

First, ij conductors withe eache of them a blacke staffe in his hande; Bryan Trotter, Robert Wilson.

Then all the poore men ij and ij together.

Then the Standarte* borne by Richard Wharton.

Then the priestes and clarkes in the searplices.

Then all gentilmen that hath blacke gownes, ij and ij together with their hoodes on their sholders.

Then the chaplains ij and ij.

Then the preacher.

Then some gentilmen to be appointed in place of executors, Mr Monson.

Mr Robert Bowes, Mr Swyfte, Mr Rodes.

Then the great banner† borne by Anthony Wharton.

Then Norrey Kinge of armes bearinge the cote of his armes.

Then the corpes borne by iiij gentillmen in gownes and hoodes. Myghell Wharton, George Key, James Berkley, Oswolde Wilkinson.

Then iiij assistants in gownes and hoodes; Mr MAvery Copley, Mr Marten.

Item iiij yeomen to healpe by the way, if nede be.

Anne, Mr Richard Clyborne, Mr John Harbard.

Then other iiij gentlemen in gownes and hoodes to beare the iiij banner rowles of dissentes; Mr John Troketes, Mr John Swalle, Mr Charles Wharton, Mr John Wharton.

Then the vj cheffe mourners in gownes and hoodes next after the bodey:

Sir George Bowes, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Sir Oswald Wilsthrope, Mr Henry Savelle, Mr John Vaghan, Mr Ric. Lothor, Mr Sayer.

Then all gentilmen of the country having no blackes.

Then all my lorde's yeomen havinge blacke cotes.

Then all other gentillwomen of the countre, if any be.

Then all parissioners, if any be.

Thomas firste lord Wharton of Wharton, sonne and heir of Thomas Wharton of Wharton in Com. Westm. Esquier, maryed Elinor daughter of Sr Brian Stapleton of Wighell Knight in Com. Ebor. and by her had issue, Thomas lorde Wharton, Sr Henry Wharton knight 2 sonne dyed without issue, Joane maryed to William Penington of Monkcaster in the countie of Cumberland, esquier. dyed sans issue, Agnes married to Sr Ric. Musgrave of Hartley in the countie of Westm. knight and by her had issue Thomas dyed yonge and Elinor married to Robert Bowes Esquier second sonne to Ric. Bowes of Aske in Com. Ebor. esquier. Thomas lord Wharton sonne and heire to the first Thomas lord Wharton maryed

* Opposite, in the margin, is drawn in trick, a shield charged with a chevron and a canton ermine.

† Here, as above, a shield ermine; on a canton, an orle.

Ladye Anne Radclyffe daughter to Robart Erle of Sussex and by her had issue Phillipe 1 sonne, Thomas 2 sonne, Mary and Anne. Thomas first lord Wharton departed this world at his manner house of Heलाugh in the countye of York. the xxiijth day of August in Anno Domini 1568 and was buried at the parish church of the same, the xxij day of Septembar next ensuenge by William Flower alias Norrey kinge of Armes.

[For the copies of the Wills—which appeared some years ago in a more abbreviated form in the *Herald and Genealogist*—and of the order of the funeral, the Societies are indebted to the courtesy of my friend, the Rev. Canon Raine, of York.]

WHARTON TOMB AT HEALOUGH.

A second tomb to Thomas, 1st Lord Wharton, and his two wives is to be seen in the north aisle or chapel, attached to the chancel of Heलाugh church, near Tadcaster—a little twelfth century building of remarkable interest. It stands just within a heavy segmental arch of cotemporary workmanship, extending nearly the whole length of the wall, and evidently broken out for the purpose of shewing it to advantage. The material is alabaster; once richly painted and gilt, though at present, very slight traces of such decoration can be detected. It is of smaller size than the Kirkby Stephen tomb, being only 6 ft. 6 in. in length, 3 ft. 4½ in. in height, and 4 ft. 9 in. in breadth, as compared with 7 ft. 1 in. square of that structure; and very much more Gothic in design; following closely, both in detail and proportion, the style of the mediæval altar-tombs, of which, indeed, it may be said to be one of the very latest examples. With a basement composed of a late Gothic moulding set upon a chamfered plinth, it has square-shaped, spirally fluted columns at the angles; an intermediate one of the same character but slighter dimensions, dividing each side into two panels; and two others, the west end into three. To the east is only one panel. All are cusped; and—with the exception of the eastern one, which contains the inscription upon a scroll—filled with heraldry: small effigies of the two sons and daughters, with their respective wives and husbands, supporting their joint coats in the side panels; while those to the west, are filled with the achievements of their parents. As to its date, relatively to that at Kirkby Stephen, and the question by whom it was erected—whether by Lord Wharton himself, or his widow, Ann Talbot, after his death—it is difficult to speak with certainty. On both tombs Lord Wharton is made to appear as though uttering the epitaphs personally; from which it might be inferred, perhaps, that both of them were written

—as

—as we know the Kirkby Stephen one to have been—either by himself, or some other person during his life. The fact of his death not being recorded on the Healaugh tomb, seems to point to its erection before that event occurred. If so, and the tomb at Kirkby Stephen were not placed there deliberately in the first instance as a mere cenotaph, then, we must conclude, I think, that towards the end of his life a change of purpose with respect to the place of his burial took place; in which case, this tomb would not only be the later of the two, but of a period very little anterior to his decease. Here, the arrangement of the effigies observed at Kirkby Stephen is exactly reversed; Lord Wharton occupying the centre, with Ann Talbot to the *right*, and Eleanor Stapleton to the *left*; while the whole of the details of dress and armour in all three, as shewn upon the two monuments, will be found to differ considerably.

As at Kirkby Stephen, Lord Wharton is here represented bare-headed, bearded, and moustached, and with very short cropped hair. About his neck he wears a ruff. His body, encased in a complete suit of plate, has a narrow horizontal belt enriched with square-leaved pateræ encircling his waist; from which depend, on the left,—by a similar, but slightly narrower belt,—his sword; and on the right, by a cord, his dagger. Below his breastplate are seen eight taces, over which are suspended—each by a pair of straps and buckle—two large fluted, scalloped, and sharply-pointed tuilles, 1 ft. 5½ in. in length. Below these again, appear either the edge of a shirt, or a simple fringe of mail. His legs are defended by chausses and jambarts of plate, bordered with bands of square-leaved flowers; the genouillières, which are beautifully modelled, being ornamented at the sides with pairs of spirals. On his right, a little below the knee, are laid his gauntlets, the cuffs to the centre. His feet, cased in laminated sollerets, with overlapping plates at the toes and ankles, rest upon a bull, collared with a ducal coronet: his head, upon his helmet—its vizor shewn full front—enriched with mantling. Over all, he wears the mantle of a baron; to the upper part of which, the high projecting ridges of the enormous pauldrons—enriched like the jambarts with four-leaved flowers—give a strange likeness to a stiff, high-collared cope. The cords, crossed upon his breast, terminate near the feet in tassels.

The effigy of Ann Talbot has its face worn nearly smooth. Immediately above her hair is seen the crimped and gathered lining of her peaked head-dress, the cheek pieces of which project so as to conceal the ears. It is bordered round the front and sides, and across the head, with a narrow band of goldsmith's work; the back, or transverse part, being somewhat bolder, and of a different pattern.

The

The veil falls downwards in three vertical folds or plaits. About her neck is shewn the closely fitting collar of the chemise finished with a narrow frill or ruff, and trimmed down the centre with a double row of four-leaved flowers, or lace. Directly over it, encircling the throat, are three rows of a square-linked chain. The dress, which is high, with a plain turn-over collar $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, is closed from the waist upward, and tied with tags of ribbon; three rows of another square-linked chain of a larger size, being displayed above it. It has a border $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad on each side; is open below the waist so as to expose the petticoat; and turned back and fastened with twelve tags of ribbon on either hand, to shew the lining. About her waist she wears a third square-linked chain of ornamental character, which, falling nearly to her feet, suspends a jewel, now mutilated. The sleeves—escaloped and very short—are edged from the shoulders with long dependant lappets, enriched alternately by diagonal bands of knotted ribbon, and a pattern forming three chevrons. Above her dress is a mantle; the strings crossed at the waist, and finishing with tassels near the feet, which rest upon a talbot. Beneath her head are two richly embroidered and tasseled cushions; the lower bound with a cord, the upper, by a band of square-leaved flowers.

Eleanor Stapleton's effigy has the hair concealed by a cap with a minutely engraved edging. Over it is a peaked head-dress with projecting cheek-pieces, but quite plain; the veil falling in three plaits. Her chemise, trimmed down the middle with two rows of four-leaved flowers like the other, has its collar richly decorated with a flowing pattern of roses. Above it is a narrow frill. The dress, which in other respects closely resembles Ann Talbot's, has its sleeves puffed angularly, slashed, and tied on the angular projections with bows of ribbon—but their long, narrow lappets have only a simple pattern of diagonal bands arranged in pairs. About her waist is a square-linked chain, from which depends a large circular jewel or pomander. Her mantle and its appendages are treated precisely as the other lady's; her feet also resting on a talbot, and her head, on two tasseled, and richly embroidered cushions.

All three effigies have their hands and fore-arms broken off; the feet of each rest with the heels only upon the supporting beasts; and the lower extremities of the ladies' stiff dresses, instead of shewing a plain vertical surface as at Kirkby Stephen, are artistically filled up by the full wavy folds of their under garments. In the centre panel at the west end, beneath the effigy of Lord Wharton—surrounded with a garter, and supported, on the dexter, by a lion frettée, and on the sinister, by a bull gorged with a ducal coronet—is a shield:—

Quarterly, 1 and 4, a maunch within a bordure engraved, charged with

with eight saltires of lion's gambes erased (Wharton).
2 and 3, quarterly, i. and iv., Ermine, on a chief three
lions rampant; ii. and iii., quarterly, over all a bend.

On the garter is the motto—PLEASOR : EN : FAIS : DARMES :

In the north, or left-hand panel (beneath the effigy of Eleanor Stapleton) is :—

Wharton, as above, impaling Stapleton of Wighill, viz. :—

1. Argent, a lion rampant sable.
2. Bendy of six.
3. A saltire.
4. On a chief az. three fleurs de lys.
5. A bend between six martlets.

In the south, or right-hand panel (beneath the effigy of Ann Talbot) is :—

Wharton as before, impaling Talbot, viz. :—

1. A lion rampant.
2. A lion rampant within a bordure engrailed.
3. Bendy of six.
4. Quarterly, i and iv., three garbs; ii. and iii., barruly, an orle of martlets.
5. A saltire charged with a martlet.
6. A bend between six martlets.
7. A frette.
8. Two lions passant.
9. As 1.

In the first, or western panel on the south side is :—

Wharton, impaling quarterly of eight—

1. A bend engrailed.
2. A fess between two chevrons.
3. A lion rampant within a bordure.
4. A saltire engrailed.
5. Three luces hauriant.
6. Barry of six.
7. Semée de lys.
8. An eagle and child.

Around the shield, on a garter, is inscribed in black letter :—

: Thomas : Whartone R : da : Anne : uen...iffe :

Their effigies stand on either side on brackets. That of Sir Thomas Wharton, which faces full front, is bare-headed, bearded, and moustached. He is in complete armour of plate, similar to his father's, and with a great square-linked chain about his neck. Dame Ann Radclyff his wife, whose head-dress exactly corresponds with that

that of Ann Talbot, is habited in the same fashion. She wears an immense pomander dependant from a square-linked chain. Both have their hands conjoined in prayer.

In the second, or eastern panel is:—

Wharton, impaling—

Quarterly, 1 and 4, Three greyhounds, collared, currant, in pale.

2. A bend compony.

3. A bend between six martlets.

On the garter in black letter is inscribed:—

: **Henn** : ----- **k dā ioan** : **malhuere** :

Their effigies closely resemble those above described.

Passing to the north, in the first, or eastern panel is:—

Quarterly, 1 and 4, Five fusils conjoined in fess.

2 and 3, Barry of six, a canton, impaling Wharton, as before.

On the garter is inscribed:—

: **W** : : **Pennington** : **esqr** : **ioan** : **Wharton** :

Their effigies are similar to those on the south.

In the next, or western panel is:—

Quarterly,—

1. Six annulets, three, two, and one.

2. Quarterly, i. and iv., three swords conjoined in triangle, the hilts to the centre; ii. and iii., six annulets.

3. Three swords conjoined in triangle, the hilts to the centre.

4. A cross moline, impaling Wharton as before.

On the garter is inscribed:—

: **Ric** : **Wusgrave** : **k** : **da agnes** : **Whartone**

The effigies of both resemble those already described.

Around the upper edge of the tomb, commencing at the north west angle is the following inscription:—

(West). THOMÆ : HIC : WHARTONI : ELIONORÆ : VXORIS : ET : ANNÆ

(South). : VNICVS : EN : TVMVLVS : CORPORA : TRINA : TEGIT

(East). : HI : THALAMO : VIVOS : IVNGOR : MORIENSQ' : SEPVLCHRO

(North). : DA : CHRISTE : HIS : SVMMI : IVNGAR : IN : ARCE : POLI :

Upon a scroll in the eastern panel:—

GENS WHARTONA GENVS DAT HONORES DEXTERA VICTRIX

TRES AQUILONARES REGNI FINESQ' GVBERNO

BINA MIHI CONIVNX STAPLETON IUVENEM ELIONORA

PROLE BEAT FOVET ANNA SENEM STRIPS CLARA SALOPV'

NATI EQNITES BINI THOMAM SVSSEXA PROPAGO

ANNA

ANNA FACIT PATREM SINE PROLE HENRICVS OBIBAT
 BINÆ ITIDEM NATÆ PENLETONO JOANNA GNILEMO
 AGNES MVSGRAVO CONIVX' SCECVNDA RICMARDO.

Scratched, rather than cut—and, in a very rude and careless manner, as a mere memorandum—on the lower part of this panel, in black letter, is as follows :—

extremū clausit diem dominus Thomas Wharton xxiiiij
 die August anno 1568^o.

On the plinth is engraved :—

ANNAEIVS VXOR EX HAC VITA EMIGRAVIT. III. DIE FEB. ANNO 1584o.

The following faint traces of the original colouring may be found on close examination, viz. :—Bucks of panels, dark blue; points of cusps, red. Angle columns, blue; caps, red. Cushions, blue. Eleanor Stapleton's neck band, gold; dress, black. Her petticoat, and that of Ann Talbott, red; their head-dresses and veils, dark blue; mantles, scarlet, bordered with gold.