

ART. XV.—*The Bells of Carlisle Cathedral.* By the REV.
H. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Communicated at Caldbeck, August 22nd, 1883.

IN the tower of Carlisle cathedral, disused and almost forgotten, no peal rung on them within living memory, hang six bells, viz. :—

No.	Note	Diameter		*Weight	Date	Founders
		Ft.	In.	Cwts. Qrs.		
1	D	2	4½	5 1	1659	Langshaws
2	C	2	9	7 3	1728	E. Seller
3	B ²	3	0	9 3	1608	Lees & Wright
4	A	3	4½	13 0	1845	C. & G. Mears
5	G	3	8½	17 0		I. B.
6	F	4	0½	21 2	1657	Langshaws

A heterogeneous company, from five different foundries, and of six different dates, but on that account historically the more interesting, recalling by their inscriptions, as well as by the traditions and associations of the belfry, some memorable episodes in the annals of Carlisle.

Taking them in chronological order we begin with No. 5, which is undated, but easily recognised by its long waist and mediæval inscription as the patriarch of the belfry. Its age is approximately known. Leland, speaking of "Gul. Strikeland", hishop of Carlisle from 1400 to 1419, says :—

Hic fecit mag. campanile in cathedr. ecclesia a medietate ad summum, una cum quatuor magnis campanis in eodem.—(*Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 472).

* The weight of a bell is approximately known from its diameter at mouth (Taylor's *Bell Catalogue*, p. 25).

Dr.

Dr. Hugh Todd, writing in 1688, and giving the episcopal register as his authority,* says :—

Willielmus de Strickland Episcopus Carliol. A.D. MCCCC. Turrem Conventualis a medio ad apicem extruxit et Pyramide lignea decoravit quam plumbo obduci fecit. Campanile quatuor campanis instruxit quibus Parochiani ad sacra convocarentur.—(MS. "Notitia Eccl. Cath. Carl.")

These writers merely leave it to be inferred that the tower was raised and the bells placed in it at some time during Strickland's episcopate. But Gibson, in his edition of *Camden*, published in 1722, says (p. 1023), without giving his authority :—

The belfry was raised, and the bells placed in it, at the charge of William de Strickland, Bishop, in the year 1401.

The local historians follow Gibson in assigning this date to the tower and bells.

These were not the first bells known to have belonged to Carlisle cathedral. The Lanercost chronicler, pouring out his soul in hexameters "de Combustione Karlioli", by which in 1292 a great part of the city was laid in ruins, exclaims :—

Organa *campanæ* vox musica canonicorum
Menti jam sanæ sunt instrumenta dolorum.

Fifteen years later—in the presence of Edward the First, lately arrived from Lanercost, where he had spent what was to prove the last winter of his life—Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, the Pope's legate, having first preached in the cathedral,

revested himself and the other bishops which were present, and then with candles light and *causing the bells to be rung* they accursed

* Todd's reference to "Reg. Epi" in the margin of his MS., if not a clerical error, must have been based on the certainty that Leland, from whom he seems to have copied, had seen Bishop Strickland's register; which is known to have been missing before Todd's time, and is missing still. Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., in his "Attempt to trace the missing registers of the see of Carlisle" (*ante* vol. vii., pp. 295-9), shews clearly that Bishop Strickland's register was in existence in 1606. No doubt, then, it was seen by Leland.

in terrible wise Robert Bruce the vsurper of the crowne of Scotland with all his partakers aiders and mainteiners.—(*Hollinshed*, ii. 543).

Bruce, whether or not in consequence of these imprecations, though he dreadfully ravaged the rest of Cumberland, never succeeded in taking Carlisle. It was taken and burnt, however, in 1345, by Sir W. Douglas; and was again burnt, this time by accident, in 1392, when 1,500 houses and a great part of the cathedral are said to have been destroyed. The fire of 1392 doubtless proved fatal to the bells which had been “instrumenta dolorum” to the Lanercost chronicler and Robert Bruce.

It must have been in reparation of the damage done to the cathedral in 1392 that Bishop Strickland raised the tower,* and furnished it with “quatuor magnis campanis”; one of which still survives as fifth bell of the present ring.† It has round its shoulder, in stately floriated Gothic capitals, this inscription:—

+IHC +IN: VOCE : SUM : MUNDA : MARIA : SONANDO : SECUNDA.

From which it appears that in the Strickland ring it occupied the second place, *i.e.* next to the treble. Whether by “voce” to understand the voice of the bell, or to take “in voce sum” as equivalent to “vocol”, I am not sufficiently acquainted with monastic Latin to decide. The reader can choose which he prefers of the two following translations of the hexameter, or make for himself a better than either:—

I { named chaste Maria } sing
 { Mary with pure accent }
 Second in the chiming ring.

In either case the fact remains that the bell’s name is

* The reality of the fire of 1392, doubted by Hutchinson (*History of Cumberland* vol. ii. p. 599), but corroborated by discoveries made during the restoration of the cathedral in 1856 (*Purday’s Lecture on Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 20), derives confirmation from Strickland’s raising the tower and giving new bells in the very beginning of the fifteenth century.

† A set of bells is called a “ring”; a performance on them is a “peal.”

Mary;

Mary; which name she* received at her consecration.

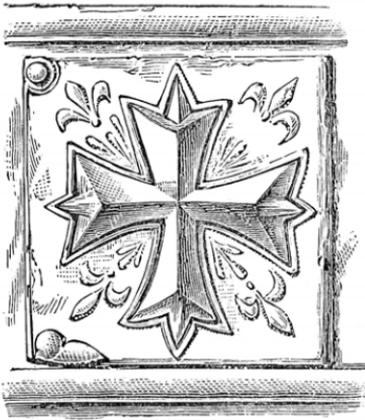
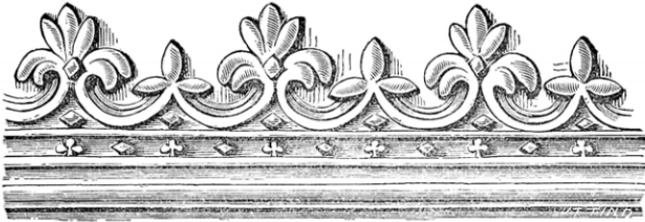
Before bells were hung, they were washed, crossed, blessed, and named by the bishop. . . . Some say that this custom was introduced by Pope John XIII, but it is evidently of an older standing, there being an express prohibition of the practice in a capitular of Charlemagne in 780.—(*Campanologia*, by W. Jones, p. 11).

The initial cross, with three of the letters, A, M, and C, and a fleur-de-lis fringe which surmounts the sacred monogram, are engraved, full size, on the opposite page. The meaningless letter C in the sacred monogram may be thus accounted for. It would seem that mediæval scribes, unaware that the monogram was a contraction of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, besides mistaking capital *eta* for Roman H and small *eta* (η) for h, also mistook *sigma* when in its crescent form for Roman C. Emphasising these mistakes by reproducing them in Gothic letters, whereby the final letter loses all resemblance to crescent *sigma*, they have left no room for hypothesis that, whether aware or not of the original significance of the monogram, they meant it as they wrote it to stand for "Jesus Hominum Salvator". It is difficult, then, to conjecture what the Gothic IHC could ever have been supposed to mean. Leaving this question in the obscurity in which for ages it has rested, we pass on to notice that immediately below the sacred monogram on Bishop Strickland's bell, with initial cross and roundlets, are two Gothic capitals, viz. : + I; B. These letters, which are doubtless the founder's initials, may perhaps, together with the cross and the character of the lettering, eventually lead to his identification.

How long Bishop Strickland's bells remained intact in the tower there is no direct evidence to show. Indirectly however, as we proceed, we shall get light on this point. It seems clear that none of them shared the fate which in the reign of Henry VIII befel another ancient ring of four

* A bell is always spoken of by ringers in the feminine gender.

in



W. T. T. G.

in the city of Carlisle. Commissioners appointed in 2 and 3 Philip and Mary to make inquiry concerning removal of lead and bells from certain Cumberland abbeys and religious houses in Henry's reign, reported :—

The inhabitants of Carlisle dothe well remember the ffreers howses in Carlisle but what became of the bells ther they knowe not And towching the foure bells of the saide late ffreers in Carlisle weing D cwt* weight ther was none remayninge in Carlisle at Mighellmas Anno xxxviii nuper reg Henry viij And for any other knowlege we can get none.—(MS. in Record Office).

Neither in the instructions issued to these commissioners nor in their report is there any mention of the cathedral bells, which omission implies that it was known they had not been molested down to 38 Henry VIII. Unfortunately the cathedral "is one of several churches the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of Edward VI's. Inventory of Church Goods in 1552 (MS. in in Record Office). But, approximately knowing their places in the inventory, in which the Cumberland churches are arranged according to the county wards, we have no difficulty in deciding that the following list, the missing words of which are here conjecturally supplied† (in italics), is that of the cathedral :—

<i>Carlisle</i>	{	<i>Itm</i> too chalesses of silv ^r xij copis sum
<i>Cathedrall</i>		<i>white</i> sum grene iiij vestements w th all of
		<i>gere</i> therto fowre gret belles iij lytill
		<i>belles</i> one pare of sencers.

The item "fowre gret belles" is itself decisive as to this being the list of the cathedral goods, no other nameless church in the same ward being recorded as having any "gret belles" at all, let alone four. But, whilst it is thus rendered certain that Bishop Strickland's four bells survived the reign of Henry VIII, there may yet seem at first sight to

* In the instructions to the commissioners these bells are described as "weiiin g in the hole vii C weight".

† The unmutilated lists serving as a guide to the missing words.

be room for doubting whether they all survived the reign of his son, whose commissioners were ordered in 1553* to allow only one "grett bell" to remain in each church (*Seventh Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 319). The commission, however, so far as the bells were concerned, was not strictly, if at all, executed in Cumberland. To this day several Cumberland churches retain the identical bells reported by the royal commissioners as belonging to them in 1552, the most noteworthy instance being Greystoke, the only church in the county besides the cathedral which had "fowre gret belles" in 1552; which same four it still retains. The late Mr. T. North, F.S.A., the eminent campanist, thought that in many places "the bells were too popular to allow of their being removed with impunity" (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 27). Especially would this be the case in Cumberland, where the bells, in addition to their ecclesiastical use, were in olden time in constant requisition as "fray" bells, as when, in 1596, the bold Buccleugh rescued Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle, and

Scarce had won the Staneshaw bank
When a' the Carlisle bells were rung.

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather* (cap. xxx.), describing this exploit, says: "The bells of the castle rang out; those of the cathedral and Moot Hall answered them". No stress is to be laid on use of plural number by Border ballad and Sir Walter Scott as argument for believing that the cathedral had more than one bell in 1596. But in a city which had to bear the brunt of

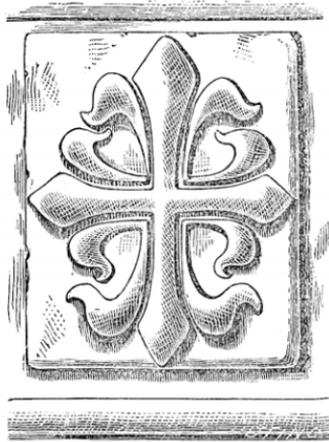
* The commission of 1552 had been confined to taking the inventory; that of 1553 was for the purpose of confiscating to "ye Kinges use" such church goods as were deemed unnecessary for divine service.

† This epithet, as applied in the commission of 1553 to church bells, seems used to distinguish the parish bells, of whatever size, from the Sanctus, Sacring, and hand bells, which were expressly exempted from confiscation, probably as being too small to be worth melting down or selling for "ye Kinges use". Such, no doubt, were the "iij lytill bells" at Carlisle cathedral. Bells of the latter kind mostly disappeared during the Elizabethan crusade against "monuments of superstition" (*Peacock's English Church Furniture*, passim).

Border

Border warfare we may be sure that any attempt on the part of Edward the Sixth's commissioners to remove three or even one of the cathedral bells would have resulted in such "disquet of y^e multitude" as they were expressly enjoined by their instructions to be careful not to provoke. It would on occasions of "soden fray" have seriously detracted from the noise to be produced by "a' the Carlisle bells" if the cathedral did not retain all its "quatuor magnas campanas". We shall presently find other reasons besides those already adduced for believing that for a century and more after 1553 it did retain them.

Next in seniority to "Maria", in the present ring, and somewhat resembling her in length of waist, is No. 2; on which, in tall plain Gothic capitals—one of which is



upside down—with floriated initial cross, but without intervening stops, is inscribed:—

+ IESVS BE OVR SPEED
GEOR LEES EDMVND WRIGHT BELFOVNDERS
WILL ORBEL LM 1608.

The founders, Lees and Wright, are said to have been of Carlisle (Lukis on *Bells*, p. 16); but no local knowledge of

of their foundry has yet come to hand. Their initial cross is here engraved full size. William Orbell, according to Jefferson's *History of Carlisle* (p. 297), was head master of Carlisle Grammar School from 1610 to 1612; but his designation on this bell in 1608 as "L.M.", which must mean "Ludi Magister" (Cic. *De N. D.* 1, 26), points to an earlier connection with the school, perhaps as usher, teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, which in ancient Rome was the special function of the "ludi magister", who taught boys in the first stage of their education, from which they passed through subsequent stages under the the "grammaticus" and "rhetor". But how came Mr. Orbell, whether as head master or usher of the school, to be giving a bell to the cathedral? It is not necessary to suppose that he did give the bell. A clue to the reason why it bears his name is afforded by the following entries :

1603. Item unto William Orbell dewe to the Dean and Chapter xx^s.—(*Carlisle Corporation Accounts*.)*

1612. Per quittance 19 December to Mr. Bernard Robinson by the hands of Mr. W. Orbell for the half-year's rent of a burgage and a garth in Fisher Gate at Carlyle due to the Dean and Chapter 19 of December vij^s vij^d.—(Lord William Howard's *Housebook*, p. 56).

From which it appears that he was the chapter clerk; and, as such, in the name of his employers, he doubtless gave the order for the bell. That the initiatory suggestion as to the need of an additional bell came from the dean and chapter is unlikely, for the reason that, as shown by Mr. R. S. Ferguson in his lecture on "Carlisle Three Hundred Years Ago" (*Carlisle Patriot*, February 23, 1883), they were then non-resident. Mr. Orbell, therefore, as prime mover in the business, conceived that his was the name which had most right to be handed down to posterity on the bell. But what need was there in 1608 for a new bell?

* All extracts in this paper from the Carlisle Corporation Accounts have been supplied by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., editor of the *Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society's Transactions*, and late Mayor of Carlisle.

Little enough, certainly, if "Maria" had, since 1553, been the sole occupant of the belfry. There would have been no use in providing her with a single companion not much more than half her own weight. But to add a new treble to a ring of four, especially in the early years of the seventeenth century, was very much to the purpose. Dr. Raven says:—

We may mark the rise of change-ringing in Cambridgeshire by the improvements in the Benet peal from 1605 to 1615, by the making of great St. Mary's from four into five in 1611, and by the addition or recasting of the two trebles in the Stetchworth peal in 1608, &c.— (*Cambridgeshire Bells*, p. 77).

Assuming Mr. Orbell to have been a pioneer in the change-ringing movement, then in its infancy, we can sympathise with his feelings, if, having placed his name on the new treble, he exclaimed: "Exegi monumentum ære", if not "perennius", at least not less durable. Yet it may be doubted whether at that time he was partial to quoting Horace. He had, for a schoolmaster, an unfortunate name, and must have been painfully conscious of his inevitable nickname of "plagosus Orbilius" (*Hor. Ep. II. i. 70*). No wonder he soon disappears from the roll of masters of the Grammar School. Henceforth, emancipated from the duties of an uncongenial office, he was able to devote more time and attention to the belfry. Proud indeed must he have felt when he heard the bells ring out on the following occasion:—

The King's most excellent majesty was here at Carlisle the 4th daye of August 1617 when the Maiore of the city Mr. Adam Robinson with Thomas Carleton recorder and the brethren presentyd hym firste with a speech then wyth a cup of golde valued at 30^l and a purse of sylke with 100 jacobuses or pieces of the same: his Majestye vouchsafed very pleasantlye the speeche and gyfte thanked Mr. Maiore and all the citizens therefore presentlye wente to the Church accompanied with the nobles both of England and Scotland. The next daye he did keep a feast royall went agayn to the Church in state with hys nobles being a saint daye where preached before hym

Robert

Robert Snowden Bishop of Carlisle and the Maiore that daye goinge before hym to and from the Church att the court gate kyssed his hande att their departure. The thirde daie the Maiore and the brethren took their leave of hys Majestye who used them verie graceously.— (Jefferson,* p. 46).

The 5th of August, we must note, though dedicated to “St. Oswald, King and Martyr”, was no “saint daye” likely to be observed by James the First; but it was a day more likely to be observed by him than any saint’s day, being the anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, “a day formerly kept in England as a holiday to commemorate the escape of James the First, when ruling over Scotland alone, from death at the hands of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, in the year 1600” (North’s *Lincolnshire Bells*, p. 226). Mr. North quotes instances where the bells were regularly rung on that day. The Rev. T. Lees, in a paper on the “Greystoke Registers,” says:—

Neither the English nor the Scotch seem to have believed in the existence of this alleged conspiracy. The holiday was kept at Greystoke for three successive years, and then seems to have been entirely superseded by the 5th November thanksgiving for James’ deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, in the reality of which both nations believed (*ante* vol. i., p. 381).

No wonder Adam Robinson, after walking before King James in 1617, gave the following order, the first of its kind in the Corporation books:—

1617, Nov. 5. To the ringers at Mr. Maior command ij^s vjd.

Which, by the way, sixpence to each ringer, certainly seems to indicate that there were five bells. Next year Mr. Orbell pays a visit to London, and is thus welcomed home by the mayor on his return:—

* Jefferson says he took this account of James the First’s visit to Carlisle from “the register of one of the guild books”; which cannot now be found.

1618. Item y^e 27 of October in a present of Sacke and Sewgar bestowed at Mr. Orble's house on his cominge from London ij^s vjd.

A man who could undertake a journey to London was somebody in those days, and Orbilius, no longer "plagosus" to unruly boys, but recipient of honour from civic authorities, could now, as he quaffed his "sacke", quote Horace with unalloyed satisfaction :—

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

He was back just in time for the peal on "y^e gunpowder day", as the 5th of November is called in the entry for 1618 relating to the ringing of the bells, and was doubtless present at a select dinner on that day :—

1618. Item for y^e allowance of a dinner upon y^e V of Noveber being^e y^e gunpowder treason day as a thankfulne for y^e delivery of his Matie and estate of y^e whole Realme xx^s.

He appears for the last time in the corporation books under the following circumstances :—

1624. Item upon the next day being Tuesday after dinner in weodowe Slee plour 2 quarts of Sacke one quart of w^{tt} one quart of Claritt Mr. Maior Mr. henrie baines Mr. Adam Robinson Mr. Orbell and othe gentlemen being then present 00-03.09.

Henry Baines had been mayor in 1622. Amongst the "othe gentlemen present", then, on this occasion, doubtless reviving over their "sacke" and "claritt" the memory of those halcyon days when Adam Robinson walked proudly before King James, no one but Mr. Orbell is named alongside of "Mr. Maior" and two ex-mayors. Why was he never mayor himself? The explanation is, perhaps, to be found in the list of the rectors of Bowness on Solway :—

In the same year (1617) William Orbell was instituted, on a presentation by Henry Spiller of Tatham in the County of Middlesex,
purchaser

purchaser from Anne Countess of Arundel.—(Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, p. 215).

W. Orbell, L.M., if identical with Rector Orbell, who died in 1629 (*ib.*), was happily spared the pain of living to see the evil days which were soon to fall on the cathedral belfry. Some of the gentlemen present in 1624 in "weo-dowe Slee p̄lour" may have lived to see those days. If so, let us hope they survived them to rejoice in the same parlour over the completion of a considerable work in the belfry, the character of which will unfold itself as we proceed with our story.

The tenor (No. 6) has this inscription in clumsy Roman capitals :—

I WARNE YOU HOW YOUR TIME DOTH PASS AWAY
SERVE GOD THEREFOR WHIL LIF DOTH LAST AND SAY
GLORIE IN AXCELSIS DEO ANNO DOMINI 1657.
JOHN AND WILLIAM LANGSHAW WORKMEN.

The treble (No. 1) has round its shoulder an ornamental band of conventional foliage in a series of semicircles, and on its waist the Langshaw initials with date—

W.
I. ◊ L., 1659.

Some of the older inhabitants of Carlisle will remember a bell which for several years stood on the floor of the choir. The story of this bell, which had formerly been in the tower, is thus told by Mr. R. W. Billings, in his book on the cathedral (p. 44), published in 1838 :—

The third bell (A sharp) was cracked while ringing during the rejoicing for peace after the Battle of Waterloo, and was removed to the back of the altar when the belfry was re-timbered. It has the following passage on its rim : "This Ringe was made six tuneable Bells at the charge of the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the County and Citie and Officers of the garrison by the advice of Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst governor of the garrison 1658."

In

In 1840 this bell was "standing in the aisle of the choir" (Jefferson, p. 171), where it remained until recast by Mears in 1845, to resume its place in the belfry. One Christopher Hodgson, who made a sketch of it—which is engraved in one of Billings' plates (No. XXX.)—says, in a MS.* note now in possession of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, that it had on its waist the initials I. W. L. It was therefore, like the tenor and treble, the work of the Langshaws, to whom was evidently entrusted the work of "making the ring six tuneable bells". Its place must have been that now filled by the Mears bell, viz., fourth, not third, as stated by Billings; † and its note A natural, not "A sharp", in a ring with tenor in F natural. Whether, in making the ring to consist of six, the Langshaws recast three of the Strickland bells into four—for which there must have been metal enough and to spare—or substituted for them four entirely new bells, in either case they must have cast a fourth bell, which has disappeared, no record or tradition of it preserved; the place of which must have been that now filled by the bell cast in 1728 by E. Seller. These four Langshaw bells, with "Maria" and "Orbell", which were allowed to remain, constituted Major Tolhurst's "tuneable" ring. The date on the treble, 1659, in a ring "made six tuneable bells" in 1658, looks odd, but may, perhaps, be accounted for by supposing the Langshaws, when casting the bell (No. 4) on which they placed the inscription, to have ante-dated the completion of the ring, the treble ‡ yet remaining to be cast, and not cast till the following year. They seem to have done their work in a leisurely manner, being permanently resident in Carlisle, as is shown by the occurrence of W. Langshaw's

* This MS. says that the initials and date "I S 1417" were carved on a beam of the old oak frame, removed when the belfry was retimbered. But Arabic numerals were not used in this country at that time.

† Billings made the mistake of regarding the tenor, instead of the treble, as first bell. His mistake as to the note is unaccountable.

‡ On which, as being the smallest bell, they may have thought there would not be room for so long an inscription.

name

name from 1651 onwards for plumber's work done for the corporation. Their designation on the tenor as "workmen" implies that they were not regular bell-founders.

But where all this time were the dean and chapter? Why was a work of this kind undertaken "at the charge of the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the County and Citie and Officers of the Garisson by the advice of Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst", with no sort of reference to ecclesiastical authorities? The answer is not far to seek. Mr. Ferguson, describing the condition of the diocese at that time, says:—

The bishop's castle at Rose had been besieged and burnt. The revenues of the see had been assigned *in commendam* to support a non-resident bishop (Usher), then a fugitive from his Irish archbishopric. . . . After his death no successor was appointed. . . . The dean had long been evicted from his office. The deanery had been let for manufacturing purposes. . . . The cathedral had been ruthlessly mauled; about two-thirds of the nave had been destroyed, and the materials used to repair the castle and the main guard.—(R. S. Ferguson's *M.P.'s of Cumberland*, p. 2).

It has even been alleged against "y^e parliament officers" that

they were so moved w^h zeale and some^{w^t} else against magnificent Churches that they even designed to pull down the whole Cathedrall and to have no Church but only St. Cuthbert's but y^e Kinges hapie Restauracon putt an end to these and such like Sacriligious Intencon (Todd's MS. *History of Carlisle*).

But there must be some mistake here. It would be strange indeed if the officers "designed to pull down the whole cathedrall" at the very time when they were sharing the expense of providing it with "tuneable bells": which work was moreover being done by the advice of the governor of the garrison. If at any time the rest of the cathedral was in danger of sharing the fate of the nave, it was not the Restoration in 1660, but the surrender of the city to Cromwell in 1646, which "putt an end to such like
sacriligious

sacriligious intencon". The deputy town-clerk, Mr. W. Nanson, writing lately on *Civic Archaeology*, says :—

An immense amount of destruction was perpetrated at and after the siege of 1645. What with war, famine, and plague, the years from 1641 to 1648 were terribly disastrous to Carlisle. The city was at the mercy of the soldiers, municipal government was utterly disorganised, no money was in the chest, no accounts were kept by the chamberlain. . . . But by 1649 order and good government had been restored, and the citizens seem to have bethought themselves of replacing what had been destroyed.—(*Carlisle Journal*, March 26, 1883).

From much interesting matter unearthed by Mr. Nanson I select, as bearing upon the subject of this paper, the following order of the Court Leet jury on the 22nd of October, 1649 :—

That (according to an ancient order) the Aldermen of this City shall attend the Maior upon every Lord's day to the Church in their gowns and likewise to attend the Maior in the Market place at or before the Sermon bell to the Church sub pena vj^s viij^d toties quoties and the Common Counselemen to attend likewise sub pena iij^s iv^d toties quoties.

The institution of "sermon bell" has long been obsolete at Carlisle, and the only tradition of it elsewhere in the diocese is that recorded by Bishop Nicolson concerning one of the bells of Ravenstonedale, which place he visited in 1703 :—

This Bell used to be rung in y^e Conclusion of y^e Nicene Creed ; to call in y^e Dissenters to Sermon.—(Bishop Nicolson's *Visitation of Carlisle Diocese*, p. 42).

In some places, as at Exeter, it was rung after the second lesson (Ellacombe's *Bells of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 33) ; elsewhere during Litany (North's *Rutland Bells*, p. 86). The respect ordered in 1649 by the Court Leet jury to be paid to "sermon bell" at Carlisle was but characteristic of much that was to follow. The Corporation Accounts, at an early period of the Commonwealth, show a mayor engaged

gaged with belfry reform, and on the best of terms with the man who was destined a few years later to remodel the cathedral ring :—

		1652-3		
Oct 27	Payed for wine w ^{ch} was bestowed on Maior Tolhurst - - - - -		00	06 04
Nov. 11	Payed for the belles wheeles & their repaireing as also for the gaites of the Churchyard making and repaireing - - - - -	05	17	10
Dec. 16	Pde for wine & Biskets when Mr. Maior & the Brethren w ^h the Capitals did goe for to visit Maior Tolhurst at the Castle - - - - -	00	18	06
March 5	Given to the ringers upon Thanksgiving Day	00	05	00

The situation may be taken in at a glance. Cathedral belfry, what with war, siege, Scotch army, and general confusion, fallen into sad disorder. No peal rung since pulling down of nave in 1646. New governor of garrison arrives at the castle; surname Tolhurst; christian name variously given—"Jeremy" by Jefferson (p. 443), "Jerome or Jeremiah" by Ferguson (p. 444), "Jeremiah" on bell afore-mentioned; enthusiastic advocate of change-ringing movement now spreading far and wide. 'Sermon bell well enough in its way, Mr. Mayor', we may fancy him saying to the newly-elected mayor, meeting him near the cathedral on Sunday after election day,* 'but the whole ring should be set going again'. The mayor, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Kt. (Whelan's *Cumberland*, p. 135), high sheriff the same year (*ibid.* p. 69), quite agreeable, forthwith gives orders for "wine w^{ch} was Bestowed on Maior Tolhurst", also for new "belles wheeles", not forgetting "gaites of churchyard". Good understanding, thus auspiciously begun, between the military and civic authorities, is placed on still firmer basis a month later over "wine and biskets" at the castle. Bells now in full swing again, all five of them, as per item 5s. (one apiece) "to

* Which at that time was "Monday first after y^e feaste of St. Michael" (*Old Corporation Charter*).

the

the ringers upon Thanksgiving Day", cent. per cent. advance on wage of pre-commonwealth times. No mistake about what going on in belfry up above.

What going on in cathedral down below not so clear. One fact emerges from the general obscurity; "man in leather breeches", at some time during Sir Wilfrid's mayoralty, year but not day or month reported, preaching in the "abbey" to "pastor of the Baptists with most of his hearers" (George Fox's *Journal*, 6th ed., vol. i. p. 226), on which occasion, perhaps owing to the suddenness of his appearance, he meets with no opposition. On "first day following", when he preaches again in the cathedral, which he now calls the "steeple house", he is attacked by "rude people of the city with sticks and staves", but is protected by some "friendly people", especially "soldiers", to whom he had preached with acceptance at the castle, where a drum had been beat to call them to hear him. Great commotion in the cathedral. The "governor", name not given, but must be Tolhurst, sends down "a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house to appease the tumult", also to see what the soldiers were about. Worse tumult in the street on Fox leaving the cathedral; "city in uproar". The governor himself at last comes down and orders off some of the soldiers to prison; Fox says, "for standing by me and for me against the people". Wrong there, George, for once in your life. The governor would have served soldiers the same had they been on the other side. He must leave the imprisoning of civilians to the magistrates. Sir Wilfrid will see to that. Sir Wilfrid does see to it; goes to what seems to him the root of the matter, and puts Fox himself in prison:—

There I lay till the assizes came; and then all the talk was that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, whose name was Wilfrey Lawson, stirred them much to take away my life; and said he would guard me to my execution himself.—(*Ib.* p. 228).

Fox complains much of the conduct of the magistrates.

Two

Two magistrates, however, not of Carlisle, Gervase Benson* and Anthony Pearson, both of Westmorland, try to befriend him. They jointly, when refused permission to visit him in prison, write a letter to "Carlisle magistrates, priests, and people", concerning his imprisonment (*ibid.* p. 236). Anthony Pearson, baffled by the magistrates, applies to the governor of the castle; not expressly said to have done so, but clearly did.

The governor and Anthony Pearson came down into the dungeon to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. They found the place so bad and the savour so ill that they cried shame of the magistrates for suffering the gaoler to do such things (*Ib.*).

He was not long in Carlisle goal. "The Lord's power", he says, "came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty." It is pleasant to think that one of the persons instrumental in procuring his release may have been our campanistic major, Jeremy Tolhurst.

But to return to the belfry. In the last month of Sir Wilfrid's mayoralty, on September 6, "an arme of the chime" is mended, the item for which is our first introduction to the chimes. The next date of any consequence in our story is that on the tenor, 1657; in which year Sir Wilfrid Lawson was again mayor (Jefferson, p. 447). The accounts seem to show that he did not find the bells in a satisfactory condition; apparently not more than three in use. It is evident that a more complete reform of the belfry than had been attempted in 1653 was now seen to be necessary, and by the advice of "Mager Jeremiah Tolhurst" was undertaken, involving a recasting of three of the bells; one of which, the original tenor in E flat, not returning to its old place, the key being changed from E flat to F, supplied more than enough metal for the two

* Probably an ancestor of the present archbishop of Canterbury, who has been making inquiry concerning his ancestors in Westmorland (*Carlisle Patriot*, June 29, 1883).

trebles

trebles required to make up a "tuneable ring of six bells". The municipal accounts do not enable us to trace the progress of this work, which was not paid for by the corporation. Sir Wilfrid, we may presume, interested in its behalf "the Lord Howard and other Gentree of the Citie and Countie"; whilst the sympathy and support of "the Officers of the Garisson", with the probable exception of a lieutenant who had been "convinced" by George Fox (*Journal*, i. 228), were secured by the major. The work, as already noticed, was done in a leisurely manner, and, though begun with the new tenor in 1657, was not completed until 1659.

It was just in time for great events:—"Kinges hapie Restauracon", as Dr. Todd calls it, in 1660! General election in 1661! Major Tolhurst a candidate for Carlisle! On which side? Not known. Mr. Ferguson in his *Cumberland M.P.'s* (p. 20), says:—"Tolhurst, as to whose politics we have little clue". No matter; victory "all along the line" for belfry reformers! Tolhurst in for Carlisle! Lord Howard and Sir Wilfrid in for Cumberland! Light on the major's politics has been sought by some from those of his son-in-law, John Senhouse of Netherhall (Whelan, p. 327). Plenty of clue to politics of John Senhouse, captain during the civil war in Charles the First's army, hero of romantic story:—

Serving in the army when his elder brother died. . . . His parents naturally anxious . . . sent a young man, the son of a tenant at Ellenborough, who had been his playmate, to bring him home. The messenger arrived on the eve of the battle of Marston Moor, with result that, instead of bringing back his young master, the latter induced him to remain and share the danger with him.—(*Ante*, vol. vi., p. 135).

At Naseby "left for dead on the field", but found "still breathing" by his young friend, "who carried him away on his back", so that "he lived to continue the race" (*ibid*). Quite worthy to be son-in-law to our gallant major,
but

but not necessarily affording any clue to his politics, the major having served in the parliamentary army, yet proud, we may be sure, of his brave cavalier son-in-law, being a hearty admirer of courage. Writing, for instance, on July 22, 1664, from the Custom House at Newcastle, to Pepys, an old acquaintance of his in Cromwellian days, he recommends for "comand of some ffregott" one William Tickell, thus describing him :—

A stoute galland man who in the last dutch war comanded a fire shipp
If the navie bee but well ffurnished with such comandars as hee is the
dutch or any other enemy will not bee able to deal with them.—MS.
in Record Office.

Here with considerable respect we take our leave of Major Jeremiah Tolhurst; whom to have rescued, together with his brother officers, from the imputation cast upon them by Dr. Todd, is a source of satisfaction to the present writer. The worst thing that can be alleged against the major is that, when he ordered the recasting of three ancient bells, he omitted to hand down to posterity a record of their inscriptions. But great allowance is to be made for him: he lived in pre-Ellacombe days.

Mention has been made of a bell, of which no record or tradition has been preserved, which must have occupied the second place in the major's "tuneable ring of six" (*ante*, p. 148). This bell, probably cracked, would seem, on the showing of Browne Willis, writing in 1727, to have been before that year removed from the belfry. He says, speaking of Bishop Strickland's tower :—

In it hang five Bells, the only peal of so great a number in the diocese,
except at Penreth.—(*Survey of English Cathedrals*, i. 286).

But Willis had no personal knowledge of Carlisle cathedral, the only English cathedral which he never visited,*

* As stated, after his death, by his friend Dr. Ducarel, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries (R. S. F.).

and

and must have got his information about Carlisle and Penrith bells from Dr. Todd, who was vicar of Penrith, and some time prebendary of Carlisle, whom he mentions as his "learned friend" (*ibid*). Dr. Todd, had he ever seen the cathedral bells, would have known better than to impute to the commonwealth officers the design of pulling down the whole of the cathedral. Still he may never have heard but five bells, and the information he gave to Willis may be accepted as evidence that the second bell of Major Tolhurst's ring may have been cracked, and if not removed from the tower was no longer in use; which is confirmed by the inscription on the present No. 2:—

GEORG·FLEMING·DD·DECANUS { E. Seller }
 { Ebor. }

GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO. 1728.

The letters in this inscription, except those of the founder's name and residence, are Roman capitals; the intervening stop is a flower. Edward Seller II, successor in 1724 to his father, Edward Seller I, and sheriff of York in 1731, cast a good many bells for Yorkshire from 1724 to 1764 (*Bell News*, vol. ii. p. 183). Sir George Fleming, Bart., son of Sir Daniel Fleming, Knight, of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, born in 1677, was appointed archdeacon of Carlisle in 1707, and dean in 1727, retaining both offices until he became bishop of Carlisle in 1734; he died in 1747. He had not long been dean, then, before the defect in the belfry was remedied. But he was not the donor of the bell; the order for which, dated the 18th of July, 1728, appears in the cathedral books.* Nor, perhaps, would he have stirred at all in the matter, having been a prebendary since 1700 and archdeacon since 1707 without having done so, and being, moreover, according to his epitaph in Carlisle cathedral, remarkable for "equanimity amidst all events

* For this information I am indebted to the present archdeacon of Carlisle, Dr. Prescott.

and

and occurrences", had not the chapter been reinforced in 1727 by a man of less equable temperament. John Waugh, son of the then bishop of Carlisle, appointed to the prebendal stall vacated by Fleming in 1727, and at the same time to the chancellorship in succession to Thomas Tullie, who had been both dean and chancellor, has left behind him traces of a habit of mind by no means likely to endure patiently the disuse or absence of a bell necessary to the completeness of the ring. No such terriers, for amount and exactness of information concerning church goods, including the bells, which had never before been mentioned in terriers of Carlisle diocese, have ever been sent in to the episcopal registry at Carlisle as those required from the clergy and churchwardens by Chancellor Waugh (*Old Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. iv). No doubt, on becoming a member of the chapter and chancellor to boot, he considered it his duty to visit the cathedral belfry, and had much to tell the dean, when next they met, of what he had seen there. The ring "made six tuneable bells" in 1658 by the advice of the governor of the garrison; commonwealth officers, of all persons in the world, sharing the expense! It would never do for dean and chapter to care less for the condition of the cathedral bells than commonwealth officers. There must be a new second bell. This point settled, the chancellor would relate the rest of his discoveries. They wondered who "Will Orbel L M" was; they laughed at the Latin on the tenor; they chuckled over the false quantities in the hexameter on "Maria"; they imagined what tales she could tell were she able to speak. How thankful they were that they lived in days when Carlisle had seen its last siege, and the fray bell was no longer heard from the cathedral tower!

Years roll on. They come and go, seventeen of them, and the eighteenth (1745) is following in their wake. Dean Fleming has become Bishop Fleming. His friend is still
Chancellor

Chancellor Waugh. The governor of Carlisle Castle is Colonel Durand. Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his Highlanders cross the Border, and "false alarms becoming frequent in the town" Durand

desired that the only signal for a general alarm might be the ringing the great bells in the cathedral; and the chancellor appointed two men to attend constantly for that purpose, and never to ring without orders.—(Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*, p. 74).

They had soon to take their orders from other quarter than either chancellor or governor; for

on Monday, the 18th of November, Charles Edward made his entry into Carlisle seated on a white charger and preceded by not less than a hundred pipers.—(*Ib.* p. 50).

Tradition says that the peal of the cathedral bells on that occasion was the last ever rang. The story, universally believed, and still told to visitors to the cathedral, is that they were forthwith sentenced to silence for a hundred years; since the expiration of which period they have not been rung, it is supposed, for fear of injury to the tower.

One would think they must have been rung when the city was recaptured by the duke of Cumberland. But, whether rung then or not, they then ran a risk of being doomed to an endless period of silence. Prebendary Wilson, writing on the 9th of January, 174⁵/₆, to Chancellor Waugh, who was then in London, says:—

A demand made by Major Belfour, in the Duke's name, of the bells of our Cathedral, as a perquisite to the train of the artillery, was a surprise to the members of the Chapter here, and very ill relished by them. Mr. Birkett, Mr. Head, and myself, waited on the Duke to desire his protection. . . . The answer given us was that the Duke would not interfere in it; that if it was a perquisite we could say nothing against it. The Chapter here wou'd be glad to have your sentiments in this affair.—(Mounsey, p. 173).

The chancellor's "sentiments in this affair" were on this wise:—

I had heard of the demand of the bells, but would not believe it was

SO

so much in earnest: it surprises every person I have mentioned it to, and am fully persuaded that no law of this land, nor any military law, will justify Mr. Belfour's demand. . . . I dined this day with an old Lieut.-Gen. of great reputation (and others in that way of great consideration) who was out of patience at the mention of it.—(*Ib.* p. 180).

Under the influence of these "sentiments" the demand collapsed. Mr. Wilson, replying to the chancellor, says: Mr. Belfour has left the town without pressing the matter further. . . . Scandalous, unprecedented, and illegal demand!—(*Ib.* p. 181).

Discussion on this matter, if instituted in *Notes and Queries*, would probably elicit plenty of precedent for demand so astonishing to prebendaries, chancellor, and "old Lieut.-Gen. of great reputation". Likely enough church bells of many a captured town have been melted down as "perquisite to artillery train". The duke seems to have thought it a matter of course. London Society of Ringers, at that time known as the "London Scholars", had they been aware of his royal highness's views on this subject, would have thought twice before "greeting the victorious Duke of Cumberland with a welcome home-peal on his return from the Scottish campaign" (*Bell News*, vol. ii. p. 66). Worse still, they were "allowed to call themselves the Royal Cumberland Youths, a medal, long in their possession, being struck as a trophy of the circumstance" (*ibid.*). *Cumberland Youths*, of all names, so called after the would-be destroyer of Carlisle cathedral bells!

But how is the tradition of the bells never having been rung since 1745 to be reconciled with the statement of one of them having been "cracked while ringing during the rejoicing for peace after the Battle of Waterloo"? There may be no one now living who has any distinct recollection of having heard them on that occasion. But there should be persons still living who have heard them since, if the real facts of the case be as thus related in 1838 by Billings (p. 44):—

A

A few years back, from the supposition that the ringing of the bells shook the tower, it was resolved not to ring them any more. Small cords were then attached to the tongues (over pulleys) and conveyed through the groining to the floor of the tower, and one person can now comfortably make the whole give a faint sound.

It was then that the bell alleged to have been cracked in 1815 was "removed to the back of the altar", to return a few years later to the belfry, recast, as shown by inscription on the present fourth bell, at the Whitechapel foundry, by

C & G MEARS FOUNDERS LONDON 1845.

It has now nearly reached the fortieth year of its renewed existence without ever having once been rung. Whether it has ever been sounded by means of a cord tied to its clapper is not known. It is now subject to no such indignity. For what reason, then, was it placed in the belfry, and what purpose does it now serve? Its sole *raison d'être* at present is to supply the note A in the tune "St. David", played by the chimes* at noon and 4 P.M. But its date, exactly coinciding with the termination of the century for which the bells are traditionally believed to have been condemned to silence, looks as if the dean and chapter had intended to humour the tradition by having the ring in full swing again on the expiration of the hundredth year after the '45. Yet Billings, in 1838, writes as if he had never heard of the tradition. On the other hand, an old Cocker-mouth ringer has told Mr. W. C. Parker, captain of the St. Stephen's (Carlisle) ringers, that he well remembers having taken part in practising a peal at Cocker-mouth with a view to handling a rope in the expected ringing of the cathedral bells at the end of the hundred years. The ringing for the peace after Waterloo, Mr. Ferguson suggests, as there have been no wheels to the bells within living memory, and may have been

* The third note in "St. David", for want of the higher F, is struck on the treble (D).

none

none in 1815, perhaps may have been an exceptional arrangement of cord and clapper work, very likely to crack one of the bells. Possibly the publication of this paper may elicit information from our venerable friend "the oldest inhabitant" which will clear up the mystery.

The chimes, worked by the clock, the sound produced by hammers striking each bell on the sound-bow, have been shown to be an institution at least as old as the time of the commonwealth. But the commonwealth chimes were not the same as those now in use. Mr. Robert Wardale, curate of Stanwix, writing to Chancellor Waugh in April, 1747, says:—

I think we have nothing new in Carlisle worth your hearing but the chimes, which began yesterday, the Duke's birthday, and go very well.—(Mounsey, p. 269).

It is to be hoped it was only by accident, though it looks rather like deliberate choice, from the way in which Mr. Wardale mentions it, that the new chimes "began on the Duke's birthday".

The arrangement, described by Billings, whereby "one person can comfortably make the whole give a faint sound", which must not be confounded with the chimes, has of late years been somewhat shorn of its original proportions, neither the Whitechapel bell nor the treble having now any cord attached to its clapper. Nor is the tongue of "Maria", though still retaining its cord, any longer wagged in this ignominious way, the usage of the "service bell", as she was formerly called when sounded whilst the clergy and choir were filing to their seats, having for some years been discontinued. The only bells now ever heard, except in connection with the clock and chimes, are Nos. 2 (Fleming) and 3 (Orbell) for service, and the tenor for death knell, age or sex of deceased not indicated. The mode of ringing these three bells, however "comfortable" for the "one person" whose duty it is to pull the cords,
is

is objectionable. No need to go far afield in search of warnings against it, cord and clapper having, only a few years ago, proved fatal to two church bells in Carlisle, and but a few months ago to the gaol bell.

But what help is there for this if the ringing of the cathedral bells would endanger the tower? Perhaps it would do nothing of the kind. The way in which bells have been the cause of injury to towers is thus explained by Mr. Ellacombe :—

In order to keep the cage steady, wedge after wedge would be driven between the timbers and the walls of the tower; and hence the irreparable damage done to many a beautiful building.—(*Belfries and Ringers*, p. 34).

Carlisle can furnish a case in point. St. Stephen's church was built in 1865 at the expense of Miss (now Baroness) Burdett Coutts, who also gave it a ring of eight bells; the cage of which has been made "steady" * after the manner described above, and already there is a crack in the tower. Mr. Ellacombe adds :—

It is of the greatest consequence that the timbers should take their bearing independent of the masonry, *i. e.* not fixed into it.—(*Ib.* p. 35).

It is not only easy to avoid this mistake in Carlisle cathedral: it is difficult to make it, owing to the size of the belfry. The late archbishop of Canterbury, when dean of Carlisle, evidently anticipated no danger to the tower from the ringing of the bells. Appealing for funds for the restoration of the cathedral, he said :—

The inhabitants of Carlisle will hardly wish to see their cathedral restored without having the bells put in thorough repair, which are said never to have been rung as a peal since 1745. This improvement could, I understand, be made for a few hundred pounds.—(*Circular*, June 19, 1855).

Dean Tait here writes as if he had taken professional

* Mr. Warskitt, of the Whitechapel foundry, who hung the bells, says that this was not done by him.

advice

advice upon the subject. It might be well if this matter were again taken into consideration; and, if it should appear, after full inquiry, that the ringing of the bells would do no injury to the tower, there is doubtless public spirit enough in the present generation of "Gentree of the Countie and Citie" to emulate the good work done by their forefathers in the days of the commonwealth.

Nor should they be content with a ring of six, there being ample room in the belfry for a dozen or more; there should be at least eight.* The completion of the octave would not greatly increase the expense of "having the bells put in thorough repair", provided the addition were made at the treble end of the ring, in which case the present treble in D, which weighs about $5\frac{1}{4}$ cwt., might be recast as F, whilst two new bells, of about $5\frac{3}{4}$ and $6\frac{3}{4}$ cwt., would be required for E and D.

The following table, in which an asterisk denotes a new bell, whether cast from old or new metal, will enable the reader better to understand the successive changes which have occurred in the belfry, as well as the change now proposed:—

	1401	1608	Note	Cwt.	1657-9	1728	1845	Note	Cwt.	?	Note	Cwt.
										1*	F	$5\frac{1}{4}$
										2*	E	$5\frac{3}{4}$
					1*	1	1	D	$5\frac{1}{4}$	3*	D	$6\frac{3}{4}$
					2*	2*	2	C	$7\frac{3}{4}$	4	C	$7\frac{3}{4}$
Orbell .		1*	B♭	$9\frac{3}{4}$	3	3	3	B♭	$9\frac{3}{4}$	5	B♭	$9\frac{3}{4}$
	1*	2	A♭		4*	4	4*	A	13	6	A	13
Maria .	2*	3	G	17	5	5	5	G	17	7	G	17
	3*	4	F		6*	6	6	F	$21\frac{1}{2}$	8	F	$21\frac{1}{2}$
	4*	5	E♭									

*Hutchinson (ii., 658) mentions the cathedral as having in his time (1794) "a ring of eight bells". Clearly a mistake.

It

It is here assumed that the condition of the bells is such that none of them need to be recast. Possibly an expert might—I do not know that he would—suggest the recasting of them all. But to such a proposal the local antiquarian society, and a good many other persons, would no doubt strongly object, preferring to allow them to remain as they are rather than to relegate “Maria” to the furnace. Let us hope that whoever may be called in as professional adviser in this matter may prove equal to dwelling together in unity with archæologists, and refrain from suggesting anything likely to impair the historical interest of bells associated with honoured names of Willielmus de Strickland, Orbell L. M., Jeremy Tolhurst, and Fleming D. D. Decanus.

NOTE.

(*Ante*, p. 141).

We scarce had won the Staneshaw bank
When a' the Carlisle bells were rung.

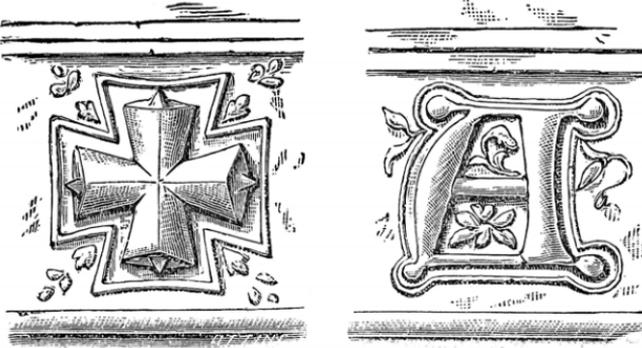
Among the bells which were rung on the occasion of the rescue of Kinmont Willie in 1596 by the bold Buccleugh, when “the castle bells rang out” and “those of the cathedral and Moot Hall answered them”, were two, besides the cathedral “Maria”, which have been described by Messrs. Ferguson and Nanson in these pages (*ante*, vol. vii, pp. 237-244), viz., the “Old Market Bell”, dated 1584, and the “Muckle Toun Bell o' Carlisle”, which bears the name of its donor, “Radulphus Comes de Westmorland”, who died in 1421. The market bell has the following inscription, in Roman capitals:—

I - S - MAIORE : T - V - I - S - BA : 1584.

I - I

The initials IS, TV, and IS, are those of the “mayor and bailiffs”. The initials I · I below are doubtless those of the bellfounder, whom we have not been able to identify. Nor have we yet succeeded in identifying

identifying the founder of the " muckle toun bell ". We here engrave his initial cross and one of his letters, in the hope that they



may come under the notice of some campanologist who may be able to inform us to what foundry they belonged.