

ART. XXV.—*Church Bells in Leath Ward. No. 4.* By the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD.

*Communicated at the Isle of Man, Sept. 24, 1894.*

PENRITH parish church has eight bells; the treble and tenor of which were cast in 1889 by Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, who at the same time recast the fourth bell of the old ring of six.

On each of the other five bells, cast at the Whitechapel foundry, is inscribed

LESTER & PACK LONDON FECIT 1763.

Lester and Pack, who were better bell-founders than Latin scholars,\* became partners in 1752, the foundry since 1739 having been held by Lester alone, † foreman and successor to Richard Phelps, ‡ whose predecessors were the Bartletts for three generations, and the Carters for two, the elder of whom in 1606 succeeded Robert Mot, the earliest known proprietor of this celebrated foundry.

The names and date in the above inscription impair the accuracy of the following story, which has long been current at Keswick :—

The tradition is that there were three sets of six bells each, cast by Pack and Chapman, for Penrith, Cockermouth, and Keswick—some say there were four sets, adding Workington—and that Dr. Brownrigg, who built Ormathwaite, and was one of the chief residents here, gave £10 10. to the collection, on the condition that Keswick had the first pick of the three, or four sets, as the case may have been, and that this accounts for the Crosthwaite bells being of a sweeter

---

\* On Stanwix church bell, cast in 1779 by Pack and Chapman, occurs the word FECERUNT; which in 1775, when casting the Crosthwaite and other Cumberland bells, they had not yet learned to substitute for FECIT.

† In 1743 Lester recast the Hexham bells.

‡ Founder of the old great bell of St. Paul's (London).

tone

tone than either those at Penrith or those which were destroyed when All Saints church, Cockermouth, was burned down\* (*Crosthwaite Parish Magazine*, October, 1882).

Never yet was there a ring of bells which was not regarded by the inhabitants of the parish to which it belonged as the best anywhere known. But Keswick folk must seek some other explanation of the alleged superiority of Crosthwaite bells to those of Penrith. Pack and Chapman did certainly cast the Workington as well as Crosthwaite bells in 1775. In what year they cast the late Cockermouth bells is not exactly known; destroyed bells, like dead men, telling no tales. But Penrith bells, as shewn above, were cast in 1763 by Lester and Pack.

The Whitechapel foundry—which after Lester's death in 1769 was held by Pack and Chapman until 1781, by Chapman & Mears from 1781 to 1783, then by successive members of the Mears family until 1868, since which year the firm has been known as Mears & Stainbank—has supplied many excellent bells to Cumberland churches, *e.g.*, besides those already mentioned, six for Brampton in 1826, six for Thursby in 1846, eight for Cockermouth in 1856, eight for St. Bees and three for Skirwith in 1858, eight for St. Stephen's (Carlisle) in 1864, and numerous single bells of various dates from the Holme Cultram tenor of 1771 down to the Addingham treble of 1893.

The Penrith (Whitechapel) tenor, now No. 7, in addition to the inscription common to the ring, bears the names of the then vicar and churchwardens :

REV. INO COWPER M A  
WM. RICHARDSON INO SHARP  
THOS SHEPHERD ADAM DIXON

The vicar, Mr. Cowper, was long connected with Penrith,

---

\*Cockermouth church was burnt down in 1849.

having

having in 1729 been appointed master of the Grammar School, the governors of which, on Feb. 25, 1733, as recorded in the school register,

certifye that Mr. John Cowper Master of the said School is a person of Regular Life and Conversation, has very much improv'd the school, and behav'd himself for these five years to our entire satisfaction and aprobatation, for which Sr Chr Musgrave has added the chapel of Soulby for his encouragement.

The "encouragement" thus received consisted of a stipend of about £20 (Nicolson and Burn, i, 552), out of which he paid a substitute to perform the duty. There is extant a letter from Dr. Richard Burn of Orton, the historian, to Sir Philip Musgrave, son and successor of Sir Christopher, in which, speaking of the clergy who within his knowledge served the chapel of Soulby, he says that

Mr. Cowper employed Mr. Pindar of Musgrave, who for half-a-crown each Sunday, after having officiated in the afternoon at his own church, travelled thro' thick and thin, in bad road, mostly on foot, and (to use his own expression) thundered them a march\*.

From 1743 to 1750, still continuing to reside at Penrith, and retaining his mastership of the Grammar School, Mr. Cowper was rector of Kirkbride; where, as at Soulby, he probably performed his duties by deputy. At all events we catch a glimpse of him during that period himself acting as a clerical deputy elsewhere; for Chancellor Waugh, writing in 1749, in his notes to Bp Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, speaking of Mr. Wilkinson, vicar of Bromfield, who was at the same time vicar of Lazonby, says;—

Mr. Wilkinson resides at Lazonby, where he has built himself a good house . . . but the unhappy man, soon after he finished it, for

---

\* For this information I am indebted to the Rev. W. Lowthian, vicar of Troutbeck, formerly curate of Soulby, who had it from Mr. Bowstead, steward at Edenhall.

want of his school,\* I think, was moped, and so remains. The schoolmaster of Penrith, Mr. Cowper, supplies the duty. He has no other curate.

In 1750 Mr. Cowper was collated to the vicarage of Penrith; which, together with the school, he held until his death at the age of 80 in 1788, having been master of the school 59 years.

The weights of the bells of 1763, as given in the following table, are taken from the founders' invoice, or rather from a copy of it in the churchwardens' accounts, which from 1655 to 1801 are contained in what is called "The Old Church Book":

No.	Note	Diameter	Cwt.	qrs.	lb.
1	D $\sharp\sharp$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches	4	3	9
2	C $\sharp\sharp$	30 "	5	1	21
3	B	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	6	1	14
4	A $\sharp\sharp$	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	7	0	17
5	G $\sharp\sharp$	37 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	8	3	26
6	F $\sharp\sharp$	41 "	11	3	22

These bells were paid for by a rate of 9d. in the pound, and every item of expenditure for their purchase and hanging is minutely recorded. Lester and Pack's account with the churchwardens was £334 0 11, from which £164 2 4 was deducted in allowance for the old bells. This amount, however, did not include the hanging, which was done by local men, at a cost of £37 1 8, care being evidently taken to distribute the work amongst as many as possible, under the superintendence of Mr. William Porthouse, who seems to have been regarded as an

\* Lowther School; established by the second Lord Lonsdale, "with an ample foundation, for the benefit of all the northern counties; and, as long as Mr. Wilkinson directed it, never was a school in higher repute" (Hutchinson, ii, 311).

authority

authority on the subject of bells, and on much else besides\*. For three years he had charge of the "water engine", bought in 1763-4 "by order of the Vestry"; which duty, afterwards successively performed by John Pattinson and James Mounsey, was in 1780 assigned by the vestry to the bellringers:—

Jan. 1, 1780. At a Vestry meeting held this day it is agreed by the Churchwardens Overseers and principale inhabitants assembled that the underwritten men be appointed ringers for the future & that they are to have the usual Salary viz 15s per annum each man And also that the Ringers be appointed to take care of the Engine to the Satisfaction of Mr. Isaac Pattinson and that they have the yearly salary for the same:—1 John Porthouse; 2 Thos Cockin; 3 Jas Birbeck; 4 Edwd Parcivale; 5 Wm McHenry; 6 Thos Birkett Junr.

When a fire occurred the ringers worked the engine, for which they received extra payment. They also received extra payment, at the rate of 1s. 6d. each per day, on what are called in the churchwardens' accounts "rejoicing days". At the time now under notice (George III) the regulation "rejoicing days" seem to have been: May 29, King Charles' Restoration; June 4, King's birthday; Sept. 22, King's Coronation; Oct. 26, King's Proclamation; Nov. 5, Gunpowder Treason. But when news of some victory arrived there was an extra rejoicing day; for which also the ringers received extra payment. Nor was this all that they received on such days. No year passed without its item of

Ale to the ringers on rejoicing days.

Other persons also enjoyed themselves at the ratepayers'

---

\* Nor was his reputation confined to Penrith, since in 1767 the Crosthwaite churchwardens' accounts have this item: "Mr. Porthouse for the bells £34 7s. 6d." These were the old Crosthwaite bells, which in 1775 were superseded by Pack and Chapman's ring of six. What was done to them in 1767 there is nothing to shew; probably they were then rehung.

expense

expense on these festive occasions. At least that is the inference to be drawn from a constantly recurring item, of which the following is an average specimen :

1765 Spent on rejoicing days £2.

Of specimens exceeding the average the most notable is that supplied by the year which closed the 18th century :

1800\* Xmas Day and sundry rejoicings £7 18s. 2d.

There are no such "rejoicings" now at Penrith, and not many such anywhere else. They probably disappeared with the church-rate.

Among the items in the accounts for 1763-4 was this :

To Dawson & Storey for carrying the old Bells to  
N'castle & bringing the new ones £13 3s 9d.

There is a tradition that these old bells "went to Kirkoswald". It is likely enough that they went there, but not to stay there. They would have to pass through Kirkoswald on their way to Newcastle, thence to be conveyed by sea to London. Doubtless they "went to" the White-chapel furnace; but not without leaving behind them the materials for a partial recovery of their story. The terrier of the year 1749, signed by "Battie Warsop, Vicar", thus describes them :

Five Bells the least weighing Five hundred weight the Second is six hundred weight and a half the third eight hundred and a half the Fourth ten hundred and a half the biggest weighing twelve hundred weight.

---

\* In this year (1800) also occurs the following item, which however did not greatly exceed the average annual expenditure for the same purpose in the last decade of the century: "Bread and wine for Sundry Sacrements £8 5s. 6d." The wine, as shewn by the accounts of some other years, cost 2s. per quart, and the annual cost of the bread was about 10d.; from which it appears that in this year the wine provided "for sundry Sacrements" amounted to 77 quarts.

These

These weights do not agree with those allowed for in the invoice of Lester and Pack, who in 1763 took the old bells in part payment for the new. I here place the two estimates side by side :

No.	Terrier		Invoice		
	Cwt.	Qr.	Cwt.	qr.	lb.
1	5	0	3	3	13
2	6	2	4	3	13
3	8	2	6	0	10
4	10	2	7	1	13
5	12	0	9	0	6

Terrier weights are often inaccurate ; but, when they are so, they for the most part virtually confess as much, saying that the bells are *about* such and such a weight. The Penrith terrier contains no "about", but speaks with a decision which suggests that whoever drew it up either called in the aid of an expert or had before him some authoritative memorandum on the subject. Nevertheless it is obvious that Lester and Pack, when the bells were taken down in 1763, had better means of ascertaining their weight than anyone could have had in 1749, when they were still hanging in the tower.

A good deal of information concerning them is supplied by the "old church book" ; which in the year at which it begins at once introduces them to our notice :

1655 To the ringers in decembr 5s.

During the next two years they appear not to have been rung at all. It was the time of the Commonwealth ; and, though the Puritans were by no means universally hostile to church bells, it would seem as if the Presbyterian vicar of Penrith, Roger Baldwin, had no great love for them, and allowed them to fall into disuse, but was perhaps induced by public opinion to allow them to be heard again. Hence in 1658 this item :

To

To ringers of the church as hath formerly been used 5s.

In each of the next two years the ringers receive their 5s at Christmas. But the items for 1661 tell a livelier tale :

	s.	d.
Iron worke for ye Great Bell .....	4	0
For a bell rope .....	6	8
To the Ringer for drinke.....	2	0
To W. Burton for iron work for 3 bells and a Key for ye Steeple doore .....	18	4
To the Ringers .....	10	0
For drinke when ye bells was amending .....	2	0
For the ringers .....	6	0

Clearly an episcopalian revival. The local historians, from Nicolson and Burn down to Walker, all say that old Mr. John Hastie, who had been collated to the vicarage of Penrith in 1600, and ejected by the Long Parliament, was restored in 1660. But this is an error, as is conclusively shown by the parish register :

1659-60 Jan 6—Mr. John Haisty Late vicar of Penrith buried.

All the same Mr. Roger Baldwin had to vacate the living soon after the Restoration, when an Act was passed which deposed all incumbents who had been put into the place of others by the parliament, even if those they superseded had since died. Mr. Baldwin's successor was Mr. Simon Webster, inducted October 25, 1660, to whose appointment may be ascribed the activity we have observed in the belfry in 1661 ; which activity certainly indicates that that the bells had been allowed to get into some disorder, and perhaps had suffered rough usage, during the Commonwealth. But the remedy applied does not seem to have been thorough ; for the tinkering at the bells continues at intervals all the way down to the hanging of the new bells in 1763, the "great bell" especially causing a great deal of trouble and expense. How many of the bells were

were in use at any given time, at least for some years, or what sort of system regulated the ringing, it is not easy to say. The 5s. at Christmas, which, notwithstanding the increased amount given to the ringers in 1661, was all they got in other years down to 1666, looks like a Christmas box, given to men who had no regular salary, and who doubtless did very little work. In 1666 they get 12s. 6d. at Christmas, which they continue to receive at Christmas until 1686, when it rises to 15s. In 1692 it is increased to 22s., and for the first time is mentioned as their "yeare's salary". In 1696, the ringers probably striking for more pay, we meet with this item :

Ye ringers as by agreement by ye parishioners £2.

At which figure the wage stands until 1739, when it rises to £2 10, the reason for the rise being apparent in the following entries :

1738. Paid the *four* ringers for their wages at Christmas £2.  
 1739. Paid to *five* ringers . . . . . £2 10.

From this it might be supposed that before 1739 there had only been four bells, and that a fifth bell was now added. But, as will presently appear from Bishop Nicolson's notes, one of the bells had long been out of order, and seems now to have been put right. No further alteration of wages occurs until the arrival of the new bells in 1763. But, as in later years, the ringers received extra payment for "rejoicing days"; which however were not much observed in Penrith until the very end of the 17th century, though Mr. Webster, the first post-Restoration vicar, appears to have done his best to encourage their observance. Thus the bells were rung on May 29 and Nov. 5 in 1662; and in the following year the ringing on Coronation day, or at all events the payment for it, is expressly ascribed to the vicar's influence :

Pd

Pd the coronation day to ringers at request of Mr. Webster our Vicker 1s.

What further in this direction Mr. Webster might have instituted, whether he would have anticipated the development of later years, we cannot say, as he did not see that year out, *i.e.*, as vicar of Penrith.\* Nor amongst his immediate successors, with one exception, did anyone arise at all equal to the carrying out of the principle which he had laid down. Here we must note the extraordinary rapidity with which these successors came and went. In seven years Penrith had as many as five vicars: Simon Webster, Rt. Fisher, Chas. Carter, Marius d'Assigny, and Joshua Bunting. The seven years covered the whole period of these five vicars. This quick succession of vicars seems to have had a damping effect on the growth of Penrith festivity, and indeed to have checked it altogether, except during the brief incumbency of Mr. Carter, when, in 1665, the bells were rung on the Restoration and Coronation Days, and for "a victory at sea", which must have been the defeat of the Dutch on June 3 in that year. In no other year of the period in question was there any extra ringing at all except on an occasion which cannot exactly be called a festivity:

1668 Paid the ringers att the burall Mr. Rabon son 3s.

Some may be surprised to hear of a peal being rung at a funeral. But such was formerly the prevalent custom, and indeed was in strict accord with the 67th canon of the Church, which directs that "after the party's death (if it so turn out) there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial", the intention being to call upon friends to give thanks for the deliverance of a soul "from the

---

\* He was collated in 1663 to the vicarage of Dufton.

miseries of this sinful world". The funeral knell, therefore, is a modern innovation; and this entry is only strange as indicating that the peal "at the burall Mr. Rabon son"\* was paid for by the churchwardens. The first vicar to break the spell of quick succession was Mr. J. Child, who was instituted in 1688 and died in 1694. But Mr. Child fell on evil times; for in 1671 there occurs a total break in the annals of the parish, lasting three years, during which even the names of the churchwardens are not recorded, the only entry being this:

The plaite was gone & linen belonging ye church in the yeare 1672 in which yeare Allan Mawson was noe churchwarden.

Allan Mawson had been one of the churchwardens in 1670, and this entry in the church book may be regarded as his protest against the idea that he was in any way responsible for the disappearance of the "plaite and linen". How or why it "was gone" there is nothing to shew. Whatever became of it no steps were taken to procure new plate until 1678, when a subscription of £9 1 10 was raised as a "free gift for ye plaite and linen in Penrith Church". We need not, therefore, be surprised that it is not until 1685 that we meet with any indication of public rejoicings during Mr. Child's incumbency. In that year there was ringing on May 29 and Nov. 5; for which, however, the ringers got nothing but drink, 1s. on May 29, and 6d. on Nov. 5. Still a principle was established, or rather re-established, which in the following year expands into "Ale to ringers at severall times 3s"; and in 1688 into "Given the ringers upon publick days to drink 5s", as well as 12s. 6d. in money for "five public days ringing". But 1688, being the year of the Revolution, was of course

---

\* Mr. George Watson informs me that no such name as Rabon occurs in the parish register either in 1668 or in any other year, and he gives good reason for identifying the "Mr. Rabon son" of the church books with "Mr. Edward Robinson" recorded in the register as "buried November 16, 1668".

an exceptional year for public rejoicing. During the rest of William's reign the standard of public rejoicing at Penrith was not kept up to this mark. It was reserved for the reign of Queen Anne and the incumbency of Dr. Todd to witness the next decided advance in this matter; and in 1706 we recognise the beginning of a custom which prevailed more or less at Penrith, sometimes to a remarkable degree, during the whole of the 18th century, viz., the burning of "tar barrels at the Cross". Mr. Walker, in his history of Penrith, referring to this practice, says (p.79) :

It was customary during the early part of the last century for the parishioners to assemble round the Cross whenever any great occasion for rejoicing presented itself; and, while there, a quantity of ale was consumed, and a number of tar barrels burnt, which on some occasions were paid for out of the church money.

It would perhaps be nearer the mark to say that on all occasions these proceedings were "paid for out of the church money"; which, being provided by a rate, the parishioners naturally regarded as their own. So far from the drinking of ale on these occasions being confined to the ringers, it would almost seem as if they were at first in danger of not coming in for their fair share, and the vicar had to come to their assistance :

1706. Pd to Alexander Hewer for Ale to the Ringers as  
he says per Dr. Tod's orders as per acquittance 7s.

The victory of Ramillies, the victory before Turin, the raising of the siege of Barcelona, the news of "the happy Union of England and Scotland", the thanksgiving day for the same, and the anniversary of the Queen's accession, were all occasions in this year for "ale at the Cross". Tar barrels seem only to have been burnt for the battle of Ramillies; but in later years they figure more conspicuously. In 1708 we get another new item :

Ale

Ale for Ringers and treating the *Soldiers*  
at severall public Rejoyceings 14s.

On the accession of George I there is yet another new departure :

1714 *Wine* att the King's Proclamacon £1 5s.

Which however does not preclude ale on the same occasion :

Ale to the Cross 4th Aug. att the King's Proclamacon 8s.

Ale again at the Cross to same amount " when the King landed ", and twice as much the day he was crowned. No doubt the bells rang in the king. But the days when there was extra ringing in this year are not specified. They are grouped in a single comprehensive item :

A shillinge a man p day for seaven days ringinge  
by the Order of the Doctor and other gentlemen £1 8 0.

There is nothing, then, to show whether the bells were rung on the following occasion :

1714-5.—Ale at the Cross on January 20  
beinge the Generall ffast day . . . 10s.

The ensuing year, 1715, was a memorable one in the annals of Penrith, where on November 2 the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed at the Cross as James III by Mr. Forster, the commander of his forces ; who, says Mr. Walker (p. 61), " collected the money belonging to the revenue, but in other respects conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, doing no harm either to the inhabitants or their property ". All the same when his cause collapsed there was exultation at Penrith :

Nov 14.—Aile to the Cross at newes of the defeate of the  
Rebels 6s. ; to the Ringers 4s. ; Tar Barrels 3s.  
Dec 5.—When Stanhop's Horse came thro paid the Ringers 2s.  
feb 12.—At the Pretenders leaving Scotland, aile  
at the Cross 5s. ; the ringers that night 2s.

Yet

Yet with inconsistent impartiality, brought out into strong relief by a curious juxtaposition of days, they continue to celebrate Charles II's restoration :

1718.

May 28.—Expenses att night with ye officers . £1 5 6.

May 29.—Expenses that night per bill and  
receipt made . . . . . £2 18 6.

King George's birthday and King Charles's restoration were in the next year occasions for yet another step in advance :

May 28—Music 12*d.*

May 29—Music 12*d.*

Nor in succeeding years was the music restricted to those two days or to so small an expenditure, but was repeated, at 2*s.* per day, on every "rejoicing" occasion. What with bell-ringing at the Church, tar barrels, music, and ale at the Cross, the Penrith people of those days were a jovial folk. And so, year after year, the "rejoicings" went on, reaching their climax, as they were bound to do, in 1745, when Penrith, having again undergone the experience of being occupied by an invading army, again had to celebrate the triumph of the king. Mr. Walker, at p. 73, to which page he prefixes the heading "Twelve days' rejoicing", says :

The inhabitants of Penrith had a fortnight's rejoicing after the danger to which they had been exposed was past, as will appear from the following extract from the old church book :

	£	s.	d.
1745. To expenses in securing church plate in			
Rebellion .....	0	10	0
To ringers, 12 rejoicing days.....	3	0	0
To expenses in 12 rejoicing days .....	8	10	0

Hence it would appear that the bells were rung for 12 days in succession; and the item of £8 10 would certainly indicate that the spirits of the people generally had been somewhat elevated.

But

But Mr. Walker, who, by the way, has made the mistake of transcribing 10s. instead of 10d. as the amount paid for securing the church plate, has here fallen into a further mistake through not observing that since the year 1741 the church book had ceased to record the separate items of expenditure for the several rejoicing days during the year, and lumped them altogether. So that the entry relating to "12 rejoicing days" in 1745 does not mean that the bells were rung and ale drunk at the Cross for twelve successive days, but that there were in all twelve public rejoicing days throughout the year; an unusual number, it must be admitted, the regulation number being five. They may have kept up their rejoicing for a day or two when Prince Charles left Penrith behind him on his march northward, after the "skirmish nigh Clifton Moor", and when Carlisle was retaken by the Duke of Cumberland. But there were certainly not twelve successive rejoicing days. In the following year they had eight rejoicing days—for which the ringers got £2, and the other expenses were £4—which again was more than the regulation number. One of the extra three days was no doubt for the battle of Culloden, and another for the arrival of

two large gilt chandeliers, which are still to be seen in the parish church, and which, although rendered useless by the introduction of gas, are daily becoming more interesting as mementoes of the march and retreat of the Highlanders. (Walker, p. 73).

Their arrival and fixing are thus recorded :

	£	s.	d.
1746. For carriage of chandelears from London.....	3	18	0
To Wm. Porthouse for putting up chandelers	2	0	0

They tell their own story, each bearing this inscription :

These Chandeliers were purchased w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fifty guineas given by the most noble William Duke of Portland to his 'Tenants of y<sup>e</sup> Honor of  
Penrith

Penrith: who under his Grace's encouragement associated in defence of the Government and town of Penrith against the Rebels in 1745.

To the right of this inscription are the Portland arms, on the other side of which the narrative continues thus :

The Rebels after their retreat from Darby were put to flight from Clifton and Penrith by his Royall Highness William Duke of Cumberland after a short skirmish nigh Clifton Moor\* which began at 4 in ye afternoon of Wednesday ye 18 Decr 1745 Rebell Prisoners taken by ye Tents of Penrith and ye neighbourhood were upwards of 80.

The impetus given by the suppression of the rebellion to festivity at the Cross did not at once subside ; for in 1747 there were nine rejoicing days, with £2 5 for ringing, and £4 11 11 at the Cross. In 1748 it drops to five days, with £1 5 for ringing, and only £1 17 at the Cross. In 1749 it shews a tendency to rise again, viz., seven days, with 22s. for ringing, and £3 4 11 at the Cross. In this year a new vicar is thus welcomed :

Treating the Rev Mr Worsop at his first coming £1 4.

Notwithstanding this cordial welcome his stay was short, for on

Nov. 2, 1750, the Rev Mr John Cowper MA Rector of Kirkbride was collated to the vicarage of Penrith by the Rt Rev the Bishop of Carlisle void by the cession of the Rev Mr Battie Warsop LLB on the 22 of September 1750 (*Parish Register*).

During his brief incumbency the vestry passed the following resolution :

July ye 9th, 1750.—It is hereby agreed yt no Sum or Sums of money expended on ye usual rejoycing Days be for ye future charg'd on acct of ye Parish except ye expences of ye Bonfire and ye Ringers and ye Ale which shall be then drunk at ye Cross.

---

\* For full particulars concerning the "skirmish nigh Clifton Moor" see Chancellor Ferguson's paper on "The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmorland in 1745 (*ante*, vol. viii, pp. 186—228).

Yet it does not appear that there ensued much diminution in the expenses of the rejoicing days, which seem to have gone on at about the same rate as before, and in 1762, which was the last year of the old bells, reached the following amount :

Eight days—£2 for ringing ; Tar barrels, £1 4s. 6d. ;  
Music and ale at Cross £2 17s. 6d.

Of ale, no doubt, whether at the Cross or elsewhere, the ringers consumed a fair amount ; and the writer of a review of the Carlisle Diocesan Church Plate Book, in which some of these entries are given, says :

We may remark that the ringers at Penrith in the 18th century were by no means wearers of the blue ribbon. The members of that profession have indeed been seldom famous for temperance (*Saturday Review*, Sept. 23, 1882).

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Penrith bellringers of the 18th century were disorderly men. Their rules breathe the very spirit of order :

#### INTRODUCTION

You ringers all observe these Orders well.

#### ORDER I

He forfeits sixpence who o'erthrows a bell.

#### ORDER II

Who'er shall ring with either Spur or Hat  
Shall pay his sixpence certainly for that.

#### ORDER III

In falling bells one penny must be paid  
By him who stops before the signal's made.

#### ORDER IV

Each Peal required for Church-service Divine  
Who don't attend must send in proper time  
A substitute ; sixpence shall be his fine.

#### ORDER V

## ORDER V

A brother knowing and shall absent be  
 When others ring to catch the pecuny  
 Of what arises he shall have no share  
 Except force not choice caus'd absence there.

## ORDER VI

Who'er profanely takes God's name in vain  
 Shall sixpence pay; in future must refrain  
 From said practice or no ringer remain.

## ORDER VII

To cause to cease from wrangling debate  
 For every Ringer standing obstinate  
 Against a fairly polled majoritie  
 Sixpence for each a fixed fine shall be.

## ORDER VIII

It is agreed all fines they must be spent  
 What in, when, where, by major part's consent.

## CONCLUSION.

With heart upright each individual ring  
 For health & peace to Country Church & King.

Bishop Nicolson, when inspecting the bells, on the occasion of his visit to Penrith in 1704, did not omit to notice the clock :

They have also a good clock; which is commonly under such discipline as is usual in Mercate-Towns (Bp. N's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 153).

At what time it was placed in the tower we have no means of knowing; but that it was already there in 1655 appears from the item of "mending a clocke wheele 1s 4d" in the first page of the church book. Its "discipline", prior to 1704, does not seem to have been of a very systematic character. One John Washington, first mentioned in 1664, was called in at intervals to "mend clock  
 and

and chime", or was paid for "work about the clock and chime"; but there is no record of any regular payment to a caretaker. John Washington, we remark, may have been akin to the ancestors of the illustrious George Washington, whose grandfather John is believed to have sailed from Whitehaven in 1657, and to have been a Cumberland man.\* Our John Washington disappears from the church book in 1692, from which year to 1704 there were occasional repairs to "clock & chyme" by nameless persons. In 1704 there occurs this item :

Mending Clock & Chimes & putting all  
in order relating to them . . . £3 1 6

In 1712 the clock gives place to a successor :

	£	s.	d.
To Aaron Cheasbrough for the new Clock	16	0	0
Lant. Holme for makeing the Clock case and finding wood as per rept	2	2	6

That the "discipline" of the new clock was more systematic than that of its predecessor may be inferred from the constantly recurring item of "Wm. Browne as usual 12s 6d.", sometimes varied by "Wm. Browne for taking care of clock and chimes". William Browne, sexton and captain of the bell-ringers, had a long innings, his name not disappearing from the accounts till 1748. His "taking care" of the chimes was probably a light duty, as they seem to have fallen into disuse, until Wm. Porthouse took them in hand, repairing them for £7 in 1740. In 1748 Mr. Porthouse mends the clock; the first time the new clock seems to have required mending. In 1755 he mends both clock and chimes. In 1765, two

---

\* On which subject see a paper by Mr. W. S. Harper in vol. v, pp. 98-108, of these Transactions.

years

years after the hanging of the new bells, he supplies new chimes at a cost of £53 2 11. In fact, for a quarter of a century or more, he appears to have reigned supreme over clock, chimes, and bells. Dr. Michael Taylor, F.S.A., speaking at a meeting of the Penrith Literary Society, "said that it was perhaps in the knowledge of many there present that among the lost trades of Penrith was that of clock making; and Mr. Wm. Porthouse was one of the great clock makers at Penrith. At that time Penrith was very celebrated for clocks, and many of these clocks were still in the county. The clocks were of very excellent manufacture, in the old fashioned style, and the business was continued by his son. He thought the last Wm. Porthouse died in Penrith in 1820, and it might interest many to know that the shop in which he lived was in Post Office Lane, very near the shop now occupied by Mrs. Miller" (*Penrith Observer*, Dec. 25, 1883).

But to return to the Bells. Bishop Nicolson says :

In the Tower there are five Bells; whereof the largest seems to be the oldest, having only these words *Ora Jesu Maria* twice inscribed upon it. The Second was new cast about 60 years agoe; and has Thomas Stafford (the name of the Bell-founder) and the Initial Letters, as suppos'd, of the names of the then Church Wardens. The Third appears to have been cast in 1639. The Fourth has no Legend on it; but the Fifth has *Exsurgite Mortui et Venite ad Judicium*; and was cast in 1595. This last is either faulty in the Frame or some other way in disorder; For 'tis never rung out, or, at least, has not been so of late years.

It is necessary to notice that the bishop and the terrier, in their numbering of the bells, do not follow the same order, the bishop beginning with the "largest", and the terrier with the "least", as first bell. The right order is that of the terrier, which accordingly will be adopted whenever reference is made in this paper to any particular member of the ring. It will be convenient, however, for avoidance of confusion, to place the two arrangements

side

side by side in the following table; the weights in which are as reported by Lester and Pack:

Bp. N.	Terrier	Cwt. qr. lb.	Date	Inscription
No. 5	No. 1	3 3 13	1595	<i>Exsurgite &amp;c.</i>
" 4	" 2	4 3 13		Blank
" 3	" 3	6 0 10	1639	?
" 2	" 4	7 1 13		T. Stafford
" 1	" 5	9 0 9		<i>Ora Jesu Maria</i>

The bishop, for an antiquary, is rather loose in his account of these bells, especially of that which he says "was new cast *about* 60 yeares agoe" by T. Stafford, and that which he says "*appears* to have been cast in 1639". In all probability these two bells (Nos. 3 and 4) were cast at the same time and by the same founder. The treble, dated 1595, seems from its legend to have been originally intended to toll the death knell, and was just in time to do a deal of work, as in 1597-8 the northern counties were severely ravaged by the plague.\* This was the bell which in 1704 was "some way in disorder", and had "not been rung out of late years". Nor was it again "rung out" until 1739. The bishop showed good judgment in not taking it for granted that it was mute from any fault of its own. Many a sound bell has been condemned as cracked when the only fault was in its gear. The tenor, with its mediæval legend, *Ora Jesu Maria*, was rightly regarded by Bishop Nicolson as the "oldest" bell of the ring; and it is well that he specified

---

\* On a stone slab, now on the inside of the wall of the north aisle, but in the old church in Bishop Nicolson's time "on the outside of the north wall of the vestry", is inscribed

Pestis fuit Ao 1598, unde moriebantur  
 apud Kendal 2,500, Richmond 2200,  
 Penrith, 2266, Karliol 1196.

This cannot mean that 2266 persons died in the *parish* of Penrith, which in 1598 had not more than 2000 inhabitants. It must refer at least to the *deanery* of Penrith, at that time coincident with Leath Ward.

it as the "largest", or we should not have known that he inverted the order, and should have supposed that this bell was the treble, instead of the tenor. The regular sequence of the weights of the five bells, and the probability of Nos. 3 and 4 having been cast at the same time, are suggestive of a work done in 1639, the object of which was, by casting, recasting, or tuning, as the case required, to secure a complete and harmonious ring. On which hypothesis I assign the blank bell (No. 2) to no later date than that year. Either it was found in the tower, or placed there, by Thomas Stafford. This founder, if not a native of Penrith, had resided there some years before he did the work now under notice; for at Cartmel there is extant an agreement, dated July 20, 1630, between the churchwardens and "Tho Stafford, of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, bell-founder, for the new castinge of the greate bell of the P'ish Church of Cartmel" (*Annales Caermoelesenses*, p. 61); and the treble of the old Kirkby Stephen ring, as stated by the late vicar (*ante*, iv, 239), bore this inscription:

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

In this couplet I at one time thought we had a clue to the authorship of the "Ringers' Orders", which I was disposed to include among the poetical works of Thomas Stafford. But I now know them to be a compilation, taken a bit here and a bit there from similar "Orders". Nor was Stafford the original composer even of the couplet on his Kirkby Stephen bell. The late Mr. T. North, in his "Church Bells of Rutland", says (p. 53):

At the commencement of the seventeenth century the Newcombes began to use the form to which they subsequently as a rule adhered:

Be yt knowne to all that doth me see  
That Newcombe of Leicester made mee.

Possibly

Possibly Thomas Stafford served his apprenticeship to the Newcombes. Perhaps, as there is no trace of him, nor of any one of his name, in Penrith parish register, it may be no great stretch of imagination to suppose him to have been a native of Leicester, and a descendant of the earliest known Leicester bell-founder, thus mentioned by Mr. North :

Johannes de Stafford had, there are good reasons for believing, a foundry at Leicester at least as early as the middle of the fourteenth century (*ib.* p. 48).

So Thomas Stafford may have come from Leicester, bringing with him thence his couplet, and perhaps also the "Ringers' Orders"; for the adoption of which his reform of the Penrith belfry in 1639 was a suitable occasion. Nor was there ever a time when it was more needful to "ring for health and peace to Country, Church, and King". But the ringers, unless they impartially welcomed whatever happened, must soon have been in great perplexity what to ring for. Penrith people were tolerably well affected to the king. But there were times when their town was occupied by parliamentary forces, General Lambert in 1648 making it his headquarters; and if when Charles II passed through Penrith on his way to Worcester, in 1651, "no merry peal from the old church steeple bade him welcome" (Walker, p. 50), it may have been because the then vicar, Roger Baldwin, had no love for Charles. Perhaps, as we have already had occasion to notice, he had no love for the bells themselves. The churchwardens' accounts prior to 1655, had they been extant, would probably have shown that Mr. Hastie's ejection from the vicarage was at once followed by neglect of the bells. The loss of those early accounts is the more to be regretted, as they would have thrown much light on Stafford's work in 1639, which was an event of some interest in the annals of Penrith.

Willis

Willis, writing of Carlisle cathedral tower in 1727, says : " In it hang five bells, the only peal of so great a number in the diocese, except at Penreth " (*Survey of English Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 280). Willis is wrong as to the cathedral, which since 1658 had possessed six bells. But even down to 1775 no parish church in Cumberland had as many as five bells, except Penrith, which meanwhile, in 1763, had got six. The year 1608, in which a fifth bell was added to the cathedral mediæval ring of four, seems to mark the introduction to Cumberland of the change-ringing movement, then in its infancy (*ante*, viii, 135-165). It may have reached Penrith from Carlisle. More likely it came from the south. Perhaps Stafford himself brought the new learning, and, preaching the necessity of Penrith keeping pace with the times, succeeded in making converts of the churchwardens, whose initials he inscribed on the 3rd bell of the reformed ring. But he was unfortunate in the time of his work ; which, as we have seen, was destined to be much marred during the Commonwealth.

Must we stop here, or may we endeavour to carry our story still further back ? What bell was that which was " new cast " in 1639 ? Thomas Stafford saw it, consigned it to his furnace, but has left no record of it. But, on hypothesis of its having been a pre-Reformation bell, Edward VI's commissioners must have seen it in 1552. It was their duty to report what they saw, and their report is still preserved at the Record Office. To the Record office, then, we repair, and find—alas, we find the names of half the Cumberland churches torn off, and Penrith among the lost names (*ib.* viii, 186-204). But, though the names of the churches are missing, the lists of their goods remain, and in some cases it is possible to restore a lost name to its surviving list. Thus we at once identify the Greystoke list by its item of " iij gret belles ", which still remain. Only three other churches in Leath  
Ward

Ward had “*gret belles*” in 1552. All three of them are among the nameless churches; but one of them must certainly be Penrith, which we know had at least one bell, viz., “*Jesu Maria*”, which was great as well as mediæval. The following list, then, which stands next to that of Greystoke, was probably the list of Penrith church goods in 1552:

Item ij chalesses of silvr with coverings one  
vestment of white silk ij vestements of  
bustenge with albes to the same ij vestements for  
. . . . . iij alterclothes ij *gret belles*.

One of these bells, if the royal commissioners had strictly carried out their instructions, would have been confiscated “for ye Kinges use”; but, as has been shewn elsewhere (*ante*, vi, 426), the Cumberland church bells seem not to have been molested by Edward VI’s commissioners. In the massive tower of Penrith parish church I cannot but think there may at some time or other have been, as at Greystoke, “iij *gret belles*”. Assuming, however, that this tower once had its ring of at least three, what became of the third? Did Henry VIII’s “visitors” take it and sell it for “ye Kinges use”? We know, on the authority of Philip and Mary’s commissioners, what Henry’s visitors did with one Penrith bell:

Jeffrey Thomson Stephen Robinson and Anthonie Robinson of Penrith the yomen saythe that Richarde Wasshingstone besydes Kendal bought the layte howse of the ffreers in Penrith and hadd the bell of the sayde ffreers (*MS in Record Office*).

But Henry VIII, though he despoiled the religious houses and abbeys, did not molest the parish churches. By his treatment of the religious houses, however, he set a bad example, which patrons of livings, churchwardens, and the parishioners generally, in many parts of the country were not slow to imitate, betaking themselves to spoliation of  
the

the churches on their own account; and in some such way the parish church of Penrith may have lost one and perhaps two of the bells which had hung in its tower—since when? Well, a likely man to have had a hand in providing Penrith church with “gret belles”, worthy of its fine tower, was William Strickland, bishop of Carlisle from 1400 to 1419, who gave to the cathedral “QUATUOR MAGNAS CAMPANAS” (Leland, i, 472), one of which, weighing about 17 cwt., still remains as a memorial of his munificence. Camden, in his account of Penrith, says:

For the benefit of the Town W. Strickland, Bishop of Carlisle, descended from a famous family in these parts, did at his own charge draw hither a Chanel or Water-course, from Peterill, or the little river Peter.

Nor was this his only known benefaction to Penrith. Hutchinson (i, 333) says:

William de Strickland founded a chantry in this church in honour of St. Andrew with a yearly stipend of £6 to a chantry priest who should teach church music and grammar.

He also added a tower, known as the “Strickland tower”, to Penrith Castle. Let us then believe that he was the donor of the church bells, the last survivor of which served as the tenor of the Stafford ring.

Must we stop even here? Surely he must be an unimaginative man who can have spent but a few days in Penrith with never a thought bestowed upon the far distant past, the memory of which still lingers in the tones of the curfew. Common report ascribes the origin of the curfew to William the Conqueror. But in Cumberland we do not recognise William the Conqueror, and refuse to admit that he instituted anything in this county. Yet does not the very name of the “curfew”, it may be asked, reveal its Norman origin? Well, even in other parts of  
England

England the evening bell, whatever may have been its name, was wont to be rung as a signal for the extinction of fires long before the Norman conquest. The late Miss Powley, in her interesting paper on the Curfew (*ante*, vol. iii, pp. 127-133), whilst admitting that "through the Conqueror's edict the practice acquired new authority, and through his language a new name, at least in the south of England", patriotically contends not only that William's edict had no force in Cumberland, but that his language did not here succeed in imposing upon the evening bell the new name of Curfew; which she says is in Cumberland "quite a lately acquired piece of book knowledge". It was "communicated by the late Mrs. Brown that in her childhood the eight o'clock bell was popularly named 't' Taggy bell', and she remembered old persons saying to children that if they were out after it was rung Taggy would get them". Then follows a learned disquisition, some authorities recognising in the word Taggy a corruption of the Danish word "tække", which means "cover", and thus connected with "couvre feu" (curfew). But Miss Powley gives in her adhesion to another Danish word, "taage", mist or gloom, and in the warning "Taggy will get you" sees "a simple appeal to the terror of children against the personification of the power that walketh in darkness". Nor was Taggy a terror only to children. "In the early days of the Northmen in England there must have been great distress and discomfort in districts with such a rainfall as ours, with such abundant streams and undrained lands, with their dense fogs, and exaggerated mists, and misleading lights". We recognise, then, a use of the evening bell distinct from its function as the signal for extinction of fires. "From very early times there appears to have been an idea of safety connected with bells. Besides the wide spread superstition of their power against evil spirits . . . they had other claims to regard. There are on record many instances

instances of life having been saved, when benighted travellers, at the sound of the familiar bell, recognised their locality, and regained their home, after being utterly lost amid the swamps and fogs of yore". Such considerations, she concludes, "surely may have some association with or influence on the name of 'Taggy bell', if it is a Danish word . . . and as Bell of the Gloaming, the Mist or the Darkness, it is a more natural as well as a more powerful and poetical term than if it is considered merely as that for the Norman extinguisher". Penrith people, then, would perhaps do well to discard the modern innovation of calling their evening bell the "curfew", and restore to it the traditional name of Taggy, especially as they would thereby be assisting Chancellor Ferguson in his laudable efforts, in which, as he told Mr. Freeman during the visit of the Archæological Institute to Carlisle in 1882, he has been engaged for several years, to keep the name of William the Conqueror out of Cumberland, where when living he never set foot and had no authority. Let not the spirit of William, eight centuries after his death, triumphantly ensconce itself in the tower of Penrith parish church.

But the "knell of parting day", still tolling from eve to eve, as from century to century through bygone ages, whilst taking us back in thought to the remote past, serves also to remind us that the story of Penrith church bells would be incomplete without some reference to their present uses. Each member of the old ring had, and (with one exception) still retains, its distinctive name, indicative of the office it has long discharged. The exception is the old 6th (now 7th) bell, which has been superseded as "death bell" by the new tenor.

2	Town Fire Bell	5	Market Bell
3	Country Fire Bell	6	Curfew
4	Prayer Bell	8	Death Bell

In

In some places all the bells are "jangled" to give alarm of fire. Bishop Hall says: "So when we would signify that the town is on fire we ring confusedly" (*Occasional Meditations* LXXX). But here the 2nd or 3rd bell, according as the fire is in town or country, is rung alone. The late vicar on the occasion of "ringing himself in" is said to have caused consternation by ringing one of the fire bells. Which bell, by the way, ought he to have rung? Probably the "prayer bell", so called from being used for the daily service, and therefore the least likely to cause disturbance when rung unexpectedly. The ancient custom of ringing a bell to announce the opening of the market has now in many places fallen into disuse. Thirteen years ago it was proposed to abolish it at Carlisle; but at a meeting of the town council

Mr. R. S. Ferguson thought the bell should not be abolished. He did not think the market legally began until the bell was rung. There had been such a bell as long as the corporation had existed (*Carlisle Journal*, March 11, 1881).

The custom was therefore retained with only two dissentients. At Carlisle, however, the market is not opened as at Penrith by a church bell. The curfew, rung nightly for about ten minutes at eight o'clock, ending with the requisite number of strokes to indicate the day of the month, is a unique survival, at least in Cumberland. An evening bell at Roccliffe, called the "curfew", is a modern institution. The Carlisle municipal accounts contain items of this kind:

1603 Unto henry Warwicke for curfewe bell xiiis iiijd.

But at Carlisle the curfew has long been obsolete. The tenor (No. 8), besides its use as the "death bell", serves also as the clock bell. The death "knell", sometimes erroneously called the "passing bell", is a rarity in this county

county. In Penrith, as in many places further south, it indicates the sex of the deceased by thrice three quickly repeated tolls, called the "tellers", for a man, thrice two for a woman, and thrice one for a child; whence the saying "Nine tailors make a man", a corruption of "Nine tellers mark a man".

It has been, as the reader will have noticed, the practice of the good people of Penrith, at least in post-Reformation times, to wake up once in a century to a sense of the need of putting their bells in order. Nor will the present century be unmarked by an important work of belfry reform, owing to the munificence of the late Miss Harrison, of Lynnwood, at whose cost the following improvements were made in 1889 :

Taylor & Co., of Loughborough, to rehang and quarter-turn the bells, with entire new fittings and iron framework .....	£144
New eight days' clock, by Potts & Sons, of Leeds, of best construction, with all modern improvements .	100
Instead of thrée hours chimes the Cambridge quarter hour four bell chimes .....	55
Total cost .....	£299

Tradition says that the oak of the old bell-frame came from Brougham Castle. The late Canon Simpson, quoting from Machel, says that "Lord Thomas Tufton pulled down a great portion of the castle in 1691, and in 1719 the timber and lead was sold, and purchased by Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton of Penrith" (*ante*, i, 70). This brings the oak of Brougham Castle to Penrith. But there is nothing in the churchwardens' accounts to confirm the belief that any of it found its way into the belfry of the parish church; nor anything to shew that the framework was renewed when Mr. Porthouse hung the bells in 1763. In all probability, with such alterations as were

were rendered necessary by the sixth bell, the framework had remained much the same as Thomas Stafford left it in 1639. To say nothing of other defects, it impinged on the walls, an arrangement which has caused serious injury to many a church tower. The ringers' "gallery", so called in the accounts for 1741, when it was erected at a cost of £6 2 6, was unsuitable for the purpose for which it was intended, as it only admitted of the ropes falling in a line. With such an arrangement change-ringing, worthy of the name, was out of the question. To remedy this state of things by enlarging the gallery would still further have spoilt the beauty of the vaulted basement of the tower, already disfigured by such an excrescence. The ringers therefore now use the upper chamber, which formerly contained a cumbrous and complicated chiming apparatus, the superseding of which by the Cambridge chimes allows plenty of room for the ropes to fall in a circle.

These chimes, first used, in 1793, for St. Mary's church, Cambridge, are said to have been composed by Crotch, then a mere lad, who, says Dr. Raven in his book on *Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, pp. 105-6,

may be credited with the idea of taking a movement in the 5th bar of the opening symphony of that most sublime air of Handel's "I know that my Redeemer liveth", and, by a system of variations, not unworthy of Fabian Stedman, expanding them into the annexed musical chime. . . . Very few, except those who had known Crotch, were aware that he had anything to do with their composition, and till they were copied for the Royal Exchange their merits were but little appreciated. But now they sound from many towers.

They are here subjoined as arranged for the Penrith bells :



The hour is struck on the tenor E.

The parishioners, whilst these alterations were in progress, by a praiseworthy effort, in which nonconformists heartily co-operated with churchmen, raised £220 to complete the octave, and also, owing to change of key by new tenor in E, to recast the old fourth (but now fifth) bell from A# to A; and the ring, by the addition of the new treble and tenor, is thus constituted :

No.	Note	Diameter	Cwt	qrs	lbs	Date
1	E	27 inches	4	2	1	1889
2	D#	28½ "	4	3	9	1763
5	C#	30 "	5	1	21	1763
4	B	32½ "	6	1	14	1763
5	A	35 "	8	1	9	1889
6	G#	37½ "	8	3	26	1763
7	F#	41½ "	11	2	22	1763
8	E	46½ "	18	3	6	1889

On the treble is inscribed

ME DEDIT HUIC ÆDI POPULUS : SIT GLORIA PATRI.

On

On the tenor

ME DEDIT HUIC ÆDI POPULUS: SIT PAX, PATER, URBI.

The Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, to whom the work of rehangings, casting, and recasting, was entrusted, are the present representatives of the ancient bell-founders of Leicester. The chief specimens of their work for this county are rings of six at Bridekirk, Cleator Moor, and Great Salkeld, a ring of eight at Silloth, and Mr. Edwin Banks' great bell at Highmoor, weighing  $8\frac{2}{5}$  tons, and only exceeded in magnitude by three other English bells, viz.: the new Great Paul,  $16\frac{7}{10}$  tons, cast by J. Taylor in 1882; Big Ben,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  tons, by G. Mears in 1857; and Peter of York,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  tons, by C. & G. Mears in 1845.

---

Correction, p. 311, line 25, for "1893" read "1888".

---