

ART. XVIII. – *Dr Hugh Todd's Account of the Diocese of Carlisle.*

By D. J. W. MAWSON.

FEW national histories, let alone topographies of a more regional flavour, were published in England before the second half of the seventeenth century. Indeed until then much of the raw material for research, the charters, the chronicles and other muniments of an earlier age, simply gathered dust among the archives of Church and State.¹ That the situation changed during the years following the Restoration, was due to a new spirit of enquiry, fostered by luminaries at the ancient universities and exemplified in the scholarly research of a growing group of academics and amateur antiquarians. By collecting and cataloguing manuscript charters and documents and by generously making available to others the fruits of their labour, these men provided historians of future generations with their facts.²

John Denton of Cardew, who died in 1617, must be regarded as the father of our local antiquaries,³ for he preceded by several generations the main stream researchers in Cumberland and Westmorland, savants such as Sir Daniel Fleming, the Rev. Thomas Machell, Archdeacon (later Bishop) William Nicolson and Dr Hugh Todd. But for Denton and Machell, Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn could hardly have written their historical account of Westmorland and Cumberland (1777). Nor indeed could Edmund Gibson have compiled his first English Edition of the *Britannia* (1695) without the help of local scholars such as Nicolson, Fleming and Todd.⁴

The career of William Nicolson is well documented and much of his work has been published.⁵ Denton, Fleming and Machell are also familiar names to the modern antiquary, Hugh Todd on the other hand, has never really been accorded sufficient credit for his share in promoting the past. An able antiquarian, he was an energetic administrator too, who while a prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral, became a prime mover in re-establishing the Dean and Chapter library, which had been dispersed during the aftermath of the siege of the city in 1644-5.⁶ His bishop, Thomas Smith, and the Vice-Dean, Arthur Savage, were the first and largest benefactors of this new library, but where they made generous gifts of books and money, Todd for his part also deposited his own manuscript collections and accounts relating to the cathedral and the diocese. It is with these manuscripts, and with one of them in particular, that the present investigation is concerned.

Until ejected by Cromwell's sequestrators and imprisoned for a time at Carlisle, Todd's father had been rector of Hutton in the Forest, and it was during the closing years of the Commonwealth, probably in 1657, that Hugh Todd was born.⁷ Entering Queen's College, Oxford as a poor scholar, he graduated in 1678, was elected Fellow of University College, whence proceeding M.A. a year later, he returned to Cumberland as Bishop Smith's chaplain. A man of varied intellectual interests, he accumulated the degrees B.D. and D.D. in 1692 and during his life contributed to Moses Pitt's English Atlas; assisted Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*; Stevens in his additions to Dugdale's *Monasticon*; delivered papers to the Royal Society; translated into English works from the Latin and Greek, and wrote poetry. In 1685 the Dean and Chapter presented him

to the living of Kirkland, but the following year upon being installed a prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral, he transferred first to Stanwix and two years later to Arthuret. In 1699 Bishop Smith persuaded him to accept Penrith as well, and he continued to hold both livings in plurality until his death on 6 October 1728.⁸

Although at one time having confident, if misplaced, hopes of being elevated to the episcopal bench, Hugh Todd, in so far as he is thought of at all, is remembered today, not for his zeal as a churchman, nor indeed for his published writings, but rather for his unpublished manuscripts relating to the city and diocese of Carlisle, its bishopric and cathedral. He is perhaps even more renowned for numerous acrimonious exchanges with the irascible William Nicolson, one of which, while Nicolson was still Archdeacon of Carlisle, bore directly on the new Dean and Chapter library, and upon Todd's own manuscripts alleged to be deposited there.⁹

In 1694, Dr Bernard of Oxford, being engaged in the compilation of a catalogue of manuscripts to be found in the principal libraries throughout the country, had written to Todd about those in the library of Carlisle Cathedral.¹⁰ In preparing a list, Todd included several manuscripts of his own which he had placed or intended to place there. A copy of this list was sent to the bishop at Rose Castle, where it was seen by Archdeacon Nicolson, who as it happened was also preparing for publication an account of books and manuscripts which might be of assistance to historians. The first part of Nicolson's work, *The English Historical Library*, was published in London in 1696,¹¹ and in the preface he took Bernard (whose own catalogue was not yet out) to task, urging him to exercise.

. . . more caution . . . in perusing the Catalogues that are sent from some of the most distant counties; especially where the Authority rely'd on for the Truth of the Copies, is not very good and staunch, Otherwise 'tis possible the Reader may be sent some hundreds of miles to enquire after a Book that has not appear'd in the place referred to . . .

this he continued,

I am very sure is the Case with some of the Northern Libraries; whose Catalogues . . . were either drawn thirty years ago, or else are Prophetically calculated for about thirty years hence. Of this latter kind is that of a certain Cathedral Church; which neither is, nor ever was, furnished with any one single Manuscript of the several . . . which 'tis there said to contain. I have some cause to fear that I shall never live to see such Books in that Library, as are there mention'd and I am also afraid that most of 'em (if they ever had any being at all) are of that modest complexion which becomes a private retirement better than an appearance in Publick.

Todd, deeply offended by this stinging rebuke, which although addressed to Bernard, was quite clearly directed at himself, was quick to respond. Nicolson had dedicated his volume to Archbishop Sharp of York, and accordingly it was to the archbishop that Todd wrote on 14 July 1696.¹²

When I was Chaplain to my Lord Bishop of Carlisle, I had the perusal of all the Registers etc relating to the Cathedral and Diocese and out of them I made such collections . . . as the matter and materials would afford . . . not knowing how long I might be concerned in the Diocese, I thought it most proper to bestow my small endeavours in the new library; where I might have the use and improvement of them as long as I was a member of the Church, and where they might be safe for those who might come after. And, that others, whose studies may enable them to improve such collections might know where they were . . . I thought it not improper to have

an account of them inserted into the Oxford Catalogue, as in the Library at Carlisle. It is true, that at that time only one volume (in Latin) of the state of the Cathedral was actually in the Library; but the rest were ready for it in my hand, bound, and ready to be in their places (as I ever intended) before the Catalogue was published.

Three weeks later he wrote to Nicolson in similar vein:

I have seen your book and am much troubled to find in the preface a reflection on Dr Bernard; which I believe you would not have made, if you had considered the matter right. When I sent the sheet you aim at to the Bishop, where you might see it, I told you, as I remember what my design was; viz to reposit the papers I had and what I had done for the Church and Diocese, that others might know where they were . . . When I put some of my own books in the Library, I put in amongst them some of these papers . . . and the rest are all there now, as any may see if they please . . . I had obliged myself to reposit them where they now are, presently, and not thirty years hence as you are pleased to suggest.

By the time Todd's letter reached him however, the archdeacon had already re-affirmed his charges in a letter to the archbishop.

The Cartulary of Wetherhall is in our treasury, and there it is like to remain amongst other records relating to our Church. Neither that nor any other manuscript (either of the Doctor's composure, or any other person's) is yet in our Library, and, I confess, I am still very confident that none of those that are mentioned in the printed catalogue will ever come there.

Nor was he in any mood to smooth Todd's ruffled feathers,

I can only say

he wrote, in response to the latter's letter

That what I have asserted in (my) preface is punctually true . . . it is two years since you dispersed the printed Catalogues of our Northern MSS; and in that time there might have been as fruitless enquiries after some you mention in our library, as there have been in others. What could be the meaning of your delaying the placing of your books where you had so long since told the world they were to be found? In short, Brother, if scandal be given, you must bear your share of it.

What then were these manuscript books, the subject of such unseemly clerical bickering? The answer is to be found in Dr Bernard's *Oxford Catalogue* published in 1697.¹³ Here, listed among the manuscripts then said to be in the cathedral library, are four volumes compiled by Todd. Two of them contained extracts from the registers of the Bishops of Carlisle, the Chronicle of Lanercost and other sources.¹⁴ The others being catalogued respectively as:

- 605.3. Notitia Ecclesiae Cathedralis Carliolensis; una cum Catalogo Priorum dum Conventualis erat; et Decanorum cum Collegiata. Adjecta est Notitia Prioratus de Wedderhall, cum Catalogo omnium Benefactorum etc. Fol. Per Hugonem Todd.S.T.P. ejusdem Ecclesiae Canonicum. A.D. 1686.
- 606.4. An History of the Diocese of Carlisle; containing an Account of the Plantation of Christianity in the Northern Parts. The History of the City of Carlisle, from it's first Foundation. The History of the Bishops of that See, from it's first Erection by Hen. I. A.D. 1133. to this present time. An Account of all the Abbies, Nunneries, Priories,

Colleges and Parishes in the Diocese. With the names of the several Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, Prebendaries, Rectors, etc. Imperf. Fol. By the same Hand.¹⁵

The first of these manuscripts is of course "the volume in Latin" referred to by Todd in his letter to the archbishop of 14 July 1696.¹⁶ It was in the library then and indeed is still there now. The second, although apparently not in the library at the time of the correspondence, must have been lodged soon afterwards, for in the second part of his *English Historical Library*, published in 1697, Nicolson grudgingly acknowledged that Todd had

made a Volume of Collections which is lately placed in the Dean and Chapters Library, under the title of "An History of the Diocese of Carlisle", containing an Account of the Parishes, Abbies, Nunneries, Churches, Monuments, Epitaphs, Coats of Arms, Founders, Benefactors etc, with a perfect catalogue of the Bishops, Priors, Deans, Chancellors, Arch-deacons, Prebendaries; and of all Rectors and Vicars of the Several Parishes in the said Diocese.¹⁷

Curiously however, despite Todd's assertion in 1696 that he had placed all his manuscripts in the new library, and notwithstanding Nicolson's subsequent acknowledgement the *Diocese* was indeed there, not only is this volume no longer on the shelves today, but none of the surviving library catalogues or registers (one of which is now more than two hundred and eighty years old) mentions it.¹⁸

Since the *Cathedral* (Bernard 605.3) is still in the library, why is the *Diocese* (Bernard 606.4) not? Indeed does it survive at all, and if so where may it be seen?

Nicolson and Burn (1777) who were aware of Todd's research, commented in their preface,

The reverend Hugh Todd D.D. vicar of Penrith and prebendary of Carlisle, composed an historical description of the diocese of Carlisle, in a large folio manuscript, and intended the same for publication, but was prevented by the most obvious of all reasons, namely waiting for materials.

But although they used his work, they nevertheless regarded it with some caution and while ready to praise Todd's ability and learning, were suspicious of his accuracy and regretted his failure to quote authorities.¹⁹ However justified these strictures may be, they are possibly of less significance today, when with hindsight it can be appreciated that the interest of Todd's manuscripts lies just as much in their contemporary, post restoration record of local facts and events, as in their account of the past.

Samuel Jefferson, when working on his unfinished history of Cumberland some sixty years later, understood this well,²⁰ but unfortunately for posterity neither he nor Nicolson and Burn revealed the whereabouts of the *Diocese* in their day. It can however be inferred that none of them came across it in the cathedral library, where by rights it ought to have been. Nicolson and Burn would surely have said so had it been in the building in 1777, for they readily identify the manuscripts of other authors there at that time. In Jefferson's case, although he is on record as having borrowed several books from the library, the *Diocese* was not one of them.²¹ In any event, wherever the volume was in 1777 and in 1840, it had evidently disappeared by 1905, when the editors of the *Victoria County History* were quite unable to trace it.²²

The situation remained thus until 1937, when F. J. Field, in the preface to his *Armorial for Cumberland*,²³ mentioned almost in passing, that Dr Todd's histories of the county

were in the possession of A. B. Emden, Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford.²⁴ At last it seemed the missing manuscripts had resurfaced. But had they? In Field's opinion the volumes at St Edmund Hall had been compiled *c.* 1720. If he was correct, then plainly they could not include the long lost *Diocese* of Dr Bernard's 1697 catalogue.

Ten years or so later, Canon C. M. L. Bouch, while working on his *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties*, studied these manuscripts at Oxford and thus became the first author since Jefferson to make extensive use of Todd's material. More importantly for the purpose of the present investigation, he identified two quite separate works. A *History of the Diocese of Carlisle* in a single large folio volume, and in two companion volumes, a *History of the Bishopric of Carlisle*. Concluding that the *Bishopric* was the maturer work and that it had been compiled in about 1720, he suggested that the *Diocese* had probably been written some twenty years earlier.²⁵ In fact, as more detailed inspection has since shown, the *Diocese* can be dated unequivocally to 1685-87 (with a single 1688 addition).²⁶ It is folio, it is imperfect (i.e. incomplete) as stated in Bernard's catalogue, and is unquestionably the manuscript Bernard 606.4, which Dr Todd and Archdeacon Nicolson quarrelled about so bitterly nearly three hundred years ago.

Bouch, being well aware that the *Diocese* had once been in the Dean and Chapter library, speculated that it would be interesting to learn how Todd's important manuscript collections came to be at St Edmund Hall. Contemporary correspondence, subsequent historical commentary and modern archival material, combine to afford a credible solution to this mystery.

Todd, throughout his life nurtured an ambition to publish a county history. Not only does this seem to have been fairly common knowledge at this time, but as the extract from Nicolson and Burn's preface quoted above testifies, it was remembered half a century later. Todd's own correspondence corroborates the fact. "The MS account of Cumberland . . . is but an imperfect Collection: but I hope in time to have a more perfect Account of these Parts", he wrote to Humphrey Wanley,²⁷ on 25 May 1702, adding that he would welcome any information Wanley could give him which might further this design. From the same letter it can be inferred that the *Diocese* was still in the library that year, for Todd reported that "the Property of it is in the Dean and Chapter".²⁸

Be this as it may, Todd's *Diocese* was essentially little more than a collection or common place record, bringing together in a rather random and wordy way, the fruits of his research down to the year 1687. Without doubt he used this collection during later years as the basis for his maturer work, the *Bishopric*. The *Bishopric* which inspection shows, must have been completed in the 1720's, was but a revised and edited edition of the same basic dissertation. Considerable sections being added (for example the greater part of the second volume, containing an account of the individual parishes was entirely new) and others being omitted altogether or condensed.²⁹

Todd had a town house in Carlisle, but there has never been any suggestion that he was anything other than an energetic and conscientious clergyman who diligently devoted a great deal of time to his Arthuret and Penrith parishes. Parochial duties must indeed have become particularly demanding during the time he was at work upon the *Bishopric*, for it was during these years that the re-building of St Andrew's church, Penrith (later described by Nicolson and Burn as being by far the most complete and elegant in the county) was being planned and undertaken.³⁰ It will be remembered that when writing

to his archbishop in 1696, Todd had made no secret of his intention to use and improve the manuscripts he had lately placed in the library. It would seem entirely logical therefore that many years later, wishing to improve upon his earlier work, but being resident for the most part some eighteen miles from the cathedral, he should seek to borrow from its library the "imperfect collections" he himself had deposited there at the time of the rather petty controversy with Archdeacon Nicolson. Although there is no firm evidence that this is what actually happened (indeed the library registers of the time do not record the borrowing of any cathedral manuscript, whether of Todd's compilation or otherwise) in the light of later events the conclusion is inescapable.

If the *Bishopric* was a re-ordering and refinement of the *Diocese*, it nevertheless does not seem to have been the only version of Todd's mammoth work, for in 1986 yet another edition appeared in a Carlisle saleroom.³¹ This copy (in which the introductory chapters are considerably curtailed, although the accounts of the individual parishes remain substantially unimpaired) is now in the possession of the writer, but before being auctioned had for many years belonged to the Youdale family of Cockermouth. Like the St Edmund Hall *Bishopric* it appears to have been transcribed in the 1720s.³² Moreover marginal annotations and additions to each copy, suggest that both must have been known to Nicolson and Burn half a century or so later.³³

On 21 March 1727, Hugh Todd made his will. His testamentary wishes regarding the disposal of his library were explicit. "All my books (shall) be sold, according to the Catalogue already made of them", he wrote. Unfortunately this catalogue does not survive but the inventory prepared on Todd's death eighteen months later does, and this values his books at £35.00, which when compared with the sum of £92.50 attributed to the remainder of the furniture in the Penrith vicarage, affords some indication of the extent and importance of his book and manuscript collection.³⁴

It can be surmised from later events that the errant *Diocese* must have been on Todd's library shelves alongside the *Bishopric* when he died, but although his widow was probably able to dispose of the books without undue difficulty, finding a market for the manuscripts proved to be a more bothersome task. In the summer of 1730 therefore, finding them still on her hands, she invoked the assistance of the bishop, hoping no doubt that he would have contacts in intellectual circles which she herself lacked. The most eminent manuscript collector of the day was Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford³⁵ and accordingly it was to him that Bishop Waugh wrote, on Mrs Todd's behalf, on 1 July 1730.

The enclosed is a particular of all Dr Todd's manuscripts of his own composing taken by my registrar from his widow who has the disposal of them. The price she sets upon them is £100, but if you think that too much and have a mind to purchase them please let me know what you are willing to give and I will make the best bargain I can for your Lordship.

Lord Oxford replied three weeks later. He was interested, but not at that price.

I think the widow sets too high a price upon the manuscripts. If she will take three score pounds for the whole, I will give it to her. I think it is a fair price, especially when no profit is to be made of them in the way of trade.³⁶

Had this offer been accepted, the manuscripts would surely have been among the Harleian MSS in the British Library today, but they are not. Nor were they still in Mrs

Todd's possession when she died in 1733.³⁷ A rival buyer it seems had appeared, but who was this successful bidder? Exactly two hundred years after the events just related, the sale catalogue of a leading London auction room furnished an important clue as to his identity. In its sale of rare books and manuscripts held on Tuesday 20 December 1932, Sotheby's put up lot 38, being

An Historical description of the Bishoprick of Carlisle, Sacred, Civil and Natural, 3 volumes manuscript on paper about 500 leaves, a number of sketches in pen and ink and wash of buildings and monuments arms in trick etc. A Collection of Ancient Charters and other documents relating to the ecclesiastical foundations in the Diocese of Carlisle, with a transcript of Denton's Historical description of the Whole County of Cumberland. 2 volumes manuscript on paper about 500 leaves together.³⁸

5 volumes, vellum, edged gilt painted and gauffred. folio.

This lot, like many others sold by Sotheby's at a series of sales during the early 1930s, came from the library at Brougham Hall, Penrith, then being offered on the instructions of Lord Brougham and Vaux. All five volumes (the first three of which contained the *Diocese* and the *Bishopric*) were bound in nineteenth century vellum, with a label on the spine lettered "BV" surmounted by a coronet, the insignia of Henry Brougham, Baron Brougham and Vaux, F.R.S.³⁹

Appointed Lord Chancellor and created a peer upon the accession of the Grey administration in 1830, Henry Brougham had inherited Brougham Hall upon the death of his father in 1782. However, 9th November 1726 must be considered a more material date for the purpose of the present investigation, since it was on that day that John Brougham of Scales, the ancestor of Henry Brougham and head of a junior branch of the ancient family of Brougham, re-purchased the estate from which the family took its name.⁴⁰ Brougham Hall lies about one mile to the south-east of Penrith and although there is no archival evidence to substantiate that John Brougham, the purchaser of the Brougham estate in 1726, was also the purchaser of Hugh Todd's manuscripts four years later, it is reasonable to conclude that the collections which his distinguished descendant caused to be rather splendidly rebound in vellum many years later, may have been acquired from the late vicar of Penrith's widow at this time.

Lot 38 in the Sotheby's sale was sold to one Thorpe for £8. 5s. od. and perhaps he was a dealer, for this was but one of a number of lots he bought that day. Certainly he did not retain the manuscripts long, for as we now know, they were in Emden's possession a few years later. In 1950, he in turn gave them to his college and today they are part of the St Edmund Hall manuscript collection in the Bodleian Library. The volumes with which this account is specifically concerned being catalogued:

- 7/1 An account of the Diocese of Carlisle, Natural, Civil, and (especially) Ecclesiastical. 8 Oct. 1686. collected at different times as a Common Place . . . begun 1685. 203 leaves.
- 7/2-3 An Historical Description of the Bishoprick of Carlisle, Sacred, Civil and Natural, two volumes, with pen and wash illustrations. Copies, annotated by the author. xx+324 and iv+230 pages.⁴¹

In 1947 Canon Bouch wondered how Todd's manuscripts came to be at St Edmund Hall. Although some of the evidence is necessarily circumstantial, it seems that the riddle is now resolved. Moreover the link between the *Diocese* and its sister volumes of the *Bishopric* has been explored and a tenable theory advanced to explain why Todd's

Account of the Diocese, the deposit of which among the Cathedral library manuscripts in 1696 caused such fire and fury, is no longer in its rightful place today.

Appendix I

A transcript of the preface to Dr Hugh Todd's *Historical Description of the Bishopric of Carlisle*.

(Bodleian Library, St Edmund Hall MSS, 7/2-3, xv-xx)

The following *Account* of a small and Remote *Diocesis*, was, at first made and Collected at leasure Hours, Several years agoe, & for private use & Satisfaction only. As the Collection of the Materials increased & seemed to carry an Appearance of some publick Benefit & Advantage, it was thought advisable by Friends, to put the *whole* into *Latin*; which might agree best with the frequent Quotations in that Language; and the many Charters and Evidences which it would be necessary to insert, at large, in an *Appendix*. This advice had its Effect; and Proposals were offered to the Publick, to Print the Description at large as it was prepar'd; under the title of *Notitia Diocesis Carliolensis* etc. But that Attempt not meeting with the desired Encouragement, by reason of the narrowness of the Subject, & difficulty of Language: it was at last, at the Request of several Gentlemen of the County, Resolved, that, it should be in the *English* Tongue; and in as narrow a compass as the Argument could well allow of. This Resolution obliged the Undertaker to Alter and Contract his former Design, and to omitt some Particulars, which he intended to have inserted; which might have imbellished the work, and, probably made it more acceptable to the Learned Reader.

The Labour, that has been taken in bringing together Materials, Useful for such a Design, has been rather Long and Leasurely than any way tedious and unpleasant. At first, the names of Parishes, and the reported Number of Families in every one of them, were fix'd and ascertain'd by consulting the Modern Registries of the Diocese, and gaining the best Information, that could be had, from the most proper Persons, the incumbents Themselves. The next Endeavour was to consult and peruse carefully All the Ancient Evidences and Records of the Bishoprick, Abby's, Priory's, Nunneries, Colleges and Religious Houses, that yet remain either in Publick Custody or in private Hands, within the Country; & These either in Manuscript or in Print, so far as they might be Subservient to the Design. Under this head of Enquiry, the Charters, granted to the Bishoprick, To the Abbies of *Holm-Cultram* & *Shap*, To the Pories of *Carlisle*, *Lannercost* and *Wedder-hall*, gave great light, as to the Original Erection of the Diocese, The Foundations and Endowments of those Societies; and the Several Grants and Appropriations of Rectories, which were settled upon them, by Regal or Papal Authority, or otherwise.

To make the Enquiry more compleat, Search was made into the Collections of Mr *Lelland* and Mr *Dodsworth* in the *Bodleian* Library at Oxford; the Records in the Tower of London and in the Cottonian Library were consulted; and some other private repositories of Ancient Monuments Examined; and whatsoever was found proper for the present Design, was Extracted out of them; to be made use of & inserted in its proper place. Some Assistance was had from the Libraries of *York* and *Durham*; From the *Heralds Office* and *Doctor's Comons*, but, the Collections made out of the Records of the Tower about an Hundred years agoe by one Mr *John Denton* of *Cardew*, within the Diocese, a Gentleman of the Law, were, as to the Civil state of the Country of the greatest Benefit and advantage. The Learned Dr *Plott* & the Industrious Mr *Wood* and the Excellent Mr *Wharton*, were pleased to impart to me (knowing what I was about) some Remarks, which they thought might be of Service to the Undertaking. What further Help and Encouragement the work has Met with, from Persons yet alive, will be gratefully mentioned as Occasion may Offer.⁴²

In this as in all other Disquisitions of this Nature, there appear'd, upon Examination, great Defects in the Accounts both of Times and Things; and in many Instances, all that could be done, was only to glean after an Harvest, and to gather some scatter'd Fragments of broken Antiquity. The Bishops old Registries begin about A.D. 1292. *temp.* Ed. I and End about the year 1385. *temp.* Ric. II. From that time to the end of the Reign of *Henry VIII.* there is a perfect Chasm & Deficiency, in these Most important Records. The Registries of the Priory of *Carlisle*, as to all the affairs of the Convent before its Desolution, 31.Hen.8. (if ever any such were in Being) are entirely lost and gone. But ever since that Period, the Records both of the Bishoprick and Dean and Chapter are preserved, in a tolerable Condition. Through the Oscitancy or Ignorance of some of the Registers or Secretarys, they are in some Places Defective & uncorrect, and, it may be difficult, it not impossible, to supply what is wanting, or to rectify what is amiss: But as to those ancient Grants and Donations in favour of the Bishops & their Cathedral Church, they may easily be supply'd and made good out of the Tower of London. But seeing the copying all of them would have been voluminous and Expensive, All that is done upon that head is only the Mentioning in its proper place, the year of the Kings Reign, the number of the Membrane and the Scrinium where such Charters are to be found; with some short account of their Contents.

Beside the Perusal of the before mention'd Papers & Records, the Compiler of the following History gave himself the trouble to Consult Brass and Stones; All Inscriptions, that are to be found in, or near the Roman Colonys or Forts: & likewise all Epitaphs and Monumental Remembrances, Ancient and Modern that are to be Met with in any Churches or Chapples, within the Diocese. Many of those Alters and monumental stones, which the *Roman* Legions have left behind them, are broken and imperfect and incapable of being apply'd to any momentous Article of History. The perfect and entire ones are mention'd in their proper Stations; with some Account of the Emperors, Generals, Local and Foreign Deities, to whom they are Dedicated. The Several Epitaphs wch are Transcribed, are Beneficial and Instructive to Posterity and may be of Use to those Families, to whom the Deceased were Related. Great Numbers of Roman Coins of Silver and Brass (some of Gold) are frequently found in those Places, where the *Roman* Forts and Castles stood; and are carefully preserv'd by the Curious. Amongst the great Profusion of these the rarest and most valuable are taken notice of and accounted for.

A performance of this kind is not capable of Eloquence or Invention. That which must make it Beneficial and acceptable either to the Present or Future Ages, is the Light that it gives to former Times. and the Truth & Sincerity whereby such *Historical Narrations* are represented. To despise and reject all History is Barbarous & Unnatural; and, for a Civiliz'd & Polite People not to know what was done before their Times, is, to live in perpetual Childhood. The Country here to be Described stands in great need of a helping Hand. By frequent Incursions from *Picts, Scots, Irish, Danes, and Norwegians.* it has been often a Scene of Blood & Confusion; not only obscur'd, but in a Manner desolated: so that it may be thought, a sort of generous and Dutiful Piety in one born and Promoted within the Diocese to Endeavour to illustrate that *Ecclesiastical District* and make it better known to Posterity.

From the Scatter'd and imperfect Remains of former Ages, which are here brought together, *Gentlemen & Lords of Manors* may perceive how and by what means Possessions have been at first gained; and from what Original their Several Baronies and Estates have had their beginning; and thereby probably find some Account, of their own Extraction and Descent. The *Naturalist* and men of Learning will be pleas'd with the Notice that is taken of Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions; from which he may rectify some Points of *Roman* Antiquity; and also draw some probable Conjectures, as to the Relation and Consanguinity of the Native *Britons*, to the People of *Scythia & N. America.* *Ecclesiastical Persons* (for whose use and benefit the Work is chiefly designed) may find some Pleasure and Satisfaction, observing the Plantation and Progress of Christianity in These Parts; The Beginnings and Increase of Parishes: Their Several Patrons and Endowments; and when they became so populous and well cultivated, as that the Revenue might

seem more than sufficient for the bare Maintenance of one single Incumbent, by How and by What means they became Appropriate to the Bishop of the *Diocese* or to some Religious House for their better and more honourable Support: with some Instances of *Papal Usurpation*, not only upon the Rights of the Bishops, Monastick Societies and Parishes; but also upon the *Regal Power* and Prerogative. More Particularly a *Bishop* newly elected to the See, may *know* the Diocese in some Measure, before he *Visit* it; and understand the Condition and Circumstances of the Clergy and People committed to his Charge, while he is (perhaps) a perfect Stranger to them, and, at a great Distance. And a *Clerk* Collated or Instituted to any Dignity or Living within the Diocese, will be hereby informed not only of the state of his own Preferment, but also of the Condition of his neighbours with whom he is to live.

Were like *Descriptions* and Accounts given of all the Dioceses and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions in *England* it would be a Performance of General Benefit and Advantage; and might (under God's good Providence) contribute; not only to the Honour of the Church but also to the Preservation and Security of the Episcopal, Apostolical, Government of it. The *Southern Districts* have enjoyed more quiet and repose, than the *Northern*, especially since the *Norman Conquest*: and on that account may be justly suppos'd to have all their *Publick* and *Private Records* and Evidences, more perfect and Entire. The Old *Bishopricks* continue in the same State and Condition they were in many Hundred years agoe. And the *Five new Ones*, Erected by King Henry VIII. (which can have no very Ancient Registries of their own) may easily have recourse, as to all Religious Houses, and Parishes etc within their Limits, to those Sees *Lincoln, Litchfield, York* etc out of which, the whole Diocese, or any Part of it, has been taken. The *Perferments of the Clergy*, the salary's and Encouragements due to the Judges, Advocates and Registry's of the Consistorial Courts, are more ample and Honourable every where, than in this remote Corner of the Nation; and, therefore might more Easily Excite in them, a generous & Publick Inclination to Perform something of this kind, and to Illustrate *Those Several Dioceses*, with an Accurate and lasting Description of them, wherein they have bestowed their Spiritual Labours with Comfort and Success, and Spent their Lives with Honour and Reputation. Surely one may be allowed to think that by the Care and Direction of the Prelates over their Domesticks and Presentees, very fit and proper Persons (at least three in a District) might be found to undertake and finish so Beneficial and Honourable a Design; and to whom their Spiritual Superiour might give the like Command as *Joshua* did to so many chosen men out of the Tribes of *Israel*; *Rise and goe through the Land, and Describe it and come again to me.*

The only compleat Performance of this kind as to *Ecclesiastical matters* that has appear'd in Print (something as to the Successions and Patronages of Livings is taken Notice of by *Sr W. Dugdale* in his History of Warwickshire⁴³) was publish'd, not many years agoe by *Richard Newcourt*, Notary Publick and one of the Procurators General of the Arches Court of *Canterbury*, etc under the Title of *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Londinense*. This Generous and Industrious Person, has collected with Imense Labour and Application; all Materials that he could meet with either in the Old Registers, or Printed Books, proper and Subservient to this Design; and by the Help and Assistance of them, has compos'd and finish'd so full and Accurate a Description of the most considerable Diocese in the whole Christian World, as will be of perpetual advantage to the Church, and likewise of the greatest use and Benefit, not only to the Parochial Clergy, but also to all those Prelates & their Officials Archdeacons and other officers who may preside and govern in the affairs of that See, for the Time to come. The Author of this Performance, complains, that the Registre Books of some of the Bishops are lost, and others Defective; and for that reason their are many Chasms and Interruptions in the Succession of the Clergy and other accounts of the Concerns of the Diocese. This Defect, how justsoever, did not discourage him from his Undertaking. He has brought to publick view, what had lay'd long covered in dust and obscurity; and has dispos'd of all the Treasure he found, in a judicious and useful manner; And were the like Care and Labour bestowed upon all other Dioceses in the Britannick Church it would conduce very

much to the Benefit and Advantage, both of the Civil and Spiritual Government. For tho there have been within this Nation, many violent Concussions in the State, great Changes and Alterations in Religion, and in some particular Cities and Episcopal Houses, dreadful Conflagrations whereby many valuable Records and Registries have been utterly lost and consumed, not to mention how some of those valuable Remains may have been transported out of the Island, and lye conceal'd in Foreign Libraries and Repositories, yet, there still remain Materials enough to encourage such an Undertaking. In most of the old Cathedrals, their Registries are entire for Several Hundred years; and some of them have Records, Grants etc before the Time of the *Norman* Conquest: And, in those Abbies and Priory's of Monks which were Reduc'd at the Reformation, to their first and Original Institution of Colleges of Secular Clergy, as Those of *Durham* and *Carlisle*, & others were; There are many Remains of their Charteleries, Appropriations, Transactions etc which might be Serviceable to so great and Honourable a Design: not to mention, what Helps & Assistances might be brought from those Public Offices and Treasuries of Records, which have been consulted and made Use of in the following History.

In the Procedure of so barren and perplex'd a Work, many Matters of Moment and Importance may have escaped the Attention & Diligence of the Compiler; & likewise several parachronisms, Errors & Mistakes may be comitted, The Candid and Judicious Reader, is therefore desired not only to pardon and correct whatever may be amiss, but also to add and Supply for private use, what he may think fitt & proper, from his own Observations; especially, if he be a Person of Learning, One of the Diocesan Clergy, who makes such *Historical* Disquisitions any part of his Business or Diversion.

Appendix 2

Brief Bibliographical description of the St Edmund Hall Manuscripts 7/1 (the *Diocese*) and 7/2-3 (the *Bishopric*).

MS 7/1. Folio on paper, ix+204 pp., but really ix+391 pp. as 57 has 5 parts and 113 is foliated.

Bound in nineteenth century vellum, edges gilt, painted and gauffred.

Labels on spine:

- (a) BV surmounted by a coronet.
- (b) History of the Diocese of Carlisle.

MS 7/2. Folio on paper, xx+329 pp., but really xx+333 pp. as 15 and 277 each have 3 parts. Binding and edges, as above.

Labels on spine:

- (a) as above.
- (b) History of the Bishoprick of Carlisle.
also imprinted on spine, 1 (i.e. volume I).

MS 7/3. Folio on paper, iv+230 leaves.

Binding as above but only the top and bottom edges gilt, painted and gauffred.

Labels on spine, as for MS 7/2, and imprinted, 2 (i.e. volume 2)

Appendix 3

A summary of the contents of the two volumes of the *Bishopric*, St Edmund Hall MSS 7/2-3.

Volume 1. MS 7/2.

- v-xi An alphabetical table of the names of Noblemen and Gentlemen in the Diocese who bear arms.
- xiii-xx Preface (vide Appendix 1).
- Chap 1. Plantation of Christianity in the Province of York.
- Chap 2. Diocese of Carlisle in general.
- Chap 3. Ancient inhabitants of the country and it's state and condition before the Romans.
- Chap 4. State and condition during the time of the Romans.
- Chap 5. State and condition from the Romans until the Norman Conquest.
- Chap 6. Distribution of Cumberland into Baronies.
- Chap 7. State and condition of Cumberland after it's distribution into Baronies. (n.b. includes division into Wards)
- Chap 8. Plantation and progress of Christianity.
- Chap 9. Erection of an Episcopal See and of the Bishops who succeeded in it.
- Chap 10. Priory and Priors of Carlisle.
- Chap 11. Priory and Priors of Wetheral.
- Chap 12. Abbey of Lanercost.
- Chap 13. Abbey of Holm Cultram.
- Chap 14. Abbey of Shap.
- Chap 15. Nunnery of Armathwaite.
- Chap 16. Collegiate Church of Kirkoswald.
- Chap 17. Collegiate Church of Greystoke.
- Chap 18. Hospital of St Nicholas.
- Chap 19. Deanery and Deans of Carlisle Cathedral.
- Chap 20. Prebendaries and present state of the Cathedral.
- Chap 21. The Chancellors.
- Chap 22. The Archdeacons of Carlisle.

Volume 2. MS 7/3.

- Chap 1. Division of the Diocese into Parishes.
- Chap 2. Rural Deans.
- Chap 3. Taxations and valuations of the churches, pensions and benefices within the Diocese.
- Chap 4. An estimate of the Livings in the Diocese, temp Henry VIII, A.D. 1535.

Carlisle Deanery.

- Chap 5. Dalston.
- Chap 6. Stanwix, Bampton, Thursby and Aikton.
- Chap 7. Bowness, Burgh, Beaumont and Kirkandrews. (Grinsdale added in a different hand)
- Chap 8. Orton, Cumwhitton, Cumrew and Rockliffe.
- Chap 9. Kirklington, Crosby and Scaleby.
- Chap 10. Arthuret.
- Chap 11. Bewcastle, Denton and Stapleton.
- Chap 12. Lanercost, Walton and Brampton.
- Chap 13. Irthington, Farlam, Cambeck, Carlatton, Easton and Castle Carrock.
- Chap 14. Wetheral, Warwick, Hayton and Sebergham.

- Chap 15. St Cuthberts, Carlisle (with the chapels of Wrea, Hesket and Armathwaite) and St Marys, Carlisle.
 Chap 16. The City of Carlisle.

Deanery of Allerdale.

- Chap 17. Caldbeck, Crosthwaite and Bassenthwaite.
 Chap 18. Torpenhow, Allhallows, Uldale and Ireby.
 Chap 19. Bolton, Gilcrux, Isel, Bridekirk and Camerton.
 Chap 20. Dearham, Cross Canonby, Aspatria, Bromfield, Kirkbride and Plumbland.
 Chap 21. Wigton, Holm Cultram, Newton Arlosh, Flimby and Westward.

Penrith Deanery.

- Chap 22. Greystoke.
 Chap 23. Penrith (with the chapels of Newton and Melmerby).
 Chap 24. Hutton, Skelton and Dacre.
 Chap 25. Edenhall, Langwathby, Salkeld, Lazonby, Kirkoswald, Ainstable, Croglin, Renwick, Ousby and Kirkland.
 Chap 26. Addingham and Sowerby.

*Appleby Deanery.

- *Chap 27. St Lawrence, Appleby.
 *Chap 28. Kirkby Stephen, Brough-under-Stainmore and Crosby Gerrard.
 *Chap 29. Ravenstonedale, Musgrave, Asby, Warcop, Ormside and Orton.
 Chap 30. Crosby Ravensworth, Dufton and Long Marton.
 Chap 31. Kirkby Thore (with the chapels of Temple Sowerby and Milburn).
 Chap 32. Shap, Newbiggin, Bampton, Morland and St Michaels Appleby.
 Chap 33. Cliburn, Brougham, Clifton, Lowther, Askham and Barton.

Index.

* The introduction to Appleby Deanery, the whole of the parishes of Kirkby Stephen, Brough-under-Stainmore, Crosby Gerrard and Ravenstonedale, as well as portions of the parishes of Musgrave and Asby, are missing from this manuscript and the section marked has been reconstructed from the Youdale MS, which in this respect is complete.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral, and in particular to Canon R. Bevan for affording me access to the cathedral library, to Mr D. R. Perriam for most generously sending me details of his own research where our interests have coincided and also to the Venerable Walter Ewbank and Mrs Dawn Tyler of Brougham Hall, each of whom has given me invaluable assistance. My thanks are also due to St Edmund Hall for allowing me to include as an Appendix to this paper, a transcript of the preface to Dr Todd's Bishopric.

Footnotes and References

- ¹ William Camden (1551-1623) had of course published his *Britannia* a century earlier. An immense and immediate success, it ran to no less than four editions between 1586 and 1594. A fifth came out in 1600 (he travelled into the north as far as Carlisle with his friend Robert Cotton that year too). A folio edition followed in 1607, while in 1610, Holland, apparently under Camden's direction, translated the work into English. A second English edition followed in 1637 and Gibson's first edition was published in 1695 (vide note 4). Camden's mother came of the ancient family of Curwen of Workington. *Dictionary of National Biography*, 3, 729 *et seq.* (hereafter *D.N.B.*).
- ² David Douglas in his *English Scholars 1660-1730* (London, 1939) gives an eloquent account of this new epoch in historical scholarship and F. G. James in his *North Country Bishop. A Biography of William Nicolson* (Yale, 1956) has suggested that the primacy of Queen's College, Oxford, at the end of the seventeenth century, as a centre of Saxon studies is beyond question. Inevitably of course, study of the language fostered an interest in ancient manuscripts, which in turn led to keen awareness of history itself. When in 1676, the greatest of all the Saxon scholars, George Hickes of Lincoln College, left Oxford, the centre of Saxon learning shifted to Queen's, where Hugh Todd and his contemporary William Nicolson, were among the first there to achieve competence in the field. F. G. James, *op. cit.* See also R. W. Dixon, *The Chapter Library of Carlisle*, CW1, ii, 314.
- ³ It has been said (probably apocryphally) that John Denton was imprisoned in the Tower of London as a result of a quarrel with the Bishop of Carlisle, while there made extracts from the state records and later used these as the basis for his MS *History of Cumberland*. Chancellor Ferguson transcribed this for our Society in 1887 (Tract Series 2) and listed all the copies then known. Other copies discovered since have been reported from time to time in these Transactions, namely, CW1, xiii and CW2, xxii. An up to date appraisal by the present author is to be found in CW2, lxviii.
- ⁴ Edmund Gibson (1669-1748) Bishop of London. Born at Bampton, Westmorland. Educated at the free school there and then at Queen's College, Oxford, where he studied Anglo-Saxon. In 1695 he published the first edition of his English translation of Camden's *Britannia* (the second edition in two vols. folio came out in 1772). Appointed chaplain and librarian to Archbishop Tenison, he inevitably became involved in the controversy then raging as to the powers of Convocation. He published a number of pamphlets on the subject which led to the standard text book for all proceedings in convocation, *Synodus Anglicana* (London, 1702). In 1713 he brought out his great work, *Codex Juris Ecclesiae Anglicanae*. Three years later he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln and in 1720 was translated to London. On intimate terms with Sir Horace Walpole, he was the latter's principal adviser on ecclesiastical matters. Although always regarded as heir apparent of Canterbury, he was passed over on the death of Archbishop Wake in 1737. When eventually offered the primacy ten years later, he declined it on account of age and infirmity. *D.N.B.* 7, 1153 *et seq.* David Douglas, *op. cit.*, 258, says the value of Gibson's edition of the *Britannia* and in particular its significance as a reflection of the prevailing antiquarian interests of the English public, were to be found in the fact that this was a co-operative work. Gibson was quite incapable of undertaking the task single handed, and he sought and obtained a wide collaboration. Thus Hugh Todd contributed to the account of Cumberland, and Tanner to that of Wiltshire. White Kennett dealt with the translation of the part relating to Oxfordshire; Nicolson with Durham and Northumberland; and Cambridgeshire received the attention of Echard. Thoresby concerned himself with the East Riding of Yorkshire; the papers of Sir Henry Spelman were used for the account of Norfolk; and "the account of the Arsenals for the Royal Navy in Kent with the additions to Portsmouth and Harwich so far as they relate to the Royal Navy were communicated by Mr Pepys". Others also contributed, and in no way could the spirit which animated the antiquarian revival in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century be better appreciated than by the contemplation of this distinguished and disinterested company who thus placed their services under the youthful editorship of Gibson. By so doing they produced a work which exactly corresponded to the tastes of the large public in England which was eager to foster medieval research.
- ⁵ F. G. James, *op. cit.* A bibliography of Nicolson's own writings is to be found at pp. 281-3.
- ⁶ An excellent account of the Dean and Chapter library and of its re-establishment at the end of the seventeenth century is contained in Canon R. W. Dixon's paper, *op. cit.*, and another briefer account is given by Canon R. T. Holtby in *Carlisle Cathedral Library and Records*. CW2, lxvi.
- ⁷ The actual year of Todd's birth is uncertain but on 25 May 1702, Bishop Nicolson recorded in his diary that Todd was then in his 46th year. CW2, ii, 157.

- ⁸ The following sources have been referred to in preparing this biographical note: *D.N.B.* xix, 910; Samuel Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (Carlisle, 1838), 266, and *History and Antiquities of Leath Ward* (Carlisle, 1840), 480-1. Also *Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political, and Ecclesiastical to and from William Nicolson, D.D.* edited by John Nichols, 2 vols. (London, 1809).
- ⁹ The fractious disputes involving Todd and Nicolson are well recorded. That relating to the cathedral library and Todd's manuscripts has been told on several occasions. Vide C. M. L. Bouch, *People and Prelates of the Lake Counties* (Kendal, 1948), 285-6; R. W. Dixon, *op. cit.*, and R. T. Holtby, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ Edward Bernard (1638-1696) educated at Merchant Taylors School and St John's College, Oxford, besides being proficient in classical languages, studied history, philosophy, philology, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, the Coptic languages and also mathematics, under the celebrated Dr Wallis. In 1669, Wren, having been appointed surveyor-general of the royal works, nominated him to be his deputy in the Savilian chair of astronomy, and in 1673 he was sworn in as Wren's successor. In the same year he was elected F.R.S. Three years later, Charles II appointed him tutor to his sons, then with their mother in Paris, but the post was not a congenial one and he returned to Oxford the following year. From 1692 he was engaged in the preparation of his catalogue of manuscripts in the United Kingdom (vide note 13). *D.N.B.* 2, 378 *et seq.*
- ¹¹ *The English Historical Library*, 3 Vols (London, 1696-99), 2nd edn. 1714, reprinted 1736 and 1776.
- ¹² For this letter and the others referred to concerning this dispute, vide John Nichols, *op. cit.*, 43-51.
- ¹³ *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum Indice alphabetico* (Oxford, 1697). R. W. Dixon, *op. cit.*, says that of all the contemporary catalogues, none was more extensive than this. It was published posthumously. One wonders whether Nicolson's peevishness may have stemmed from an uncharitable desire to denigrate a forthcoming rival publication. Perhaps indeed there was even an element of spite, for on 30 January 1696/7 he wrote to Thomas Tanner, "I was once encouraged to expect the perusal of that work (Bernard's catalogue) . . . but it seems such a favour was not to be granted". Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, 24/99.
- ¹⁴ The other volumes compiled by Todd listed in Bernard's catalogue are:
607.5. Collectanea ex Registris Episcoporum Carliol. Fol. Per Eundum.
608.6. Collectanea ex Chronico MS de Lannercost penes Honoratissimum D. Joannem Cotton. Ex Lelando. Ex MSS. vv. cc. Guilielmi Dugdali & Dodsworthi Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. spectania ad Diocesan Carliolensem. Fol. Per Eundem.
- ¹⁵ Of all Todd's MSS, the best known is one which neither then being in, nor ever intended for the cathedral library, was unrecorded by Bernard. Nicolson on the other hand noticed it in the first part of his *English Historical Library*, *op. cit.*, 1, 30. "The Antiquities of the City of Carlisle", he reported, "collected by Dr H. Todd, Prebendary of that Church are now (or should be) in the possession of the Mayor and Aldermen". Ironically Carlisle City Council no longer possess a copy of this MS, although the Dean and Chapter do, for in 1889 Chancellor Ferguson having come by an early copy, presented it to them. It is prefaced by a dedication to James Nicholson, the Mayor and to the Recorder and Aldermen of the City, thus corroborating Archdeacon Nicolson's assertion that the work was intended for them. The dedication also implies that the original MS can have been written no later than 1689 when James Nicholson was mayor, for although he served a second term, this was not until 1699, four years after publication of "the Historical Library". This MS is a self contained account of the city and must not be confused with a somewhat shorter version contained in the *Diocese*. Ferguson transcribed the *City* for our Society in 1890 (Tract Series 5) but unfortunately failed to identify the copy he used. Certainly however it was not the one he presented to the cathedral library. Several copies of the *City* are known to exist. In addition to those mentioned by Ferguson in his transcript, a copy was reported by J. H. Martindale in CW2, xvii; and another, which does not appear to be one of those seen by Ferguson, is referred to in Gough's *British Topography* (London, 1780), 279. A copy of the *Bishopric* now in the possession of the author (vide notes 31 and 32) is preceded by a copy of the *City* containing 27 pages. This copy also incorporates the dedication.
- ¹⁶ Chancellor Ferguson transcribed this MS for our Society in 1891 (Tract Series 6).
- ¹⁷ William Nicolson, *op. cit.*, ii, 123-4. It was however a curmudgeonly acknowledgement, for he added, "My worthy Brother hopes that the Additions which will hereafter be made to this Work, will (at last) make it answer it's Title; and I heartily wish I could do so too". The two men remained at odds. Todd regarded Nicolson's amends as "much too cool", while the poor opinion which Nicolson had of Todd was undiminished. "I shall not for the future much trouble my head with the perusal of any of his Works . . . He thinks I have already been too free with him . . . and he cannot bear a little plain dealing", he wrote to Tanner, on 4 October 1697. Tanner MSS, 23/29 and 23/147.

- ¹⁸ In the Dean and Chapter library are several early catalogues (one is undated, but earlier than 1783 and others are dated 1783, 1821 and 1838 respectively). Only the last records the library's collection of MSS and although it includes Todd's *Cathedral* (Bernard 605.3) it does not include the *Diocese* (Bernard 605.4). There is also a register for the period 1703-1873, examination of which suggests that none of the library's MSS were borrowed before 1764, while even then such borrowing was rare until 1840. There is no evidence of any MS by Todd being lent before 1846, but during the next few years an unspecified volume of his left the library on several occasions. This was identified as the *Cathedral* in 1850. No other Todd MS is mentioned in this register.
- ¹⁹ N and B, 1, iii.
- ²⁰ Samuel Jefferson's design for an historical account of Cumberland based upon its division into six wards, was never fulfilled. Apart from the volumes referred to in note 8, only *The History and Antiquities of Allerdale Ward above Derwent* (Carlisle, 1842) was published. He used Todd's MSS both for their antiquarian content and as chronicles of contemporary events.
- ²¹ Dean and Chapter library register for 1703-1873. (vide note 18).
- ²² *V.C.H. Cumberland*, ii, 291.
- ²³ CW Extra Series, 18, xiii.
- ²⁴ Alfred Brotherstone Emden (1888-1979) Mediaeval historian and Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford from 1929 to 1951.
- ²⁵ Bouch, *op. cit.*, 277.
- ²⁶ An inscription on the original front board which is now bound in, states that the account was begun in 1685. The title page bears the date 8 October 1686 but the half title indicates that the account is brought down "to this present time 1687". The section entitled "The Present Condition of the Cathedral" incorporates a cycle of preachers and the names of all the prebendaries in 1688, but this is an addition and not part of the original text.
- ²⁷ Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726) was apprenticed at the age of 15 to a Coventry draper. He spent all his spare time studying and copying old books and manuscripts and this interest came to the knowledge of William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield, who obtained for him entrance as a commoner at St Edmund Hall, Oxford. He later removed to University College but took no degree. Having assisted both Dr Bernard in the preparation of his Oxford catalogue (notes 10 and 13) and William Nicolson in his English Historical Library (note 11) he obtained the post of assistant in the Bodleian Library. During 1699 and 1700 he was employed by Dr Hickes (note 2 *passim*) in searching the country for Anglo-Saxon MSS. In 1701 Hickes introduced him to Robert Harley, then Speaker of the House of Commons and who later became Lord High Treasurer and 1st Earl of Oxford. From 1708 he was employed by Harley to catalogue the Harleian MSS and he wrote the account of this considerable collection for Nicolson's work. *D.N.B.* 20, 744 *et seq.*
- ²⁸ Todd to Wanley, 25 May 1702. The request for information was repeated on 25 October 1711. British Library, Harl MSS, 3782.
- ²⁹ The title page of the *Bishopric* shows that it was conceived as a single work in two parts. Part 1 (containing a general history of the diocese, an account of the bishops and other dignitaries of the church, as well as of the religious foundations and of the cathedral) is transcribed in St Edmund Hall MS 7/2, while Part 2 (being an account of all the parishes within the diocese) is transcribed in MS 7/3. Each of these volumes is in a different hand, but whereas 7/3 has been heavily annotated by Todd himself; 7/2, which has every appearance of being the more finished work, contains very few additions. Preliminary inspection suggests that 7/3 is actually the earlier MS of the two and this conclusion is confirmed by internal evidence, for events reported in the text show that while it cannot have been completed before 1722, it is unlikely to be of later date than 1724 (vide the accounts of Brampton, Hayton, Brougham, Kirkby Thore, Martindale, Greystoke, Askham and in particular Scaleby, where William Gilpin, who died that year, is said to be the Lord of the Manor). In 7/2 the crucial dating factors are to be found in the brief biography of Bishop Nicolson (where his death on 14 February 1727 is described in some detail) and among the names of the prebendaries of the cathedral (where Richard Holme and John Waugh are included, neither of whom were appointed until 1727). Todd died in 1728, so perhaps MS 7/2 represents the consummation of Part 1 of his *Bishopric*, and 7/3, the final draft upon which the definitive Part 2 was intended to be based.
- ³⁰ According to the *Bishopric*, Todd on his arrival at Penrith, found the church "rude, unequal (as being built at different times) and in a very ruinous condition". Twenty-one years later the entire structure, apart from the tower, was demolished and re-built. This work was undertaken between 1720 and 1722 at a reported

- cost of £2,253. 16s. 10½d. of which the parish raised £1,673. 11s. 5½d. It was consecrated by William Nicolson, then Bishop of Londonderry, at the request of Bishop Bradford, the Diocesan. N and B, ii, 407.
- ³¹ Tiffen, King, Nicholson's catalogue sale of books, collectors items etc., Monday, 1 September 1986, lot 5. The catalogue entry refers only to an *Historical Account of the City of Carlisle*, but in fact the edition of the *Bishopric* described in the next note, comprised the major portion of the lotted MS.
- ³² Although a very large folio MS, this is nevertheless a substantially abridged version of the *Bishopric* (e.g. the first 138 pp. of St Edmund Hall MS 7/2, are here condensed to 27). It is bound up with a copy of the *City*. The entire volume contains 378 folios, the first 14 of which, being paginated, are devoted to the *City*, and the remainder, being foliated, to *The Bishopric*. Entitled, *Notitia Diocesis Carloliensis or An Historical Description of the Diocesis of Carlisle*, it has been transcribed in three different hands. The transition generally takes place mid-sentence and part way down a page (with the remainder of the page being left blank) suggesting that the three copyists may have been working simultaneously from the loose leaves of an earlier draft. The handwriting appears to be early eighteenth century, but there is an index in a more modern hand. In 1986 the volume was re-bound. The former binding, which had disintegrated, was a crude piece of late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century work, the leather spine of which bore the legend, "Todd's MS History of Cumberl'd 1710". This date, as internal evidence similar to that in St Edmund Hall MS 7/3 (vide note 29) shows, is wrong and the copy could not have been made before 1723. In the account of Penrith parish, the present vicar is said to be John Morland, who followed Todd and was the incumbent from 1728 to 1748, but although in the same hand as the adjacent text, I suspect this entry has been made later. Folio 356 is missing from this volume, but on the other hand it contains an account of the whole of Appleby Deanery, substantial parts of which are missing from the St Edmund Hall MS 7/3. The accounts of both the diocese and the city in this MS have been annotated by Joseph Nicolson in several places, one such annotation bearing the date 1770.
- ³³ In the second volume of the *Bishopric* (St Edmund Hall 7/3) pages of a smaller size in Todd's hand have been pasted in at folios 88 and 89. These pages appear to be part of the original MS from which Todd's copyist worked. One of them is endorsed in Joseph Nicolson's hand, "This paper found in my Hicks Thesaurus wch belonged to Dean Waugh who had it from Dr Todd's library. JN 1773". Joseph Nicolson's marginal annotations of the Youdale MS, although not so informative, are more numerous.
- ³⁴ C.R.O. P 1728.
- ³⁵ Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (1689-1741). Only son of Robert Harley (1661-1724) (vide note 27, passim) continued throughout his life to augment his father's great collection of books and manuscripts, usually acquiring them at prices much beyond their worth. After his death, in order that they might not be dispersed, his widow sold them to the nation. They now form the Harleian collection in the British Library and consist of 7,639 volumes, besides 14,236 original rolls, charters, deeds and other legal documents. *D.N.B.* 8, 1278 *et seq.*
- ³⁶ Historical Manuscript Commission reports. Portland Papers, vi, 30 and 31.
- ³⁷ C.R.O. P 1733.
- ³⁸ In CW2, lxxvii, the present author, in reporting the discovery of another important copy of John Denton's MS, referred in a footnote, to a copy of that MS once owned by James Bird of Brougham Hall, which although seen by Bishop Nicolson in 1708, appears to have been since lost. It would be tempting to conclude that the Denton MS included in the Sotheby's sale and now part of St Edmund Hall MS 8/1 in the Bodleian is the missing Bird copy, for it was James Bird's heirs who sold the Brougham Hall estate to John Brougham of Scales in 1726. The St Edmund Hall MS does not however answer to Nicolson's description of Mr Bird's copy, so it would seem that it must be yet another hitherto unrevealed copy of Denton.
- ³⁹ The other two volumes are catalogued at the Bodleian as MSS St Edmund Hall
- 8/1. 1. (pp. 1-288) Copies of documents relating to the Bishopric of Carlisle and the cathedral chapter. pp. 289-303 blank.
2. (pp. 305-436) An historical description of the County of Cumberland by John Denton. List of contents on p. v. Late 17th cent. vi+453 pages.
- 8/2. 1. (pp. 1-341) Chartae prioratus de Wetheral, with list of charters at pp. 504-21.
2. (pp. 343-503) Cartae abbaciae de Holm-Cultram, with list of charters at pp. 522-30.
3. (pp. 531-42) Translation of letters patent of Queen Elizabeth establishing a grammar school at Penrith, 1564.
- ⁴⁰ I am indebted to Mrs Dawn Tyler of Brougham Hall, Penrith, for this information.

- ⁴¹ Cumbria County Library, Carlisle, now has microfilm of both the *Diocese* (St Edmund Hall 7/1) and the *Bishopric* (St Edmund Hall 7/2-3).
- ⁴² John Leland (1506-1552) appointed King's Antiquary in 1533 and commissioned to search for antiquities in libraries throughout the land, was the earliest of the modern English Antiquaries. He toured the country from 1536 to 1542 and the MS of his famous *Itinerary* is now in the Bodleian Library. *D.N.B.* xi, 892 *et seq.*: Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) designed three major works, none of which were published in his lifetime, these included a *History of Yorkshire*. *D.N.B.* v, 1081 *et seq.*: Dr Robert Plott (1640-1696) developed a systematic approach to the study of natural history and antiquities in the form of a questionnaire with seven subject headings. He published *The History of Oxfordshire* in 1677 and *The History of Staffordshire* in 1686. *D.N.B.* xv, 1310 *et seq.*: Anthony Wood (1632-1695) antiquarian and historian published *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* in 1674, *D.N.B.* xxi, 820 *et seq.* Henry Wharton (1664-1695) published his *Anglia Sacra* at the age of 27, a monumental work which assured him a place among the founders of English medieval scholarship. David Roberts, *op. cit.*, 149.
- ⁴³ Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686) Garter King of Arms and notable antiquary, published his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* in 1656 and this became a model for later authors of county histories. *D.N.B.* vi, 136 *et seq.*: Richard Newcourt (d. 1716) was principal registry of the Diocese of London and compiled from the records in his keeping an *Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London*, in two vols, published 1708-10. *D.N.B.* xiv, 329 *et seq.*