

THE BANNER AND CROSS OF SAINT CUTHBERT.

No relic of the saintly Bishop of Lindisfarne was so much mixed up with public affairs as the celebrated ensign which was supposed to return never with defeat in its train—"the Banner of Saint Cuthbert." Its history has not been very minutely attended to, and it has generally been supposed to have originated in the battle of Neville's Cross. The notion rests upon the authority of the *Rites and Monuments of Durham*, a work of incalculable value in its pictures of what remained in the church at the Dissolution, but of no very high credit in its versions of ancient events. That this book gives a tolerably correct idea of the appearance of the banner cannot well be doubted, and as it is important that we should have the object in our mind's eye, I will take its description from the *Rites* first:

It is prefaced by a statement that, the night before the battle, Prior Fossour received, by vision, a command to take "the holie corporax cloth, which was within the corporax, wherewith Saint Cuthbert did cover the chalice, when he used to say masse, and to put the same holie relique, like unto a banner [*var.* banner cloth] upon a speare point," and to repair to the Red-Hills, and there to remain with the relic during the whole of the battle. Accordingly, he and the monks sallied forth, and knelt at the Red-Hills, in prayer for their countrymen's victory; a great multitude of Scots "running and pressing by them, both one waie and other, with intention to have spoiled them: but yett they had no power or suffrance to commyt any violence or force unto such holie persons, so occupied in praiers."

"Shortlelie after (continues the account) the said Prior caused a goodly and sumptuous banner to be maid, and, with pippes of silver, to be put on a staffe, being fyve yerds longe, with a device to taik of and on the said pipes at pleasure, and to be kept in a chyste in the Ferretorie, when they weare taken down. Which banner was shewed and carried in the said abbey on festival and principall daies. On the highte of the overmost pipe was a faire pretie crosse of silver and a wand of silver, having a fyne wroughte knopp of silver at either end, that went overthwart the banner cloth, whereunto the banner cloth was fastened and tyed, which wand was of the bignes of a man's fynger, and at either end of the saide wand there was a fyne silver bell. The wand

was fast by the myddle to the banner staffe, hard under the crosse. The banner clothe was a yerd brode, and five quarters deape, and the nether part of it was indented in five parts, and frenged, and maid fast withall about with read silke and gold. And also the said banner cloth was maid of read velvett, of both sydes most sumptuously imbrodered and wrought with flowers of grene silke and gold. And in the mydes of the said banner cloth was the sayde holie relique and corporax cloth inclosed and placed therein, which corporax cloth was covered over with white velvett, half a yerd square every way, having a red crosse of read velvett on both sydes over the same holie relique, [here the writer seems to return to the banner as a whole] most artificialle and cunynglie compiled and framed, being fynely fringed about the edge and scirts with frenge of read silke and golde, and three litle fyne silver bells fast to the scirts of the said banner cloth, like unto sacking bells, and, so sumptuously finished and absolutely perfitted, was dedicated to holie Saint Cuthbert, of intent and purpose that the same should be alwaies after presented and carried to any battell, as occasion should serve; and which was never caryed or shewed at any battell, but, by the especiall grace of God Almightye, and the mediacione of holie Saint Cuthbert, it browghte home the victorie."

This is a very circumstantial account, and an equally minute one follows of the cross of stone called "Neivell's Crosse." That the descriptions of these objects are true, that the corporax cloth was at the Battle of Durham, perhaps near Maydes Bower as stated in the Rites, and that the cross of stone was erected in consequence of the victory, I by no means deny. But as there was already a Neville's Cross, so also there was already a Banner of Saint Cuthbert, one of such consequence as to render it a matter of certainty that it would not be wanting on the field of fight. There may have been some repairs and restorations of it afterwards; it had acquired a new value; its silver fittings, possibly its bells, and its staff, might be new; but I need hardly point out to you that here is a banner as obviously older than the battle, as the stone cross of Neville, with crests and other marks of full Gothic, was obviously of the period of the great event. The banner is of the identical design which appears in the Conqueror's standard in the Bayeux Tapestry, on Stephen's great seal, and in one of the saintly banners on the celebrated standard which gave name to the Battle of the Standard. Some writers have made the Banner of St. Cuthbert to be present at that encounter, a mistake set down with much probability by Mr. Surtees to the credit of a passage in Leland's *Collectanea*, read with a stop in the wrong place:—*Procedentes versus Alverton in campo quodam de feudo Sancti Cuthbert, Standart id est malum navis erexerunt, vexillum S. Petri et S. Joannis de Beverlac et S. Wilfridi Ripun in eo suspendentes, et corpus Domini superimponentes.*" This standard was, like St. Cuthbert's, surmounted by a cross.

Had the Banner of St. Cuthbert been of a late date it would in all probability have contained the arms which were found for him when the use of founders' arms became general in the monasteries. "These," says the Visitation of 1530, "ben the armes of the monastery of Durham which ys founded by the Bysshop of Durham, in the honor of Saint Cuthbert, and these armis present ys the armes of Saint Cuthbert," Azure, a cross flory Or between four lions rampant Argent—insignia frequently used by the Bishops coterminously with their other coat with the plain cross, which apparently alluded to St. Oswald. In both the lions have, in modern times, been altered from silver to gold.

There is, besides, the express authority of an historian who wrote soon after the battle of Neville's Cross, in antagonism to the romantic details of the Rites.¹ I allude to Knighton, who places the presence of the monks upon the Bell Tower of their church on a firmer footing than that of their semi-traditionary position near Maydes Bower. He speaks expressly to the fact of their singing the *Te Deum* on seeing the victory from the summit. He also speaks of the special faith of the English in the sign of the Cross which was borne with other ensigns before the army. That cross may reasonably be supposed to have surmounted the Banner of St. Cuthbert, for it is out of all reason to exclude from such a scene the standard which had so often accompanied the English to the North and fluttered near their kings; and the glory which the monks placed in their relic in connection with Neville's Cross had no doubt arisen in fact, though the details of their picture were rubbed away by time, and fancifully renewed after the lapse of two centuries.

The story, indeed, bears a most suspicious resemblance to one in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, (i. 278), which, whatever be its individual credit, shows that the Banner of St. Cuthbert was a well known thing for ages before the Battle of Neville's Cross. It runs to the effect that when, in 1098, Edgar the heir of Scotland was about to assert his right to the crown against Donald, he was astonished by a night vision of St. Cuthbert, who bid the youth take his banner from the monastery of Durham, and, when it was elevated, he himself would rise in his aid and his enemies should flee before him. The youth told the vision to his uncle Edgar Atheling, and committed himself to God and the defence of St. Cuthbert. His injunctions were obeyed, and, "*Sancti Cuthberti vexillo levato*," an English soldier, Robert fitz-Godwin, rushed against the enemy with two soldiers only in his company, inaugurated the flight of the enemy and gained a bloodless victory. Not unmindful of his patron, the new king gave to the monks of Durham his land of

¹ All the other authorities are silent.

Coldingham, and to the Bishop of the same place and his successors his noble town of Berwick. Bishop Flambard had not grace to keep the gift. While Robert fitz-Godwin, by licence of his King, was building a castle in Lothian, on land given him by Edgar, he was seized by neighbours and the Barons of Durham, (*baronibus Dunelmensibus*) on the Bishop's instigation. Edgar was at the English court, and not only was the means of taking Robert back to Scotland in liberty and honour, but immediately resumed his gift.

The question will naturally arise:—What was the form of the red cross which distinguished the banner. Was it that which is generally called St. Cuthbert's Cross and appears in the arms given to the University of Durham?

The subject is confessedly obscure; there is the same absence of the badge of a cross as of the arms of the See and Monastery in the composition of the arms of the tenants of the Church. The early MSS. respecting St. Cuthbert, such as that at Brough, lend no assistance; and even the well-authenticated ecclesiastical symbol of St. Cuthbert—the head of St. Oswald in his hand—is wanting in these remains. The only mention of St. Cuthbert's cross, as such, is in the *Rites and Monuments*, where it is said that every person accepting the protection of the Sanctuary at Durham was “to have a gowne of blacke cloth maid with a cross of yeallowe cloth, called *Sancte Cuthbert's Cross*, sett on his lefte shoulder of his arme, to the intent that every one might see that there was a frelige graunted by God and Sancte Cuthbert.” It does not follow from this *per se*, that there was any general use of the cross; but there is other evidence of the existence of such a badge.

St. Cuthbert's Banner, in form and device, was not strictly a banner; but rather, as it is sometimes called, a standard. A banner-proper contained only the arms of the owner: a standard, on the other hand, displayed only his devices and badges.

Now, St. Cuthbert's standard did not present the arms of the Church, but a red cross; and though it was older than the science of heraldry, it was not so as respected badges and devices; and, even if the fact were otherwise, the cross would in time be in the nature of a badge. Badges were not generally identical with or derived from arms—as witness the Ragged Staff of Beauchamp; and it would have been a strange thing if so powerful a fee as the palatinate were without the adjunct of a badge. *Primâ facie*, the red cross of the banner occupied that position, but we shall find the tenants of the Bishoprick coming to the Pilgrimage of Grace, wearing *black* crosses. Thus we have crosses, red, black, and yellow:—the distinction from other crosses must therefore have been in the shape of that of St. Cuthbert.

Such a device would change its form in the course of architectural variety, and possibly the cross patee, which, in blue, is ascribed as the personal coat of Bishops Pudsey and Dudley, and appears on the breast of pennies of Edward I. and Richard II. struck at Durham, was eventually the settled shape. This view is aided by the fact that in Mr. Raine's beautiful little church at Durham, there are three limbs of a red cross of this very shape in ancient glass.

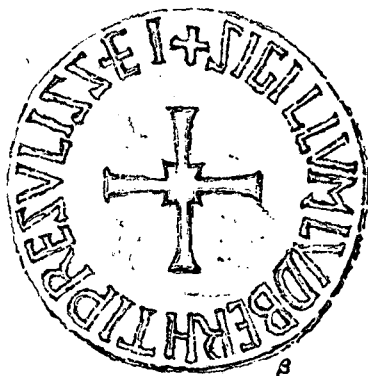
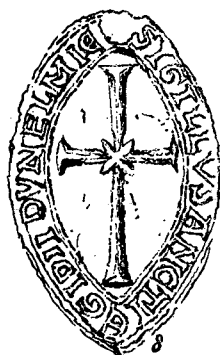
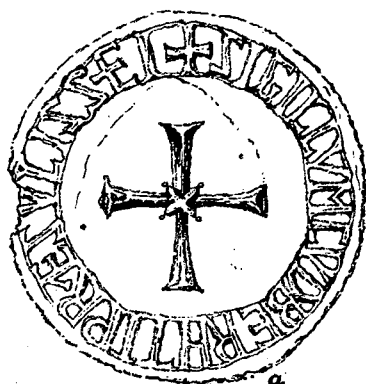
I must now go back into the early annals of the Church. There lay upon the body of St. Cuthbert, at its discovery in 1827, a small and beautiful Saxon cross of patee form, golden and set with garnets, which either was hidden from view at the translation of 1104, or, like the sapphire ring and met-wand of gold, found at the Dissolution of monasteries, was, from forgetfulness or ignorance, omitted in the narration of the Froissart of Durham historians—who wrote some seventy years after the event—Reginald. With the singular objects of the Saxon period, it had survived the visits of Government officials and relic-collectors. At the angles of the cross a knob occurs, a feature not uncommon in Saxon MSS.; but altogether, the cross is of unusual contour—more curved in all its parts than is ordinary. Its Saxon date is indubitable, and that it was, or was considered to be, a personal relic of the saint, is highly probable, from a circumstance next to be noticed. The Priory of Durham formed a singular exception in its seal to establishments of very inferior importance. From its foundation to its dissolution, it used one of the greatest simplicity—a cross surrounded by a legend in letters almost Saxon, and evidently not later than the foundation, “✠ SIGILLVM CVDBERTI PRÆSVLIS SCTR.” The language of the seal is peculiar; and the form of the cross, in the matrix now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, so similar to that found on the body of the saint, that attention to the fact was drawn by Mr. Raine. The cross is conventionalized, as might have been expected; and the squarish form of the intersection, produced by the knobs above mentioned, is an actual square in the seal. Monsignore Eyre remarks that the cross is not directly called the *cross*, but the *seal* of St. Cuthbert; and this circumstance, with the occurrence of a single inner line between the legend and the field in his cut, induced me to make inquires whether the matrix were really of one piece; for I began to suspect (as we now know that seals were used in Saxon times,) that the centre was passed off as the very seal used by St. Cuthbert. I found that this line did not exist in the matrix, and that the latter is solid. Nevertheless, the line had its origin in truth, and I must now say how.

At what time this matrix was fabricated, whether before or after the

Dissolution—I do not know, but it certainly is not the seal with which the charters—at all events the earlier ones—that bear its device are sealed. It is a copy—and not a very literate one. The copier was not a native of China, nor did he understand the characters of the legend. The æ of *Præsulis* is an ε; and the top of the initial letter of *Cudberhti* is omitted; while the lettering is taller and ruder, and less spirited and characteristic, than that of the period of William. But the cross has suffered the most remarkable alteration. The limbs and centre boss have been flattened, the former equalized; and the latter squared from a sort of quatrefoil boss, which bears much greater resemblance to the cross found on the body. At the extremities of the foils of the boss are small bead-like spots, probably to represent gems. These are entirely wanting in the copy. The original has been inaccurately engraved in Hutchinson and Surtees from impressions; and the modern matrix is given by Mr. Raine, and, with the addition of the inner line from the original, it also appears in Monsignore Eyre's work on St. Cuthbert.

This line must now be noticed. It is but an irregular circle, almost angular in places, and so illdisposed to the marginal line that the letters of the legend, which are cut completely into both circles, are much longer in some parts than in others. The circles running from letter to letter give a singular raised appearance to the whole border, at first sight resembling that of the 1799 pennies of George III. The lettering, where the circles are tolerably concentric, is not badly executed, and various indications convince me that the circles existed before the engraver began his work, and that the inner one represents the setting and irregular form of some seal of greater antiquity than the legend, old as the latter is—and that it was, or was thought to be, or was put forth as, the seal of Cuthbert himself. Every one has heard of the Roman head of Jupiter, which, by a similar addition of a legend, passed muster as that of St. Oswald on the reverse of the Durham seal. I do not know, however, why the cross may not be Cuthbert's or of very high antiquity. The gem-like ornaments would suggest its origin in the pendant gold cross or some similar personal ornament, though the extra length of the lowest limb might point to a standing cross—possibly the very one that Cuthbert erected at the Farne Island, and which he might copy from the gold ornament he wore, or from that set up by Bishop Ethelwold his successor, which was precious enough to accompany the saint in his wanderings.

I am confirmed in this idea by another interesting seal of more modern date—of the 13th century perhaps—one of Keyper Hospital:—SIGILLV' SANCTI EGIDII DUNELMIE. Exactly the same cross again appears; but, in consequence of the pointed oval in which it is contained, the lower



*a. Seal of Durham Priory. beta. Existing copy of same.
 gamma. Object allusive to the dedication of Durham Cath.
 to SS. Mary & Cuthbert. delta. Seals of Keyper Hospital.*



limb is considerably more lengthened. Another cross appears on a third seal (SIGILLVM SANCTI EGIDII,)—the patriarchal cross of two transverse bars, such as appears on the seal of Bishop Beke as patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom it possibly refers. In the former seal, the cross has no particular allusion to St. Giles, though it had to the place—Durham; and, as the Banner of St. Cuthbert was already in existence, its cross was doubtless the same.

The central knob was very common in the crosses of Saxon times, as may be seen on the edge of a Roman slab from Jarrow Church, in which it must have formed part of a cross carved against the wall—and on the Hartlepool gravestones. The seal of St. Giles brings it down at Durham to the 13th century; but there is one more occurrence of it, in connection with St. Cuthbert, of a still later date. It is a large slab of English marble, which lay in the ruined chapel of Bishop Farnham at Gateshead, dedicated to St. Edmund and St. Cuthbert, confessors. The cross had been of brass, but the metal had long disappeared.

This is all I can say upon this neglected subject. My suspicions that the cross descended to the ordinary patee form, may probably be without firm foundation; for the use of the knobbed cross for a seal down to the Dissolution was continuous. From this notice of its device, I now proceed to the history of the banner.

During Edward I.'s wars with Scotland, we have frequent mention of his use of consecrated banners, and that of St. Cuthbert appears in the grave records of the realm. On Oct. 13, 24 Edw. I., 1296, the king makes one of his cheap grants of Scotch livings to his clerk Gilbert de Grymmeby, who bore the Banner of St. John of Beverley. He was to have the first vacant church in Scotland producing 20 marks or pounds a year.² The monks of Durham, a month before, had made more advantageous terms, knowing the old adage, "a bird in hand, &c." On the 16 Sep. the King, when at Berwick, had granted to their church 40*l.* per annum out of the royal exchequer at Berwick, *until* some appropriation should be made of equal value out of the churches of Scotland. The expenditure of this yearly sum was directed to be for the maintenance of solemn festivals of the monks on the two anniversaries of St. Cuthbert, viz. on the principal feast (*i. e.* March 20) and on the feast of his translation (Sep. 4), on which days 3000 poor were to receive a penny each. A priest was to say the mass of the same saint in the place called *la Galileye* every day; while, near the high altar, when mass was celebrating, two great wax lights, each of 20*lbs.*, were to burn before his feretory, and, what is more to our purpose, two

² Rymer, ii. 732.

smaller lights before the Banner of St. Cuthbert, on Sundays, and the feasts of the apostles and other principal feasts during the celebration of matins and mass at the high altar.³ We can hardly doubt that in all this we have the consideration for the loan of the banner. Like that of Beverley, it was borne by an ecclesiastic, and in the wardrobe amount of 28 Edw. I. (1299-1300)⁴ we have a payment at Wigeton, of 2l. 13s. 4d. to "Sir (*Dompno*) William de Gretham, monk of Durham, following the king *cum vexillo Sancti Cuthberti*, in the Scotch war this present year, by gift of the king, to buy him a habit." So also in the 29th year (1300-1) there is paid to "Sir William de Gretham, monk of Durham, following the king *cum vexillo Sancti Cuthberti*, in the war of Scotland this present year, for his expenses from July 3 to August 24; both inclusive, for staying 53 days in the king's army, and for his expences for 4 days following in returning to Durham by leave of the king."

In 1309, in Edward II.'s days, we find the Prior of Coldingham quarrelling with his superior the Prior of Durham, and going to the King at the parliament at Stamford, vainly trusting in his supposed favour to himself, because, says Graystones, "he was known to the king and court, for he had borne the Banner (*vexillum*) of Saint Cuthbert, with the king in the war of Scotland." This Prior was the above William de Gretham. There was a former prior of the same place called Henry de Hornecaster, who threw off his allegiance to Durham, and Hutchinson and Surtees say that he bore the banner in Edward I.'s days; but I suspect that they are confusing the quarrels and the Priors too. At least, I do not see how the chronology will allow of the statement.

This seems to be the proper place for the mode of the carriage of the banner as given in the Rites. It was in the keeping of the Master of the Feretory and Deece (vice) Prior; and "yt was thought to be one of the goodliest reliques that was in England, and yt was not borne but of principall daies when ther was a generall prosession, as Easter daie, the Assention day, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi daie, and Sancte Cuthbert's day. And at other festivall daies it was sett up at the east end of the shrine, because yt was so chargable (weighty.) Also, when so ever yt was borne, yt was the clarke of the Fereture's office to wayte upon yt, with his surplice on, with a faire reade paynted staffe, with a forke or clove on the upper end of the staffe, which clove was lyned with softe silke and softe downe, in under the silke, for hurtinge or brusing of the pipes of the banner, being of

silver, to take it downe and raise yt up againe, for the weightenes thereof. [And there was also a strong girdle of white leather, that he that did bear St. Cuthbert's Banner did wear it when it was carried abroad, and also it was made fast unto the said girdle with two peices of white leather, and at either end of the said two peices of white leather a socket of horn was made fast to them, that the end of the banner-staff might be put into it, for to ease him that did carry the said Banner of St. Cuthbert, it was so chargeable and heavy. There were four men always appointed to wait upon it, besides the clark and he that bare it.⁶]

I refer to the Rites for the details. In the procession of Holy Thursday the banner was borne foremost. On Corpus Christi day, it met a shrine from Saint Nicholas' Church, which being carried into the choir of the Abbey, solemn service was done before it, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung and played on the organs. On this day the trades had all their banners with torches in a very grand procession. I mention this great day in Durham more particularly, because of a supposition that the singing of *Te Deum* by the cathedral choir, on May 29, for some years previously to 1811 had a reference to the song of *Te Deum* at the battle of Neville's Cross. There is no mention in the Rites of any annual and special *Te Deum* except that of Corpus Christi day, which was in a very different season to the October anniversary of Neville's Cross. The custom appears to have been disused before 1811 and revived again. The statement about Neville's Cross] may be sustained, but the custom certainly was, in 1776, understood to allude to the great doings on Corpus Christi day, which frequently fell on May 29. The reasons for perpetuating it on that day and so paying a triple debt, are obvious. In the above year 1776, John Ogle, of Durham, thus annotates Sander-son's account of the Corpus Christi procession. :—" This custom of going with the banners of the different trades of the city to the abbey church annually on the *twenty-ninth of May, when the singing boys sung an anthem on the top of the steeple*, was continued to about the year 1770." I need hardly remark that singing and procession of all the banners that the churches and trades could muster were not confined on Corpus Christi day to the ancient city of Durham. But I may add one more reason for a *Te Deum* on Corpus Christi day there. In 1422, the central tower was fired by lightning during the night before this great feast, to the infinite peril of the whole pile. It was extinguished in the

⁶ The words in brackets are not in the Norton Roll, and are supplied from a copy in Hunter's MSS. at the Hermitage, apparently from Mrs. Milner's MS. mentioned by Mr. Raine as not traced. It contains much that only occurred in Davies, but is far more genuine.

afternoon, and the whole multitude of monks and spectators devoutly sang the *Te Deum*.⁶

In 1355-6 (nine years after the struggle of Neville's Cross) the Bursar of Durham Monastery paid "the expences of Sir William de Masham, the Terrarer, towards Scotland with the Banner of St. Cuthbert, in the suite of our Lord the King, with a pipe of wine, and a tent bought for the same," and those "of William de Cheker at Newcastle with the Banner of St. Cuthbert, to be carried to our Lord the King." Thus the banner witnessed the recovery of Berwick and the "Burnt Candlemas." In 1383 "a cup of silver gilt, the gift of the Countess of Kent (kept) along with the Banner of St. Cuthbert," lay upon the first or highest step or shelf to the south of the shrine. The shrinekeeper also had a "red coffer, containing the *Banner of Saint Oswald*." This was possibly a mere relic, like the portion of St. Oswald's coat of mail, and equally genuine, or it might contain the arms ascribed to that saint. Two years later, in 1385-6, there is a payment of 20*d.* for "the expences of the standard towards Scotland" in Richard II.'s expedition. The banner had no chance of victory, for the Scots were too few to fight. In 1389-90, 6*d.* was paid to the bearer of St. Cuthbert's Banner [in one of the processions]. In 1397-8, Alan Bower was fined for non-attendance, and Mr. Raine explains that, by an ancient custom, which probably originated when the Prior was ex-officio Archdeacon of the Diocese, all Rectors, Vicars, and parochial Curates were bound to appear at Durham twice a year, and to be present at the Prior's visitation of his appropriate churches in the church of St. Oswald's, clad in their copes and surplices; and, moreover, they were to be attended by their respective parish clerks, bearing each the *Banner of his Church*, "in sign of subjection and in honour of the church of Durham." When this numerous body was gathered together, the Banner of St. Cuthbert took the lead, and the whole assemblage moved on in procession to the church aforesaid. The above expenses are from Mr. Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, and the following are thrown together from the same valuable source.

1398-9. To a chaplain carrying the Banner of St. Cuthbert for two years 2*s.*—1400-1. To John Knowte, goldsmith, for making a cross for the Banner of St. Cuthbert, [that at the top of the banner], for hooks for the shrine, and for repairing a cup belonging to the refectory 4*s.*—For a belt bought for carrying the banner, and for expenses incurred twice at Newcastle, and towards the march with the banner of St. Cuthbert, by order of the Lord King and Prior, 8*s.* [This was in

⁶ Raine's *St. Cuth.* 149.

Henry IV.'s invasion of Scotland, which was remarkable for its lenity, arising affectedly from gratitude for old hospitality to his father, but rather from domestic dangers and a wish for the friendship of Scotland.]—1403-4. To a priest carrying the Banner of St. Cuthbert, 12s.—1406-7. Received from the banner 4s. 3d. [in the procession as above.] Received of many who were absent from procession at Pentecost, 8s. 10d.—1407-8. Received from the banners, 6s. 9d.—1411-12. Received from the banner in Whitsun week, 7s. 1d.—1411-12. For repairing a cup for the banner of St. Cuthbert, 10d. [The cup was the socket fixed to the carrier's girdle, in which socket the foot of the banner staff rested—this is Mr. Raine's explanation.]—1417-8. The state of the office of Feretrar. Five pypes of silver, with a cross of silver gilt for the Banner of St. Cuthbert, with two silver bells. Two poles for carrying the Banner of St. Cuthbert in processions and in time of war [this seems to be a different arrangement to that given by the Rites], with a *cover of hide* containing the said banner.—1422-3. Received from the processions in Whitsun week, 5s. 8d. Received for the fines of Rectors and Vicars not appearing in the procession, 4s. To the Apparitor of our Lord Bishop for calling the clergy in Whitsun week, 6d.—1446-7. To John Binchester, carrying the Banner of St. Cuthbert, 6d.—1480-1. For *painting the staff* of St. Cuthbert's Banner, 10d.

On the coronation of Richard III. in the Chapter-house at York—his second coronation—the keeper of the wardrobe was directed to furnish, inter alia, banners of the Holy Trinity, our Lady, St. George, St. Edward, *St. Cuthbert*,⁷ and the King's arms. There is much to show the leaning of Richard III. to the county wherein Barnard-Castle stood. One of the stalls in his collegiate church of Middleham was dedicated to St. Cuthbert.

1513-4, Sir John Forster was paid 16d. for carrying the Banner of St. Cuthbert, and the rather large sum of 13s. 4d. was paid for its reparation, but the occasion was one of great glory to the faded relic. Lord Surrey was on his march to the red field of Flodden, and on hearing mass at Durham, appointed with the Prior⁸ (or “prayed the *prayer* of that place,” as the editions of the old Poem of *Flodden Field* absurdly have it) “Saint Cuthbert's Banner for to bear.” The banner which had witnessed the fight of Neville's Cross was accordingly borne in the foreward or first line, commanded by the Earl's son Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of England, in which was Sir Wm. Bulmer, with the power of the Bishoprick.

St. Cuthberd's Banner withe the Byshop's men bolde,
In the vauntgard forwarde fast did hye—
That Royal Relyke more precious than golde,—
And Sir William Bowmer nere stood it by.⁹

⁷ Probably the “arms of St. Cuthbert” composed the design, rather than a copy of the banner.

⁸ Hall.

⁹ *Mirrou* for Magistrates.

“The sayd banner was at the wynnyng of Brankston¹⁰ feilde—and dyd bring home with it the Kyng of Scottes banner, and dyvers other noble mens auneyentes of Scots, and that was loste that day: and did sett them up at Sancte Cuthbert’s Fereture, where they dyd stande and hyngge unto the suppression of the howse.”¹¹

In 1522 the banner was again out against Scotland, and in 1523 a letter from the Earl of Surrey (to which Mr. Hillier has called my attention) contains a remarkable passage which may either suggest some faith of Henry himself in the relic, or that he did not consider that it would be prudent to trust to the presence or valour of the Bishoprick men¹² beyond the limits for which their standard had been lent. The passage is this:—“And where your Highness sent me word by my Lord Marquis that in nowise I should goo no further than *St. Cuthbert’s Banner* might go with me.” Surrey who, when Lord Thomas Howard, had led the van of his father’s army at Flodden Field, accompanied by the banner, was destined to another success under its folds, for this same year 1523 witnessed Albany’s flight from Wark, the Admiral’s army marching

With the noble powre
Of my Lorde Cardynall
As an hoost royall,
After the auncient manner,
With *Sainct Cuthberdes Banner*
And Sainct William’s also.”¹³

The Admiral had been advised of Albany’s attack upon Wark, when he was at Holy Island, and he immediately sent letters “to my Lord Cardynallis company, my Lord of Northumberland, my Lord of Westmereland at Sainte Cuthbertes Baner lying at Anwike and thereabouts to mete me at Barmer woode v. myles from Werk on Mondaye, whoo soo dede.”¹⁴

I need scarcely remind you that my Lord Cardinal Wolsey was then Bishop of Durham, as well as Archbishop of York. He would have the Banner of St. William in the latter capacity.

We now come to the last sad appearance of the Banner of St. Cuthbert—its share in the fatal Pilgrimage of Grace. It was perhaps only out in the first rising and so, if not victorious, was not unsuccessful, but the sequel of the history is melancholy, and the appearance of the banner might not tend to allay suspicions of the loyalty of men high in

¹⁰ Hunter’s MS.

¹¹ Rites and Mon.

¹² Sir William Bulmer was at his post this year. (*Ridpath*, 515.)

¹³ Dyce’s Skelton, ii. 70.

¹⁴ Notes to Skelton, ii., 377.

[station at Durham. Of the fact I found abundant proof in the State-paper Office, among the various depositions made by Aske himself. After the surrender of Pomfret Castle by Lord Darcy,

“The contre [he says] daly assembled of all partes and the said Aske tried out the men and then after came in the Lord Nevill, Latymer and Lumley and ten thousand men with them and above, with the *Banner and*¹⁵ [var. or¹⁰] *armys of Seint Cutbert.*” [And again] “The sayd Aske sayth that they iiij [apparently himself, Robert Bowes, Lord Darcy, and Sir Robert Constable] wer togeder aboutes thre or iiij severall tymes. The furst tyme was when thos of the Bisshopreke came with the *Baner of Seint Cuthbert* to Pomfret with the Lord Nevill, Latymer and Lumley, and then it was ther spokyn and agreyd upon that the *Baner of Seint Cuthbert* should be in the vayward in wich bēnd the sayd Robert Bowes was in.”¹⁷

This arrangement was carried out, for Aske says again:—

“The harrold came to the host at Doncastre then being in two wardis, that was, in the vay ward being with *Saint Cutbert Baner* and accompanied with the Lord Nevill, Lumley, *Sir Lord* Latymer, Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Thomas Percy, and all the bendes of Bisshopreke, Cleveland and parte of Richmond shir, and in the second ward the Lord Darcy, &c.”¹⁸

Connected with this coming of Saint Cuthbert's Banner is the interesting circumstance which has already been alluded to in connection with Saint Cuthbert's Cross. Aske in the Tower, 11 Ap. 28 Hen. VIII., deposed thus:—

“The Lord Darcy gaf him a Crose with the v. woundes in it, albeit who yt was the furst inventor of that bage Aske cannot say, but, as he remembreth, that bage with a *Blake Crose*¹⁹ came furst with them of *Seint Cutbert Baner*: but he saythe the cause why al men wore the seyd v. Woundes or els the bage of *Jhs* was for this cause. Mr. Bowes, befor our furst meting at Dancastre scrymaged with his company with the scoweres of the Duke of Northfolk host, and then one of Mr. Bowes's own servaunts rane at a nother of his own fellows because he had a crose on his bake [evidently confounding it with St. George's

¹⁵ Chapter House Records, A. 2, 28, p. 54.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 76. It has been suggested to me, with much reason, that any banner heading the tenants of the See, might be called the Banner of Saint Cuthbert. This is the only passage which would tend to instance such a usage of the term, and it is of too doubtful a character for the purpose. We have seen that, in Henry's reign, it was still the “royal relic” that was known as St. Cuthbert's Banner.

¹⁷ Chapter House Records, first series, 1401.

¹⁸ A. 2. 28. p. 54.

¹⁹ The cross of Bishop Aidan, preserved at Durham, was of black jet.—(*Raine's S. Cuth.*, 9.)

cross], and went he had been on the partie of the Doke host, and ther with after killyd his own fellow and for that chance then was a cry al men to have the bage of *Jhs* or the Fyve Wounds on him both befor and hynd them, and ther to his knowlage was al the men that was slayne or hurt of eyther parte during al the tyme of busynes." ²⁰ [On the arrival of the pardon, Aske renounced the name of Capitane], "and in the presens of all the said lordes pulled of his bage and Crosses with v. Woundes, and in semblable maner dyd all the lordes ther, and all other ther present, saying all these wordes, We will all wer no bage nor figure but the bage of our soveryng Lord." ²¹

Thirty-three years afterwards, and this joint cognizance was connected with more disastrous effects in the north. In the Rising which blotted out the main lines of Percy and of Neville from the rolls of nobility and honour,

The Norton's ancient had the Cross
With the Five Wounds our Lord did bear:

And in this earlier rebellion the badge was to aid in sending the white hairs of Lord Darcy to the scaffold, but not before, while upbraiding Thomas Cromwell for ignoring his pardon, he had promised the favourite a similar fate.²² There is something so curious in the ingenuity with which the Interrogatories are framed on this point, evidently by Henry himself, that I may be excused the digression to introduce this unpublished detail.

"Why did you gyve badges of the Fyve Woundes of Christ?—Was not that badge of v. Woundes your badge my Lord Darcy when ye were in Spayne?—Were those badges new made, or were the same wich ye gave in Spayne?—Could you not have disposed the said badges afore this insurrections? Whether kept ye thaim styll for that purpose?—If they were newe made who made and embrodered them—when and in what place—for what intent?—If ye were sodenly takin in of the Comons whether it is like that than ye had leisir to make suche badges?—Did you cause your souldiours and servantes within Pomfrett Castell or without to were those badges in the kyng's part afore ye were joyned with the rebellys?—Why brought you forth those badges when ye were joyned with the rebelles rather than afore when ye shewed yourself to stande for the kinge's part."²³

The result of the rebellion and the new tone of the times alike seem to have divested the Banner of St. Cuthbert of its ancient renown, and

²⁰ A. 2. 29. p. 239.

²¹ A. 2. 28. p. 60.

²² I have not seen the State Paper containing this remarkable prophecy, but I was informed of its existence in the Rolls House by a gentleman on whose accuracy I can rely:

²³ A. 2. 28. p. 87.

we hear of its glories no more. In Wilfrid Holme's metrical account of the Pilgrimage, the King, in his answer to the rebels, is made to enumerate the objects of local faith, which (he says) "thanked be God," were "spied." Among them we find "*St. Cuthbert's Standard* of Duresme to make their foes to flee." It is not probable that it again preceded an army to the field, but it does not seem to have been destroyed immediately. In one part of the "Rites," indeed, it is stated by Davies and Mrs. Milner's MS. that—

"At the suppression of the House the aforesaid Banner of Saint Cuthbert and all the antients of the noblemen of Scotland, as principally the King of Scotts' Banner and divers noblemen's antients of Scotland, were shortly after clearly defaced, to the intent there should be no memory of the said Battle, and of their antients being spoiled, which were worn at the said battel of Brankesfield, that there should be no remembrance at least of them within the Monastical Church of Durham."

But it elsewhere in the same work appears that the banner of the saint existed at least twenty-three years after the Suppression.

"Which banner cloth [thus it reads], after the Dissolution of the Abbey, fell into the possession of one Deane Whittingham, whose wife called Katherine, beinge a Freanche woman, as is most credably reported by those which weare eye-witnesses, did most injuriously burne and consume the same in hir fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all anneyent and goodly reliques."

Whittingham was Dean from 1563, and the banner was probably destroyed before 1569, as I do not remember to have seen mention of it during the Rising of the North.

It was a thing of mighty age and renown.

W. HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE, F.S.A.

Gateshead.

* * * It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kind loan by Mr. Trueman, of Durham, of electrotype casts from the interesting seals referred to in this paper. Since the above remarks were printed, he has placed in my hands a most interesting ornament of copper, gilt and enamelled with St. Cuthbert's Cross, which may have been given to a pilgrim at the shrine. I. The cross is red, corresponding with those in the banner and Mr. Raine's church, and we may infer that this was the usual colour. II. It is on a shield, as badges were used, concurrently with arms-proper, and Aske's expression "the banner or arms of St. Cuthbert" is explained. III. It is a simple cross patee, confirming my suggestions that the Cross sunk into that form. The space between the shield and legend is blue. The colour of the inscription AVE MARIA GRACIA (alluding to the joint dedication of the cathedral) is entirely gone. This unique object was among the late Mr. Matthew Thompson's collections of Durham relics.