



## APPENDIX (I).

## BISHOP PERCY AND WARKWORTH.

SINCE note 60, p. 96, was written, Mr. Bosworth, the librarian at Alnwick Castle, has been engaged in sorting the correspondence of Bishop Percy. From among this we have now recovered the actual materials on which the ballad of the *Hermit of Warkworth* was founded, besides many interesting memoranda relating to the history of the castle :—

On the 5th of August, 1767, Dr. Percy wrote from Alnwick Castle a description of the Hermitage to Lyttleton, bishop of Carlisle, who must have been a man of much archaeological discernment :—  
 ‘At the east end,’ he says, ‘is a handsome plain altar, to which  
 ‘the Priest ascended by one step: above the altar is a little nich  
 ‘which probably received a crucifix.<sup>1</sup> Over the nich is still seen  
 ‘the faint outline of a Glory.<sup>2</sup> . . . Near the small Vestibule . . .  
 ‘is a winding stair-case, cut in the Rock, and leading thro’ a small  
 ‘arched Door-case of the same up to the top of the Cliff, where  
 ‘was the Hermit’s Orchard, &c,<sup>3</sup> and at the bottom of the Hill (was  
 ‘his Garden where a Gooseberry bush is still extant—Mr Lawson<sup>4</sup>  
 ‘remembers Cherrie Trees at the top of the Cliff) are still scattered  
 ‘flowers and shrubs that have sown themselves ever since the original  
 ‘plantation. . . . The Tradition of the Country is, That this was  
 ‘the Retreat of a<sup>5</sup> Northumberland Warrior, who having left the  
 ‘Mistress of his heart by some unexpected Stroke, with her lost all  
 ‘Relish for the World, and retired to this solitude to spend the  
 ‘remainder of his Days in devotion for her Soul, and in erecting this  
 ‘little mausoleum to her Memory. Certain it is that the Figure of  
 ‘Cenotaph has much the appearance of a woman, and therefore may  
 ‘well pass for the effigie of his beloved Lady.’

<sup>1</sup> ‘or the Pix,’ erased.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Madonna’s head,’ erased.

<sup>3</sup> ‘little Garden,’ erased.

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, vicar of Warkworth, 1732-1777.

<sup>5</sup> ‘young,’ erased.

On the back of this draft letter Dr. Percy has made these notes:—

‘The Bp. of Carlisle is of opinion (from the Stile of the intermediate window, between the Chapel and Antechapel) that the ‘Hermitage of Warkworth c<sup>d</sup> not be earlier than the time of Ric<sup>d</sup> II. ‘or the age of Hotspur.

‘Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Lawson says there is a Tradition that the Hermit of ‘Warkworth was the same *de Bertram* who founded Brinkburn Abbey ‘and Brinksaugh Cell, and that it was to expiate the murder of a ‘Brother—But William<sup>6</sup> de Bertram founded Brinkburn temp. Hen. ‘1<sup>st</sup>. He therefore lived too early for the date of the Hermitage. ‘It might be one of the same name in a later age. This might ‘occasion their Persons to be confounded.—The cenotaph has a bull’s ‘head at the feet, this is the crest of the Widdrington Family.—The ‘figure lying along is that of a woman, a weeping attendant is at the ‘feet and beside the feet a bull’s head, at the shoulders is a little angel.

‘N.B.—Bemerton was gov<sup>r</sup> of Warkworth Castle when the Scots ‘took it. The Sarcasm of the Scots governor: that if he had fought ‘as well as he danced it had not been taken.’<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Percy was at Warkworth on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August, 1767, and the next day the vicar forwarded to him John Clarke’s letter of 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1672,<sup>8</sup> with these few lines of explanation:—

‘Rev<sup>d</sup> Sr

‘About an Hour after I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday at Warkworth, the Inclosed Letter by accident fell into my ‘hand, by which you’ll see the Date of the Dismantling of the Castle ‘of Warkworth, and by whom, and for what Purpose.

‘On the Back of the Letter you’ll see certain numbers<sup>9</sup> set down, ‘which I do imagine were to express the number of carriages imploy’d ‘in carrying the Lead and Timber from the Castle.

<sup>6</sup> ‘John,’ erased. ‘W<sup>m</sup> Bartraham esq. was retained (by the Earl of Northumberland) for the term of his life to serve in Peace or War at 20 marks per annum by letters of warrant dated 6 Dec. 1440, and was also appointed master-forester of Rothbury at 2<sup>d</sup> a day for life.’—Bp. Percy’s MSS. from *Syon Evidences*, C. III. No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably in 1644, about the same time as the seizure of Coquet Island. So far as is known, there is no mention elsewhere of this siege of Warkworth. <sup>8</sup> See above, page 128.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Percy has made the note, ‘These Numbers were as under, viz.:—

9	9	9	9	12	12	8	4	12	5	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	176	96	212
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'As I promised the person, from whom I got Clark's Letter, to  
'Return it to him, you'll be pleas'd S<sup>r</sup> at your Leisure to Remit it to  
'me, and I am with due Respect, Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir, Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
'WILFRID LAWSON.'

A few days later Dr. Percy jotted down the following notes:—

'Aug. 21. 1767 Mem. The Old Timber of Warkworth Castle  
'was sold in 1610 for 28*li.*, as I have been informed by his Grace the  
'present Duke of Northumberland, who copied it from an ancient  
'Mem<sup>dum</sup>. This I suppose was the Timber belonging to the West  
'Tower, Old Hall &c in the outer Court. The Dungeon at that time  
'was entire as appears from the Survey in 1616.

'The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gilfrid Lawson, who has been Vicar of Warkworth  
'upwards of 40 years, and who succeeded his Father there<sup>10</sup> tells me,  
'that he hath often conversed with John Davidson who died in 1734  
'aged 73,<sup>11</sup> whose grandmother had been House-keeper at Warkworth  
'Castle, to Sir Ralph Brandling K<sup>nt</sup> who then held the same under  
'the Earl of Northumb<sup>d</sup>.<sup>12</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lawson remembers the Castle more  
'intire; the South-wall between the Corner Tower next the Sea and  
'the Gatehouse tower, was taken down to repair some Cottages &c.  
'within these 14 or 15 years.<sup>13</sup> He also remembers a Pillar standing  
'in the Hermitage between the Antechapel and Vestry, that had a  
'very picturesque appearance. He also remembers some of the Cherry  
'trees still remaining in the Orchard on the top of the Cliff. He also  
'remembers Rays of Glory on the Wall over the Altar in the Chappel,  
'and part of a Latin sentence near the Scutcheon over the Door on

<sup>10</sup> The Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, M.A., said to have been of the Brayton Hall family, was presented to the vicarage of Warkworth by Nicolson bishop of Carlisle, in 1717. He was succeeded on his death in 1732 by his son, the Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, B.A., who died in 1777 at the age of 71.—*Warkworth Epitaphs*, by M. H. Dand and J. C. Hodgson, privately printed, Alnwick, 1890, p. 51. Dr. Percy's correspondent had, therefore, come to Warkworth as a boy of eleven, exactly fifty years previously.

<sup>11</sup> 'Feb. 2, Johannes Davinson de Warkworth barns.'—*Warkworth Registers*, Burials 1734. Davinson's descendants in the female line continued to farm Warkworth Barns till about 1876.—*Ex inf.* J. C. Hodgson.

<sup>12</sup> This ought probably to be Sir Francis Brandling, who died in 1641. 'Sir Francis Brandling of Warkworth Castle' conveyed a close at Newcastle to Anthony Norman and his son, 18th April, 1635.—Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. p. 330. See also proceedings respecting Warkworth fishery in 1634, in *Court of High Commission at Durham*, 34 Surt. Soc. Publ. pp. 103, 104.

<sup>13</sup> This may explain the medieval ashlar-work in some buildings near the turn of the road to Amble.

'the North-side, viz. *Estā mea* &c.<sup>14</sup> He says the wood reached 'down to the water edge, but that part of it was cut up a few years 'agoe to repair the Mill-dam above.'

Dr. Percy then gives what is apparently an extract from the Survey of 1616 which he referred to. It runs:—

'Sir Raphe Gray K <sup>t</sup> holdeth &c	} Acres. Roods. Perches.
'The Castle & Mote about the same, as it is paled	
'about with a Lowe Pale like unto the rest of the	
'Parke Pale, conteynyth	
5      0      17 $\frac{3}{4}$	

'Thère is noe Lodge now standing in the Parke saveing a House (as 'it is said) lately built by Sir Raphe Gray, and now suffered to decay. 'There are but a small Company of Raskell Deare<sup>15</sup> in the Park, and 'the Pales for the most part wasted and gone, and the Parke lyeth 'open to the Ground adjoining, and the Cattell staff-hirled.'

He then attempted to obtain some further particulars relating to the Hermitage from Mr. Thomas Butler, the duke's commissioner. From him he received a letter dated Northumberland House, 25th August, 1767, in which he says:—'If my Memory does not fail me, I 'have either seen a Copy of the Foundation of the Hermitage, and the 'Appointment to the Priest residing in it, or a particular History of 'the Occasion of its being founded, and of the first Hermit who 'resided in it, who if I am not mistaken was a Knight of the name of 'Shebburne or Seaburne, or some such Name; who devoted himself to 'that Life, as an Atonement for having accidentally slain some one, and 'dug the several different Appartments out of the Rock with his own 'Hands, and that afterwards the Lords of Warkworth endowed the 'Hermitage with some Lands for the Maintenance of the Hermit and 'a Cow, an Ass, and some Sheep or Goats for the Hermit's Use, with 'the Liberty of coming to dine at the Castle on certain Feasts and at 'other times. If I remember right I met with the Account either in

<sup>14</sup> 'Ps. 42, 3,' erased. This inscription, close to the shield bearing the emblems of the Crucifixion, was no doubt, *Wederunt in escam meam fel: et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto*—'They gave me gall for my meat and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.'—Ps. lxi. 21. That from Ps. xlii. 3, *Fuerunt mihi lacryme mee panes die ac nocte*—'My tears have been my meat day and night'—was over the inner doorway on the south side of the chapel.

<sup>15</sup> 'Rascal Deer,' according to Bailey's Dictionary, are lean deer.

‘Dugdale’s Monasticon, or in some of the MSS of the late Mr Wharburton, which are now in the hands of Mr Wallis of Simondburn, who is writing the History of Northumberland, and which by the by I wish you could get from him, whilst you are in the Country, as they are pretty voluminous and some of them valuable.’

On the 22nd of September Mr. Butler again wrote to Dr. Percy, who had returned to his vicarage of Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire: ‘I am very glad that you have got Mr Payne to make the Admeasurements & Views of Warkworth Castle & the Hermitage, which I shall be very glad to see: & I believe you are right in what you say concerning the Founder of the Hermitage, but if you have got Wharburton’s Collection from Mr Wallis, I believe we shall there find some curious particulars concerning it.’

The *Hermit of Warkworth* was published in 1770. The dedication of it to the duchess of Northumberland has a charm about it quite different to anything in the ballad itself:—

Down in a northern vale wild flowerets grew,  
And lent new sweetness to the summer gale;  
The Muse there found them all remote from view,  
Obscured with weeds, and scattered o’er the dale.  
O Lady, may so slight a gift prevail,  
And at your gracious hand acceptance find?  
Say, may an ancient legendary tale  
Amuse, delight, or move the polish’d mind.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed description of Warkworth Hermitage. For that reference may be made to Mr. Hartsorne’s volume.<sup>16</sup> It may, however, be remarked that it is extremely improbable that the recumbent figure on the south side of the altar is a monumental effigy at all. Had it been such it would at the period in question have been made to face the east. Besides which there seems to be an aureole round the head, showing that it was the representation of a saint. The whole group may have been intended as a rude memorial of the Nativity, which would explain the presence of an ox’s head. It may be remembered that already in the second century the grotto of Bethlehem was regarded by popular belief as the scene of the Nativity, and “according to the Latin tradition the

<sup>16</sup> *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute, Newcastle, 1852, ii. pp. 212-228.*

wooden manger or 'præsepe,' now deposited in the magnificent Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and there displayed under the auspices of the Pope, every Christmas-day," was discovered in the southern of the two recesses which that rock-chapel contains, and that connected with this chapel by a long winding passage excavated in the limestone is the rough cell hewn out of the rock in which, in all probability, the great hermit St. Jerome lived and died.<sup>17</sup> Considering, then, that in the Hermitage of Warkworth, built in honour of the blessed Trinity, the outer chapel was probably dedicated in an especial manner to the Second Person, the representation of the Nativity would be peculiarly appropriate from the analogy of the cave of Bethlehem. It is a curious illustration of the wide fame of this cave in the fifteenth century that when the roof of the basilica over it was last repaired, the rafters were formed of English oak presented by Edward IV.<sup>18</sup>

Bishop Percy had an opportunity of going hastily through the various account rolls of the receivers and bailiffs of the Percy estates in Northumberland that are preserved at Syon.<sup>19</sup> The main object of his painstaking researches was to obtain reliable authority for his genealogy of the Percy family, and, above all things, to endeavour to prove the connection with the House of Alnwick of a certain John Percy of Worcester, from whom he derived his own descent.<sup>20</sup> A passion for pedigrees, however ridiculous it may be in itself, often leads in its side-issues to important historical discoveries. In this instance bishop Percy fortunately noted down many facts of the greatest interest in provincial history that he incidentally came across in his search for forgotten forefathers. The curious thing is that he appears never to have made subsequent use of such of these notes as were of general interest, and which might have given him the fore-

<sup>17</sup> Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 1864, pp. 439-442.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 141.

<sup>19</sup> He overlooked among other things the interesting accounts of the erection of the Bond Gate at Alnwick in 1443-1450, see above, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Hartshorne says, 'It is almost needless to say that the bishop was in no way allied to the noble family of the Percies, having been born of low parentage in the Cartway at Bridgenorth.'—*Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 219. This is far too dogmatic, and argues but little acquaintance with the vicissitudes noble families often endure. Bishop Percy might not be able to clearly establish his connection with the main line at Alnwick, but it requires much more research than even he ever gave to the subject to prove that he was in no way allied to it. Mr. Hartshorne must claim in this passage to have full knowledge of bishop Percy's lineage from before the Conquest.

most place among the historians of Northumberland. The following facts are all taken from his manuscript note-book, entitled *Miscellanea from the Records of the Northumberland Family (part used)*, preserved in the library of Alnwick Castle, the references being to the documents in the muniment-room at Syon:—

The first mention of Warkworth Hermitage occurs in 1487, when Thomas Barker, chaplain of the chantry in Sunderland Park, as the hermitage was then called, made a payment to Thomas Sharpe, bailiff of Warkworth, for having the privilege of letting a cow and calf and a mare and foal graze in the park during both winter and summer.<sup>21</sup> Barker had been appointed for life to celebrate mass in the chapel there by the fourth earl of Northumberland, who was murdered in 1489, with a yearly stipend of 66s. 8d.<sup>22</sup> He was probably succeeded at the hermitage by John Greene, who is mentioned as the chaplain of Trinity Chapel, in Sunderland Park, in 1506, when he received 10s.<sup>23</sup> On the 26th of July, 1515, the fifth earl of Northumberland, then at Topcliff, conferred an annuity of five marks during pleasure, on Edward Slegg, the hermit in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, in Warkworth Park.<sup>24</sup> In 1531 the sixth earl, as is well known, appointed his chaplain, George Lancaster, to the hermitage, with an annual stipend of 20 marks and other privileges, for his natural life, but it is doubtful whether Lancaster was actually to live at the hermitage, since his duties were restricted to 'celebrayting and doing masse of requiem every weke.'<sup>25</sup> Two years later a person of the same name was bailiff of Warkworth,

<sup>21</sup> 'Item, vs rec. de agistamento hyemali et estivali catalli infra parcum de Sundreland hoc anno ut paret per unam billam inde per Ricardum Makson ac. acquit. viz. pro agistamento unius equi magistri Radulfi Percy et j vacce cum vitulo et j eque cum pullo Thome Barker capellani Cantarie infra dictum parcum.'—*Comptus of Thomas Sharpe, bailiff of Warkworth*, Mich. 1486–Mich. 1487, C. VI. No. 4, b, fo. 159. The name Sunderland Park seems to be derived from the fact that it was 'sundered' or severed from the Castle and other parks by the Coquet.

<sup>22</sup> 'Et in solucione facta Thome Barker Capellano divina celebranti infra Capellam infra parcum de Sundreland eidem per dominum nuper comitem ultimū defunctum concessa ad terminum vite per literas ipsius Dni patentes pro hoc anno, lxxvs viiij.'—*Comptus of John Harbotell, Receiver*. C. III. No. 4, a.

<sup>23</sup> *Syon Evidences*, C. VI. No. 4, f.

<sup>24</sup> 'Et in denariis per ipsum solutis Edwardo Slegge capellano heremite infra Capellam Sancte Trinitatis infra parcum de Warkworth in plena solucione cuiusdam Annuitatis sue ad v. marcas per annum per Dominum nunc comitem sibi concessa durante beneplacito sicut paret per literas patentes datas apud Topcliff xxvj die Julij anno Regis Henrici viiij. &c.—lxxvs viiij.'—*Comptus of George Swinburne, Receiver*, C. III. No. 5, a.

<sup>25</sup> See *ante*, p. 116.

but the payment of the hermit's annuity is duly entered in his accounts.<sup>26</sup> It seems hardly credible that the last hermit of Warkworth took advantage of the Reformation to adopt a secular vocation while still enjoying the revenues of what had become a sinecure.

Returning to the castle—the sum of 4*li* is entered in the accounts of 1443 as the stipend of John Brotherwyk, for celebrating divine service in the chapel of Warkworth Castle.<sup>27</sup> This shows that by that time there was another chapel in the castle in addition to that for which a chaplain was provided by Alnwick Abbey under the agreement of 1428. At Warkworth, 28th August, 1477, the fourth earl of Northumberland bestowed an annuity of 40*s.* a year during pleasure on George Swan, tumbler.<sup>28</sup> Three years later James Bell, one of his trumpeters, received 15*s.* a year.<sup>29</sup> The wages of John Bonour, gardener of the earl's garden at Warkworth, at that time were 26*s.* 8*d.* a year,<sup>30</sup> and Ralph Bayley, the castle-grieve, received the same.<sup>31</sup> Robert Spencer, the porter of the outer gate, was paid 2*d.* a day.<sup>32</sup> In 1489 a pair of organs was sent from Warkworth to Newminster, the cost of carriage amounting to 4*s.* 2*d.*<sup>33</sup>

The Armoury of the castle was fitted up in 1533.<sup>34</sup> That same year charges were made for keeping wood in the College of Warkworth,<sup>35</sup> and for carrying it from there to the Hall of the Donjon.<sup>36</sup> Thomas Monk received 3*d.* for putting whins in the windows of the College.<sup>37</sup> All which goes to show that the idea of completing the College, as the cruciform chapel between the Great Hall and East Tower was called, had already been abandoned, and that it had been turned into a wood-house, the windows being roughly closed with furze-bushes. Some additional light is thrown on the origin of this intended college by the facts that the fifth earl of Northumberland ordered in 1519 ten marks a year to be paid to Matthew Makerell, abbot of Alnwick, for the support of a pedagogue or master to read and teach grammar and

<sup>26</sup> 'xiiij*li* v*s* viij*d* solutis Georgio Lancastre capellano Heremite in plena 'solucione feodi pro hoc anno.'—*Compotus Georgii Lancastre prepositi Castri de Warkworth*, C. VI. No. 5 b. fo. 90.

<sup>27</sup> C. III. No. 1.

<sup>28</sup> C. III. No. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> 'In vadiis Johannis Bonour ortolani Gardini Dni de Warkworth xxv*s* viij*d* per annum.'—C. VI. No. 2, c.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> 'Janitor porte exterioris.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> C. III. No. 4, a.

<sup>34</sup> C. VI. No. 5, b. fo. 54.

<sup>35</sup> 'Pro custodia bosci in Collegio de Warkworth.'—*Ibid.* fo. 55.

<sup>36</sup> 'Thome Wilson viij*d*, pro portacione bosci extra Collegium usque Aulam del Dongeon.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> 'Thome Monk iij*d*, pro impositiione de Whynnes in fenestris Collegij.'—*Ibid.*



philosophy to the canons and brethren living in his monastery,<sup>38</sup> and that in 1523, on account of the poverty of the house, which was in debt after the death of the last abbot, he contributed to the maintenance of six canons or brethren who should celebrate divine service in the abbey.<sup>39</sup> Mr. Hartshorne then was probably after all right in considering that the foundations of the college at Warkworth were laid by the fifth earl, Henry the Magnificent.<sup>40</sup> That it was never completed need not be wondered at when we remember the financial difficulties in which he became involved.<sup>41</sup>

The desertion of Warkworth seems to have commenced when Robert Bayle carted away divers tables, 'festoons,' and pictures of saints to Topcliffe in 1533.<sup>42</sup> The sixth earl, however, resided there for a considerable time in that year, and Richard Stevinson his 'Chariotman' bought a quarter of oats for the horses of his 'Charette' from the grieve of Acklington.<sup>43</sup>

The names of the several constables of Warkworth Castle who held office during the periods embraced in these accounts are best given in the form of a list:—

1472. Roger Widdrington.	1509. Christopher Thirkeld, arm. <sup>44</sup>
1483. Lancelot Hesilrigge.	1519. John Heron.
1489. Edward Radclyff, arm.	1523. Thomas Horsley. <sup>45</sup>

<sup>38</sup> 'Pro solutione unius Pedagogi sive Magistri legere et docere Gramaticam et Philosophiam Canonicis et fratribus existentibus infra Abbathiam.'—C. III. No. 5, c. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>40</sup> *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 209.

<sup>41</sup> *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. pp. 360, 380.

<sup>42</sup> 'iiijs solutis Roberto Bayle pro cariagio diversorum le Tables et Fistudmes ac Pictures del Saints de Warkworth usque Topcliff per preceptum Georgij Lancastre.'—C. VI. No. 5, 6, fo. 56.

<sup>43</sup> 'iijs iiijd solutis Thome Symson nuper preposito de Aklington in Anno 'xxiiij' Regis Henrici viij ut pro uno quarterio Avenarum per ipsum liberato Ricardo Stevinson Chariotman ad usum et pro expensis equorum Charette Dni existentium apud Warkworth Anno 'xxiiij' Regis predicti.'—*Ibid.* fo. 59.

<sup>44</sup> Doubts existed as to the validity of Thirkeld's appointment, as he produced no warrant for it in writing.

<sup>45</sup> It is unfortunate that these documents at Syon bearing on the history of Warkworth have not yet been thoroughly examined. The Historical MSS. Commission is chiefly answerable for this, as their report on the Syon MSS. (*Appendix to Sixth Report*, 1876, pp. 221-233) gave the impression that there was nothing of public interest contained in them beyond what they had calendared. Incalculable harm has been done in this same way throughout England by the employment of commissioners unacquainted with the history and geography of the counties to which documents that come into their hands relate. If it had not been for the MSS. of bishop Percy the records of Warkworth might have remained long forgotten. It is hoped that now a monograph dealing with the history of the castle and hermitage may be prepared from them.