W. McLeish, Photo.

ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON,

From the North East.

VIII.—THE CHURCHES OF DARLINGTON AND HARTLEPOOL VIEWED BRIEFLY, AND IN ARCHITECTURAL COMPARISON.

By the Rev. J. F. Hodgson.

[Read in substance at Hartlepool, June 13th, 1894.]

1.—Darlington Church.

I.

The county of Durham, among many ancient churches—for the most part of very rude and inferior character—possesses, nevertheless, two of extraordinary interest and value, viz.: those of Hartlepool and Darlington. They belong to two entirely separate and distinct classes; that of Hartlepool to the parochial; that of Darlington to the collegiate. But, as commonly happened with the churches of secular canons, the latter was of a dual, or compound character; the choir and transepts pertaining more particularly to the dean and canons, the nave and its aisles, to the parishioners.

Both are of unusual size and dignity, and both are also well nigh contemporaneous. Both, too, possess the distinction of a western doorway, a feature ordinarily reserved for those of the highest class—cathedral and monastic—but which, though occurring naturally

Note.—The above is the seal of bishop Pudsey, reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. Canon Raine, from Raine's *Auckland Castle*.

enough at Darlington in virtue of the nature of the foundation, can only be accounted for at Hartlepool by its connection with the great priory of Guisborough, to which both its immediate predecessor and itself were subject.[1]

Of both churches, again, the names and histories of the builders are pretty certainly ascertained.

As to Darlington, prior Wessington not only tells us that it was built by bishop Pudsey from the foundation, but Coldingham, that these were laid in the year when the ransom for the release of king Richard I. was levied, which fixes it to 1192. It was therefore progressing during the three years intervening between that date and the death of Pudsey, which occurred on March 3rd, 1195.[2]

[1] The presence of a western doorway was, apparently always, and without exception, indicative either of inherent, or dependent dignity. As a rule it pertained especially to all cathedral and conventual churches, however humble, whether of monks or canons, regulars or seculars. When occurring in simple parish churches, no matter how grand their scale, or sumptuous their decoration, this feature may, I think, invariably be taken as denoting their appropriation either to some bishopric or religious house; the accepted, and doubtless correct, theory being that it was provided for the solemn entry of the bishop, abbot, or prior, as the case might be, when coming to visit, in procession. Yet, that there were exceptions to the rule, on one hand at any rate, is evident from the fact that, although nearly all conventual churches had western doorways, some at least, as for example, those of the Augustinian priory of Brinkburn, and the Benedictine abbeys of Buildwas and Romsey had none; nor were they probably the only instances. Nor must it be supposed on the other hand, that though, apparently, all parish churches having western doorways were dependent as above described, all churches so dependent were necessarily provided with them. This would seem only to have been the case where those churches were either built or rebuilt after the date of their appropriation; those already built being suffered to continue as they were. Nor again, were all collegiate churches, unless like those of Ripon, Fotheringay, Tattersall, St. Stephen's Westminster, or St. George's Windsor, built specially for the purpose provided with them; some, like those of Staindrop and Lanchester, ancient parish churches which were made collegiate only at a later date, never having had any at all. That of Chester-le-Street affords us an interesting example of an ancient parish church which, if previously without one, yet, on being extended westwards at the period of the collegiate foundation, *temp.* bishop Bek, was then duly furnished with this customary feature.

[2] John de Wessington, who was prior of Durham from 1416 to 1446, and lived, therefore, some one hundred and twenty years after the event, can only, of course, have derived his information from either history or tradition. It is none the less valuable, however, on that account, since it does not oppose, but simply corroborates, the actually contemporary account of Coldingham which runs thus:—

'Rex igitur de terra Syriae revertens, a Duce Ostriciae captus, et Imperatori venditus, legatariis in Angliam directis, mandavit suae liberationi celerius et uberius ab omnibus subveniri; aurumque et argentum ecclesiarum et vasa sancta, vel eorum redemptionem, ad se transmitti, Episcopus, autem, ecclesiam Dunhelmensem nullam volens sustinere diminutionem, quam novis semper decoris optabat incrementis proficere, thesaurum datum centum marcis redemit, et illibatum loco muneris ecclesiae restituit; misitque Regi duo millia libras argenti;

With respect to Hartlepool, though our information is neither so precise nor circumstantial as in the case at Darlington, it is yet scarcely the less certain or assured. For, though documentary proof be not, indeed, forthcoming, the internal evidence of style alone fixes its erection as surely to the closing years of the life, as do its vast scale and sumptuous splendour of decoration to the munificence, of Robert de Brus IV., the contemporary, for twenty years, of bishop Pudsey, and who, marrying Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots, died in 1191.[3]

Darlington (see plan, plate IV.), as befitting its purpose, is a cross church, and not merely a cross church—for cross churches, as at Bowes and Hamsterley, are sometimes found on the smallest scale and of the humblest character—but a cross church with a central tower and spire; and what is specially characteristic—for even cross churches with central towers, and of great size, as at S. Mary's, Nottingham, were frequently only parochial—with choir and transepts in two storeys and of the same height as the clearstoreyed nave, features which at once serve to point out its more than parochial dignity.

Hartlepool, on the other hand, as a purely parochial church, or, to speak more exactly, chapel, for notwithstanding its importance it had no higher rank, was built without transepts; features which, whenever

quae ille minus gratanter excepit, eo quo censeret modicum praestitisse, quem sub obtentu liberationis suae immanes copias didiscerat adunasse. Inter tam multiplicium tempestatum vicissitudines constructione ecclesiae de Derningtona non destitit; in qua, clericis constitutis, ordinem qui olim in Dunelmo fuerat renovare decrevit.' *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres* (9 Surtees Society publ.) p. 14.

The history of Galfrid, who was a monk of Durham, and, at the time it was written, sacrist of the cell of Coldingham, extends from the year 1152 to the year 1214.

[3] In the latest archaeological description of the county of Durham, the writer, speaking of Hartlepool church, tells us, in an astonishing flight of fancy, that it speaks: 'as authentically as any written document could, of the rapid growth and prosperity' (of the town) 'which preceded its erection. In the enthusiasm to which success gives birth, the merchants of Hartlepool said: "We will build a church!" From the first they contemplated a splendid design, and this they executed worthily.' The 'merchants,' however, are unfortunately made to 'enthuse' somewhat prematurely, seeing that at the time mentioned they had practically no existence, a weekly market even, not being granted till after the church was finished, nor the privilege of an annual fair conceded till 1216. But one person, it is hardly necessary to say, viz., Robert de Brus IV., the lord and owner of the whole place and parish, had either the power to build so magnificent a structure or transfer it, when built, to his grandfather's foundation at Guisborough, which, as we learn, his father still farther enriched with six oxgangs of land in Stranton, and one in the mother parish of Hart. That bishop Pudsey, who merely confirmed the grants of the two Roberts de Brus, father and son, had, as supposed, anything to do with the actual erection of the church, is, of course, quite out of the question.

occurring in parish churches, were invariably private mortuary chapels, belonging usually to different families, and built at different times. The reason why they are not found here is simply this, viz., that the whole church, owing its existence to private liberality, the founder was minded, from the first, to erect and set apart its immense and splendid chancel as a place of sepulture for himself and his family instead.[4]

Another, and very important point to notice about these two churches is the circumstance that their designers were skilled architects, and not, as so often happened, mere rude country masons, who, in a more or less ignorant and blundering fashion, copied the works of such men as best they could. Consequently they afford us the best possible evidence of the progress of local architectural art at a given time—the last decades of the twelfth century. A careful examination of their respective details becomes, therefore, very instructive, especially in connection with the final developments of the Transitional style.

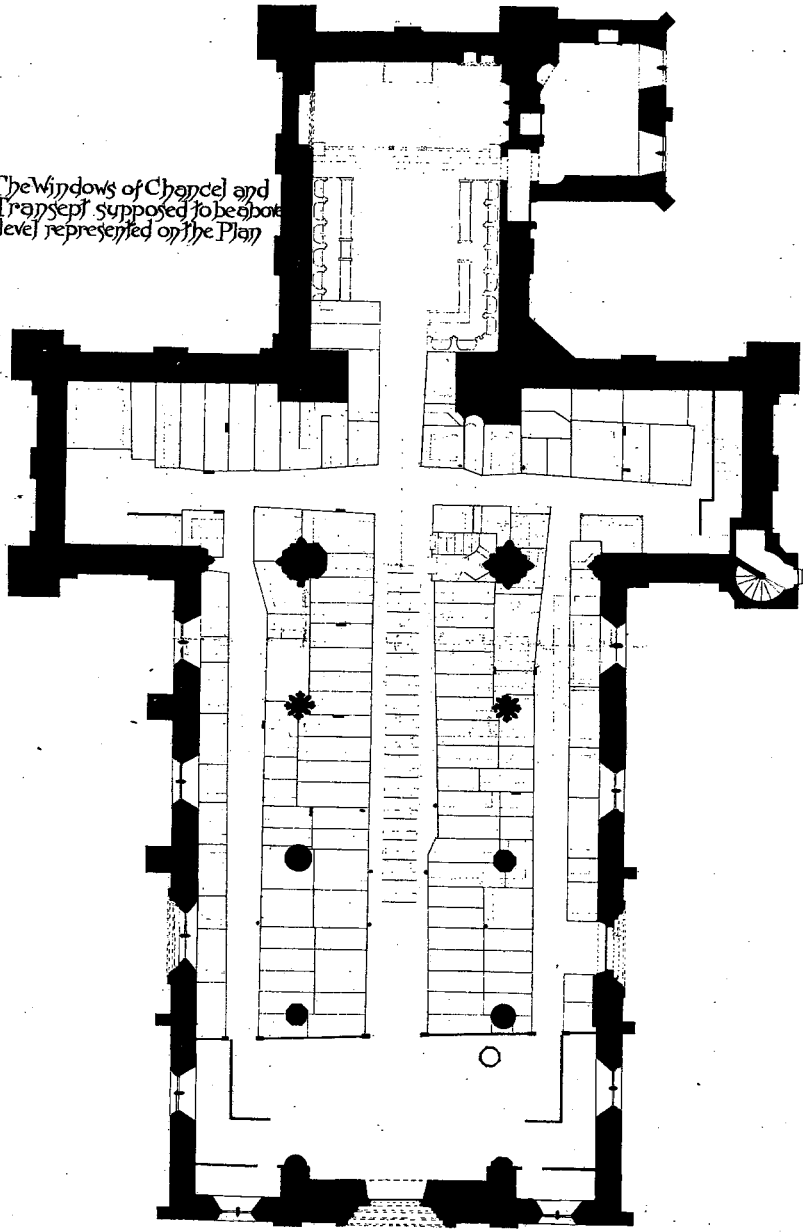
Both churches, I may add, have been partially illustrated and described by Mr. Billings in his *Durham County;* while of Hartlepool a series of rough, but carefully measured folio plates, with accompanying text, has been given by Messrs. Perry and Henman, in their work on the *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham.*

Darlington church, though lacking similar illustration, has, on the other hand, been described not only by Mr. Longstaffe in his *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Darlington*, but by no less an authority on architecture than the late Sir Gilbert Scott; though, I am constrained to say, with a very different result from what might naturally have been expected. Unfortunately, he was not a north-country man, nor intimately acquainted with north-country work; hence, perhaps, to some extent, the strange mistakes he has fallen into.

Without occupying myself, however, by pointing out all the blunders, both as to dates and facts, which he has committed in respect to Pudsey and his works, it will suffice that I confine myself strictly to what he says about the church of Darlington.

[4] The original length of the chancel is said to have been twenty-three and a half yards. It consisted of three compound bays of two arches each, of which the westernmost one only, and that half new, now remains. Outside, in the churchyard, though once in the midst of the chancel, may still be seen the remains of a very late Brus altar-tomb, showing clearly, by the place of honour it originally occupied, to whom the erection both of church and chancel was due.

St Cuthbert's Church Darlington As it was in 1847



II.

In a lecture delivered on the spot, June 3rd, 1862, he declared that he 'had found the greatest possible difficulty in making the church accord with the history (of the Transitional period generally) he had just been going through. The date of the erection was involved in perplexity, history being extremely poor in this respect. Historians, so far as their labours had been searched, did not tell us with any certainty when the church was built, or by whom. They said Bishop Pudsey founded a collegiate church in Darlington. One historian went so far as to say Bishop Pudsey began the building, and another nearly contemporary historian said that the troubles Bishop Pudsey had to go through in the latter part of his life did not cause him to cease in the construction of the new church at Darlington. It was therefore perfectly certain that what Bishop Pudsey did in the church at Darlington was at the very close of his episcopate, and it might fairly be inferred that he never finished it, but that it was going on at the time of his death in 1194.'

Now, before proceeding further in quotation, let me first of all direct attention to the way in which the most precise and positive statements of contemporary writers, and those of the highest standing, are summarily swept aside as of no account at all. Though Wessington tells us that the bishop built the church from its foundations, and Coldingham, that these were laid in 1192, Sir Gilbert is bold enough to assert that the date of its erection is 'involved in perplexity,' and its history 'very poor.' Yet, of how many of our ancient churches have we anything like such early and exact accounts as these?

But Coldingham tells us something quite as important as the date of its foundation, if not more so indeed, and that is, that so eager was the bishop in the prosecution of his purpose that 'among all the vicissitudes of such varied tempests he did not desist from the construction of the church of Darlington, in which, clerks being appointed, he determined to renew the order which was formerly at Durham.'

In other words, we are assured on the absolutely unimpeachable authority of a contemporary witness, that the works commenced in 1192 were continued, without cessation, till the bishop's death in 1195.

The assertion, moreover, that Pudsey's work commenced 'at the very close of his episcopate,' it should be noted, though quite true in a loose sense, as compared with the length of his reign of forty-two years, is yet quite untrue in an exact sense, the sense, that is, in which Sir Gilbert would have us understand it, I mean in comparison of the length of time requisite for the completion of the fabric in all its more important parts.

Begun, as we have seen, in 1192, and doubtless—considering what manner of man its founder was, and how great his anxiety for its completion—with a full complement of workmen, the building was pushed forward with unflagging zeal up to the time of the bishop's death on March 3rd, 1195. There were thus three years—a year for each limb, during which the choir and transepts, at any rate, would be progressing in the bishop's lifetime—a period, as need hardly be pointed out, not merely sufficient, but much more than sufficient for their completion.[5] But Sir Gilbert, ignoring all such considerations, and as blind, appparently, to the broad general witness of the building, as deaf to the voice of history, goes on to ask the question, 'What do we find here?' and makes answer, 'A building which every here and there had details which at once reminded us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which did not belong to the Transition at all. There were details of 1190 or 1200 side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' And then he proceeds to tell us that, 'With the single exception of the buttresses, the architecture was that of the advanced Early English style; many of the windows evidently did not belong to Pudsey. The abaci were round and did not appear extremely early specimens, while many of the mouldings had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging. The conjecture which he came to was that Bishop Pudsey began the church and carried it up to the string-course below

[5] It was with the architecture of the choir and transepts that Sir Gilbert's remarks had principally to do, and in answer to which the present account is for the most part directed, being designed to show that all three were the actual work of the bishop himself, and completed during his lifetime. But that there was not only abundant time for the completion of these, but of the nave also, there can be no doubt; nor is there anything in the character of the western parts to show that they were not either finished, or, at least, in progress at the time of the bishop's death.

the windows. He thought, too, that Bishop Pudsey had prepared a great quantity of material for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable interval must have transpired before the work was commenced again, and that whenever that might have been, the builders went upon the plan commenced by Bishop Pudsey, and used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind; thus the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles. Throughout the whole of the building, with the exception of the lower part, and certain details which he believed were prepared before, the whole work belonged, instead of to Bishop Pudsey, very probably to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.'

Such are the 'difficulties' alleged to be discovered by Sir Gilbert in the three eastern limbs of the church (for with the nave generally he is not much concerned), and such the 'short and simple plan' he devises for getting rid of them. For myself, I can only say that both one and other suffice to fill me with a sense of utter and blank amazement: though after all, perhaps, it should not be so surprising to find the same measure meted out to the architecture as is measured to the history.

Let us endeavour, however, with the help of exact illustrations of the building itself, and of its more important details, to see how far its witness bears out the plain statements of Wessington and Coldingham on the one hand; or the hasty and superficial speculations of Sir Gilbert on the other. We shall see, I think, that, plausible as his imaginary difficulties may, perhaps, appear at first sight, a very little examination only is needed to show how contradictory and self-destructive they are; and how absolutely, because *practically*, impossible his solution of them. Referring, then, to his address, we observe, first of all, the statement that the church has 'every here and there details which at once remind us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which do not belong to the Transition at all. There are details of 1190 or 1200 side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.'

Now observe, for some, perhaps, might fail to do so, the skilfully disguised attempt which lurks beneath these apparently simple and

innocent expressions to throw dust into the eyes of the unwary, and, at the same time, blur and obscure the clear, sharp lines of history. 'Every here and there details which *remind* us of the period of the Transition,' says Sir Gilbert; as though the whole of the existing work, like the period itself in which we are assured it was wrought, was not positively, and without any reminiscence at all, that of the Transition. 'Details of 1190 or 1200,' he proceeds, 'side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' Of these last we will take full account by-and-by, but, meanwhile, how of 1190 or 1200? Between 1190 and 1200 was a decade of no ordinary kind, but one, on the contrary, of the intensest architectural activity, in which changes of style were advancing day by day with a speed altogether phenomenal. The details of 1190 and those of 1200, so far from being, as might seem to be suggested, practically interchangeable, belonged to two entirely separate classes, viz., those of the Transition, and of the perfectly developed Early English, respectively. And with neither one nor the other of these dates could the choir and transepts have any connection at all. Not with 1190, for they were not then begun; nor with 1200, for they had then been finished five years. With the style of the intermediate and historically defined period, however, all three and their several parts are in the most perfect and exact accord; Transitional, yet so late in the style as to have lost all mixture of the Romanesque; First Pointed, yet in style so immature and undeveloped as to have gained none of the distinguishing features of the purely Early English.

But, to pass from what to the uninitiated may seem, perhaps, something like hair-splitting niceties, Sir Gilbert tells us that those details, whatever their precise date, which every here and there *remind* us of the period of the Transition, are intimately mixed up with others which do not belong to the Transition at all, with those, indeed, 'of 1220 or 1230, or even later!'

Well, it can only be asked, where are those later details, details which, from first to last, Sir Gilbert, like some others who have echoed him, so carefully abstains from particularising? They are certainly not discoverable in the choir, the earliest part of all, and which, though very slightly, yet perceptibly, differs both in expression and detail from the transepts; which, again, differ somewhat, not in

style, but merely in detail, from each other. Nor, again, does the closest scrutiny reveal them in the transepts, which necessarily, and more especially on their eastern sides, went up directly and consecutively after it.[6]

'With the single exception of the buttresses,' Sir Gilbert declares, 'the architecture is that of the advanced Early English style, many of the windows evidently did not belong to Pudsey. The conjecture which he came to was that Bishop Pudsey began the church and carried it up to the string-course below the windows. He thought, too, that Bishop Pudsey had prepared a great quantity of material for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable interval must have transpired before the work was commenced again, and that, whenever that might have been, the builders went upon the plan commenced by Bishop Pudsey, and used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind.'

So far Sir Gilbert: now, let us to the building, and see what answer it returns to his allegations.

Up to the lowest string-courses,* which, like the bands of ashlar work beneath run evenly, and without a break around both choir and transepts in their entirety, all is admittedly of Pudsey's work. All is perfectly plain, and the string-courses themselves are of the same character. And yet Sir Gilbert would have us believe that these few courses of simple ashlaring were all that the whole force of masons the bishop could command were able to erect during three full years. Having carried up the walls so far, they then, according to his account,

[6] It should be observed, for the fact is very unusual, and noteworthy, that, as the church was first built, it so continued without alteration or insertion of any kind, save in regard to the heightening of the nave aisles, and the repairs consequent on the settlement of the tower piers in the fourteenth century, to the last. There were, therefore, no such after changes of plan, or insertions of windows, or other features, of slightly later date, as Sir Gilbert's remarks might lead any one unacquainted with the building to imagine; such, for example, as the great north window of the Nine Altars at Durham, where the original design was abandoned for a later one while the works were yet in progress; or in the choir of S. Andrew Auckland, where the original *early* Early English lights were built up, and late ones inserted in their place when the church was made collegiate under bishop Bek. All the several limbs, with all their details—though, of course, the lower parts of each being built first, were, to that extent, earlier than the upper—are, respectively of the same date throughout; so that it is quite impossible to pick out any one or more particular features and affirm them to be of one period, while the rest are of another.

* See p. 154, figs. 1 and 2.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 1.—Outer Lower String-course. Fig, 2.—Inner Lower String-course Beneath Lower Windows of Choir and North and South Transepts.
Fig. 3.—Outer Hood of Lower Windows, Choir and North Transept.
Fig. 4.—Inner String below Upper Windows of Choir, North and South Transept, and Nave.
Fig. 5.—Outer String below Upper Windows of Choir and South Transept.

instead of proceeding in the regular way, suddenly stopped building altogether; and, for no conceivable reason, and despite the bishop's anxiety, set themselves to preparing 'a great quantity of material,' which they most unaccountably and persistently refrained from fixing. The whole of this accumulated mass, instead of being placed in position as it was finished—and as, according to universal rule, it would have been anywhere else—was thereupon, he 'conjectures,' left either lying about, a very wilderness of carved work, or stacked up in vast heaps for thirty, or five and thirty years or more. And thus, by the invention of this beautifully 'simple plan,' we learn how 'details of 1190 or 1200 are found side by side with details which,' he assures us, 'are of 1220 or 1230, or even later!'

But, however satisfactory upon the surface, and to his hearers, at the moment, nothing could be more so, examination shows it to be not merely erroneous, but impossible. For on what basis does it rest; and what is the special 'difficulty' it has been designed, on the mere spur of the moment, to explain away? Why, simply the presence of round abaci on the capitals of the little columns of the window-jambs and wall arcades, and which, Sir Gilbert thinks ought, like the general outline of the mouldings, to have been square also. 'The abaci' he says, 'were round and did not appear extremely early specimens,[7] while many of the mouldings had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging. The new capitals (that is, 'of 1220, or 1230, or even later,' for the

[7] All of them, on the contrary, bear witness to their purely Transitional character. Compare, for example, the capitals on page 160 with those given by Sir Gilbert in his lectures on *Mediæval Architecture*, I., 123, taken from Ripon and Fountains, where the identity of style and almost of form will be seen at a glance. Compare them also with one of the corbels at the west end of the chapel of Auckland castle, also built by bishop Pudsey, a work evidently contemporaneous with this at Darlington, and where both round and square abaci are used in the same composition. These capitals, it may be added, are worked in that excessively hard and intractable material, Frosterley marble. The first pair of detached capitals, east of them, in the same material, have their abaci, which are of exactly the same section, square, and the foliage flatter. All the rest to the east, or low end of the hall (for it was built originally as the great hall of the manor) are circular, like those of the upper part of the western respond, only plain, and without foliage. It would be interesting to know what Sir Gilbert would have had to say with regard to the elaborately moulded arches that these several capitals carry; whether, that is, they were designed for round, or for square, abaci. They are all exactly alike throughout, and it would certainly have taxed his ingenuity, as it would seem to have done that of the original builders, as to which form suited them best. They solved the difficulty there, as at Darlington, by using both.

originals of Pudsey's time are supposed either never to have been worked at all, or, if so, rejected on the resumption of the works) were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles.'

Now, just consider what this really means. Sir Gilbert himself is far too astute to tell you, for if he did, his 'simple plan' would be seen to collapse at once. 'The mouldings,' he says, 'are square,' while the capitals which carry them 'are round;' the one, that is, according to his interpretation, are of Pudsey's time, the others 'of 1220, or 1230, or even later.' He has just stated that Pudsey's workmen had prepared 'a great quantity of material,' but he judiciously refrains from adding how great that quantity, that is, of those earlier 'square mouldings,' was. I need hardly waste time, perhaps, in pointing out the utter inconsistency of this assertion with the other made previously, viz., that 'with the single exception of the buttresses, the architecture was that of the advanced Early English style,' but simply refer you to the place these, so-called, square-sectioned Pudseyan mouldings occupy in the building. So far from consisting, as, on some sudden stoppage of the works, might naturally be expected, of a few voussoirs and jamb, or other mouldings ready worked for the setter's hand, but unlaid; will it be believed that, on the contrary, they not only embrace the whole of the wall-arcades and of the arch-mouldings of the windows of the choir, both inside and outside, as well as of nearly all the windows and wall-arcades in both storeys of the transepts, but of the great arches of the crossing, and of those opening into the nave aisles as well?

Sir Gilbert, we see, all unconsciously, makes the fatal mistake of proving too much; for if, as he implies, and rightly implies, that what he calls the square-edged mouldings are of Pudsey's time; then, since not merely the wall-arcades, of which he was speaking more particularly, but almost the whole of the arch-mouldings of the three eastern limbs, are also square-edged, they too, together with the walls of which they form so large a part, *and whose interior surfaces they entirely overlie*, must necessarily be of his time too. It is that simply enormous mass of material, therefore, the accumulation of which, to such an extent, must, of course, have been absurdly and monstrously

impossible, that we are asked to believe, was not only left lying useless for thirty years or more, but, after that, along with the greater part of the nave, erected by some benefactor of whom history (and even Sir Gilbert) knows nothing.

III.

But, these 'square-sectioned' mouldings constitute only half, and that the lesser half, of the 'difficulties' discovered. In a building of Pudsey's date their presence was not only natural but inevitable. What seems to be his supreme difficulty is the presence 'side by side,' and 'intimately mixed up with' such mouldings, of 'capitals formed on the round system' and having 'round abaci.' These, he calls 'new,' and 'conjectures' to have been cut on the resumption of the work some thirty or more years after Pudsey and his men had ceased. He does not stop, however, to consider the dilemma in which this 'conjecture' lands him. When Pudsey's masons, as we have seen on internal evidence, carved the entire arch-mouldings of the three eastern limbs, as well as all the window-jambs and columns in connection with them, one of two things must have happened, either they cut the little capitals pertaining to them, or they did not. If not, there remains the fact that, when every other piece of sculpture, without exception, was finished, these small, but important features, without which the rest could not be put together, were, in an utterly incomprehensible way, left out. If they did cut them, then the still more incomprehensible fact results that when, after so long an interval, the works were once more started, the builders deliberately destroyed the whole of the capitals which were made to fit these arch-moulds, only to carve, at infinite labour and expence, 'new' ones which, as Sir Gilbert tells us, do not.

So much for theory: now for fact. All Sir Gilbert's 'difficulties' centre, let me repeat, in the circumstance that, whereas the arch-moulds are 'square,' the abaci are, what it suits him to call, 'round.' Yet, that is exactly what, in the choir more especially, they are not. And then he adds that they are not merely round, but 'do not appear extremely early specimens.' Well; taking those of the choir to begin with, what do we find? On the outside, both above and below, and on the alternate sides of each window, capitals whose abaci are, so far

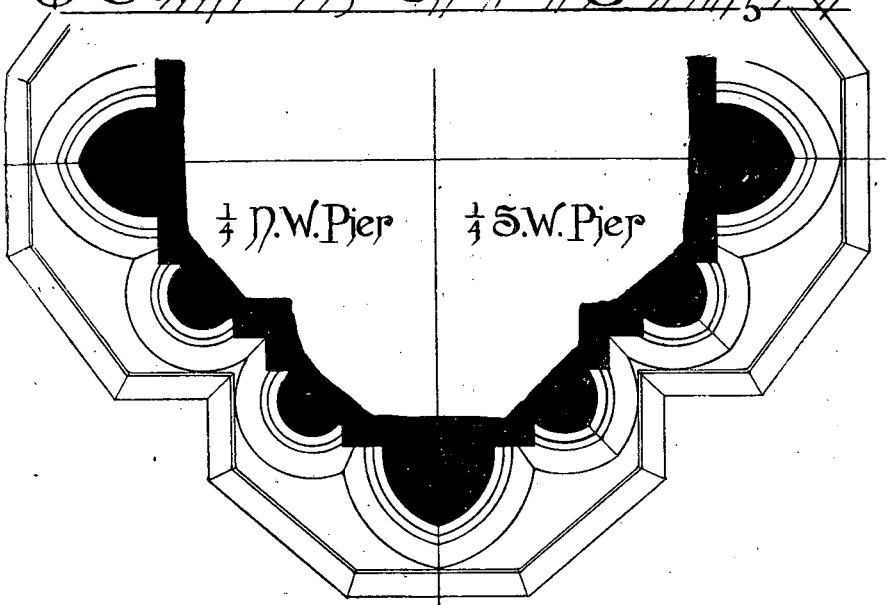
as I know, unique, since they are neither round nor square, but of a form exactly intermediate between the two; square as to their general outline, but, instead of being brought to a point, having their salient angles gently rounded off. So far, indeed, from 'not appearing extremely early specimens,' nothing more intensely Transitional, whether in form or spirit, could be conceived. Their opposite capitals in every case, though exactly corresponding in other respects, and therefore of the same age, have their abaci of the commoner and more fully rounded form.

In the interior again, we find the abaci of the wall-arcade capitals modelled in much the same way, not 'round,' but formed of parallel straight sides with rounded fronts, and admirably suited to the section of their arch-moulds, which sit upon them perfectly. (See p. 159, A and B, below.)

More than this, however; for besides their abaci, several of these caps are enriched with foliage. Of what style then is this, of Pudsey's day, or of 1230, or later? Throughout, we find the stiff, formal, upright arrangement, and somewhat pinched and cramped grouping so characteristic of the last decade of the twelfth century. The one solitary exception to this prevailing stiffness is discovered in the lower range of the north side, where, by a happy inspiration, the little trefoil leaves, as stiff in arrangement however as the rest, are shown in motion as though agitated by the wind.[8] Yet, curiously enough, this

[8] This slight variation of treatment has, of course, nothing whatever to do with any difference of date, all are alike in that respect, but simply with the innate love of change, and inventiveness of the carver. Though the particular conceit became afterwards very generally adopted, and in a measure characteristic of the pure Early English style, yet, like all other forms of detail, it had its prototypes, and they may be found scattered about liberally in all parts. Among other and early examples may be instanced the beautiful waving and curling foliage of the choir capitals at Lincoln Minster, built by St. Hugh between 1190 and 1200, at the very time the works at Darlington were going on; and where, it may be noted, *the round abacus is used exclusively*. Other early examples of wind-waved foliage may be referred to, of a slightly later character, at Coleby, in the same county; as also at Moulton and Whaplode, where, on the other hand, it is somewhat stiffer and earlier. It may be further worth mentioning, perhaps, in connection with the subject of arch-moulds and abaci, that at Coleby, the architect, who was evidently an able man, set Sir Gilbert's rules completely at defiance; for though the arches are of the usual two chamfered orders, the capitals and abaci of the clustered columns, which are clusters of eight, are not only of a different, but contrarient form, the outline of the abaci of their main pointed bowtels projecting sharply beyond the semi-octagonal faces of the arch-moulds at the cardinal points; while round, projecting capitals introduced intermediately, and in front of the recessed angles between the two orders have, of course, no arch-moulds to carry at all.

St Cuthbert's Church Darlington



Piers of Centre Tower

Base to Piers

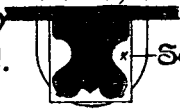
Arch Mold on 2nd Cap from East of lower Tier Windows N. Side Chancel

A

One of Arch Molds to external Arcading of Nave

B.

Arch Mold on 4th Cap from N. of lower Tier Windows E. Side North Transept



C.

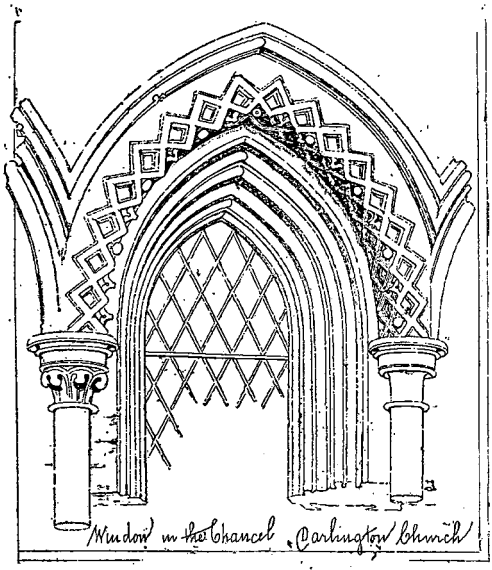
x Square Seat.

A.B.C Approximate only.

Measured and Drawn by H.D. Pritchett Dec. 189

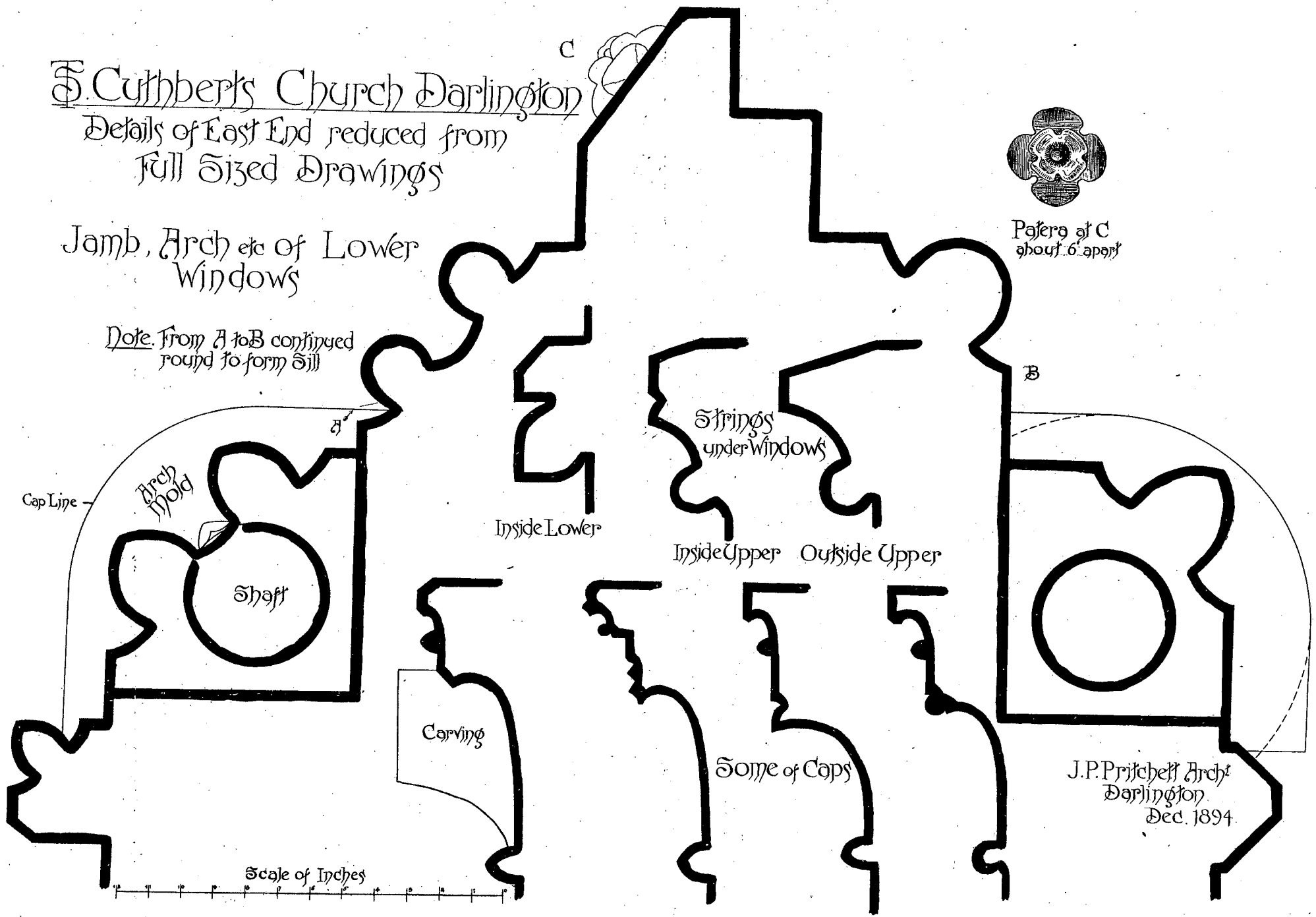
Scale 1 2 3 feet.

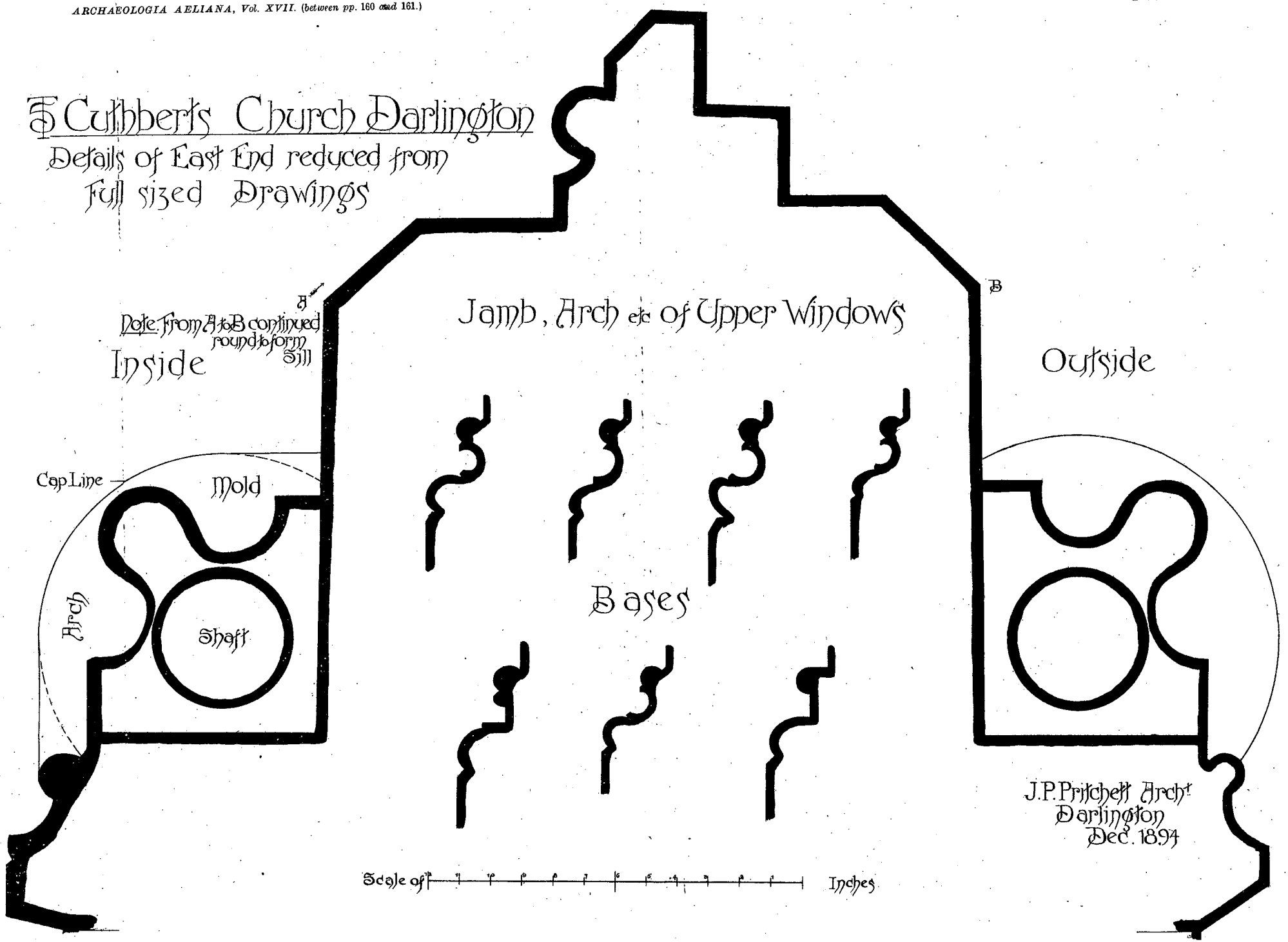
more advanced looking cap is found supporting the arch-moulds of the central window, which are the earliest in type of all, and, like those of its fellow opposite, reproduce, with curious similarity, the style of Pudsey's great Norman doorway in the castle hall at Durham some twenty years earlier.[9] Then, again, above this on two of the capitals of the upper, and therefore later, storey, may be seen,



SOUTH CHANCEL.

[9] It has been urged by more than one professional architect that the embossed fret-moulds of these lower central windows are Norman, and derived from an earlier building. No greater mistake could be made. In the first place, as careful examination abundantly proves, they are of the very latest period of the Transition, and synchronize exactly with all other parts of the same range. They simply reproduce, with much modification, a form of ornament which had then all but expired, just like the south doorway of the contemporary church of Hartlepool, which contains the only piece of Transitional zig-zag in that building. (See an admirable view in Billings's *Durham County*.) And the reason for the adoption of this fretted pattern, and the exact place selected for its introduction, may be seen clearly enough on reflection. Throughout the whole of these lower ranges of windows the excessive, nay, almost exclusive, use of parallel lines, light and dark, of rolls and hollows, alternately, both in jambs and arches, can hardly fail to be observed. Now, the necessity for relieving the otherwise inevitably monotonous effect of this arrangement, so obvious to the old builders, may still be seen on scanning their work, and imagining for a moment, this fretwork removed; as well as, how exactly in the right place it is, by picturing it, when there, in any other position. All must see how, undeniably, it is not only the right thing, but the right thing in the right place. That, then, is its artistic *raison d'être*. But there are other reasons for regarding the work as contemporaneous with its surroundings. To suppose it to have come from an earlier church would be to suppose its insertion there precisely at the period when it was about to be demolished, not, I venture to think, a very likely supposition. And then, the following facts would remain to be explained, viz., how it came to pass that the mouldings, cut as they are to the same section as the rest, should happen, by a further coincidence, nothing short of miraculous, to be of exactly the same dimensions, both of breadth and depth; and that the fretwork should have been planned so as to fit, with the utmost nicety, two differently proportioned surfaces, exactly filling the under side, or soffit, while leaving the precise amount of margin requisite for effect, between the points of the frets and the hood mouldings on the face; whereas, had they been merely


St. Cuthbert's Church Darlington
Details of East End reduced from Full Sized Drawings
Jamb, Arch etc of Lower Windows
Note. From A to B continued round to form Sill
C
A
B
Cap Line
Arch Mold
Shaft
Inside Lower
Strings under Windows
Inside Upper
Outside Upper
Carving
Some of Caps
Patera at C about 6' apart
J.P. Pritchett Arch.t Darlington Dec. 1894
Scale of Inches


St Cuthbert's Church Darlington
Details of East End reduced from
Full sized Drawings
A
Note: From A to B continued round to form Sill
Inside
Jamb, Arch etc of Upper Windows
B
Outside
Cap Line
Mold
Arch
Shaft
Bases
J.P. Pritchett Archt
Darlington
Dec. 1894
Scale of
Inches

though, as might be expected, with far fuller and freer modelling, that emphatically Transitional form of volute so familiar in his chapel of the Galilee, and which dates from 1175.[10]

Clearly, therefore, since all the string-courses, window-jambs, arch-moulds, hood-moulds (see plates V. and VI.), wall-arcades, and sculp-

old material re-used, they would, to an almost dead certainty, have had to be trimmed and adapted, *tant bien que mal*, to their position.

Another point to be explained, too, would be the presence, which can only be detected on the closest scrutiny, of the most perfect and beautifully formed dog-tooth—that essentially Early English ornament, as it is usually considered—at the intersection of the frets, and which is more highly developed even than that which decorates, so remarkably, the adjoining windows to the east. And then would come the further fact, which could not be explained at all, viz.: that on either side, the pointed bowtel mouldings of the adjoining blank arches are worked out of the *same stones* from which these fretted voussoirs spring; thereby proving, beyond contradiction, that they are the work, not only of the same time, but of the same man.

But, it is objected further, that at the apex the points of the frets do not fit with that degree of exact, and mathematical precision which they ought to do, and that, therefore, the voussoirs cannot, originally, have been designed either for their present shape or place. The objection, however, is taken from a purely modern standpoint, and in complete ignorance or forgetfulness of medieval methods. Men were not then, it should be remembered, the mere machines they so commonly are now; nor did they either set about, or execute, their work with that mechanical and office-planned precision so dear to the modern architect and clerk of works. Beginning with their arch-moulds at the bottom, they simply went on cutting till they approached the top, and then filled in the intervening space with stones of the required size. In many cases, as in the fine Early English arcades at Kirkby Stephen church, that space proved to be too narrow to allow the perfect penetration of the voussoir, which being thus brought to a point before it reached the bottom, had no intrados at all. In the Norman doorway of Heighington church, again, to take a more strictly local example, the single row of arch zig-zags, which are all of large size, are brought so close together at the crown that the pattern could not be carried on, and so the small intervening space had to be treated in just such an irregular and abortive way as its width allowed.

Here, at Darlington, the utmost that can be said is that, in one instance, the figures, when they reach the apex, fall barely short of such absolute exactness as might have been achieved had the dimensions of each stone been first of all drawn out at full size, and then copied to a hair's breadth—and that is all.

[10] Astonishing as Sir Gilbert's account of the capitals of these wall-arcades is, it would seem, in one particular at least, to be surpassed by that of a local antiquary (quoted approvingly by another) with respect to such of them as exhibit these Transitional volutes. Because, apparently, they occur in a very stiff and early form in the Galilee capitals, where the extreme tips of the leaves only are curled up in a sharp point beneath the angles of the square abaci; he, at once, after echoing Sir Gilbert's dictum that 'we have mouldings intended for square abaci resting on round ones,' jumps, with even greater precipitancy, to the conclusion that these volutes—notwithstanding their difference of design, and that they conform to their position beneath the round abaci as perfectly as all the rest—had been originally provided with square ones; which latter, although both arch-moulds and volutes were, according to his view, cut specially to fit them, were afterwards, and out of pure wrong-headedness, rounded off! A slightly later form of this very volute, I may add, enriched with shallow flutings, may be seen beneath a circular abacus in the northern jamb of the central eastern lancet of Kirkham abbey church.

tured foliage in both storeys are perfectly uniform, and of the most distinctly Transitional character imaginable throughout, no place for the advanced Early English style of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, 'or of details of 1220 or 1230, or later,' is to be found in the choir. They must consequently be sought, if they are to be found at all, in the crossing and transepts.

That these, generally, are of a slightly later date, though without any 'solution of continuity,' cannot be doubted. The stern, archaic severity of style, so striking in the windows of the eastern limb, becomes, in those of the upper stories of the transverse ones, greatly softened; the obtuse design of the earlier choir-window heads springing up here into lighter lancet forms, while the square, unmoulded edges (see Plates V. and VI.) which distinguish them so remarkably, disappear in those of the transepts altogether.

Here, then, at length, we might expect to discover some of those 'many windows' which Sir Gilbert declares 'evidently did not belong to Pudsey.' They vary somewhat; those of the south transept, like all the rest of its details—as pertaining to the choir of the Lady chapel[11]—being much richer than those of the north, which only formed its nave. On the exterior, the one clearstorey group has a moulded outer order enriched with double rows of nail-head, which is carried on slender, cord-like shafts having caps but no bases, while the other is formed merely of two orders of broad and simple chamfers. (For those on east side, as well as those of choir, see frontispiece.) And thus, either group, viewed from the outside, might quite easily, for anything that appears to the contrary, be, as Sir Gilbert says, 'of 1220 or 1230, or even later.' But, just as in literature, we know

[11] Sir Gilbert, if I may be pardoned for saying so, seems, in an unguarded moment, to have fallen into the vulgar error of assuming that the richer work must, *primâ facie*, be the later. In Darlington church, taken as a whole, the exact contrary is the case, the contrast between the comparatively late and plain work of the nave, and that of the choir and transepts being very striking. It never, apparently, occurred to Sir Gilbert, any more than to the local antiquaries who have treated of the subject, that the greater richness of the south transept is due, not to its later date, which its own details, as well as other and structural reasons, prove to be impossible, but to its having formed the choir of the Lady chapel, as the presence of two contemporary *piscinae* there, while there is none in the plainer northern one, sufficiently shows. The church is thus seen to consist really, as it were, of two churches, whose respective naves and chancels cross each other at right angles, with a central tower and spire, common to both, at the intersection.

what usually happens when, for controversial purposes, a sentence, or even part of a sentence, is severed from its context, so here, with these windows. For we have but to go inside and view them in connection with the blank arcades of which they are integral parts, to see at once that they are of practically the same date as those below, and which follow, with more or less exactness, those of the choir. What the true date and character of these arcades is may be discovered from the fact that in those of the north transept there occur, mixed up indiscriminately with rounded, octagonal, and semi-round and square ones, like those of the choir, no fewer than six square abaci, three of them in the clearstorey, and which, by a strange irony of fate, support, not, as according to his theory they ought to do, square-shaped mouldings which they would exactly fit, but broad chamfered ones, which, according to it, they don't fit at all.[12]

IV.

The whole of this arcading, however, demands the closest attention, for it gives Sir Gilbert's undigested and superficial theory the completest answer possible. His main contention against the choir and transepts being the actual work of bishop Pudsey, as the historians assert them to be, was that the arch-moulds of their arcades were 'square,' while the abaci of the capitals which receive them were 'round.' Then, since the square abacus, like the square section of mouldings, was the earlier, and the round, in either case, generally, the later form, he at once saw a 'difficulty.' The two forms (*i.e.*, from a purely theoretical, and cut and dried *office* point of view) did not agree, and therefore could not (as every one, previous to the delivery of his lecture, had imagined) be contem-

[12] Sir Gilbert, in one place, particularizes the simpler details of the north transept as representing part of that 'great quantity of material' which Pudsey's workmen had prepared, but not placed. But as the chancel and its details are evidently the earliest parts of the church, anything that remained over after the stoppage, which he asserts took place at the level of the lowest string-course, would naturally, on the resumption of the works, be used up there. And then, since the moulds of the lower arcade are entirely square sectioned, and as Sir Gilbert assures us, cut to be received on square abaci, how curious a thing is it to find that the actual builders did not see things in that light at all, but fitted what he calls the square-edged arch-moulds to round abaci, while they took square abaci and fitted them to chamfered arch-moulds, with which, according to his theory, they could have no affinity whatever

porary. So he at once jumped to the conclusion that, historians notwithstanding, these round abaci must belong 'to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century,' Darlington meanwhile going for five and thirty years or more without a church, of which all the other parts were ready, and waiting only for these little caps. And then, strange to say, when, after this long probation it got them, they did not fit! Why the carvers of 1230, after all their experience in the use of the round abacus, which, though invented by English William, at Canterbury, eleven years before the foundations of Pudsey's church were laid, was then a novelty, should, nevertheless, not make them fit; and why Sir Gilbert should parade the fact of such misfitting as a proof of the lateness, rather than, as might naturally be supposed, earliness, of their date, is as unintelligible as unexplained. 'Many of the mouldings,' he says (they are all, however, practically alike (see p. 159, A and B, below), 'had been worked to suit square abaci, and some were subsequently trimmed off to prevent their overhanging, the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circles.'

But, supposing for the moment, the fact to be as stated, how can it possibly be held to show, or even suggest, that these abaci are of 1230 rather than 1193 or 1194? Surely the men of 1230, when the feverish activity of the Transition had passed, and architectural life had settled down into comparative calm, were far likelier, from long experience of their use, to work with greater exactness than those of the earlier date, who, having to adapt a somewhat unfamiliar feature to well established forms, treated it with all the characteristic freedom of their day. The fact is, however, that this trimming off of the mouldings, of which Sir Gilbert makes so much, does not occur in the choir, the earliest part, at all. Nor is it discoverable in the multitudinous examples of the south transept, which comes next;[13] but only, and that so slightly as to escape

[13] That the south transept is, in the main, somewhat the earlier of the two, and not built 'of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own, about 1220;' while 'the north one was built of many of the old materials left behind' by bishop Pudsey, as stated by Sir Gilbert Scott and echoed by his followers, may be inferred from the same reasons which induced the old builders everywhere to commence at the east end, viz.: that it was the altar end, which it was universally felt desirable to have finished first. Now, the south was the altar end of the

notice altogether unless specially searched for, in three instances in the north transept, the latest of the three limbs. And then, what, after all, does it prove? Evidently no point of date, nor any unsuitableness of the rounded abaci to their arch-moulds, which here, in the

transept, and would therefore, naturally, on the same principle, be brought to a speedier completion than the north, which, to some extent, could afford to wait. That both went up systematically as far as the lowest string-course, with the choir, we have clear proof from the fact, never noticed by Sir Gilbert, that, outside, the same courses of stone are carried uniformly round all three of them, the top row throughout being remarkable for its much greater depth, and for the shape of its stones which are nearly cubical. The second stage containing the lower range of windows, is not, however, carried round in such even courses; and it is clear from its details, that the whole of the choir was then, with the exception of their inner eastern angles, gone on with and completed before, and independently of the transepts. In the clearstoreys of both transepts the uniformity of line which distinguishes that of the choir is no longer either maintained or attempted; the courses of the masonry which, however, is of the same general character, being there broken. With respect to the two upper stages of the transepts, those of the south, needful for its earlier completion, would seem to have been pushed forward more immediately. That both of them are later than those of the choir is shown by their distinct advance, as well in point of plan as of style; for whereas the arcades of the choir are all wide and of one size, they are here much more numerous and contracted, two blank arches instead of one being inserted, where practicable, between the windows. And then, instead of the arch-moulds consisting any longer, as there, of a single pointed bowtel below, and a round one above, between two simple hollows, we find a roll and fillet between two hollows, the outer edges of the outermost one of which are worked off into a chamfer. But, like those of the choir, all its arcade capitals still continue to be round. In the lower range of the north transept, on the other hand, though the arch-moulds are practically the same in section and arrangement as in the south, the capitals vary. Here, for the first time, we have square and octagonal forms intermingling with the round; while in the clearstorey the round capitals and all moulded forms disappear entirely both inside and out, nothing but the simpler, though evidently later, chamfers being used either for arches or abaci.

A further reason for supposing the north transept to be, in its upper parts, the later of the two, may be seen in the fact that, while the arch opening from the south transept to the nave aisle has its shafts, like those of the two earlier eastern piers, as also those of the south-western one, composed exclusively of pointed bowtels: although the northern shafts of the corresponding arch of the north transept are of similar pattern, two of the southern ones, like most others of the north-west pier with which they are incorporated, are round. And just as the capitals of the south-west pier show an advance on those of the two eastern ones in having pointed and moulded bells below their square abaci, which the latter—enriched with stiff, Transitional foliage, like those of the choir and south-transept arcades—have not, so the capitals of this great north-west pier show a still further advance upon these, by having the points of their chief abaci no longer left square, but either canted or rounded off; all which, being interpreted means that, though the lowest part of the north transept followed on, like the south, after that of the choir, and the northern responds of the aisle-arch, naturally, went up along with it; the north-west pier itself, without which, of course, the transept could not be completed, was not proceeded with for some little while after, its more advanced details being necessarily contemporaneous with the upper parts of the north transept which are bonded into, and superimposed upon, it.

But a further, and, perhaps, more convincing proof that the south side of the church, generally, was built before the north may be seen on comparison of the

remaining instances, as elsewhere, they fit perfectly; but simply the free, careless handling of the sculptor, who, in these particular capitals, struck his circle, some quarter of an inch or so, too small. How contemptuous of such petty niceties he was, indeed, appears in another case, which seems to have been planned of set purpose. Here (see p. 159, c, below), instead of making his arch-moulds spring from any abacus at all, he boldly sets their square springing block on the top of it, and leaves its angles standing out defiantly. Such open disregard of tame propriety would clearly have driven a modern clerk of works stark mad.

Only one further remark on the arcading of this transept, I think, need be offered. On the outside, in the gable, which must necessarily have been built after the walls were finished, is an arcade of three arches, the central one pierced for a window. It is the only piece of *external* arcading in the three eastern limbs, the precursor of that which, later on, was applied to the clearstoreys and west end of the nave, and, doubtless, therefore, among, if not the very latest of the earlier parts. What, then, does it show us? So far from any 'details of 1220 or 1230, or even later,' exactly the same severe Transitional arch-moulds as are found in the lower windows of the choir, and—tell it not in Gath—carried, which they are not, on capitals with square abaci![14]

V.

And now, leaving this part of the subject, let us turn our attention to the great arches and piers of the crossing, and the easternmost arches and responds of the nave which are incorporated with, and form

north and south clearstoreys of the nave. Towards the south the arcades are separated into compartments of three by narrow intervening strips of blank walling, across which the hood moulds of the arches are carried horizontally, the effect, though not, perhaps, positively bad, being yet far from satisfactory. On the north side the design has been altered by making the arcade continuous, an immense improvement. The collective evidence, then, of this later north nave-clearstorey, of the later north-west pier, and of the two upper storeys of the north transept, in which the square and octagonal abaci, which are seen elsewhere only in the crossing arches and their small, upper, angle shafts, unquestionably the latest portions of the three eastern limbs, all tend to show that the work was carried on first towards the south, leaving the northern portions to the last; the two upper storeys of the north transept following immediately after those of the south, while the nave and its clearstoreys, carried on after their completion, followed, evidently, the same course.

[14] It is only proper, however, to say that these capitals and abaci were cased many years ago with cement, and therefore some degree of uncertainty must naturally attach to their evidence. But as to the severe and early type of the window mouldings there can be no uncertainty at all. They are Transitional, and nothing else.

W. McLeish, photo.

S. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, DARLINGTON

INTERIOR OF CROSSING, LOOKING SOUTH.

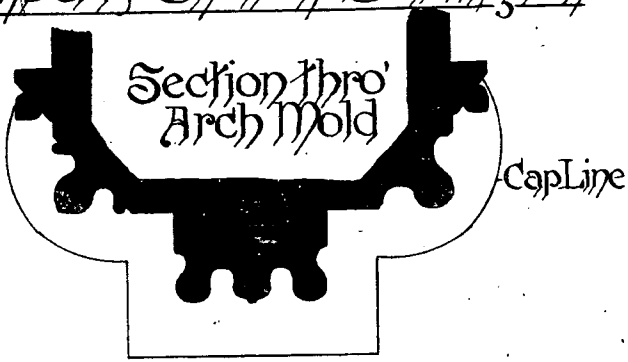
parcel of, them. Strange to say, Sir Gilbert would seem to have been so entirely absorbed with the comparatively trivial and unimportant wall-arcades and the abaci of their petty capitals as to have overlooked these, the grandest and most conspicuous features of the church, altogether. That they are also the latest parts of the richer and earlier work, is clear from the fact that till the choir, transepts, and eastern nave-arches, with the walling above them, were built, these great crossing arches and their western piers could not have been set up; the eastern extremities of the nave walls being needed for abutments to the two arches ranging east and west, just as, under similar circumstances, was the case in the cathedral at Durham about a century before. It is clear, therefore, that the subject of their date is of the last importance, since it must either confirm, or conclusively negative, Sir Gilbert's contention that the parts which preceded them, the south transept more particularly, are 'of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.'

Let us then examine, as carefully as may be, these great crossing arches; the piers and their caps which carry them; together with those attached members, the arches opening into the nave aisles, and the eastern nave arches, with the responds belonging to each respectively, which are built up into, and form part of, the two western ones.

Now, among the various distinctive details of the Transitional period, no one, it may safely be affirmed, is at once so universally met with, and characteristic, as that known as the 'pointed bowtel.' It is formed by two sides of a, more or less, equilateral spherical triangle; and is used, as well in arch-mouldings, as in shafts. Probably the earliest local instance of its use in the former capacity occurs in the arches of the Galilee (1175), where we see double ribs of this section used alternately with, and as a foil to, zigzags. As a shaft we have it locally in the responds of the Transitional parts of Staindrop, and St. Helen's Auckland, churches; and very freely, both as shaft and moulding, in the nave and choir at Hartlepool. It supplies, indeed, one of the most distinct and crucial tests of style that can be found.

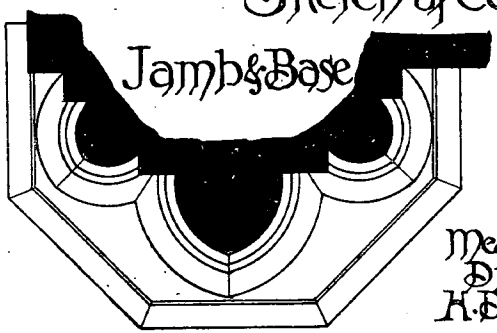
Where, then, and to what extent, does it appear here? Well, first of all and chiefly in the twelve clustered shafts of the north-east and south-east piers, the two earliest of the four, which are wholly, and without exception, of this form. Next, in the three shafts of the re-

St Cuthbert's Church Darlington



Details of Arch etc from S. Aisle into Transept

Sketch of Cap



Measured and Drawn by H. D. Pritchett Dec. 1894.

Scale 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 Feet

spond, or semi-pillar of the arch opening to the south aisle of the nave, southwards. (See p. 168 for section, cap, and arch-moulds.) Then, in the great south-western pier in which the corresponding shafts of the respond of the aisle arch are imbedded, and which, to the exclusion of all other forms, contains twelve such shafts. After that, in the principal, and two lateral shafts of the respond of the arch opening to the north nave aisle, northward; and then, lastly, in the great north-west pier where, being used only for the principal shafts, it appears four times towards the cardinal points. (See pp. 159 and 170 for sections and other details.) That is to say, out of forty-two shafts altogether, no fewer than thirty-four are pointed; only eight round ones, and those wholly subordinate, being found in the north-west pier, the latest of the four.

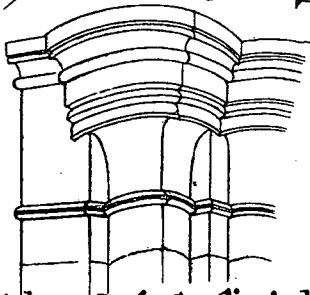
Nor is that all, for besides being used so abundantly as a shaft, it figures conspicuously as a moulding, the three soffit moulds of the four great square-sectioned crossing arches being also of this form.

But the evidence of the pointed bowtel is far from being all that is adducible as to the date of the transepts and crossing. All the twelve capitals of the two eastern piers, infinitely more important than those of the wall-arcades, and decorated with strongly marked Transitional foliage, are surmounted by rigidly square abaci. In the south-west and north-west piers again, while the abaci of the subordinate pointed or rounded shafts follow their outlines respectively, all the main shafts, together with the rectangular portions, have their abaci square, those of the north-west pier having their angles just perceptibly softened and rounded off. These arches and piers of the crossing and nave aisles are seen, in their every detail in short, to be of markedly and indisputably Transitional character throughout, and to have no more connection with the 'advanced Early English architecture of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century' on the one hand, than with that of Flambard or Galfrid Rufus on the other.

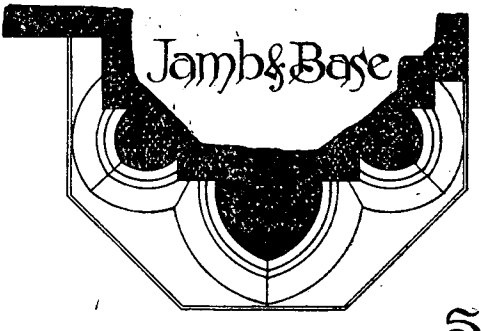
But yet further and, if possible, more convincing proof of the true date of these transepts. Sir Gilbert, it will be remembered, allowed that, up to the string-courses below the lower windows, the work is of Pudsey's day. And so, both outside and inside, the respective string-courses pursue their way throughout choir and transepts uni-

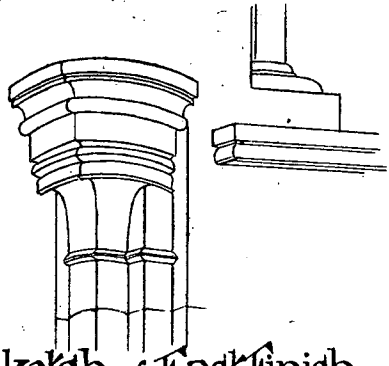
St Cuthbert's Church Darlington

Details of Arch from N. Aisle into Transept



Sketch of West Finish.





Sketch of East Finish

Measured and Drawn by H.D. Pritchett Dec 1894

Scale 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 Feet.

formly. That, so far, is sufficient proof that all, up to that height, at any rate, is of one date. The lowest interior string-course, however, is but one out of four, the next to it being that which surmounts the lower windows and wall arcades. And this, too, although altered for one of richer character above the altars of the south transept, is of equally pronounced Transitional character as the one below, and carried uniformly throughout both choir and north transept. Then, after that, we come to the second horizontal main string below the upper, or clearstorey windows, once more of precisely the same frank, uncompromising Transitional section as that below the lower windows. And this, after running round the entire choir, and being continued as an abacus mould to the square capitals of the two eastern piers, is then, after traversing the three sides of both transepts, not only used again as abacus mould to the two western piers, but carried on as a string below the clearstorey windows to the west end of the nave. Last of all is the fourth, or uppermost string, or hood-mould of the clearstorey which, of exactly the same unmistakable contour as those below, is continued round the choir and south transept, though changed for one f a somewhat altered form in the north (see p. 154, fig. 1).

Since then, the whole skeleton and framework of the three eastern limbs, as shown by these several string-courses, *of which Sir Gilbert was in far too great haste to take any account at all*, are for the most part continuous, identical, and of Transitional style, it follows that the whole must be continuous, identical, and of Transitional style too. In other words, we see from their own internal evidence that they are not what Sir Gilbert Scott 'conjectures' them to be, viz., 'of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century,' but exactly what the historians declare that they are—the actual work of Pudsey himself, and finished in his lifetime.

VI.

We come now, at length, to the nave. That Pudsey lived to see the completion of this part of the structure is, I think, somewhat doubtful. Up to, and including the easternmost arch of the nave on either side, which, as we have seen, with the walls above them, were necessary as abutments to the crossing, the work was throughout of a highly

enriched and ornate character. There, however, that character suddenly and at once stops, and for good. True, the nave was only the place of the parishioners, a sort of vestibule or ante-chapel to the more strictly collegiate choir which lay beyond, and its comparatively austere simplicity might well enough be accounted for on such grounds alone. But there may, not improbably, have been other grounds than these. In the first place, it is not easy, on such view of the case, to account for the magnificence of its eastern arches and their supporting pillars, differing so entirely as they do from all the rest. There are no signs of these eastern bays having ever formed part of the sanctuary of a people's altar, or of any screen work which served as a reredos to it; though such, indeed, might possibly have been the case, as at the collegiate church of Bonhommes at Edington, and elsewhere. Were they only designed to indicate such a purpose as this, however, a far simpler ordonance would have sufficed; nor would there have been any need for the arches opening from the side aisles to the transepts to have been of the like degree of richness. The explanation would, perhaps, rather seem to be that Pudsey's death took place when the works had reached that particular point. Then, the stream being cut off from the fountain head, the idea of completing the church according to the original scheme, already commenced, was forthwith abandoned; all further operations being thenceforth carried on and finished by his executors in a far less expensive way than before, and with just such remnant of means as they could command.

That any actual stoppage of the works took place, however, there is nothing, I think, to show. There is no more difference of style observable, indeed, between the work of the transepts and that of the nave, than between that of the choir and of the transepts, that is to say, the mere slight advance accruing from daily growth, and nothing more. With the single exception of the Transitional string-course below the clearstorey windows, which, as there were no breaks to mark the change, was doubtless continued for the sake of uniformity, the merging of the Transitional into more distinctly Early English forms is accomplished so gradually as to be hardly perceived, or even perceivable. Yet, for all that, it is there and can be felt. But a very perceptible change in plan, if not in detail, and one which is patent to the eyes of the most casual observer, is to be seen in the

treatment of the wall-arcades. Hitherto, throughout the church, both in the choir and transepts, with the single exception of the triplet in the north transept gable already referred to, they have been confined strictly to the interior. In the nave they are confined just as strictly to the exterior, a commencement made at the eastern interior angles of the north and south clearstoreys being instantly stopped. The three western bays on either side are not only much plainer in style than the eastern ones, but, as a reference to the ground plan will show, of much wider span. The arches, of three perfectly plain chamfered orders, are carried on alternate circular and octagonal pillars counterchanged, the one form being set opposite the other, and the same order is observed in their responds. Owing to their increased span, the curvature of these arches is excessively obtuse; so much so that in the westernmost ones it is almost, if not quite impossible, to distinguish them from semicircles.[15] A grave defect is also observable in the circular columns; they are much too massive for their superincumbent arch-moulds. From there being three rows of chamfers employed, the result is that the outermost rows in the several arches, at the point of springing, almost touch each other, a mere edge only being left between them. Viewed full front, the effect is unobjectionable enough; but diagonally, and at right angles to the line of chamfers, then the column appears to be nearly twice the diameter of what it carries, a proportion, it is hardly necessary to say, as constructively wrong as it is artistically bad. We have heard what Sir Gilbert has had to say about certain of the 'square-edged' arch-moulds of the choir and transept wall-arcades not fitting their round abaci, but, in two or three cases, slightly overhanging them, and the astonishing theory he constructed to account for such microscopical discrepancy. It cannot, therefore, but excite curiosity as to what he would have said in the case of this indisputably later work, where diamond-shaped arch-moulds are set on round capitals nearly double their own bulk, and which they make no pretence to fit at all![16] But, like the great crossing arches and their supports, they

[15] In the case of the westernmost arches on either side, the rounded form is intensified through the failure of the foundations having caused the west wall and the attached responds to fall out, thus allowing the arches to spread.

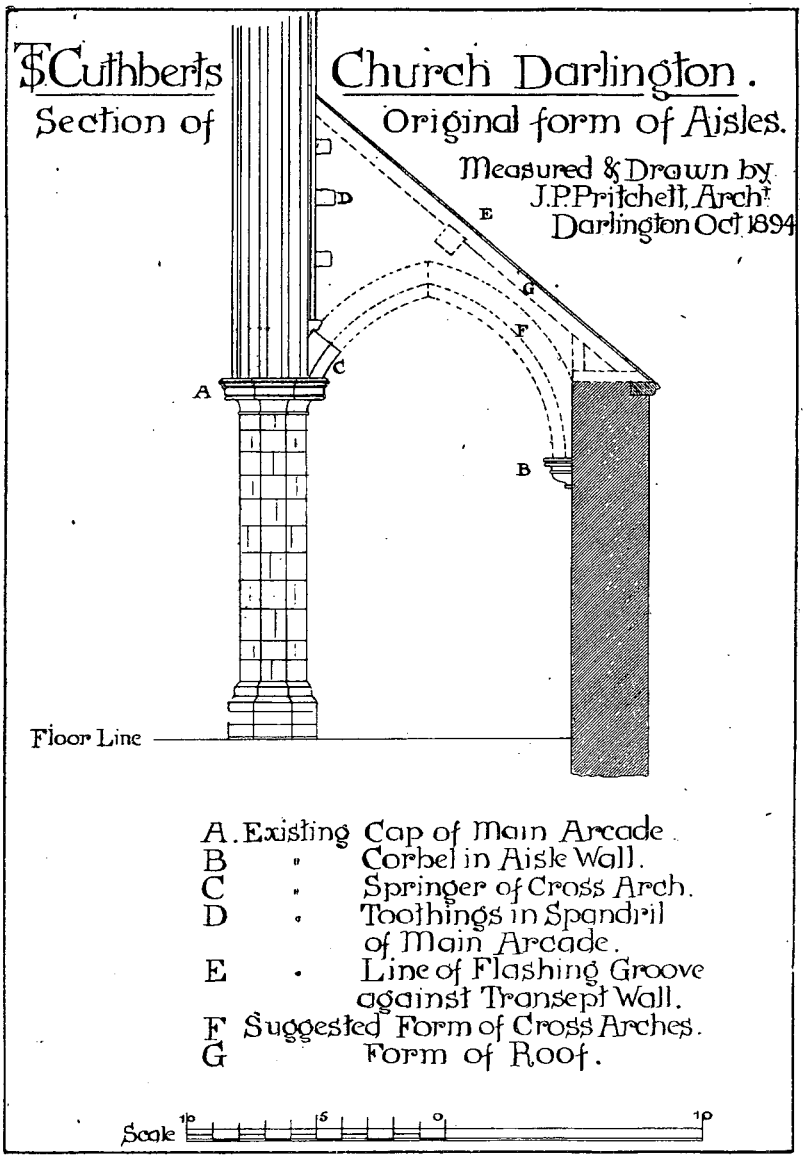
[16] It cannot be too much insisted on how thoroughly self-invented, fictitious, and contrary to all experience this theory of Sir Gilbert's as to the exact correspondence to be looked for between the outline of arch-moulds and their

would doubtless have proved highly inconvenient to his newly invented theory, and so he, very judiciously, never either saw, or mentioned them at all. In the octagonal shafts, which are much slighter than the circular ones, and whose capitals expand considerably, this mistake is avoided.

As originally constructed, the external walls of the side aisles were little more than half their present height, the roofs descending to the top of the dwarf Early English buttresses which still remain at the

abaci is. As a matter of fact it can scarcely, in practice, be found to receive any illustration at all. If, for example, we take the very commonest of thirteenth century arch forms, *i.e.*, of two plain chamfered orders carried on circular shafts, we see that while the abaci are round the arches sit on them in the form of a cross; whereas, to suit such forms, the abaci, according to his showing, should be of a quatrefoil or cruciform plan, which, except in the rare case of quadruple columns, they never are. But however full of such theories Sir Gilbert might be, the old architects knew evidently nothing of them, and cared less. These very mouldings at Darlington which he persists so constantly in calling 'square' are really, at their springing, nothing of the kind, but consist of two rolls, filleted or plain, between three hollows, which sit upon their circular abaci in as natural and artistic a way as possible. Had he, when in the neighbourhood, but extended his researches in local Transitional work as far as Billingham, he would have seen with what practical contempt his ideas were treated by the builder of the south arcade there. As usual, the arches are of two square orders, with their angles rounded off, thus forming at their springing line an exact Greek cross. But the abaci from which they spring are squares enclosing those crosses. It results, therefore, that *the projecting angles*, as any one may see by first drawing a square, then applying others of the same size to each of its four sides, and then drawing another enclosing the whole, are of precisely the same size as the four limbs; in other words, that these abaci are exactly twice the size of the arch-moulds which they carry, while bearing no resemblance whatever to them in shape. Nor is that all. The columns which carry these abaci and arch-moulds are five in number, a stout circular one in the middle, with four smaller ones attached. But in what way? Not, as might naturally be expected, beneath the four limbs of the cross, which they would thus serve, or at least *seem*, to carry, but beneath the projecting square angles of the abaci, where there is, of course, nothing at all for either shafts or abaci to carry.

And then, if not too much shocked with these Billingham examples, he had gone on to examine the really 'advanced Early English work' in the Nine Altars at Durham, he might have seen enough, not only to check all further enquiry, but any repetition of his theory, for all time to come. He tells us in respect of the three particular instances in which the round abaci of the Darlington wall-arcades are cut just perceptibly too small, that the arch-moulds had to be trimmed off, for if that had not been done, they would have overhung their abaci; and then, on the strength of that frightful state of things, proceeded to construct his theory of there being thirty, or five and thirty years difference of date between the two. What then would he have said in the case of the arch opening from the Nine Altars chapel into the south aisle of the choir, where there is no resemblance between the mouldings and their abaci at all, and where two of them would, if continued, have overshot the abaci altogether? As it was, we find the sculptor turning the 'difficulty,' which his contemptuous disregard of mathematical niceties had brought about, into simple sources of artistic triumph by carving the extremity of the one into a distorted face, horror struck at being about to be launched into space, and carrying the other on the widespread wings of a flying eagle.


St Cuthberts Church Darlington.
Section of Original form of Aisles.
Measured & Drawn by J.P. Pritchett, Archt Darlington Oct 1894
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Floor Line
A. Existing Cap of Main Arcade.
B " Corbel in Aisle Wall.
C " Springer of Cross Arch.
D " Toothings in Spandril of Main Arcade.
E " Line of Flashing Groove against Transept Wall.
F Suggested Form of Cross Arches.
G Form of Roof.
Scale 10 5 0 10

west end and on both sides. Inside, these steeply inclined roofs were carried on transverse arches of stone, which much resembled, and acted as, flying buttresses, spanning the aisles from just above the capitals of the pillars to corbels set at a much lower level in the outside walls. Two of these latter, together with the springer of one of the transverse arches, may still be seen in the north aisle. As the accompanying illustration (see plate VII.) shows, these supports consist of something more than a simple half-arch, having an apex and part of an opposite side attached to the wall of the nave as well. Exact restoration proves what, from the existing fragment, is not at once apparent on the spot, viz., that if continued, the line of the inner side would form a perfect counterpart to that of the outer one; in other words, that both sides, being of the same radius, and struck from the same level, would form a nearly equilateral arch.[17] When, at a later date, the outer walls of the aisles were raised, these transverse arches, no longer suited to the altered circumstances, were destroyed.

As almost everywhere else in the country, this raising of the walls was effected for the purpose of obtaining more light. Large and fine Decorated windows of two lights, with square heads and admirably drawn net-tracery, were accordingly, about the middle of the fourteenth century, made to take the place of the original low and dwarf lancets. They have been slightly, but most carefully, restored wherever decayed, during the late Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration, and in a way which should serve as a model in all like cases everywhere.

Turning to the exterior, we at once observe that arch-moulds exactly similar to those of the transepts, consisting of a roll and fillet

[17] The restored elevation of this transverse arch has been most kindly drawn, after careful measurement, at my suggestion, by Mr. Pritchett, architect, of Darlington. The latest published archaeological account of the church, repeating the statement made in Mr. Longstaffe's history, says that the aisles were vaulted. This, as the drawing shows, is a complete mistake. There was never any vaulting whatever. Though not by any means unique, this fashion of supporting the roofs of the side aisles was somewhat uncommon. We find it still existing in the contemporary nave aisles at Hartlepool, notwithstanding the raising of the outer walls there as here, though, in that case, the arches are equal sided, and sprung from the same, or nearly the same, level. In Llandaff cathedral pointed transverse stone arches, similar to these at Darlington, also occur; but again, owing to the different proportions of the arcades, of perfect and complete form. At Iona, too, there is a very curious application of the same principle. In that case, however, instead of the transverse supports being slight and resting upon corbels as in the foregoing instances, they consist of massive moulded half-arches descending from above the capitals of the columns to the base of the outer walls, where they rise independently from the ground.

between two hollows, and surmounted by a hood, are continued along the clearstoreys, three arcades, of which the central one is pierced for a window, being given to each bay. And again, notwithstanding that the section of the arches is what, in the case of the choir and transepts, it suited Sir Gilbert to call square, we find them, precisely as before, fitted to caps having round abaci, than which nothing more suitable could be conceived, and which all fit perfectly. But of these, so conspicuous, and impossible to be ignored as they are, and in respect of whose several parts it would be futile to suggest any disparity of date, he has, once more, nothing whatever to say. They are, in fact, exactly the self-same characteristic mouldings of the period which are met with all over the country, and carried on capitals of just such rounded form as were commonly and, indeed, universally, applied to them.

The same line of arcading which forms the clearstorey is continued, with a slightly increased height, across the west end of the nave. This is pierced for two windows at that level, and for one over them in the gable, the whole forming, perhaps, as chastely simple and elegant a composition as can be found. Below, in the great west doorway, we meet, under a pedimented head, with a deep archway of three orders of square-set roll-and-hollow mouldings, but, like those of the choir, without fillets, and carried on similar round caps, as perfectly fitted to each other as caps and mouldings, of any sort, can be anywhere. Of these, once more, however, since they would have proved utterly subversive of his theory, Sir Gilbert, although he himself supplied them with new shafts and circular capitals, has, prudently, not a word to say.

On the north and south sides are similar shafted doorways, but smaller and simpler, and having only plain chamfers for their arch-moulds. Both originally had porches, the walls of which rose high above those of the low side aisles, and, standing out transeptally, served to break the monotony of their continuous and steeply sloping roofs. The ridges of these porch roofs were about level with those of the aisles themselves beneath the clearstorey, but both roofs and porches were, apparently, destroyed when the aisle walls were raised to their present height.

A slight, but marked difference of design occurs in the nave

clearstoreys which, since it is, I think, universally unnoticed, seems worth pointing out. Towards the south, each bay is marked off by the introduction of flat and narrow pilaster buttresses, or wall strips; just sufficient to mark the distinction and no more. Small and insignificant as they are, however, they serve, quite visibly, to interrupt and mar the continuity of the arcade. Towards the north these pilaster strips are omitted; and, however correct in principle they may be, very greatly, I think, to the advantage of the general effect. Though there would, of course, be no break in the continuance of the works, this improved arrangement would seem to point pretty clearly to the fact that the north clearstorey of the nave, like the upper part of the north transept, followed, if not the completion, at least the commencement, of that opposite to it.

VII.

With the single exception of the roof of the choir, those of the church generally, up to the time of the late restoration, retained not only very nearly their ancient pitch, but also their ancient leaden coverings. Having suffered no greater loss than that of the decayed ends of their rafters, the defect was all the more readily made good, and they have now, once more, been brought back to their proper height.[18] An entirely new roof of corresponding form and character having also been placed upon the chancel, in lieu of a very poor and flat one of the fifteenth century, the general outline of the building which, till then, had been utterly ruined, has also recovered its pristine dignity. At the same time, nearly the whole of the east end above the lowest string-course, which had been destroyed in 1748, and

[18] In Mr. Longstaffe's *History of Darlington*, a work, generally speaking, full of interesting and valuable detail, some highly original and surprising ideas in connection with the roofs of the church are broached. Instead of being of the original construction, as they unquestionably are, he supposes them to be of the Decorated period, and to have supplanted those of Pudsey's or some later date. These, he imagines, were of stone, springing, not as they should have done, and as everywhere else, in such cases, they invariably did, from the bottom of the clearstorey, but from the top, and coinciding in form and altitude with the open discharging arches which surmount those of the crossing. Then, these vaulted roofs being, in the fourteenth century, held accountable for the various settlements which took place at that time, instead of the weight of the new tower and spire which actually caused them, and below, and in immediate connection with which they alone occurred, led, as he supposes, to their removal, and to the erection of the present roofs in their stead. But, ingenious as the theory may be, it is far too ingenious to be true; the very slightest knowledge of construc-

rebuilt in a cheap and nasty fashion, was taken down and reconstructed according to the original design, and, very largely, with its own disembedded and original materials. These proved to be of the utmost value as affording evidence not only of what the design was, but of the exact form and proportion of its component parts. Previous to this discovery, Sir Gilbert, jumping to just as hasty and erroneous a conclusion with respect to its plan as to that of its date, had a large and very fine folio drawing, prepared by the late Mr. R. J. Johnson, showing it in what purported to be its original condition. That, notwithstanding the considerably greater width of the choir, and the fact that the *head* of the low central buttress remained intact below the lowest string-course, as it does still, he 'conjectured' to consist of four lancet lights, arranged two and two in each storey like those of the transepts, with the buttress running up between them, and a foiled circle in the gable over all. The recovered voussoirs prove, however, what the very slightest reflection might have shown, that such could not possibly have been the case. The head of the buttress, as clearly appeared, was fixed in the first instance where it is; because, though with a different grouping, the east end, like the sides, was lighted in each stage by three windows, which, of course, forbade its being carried higher.[19] Yet, Sir Gilbert, esteeming its

tion sufficing to show that it is impossible. Independently of the fact that such vaults were unknown in English architecture, it may be added that unless the space to be covered be very narrow and the supporting walls low and of great strength or very powerfully buttressed, vaults sprang from their summits would speedily and surely fall. But the height and breadth of the four limbs of Darlington church are too great, and the construction of the walls too feeble to have allowed the erection of any such vaults at all; and which, even if erected, instead of standing for two centuries, as supposed, would not, probably, have stood for as many weeks. Moreover, the action of the vaults would have been to thrust all the walls of the church, in their entire extent, out from the top, which is not the case; and not to have driven them vertically into the ground beneath the angles of the tower only, as has actually happened.

[19] In three other thirteenth-century Durham churches, the same remarkable feature of a dwarf buttress in the centre of the east wall of the chancel, and stopped short below the sill of the central lancet, also occurs. We see it at Gainford, within a few miles' distance, where the work is exactly contemporaneous with this at Darlington, and as the similarity of some of the decorative features to those in the south transept there serves to show, probably executed by the same man. Also at Ryton, of rather later date, and again at Easington, where there are five lights instead of three. It is found also in the case of the fine thirteenth-century abbey church of Egliston, near Barnard Castle, beneath the sill of the large and very peculiar east window of five lights, which, under a deep and richly moulded arch penetrating the entire thickness of the wall, fills the whole extremity of the choir.

witness of no more account than that of the historians, and as hastily impatient of it as of the architecture of the other parts, had it carried up, theoretically, notwithstanding.

But, to the recovered details. They showed, in the first place, that the mouldings of the triplets followed exactly in each storey the respective patterns of the side lights. But they happily did more than this. They enabled the radii of the arches, and consequently the width of the windows, to be accurately ascertained. Still more, and most important, perhaps, of all, a double springer connecting the central light with that on one side, showed that the three, besides being of unequal width, were also of unequal height; the one side of it taking the curve of the head of the lower or side light, while the other one went up vertically. Every available stone has been carefully replaced in these fine and impressive windows, both inside and out; while the sections of the capitals of the recovered nook-shafts, too mutilated for reinsertion, have been carefully reproduced. (See Plates V. and VI.) Like the rest, they fit their places and their mouldings admirably.[20]

But little further, from an architectural point of view, remains to say. As left by its first builders, the church continued untouched till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when, as we have seen, the aisles were raised, and the tower, which, till then, had remained unfinished, received its rich upper storey and tall tapering spire; crowning glories, but alas! crowning griefs. Admirable in design, and harmonizing perfectly with all below, they served, as in the parallel, if far grander case of Salisbury, to give just that amount of increased richness so desirable for accentuating such features, and relieving at the same time the, perhaps, otherwise, somewhat monotonous uniformity of the rest.

[20] The restoration of the chancel was committed by the then lay impropriator, Harry, fourth duke of Cleveland, to Mr. J. P. Pritchett of Darlington, to whose courtesy and kindness, and that of his son, Mr. H. D. Pritchett, the society is indebted for the use of all such of his many drawings, photographs, plans and sections of parts, and mouldings, as might be deemed useful for the illustration of this account. Several of the latter were taken at the time, of full size, neither sketched nor measured, but traced from the stones themselves, which, after being carefully cleaned, were laid upon the paper. The accompanying sections, reproduced from these tracings, may therefore be depended upon for absolute and altogether exceptional accuracy. I am happy to add here my testimony to the extreme care and perfect success with which the restoration of the chancel, using the term in its fullest and most exact sense, has been carried out. Nothing, indeed, could have been done in an abler, more scrupulously conscientious, or conservative way.

Inspired, in all likelihood, by the arcading of the clearstorey, the fourteenth-century architect adopted a similar scheme of decoration for his belfry stage.[21] If not quite unique it must, I think, be very nearly so, and is, at any rate, of a very unusual character indeed. As will be seen from the exterior views, it consists of a series of five pointed arches on each face of the tower, the central one of which only pierces the wall, divided into two lights each, and filled, like the aisle-windows, with net-tracery. As in their case again, this is beautifully formed, and has the peculiarity, very rare indeed at its period, of having soffit cusping. This contrast of proportions imparts a degree of delicacy and refinement to the work altogether admirable; and which, but for the circumstance of the design being continuous and not confined to a single panel, might probably not have occurred. Why the long destroyed mullions of the central windows should not have been replaced either at, or since, the time of the restoration, but the openings suffered to remain blocked with hideous louvre-boards passes comprehension. The black ugliness of these blotches constitutes a blemish and eye-sore visible, far and wide, in all directions; and goes farther, outside, to spoil the effect of the church, and of all that has been done for it, than could easily be imagined.

Only the lower third of the spire is original, the upper parts having been destroyed by lightning 'on Tuesday, the 17th July, 1750.' In the rebuilding which, on the whole, was effected in a very creditable and praiseworthy manner, the angle beading, which still remains below, was, most unfortunately, omitted, to the great detriment of its effect. The wonderful softness and richness of outline imparted, not merely to the angles themselves, but to the spire as a whole, by a device so seemingly trivial, could hardly, I think, be realized before viewing what remains of it in connection with the comparatively bald nakedness of the rest. Nothing, perhaps, could serve to illustrate more completely the masterly skill and judgment of the old builders than the adoption of so simple and effective a feature as this.

[21] In the *History of Darlington* it is stated that 'The tower has a series of five Early English arches at each side filled with Decorated tracery, the centre one pierced as a belfry window.' The arches, of course, are nothing of the kind, but of late fourteenth-century work, of the same date as the walls, of which they form part, of the spire which surmounts, and of the tracery which not only fills, but is incorporated with, and *worked out of the same stones as themselves.*

A few words only as regards the present state and aspect of the church in conclusion. Notwithstanding the vast amount of money, care, and talent which have been expended on it, the interior of the building, although galleries and other obstructions of phenomenal magnitude have been cleared away, remains still in a condition utterly, and from every point of view, deplorable. Not that anything, as so almost universally happens, has been done amiss, far from it; but that, while so many things have been done, and done as well as possible, that which above all else cried out for remedy has simply been left undone.

I have already spoken of the new tower and spire as being something more than crowning glories, viz., crowning griefs. Could their builders only have foreseen half the mischief that was to follow, it may safely, I think, be said of their work, that they would have 'let that alone for ever.' Sir Gilbert Scott, however, unless gravely misreported, would seem to have taken a wholly different view of the case, and come to the conclusion that they not only calculated beforehand what disasters would ensue, but proceeded at once, and before commencing operations, to provide the remedies. These, as the plan and views will help to show, amounted to nothing less than the deliberate destruction of nearly all the chief beauties of the church. The westernmost windows of the choir, both above and below on each side, together with their attached wall-arcades, were accordingly solidly blocked up; the splendid clustered shafts at the eastern intersection of the transepts, up to and including their fine foliated capitals, embedded in shapeless masses of rude masonry; the eastern windows of the transepts, one below in the north, and two, one above and another below, in the south, likewise built up; huge ungainly props or buttresses constructed across the angles of the choir and transepts externally; and worst, or nearly worst of all, perhaps, the beautiful wall-arcading of both choir and transepts, but especially of the south transept, filled up flush with stonework, thereby completely ruining the whole beauty and symmetry of its design. But worse, if possible, than all this put together, at any rate from a practical, or utilitarian point of view, in order to prevent the buckling of the eastern piers, a platform of solid stone, some thirteen feet high and seven broad, and pierced in its centre

by a low and narrow archway, exactly like a bridge, was introduced between them, shutting off the choir, all but entirely, from sight and sound, and leaving it as practically useless, as its adjoining parts disfigured.[22] All this, unhappily, has been allowed to remain precisely as it was. And all this, Sir Gilbert asks us to believe, the builders of the tower and spire perpetrated deliberately, with their eyes open, and in cold blood, before they commenced their work. 'Bishop Pudsey, he thought, never intended the piers to support a tower of anything like the weight of the one resting upon them. The builders of the tower, indeed, had evidently distrusted them, as they built up the windows, as was seen on both sides of the piers, and also constructed the screen.'

How such an idea could have presented itself to any mind whatever, least of all to that of a practical builder and archaeologist like Sir Gilbert Scott, seems altogether unintelligible. Where, it may be asked, in all the length and breadth of the land, is anything like a parallel case to such proceedings to be found? Desperate remedies to avert impending ruin may be seen, scattered all over, plentifully enough; but where, a single instance of wholesale propping and mutilation practised speculatively beforehand, when, to all appearance, the existing works, exhibiting no signs of weakness or decay, seemed fully equal to the purpose? It was never, in any case, until signs of failure made their appearance, that such remedies were either supplied or dreamt of. Nor, indeed, was it possible in such cases, any more than in that of the human subject, to know, before the development of the symptoms, either the kind or extent of the remedies required, or whereabouts they should be applied. How, at York for example, could the builders of the central lantern possibly have imagined that the enormous piers, capable apparently, of carrying any weight that could be laid upon them, would prove inadequate to the load of even such a structure, nearly all windows, and vaulted merely with wood? But we see, as they themselves did when too late, how

[22] Whether 'William the engineer,' who was employed by bishop Pudsey during the latter part of his life, was the designer of the church at Darlington or not, cannot now be said. From the total absence of all engineering capacity displayed in its construction, however, as in that of other works presumably proceeding from the same hand, we might be led to suppose that, in all probability, he was. As an architect, from the artistic point of view, he was doubtless a conspicuous success; as an engineer, like his works, structurally considered, in an only too literal sense—a failure.

its weight drove those piers vertically eight inches into the ground, and not only dragged down and dislocated all the adjoining masonry in the most frightful way along with them, but pushed the piers and arches of the transepts also greatly out of place. All the patchings and pieceings which, in order to conceal distortions and make good defects, were necessarily on a very extensive scale, and, as we may be sure, very reluctantly undertaken, took place, not, of course, as Sir Gilbert would make out in the case of Darlington, beforehand, but only after the extent and direction of the settlements was revealed.

And so, too, at Canterbury, where much the same kind of thing occurred, only on a far more extensive scale, and in a slightly different way. There too, when under very similar circumstances to those at York, prior Goldstone, in 1495, carried up the splendid 'Angel Steeple,' he had, as the builders in that case, to make use of vast piers containing the work of various periods from that of Lanfranc (1070-77) down to about a century before his own. These also, refaced largely as they were at the latter date, looked, doubtless, thoroughly efficient. But the usual result followed, and that, apparently, without delay, for the same prior is reported to have built not the tower only, but that unparalleled system of arch-bracing and buttressing which still serves to keep it up. Two great strainer arches then, would seem, almost immediately, to have been thrown across, at about mid-height, below the western and southern arches; while four other smaller arches were built as additional supports to the two western piers on which they rested, across the east ends of the north and south aisles of the nave, and beneath the easternmost nave arches on either side; those last-named arches themselves being further immensely strengthened by the introduction of massive inner arches carried on additional responds applied to the crossing, and final nave, piers alike. (For a full and most admirable account of these works, see the late Professor Willis's *Canterbury Cathedral.*) In the case of a tower built anew from the foundations, it is clear that an architect would be able, to some approximate extent, to calculate the amount of pressure and thrust which it would exercise, and provide for both accordingly. But, in cases such as these, it was otherwise. They neither did, nor could, know what the hearts of those huge and superficially strong

piers were like. They had no idea whatever either of the quality or extent of the unsound work within, nor could they possibly predicate whereabouts, or how far, they would yield to the new strain, or, indeed, whether they would yield at all. At Chichester, as we know, the piers of the central tower, though wholly unfortified by extraneous support, yet bore their new load, rotten, as recent experience has shown their cores to have been, for full five hundred years. How then, could the builders, either at Canterbury or York, form any idea of when, or where, or in what shape, or to what extent, the yielding, if it ever occurred at all, would declare itself? Though the exact date of the Canterbury work is unknown, nothing, I think, could serve to show more clearly than the very intricacy and extent of the system of stiffening and counterthrusts established there, that it must necessarily have been carried out, not by any mere previous guess-work at weaknesses of which there were no signs, but only after such weaknesses had declared themselves, and then, at the precise points, and to the exact degree, required.

At Wells and Salisbury, again, both of whose central towers, possessing piers of less bulk, and more uniform construction than those of Canterbury and York, and therefore more analogous to the case of Darlington, we find all the buttressing appliances to be subsequent, not prior to, the new works. At Wells, indeed, not only those works, and the mischiefs they caused, and the means taken to remedy them, but the Chapter Acts as well, remain to tell us all particulars. Just as at Darlington, the original early piers and arches, with the superstructure, had been carried up only to the roofs. There the building stopped. Then, some thirty years or so before the tower and spire of Darlington were built, the upper parts of the tower were proceeded with in 1321. In less than six years time, however, though of no great height or weight, the Chapter meetings tell us of the threatened ruin of the structure. 'One thousand pounds spent and two hundred pounds of debt,' says Professor Willis, 'attest the expenditure, and the means resorted to are still too visible. The lofty tower arches, excepting the eastern, are each,' he proceeds, 'obstructed by a massive frame of masonry, consisting of an inverted arch, resting upon a low arch, each spandril space being occupied by a circle, connecting these

two arches with the tower arch responds, between which they stand, in such a manner as effectually to prevent the latter from bulging in. The fractured and distorted masonry of the nave was also repaired or rebuilt, its triforium spaces walled up, and other buttressing contrivances introduced. These various devices have proved perfectly successful in sustaining the tower, but detract greatly from the beauty of the interior.' The remedies, we see, were applied, as doubtless they were at Canterbury, just where the actual development of fractures showed that they were needed. For how, otherwise, could the restorers have known beforehand, or even guessed, that in this case as in that, the two western piers only would give way, while the two eastern ones would stand firm, and need no buttressing at all? Priors and convents, like private people, did not usually, one may suppose, anticipate evils that might possibly not exist, nor incur doctors' bills and discomfort till something really ailed them.

Salisbury, however, affords the exactest parallel of all of these to Darlington. There the addition was not merely of a tower, but of a spire as well. There, too, no remnants of an earlier building were incorporated in the existing one, and there too the walls had been carried up only to the ridges of the roof. Moreover, exactly as at Darlington, the original builders, as is clear, had never designed the piers and arches of the crossing to carry anything like the load subsequently laid upon them. Both buildings also, as well as their after additions, are curiously contemporaneous: the foundations of Darlington having been laid in 1192, and those of Salisbury in 1220; while the tower and spire of Salisbury were commenced about 1331, and those of Darlington about 1350.

But, just as at Wells and Canterbury, so here again; no sooner were the new works completed, than symptoms of approaching ruin set in. Chapter meetings from 1387 to 1417, testify to the danger, and to the anxious collection of funds wherewith to meet it. How threatening it was the remedies applied prove. Again, curiously enough, as at Wells and Canterbury, it was the western piers which gave way. Although not so massive as those employed at Wells, the remedies resorted to were similar in kind, namely, the introduction of inverted arches into the north and south openings of the small transept; and of a similar contrivance to the north and south tower

arches, consisting of a bridging arch, which connects the responds of those arches, and acts as a strut to prevent them from bulging. Also a variety of arched braces and other props and ties were introduced into the apertures to relieve the great arches from part of the superincumbent weight by distributing it on the adjacent walls, and so prevent them from spreading. Price enumerates no fewer than one hundred and twelve of these additional supports, exclusive of iron bandages.

As in the preceding instances, and others innumerable elsewhere, the whole of the remedial appliances were due, we see, not to forethought, but afterthought; and brought to bear, not speculatively, on parts which, for anything the builders could tell, would never need them, but precisely at the points of actual, or threatened, failure.

And such, beyond all shadow of doubt, was the case here also at Darlington. There was just this difference, however, between it and the several instances above cited; that whereas their towers stood upon four detached piers, this, though a cross church, had, owing to the fact of the choir being aisleless, two only of its four piers detached; the other two, consisting of semi-piers, being embedded in, and supported by, the angle walls of the choir and transepts. But how could the builders of the tower and spire here, any more than there, have imagined at the commencement of their work, when both piers and arches were perfectly sound and symmetrical, and presented every appearance of strength, that their foundations were deficient? And how, still less, could they have imagined that those parts which, to all seeming, possessed such superabundant strength at the two eastern angles, would yet give way, and be the first to yield? With no evidence whatever of such weakness before them, how is it possible to conceive those men pitching beforehand on the very parts which, above all others, seemed firmest and most secure, and applying to them that vast, and, so far as the appearance of the church is concerned, hideously destructive system of internal and external buttressing which we see to-day? Yet, that is precisely what we are asked to believe they did. Were they, indeed, gifted with such a supernatural degree of foresight as that view of their conduct presupposes; it might well be asked how it happened that they did not rather apply themselves to the root of the matter at once; and instead of permanently crippling and disfiguring the building at a vast cost,

adopt the far cheaper plan of underpinning the piers, and so save both church and money at the same time. It is but too evident, however, that Sir Gilbert was here speaking with the same rash and inconsiderate haste as he did before. For, if he had but allowed himself time to think, or examine even superficially, the building whose history he was professing to trace, he might have seen that, theory apart, its evidence here, as elsewhere, belied his utterance; the dragged down and distorted arches of the choir windows showing clearly that the settlements must have taken place before their openings were blocked.

But it is only due to Sir Gilbert's memory to say that the perpetuation of those frightful degradations to which the erection of the tower and spire gave birth is due to others rather than to himself. It is, indeed, public knowledge that had he been left to follow his own professional and artistic instincts, those never sufficiently to be lamented evils would long since have been got rid of, and the church, once more, brought back to its pristine use and beauty. Most unhappily, however, he was not allowed to have his own way; for while the works of restoration were in progress, and the question of clearing away the obstructive arch was mooted, it at once called forth a vehement, if little more than individual, opposition. The bare suggestion was at once publicly denounced as vandalism; the wanton destruction of an ancient monument of the most precious and unique character; and heaven and earth invoked to witness to the sacrilege. The consequence was that Sir Gilbert, yielding weakly to such an outburst of zeal, untempered by either knowledge or discretion, refused to take further steps; nor could all the after-solicitations or remonstrances of sober-minded and rational people induce him to alter his resolve. As so often happens, the opportunity once gone cannot, there is too much reason to fear, now, or perhaps ever, be recalled. At the time, however, all the mischief incurred could easily have been obviated, and, comparatively speaking, at a trifling expence. While the costly shoring was in place, and the tower arches were blocked solidly with timber, not only could the bridge, which was then discovered to be as practically useless[23] as obstructively frightful, have

[23] Such, I was assured by the master mason employed during the restoration, was positively the case. Not only, as he took occasion to prove to Sir Gilbert

been readily removed, but all the cumbrous casing of the piers along with it ; and those most central and beautiful features, together with the adjacent windows and wall arcading, have been restored, and opened out to view. As the *extra* cost for remedying these evils would now, it is said, amount to between one and two thousand pounds, the time for doing so seems relegated, consequently, to the Greek kalends.

Such, from a purely architectural standpoint, are the observations I have to offer with regard to this most interesting, and once beautiful church. It neither is, nor ever was, my purpose to give anything in the nature of a general, or popular, account, either of the building or its history. My concern has been altogether with the critical examination of its structure and details ; and if I have succeeded in disentangling either one or other from the maze of wild theory and ignorant speculation in which they have latterly been involved ; and in vindicating the claims of the great, if not, according to modern views, perhaps, good, bishop Hugh Pudsey, to be not merely the founder, but actual builder of it, I shall be well content.

Recapitulation.

In order that those who having neither sufficient knowledge of architectural detail, nor patience, if they had, to follow the account contained in the foregoing pages, may yet be able to grasp its general scope and purpose ; as also, that those who have done so, may possess it in a briefer and more convenient form; I have thought that the following summary might, possibly, prove useful ; giving Sir G. Gilbert Scott's various assertions on the one side, and the refutations of them, in as condensed a form as may be, on the other :—

I.—In the first place, then, Sir Gilbert affirms that 'the date of

personally, by thrusting a shovel as far as it would reach underneath, were the foundations worthless, but he further ascertained that it had no hold upon the side walls so as to act towards them as a buttress. As a strainer arch its planning alone shows that, from the first, it could have been of no account. Had the man who designed it really understood his business, he might here, as at Rushden and Finedon, have converted a structural need into an architectural beauty, by throwing a flat strong arch of open stone work from side to side, and so, while preventing the piers from bulging, and without obstructing either sight or sound, have provided a noble chancel screen and rood loft at the same time. It was undoubtedly a great opportunity then, *as since*, lost. At the present time, whatever slight support it may once have offered, it is, there is every reason to think, of no more practical use than a waggon load of hay.

Darlington church is involved in perplexity—that historians do not tell us with any certainty when the church was built, or by whom.'

On the contrary, the contemporary historian prior Galfrid of Coldingham, tells us distinctly, that the church was built by bishop Pudsey, and that its foundations were laid in 1192; adding, what is of the highest importance in connection with the architectural evidence that, notwithstanding the various troubles which beset the latter part of his life, *he suffered nothing to interfere with the progress of the works*, a statement corroborated by prior Wessington, of Durham (1416-1446), who, speaking either from local history or tradition, says that Pudsey built it *from the very foundations.*

II.—In the next place Sir Gilbert says that 'we have a building which every here and there has details which at once remind us of the period of the Transition, but at the same time intimately mixed up with those which do not belong to the Transition at all; there are details of 1190 or 1200, side by side with details of 1220 or 1230, or even later.'

But, instead of finding, as asserted, in a purely Early English building, a few scattered details which every here and there *remind* us of those of the Transitional period, the architecture, both of choir and transepts, as their mouldings, the only true tests of date or style, prove, is that of the Transition throughout. The sections of the several string-courses, which are carried along the walls in their entirety from below the sills of the lower windows to above the heads of the upper ones, are thoroughly Transitional, and not Early English at all; whence it follows that the walls themselves, of which they may be said to form the skeleton or framework, are Transitional also. And then, as none of the windows or other features is, or is even pretended to be, later insertions, it follows, further, that they, too, must be of the same period. But more than this: the mouldings of these windows, as the reduced full-size sections show, are no more Early English, or anything like it, than are the string-courses, but of the most pronounced Transitional type imaginable, with double square edges instead of chamfers in the lower ones of the choir, and with the roll moulds of the sides, both there and in those of the transepts, returned horizontally along the sills, exactly as in the chapel of Sherburn hospital, which was already built by Pudsey in 1185, some eight years or more before the works at Darlington were commenced.

The only details which could for a moment, and that only when seen from the outside, be attributed to 1220 or 1230, are the clear-storey windows of the transepts; but even these, when examined from the inside, are discovered, from their Transitional hood, and arch-moulds, and the square abaci of their accompanying capitals, to be of just the same date as all the rest.

III.—In the next place, Sir Gilbert says that 'the architecture of the building was that of the *advanced* Early English style, with one exception; that was the flat buttresses, which were exactly similar to those found in Norman buildings, and to those of Ripon cathedral.'

This statement will be seen to contain in itself as complete a refutation as could possibly be applied to it; the very existence of these flat buttresses which are quite unknown to the advanced Early English style, and are continued round the whole of the choir and transepts from base to summit, proving both in itself, and in connection with the other details, that they, and the entire intervening wall spaces, are of the same early and Transitional period.

IV.—Again, Sir Gilbert 'conjectures' that bishop Pudsey began the whole eastern part, and carried it up to the string-course below the windows; also that he 'prepared a great quantity of materials for carrying the work on, and that after his death some considerable time must have transpired before the work was commenced again,' when 'the builders used up, so far as they could, the prepared work left behind, and then, the new capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square;' and, 'with the exception of the lowest part, and certain details prepared before, the whole belonged, instead of to Pudsey, to the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.'

It is conceded that the bishop carried up the basement of the three eastern limbs as far as the string-course below the lower windows. But this consists only of a few courses of perfectly plain walling which could easily have been built in three months. Yet this, we are asked to believe, was all that the bishop and the whole body of masons at his command were able to accomplish, despite his eagerness, in three full years! Then, the details which were before spoken of as every here and there *reminding* us of those of the Transitional period, are now described as a great quantity of materials actually prepared in the

bishop's lifetime, which was that of the Transition itself, but not set in their place. All such details, however, as none knew better than Sir Gilbert himself, are, and always were, set as soon as ready, and not left to accumulate. More than this: we are asked to believe that all this material, after lying idle for thirty years or more, was then, together with the whole body of the church, erected by some person wholly unknown either to history or tradition. And all this monstrous fiction he bases on the fact that while the moulding of the wall-arcades are what it suits his purpose to call *square*, the abaci of their little capitals, or some of them, are *round*. But, since the mouldings, consisting of a simple roll, or roll and fillet between two hollows, are, as Sir Gilbert perfectly well knew, precisely those used throughout the whole of the late Transitional and Early English period, and universally carried on round abaci, the statement, it is clear, can only have been made to throw dust in the eyes of the unwary; and account, in an, apparently, marvellously clever way, for what was perfectly simple and commonplace, and required no accounting for at all.

Again, in attributing the so-called square mouldings to Pudsey's time, while referring the little capitals that carry them to 1225 or 1230, he left himself no time to consider how far his argument carried him; for, instead of stopping short at a few details 'here and there,' it embraces not only the whole of the arcade and window moulds of the three eastern limbs, but the great arches of the crossing, together with those opening into the nave aisles, and of all the nave clearstoreys and great western doorway as well. The whole of this enormous mass of material, which would have blocked up the entire surface of the ground far and wide, we are invited to believe was, instead of being put together as it was finished, for no conceivable reason whatever, left lying about for thirty years awaiting the little circular capitals which alone had not been cut; and which, when they were, according to his showing, did not fit. Yes, out of the whole multitude, Sir Gilbert found *one* (he tells us so expressly) whose arch-moulds overhang it! And on this basis, which exactly represents the feat of erecting a pyramid upon its apex, he constructs his theory. So far from the mouldings overhanging their capitals as he asserts they would all, or almost all, do if not trimmed off, there are, out of the entire number, three only, which do so to the minutest conceivable extent; and that,

not through any unfitness of the round abaci to their place, but simply through the carver's having cut them some quarter of an inch or so too small. It should be observed that, throughout the entire range of the three eastern limbs, the idea of the sculptor has been to restrain the diameter of his abaci within the least possible limits, a sort of reaction, probably, from the excessive projection of the earlier square forms, and that, in the three particular instances specified, he has carried this system just the veriest trifle too far. In the somewhat later nave clearstoreys, and the great western doorway, the abaci are of a fuller and freer development, proving clearly that those of the choir and transepts are, not as Sir Gilbert tries to make out, thirty years later than the whole of their surroundings; but, as might naturally be supposed, of the same period, consequently somewhat tentative and immature.

V.—'Looking at the two transepts,' Sir Gilbert continues, 'he should say that the north one was built of many of the old materials left behind, and the south one of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own. Those details were of the Early English style.' But, as the choir was undoubtedly built before either of the transepts, any details left behind, after the imaginary cessation of the works, would naturally be used up there. And then the details of the north transept, unlike those of the south, are similar to, and all of a piece with, those of the crossing, which must necessarily have followed after the erection of both transepts, as otherwise its great arches would have been without support. Besides, its upper parts could only have been built after the erection of the north-west pier, which is manifestly the latest of the four crossing piers, since they are both built into, and upon, it, just as the corresponding parts of the south transept are built into, and upon, the earlier south-west pier.

As to the south transepts being built 'about the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century of fresh materials, with details entirely of their own,' he has, through a hasty impression of general effect, simply fallen into the vulgar error of assuming that the richer work must naturally be the later; without stopping to examine the mouldings which, even in the very topmost string-courses, are of the intensest Transitional character, and continuations of those similarly situated in the choir.

VI.—'Bishop Pudsey,' Sir Gilbert tells us finally, 'never intended the piers to support a tower of anything like the weight of the one resting upon them. The builders of the tower, indeed, had evidently distrusted them, as they built up the windows, as was seen on both sides of the piers, and also constructed the screen.'

The first sentence of this statement is undoubtedly true. But, instead of mutilating the finest features of the church beyond remedy by the blocking up of the windows and wall-arcades of the choir and transepts, and the casing of the eastern piers of the crossing with hideous masses of rude masonry, by way of preliminary safeguards; it is evident that such remedies were, and could only be, applied here, as in all other similar cases, *after* the new works were finished, and the results became apparent. Otherwise, how were the builders, who could not possibly know anything of the deficient foundations, to tell which, if any, of them would give way, or to what extent? That the remedies were only applied after the settlements took place, and not before, as alleged by Sir Gilbert, may be inferred, not merely from analogy, but from the fact of the adjacent window arches being dragged down in a way that could not have happened had they been previously blocked up.

One thing only, I think, needs stating here, finally, and in express terms; and that is, that the church, one of the noblest and most deeply interesting buildings to be found, is not, as Sir G. Gilbert Scott, in spite of contemporary history, endeavoured to make it appear, in the main, the work of some wholly unknown and unheard of person, or persons, of the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, who availed themselves of the commenced, but abortive, attempt of bishop Pudsey to erect it; but, on the contrary, up to, and inclusive of the eastern arches of the nave, undoubtedly that of the bishop himself, and completed by him in his lifetime. Whether so much can be said for the western parts which, by whomsoever built, went up without delay, is possibly, though only possibly, doubtful. That the three years of the bishop's life, after the foundations were laid, were not only sufficient, but more than sufficient, for the completion of the whole fabric, exclusive of the later tower and spire, any builder can testify who, without the least hesitation, would undertake to do the like in half the time, or less; while, that there was money enough, is shown by the

fact that, at the very moment of the bishop's death, he directed the sum of £2,000, an enormous sum in those days, and equal, at least, £40,000 in our own, which he had promised the king for the earldom of Northumberland, though he was then unable to enjoy the dignity, to be paid.

The building, consequently, in a way to which I knew no parallel, shows us in the most perfect and instructive manner imaginable, the gradually progressive steps by which the distinct Transitional style of the choir passes through what Sir Gilbert, in his excellent lectures on Mediæval Architecture, aptly calls the '*transition* from the *transition*' of the transepts, into the pure Early English of the west front of the nave; a lesson which no one interested in the study, seeing no one other building in the kingdom, perhaps, contains the like, should on any account neglect to lay to heart, for it will well repay his utmost care.

The following principal dimensions of the church have been supplied by Mr. Pritchett, who, unsolicited, has, in the kindest manner, taken them specially, and with the greatest care, for the present account :—

	Ft.	In.	Width across Transepts.	Ft.	In.
Length of chancel	35	6	Transepts, each	25	6
West wall of chancel ...	3	6	Do.	25	6
Inside of tower	19	0	Tower	21	6
West wall of tower	3	6	Walls of tower	3	6
Nave	71	6	Do.	3	6
Total	133	0	Total	79	6

Width across Nave, etc.	Ft.	In.
Nave	22	4
Aisle	9	2
Do.	9	2
Pier wall	3	2
Do.	3	2
Total	47	0

	Ft.	In.
Height of nave roof from floor to ridge	65	0
Height of tower to top of parapets	85	0
Height of spire to top of vane	183	8
Total outside length to face of pilasters above plinth ...	145	6
Total width across transepts of pilasters above plinth ...	92	0

ADDENDA.

To the account already given I have thought it desirable to add the two accompanying plates and descriptions to show still more clearly, and on a larger scale, examples of some of the abaci of Darlington church, and of the way in which their arch-moulds really sit upon them. They are reduced from carefully measured full size drawings taken by myself, and will serve to show, far more intelligibly than words can do, how entirely misleading and erroneous the late Sir G. G. Scott's statements respecting them are.

Plate VIII. fig. 1, shows one from the lower range of the north end of the north transept. In this instance, as in several others which occur quite indiscriminately, it will be observed that the arch-moulds do not descend to the circular abacus at all, but are received upon a square block with a steeply sloping surface. Further, it will be observed that the fillets of these arch-moulds do not, of course, project so far as the angles of the square block on which they rest, but that the angles of the block are broached into them, so as to unite the rectangular and oblique surfaces. And these broaches, which belong plainly to the block, and not in the least to the arch-moulds, it will be further observed, just come up to, without overhanging, even the inner line of the abacus. What then becomes of Sir Gilbert's allegation that 'the capitals were formed on the round system, although the mouldings were square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would have overhung the circle?' Why, even the square block itself does not overhang the circle, how much less then the mouldings which are set well within the angles of the block; and where again, it may be asked, does the trimming come in? The square block rests square and level on its bed, but there is no trimming, whittling away or paring down, as seems to be implied, of any kind whatever. In the corresponding capital to the right, the moulds descend straight down upon the abacus proper, without the intervention of any square block. I have stated in the text that there are just three cases altogether—only to be detected on the closest scrutiny and when purposely hunted for—in which the points, not of the mouldings, but only of the square blocks from which they spring, can be detected as just perceptibly overhanging the circular lines of the abaci; and but one which does

so to an extent which can be seen without difficulty. I find that, in the desire to be strictly accurate, I have admitted considerably too much. Such, indeed, seemed to be the case when viewed from below, that is, from the ground. But, when seen from the top of a ladder, below, or on a level with, the eye, the actual plan is discovered to be quite different. The upper moulds of the abaci (as the elevation of one of the capitals on plate IX. will show) are rounded, forming a quarter of a circle, and it is seen that in these three instances, out of the whole number, the points of the square blocks barely overlap the *inner* lines of these mouldings, and thus, when seen from underneath, show minute and dark triangular surfaces. And it is just these points of the beds of the square blocks which Sir Gilbert speaks of as being trimmed off, as, otherwise, they would have overhung the circles. But this is absurd; for, so far from overhanging they don't reach the outer lines of the circles by half, or three-quarters, of an inch. Had the angles of the blocks been continued down till they reached the rounded surface of the moulds, or, had the moulds at the point of contact been left square or level, so as to form a seat, then these apparently projecting angles would have disappeared altogether, and the argument founded on their presence along with them. As it is, the beds have been simply left to themselves, thus showing at the angles of the blocks a minute gap or space where the rounded mould of the abaci falls away from them. In what sense they can be said to be 'trimmed off,' when thus severely 'let alone,' passes comprehension. (See section given on plate IX. fig. 3, which will explain the arrangement perfectly.) Only in one case do the angles of the block project as far as the *outer* line of the abacus—the one single individual instance which Sir Gilbert specifies with such emphasis, and on which his whole theory is constructed. The idea, or caprice, of setting the square block upon the circular abacus is, in effect, very much the same as that of setting a square abacus upon a round or pointed bell shaped capital, as shown in the case of the respond of the arch opening into the south aisle of the nave, and where the projecting angles are seen supported by foliage.

Plate VIII. No. 2, shows mouldings practically identical with those above described and illustrated from Darlington, but with the roll and fillet moulds only brought somewhat closer together at their

seat, or line of springing. In the course of a few inches, however, they clear themselves, when the mouldings become perfectly developed and the appearance of the two sets is then identical. In the groining of the south porch of S. Andrew Auckland church, where similar mouldings occur, the three roll and fillet moulds of the transverse and diagonal ribs are brought so close together at the point of springing from the abaci of the caps that the intervening hollows disappear altogether. They are, moreover, brought to the extreme verge of the abacus which can barely hold them, entirely filling up the whole surface.

Now, it is not a little curious to note how every word that Sir Gilbert Scott urged so persistently against the arch-moulds and abaci of the Darlington arcades being contemporaneous, applies in exactly equal proportion to those at Durham—'the capitals are formed on the round system, although the mouldings are square, and worked to suit square abaci.' And his inference or 'conjecture,' it will be remembered was that, the square mouldings were worked by Bishop Pudsey's masons *inter* 1192 and 1195, while the circular capitals which carry them were not worked 'till 1220, or 1230, or even later.' How then about the 'square moulds' and 'round abaci' here, of, practically, the same identical pattern? He invented, out of his own inner consciousness, and against the express witness of history and common-sense, the theory that there was a gap of some five and twenty or thirty years between the cutting of the Darlington arch-moulds and caps, because of the alleged incompatibility of their square and circular forms. How then is their concurrence to be explained, on such hypothesis, in the present instance? The 'square' mouldings cannot be thrown back to the twelfth century (as Sir Gilbert would have them at Darlington) for the work of the Nine Altars was not commenced till after 1235, in which year the Norman apse, the very centre of whose destroyed walls is now occupied by them, was still standing. No one, not even Sir Gilbert himself, nor yet those who have so long and confidently echoed him, could pretend that any such gap occurred here. And yet the features are precisely the same in both cases. 'The abaci are round, while the mouldings are square.' Sir Gilbert, it will be remembered, explains the supposititious discrepancy by asserting that those at Darlington 'were worked to suit square abaci.'

But here, we have indisputable proof that they were worked to suit nothing of the kind, but the round abaci which they still surmount, and which, being worked with a free hand instead of, as nowadays, with scale and compasses, they fit with just such varying degrees of accuracy as they do at Darlington ; no two, in either case, probably, being in all respects alike. There is precisely as much, or as little, difference between the two in one case, in fact, as in the other.

Plate IX. fig. 3, shows abacus and arch-moulds from east side of lower arcade of north transept. This is the one only example in which the square block comes up to the *outer* line of the abacus. The dotted lines on the plan serve to show, in connection with the square angle lines of the block, by how much the latter overhang the inner line of the abacus, and to what extent this is seen from below. The fact is clearly due to the carelessness or indifference of the carver, who could, of course, by slightly altering his proportions, have made the abacus of this particular cap fit its arch-moulds as perfectly as all the rest, had he but taken pains, or desired, to do so. This, however, he evidently did not; and the result, as so commonly happens in old work, and in none more conspicuously than in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, is thoroughly refreshing—so human, unfettered, and free is it. But it may equally well, and quite as likely, perhaps, as not, have been so planned deliberately and of set purpose, for the square block sits upon and overhangs the abacus moulding much like the upper square member of the capital figured below overhangs the bell of the capital itself. Let me add that, however absurd the idea of a quarter of a century's difference of date between the arch-moulds and their capitals may appear, even when viewed from the floor of the church, it becomes ludicrously and preposterously so when they are seen from a ladder and close to the eye ; workmanship, style, material, and general character being all absolutely 'identical and homogeneous.'

Plate IX. fig. 4, shows capital supporting block and arch-moulds figured above. I have already stated in the text that the foliage of all those caps in the choir and south transept which are so enriched is of distinctly transitional character, thus completely negativing in a further, and quite independent, way Sir Gilbert's 'conjecture' that because those capitals were round they must belong to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. And exactly the same argument applies to

these plainer and later ones of the north transept. For the mouldings of the whole of these, just like the foliage of the others, are not, as Sir Gilbert would make believe, advanced Early English at all, or anything like it. On the contrary, as this one example, in all respects thoroughly typical of the rest, shows, especially in the pointed bowtel member of the abacus, it is Transitional, and nothing else. In other words it is proved, like all the rest, by its own internal evidence, and in exact accordance with history and common-sense, to be of precisely the same style and period as the arch-moulds it carries, and as the rest of the arcading of which it forms one of the most curious and interesting parts.

I append the following notes of all the caps at present visible.

Beginning at the *lower* south-east angle, the first two arches are seen to be blocked, and their capitals embedded in masonry. After these, the first column has square abacus and foliage. This is new. The next, shown in plate IX. figs. 3 and 4, has square block on round abacus, and is the only one whose angles come up to the *outer* ring of the abacus. The next has round abacus and square block, and the next, the same. In the angle cap the abacus is round and full, and there is no block.

North end; the first cap has abacus round and full without block. Next, same. Then the one shown on plate VIII. fig. 1. Then the end one, round and full, with block.

West side, beginning at north end; the first cap has a square abacus. Next, round and full abacus, with square block. Two next, round, with square blocks. Next and last abacus, round and full, and without block.

Upper range, beginning, as before, at south-east angle; the first and blank arch only is moulded, all the rest chamfered. First cap has abacus round and full. Next, though the arch-moulds are chamfered, square, with foliage. Next, square and plain. Next, octagonal; and next, square, with angle rounded off.

North end, where all the arches are chamfered; the first cap from the east is round; all the remaining three being octagonal.

West side; all the arches are chamfered; and of the five capitals, all are octagonal save the central, which is square.

PLATES VIII. AND IX.

1.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

Arcade mouldings, north end of north transept, showing square springing block set upon round abacus, reduced from full size; with same shown in geometrical elevation, reduced from one-third full size. 'The capitals are formed on the round system, although the mouldings are square, which, but for the trimming of the mouldings, would overhang the circles'! Sir G. G. Scott.

2.—DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

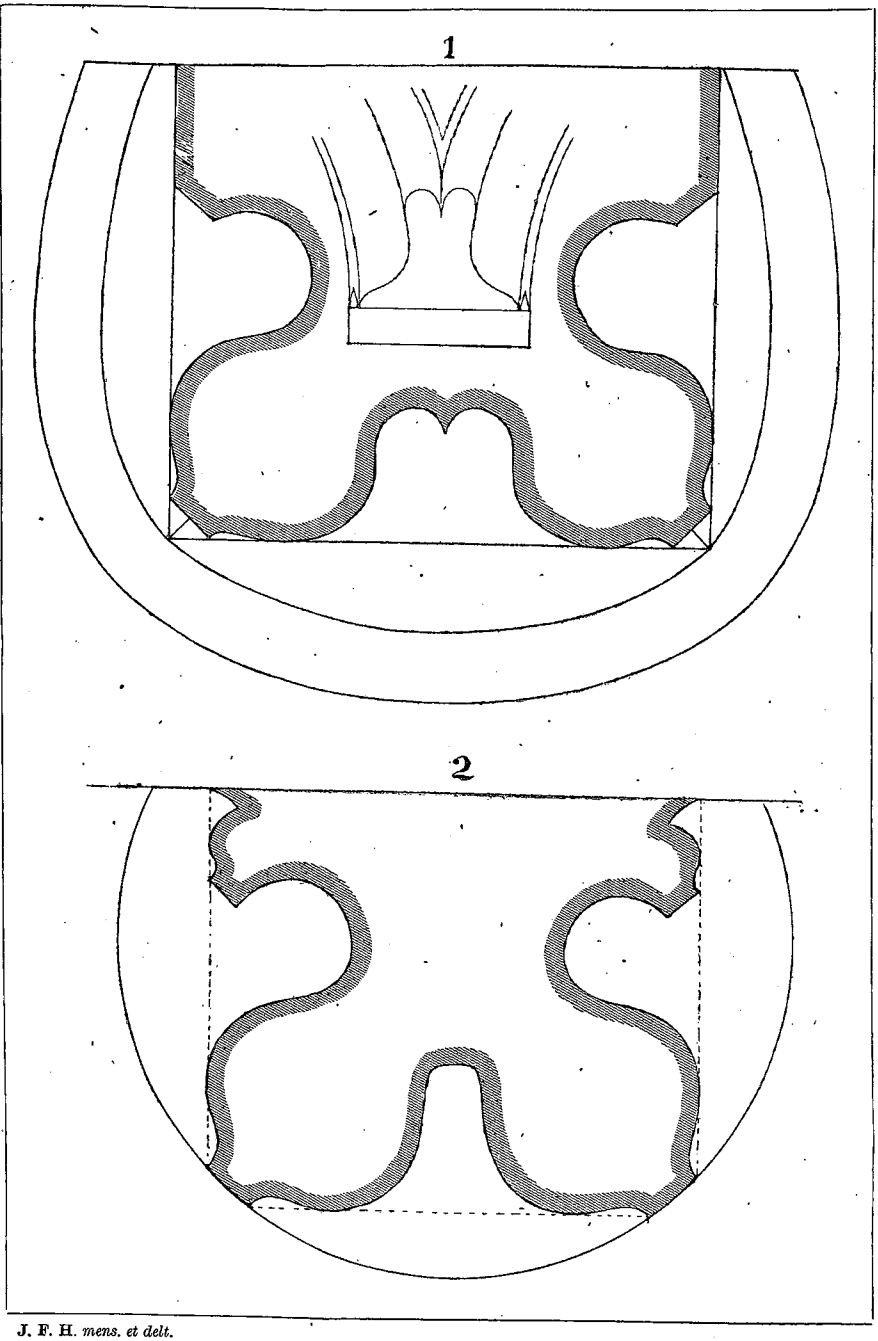
Arcade mouldings beneath Feretory platform, chapel of Nine Altars, showing similar mouldings springing from round abacus, reduced from full size. These mouldings are seen to come up to the inner line of the abacus, though the Darlington ones—'which, but for the trimming of the mouldings would overhang the circles'—do not.

3.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

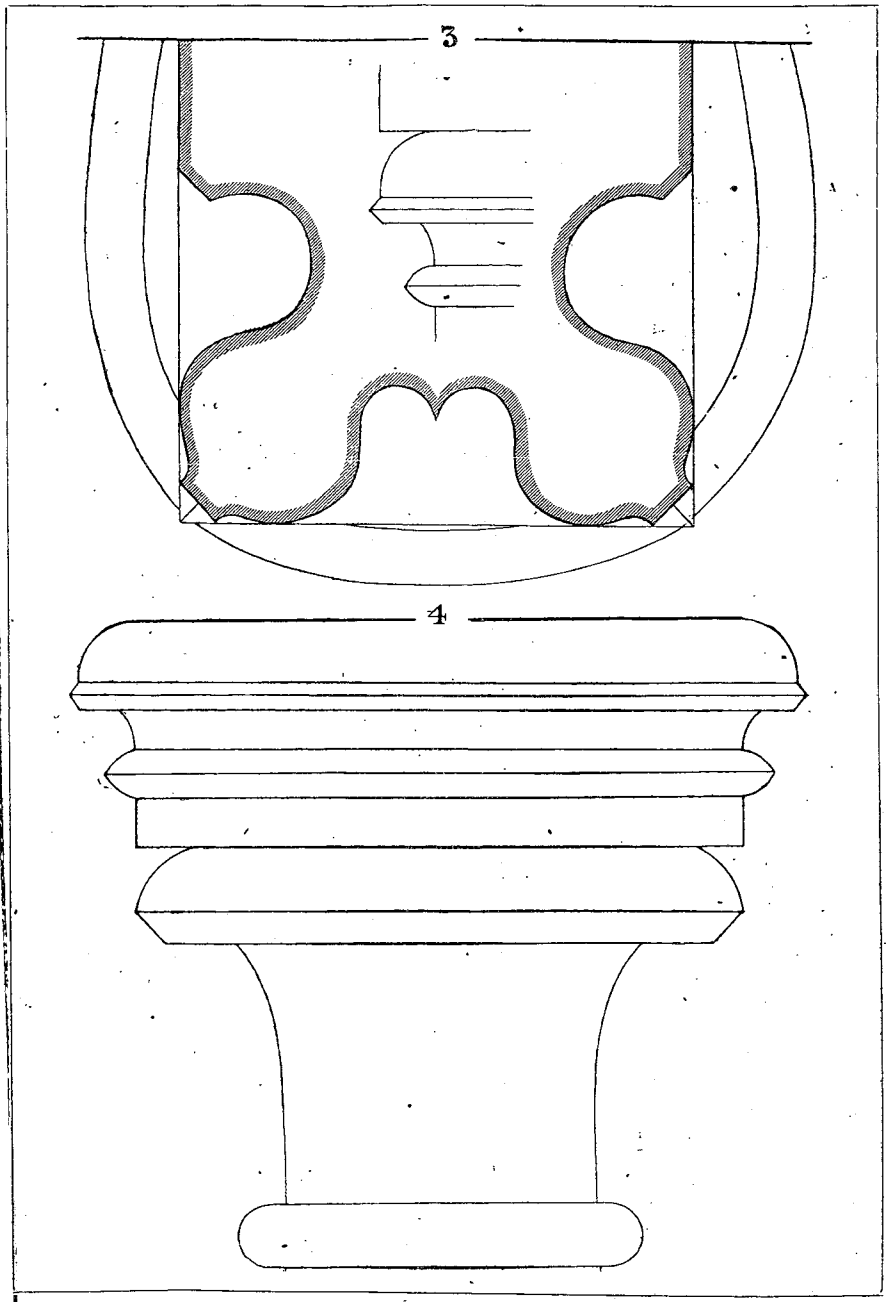
Arcade mouldings, east side of north transept, showing square springing block set on round abacus, reduced from full size. In this instance *only* do the angles of the block extend as far as the outer line of the abacus. Sir Gilbert Scott tells us that, 'in one instance he had found a square moulding placed upon a round abacus and with its corner crushed away, which evidently showed that the moulding was not intended to rest upon a capital of that form.' Whether this is the 'one instance' referred to, I cannot say. But there is no 'crushing away' that I can see about it; nor, though I have looked diligently all over the church, can I find anything of the kind anywhere. It is possible that the base of some one moulding like the edges of divers abaci may have accidentally become chipped, but that is, of course, quite another thing; and, in such a multitude of examples, were the fact to be actually as stated, it would simply show that, owing to free drawing, one moulding of one side of one arch came, or threatened to come, perhaps, a quarter of an inch beyond the *inner* line of its cap; or, it may be, even less.

4.—DARLINGTON CHURCH.

Capital supporting mouldings shown above, reduced from full size. As already stated, it will be seen to be of distinctly Transitional character, and, as a consequence, exactly synchronous with its arch-moulds and other surroundings.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*