



*W. McLeish, photo.*

S. HILDA'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL, FROM THE S.W.

## 2.—HARTLEPOOL CHURCH.

## I.

No greater or more striking contrast of situation could probably be found among our ancient Durham churches than that which exists between those of Darlington and Hartlepool; the one seated in a low and sheltered spot beside a still, scarce moving stream; the other on the point of a rocky and exposed peninsula, where, scourged by wild winds and wetted with salt spray, it echoes to the thunder of the sea. Nor is the force of contrast much diminished in respect of their several conditions; for whereas Darlington church, however much disfigured, has come down to us practically intact, well nigh half of that of Hartlepool, owing to neglect and elemental stress, has, like the cliffs it once surmounted, perished altogether. Closely contemporaneous in structure, both churches are, moreover, built in honour of two equally famous and closely contemporaneous local Saxon saints; Darlington, of S. Cuthbert; Hartlepool, of S. Hild.<sup>1</sup> But whereas S. Cuthbert had no

<sup>1</sup> Of both an account has been left us by Venerable Bede who himself also was the contemporary of both, having been born in the neighbourhood of Wearmouth in the year 674, and, after passing his whole life in the sister monastery of Jarrow, died there on the 27th of May, 735. His notice of Hild, full of interest as far as it goes, is yet somewhat brief, and couched in general terms; but of Cuthbert he has given the whole life from childhood, including all particulars of his death and burial, both in prose and verse. Of all three saintly personages the first and earliest was Hild, who, born in 614, renounced the world at the age of thirty-three, in 647; became abbess of Heruteu in 649; and died abbess of Whitby in 680, when Bede was but in his seventh year. Cuthbert, who came next, was born at some place unknown, but probably in the district of the Lothians, about the year 637. At any rate, when in 651 he entered the monastery of Melrose, he was still, as Bede tells us, only on the threshold of adolescence—'vir Domini Cudbertus ab ineunte adolescentia jugo monasticæ institutionis collum subdidit, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, l.' He would then be fourteen, which, since the period of adolescence was, strictly speaking, fixed between fifteen and thirty, would doubtless be close upon, if not indeed precisely, the age suggested. Thence migrating with abbot Eata to Ripon as hostellar for awhile, he returned with him in 661 to Melrose; where, after succeeding his master Boisil in the priorate, he was wont, leaving the cloister, to traverse all the country far and near, teaching and preaching the word of God, oftentimes for weeks together. Leaving Melrose in 664, he became prior of Lindisfarne under his old superior Eata. There, though his life was one of great mortification and humility, he gave it up after twelve years, in 676, for the still harder one of utter solitude, first on the mainland, and then on Farne, where he constructed a rude hut of stone and turf. On that barren, storm-swept rock he subsisted for nine years, visited only at intervals by his brethren. Then, in 685, on the deposition of Tunberct, bishop of Hexham, by the synod of Twyford, he was unanimously called on to accept the see. This, however, he steadfastly refused to do, till the whole synod, with Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ecgrid, king of Northumbria, at its head, sought him in his cell. Being at length overcome by their entreaties, he was shortly afterwards consecrated by

personal connection or association whatever with Darlington, S. Hild was, both in her life and labours, directly identified with Hartlepool. Known originally, as we learn from Beda, by the name of Heruteu, *Insula Cervi*, or Hart's Island, it is not a little wonderful to find how, within fifty years of the landing of S. Augustine on the shores of Kent, this remote and solitary headland was selected by Heiu,<sup>2</sup> the first of Northumbrian female saintly recluses, as the site of a monastery which she founded there about 640. After ruling it for a few years she retired, in 649, to Tadcaster, whence, migrating into Cumberland, she founded, under the name of Begu or Bega, as is said, the more famous establishment of S. Bees.<sup>3</sup> At Hartlepool she was succeeded by S. Hild, daughter of Hereric, a nephew of King Aeduini.<sup>4</sup>

Theodore and six other bishops; but, during the year, exchanged his see of Hexham for that of Lindisfarne with Eata. As bishop of Lindisfarne he laboured even more abundantly than he had done as prior of Melrose, visiting the remotest and wildest parts of his diocese, and teaching and confirming the still half heathen people. Thus two laborious years were passed; when, feeling the approach of death, he retired once more, in 687, to Farne, where, within a few weeks, he died; Bede, his biographer, who like himself had entered the religious life in childhood, being then thirteen.

<sup>2</sup> *Religiosa Christi famula Heiu, quae prima feminarum fertur in provincia Nordanhymbrorum propositum vestemque sanctimonialis habitus, consecrante Aedano episcopo, suscepisse. Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii secessit ad civitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur, ibique sibi mansionem instituit.* *Beda, H. E. iv. 23.* For reasons for supposing Tadcaster to be the place referred to, see Camden, *Brit. col.* 714.

<sup>3</sup> In recording the death of Hild at Whitby, Bede tells us how there was then in the monastery of Hackness, thirteen miles distant, and which she herself had founded that same year, a nun named Begu, who for above thirty years had been dedicated to the divine service, and who in a vision saw her soul, amidst celestial light, and a choir of attendant angels, transported into heaven. Whether this was the same person as Heiu, as some would endeavour to make out, seems, I think, more than doubtful. Her entry into the religious life can scarcely, in the first place, be said to agree even tolerably with that of Heiu, which commenced in or about 640, and must then have extended to forty, instead of thirty, years. Besides which, had she been really the same as Heiu, it would have been only natural for the historian, who had already mentioned her, to have said so. Nor, finally, would it seem likely that after having been the pioneer of the monastic movement in Northumbria, as well as abbess of Heruteu for nine years, she should be found, more than thirty years later on, a simple sister in the newly founded house at Hackness.

<sup>4</sup> Bede calls him *nepos*, and tells how, together with the king, he received the faith from Paulinus:—*Cum quo etiam rege ad praedicationem beatæ memoriae Paulini, primi Nordanhymbrorum episcopi, fidem et sacramenta Christi suscepit, atque haec, usquedum ad ejus visionem pervenire meruit, intemerata servavit.* He died in exile, and of poison. His wife's name was Bregusuid, and the following is the account of her dream respecting him and the future glories of their child. After speaking of the immense influence which Hild exercised, not only on her immediate friends and followers, but also on those far off to whom the fame of her virtues had come, he proceeds:—*Oportebat namque impleri somnium, quod mater ejus Bregusuid in infantia ejus vidit: quae (cum vir ejus Hereric exsularet sub rege Brittonum Cerdice, ubi et veneno periit,) vidit per*

This royal lady having devoted herself to the religious life at the age of thirty-three years, had proceeded as far as East Anglia on her way to make her profession at Chelles, of which her sister Heresuid was abbess.<sup>5</sup> Being detained there for the space of twelve months, however, while awaiting a favourable passage, she was then prevailed upon to return northwards by S. Aidan,<sup>6</sup> first bishop of Lindisfarne,

somnium, quasi subito sublatum eum quaesierit cum omni diligentia, nullumque ejus uspiam vestigium apparuerit. Verum cum sollertissime illum quaesisset, extemplo se reperire sub veste sua monile pretiosissimum; quod dum attentius consideraret tanti fulgore luminis refulgere videbatur, ut omnes Britanniae fines illius gratia splendoris impleret. Quod, nimirum, somnium veraciter in filia ejus, de qua loquimur, expletum est; cujus vita non sibi solummodo, sed multis bene vivere volentibus exempla operum lucis praebeuit.' *Bedaë, H.E.* iv. 23.

<sup>5</sup> The late Rev. D. Haigh, in an account of the discoveries made in the cemetery of the Saxon monastery at Hartlepool (*Journal of British Arch. Assoc.* i. 185) asserts that Heresuid was abbess of Chelles at the time that Hild set forth thither. Beda, however, makes no such statement. His words are (*Hist.* iv. 23): 'Nam et in eodem monasterio soror ipsius Heresuid, mater Alduulfi regis Orientalium Anglorum, regularibus subdita disciplinis ipso tempore coronam expectabat aeternam.' Pagi, however, discusses at great length the question whether Heresuid were ever even an inmate there at all, and decides that Beda was mistaken when he made the assertion that she was.

<sup>6</sup> Brought by King Oswald—whose first care on coming to his kingdom was to Christianize it—from Iona, in 635. Mindful, perhaps, of his old home, and choosing a similar retreat, the king, at his own request, granted him the island of Lindisfarne as the seat of his bishopric. Though disagreeing strongly with his Scottish manner of observing Easter, Bede's admiration of his character is unbounded—'pontificem Aedanum, summae mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis virum, habentemque zelum Dei, quamvis (as regards Easter only) non plene secundum scientiam.' *Bedaë, H.E.* iii. 3. And then, after telling how King Oswald—'ejus admonitionibus, humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare ac dilatare curavit,' he proceeds to draw the following glowing picture:—'Ubi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut, evangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpretis verbi existeret coelestis; quia nimirum, tam longo exsiliis sui tempore linguam Scottorum jam plene didicerat.' *Bedaë, H.E.* iii. 3. And as he preached, so we are told, he lived. 'Nihil enim hujus mundi quaerere, nil amare, curabat; cuncta, quae sibi a regibus vel divitibus seculi donabantur, mox pauperibus, qui occurrerent, erogare gaudebat. Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca, non equorum dorso, sed pedum incessu vectus, nisi si major forte necessitas compulisset, solebat; quatenus ubicumque aliquos vel divites vel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos divertens, vel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum, si infideles essent, invitaret, vel si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret, atque ad eleemosynas operumque bonorum executionem et verbis excitaret et factis.' *Bedaë, H.E.* iii. 5.

Nor was he satisfied only with distributing the gifts which he received from the rich among the poor, but he sought out also, and redeemed therewith, those who had been unjustly sold into bondage; educating and advancing, moreover, such of them as were worthy, to the priesthood.

Of his love for his friend King Oswald, and how entirely he succeeded in imbuing him with Christ-like charity and humility, we learn from the oft-told tale of a certain Easter festival:—'fertur quia tempore quodam, cum die sancto paschae, cum praefato episcopo consedisset ad prandium, positusque esset in mensa coram eo discus argenteus regalibus epulis refertus, et jamjamque essent manus ad panem benedicendum missuri, intrasse subito ministrum ipsius,

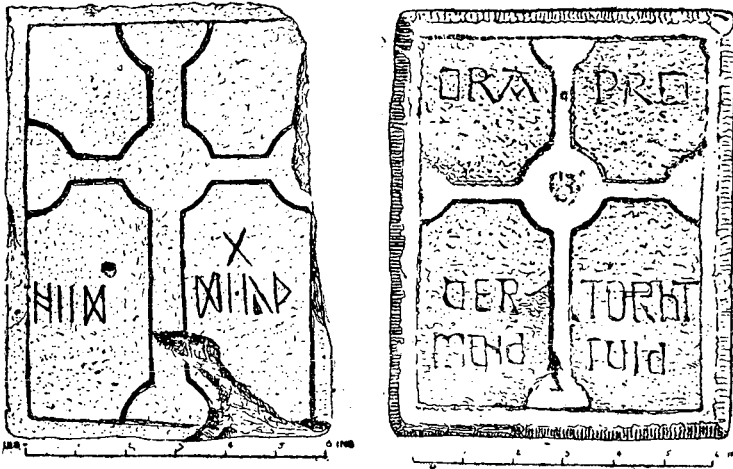
who gave her a hide of land north of the Wear on which she constructed a small monastery. But Hein, relinquishing her charge a year afterwards, she at once abandoned the place, and proceeding to Heruteu, was invested with the rule of that house. Here she continued as abbess till 655, when King Osuii, in discharge of a vow devoting his young daughter Aelfled to a religious life, if God should give him victory over Penda, king of Mercia, placed her under Hild's care. Two years later, in 657, after having governed the monastery of Heruteu for eight years only, she too, like its foundress Hein, forsook it, selecting another, though equally wild site, at Streaneshalch, or Whitby.<sup>7</sup> Thither Aelfled accompanied her, and on

cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura delegata, et indicasse regi quia multitudo pauperum undecumque adveniens maxima per plateas sederet, postulans aliquid eleemosynae a rege; qui mox dapes sibimet appositas deferri pauperibus, sed et discum confringi, atque eisdem minutatim dividi, praecepit. Quo viso, pontifex, qui adsidebat, delectatus tali facto pietatis, apprehendit dextram ejus, et ait, 'Nunquam inveterascat haec manus;' quod et ita juxta votum benedictionis ejus provenit. Nam cum, interfecto illo in pugna, manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectae, contigit ut hactenus incorruptae perdurent.' *Bedaë, H. E. iii. 6.*

How little store Aidan himself set by any worldly goods and comforts, and to what excess he carried his practice of almsgiving, Bede further tells us in the story of the horse which Oswald's successor, Osuini, gave him as a help to travelling, not only the very best in the royal stables, but equipped with regal trappings as well. Happening shortly afterwards, while thus mounted, to meet a beggar in the way who asked an alms, the bishop at once dismounted, and ordered both horse and trappings to be bestowed on him, 'for not only,' says he, 'was he very compassionate, but a friend of the poor, and, as it were, a father of the wretched.' Osuini, however, naturally enough, hardly saw things in that light, for we read—'Hoc cum regi esset relatum, dicebat episcopo, cum forte ingressuri essent ad prandium, "Quid voluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem te conveniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare? Numquid non habuimus equos viliores plurimos, vel alias species, quae ad pauperum dona sufficerent, quamvis illum eis equum non dares, quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi? Cui statim episcopus, "Quid loqueris," inquit, "rex? Numquid tibi carior est ille filius equae, quam ille filius Dei?" Quibus dictis, intrabant ad prandendum, et episcopus quidem residebat in loco suo.' *Bedaë, H. E. iii. xiv.* Then, the transient cloud being speedily dispersed, the bishop became greatly affected, and, bathed in tears, foretold the king's untimely and tragic death. Hastened by grief at the news of it, his own occurred but twelve days afterwards, August 31st, 651, in a humble shed attached to the west end of the church of Bamburgh, which served him as a temporary residence. He was buried at Lindisfarne; first in the cemetery, afterwards in the new cathedral. Thence his remains were transferred to Durham where an ancient picture of him, in glass, may still be seen in the Te Deum window.

<sup>7</sup> At the same time we are told that Oswiu devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity, he also offered twelve estates, 'possessions' or 'possessiunculas,' as they are called, each of which contained ten 'familiae' or hides of land, a hundred and twenty in all. Six of these 'possessions' were in the province of Deira, the modern Yorkshire; and six in the province of Bernicia, the more northern parts of Northumbria, including Durham; 'in quibus, ablato studio militiae terrestri, ad exercendam militiam coelestem, supplicandumque pro pace gentis ejus aeterna, devotioni sedulae monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret.'

her death in 680, succeeded her as abbess.<sup>8</sup> After Hild's departure, the monastery of Heruteu is heard of no more; and whether it continued till the Danish devastations of 800, when the churches of



Tinmouth and Hartness 'smoaked in ruins,' or till 867, when the Durham churches and monasteries were destroyed far and wide, cannot now be said.<sup>9</sup> Most likely, however, the monastic settlement did not long survive the date of Hild's departure. Such, at least, so

That of Streoneshalch was one of them, and thither accordingly Hild, carrying the young child along with her, was induced to emigrate.

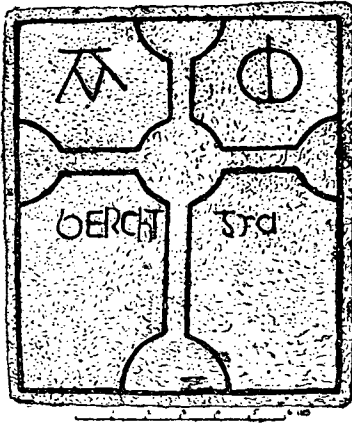
'They told how in their convent-cell  
A Saxon princess once did dwell,  
The lovely Edelfed.

And how, of thousand snakes, each one  
Was changed into a coil of stone,  
When holy Hilda pray'd.  
—Scott, *Marmion*, cant. ii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Aelfed continued, first as 'discipula,' and afterwards as 'magistra,' or abbess, till she reached the age of fifty-nine, when, 'ad complexum et nuptias Sponsi coelestis virgo beata intraret.' There, too, where she had lived and died, she was also buried. 'In quo monasterio et ipsa, et pater ejus Osuiu, et mater ejus Aeanfed, et pater matris ejus Aeduini, et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt.' *Bedae, H. E.* iii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> The writer of an account of Tynemouth priory in the series of 'Abbeys of Great Britain' now (1895) in course of publication in the *Builder*, states, apparently on the authority of the late Sidney Gibson's *History*, that 'On the invasion in 865 the monastery was burned, and also the nuns of St. Hilda, who had fled thither from Hartlepool for refuge.' But Mr. Gibson gives no authority for his statement respecting the nuns; referring only in a note to a passage about the destruction of Tynemouth by Hingmar and Hubba in Leland's *Collectanea*, iii. 179 (ed. 1774, vol. iv. 114), his extract, however, making no mention of the nuns at all. Nothing is said on the subject either in the *Saxon Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester, Leland's Extracts, or the *Vita Oswini* of the Surtees Society; so far, therefore, it rests on the unsupported testimony of Mr. Gibson

far as it goes, is the inference to be drawn from the discoveries made in the cemetery attached to it in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. It was only, apparently, some twenty yards long, and situate about 135 yards to the south-east of the church, in a spot still bearing the traditional name of Cross Close.



In it were two rows of interments, all, with two exceptions, those of females, and all lying, in the still uneradicated Pagan fashion, north and south. In each case the heads reposed on small square stones as on cushions, while above each were other stones somewhat larger, but still less than a foot square, adorned with crosses, and bearing the names of the deceased.\*

From the close similarity of these last to others mentioned by Beda, as well as from the character of the lettering, and forms of the crosses, the whole belonged evidently to one and the same early period, viz., the latter half of the seventh century. Besides the occurrence of the pillow stones, another curious point of resemblance presented by these interments to others of Pagan origin in the barrow mounds of Kent was, that the five molar teeth on either side, and in both jaws of the skeletons, were worn quite smooth, as though ground down with files. The names of the two males discovered amongst those of the nuns were Ediluini and Vermund, the latter in connection with that of Torhtsvið. Very curiously, both were found occurring again upon a third stone, bearing the compound inscription—'Orate pro Edilvini orate pro Vermund et Torhtsvið.' But, whether the Edilvini was, as himself. That he invented the occurrence, however, is not likely, since in describing it he says, as though quoting some ancient author, that they were thereby 'translated by martyrdom to heaven.' It would seem most likely, notwithstanding, I think, that such *possibly* ancient, but unknown, writer, whoever he may have been, drew his facts from his imagination rather than from any other source; and, regarding Tynemouth as a naturally stronger position than Hartlepool, just as naturally imagined that the equally imaginary nuns would flee there in their terror.

\* Of three of these stones, of which illustrations are given on this and the preceding page, two are in the Black Gate museum, Newcastle, the third is in the Durham Chapter library. They are reproduced by consent of the editor of the *Reliquary*.

the late Mr. Haigh was inclined to think, the famous count of that name who, at the command of King Osuiu, murdered Osuini, king of Deira, at Gilling, near Richmond, in 651,<sup>10</sup> is, though far from impossible, a point on which opinions may, perhaps, differ.

## II.

Short, however, as the rule of Hild was, and as the continuance of her monastery may, perhaps, have been at Heruteu; she left behind her, notwithstanding, the undying fragrance of a saintly life and name. And so, when upwards of five centuries after her death at Streonshalch, a church, no longer monastic, but parochial, came to be built at Hartlepool, it was dedicated, very fitly, in her honour.

In the interim, little or nothing more is known either of Heruteu or Hartness, than of the monastery. Indeed, from the time of the Danish ravages in the ninth-century to the period immediately preceding the Norman Conquest, its history is almost a blank. Billingham, it is true, is recorded to have been built by Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne (830-845), and given by him to the see; and much of his work

<sup>10</sup> The circumstances are thus narrated by Bede (H. E. iii. 14.):—'Habuit autem Osuiu primis regni sui temporibus consortem regiae dignitatis, vocabulo Osuini, de stirpe regis Aeduini, hoc est, filium Osrici, de quo supra retulimus, virum eximiae pietatis et religionis; qui provinciae Derorum in maxima omnium rerum affluentia, et ipse amabilis omnibus, praefuit. Sed nec cum eo ille, qui ceteram Transhumbranae gentis partem ab aquilone, id est, Berniciorum provinciam, regebat, habere pacem potuit; quin potius, ingravescentibus causis dissensionum, miserrima hunc caede peremit. Siquidem, congregato contra invicem exercitu, cum videret se Osuini cum illo, qui plures habebat auxiliarios non posse bello configere, ratus est utilius, tunc demissa intentione bellandi, servare se ad tempora meliora. Remisit ergo exercitum, quem congregaverat, ac singulos domum praecipit, a loco qui vocatur Vilfaraesdun, id est, Mons Vilfari, et est a vico Cataractone decem ferme millibus passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus; divertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidelissimo, nomine Tondheri, celandus in domo comitis Hunvaldi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. Sed, heu, proh dolor! longe aliter erat; nam ab eodem comite proditum eum Osuiu, cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Aediluinum detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. Quod factum est die decima tertia kalendarum Septembrium (20 Aug.) anno regni ejus nono, in loco qui dicitur 'Ingetlingum'; ubi postmodum castigandi hujus facinoris gratia, monasterium constructum est; in quo pro utriusque regis (et occisi, videlicet, et ejus, qui occidere jussit), animae redemptione, quotidie Domino preces offerri debent.'

Speaking of the murdered king's personal characteristics and appearance, Bede describes him as being 'of a winning aspect, lofty stature, pleasant address, courteous manners, bountiful to all alike, whether gentle or simple; whence it happened that, through his royal dignity of mind, countenance, and deserts, he was beloved of all; and that from all the neighbouring provinces the noblest flocked to his service, among whose glories of virtue and modesty, the chiefest was humility.' He was canonized, and his history is given in the *Acta SS.* Aug. Tom. iv. p. 57.



still stands in the church there to bear witness to the fact; but of Heruteu we hear nothing. Shortly before the Norman invasion, however, Fulk de Panell, besides vast territories which he possessed in other parts, held also those of Hart and Hartness. Through the marriage of his daughter Agnes with Robert de Brus, son of one of the Conqueror's followers, the whole of these were eventually transferred to that family. In 1129, this Robert de Brus II. (son of Robert de Brus I.), at the instance of Pope Calixtus II. and Thurstan, archbishop of York, founded the monastery of Guisborough, endowing it, among other things, with the churches of Stranton, Hart, and their dependent chapels of Seaton and Hartlepool.

Like Ecgred's church of Billingham, that of Hart, referred to in Brus's grant, and of much the same period, probably, is still in part standing; but of its chapel at Hartlepool there are no remains at all. Though pretty certainly of later date, it would, doubtless, be of equally humble character and dimensions as those of the mother church. But, whatever its age or capacity, it was destined, within some sixty years or so of its bestowal, to make way for the splendid structure whose remains we see to-day. As to the origin of this last there cannot, of course, be a shadow of doubt. But as regards the actual individual builder, the case is otherwise. Of the Brus family the founder, Robert de Brus I. died at some unknown period, but probably early in the twelfth century, when he was succeeded, at Hart and Hartlepool, by his second son, Robert de Brus II. who died in the sixth of Stephen, 1140, a date far too early for him to have had any connection with the present church. To him succeeded his son, Robert de Brus III. who was living in 1171, but who also, as is evident, could have had no more to do with its erection than his father or grandfather. His son and successor was Robert de Brus IV. who, married to Isabel, natural daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots, died in 1191; a point of time which, from our present point of view, and in absence of historic evidence, was about the most awkward and perplexing imaginable. For it makes it practically impossible to say with certainty, whether the entire building, the tower only excepted, should be referred to him or to his son. But a very few years, say four or five, on either side would have freed the subject of all doubt, and rendered it absolutely certain. As it is,

it seems to hang almost upon a balance. But yet, I think, we may say pretty confidently, to which side it clearly inclines; and, comparing the work with that of the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, completed by William the Englishman in 1185, with that of the choir at Ripon, built by Archbishop Roger (died 1181), and with the vestibule of S. Mary's abbey at York, of very nearly the same period, on the one side, and with that of Darlington on the other, there can be but little doubt (taking the subject of his marriage also into account) that it is to Robert de Brus IV.<sup>11</sup> that the choir and nave of Hartlepool church are due. For, while a strong general likeness, including the profuse use of foliage in connection both with square and circumscribing circular abaci may be observed there and in two of those earlier instances, there is, at the same time, a distinct and palpable advance, yet only just such an advance as might reasonably be supposed to occur between all three and the work at Hartlepool.

It must, I think, nay feel sure, have been in progress, though practically completed, at the time of Robert de Brus IV.'s death in 1191; and therefore, even allowing four years for the operations, need not have been commenced before 1188. The style itself bears every indication of this; and taking 1191 as the central point or pivot, I should certainly say that the internal evidence of style is in favour of the work belonging to the four previous, rather than to the four succeeding, years.<sup>12</sup> But that a pause occurred when the nave was

<sup>11</sup> Hutchinson (*History of Durham*, iii. 17), following Dugdale, gives only two, instead of four, generations of the Brus family between the time of the Norman Conquest and that of William de Brus, who died in 1215. He thus makes Robert de Brus I., who was a fighting man of great consequence in 1066, and who could hardly therefore, on the most modest computation, have been born later than 1040, not only found the priory of Guisborough in 1129, but take part in the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when Dugdale, considering he must then have been close upon a hundred, might well speak of him as 'an *old soldier*.' In like fashion, his second son, Robert de Brus II., is, apparently, made to live till 1196, a date which, if correct, would at once have removed all doubt as to the builder of the church at Hartlepool. With both writers the mistake would seem to have occurred from the uncommon circumstance of four Roberts following each other in succession.

<sup>12</sup> The difference between the work at Ripon, and that at Canterbury and S. Mary's abbey, York, lies chiefly in this, viz., that in the former case it is perfectly plain, whereas in the latter, at York especially, it is highly enriched. At Canterbury, too, though in the crypt, the pointed style, including the use of the round abacus, is perfectly developed; in the upper parts, the main lines, involving the use of the round arch, had to be accommodated to those of the earlier work of William of Sens. But, though not concluded till 1185, the designs were made in 1179, when William the Englishman succeeded to the direction. In like manner at Ripon, the works, as we learn from the words of

finished is plain enough ; for the tower bears witness not only to a slightly later style, but, probably, to a different hand. It may, indeed, without hesitation be referred both to the times and person of Robert de Brus IV.'s son and successor, William de Brus, who bore sway as lord of Hartlepool from 1191 to 1215.

### III.

For size, and sumptuous splendour of decoration, the church commenced, and well nigh, if not quite, completed by Robert de Brus IV., was wholly without a rival among the parish churches of its day, not merely in the county of Durham, but in the north generally. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether anything comparable to it of its class could be found in all England. That the architect employed in its construction, whoever he may have been, was the same as that of the similarly situated monastic church of Tynemouth,<sup>13</sup>

Archbishop Roger himself, had been begun, and must therefore have been designed, some time before his death—'quod dedimus operi beati Wilfridi de Ripon ad aedificandam basilicam ipsius quam de novo inchoavimus mille libras veteris monetæ.' And so, too, at York, the work at S. Mary's abbey, which corresponds closely with that of the palace known to have been built by Archbishop Roger—even to the exact correspondence in the length and diameter of the shafts—must also necessarily have been designed some years before 1181, which was that of Roger's death. But, in addition to these, there are three other well-known and most important dated examples, the round of the Temple church, London, which was consecrated in 1185; the retro-choir of Chichester cathedral, begun in 1186; and the famous choir of Lincoln minster, commenced probably in the same year, and which has long and deservedly held the supreme distinction of being the first great work of the purely pointed, or Gothic, style in England. The old Norman choir was cleft in twain, as Benedict of Peterborough tells us, by an earthquake, in 1185; and the year following was the first of the pontificate of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, commonly known as S. Hugh of Lincoln, under whose enthusiastic administration—he is said to have worked, like a common labourer, with his own hands—the task of rebuilding was at once commenced. But, both here and at Chichester, all traces of Norman influence have vanished utterly, and the Early English style reigns untrammelled and supreme. As the Hartlepool work, therefore, need not have been planned till two years later even than these last, there need be no hesitation whatever for referring it to a period lying between 1188 and 1191.

<sup>13</sup> The work in the choir at Tynemouth is of a very strongly marked and individual type indeed, both as regards its general design and details. Its dominant note, as at Hartlepool—more particularly as shown in the choir—is that of power, wedded to a no less masculine and vigorous type of foliated decoration. The fact of the two churches being not only so closely contemporaneous and analogous in character, but locally in such near neighbourhood, renders the probability of their common authorship, I think, about as certain as anything of the kind can be. Where the man came from, and who he may have been, is, of course, another matter altogether. I have often been struck, however, with the surprising similarity of style, and especially of foliage, which exists between the Tynemouth work and that in the magnificent choir of New Shoreham in Hampshire—slightly the earlier of the two. The resemblance is at

is, I think, judging from internal evidence, as certain as that he was not the Willielmus Ingeniator, engaged by Pudsey; and to whom, as is not unlikely, the design of Darlington church is due. For, although of almost exactly the same period, the two buildings reflect, in a curiously marked manner, the widely divergent idiosyncrasies of two wholly different men. Not merely that the details and general scheme of the two are unlike, but that their whole spirit and conception are opposed and contrary. Indeed, it would be no easy task to point out two other local examples which illustrate so distinctly the characteristics of what are known as the *école laïque* and the *école ecclésiastique*, as do these two buildings respectively.

But, while the scale of the church alone points clearly to the rising prosperity and increased, and increasing, population of the place; the character of its construction, and lavish richness of adornment show, if possible, still more clearly that they could have had no say or share whatever in its erection. Built, unmistakably, as a parish church, it is yet far from being, and in no sense is, a mere parish church, pure and simple, magnified. The typical parish church, of any size, consists, normally, of a chancel, nave with two aisles, and a western tower. But the chancel, especially in the earlier periods, was, as a rule, and, indeed, almost universally, aisleless.<sup>14</sup> Whenever, in a

once so close, and the character of the work itself so special and individualistic, that, far apart as the two places are, I have long conjectured that the same architect must have been employed on both. The designer of the Nine Altars chapel at Durham would seem, without doubt, to have been a south-country man; and so, just as easily, may he of Tynemouth and Hartlepool have been also.

<sup>14</sup> So, Mr. Fergusson, in his excellent *History of Architecture*, ii. 63, in speaking of the typical English parish church, says:—'In almost every instance the nave had aisles, and was lighted by a clerestory. The chancel was narrow and deep, without aisles and with a square termination. There was one tower, with a belfry, generally, but not always, at the west end; and the principal entrance was by a south door, usually covered by a porch of more or less magnificence, frequently vaulted, and with a room over it.' Churches of this class, that is parish churches in the strictest and most exclusive sense, as not having any adjuncts in the shape of private chapels, whether insular or transeptal, and to every part of which the whole body of parishioners had full access as of right, may be found in every variety of size all over the kingdom. Some, indeed, though of course relatively few, are of the very first rank in size and dignity. Such, for example, are those of Walpole S. Peter, Norfolk; and S. Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire. Of these the former, which is of excessive richness of decoration throughout, is no less than about two hundred feet in length by seventy-five in breadth, and with very large north and south porches. In vastness of size, however, both of length, breadth, and height, that of Boston stands out altogether without a rival. Admirably constructed, of splendid material, and, like that of Walpole, consisting of a nave of seven bays and chancel of five, with fourteen fine two-light clerestory windows on each side the nave, very broad and spacious, and with

twelfth, thirteenth, or even early fourteenth-century building, we find aisles attached to the chancel, they will, in almost every case, be found to be later additions, and commonly of different dates. Being in all cases private mortuary chapels, they were, like transepts, purely parasitical accretions to the original structure, with which, save only in respect of contact, they had no connection whatever.

At Hartlepool, however, the case was different. Here, as so rarely happened, the church, although of quite exceptional, and, at the time of its erection, probably, unequalled, size, was built at a single effort, and by a single individual. As founder, he was consequently in a position to make his own arrangements; and so, while providing his new town with a simple parish church, or, to be more precise, chapel, in the ecclesiastical sense; to make it, while retaining the usual characteristics of such buildings, something more in purely personal sense. He designed its immense and splendid chancel, in short, though serving as that of the parish, to be his own chantry chapel and burial place as well; and, while containing the high, or parish altar, to be provided with others for more particular and, perhaps, private use. Hence its aisles which naturally involve and presuppose their presence; provision for which was the sole cause of their erection.<sup>15</sup> With the

a length of between two and three hundred feet; it terminates westward in a tower, by far the loftiest in England—the west window of which, in eight lights, is no less than seventy-five feet high—and whose total elevation is upwards of three hundred. No such parish church, and constructed on such a severely simple plan, it may safely be said, is to be seen in all the world.

<sup>15</sup> The whole subject of aisles, which is a very far reaching and complex one, has never yet, like the kindred one of transepts, received, as far as I know, anything like the degree of attention it deserves. Both one and other, indeed, have all along, and by all alike, been simply accepted as facts, without the least enquiry as to their origin or the purposes for which they were planned. As a rule, our most ancient churches, which were usually very small, were aisleless; sometimes, as at Worth and Dover, cruciform; but more commonly consisting of simple parallelograms, nave and chancel, as at Escomb, Headbourn Worthy, Corhampton, and Bradford-on-Avon, among those of Saxon, and others innumerable, like Haughton-le-Skerne, of Norman, and later, date. Then, in process of time, but more particularly during the latter part of the twelfth, and early years of the thirteenth centuries, aisles, almost always very narrow, began to be added to the naves, frequently only on one side to begin with, and then afterwards, as at Aycliffe and Pitlington, on the other. Very frequently, however, as at Coniscliffe, Winston, and Witton-le-Wear, a second or corresponding aisle was never added on the other side at all. Towards the end of the twelfth century, and afterwards, the common rule, save where the churches were of the very smallest, was that the aisles were erected along with, and as natural and recognised features of them, their width and height increasing as time went on in a gradual and steadily progressive ratio.

Another class of what are commonly called aisles may also frequently be met with, consisting of broad and lofty adjuncts, sometimes nearly equalling, some-

exception of little more than the western halves of its westernmost compound bays, the whole of this magnificent structure was taken down and destroyed in 1724. Continuous neglect and consequent decay had doubtless long set in and left their marks upon it; but the

times even, as at Staindrop, far exceeding the naves in width, to which, as in that case, at Heighington, and in the lately destroyed church of Middleton-in-Teesdale, they are commonly attached on the south side. Frequently, as at Staindrop originally, they are under independent gabled roofs, and are sometimes of the same, sometimes of less, and sometimes of greater length than the naves, and prolonged to a greater or less extent, along the side of the chancel. Such were always, I think, for the larger part of their area, private mortuary chapels, being simply built lengthways, instead of crossways as a transept, and in all cases provided with an altar.

There was also another class of aisles, narrow, and, of original, or at any rate early, construction, not terminating at the east end of the nave, but prolonged for one or more bays alongside the chancel. Of this arrangement we have a curious and interesting example at Auckland S. Helen's, a small village church with an open bell-cot, where the aisles are continued to about half the length of the chancel into which they open uniformly by two massive, but minute, pointed arches on each side. The case is interesting on this account, that the church originally consisted of two round-arched Transitional bays only, with a chancel of corresponding length. About the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the nave was lengthened by another assimilated bay westward, and the chancel prolonged proportionally eastward, to which period the extended portions of the aisles, doubtless sepulchral chapels, belong. Many similar examples of nave aisles thus extended, but usually of later date, may be found also all over the country. An exceptionally curious and instructive instance occurs in the magnificent fifteenth-century church of S. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds, the nave of which is 140 feet long, with a width of 68 across the aisles. To the chancel, which was then 55 feet in length, John Barret, before 1468, added a north aisle, which, together with its splendid painted oak roof bearing his initials in the centre of each panel, still remains. What is of special interest, however, in this connection is the occurrence of a wish expressed in his will that if anyone thereafter should build another similar aisle to the south, it should be connected with the nave aisle, not by a transverse arch as usual, but by cutting the jamb of the existing east window of the nave aisle down to the ground in order that the carvings and figures erected by him about that window and the altar beneath it might not be destroyed. When, about twelve years later, one Jankyn Smith built such a prospective south aisle, the request, as is evident, was not complied with. But what became of the altar, whether it was allowed to continue more or less in its original position, or whether it was removed to the east end of the new aisle, does not appear. And so in numberless other cases of the like kind, that of S. Helen's Auckland possibly among them. In the church of Skipton in Craven may be seen a remarkable feature which has long and greatly exercised the wits of the local antiquaries, but which, regarded in the light of the above evidence, may, I think, readily be accounted for. The nave with its aisles would seem to have been rebuilt in the first quarter of the fourteenth century; the chancel, with two corresponding aisles, in unbroken connection and without any transverse arches, in the following one. Now about the middle of the south aisle wall occur three sedilia and a piscina of the earlier or fourteenth-century date, exactly opposite the first pillar of the chancel, and on which the chancel arch, if there had been one, would have rested. Superficially they seem unconnected with the site of any possible altar whatever. But when they were erected the original chancel would have no aisles at all, and they would pertain to the altar at the east end of the new aisle of which they structurally formed a part, and which was made to extend a few feet eastwards along the side of the old chancel. When, about a century afterwards, the

sordid spirit of post-reformation greed and indifference from which they sprang, joined to the prevailing poverty of the place, then took the swifter and more radical course of wholesale destruction ; thus, as might, perhaps, be hoped, effectually annihilating all evidence of past shame, and need of future expenditure at the same time.<sup>16</sup>

chancel was rebuilt with aisles, as at Bury, the east wall of the fourteenth-century aisle was taken down ; but, as in that case, what became of the altar is uncertain.

The question, however, still confronts us, viz., Why were the original and exceedingly narrow aisles added to the naves at all ? It seems difficult to imagine that increased accommodation, considering many of them were only six or seven feet in width, could have been the sole or even primary cause of their introduction, especially when there is such general, not to say universal, evidence of their having had altars at their east ends. In many small, aisleless churches, as at Cockfield in Durham, and Boarhunt in Hants, a small altar was anciently placed on either side of the chancel arch.

A certainly curious and remarkable fact should further be mentioned in connection with this subject, and that is, that where two aisles have either been added or originally built, it so much more frequently happens that the evidences of a former altar are to be found on the south than on the north side ; a circumstance at once raising the question as to whether the latter was either, always or usually, provided with them.

I need only add, in conclusion, the remark that, although in numberless instances there are now no visible proofs of the former existence of altars in aisles, it by no means follows that such do not or did not originally exist. In almost every case it will be found that the projecting bowl of the piscina in aisles, where pews have been intruded, has been broken off, and the recesses blocked up and plastered over, so that it is only when the walls come to be stripped that the remains can be detected. Sometimes again, as at Gainford, the wall has been rebuilt, and all evidence, no matter how specially interesting soever it may be, deliberately destroyed. But there still remain many other cases, as at Basington, where the arrangement of the windows alone sufficiently witnesses to the fact of the eastern end of the aisle having formerly been a chantry.

It is greatly to be hoped that in all cases where the destruction has not already been complete, the hand of the restoring architect, so effectual hitherto in " blotting out history," should be stayed from annihilating these frequently beautiful, and always historically, as well as ecclesiologically, interesting memorials.

<sup>16</sup> It is possible, perhaps, that want of means, as well as of inclination, may have had much to do with the state of ruin into which the church was allowed to fall. At any rate, in a petition of the mayor and others addressed to her majesty's justices of the peace praying that they would recommend the queen to grant letters patent for the repairs of the church, and dated April 7th, 1714, after stating that ' there are noe lands within y<sup>e</sup> s'd corporation to be rated towards y<sup>e</sup> repair thereof,' it is added that ' most of your petition'rs and inhabitants of y<sup>e</sup> corporation are poor fishermen, who by y<sup>e</sup> decay and want of encouraging that most important and beneficial employ, are become altogether unable to repair the the same, y<sup>e</sup> expence whereof would at a moderate computation for stone, wood, lead, and other materials, besides workmanship, amount to eighteen hundred and eighty-four pounds and upwards,' etc. But no result would seem to have followed this petition, since, two years later, the condition of the building was found to be still ruinous.

A brief granted by George I. on February 5th, 1719, however, to collect the sum of £1,732 and upwards, for repairing and rebuilding the church, met with considerable success. The preamble, which is in nearly the same words as the

Of the eastern arrangements of this well nigh unique chancel we have, consequently, no exact knowledge whatever; only, on either side, to the extreme west, the early pointed entrance doorways of the chantry priests, and that is all. Foundations of the eastern parts have, from time to time, however, been dug up in what is now the churchyard, and the original length of the structure thus certainly ascertained. Their witness agrees pretty fairly, I believe, with that given in bishop Talbot's licence to take it down, viz.: twenty-three yards and a half; though, if there were three compound bays, and if all the bays were of equal span, this would be some four and a half feet too short.

This single fact of itself, however, is quite sufficient, I think, in the absence of proof positive to the contrary, to raise the gravest doubts as to whether there were really three such bays or not. Indeed, the extremely early date of the work, coupled with the very unusual, if not altogether unparalleled, occurrence of aisles in a simple parish church, being then continued to the eastern extremity of the chancel, renders it pretty certain that there could only have been two such bays; and that the sacrarium, or eastern end of the choir proper, originally, as at present, projected clearly beyond them.<sup>17</sup>

petition, adds that the choir was then 'almost entirely unroofed, and the steeple, pillars, and walls of the same so much decayed by length of time, that the whole fabrick will inevitably fall to the ground, unless speedily prevented by taking down and rebuilding some, and repairing the decayed parts thereof.'

What the subscriptions actually amounted to does not appear, but the work of repair was commenced immediately. At a meeting held on September 22nd, 1721, it was agreed that the church and chancel should be continued its full length and breadth; that the roof should be flattened to four or six feet pitch; that the north wall, if advisable, should be taken down and rebuilt—'but in fear y<sup>e</sup> cash arising from y<sup>e</sup> brief may not answer y<sup>e</sup> expectation, y<sup>e</sup> said wall shall be referred until y<sup>e</sup> last—y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> church shall be new flagged, pued and whitened, and in respect to y<sup>e</sup> glory of y<sup>e</sup> antiquity of s<sup>d</sup> church, what repairs y<sup>e</sup> windows may want, they shall be wrought after y<sup>e</sup> same model as they now are; and as for y<sup>e</sup> chancel y<sup>t</sup> is referred until y<sup>e</sup> earle of Scarborough's consent is got in writing; and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> steeples both in and outside be repaired.'

The admirable design of maintaining the church in its full dimensions, and restoring the windows after the ancient plan, could not, unhappily, be carried out—at any rate, was not; for on May 22nd, 1724, bishop Talbot gave leave to take down the roof, and cover the church with a flat one; and for the chancel, which was then seventy and a half feet in length, to be reduced to one of fifteen feet within the walls.

It is interesting to know, on the authority of Brand, that, in aid of these grievously needed repairs, the corporation of Newcastle contributed the sum of £10.

<sup>17</sup> I am not, of course, referring to town, more especially fortified town churches, which had constantly to be squeezed into all kinds of holes and corners, and assume such shapes accordingly. A curious illustration, among others of early date, may be seen in the church of S. John, Winchester. It

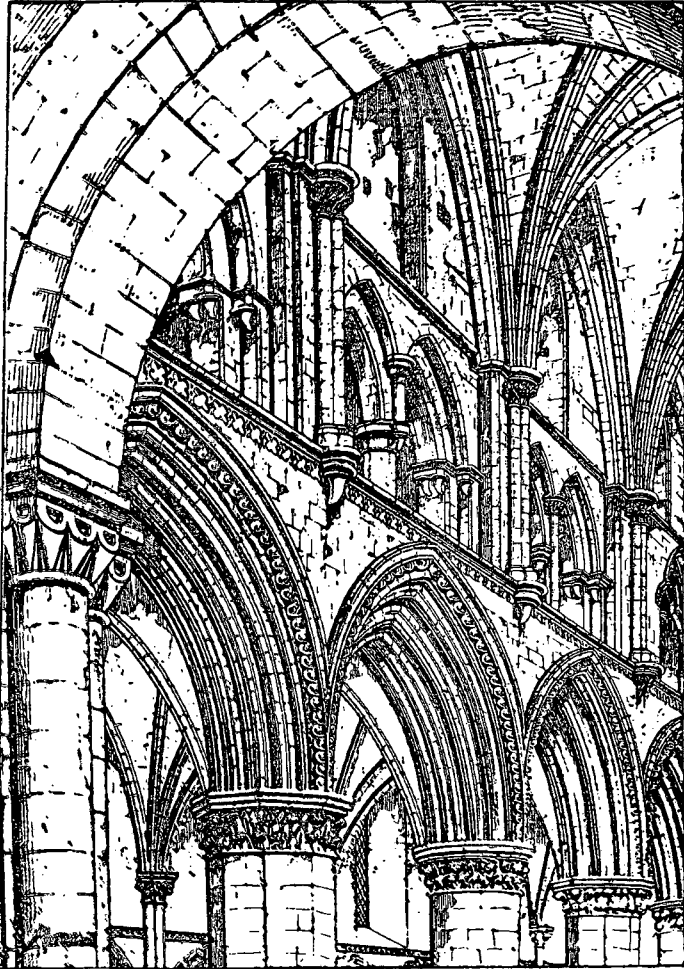


Indeed, the only instance I know in which the choir aisles, of what from first to last would seem to have been actually nothing more than a mere parish church, are continued, at an equally early date, as far as

forms an almost exact square, the eastern end or side of which is very oblique, being bounded by a street, while the side aisles, whose outer walls were greatly advanced during the thirteenth century, are much wider than the central one, which is of the twelfth. It is only three bays in length, and without any structural division of nave or chancel whatever; therefore, quite abnormal in plan, and altogether outside the ordinary range of parish churches.

During the twelfth and thirteenth century, aisles reaching to the east end of the choir are usually found in cathedral and monastic churches only; and it is not a little surprising to note in how many, even of this class, they fail to do so. Thus, in the ancient cathedrals of Worcester and Rochester the side aisles terminate at one, and two, bays from the east gable respectively. In those of Oxford, Bristol, and Southwell, all, originally, Augustinian abbey churches, in the first at one, and in the two others at two, bays. At Durham and Peterborough, the aisles ended at the springing of the great central apse, allowing in the latter case for ranges of five windows above and below. At Lichfield, on the reconstruction of the choir on a greatly enlarged scale, early in the fourteenth century, the central portion was advanced in unbroken line for three bays beyond the range of the aisles, and then terminated in a three-sided apse. In the Welsh cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph, while the side chapels left the sacarium of the former free towards the south, the choir of the latter had no aisles at all. In the fine thirteenth-century cathedral of Kilkenny, the eastern bay of the choir is also wholly free from aisles or chapels, as is also the case at Iona, and in the great metropolitan cathedral of S. Andrew's. The splendid cathedral of Elgin, too, has the two easternmost bays of its choir free; and while that of Brechin, like St. Asaph's, has neither aisles nor chapels, those of Dunblane and Dunkeld have the whole of their choirs free to the south, and both their sacraia free also to the north.

And the like restriction may also be observed in the planning of many monastic and collegiate choirs. Thus, to take one of the earliest and grandest among those of the Benedictine order, that of S. Martin at Dover, a building 300 feet in length, by 160 across the transepts—commenced, however, by Wm. de Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, for a church of Austin Canons—we find, exactly as at S. Andrew's, the choir supported by two great angle turrets projecting to an exact square beyond its aisles, which, three bays in length, terminate apsidally. The same arrangement again holds good in the case of the Premonstratensian church of S. Radegund, near Dover, which dates from 1191, and where the sanctuary, two bays in length, projects, with massive angle turrets, beyond the extremity of the aisles. The sacarium also of the great abbey church of Jedburgh, a Transitional addition to the aisled Norman choir, which originally ended probably in an apse, stands out clear of those aisles. At Lanercost, also of an early, though somewhat later, date, a similar arrangement is met with, the sanctuary of two bays standing clear of the contemporary aisles or chapels on either side. The eastern bay of the choir again stood clear of its aisles or chapels in the Premonstratensian church of Dale Abbey, Derbyshire, also of the thirteenth century. And such, too, is the case at Beverley minster, beyond the aisled eastern transept of which the easternmost bay of the choir stands out distinct from base to summit. We see also the aisles of the choir terminating westward of the sanctuary square in the small but exceedingly interesting local example of Finchale priory church, near Durham, commenced *circa* 1196. And the same thing occurs again in the splendid fourteenth-century choir of Melrose abbey, as also in that of Dorchester, the sacraia of both of which are occupied on all three sides by large and magnificent traceried windows. Add to these, which may doubtless stand as samples of an indefinite number more, the typical plans of the early Cistercian churches, which, as a rule, consisted of a similar aisleless sanctuary projecting beyond the line of transeptal chapels, as at



NEW SHOREHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

Part of north side of Choir, showing peculiar design of Triforium.



the east end, occurs in the case of S. Mary's, New Shoreham. The curiously close parallel observable in divers particulars between the circumstances of this building and those of Hartlepool church are very striking. In the first place, the mother churches of Hart, and S. Nicholas, Old Shoreham, were bestowed by their Norman lords, Robert de Brus and William de Braose, on the abbeys of Guisborough, and S. Florence, at Saumur, in Anjou, in 1075 and 1129 respectively. Then, at a considerably later date, the dependent chapels of those churches, viz., those of Hartlepool, and S. Mary of New Shoreham, were rebuilt by the grandsons of the original donors on a scale of splendour, far surpassing that of the mother churches, that of Hartlepool, by Robert de Brus IV., about 1188; that of New Shoreham, by William de Braose II., about 1130. And further, both were rebuilt for the use and benefit of rapidly rising seaport towns.

All direct historical reference to the church of New Shoreham is, however, wanting; and it is only by means of very scanty and collateral evidence that we can arrive at any reasonable explanation as to how its choir came to assume its present size and form.

From this we learn that after the donation of the churches of S. Nicholas de Soraham, S. Peter de Sela, S. Nicholas de Brembria, and S. Peter de Veteri-ponte, the abbey of S. Florence, established at Sele (now called Beeding), a small priory of Benedictine monks, to

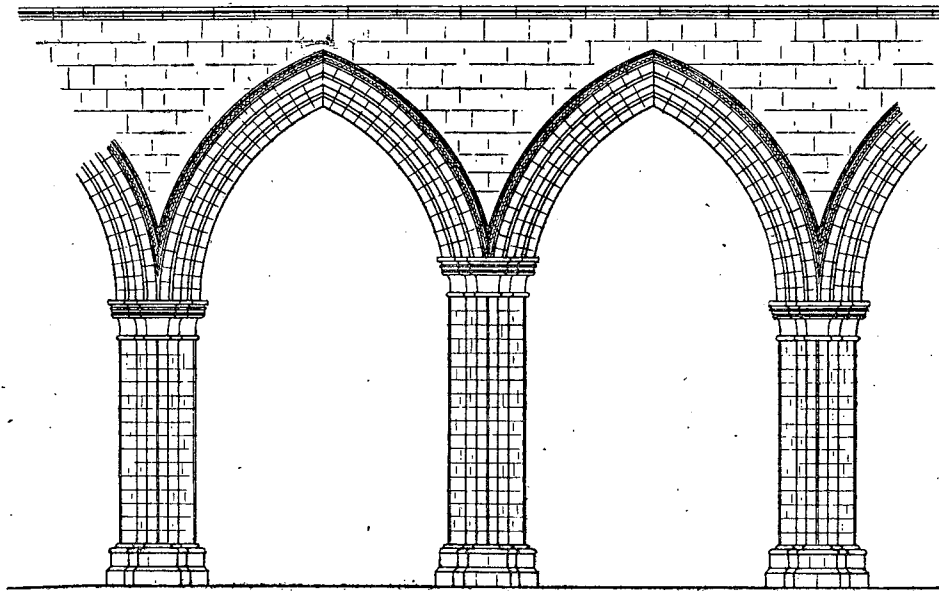
Buildwas, Roche, Kirkstall, etc., and it at once becomes evident in how many instances, even of cathedral and conventual churches, the aisles stopped short of the eastern extremity of the choirs.

And then, among parish churches innumerable, we find the same practice prevailing among those not only of the largest size, but far later date, as at Chipping Camden, Great Yarmouth, Lavenham, Lowestoft, Long Melford, Croydon, Rotherham, Blythborough, and the two great churches of S. James and S. Mary, Bury S. Edmunds, in all of which the eastern bay, at least, was unencroached upon. In the last mentioned instance, indeed, when the south aisle came to be added, *circa* 1485, the chancel, though already fifty-five feet in length, was extended, as though for the express purpose of allowing its sacra-rium to stand clear, by an extra eighteen feet.

But, what is more directly to our present purpose is the fact that the same arrangement is found in such a marked and emphatic manner in the case of Tynemouth priory church, designed, as there seems so much reason for believing, by the same architect as that of Hartlepool. There, the eastern projection, which contains a series of triple lights in each face, forms a practically exact square. And such, were there only, as I imagine to have been the case, two compound bays on each side, would be the case at Hartlepool, as well. For, since the chancel was just seventy feet and a half in length, and two such bays would extend to fifty feet, there would then, including the eastern responds, remain a space exactly twenty-two feet and a half long, by twenty-one feet and a half wide, and which would probably be lighted in much the same way in the parish, as it was in the priory, church.

which these churches, which all lay close together, were attached. At the date of this foundation, the parish of New Shoreham did not exist, being then part of that of S. Nicholas, Old Shoreham. But that it was both formed, and the church of S. Mary built there, by the monks in the interval between that time and *circa* 1103, is proved by the following passage in the confirmation charter of Philip de Braose, son of the benefactor:—‘Ierosolimis autem prædictus Philippus rediens ecclesiam sanctae Mariae de Nova Soraham, quia monachorum prædictorum exstitit juris, diligenter concessit et confirmavit.’ To this spot, then, it would seem certain that the monks settled at Sele (and who, as a matter of fact, continued there till the suppression) were at least *designed* to be removed; for not only was the church, even as first built, a grand cruciform structure, with nave and aisles of six bays and central tower, utterly out of keeping with a parish consisting only of sixty-six acres; but the original aisleless Norman choir was taken down and rebuilt on a greatly enlarged scale, and in the most sumptuous style of monastic splendour towards the close of the twelfth century. To suppose that such a work as this, consisting, as it does, of five bays in length, with north and south aisles, triforium and clearstorey, vaulted throughout with stone, and sculptured from end to end with a prodigality of the richest detail, was designed for the sole use of a small country parish, is as preposterous as it is against all analogy; and its erection for conventual or mortuary uses, or both, perhaps, as well as for those of the parish, must therefore, I think, be assigned to one or more of the lords of Braose (for there was a manifest pause between the lower, or transitional, and the upper, or lancet, portion of this great choir), or to their joint action, possibly, with the convent of S. Florence.

It is somewhat of a coincidence that, of these two singularly fine churches, but one half of each has been left to us, with, in either case, just a fragment, a single bay, of the other; though at Hartlepool it is the choir, at Shoreham, the nave, which has thus perished. A far more singular coincidence is that, in a perfectly independent and disconnected way, I should have been led to the conclusion, I might almost say conviction, that one and the same architect was answerable for both. I have already expressed the opinion that the architect of Tynemouth was the architect of Hartlepool; and years ago, and before

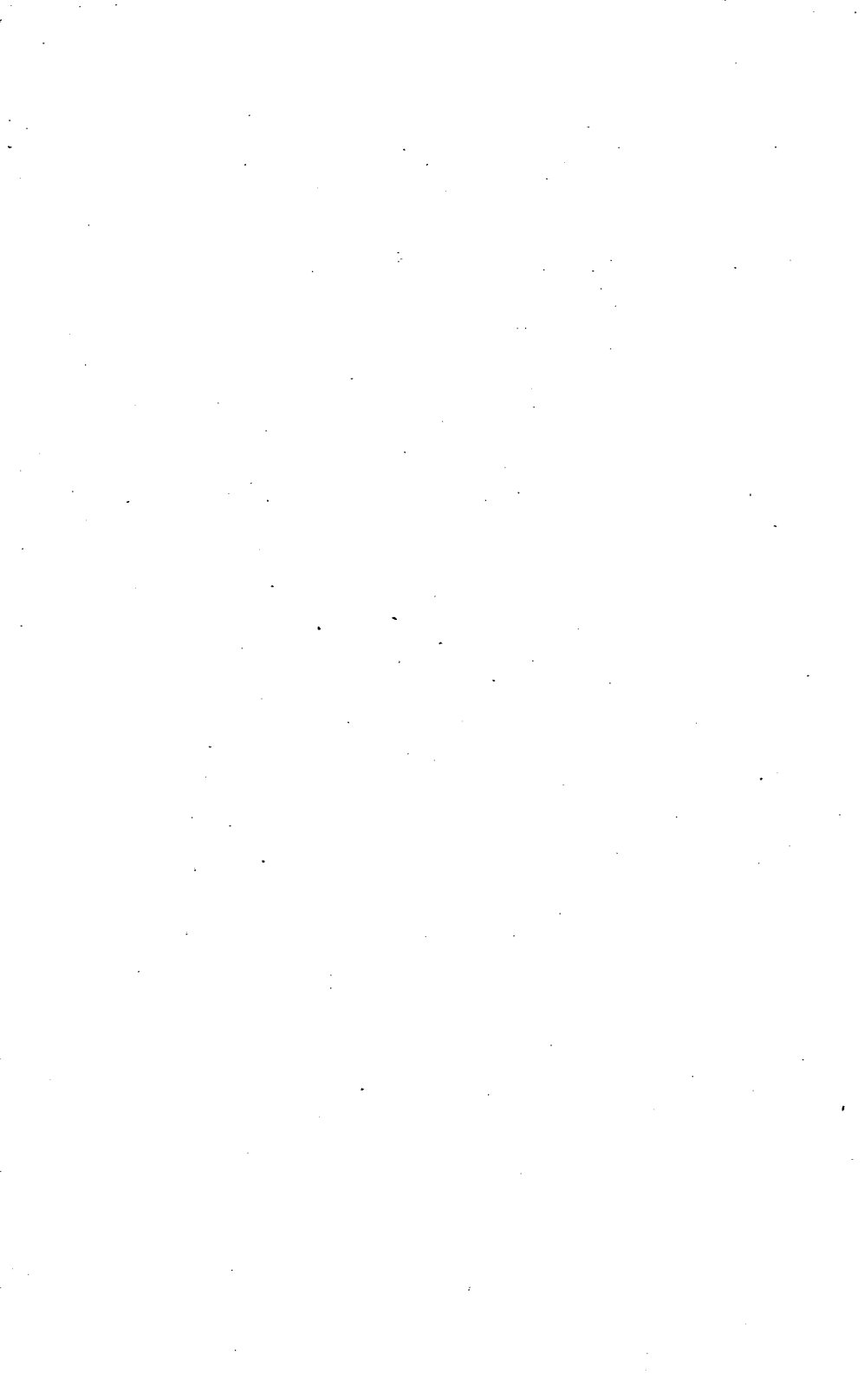


Adjacent Halves of two Compound Bays  
of Choir.

Scale 1" = 1' of Feet

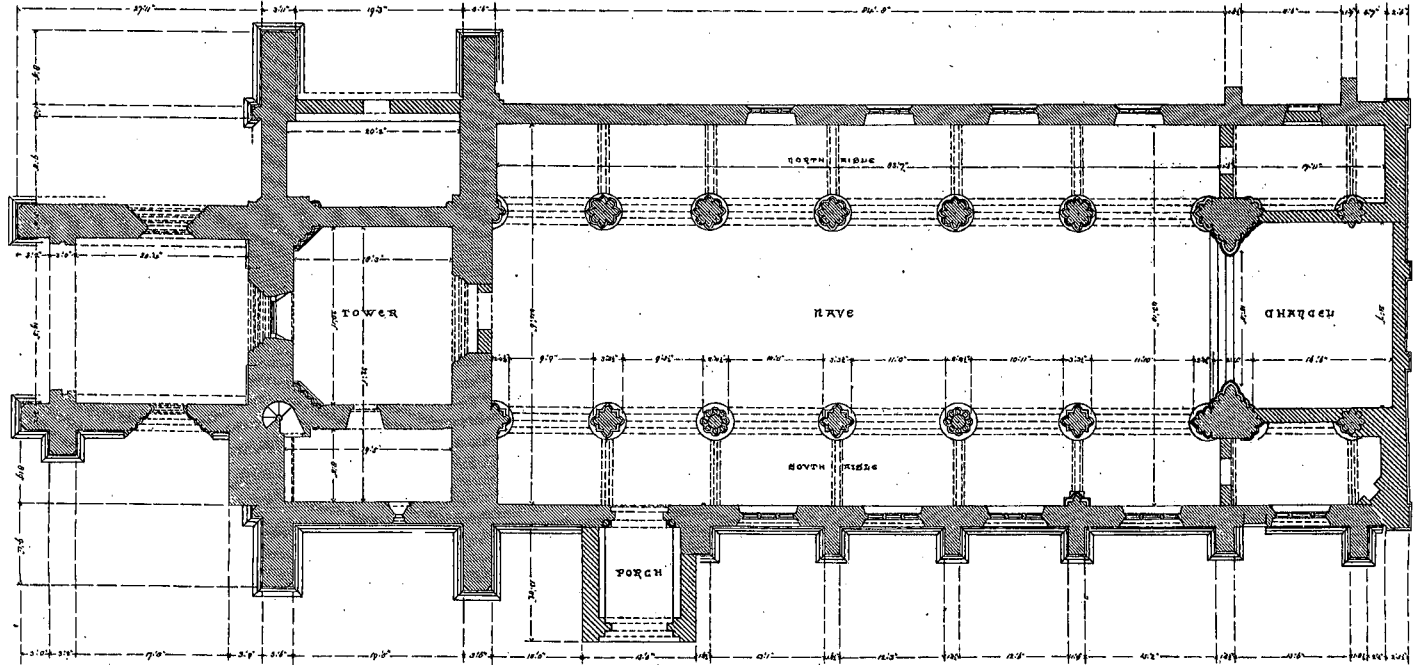
paying any attention to Hartlepool at all, I was led from the strongly marked and peculiar character of their details to fancy that the same bond of union existed between Tynemouth and Shoreham. It may, of course, be mere conjecture and nothing more ; but all three, it may be observed, are contemporaneous ; all are, or were, on the sea, and all of the very highest architectural excellence, as well as powerfully marked individuality of treatment ; thus, at any rate, suggesting, I think, if nothing more, the probability, or at least possibility, of a common authorship.

Be that, however, as it might, these bays were certainly the most original and peculiar features of the church ; and, so far as I know, unique. Though of far less frequent use in this country than in France or Germany, compound bays are, in themselves, common enough, whether in connection with vaulting, or, as here, with simple wooden roofs. Besides such examples as those of Bourges, Laon, Sens, Noyon, Worms, Spire, Zurich, Heiligenkreutz, Limbourg, Trebitsch, and many others, we have at home one of the finest possible illustrations at Durham ; in the smaller and later imitative example of Waltham abbey ; as also, though less conspicuously, perhaps, in the beautiful priory church of Boxgrove in Sussex. But in none of these, varying as they do in many ways, is there any approach to the peculiar arrangement found at Hartlepool. In every case the component arches, whether round or pointed, are of uniform and symmetrical shape, and spring throughout from the same level. Here they do not, and herein lies their singularity. In every double, or compound, bay the supporting pillars are of different heights, the lower one occupying the centre. The consequence is that the sides of each arch, though struck from corresponding centres, are uneven, their longer inner sides rising from a tangent, the outer and shorter from an angle. There is not space enough allowed by the arrangement, in fact, for the outer half of either arch to be completed by being carried down to the level of its springing line ; and, if produced, the mouldings of such, as came in contact would intersect. The two sides being thus unequal, the apex of each arch is consequently *eccentric* to the opening, while the arch itself in kind, if not in degree, is made to resemble those transverse aisle arches of which we have already taken note at Darlington. Full of masculine vigour and originality, the *raison d'être* of the design is to be found, not in mere





ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.



GROUND PLAN.

empty love of eccentricity, but of variety, and in the desire of emphasizing that distinction which was sought to be expressed between the eastern and western divisions of the church.<sup>18</sup> The intercolumnar spaces of the several sub-bays also are narrower than those existing in the nave arcades, a circumstance which serves still further to mark the difference. Among these latter, but two out of the six bays on either side, viz., the second and the fourth, are of the same span, ten feet eleven inches; the rest varying from nine feet three and a half inches in the fifth, to eleven feet ten inches in the first. Judging from their remains, those of the chancel were, on the other hand, of the same uniform dimensions, nine feet four inches, or thereabouts, throughout. A further point of difference to be noted also is that, while the capitals of the lower alternate columns of the chancel arcades are on the same level as those of the nave, the capitals of the higher alternate columns, which are brought into more immediate connection with the latter by their position next the chancel arch, range above them by more than their own height; all which particulars, though not, perhaps, very striking or conspicuous in themselves, yet serve, collectively, while not interfering with the general uniformity of plan, to produce such a contrast, and stamp such diversity of character on the several parts, as not only to define their respective uses, but delight both eye and mind as well.

#### IV.

But these, however interesting, are far from comprising all, or the most important, differences of design to be found between the chancel and the nave. Of exactly the same width both in the centre and side aisles, while within a few inches of the same height, and a few feet of

<sup>18</sup> The only other instance I am aware of in which this very singular principle is carried out is in the choir at New Shoreham. I have already, and quite independently of this circumstance, expressed the idea that the architect of Hartlepool church was the same as that of Tynemouth, and that the architect of Tynemouth was one with that of Shoreham. It is certainly not a little curious to find that a piece of design so excessively rare, if not, indeed, practically unparalleled as this, should be found in these two most remarkable buildings, all the more so, if they proceeded from two wholly different hands. At Hartlepool the arrangement occurs, as we see, in the pier-arches, or ground storey; at Shoreham, in the triforium, or blind storey; where, from the necessity of the case, however, the application of it is exactly reversed, the short sides of the arched openings lying inwards to the centre, instead of outwards to the circumference, as here. I may, doubtless, be mistaken; but, so far as I can call to mind, nothing of the kind has come under my observation elsewhere in the kingdom.

the same length, the distinction between the two great ritual divisions of the building, though never forced or violent, is maintained, more or less markedly, in every single feature. Thus in the clearstorey, which, though of just perceptibly smaller dimensions in the choir, follows the same design throughout, while in the nave the windows are set exactly above the centres of the arches, in the choir they are not; but, on either side, the western, instead of the centre, line of the light comes immediately above the apex of each arch, the whole window, that is the glazed part of it, lying to the east. This, however, is but a slight matter in comparison with the rest of the composition. At Darlington, as we have seen, the wall arcading both in the choir and transepts is confined strictly to the interior, while in the nave it is kept just as strictly to the exterior. At Hartlepool, though the same system is applied to the nave it has no place whatever in the choir, the rich triplet arcading being adopted on the inside as well as on the out. Nor is that all, for rich as is the external decoration in the depth and beauty of the arch mouldings and floriated capitals of the shafts which carry them, in the interior these mouldings and supporting shafts are doubled, the outer of the two orders being carried on rich projecting corbels. The effect, as may well be imagined, even in its present fragmentary condition is, owing to the consequent depth of the arcades and the closeness with which they are set, of astonishing beauty and magnificence.

As in the case of the compound bays beneath, the design of this clearstorey is, I think, probably unique; at any rate I cannot call to mind a parallel example anywhere in which a similar arrangement is found. For, as will be seen, in order to gain sufficient depth for the outer order of the arcades, the usual, I might say universal, method of construction is here exactly reversed, the thicker part of the walling being placed, not at the bottom, but at the top. That is to say, that although the inner mouldings of the clearstorey arcades and their shafts are here, as elsewhere, set back, the whole of the outer mouldings, together with the shafts that carry them, their hood-moulds, and the superincumbent masonry are set forward, and completely overhang the pier arches and wall surfaces below. Thus, in striking contrast to the nave clearstorey with its simply pierced window openings, this of the choir may be said, in a way, to con-

stitute a sort of grand *cornicione* as well. Taken altogether, and despite the loss of its eastern elevation, the finest perhaps of all, it may safely be said, I think, that no nobler or statelier chancel of a simple parish church or chapel could be found in all the land than that of this sea-girt, weather-beaten church of Hartlepool.

The contrast offered by it to that of Darlington, however, is about as complete and striking as possible. Thus, while the latter was aisleless, it was aisled. While the walls of Darlington were about five feet higher than they were long (viz., forty feet by thirty-five feet), those of Hartlepool were, at the lowest computation, more than twice as long as they were high (viz., seventy feet six inches by thirty-four feet). Again, while Darlington had but three bays, Hartlepool had, or had space for, six; while Darlington was arcaded in two stories, Hartlepool was but in one; and the clearstorey which, at Darlington, was arcaded only on the inside, was, at Hartlepool, arcaded on the outside too. And then both the arcadings and window openings present an equal degree of contrast. At Hartlepool, for instance, while the latter are but about two feet wide, by six feet three inches high, at Darlington they are three feet wide, by nine feet six inches high; and while the intercolumniations of the Hartlepool clearstorey, taken between the windows, measure but three feet wide, with a height to the points of the arches of eight feet, those of the Darlington clearstorey have a width of no less than six feet three inches, with a height of twelve feet. At Hartlepool again, there are not only two blank arcades, but a narrow strip of walling as well, between each light; at Darlington, but a single arcade; and while, in the former case, all are acutely pointed, in the latter they are so obtuse as to differ little from a semicircle. At Hartlepool, once more, the clearstorey windows, small as they are, were about double the size of those in the aisles below; while at Darlington, both ranges of windows, which are on the same plane, are of equal size; and each more than twice as large as the largest of those at Hartlepool.

No doubt, the special purpose, and consequently plan, of each building had largely to do with such structural differences of proportion and arrangement. Yet, curiously general as they are, we cannot but feel, after all, how far they fall short of that radical and essential difference, might it not rather, perhaps, be styled contrariety? of

spirit, or cast of mind, which inspired and directed their several authors. The one vast, broad, gloomy, rich to excess in detail, yet full in every part of concentrated force and power, and as fitted for the hall of some great military chief as for a church; the other narrow, light, lofty, ascetic even in the calm and chaste simplicity of its decoration, the very ideal of spiritual seclusion and separation from the world. I speak, of course, of the two chancels as they were originally; for at Hartlepool there is unhappily but a fragment, while at Darlington, though we have the whole, it is in such a shockingly mutilated condition structurally, and decoratively, so grossly misused with hideous stained glass, and other kindred, yet more violently accentuated horrors, that it is only by blotting them all out, and restoring in imagination the obliterated features, that its ancient beauties can be perceived.

Of all the remaining internal features at Hartlepool, by far the finest and most majestic is, undoubtedly, the chancel arch. Like the church itself it stands wholly apart and distinct from all other local examples of its class. Indeed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, I think, in respect of the combined qualities of height, massiveness, and general richness of moulding and sculptured detail, to find its equal anywhere. Rising to within a trifle of the full height of the clearstoreys, it has an elevation of about thirty-two and a half feet above the floor of the nave, and is carried on groups of five clustered shafts. These are crowned by rich capitals, with beautifully modelled Transitional volutes, springing under, and curling over, foiled, or circular bells surmounted by square abaci. The arch itself which springs at a height of twenty feet, is very obtuse and composed of three orders of rich roll-and-fillet and hollow mouldings, square set, and with hood moulds on each side. That there are some few instances of late Norman or early Transitional chancel arches with a greater profusion of ornament, as at Norham, and Tickencote churches for example, may be true enough. But they all, as far as I know, fall far short of this at Hartlepool in two main particulars, viz., want of height; and in having all their enrichments, as in doorways, confined to one, that is the western, face only. Here, however, both sides are alike; the eastern one, so far from shrinking into utter nothingness, or vanishing altogether, as in such cases, being so far the richer of the



*W. McLeish, photo.*

S. HILDA'S CHURCH. HARTLEPOOL,  
VIEW FROM CHANCEL LOOKING N.W.



two, that it has an additional shaft carried up at each angle of the chancel, and thus showing on that side groups of four, instead of three, as towards the nave.

The only other chancel arch in the county, if indeed it can properly be called so, which can be compared with this of Hartlepool, is that at Darlington, where it is simply one of four carrying the central tower. It is specially interesting and instructive in the present enquiry, however, as serving to set in stronger contrast, perhaps, than any other feature, the widely differing characteristics of their respective authors. Of much the same form, but set at a much greater height, it is yet notwithstanding its position and the load it was, even originally, meant to carry, as striking both in itself and its supports, for delicate and slender elegance of proportion; as are the others for their superabundant and colossal massiveness and strength. To turn from one to the other, indeed, is like turning from a statue of Hebe or Aphrodite to one of Hercules.

#### V.

We come now to the nave, where the superiority of that of Hartlepool to Darlington nave is, even its present state, not merely evident, but pronounced. In the first place, though but twelve feet longer, that is to say, eighty-three feet six inches as against seventy-one feet six inches, it has the great advantage of having six bays instead of four; and in the second, of having those bays of, generally, uniform design and character throughout. But, in its present state, and owing to similar causes, the nave of Hartlepool has suffered quite as severely as the choir and transepts of Darlington; and conveys, therefore, but a very imperfect idea of its pristine proportions and beauty. For not only is it deprived of some five and twenty feet of its length, but the noble tower arches and piers, with the vaulted roof and west window beyond, which originally presented well nigh as grand an effect westwards as did the chancel eastwards, are wholly obliterated by masses of rude walling which cut the church in two from top to bottom. With these, and the precise reasons for their introduction, however, we shall have to deal by and by. At present it is the nave itself, or rather what is visible of it, that demands attention.

Of this, which includes all lying eastwards of the tower, though the height is somewhat less, the length and breadth differ but little



from those of Darlington. Thus, while the nave at Darlington is seventy-one feet six inches in length, that of Hartlepool is eighty-three feet six inches; and while the width of the central aisle in the former is twenty-two feet four inches, in the latter it is twenty-two feet six inches; the entire width, from aisle wall to aisle wall, being, in either case, forty-seven feet and forty-four feet six inches; and the height forty feet and thirty-six feet respectively. Though, as a reference to the plan and geometrical elevation will show, the dimensions of the six bays which compose it, and which correspond exactly on either side, vary very considerably, the actual effect is as perfectly pleasing and harmonious as could be wished. The contrast, therefore, which the work, taken as a whole, offers to that of our own day, both in planning and effect, is very great, as complete, in fact, as can be. Now, according to universal practice, every bay, down to the minutest particular, would be the exact counterpart of all the rest; the natural result being that the whole would appear as though it were, and as, indeed, it might just as well, perhaps, really be, cast in *compo* or other material from a mould. Nor would the dead, uninteresting, machine-made aspect end even here; for, not if the clerk of works could help it, would the least difference of tint or marking in any of the stones be allowed to disturb that monotonous uniformity of colouring which, both in itself, and as evidence of competent supervision, he feels to be so desirable in every part. Note well, however, for too much, or minute attention, whether from an antiquarian or artistic point of view, can hardly be given to the subject, how entirely different were the spirit and principles which governed the twelfth-century architect. Working, not from a mechanical, but a natural standpoint, he sought for unity, not through uniformity, but variety; for oneness of purpose, not by the repetition of identical features, but through manifold, nay infinite, yet harmonious, differences of detail and expression. And so, when his great nave came to be set out, instead of dividing it, as would inevitably be the case nowadays, into six mathematically exact and equal parts, he took care that no two consecutive ones should be alike.<sup>19</sup> Even its two sides, though corresponding exactly

<sup>19</sup> The same principle of diversity in unity is consistently and ingeniously adhered to in the cathedral church of Durham, not only as regards the setting out of the original Norman design in all its parts, but also in the subsequent additions of the Gallilee and Nine Altars chapels. A reference to the figures in

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Longitudinal Section from East to West





in their several dimensions, are made to differ perceptibly, if slightly, both in planning and decoration; and thus bear witness to that intelligent and quickening spirit which, scorning the base fetters of

Mr. Billings's admirable and carefully-measured plans (*Durham Cathedral*, Plates iii., iv., and xxxiv.) will show that though there, as at Hartlepool, the opposite sides of the choir and nave naturally and very properly correspond with each other, the intercolumnar spaces of the several bays vary in every single instance save one, viz., the second and third from the east in the nave, which, however, belong to two different compound bays, the spans of whose respective arches vary perceptibly, and are separated the one from the other by a dividing pier of greater diameter than their own.

Omitting, then, the easternmost bay of the choir, a thirteenth-century alteration and substitute for the original Norman bay immediately west of the curve of the central apse, we find that, of the four remaining bays, the first has a span of fourteen feet nine inches; the second, of fourteen feet one and a half inches; the third, of fourteen feet two inches; and the fourth, corresponding in width to the eastern aisle of the transept, of eleven feet nine and a half inches; the four, which constitute four compound bays, being parted from each other by a broad central pier of no less than sixteen feet eleven inches diameter.

Passing the transept, and proceeding onwards to the nave, we see that the first arch of the first compound bay has a span of eleven feet six and a half inches, while that of the second is twelve feet ten and a half inches. Of the second compound bay, while the first arch is of the same dimensions as the last-mentioned, viz., twelve feet ten and a half inches; the second is no less than fifteen feet eight inches; the arches of the third compound bay measuring fifteen feet six and a half inches and fifteen feet seven inches respectively. Then, between the next great pier in regular sequence, and the still larger one supporting the western tower, comes a single arch having a span of twelve feet eleven and a half inches, and, finally, that beneath the tower itself, with one of sixteen feet two and a half inches.

But by far the most remarkable development of the system is found in the planning of the two halves of the great transept which, composed of two compound bays each, have, on either hand, as from the common centre of the crossing, their intercolumnar spaces arranged in gradually diminishing order. Whether the idea of producing an effect of distance and increased size through the medium of a kind of false perspective had any share in the design or not, cannot be said; but even if it had, the plan adopted was perfectly legitimate, and stands quite apart from that utterly reprehensible and theatrical trickery of lowering the vault, and approximating the side walls which was sometimes resorted to. As it is, anything more thoroughly scientific and artistically admirable than this piece of planning could hardly be conceived: the effect, in a not very large area, of enormous strength, as well as of constant variety and distance, obtained by the multiplication and subordination of the points of support, and swift vanishing of the spaces between them, stamping the work not merely as that of a master in the art, but with a character absolutely unique.

For, though diminishing gradually from the crossing, the diminution is not, be it observed, regular or in geometrical progression: quite the contrary. Had such been the case the eye would have been able to detect the fact at once, and then all that sense of freshness and mystery which pervades the actual work would vanish instantaneously, since the whole, though in some sort varied, would both be, and be felt to be, fraudulent and mechanical. All such results are avoided, however, by the consummate skill evinced in the arrangement. Though in both compound bays that nearest the centre, or crossing, is perceptibly the larger of the two, yet the two really central ones are so nearly alike, differing in span by only three inches, that they serve to dispel any idea of proportionate diminution entirely, and so relieve both eye and mind at the same time. Thus, taking the north side by way of illustration (for the proportions of each half of the transept differ somewhat, though not very materially, in every

mechanical repetition, could yet achieve a well balanced and symmetrical whole, by means of, and notwithstanding, a free diversity in all its component parts.

Commencing our examination then on the south side we find that out of the six bays which make it up, no fewer than five are differently spaced, and, as a consequence, have arches of varying span and curvature; while of the five columns which carry them three only are alike, the remaining two differing in design, not only from the rest, but also from each other.

First, however, as to the spacing. Taking the bays in due order, the first, or easternmost one, measured from pier to pier, will be seen to have a span of eleven feet ten inches, the second of ten feet eleven inches, the third of eleven feet, the fourth, like the second, of ten feet eleven inches, the fifth, which is the narrowest, of nine feet three and a half inches, and the sixth of nine feet nine inches, the average of the whole being a fraction over ten feet seven and a quarter inches. What particular circumstance, if any, may have governed the remarkable contraction of the two western bays, cannot now, of course, be said. At Lincoln minster, where, in a nave of seven bays, precisely the same thing occurs—and, though on a much larger scale, in almost precisely similar proportions—the efficient cause was clearly that of economy. For when the new nave was planned, and the very unusual average intercolumnar space of 22-30 feet was assigned to each of the five eastern bays, it was doubtless with the intention

particular), the first arch of the first compound bay, which is that of the choir aisle, has a span of ten feet five inches, while that of its fellow arch is only seven feet six inches: next to this comes the first arch of the second compound bay with a span of seven feet three inches, the diameter of the great pier which separates them being eleven feet three inches, while the span of its fellow arch, the extreme one to the north, is only five feet six inches.

And a similar law of variation will be found to govern the laying out and spacing both of the Gallilee chapel and that of the Nine Altars, though in the case of the former, as there are five aisles of but four bays each, the spacing of the latter is practically uniform, the western one alone, in every case, being a few inches wider than the rest. Yet, though for the most part but slightly, the width of the aisles themselves varies in every instance, that towards the south being thirteen feet eight inches; the next, thirteen feet seven inches; the central one, thirteen feet nine inches; the following thirteen feet eleven inches, and the northernmost, twelve feet eleven inches.

As to the Nine Altars, the variations are simply legion, no two things, and frequently even halves of the same things, being alike in almost any part of it; and hence, in part, the result that, for grace and power and fascinating charm, it stands, I think I may say, alone, even among the greatest works of its great age.

of clearing away the Norman west front of Remigius altogether, continuing the arcades of the same dimensions throughout, and erecting a new west front, possibly like that of Peterborough, in a similar style, and at right angles with them, which the actual Norman front is not. But by the time the fifth bay was finished funds failed; the retention of the old work became a matter of necessity; and the two western bays had, consequently, to be at once and violently contracted to a space of only seventeen feet each, in order to make them fit in with it. Such a sudden and severe interference with the integrity of the original scheme, has, however, issued in the most disastrous results; for whether it be that the vast scale on which the work was commenced has caused the disparity of spacing in the arcades to appear too pronounced; that the dimensions of the earlier eastern ones were not (as, indeed, under the circumstances, they could not be) duly accommodated to them; that the intended length of the nave was so greatly curtailed; or, as is most probable, to the combined action of all these causes; the unity of that nave, which, had it only been completed as it was commenced, would probably have been the most daring, scientific, and beautiful thirteenth-century work of the kind in the land, has been completely destroyed, not only as a whole, but in the proportion of its leading parts.

But at Hartlepool there were no such limitations; the lower parts of the tower, though continuous, being certainly of later construction. At the same time owing partly, perhaps, to the smaller scale, partly to the considerable variation pervading the four eastern bays, and partly to the entire structure having reached the limits originally designed for it; the general unity, as well as relative proportion of parts, are in no way interfered with or impaired. Whether viewed from the west when they are in the immediate foreground, from the east when in far and sharp perspective, or from any intermediate standpoint, the effect of these narrow bays either alone, or in connection with the rest is equally fine, nor is their actual difference from them in size even suggestive of disparity.

## VI.

Besides the different spacing of its bays, and the difference in plan of the columns of the south aisle among themselves, and of all of

them from those of the north aisle, another mark of distinction is seen in the fact that, while the southern arches are enriched with hood moulds, those towards the north have none. And a further point of interest is this, viz., that these hood moulds, like the earlier ones of the choir, are indented, a circumstance tending to show that the south side of Hartlepool nave, like that of Darlington, was built first.

Again, the arch moulds of the two arcades which, in either case, are of two orders, though in the same style, and producing a very similar effect, differ completely in every detail, save one, which is that the central mould of the soffit of the inner order consists in both of a pointed bowtel. The feature of chiefest interest in the southern range, however, is perhaps found in the broad eastern bay, as well above, in the clearstorey, as below, in the arcade and aisle compartment.

Though to no striking extent, or in any way interfering with the unity of the general design, the easternmost clearstorey window on either side is appreciably taller than the rest, the height to the springing of the arch being four feet eleven inches, and four feet two inches, respectively. But, again, the inequality is so skilfully masked by the string course, which also forms the hood mould, being carried at the same level throughout, through taking the arch of the taller light as its springing line and those of the others at nine inches above, that, in the general view, the eye is neither conscious of, nor suspects, any difference at all. The reason of this difference, which though slightly more apparent on the outside because of the accompanying blank arcades, yet even there interferes to no greater extent with the unity of the whole, is to be found in the fact of this eastern bay having formed a chantry chapel. That such, independently of the inference to be drawn from its greater size and larger clearstorey light, was certainly the case, is proved not only by the presence of the original piscina, but by the occurrence of a respond in the south wall opposite to, and of the same section as the first column, and which, instead of a mere corbel, as in all the other bays, carries the transverse arch, and so serves to mark it off the more emphatically from them.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Besides the high, or parish altar, there were also certainly three other subsidiary or chantry altars in the church or chapel of S. Hild, viz., those of S.

These transverse arches constitute one of the most unusual, and also, it must be confessed, difficult and perplexing features of the church. Unlike those at Darlington they are richly moulded, and springing on either hand from nearly the same levels, have their sides, in consequence, of nearly the same length. But in the south aisle more particularly, many of them are most curiously and unaccountably mis-shapen, as though either from settlement or excessive pressure. Nothing of the kind, however, as is evident both from the verticality of the walls on either side and the horizontal level of the courses overhead has ever happened to them, and the cause must therefore be sought in the original construction. Their malformation is all the more remarkable, seeing that the curvature of the whole of the other arches throughout the building, whether great or small, is so exceptionally and perfectly symmetrical. It cannot easily, therefore, be attributed either to ignorance or carelessness. The first and most obvious explanation would seem to be that before the raising of the outer walls they had been struck intentionally from very unequal centres, and at distinctly different levels; thus, in rampant fashion, and following the inclination of the steep ancient roofs, presenting much the same general outline and effect as those at Darlington. Then, when the outer walls were raised to their present height in the fifteenth century, that the corbels were raised too, and the irregular arches adapted to their new forms and positions with the least amount of trouble possible. But as there is no evidence of the

Helen, S. Mary, and S. Nicholas, two of which would probably occupy the eastern extremities of the north and south aisles of the choir; the other, that of the south aisle of the nave. All three were refounded in the time of bishop Skirlaw (1388-1405) who in the eighth year of his episcopate, granted leave to the mayor and commonalty of Hartlepool to found anew a chantry for one chaplain, to the honour of S. Helen, at the altar of the blessed Helen, to pray for the good estate of the bishop; of Matilda, wife of Roger de Clifford, and their heirs; and of the mayor and commonalty; as also for their souls when they shall have departed this life, etc., according to statutes to be made and determined by the mayor and commonalty.

A similar licence empowered the mayor, etc., to found to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, one chantry of two chaplains, to pray at the altar of the blessed Mary, etc., as before, and permission was likewise given to the said mayor, etc., to assign certain messuages to the keepers of the fabric of the church of S. Hild, for the purpose of supplying a light at the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary, and for sustaining the choir of the said church.

A further licence was also granted to refound, etc., to the honour of S. Nicholas, one chantry of one chaplain, to pray at the altar of S. Nicholas, in this chapel, etc., as before, and that the mayor, etc., may grant eight messuages to John Abel, chaplain keeper of the chantry and his successors for ever.



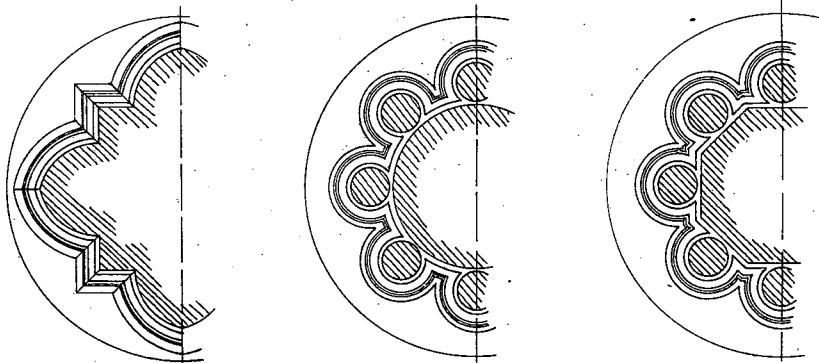
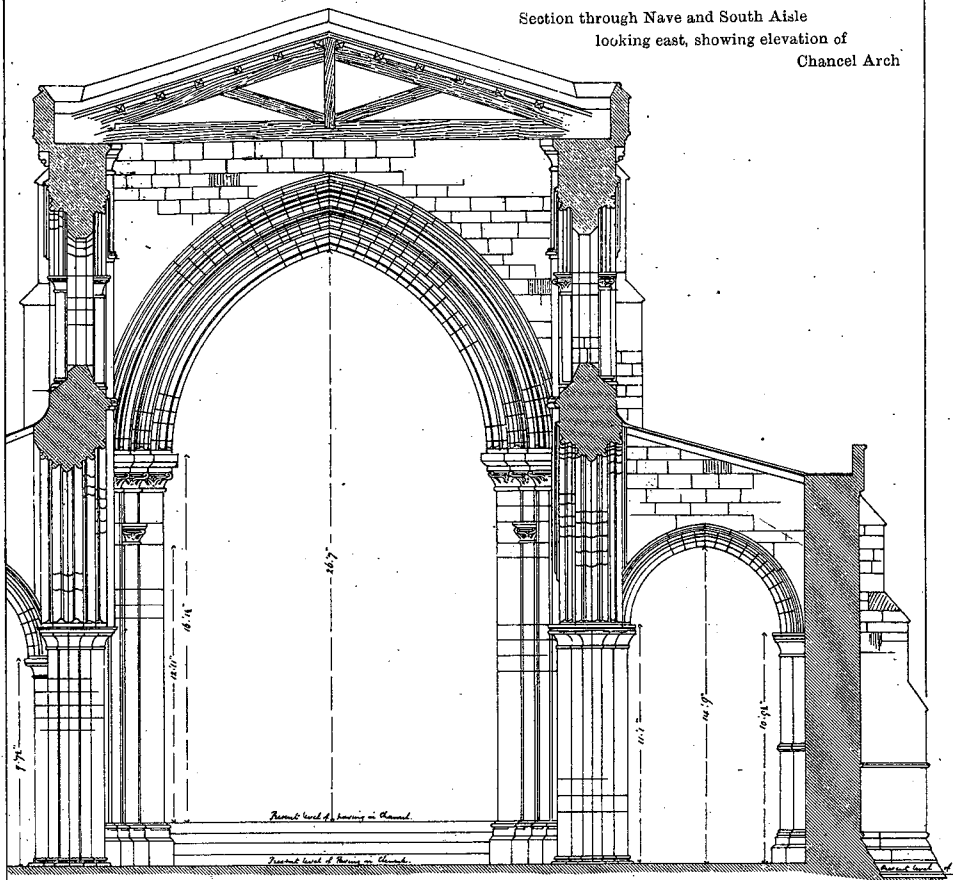
corbels having ever occupied a lower level, which the height of the unaltered capital of the respond renders indeed impossible, and as the line of the original roof would, as experiment shows, have cleared the arches in their present form perfectly, such theory is, of course, untenable. Still the deformity exists, and that in so pronounced a fashion, and in so many instances, that it needs to be accounted for. Why there should have been any discrepancy at all in so simple a matter, when once the respective springing lines were determined, does not appear. The actual difference of level between the corbels and the capitals of the columns from which, in the south aisle, the arches spring is so trifling, only about four inches, as to be practically non-existent, and offers no explanation whatever for such singular and excessive deformity; while mere carelessness, though it might account for the irregularity in a single instance, could hardly be held to do so in so many. The only remaining way of explaining the actual state of things, short of wanton recklessness or stupidity, would seem to be that, an irregular curvature with an uneven springing line having been designed for the arches originally, and a certain number of voussairs cut to that form, the idea, before the arches were actually turned, was abandoned, and the prepared stones worked up on a nearly level springing line in the way we now see.

But, however this may be, certain it is that on building the north aisle a different system was pursued, and the cross arches, instead of springing from the capitals of the columns, as in the south aisle, were made to do so from independent capitals applied to the inner shafts of the columns at a lower level; that is to say, with their abaci rather lower than the neck moulds of the capitals of those columns. The result, whatever the cause of a contrary one to the south, is that the transverse arches are, if not absolutely, yet quite fairly, regular.

Though corresponding exactly in the span of its pier arch with that opposite, the eastern bay of the north aisle possesses neither of the two characteristics, of the respond or piscina, which are found there; nor can it certainly be said, therefore, whether an altar, as might be supposed, ever occupied it or not. In all other respects the two bays, both above and below, correspond exactly, save in one, and that is that, the arrangement of the clearstorey hood mould, to which I have called attention on the south side, is here all but reversed.

ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Section through Nave and South Aisle  
looking east, showing elevation of  
Chancel Arch



Half Plan of Piers to South Nave Arcade.



There, as we have seen, it began, at the level of the springing of the arch of the higher eastern light, and taking those westwards just where it struck them, that is, at a height of nine inches above their springing, was so continued to the end. Here, on the contrary, it is the springing line of the lower, or ordinary, windows which gives the level; as though, while on the south side the work had been started, as no doubt it was, from the east, here, on the north, it had been so from the west—the level of the first window arch, in either case, ruling the line at which the string was to be carried. It is stepped to the higher level just east of the easternmost of the shafts which, rising from the capitals of the columns, ascend to the roof to carry the tie-beams,<sup>21</sup> and is consequently almost unperceived. Thus, once more, and even in such a small and comparatively trivial a detail as this, we see exemplified that principle of constant variety in unity which, while giving so undefined, yet powerful a charm to all ancient work, is so lamentably, alas! universally, lacking in our own. Nor, strong as is the general likeness, and perfect the harmony which exists between the two sides of the church, are further illustrations of this fact wanting. Both on the outside and inside, while the capitals of all the columns of the clearstorey are foliated towards the south, on the north they are plain; those of the eastern bay only, in either case, being thus enriched. The columns of the arcades, too, vary equally. As we have just seen, not only do those on the south side differ alternately in design, but the alternating designs differ also from each other. On the north, however, though with the same leading principle in view, an exactly contrary plan is followed. Here it is absolute uniformity, as opposed to the variety, set forth on the other side that is aimed at, and which thus, though by a different way, reaches the same end.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Exactly the same arrangement is found in the grand choir of new Shoreham church, the relative positions only being reversed. There, on the side, the columns are all clustered, and follow one pattern. On the north they are varied, round and octagonal alternately, only the eastern respond consisting of a group of slender clustered shafts.

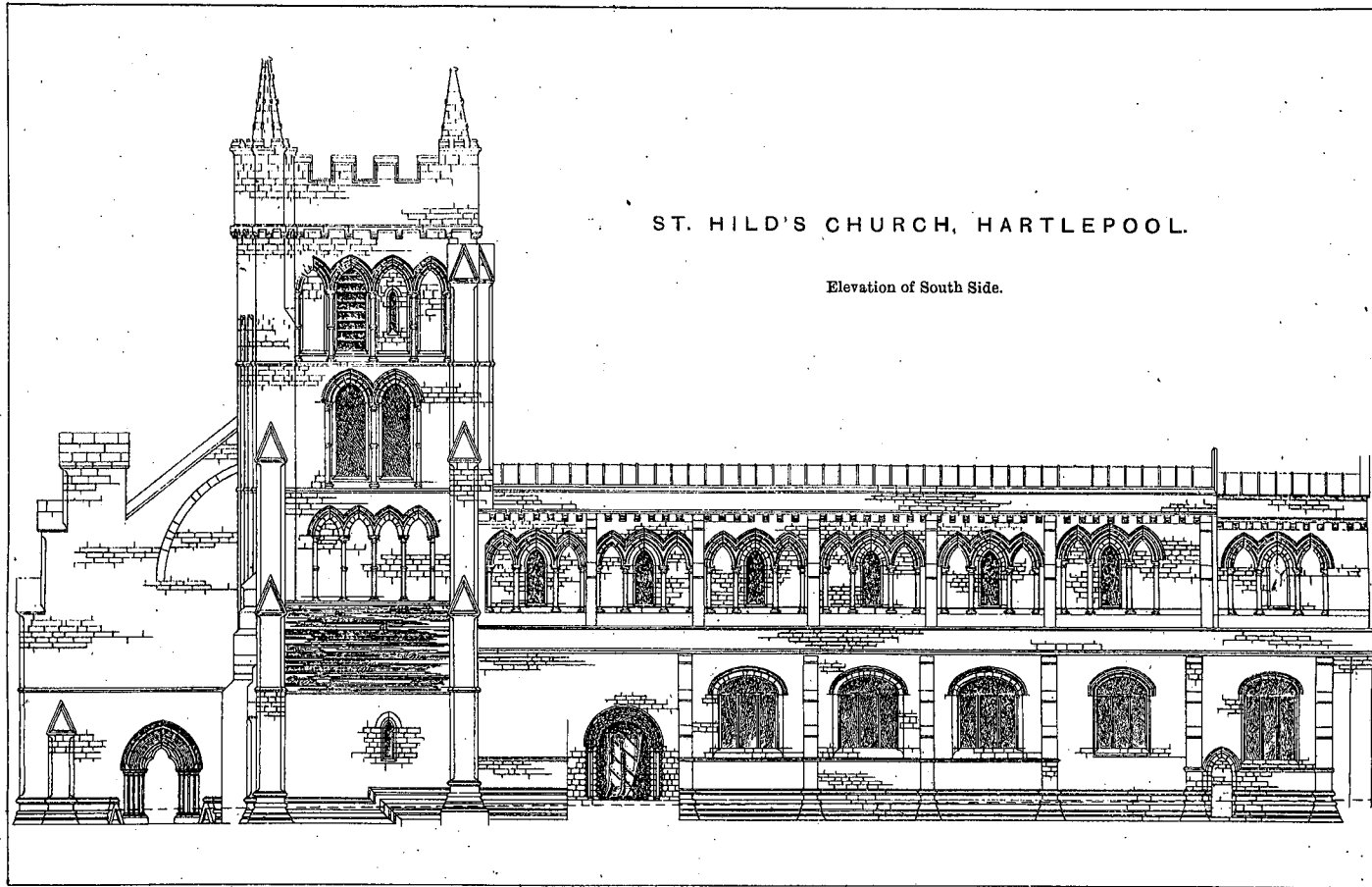
<sup>22</sup> Vertical divisional shafts—for vaulting shafts, of course, they are not—especially of such an early date as these, are of the very rarest occurrence in parish churches, and the present is the only instance in which they are found in the county of Durham. In very late and rich perpendicular work indeed they are far from uncommon, as at Great S. Mary's, Cambridge; Thaxted, in Essex; and in the magnificent churches of Lavenham and Long Melford, Suffolk; S. Stephen's and S. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich; and S. Mary's, Nottingham. But in that of the twelfth century such shafts are extremely rare. The contemporary choir of Ripon minister, though outside the category of parish churches, has, never-

But then, even in this uniformity, we see a difference in the design of the columns from that of all those with which they are contrasted. Thus, on the south, we have three patterns; here on the north, though but one, a fourth; for while that which most nearly resembles it consists of a pointed bowtel applied to the centre of each face of a square; here, the figure, as in the great north-west pier of the tower at Darlington, is a cluster of eight, viz., four pointed, and as many round, shafts set alternately.

As ever with the true artist, indeed, the architect of Hartlepool church refused slavishly to repeat himself; and being a free agent, free, that is, to design afresh, improve, and vary all previous ideas as he went on, the light of that 'Lamp of Life' which was within him breaks forth and lightens all portions of his work alike. And so, though commencing with the clearstorey hood moulds, and noting, step by step, the variations occurring in every detail down to the sections and arrangements of the pillars, we find yet further proof of his

theless, shafts so exactly similar to these at Hartlepool, and whose position and reason of their occurrence is so curious that they may well be mentioned here—all the more so that neither one nor other has ever been referred to or, apparently, even noticed by the late Sir G. G. Scott, Mr. Sharpe, or any other writer on that very remarkable building. As originally planned, and even built, up to the base of the clearstorey, it was intended, evidently, to be vaulted with stone, no fewer than five vaulting shafts being set in a peculiarly French fashion with their bases on the capitals of the pier arches. On arriving at the clearstorey, however, this original intention was abandoned and a simple wooden roof, without any vaulting, determined on, instead. There, consequently, the group of vaulting shafts abruptly terminated, and single slender shafts with square abaci, exactly resembling those at Hartlepool, were superimposed upon them to carry, as there, the tie beams of the roof. At Darlington, though the idea of such divisional shafts would seem never to have been seriously contemplated, there is, notwithstanding, a curiously apparent and abortive attempt made in that direction, at the springing of the eastern nave arches on each side. But it is carried up, like the vaulting shafts at Ripon, only as high as the clearstorey string course, and there ends. Whether these shafts were intended to be carried higher, and all the succeeding bays to be similarly marked off, cannot now, of course, be said, any more than whether, on the other hand, they were meant only to indicate, like the richer arches which they serve to emphasize and segregate from the rest, the sacarium of a people's altar which, like that of Jesus, or the great cross, at Durham and elsewhere, was placed below the western arch of the crossing. But, whatever their object, they were neither continued nor yet completed. The only instance we have, and that in a building which, though not designed originally for sacred uses, is yet of contemporary date, occurs in the chapel of the bishop's palace at Auckland. Here, however, as there was no clearstorey, they are much shorter than those at Hartlepool. They are also much more highly enriched, springing from foliated corbels, and having capitals of the same character. They have now, with excellent taste and judgment, been applied to a new use, viz., the support of very finely executed and designed full length figures of angels playing on musical instruments, which both give them a meaning, and serve to fill up the bare and blank wall spaces admirably.





ST. HILD'S CHURCH, HARTLEPOOL.

Elevation of South Side.

inventiveness awaiting us in their bases. Again, as with themselves, the arrangement of the one side would seem to be opposed to that of the other; not, that is, in detail, but as a whole. Thus, while the circumscribing line of all those towards the south, the difference in their shafts notwithstanding, is circular, on the north it is octagonal. Nor is this all. On the south the bases stand, as usual, separate and disconnected. On the north, for some reason, not now readily explicable, they were, though such is no longer the case, connected by a plinth a few inches higher than the nave floor. Whether the floor of the aisle was continuous with that of the nave, or raised to the height of the plinth is, however, as uncertain as, seeing there were no inequalities of surface to account for it, the presence of the plinth itself is unintelligible. But, that it was there, whatever its *raison d'être* may have been, and that it had one we cannot doubt, is undeniable.

#### VII.

But two other features of the twelfth-century architect's design remain to be noticed, I think, the south doorway and the windows of the aisles. The latter are now, unhappily, all gone, and the only evidence we have respecting them is that of the single small light remaining in the engaged bay of the tower, with whose general details and proportions the rest presumably agreed. It is remarkably small, only four feet six inches in height, by one foot in breadth, and consequently a mere loop. But, taken in connection with the pitch of the roofs, also preserved there, it enables us to understand perfectly that solemn and impressive effect of light and shade which formed so important an element in the original plan, and of which we could otherwise have little or no conception. By its aid, however, we can see at once how marvellously grand and overpowering must have been the expression of mystery, and power, and vast extent, which characterized the work as it left its master's hand; and how miserably it has been lessened, almost, if not altogether, to vanishment, by subsequent alterations.<sup>23</sup> Till then, practically, the whole of

<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, similar mischief has, in varying degrees, befallen almost, if not all, of our earlier churches. Certainly none in the county of Durham has escaped, and that Hartlepool should have suffered no further than it has is a subject for much thankfulness. To a larger extent, because on a far larger and grander scale than any other, it must, I think, have displayed the marvellous



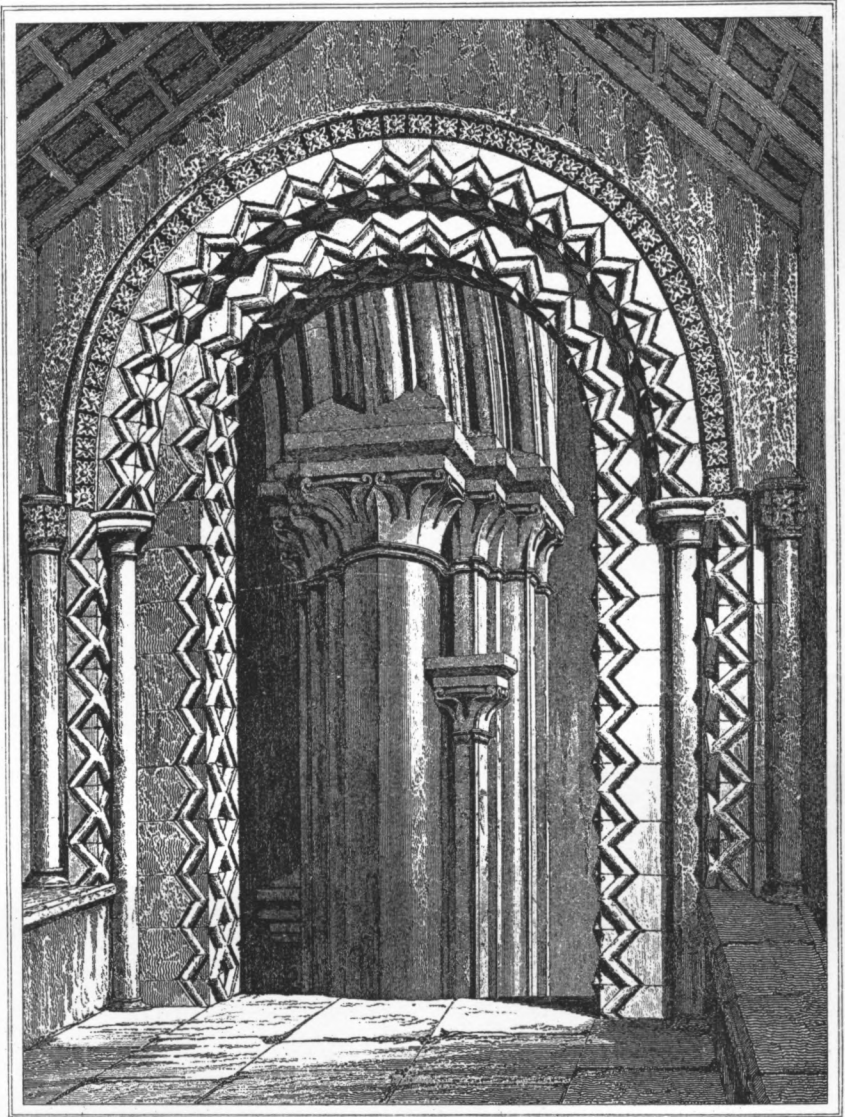
the illumination would be derived from the windows of the clearstorey, subdued and separate bars of light divided by broad intervening belts of shadow, sufficient, doubtless, to throw up in full relief the general forms and details of the architecture, but little or nothing more. However great the skill displayed in other parts of the construction, it may well be questioned, I think, whether it exceeded or even

gained from a system of carefully thought-out and subdued lighting, accompanied by the powerful effect of well-regulated and disposed gloom. It certainly seems strange that while in pictorial art the utmost attention should be given habitually by the greatest masters to the due proportion and distribution of light and shade; in architecture, the noblest and most impressive art of all, we should have come, in modern practice, not merely to treat so important a point with indifference or contempt, but to have lost sight of its very existence altogether. In time, perhaps, our architects, or such of them as would be artists, as well as, or rather than, mere builders, will wake up to a sense of their loss and strive to remedy it. At Hartlepool, the effect of contrast was, so far as we can judge, more highly accentuated and intense, probably, than elsewhere. For, though the nave could never have been light, the western parts of the choir were still less so, and the whole illumination, as such, must have been concentrated directly upon the high altar from the great triplets which, whether in one or two stages, at the east end, and probably also at the sides, as at Tynemouth, would bathe it, and that all the more strikingly by comparison, in a perfect flood of light. Much the same thing, though owing to its wholly different arrangement, in a more graduated fashion, would also be seen at Darlington. Here too, originally, the nave must have been wrapped in comparative obscurity, and its lighting, derived notwithstanding, or rather, perhaps, on account of its aisles, almost wholly from the clearstorey, been in marked contrast with that of the eastern parts. To it succeeded immediately the piers and arches of the crossing which, in the absence of a lantern, had no direct light at all, the brighter light of the transepts coming in only indirectly on either side. But beyond them, in due course, the choir with its eighteen great lights in double rank, above and below, shone forth glorious and resplendent, a symbol and picture, as it was meant to be, of heaven's brightness in comparison with that of earth.

And just the same simple, but beautiful and expressive arrangement, is seen to have obtained, in an equally artistic, if far humbler, way in the little neighbouring church of Gainford, a small and perfectly plain structure, consisting of chancel, nave, with north and south aisles, and, like Hartlepool, engaged western tower. Unlike either it or Darlington, however, its architecture, which may very well be owing to the village mason, is simplicity itself. Yet, for all that, a fully proportionate degree of dignity and fine effect was gained.

As so often happens in the churches of adjacent Richmondshire, the west end, both of nave and aisles is entirely without windows of any kind, the west, towards which quarter the abrenunciations of baptism were directed, being held to be emphatically typical, or under the special dominion of, the devil. Occupied, then, not only by the massive piers and arches of the tower, but by others spanning the aisles as well, it was altogether unlighted and in gloom. The unclearstoreyed nave of three bays, with aisles descending nearly to the ground, had but very small and narrow lancets, the sole remains of which, surmounted by vesicas, are now to be seen only at the east end. Farther on, however, and in the most striking, not to say startling, contrast lay the chancel flooded with light from nine broad and lofty lancets, three at the end, and three on each side. Looking westwards, was looking into gradually deepening darkness, the way of sin and death; looking eastwards was 'looking unto Jesus,' 'from darkness unto light,' 'from death to life,' 'from the power of Satan unto God.'





*Drawn by R. W. Billings.*

*Engraved by John Sadler.*

HARTLEPOOL CHURCH.

SOUTH DOORWAY AND CAPITALS OF THE CHANCEL ARCH.

equalled that masterly power of lighting which set them off to such wonderful advantage, and endued them with an aspect so majestic and sublime. Nowadays, such matters seem never to be thought of; and in new churches a chief requirement is held to be fulfilled if, under a factory-like glare of equal and untempered light, the smallest type, on the thinnest and worst paper, can be read in every corner.

The south doorway, simple in design, yet rich and beautiful in effect, is of singular interest. Like the lower central, north and south windows of the choir at Darlington, it contains the one solitary instance of fret, or zig-zag moulding in the church. More than that, both the mould itself and the method of its application are practically identical; the only difference being that in this, the earlier example, those little conical and dog-tooth enrichments which there stud the interstices of the frets in so rich and remarkable a way, are wanting. As there, and in other instances innumerable, notably at Nunmonkton and Brinkburn, it shows us with what difficulty the men who, for the best parts of their lives, perhaps, had been used to the exquisitely rich and refined details of the Transitional style, brought themselves to abandon altogether its more salient and characteristic details; and how lingeringly, and with what affection, they still clung to and recurred to them in some one feature or other, while suppressing them in all the rest.

A singular freak, or rather accident, perhaps, may be noticed in one of the voussoirs of the arch, the lowest to the west, being left uncarved.

The most curious and remarkable point, however, and which, could it but have been brought under the notice of the late Sir G. G. Scott, might not only have proved highly instructive, but saved him from much wild conjecture, is seen in the capitals of the little nook shafts on each side. Here, at Hartlepool, the section of the arch moulds, altogether unlike that at Darlington, is rigidly and absolutely rectangular. Yet, though this, if any, may seem to require, nay demand, square abaci, the architect has, notwithstanding, provided it with round ones. The effect, it is true, is scarcely satisfactory; but then, this is owing to the perfectly flat sides of the arch-stones having nothing in common with the circular form of their seat, into the centre of which the sharp point of the angle cuts violently. At

Darlington, however, where the combination of so called square mouldings and round abaci created such a 'difficulty' as could be solved only by the 'conjecture' of there being a difference of thirty or five and thirty years between the two, nothing of the kind occurs. For there, as we have seen, the sides of the arch-stones instead of being flat, as here, consist of deep rolls and hollows; and instead of a hard right angle, present, on the contrary, a hollow to the front. In that case, in short, the square outline of the arch-moulds is purely imaginary; in this, it is real.

### VIII.

We come now, at last, to the tower, incomparably the finest thirteenth-century structure of its kind in the county; and, in connection with its added buttresses, the most remarkable and picturesque, perhaps, in all England. (See frontispiece, plate X.)

Massive and simple in outline, it rises in four stages; of which the lower three correspond in height with the arcades, clearstorey, and roof respectively, and was supported, in the first instance, at the angles by pairs of flat gabled buttresses terminating beneath the corbel table of the fourth, or belfry, stage only. Above this, whether actually or intentionally cannot now be said, would spring the spire which was, or was meant to be, almost certainly, of wood covered with lead, as at Whitburn and Ryton. As the upper stages, however, are necessarily of somewhat later date, it will be convenient to take account, in the first place, of the lowest one, which went on more or less continuously with the nave of which it structurally formed part, and without which the former could not be completed. For the tower being what is known technically as engaged, standing, that is, with three of its sides enclosed in the body of the church to which it opened by as many arches, it is clear that the two eastern piers must not only have been built, but the north and south arches turned, before the western bays of the nave could possess either adequate support or abutment. These must, therefore, be regarded as being substantially contemporaneous with the nave and its aisles, with which they were both in contact and continuous. Most unfortunately they are at present, as for many centuries past, completely shut out from view; and, worse than that, solidly embedded in masonry; a rough and massive wall, the whole height and breadth of the nave and aisles,

blocking up the great eastern tower arch and its piers, as well as those opening to the aisles, while other and similar ones do the like office for those in line with the arcades to the north and south. The west window being also built up and the interior encumbered with wooden shoring to prop the vault, the whole interior forms a sort of labyrinthine black hole where sight and motion are almost equally impossible.

Like that of the chancel, the tower arch is of altogether exceptional proportions, occupying the whole space from the columns of the arcades up to the full height of the clearstorey. With the exception of the hood mould, however, its details are wholly buried. And such, too, is the case with the lateral arches.

Of the original west doorway all that can be said is that it was of considerably larger size than the existing, and slightly later, one; and that it was enriched with nook shafts separated by rows of beautifully formed dog-tooth, the inner one exactly reproducing those found in the frets of the choir windows at Darlington.

The plan of the tower is very remarkable, far bolder and more original, however, than scientific. The only approach to anything like solidity, indeed, is seen in the two western angles, and that, at best, of a very doubtful and, as the event has proved, quite inadequate, kind. Practically, it was designed to stand on four open arches, the eastern one the full height and width of the nave walls, and resting simply on slender clustered columns continuous with those of the arcades. North and south were arches of the same height, but greater span than these; while the arch of the west doorway, nearly twelve feet in span, was of proportionate height. But even so, and with the existing method of construction, the tower might, perhaps, have maintained its stability had it not been for the introduction, at the same height as the clearstorey, of the massive quadripartite vault. Nor need any serious mischief, even then, possibly, have happened, if only sufficient care and forethought had been exercised. But the radically, and well nigh universally, pernicious practice of the age prevailed, and the work was started from wholly inefficient foundations. With the solid rock at a depth of only seven feet beneath him, the architect was content to go no further down with them than four feet, thus leaving three feet of compressible material between the two. Such

a proceeding would have been foolish and risky enough, even had the walls been carried uniformly down to the ground on all four sides. So far from it, however, their whole weight, together with that, as well as the active thrust of, the vaulting, was brought to bear upon four narrow isolated points, and so disaster became not only inevitable, but almost immediate.

Beautiful exceedingly as it is in its entirety, as a piece of architectural composition, and beyond all praise, when taken in connection, as it was originally intended to be, with the design of the nave, the faults of this tower, like those of so many other grand works of its period, were all attributable to mere lack of experience. Backed by this, the design might, with perfect ease, have been rendered permanently secure. What it needed was, in the first place, an absolutely rigid foundation to resist vertical pressure ; after that compact and close jointed masonry, without any rubble filling, at the four corners, to resist lateral pressure ; and then the vaulting to be sprung from just so many courses of horizontally jointed voussoirs as would suffice to resist the thrust of the central radiated ones, and thus sustain the whole *in equilibrio* without its exercising any active thrust on the flat pilaster buttresses whatever. But, unhappily, every one of these three essential conditions is lacking ; and hence the necessity for that system of buttressing which it became imperative to apply. How vast, and probably unique, it is, a reference to the ground plan and external views will show far better than any verbal description. Yet, it may be pointed out that while the clear internal diameter of the tower is only about eighteen feet, the projection of the four lateral buttresses is about twenty ; while that of the two western ones is no less than twenty-seven ; all six being carried up to half the height of the entire structure. Reckoning this enormous mass along with that employed in blocking the four arches of the ground storey, the two others spanning the nave aisles, and the windows of the upper parts, the singular fact is forced upon us that a considerably greater amount of masonry has been used to prop the tower up than was adopted originally for its construction.

And then it will be observed further, that the whole of this gigantic system of buttressing is of very early date ; only a little more advanced in style, in fact, than the tower itself. In other words that, just as might have been expected, the process of disruption set in at

once, and proceeded at such a pace that within fifty years or so, it became necessary, in order to avoid imminent ruin, to bolster it up in the way we now see.

But if the original architect was ignorant and inexperienced as regards foundations, his successor, untaught by his mistakes, was every whit as much so. For, from first to last, his buttresses have been just as great a source of anxiety as the tower itself; and again, and again has his work forced the query *Quis custodiet custodes?* Twice, if not thrice, during the present century have the props themselves yielded, and are even now, at the present moment, propped with wooden stays themselves. And all from the selfsame cause, absence of due foundation. Apparently the later architect flattered himself that the inert mass of his additions would offer an amount of passive resistance that would obviate all further trouble, never dreaming that, owing to the same cause, the same results must necessarily follow.

It is not a little curious to note the wild nonsense that has found place in print respecting this tower and its supports. Thus Mr. Billings, whose admirable illustrations of the architectural antiquities of the county are but ill supported by the text, can find nothing better to say than: 'This once magnificent building is marked by peculiarities of a perplexing description, and it is no easy task to decipher the intention of its architect. Especially singular are the enormously massive buttresses jutting from the tower. Looking at their extraordinary form, we might fancy the original design had for its object a cross church, consisting of nave, transepts, choir, and chancel, and that, this intention being altered, the buttresses were placed against the tower to compensate for the loss of support which the complete members would have given it; but on a closer inspection of the masonry we discover portions of the walls, windows, and (upon the buttress sides) the coping stones of the roofs of three small chapels, attached to the west, north, and south of the tower, and all of the Early English period when the church was first built. The southern chapel, indeed, still exists.' And then he continues: 'A survey of the interior of the tower satisfies us of the necessity of large buttresses, for they sustain the lateral pressure of a lofty and heavy stone ribbed groining, which is undoubtedly the best constructed specimen of the kind in the county.'



Astonishing as such utterances are, how a man of Mr. Billings's intelligence could ever have brought himself to utter them, is more astonishing still. For the whole history and explanation of the several features are 'writ' so 'large' upon their face, that 'even a wayfaring man, though a fool,' need not 'err therein.' So far from anything perplexing occurring either in the building as a whole, or in any of its parts, all, on the contrary, is as plain and clear as daylight.

Begun at the east end of the splendid chancel, continued uninterruptedly throughout the nave, and ended with the lower parts of the tower, everything pursued a perfectly normal course. That a brief, but only a brief, pause took place, however, would seem most likely. The details, not only of the upper stages, but also of the small visible fragment of the original west doorway, show a distinct advance upon those in all other parts of the church, and suggest, at least, the influence of another, and a different, mind. The square abacus used so unreservedly elsewhere is throughout abandoned, and altogether the character of the work seems of a less masculine and gentler kind. And then as regards the intention of 'its architect,' there were, if not three, certainly two of them, of whose intentions there can be no doubt. The builder of the upper part of the tower, whether the same as that of the lower or not, simply carried up his work as it had been begun and then stopped. That he never contemplated the possibility of its carrying a stone spire, the usual finish of towers at that time, is clear from the fact that he prepared no squinches or angle arches to carry one. Were any such crowning member ever added, it must evidently, therefore, have been of wood. But it soon became plain enough that the tower could not support itself, let alone a spire of any kind at all. The powerful thrust of the vault, set at so great a height, and with next to nothing in the shape of buttresses to resist it, speedily threatened to bring the whole structure to the ground. Hence, therefore, the need of additional support, the vastness of which measures at once the imminence of the danger and the anxiety of the later architect to meet it. That is simply the whole history of the place, and of the 'intention of its architect.'

As to the three 'chapels,' one of which 'indeed still exists,' they neither have, nor ever had, save in Mr. Billings's imagination, any existence at all. The two compartments, north and south, were just

the continuations of the north and south aisles ; while that to the west, if it were really ever covered in, was neither more nor less than a mere portico or shed to the west doorway, a very natural adjunct after the enormous buttresses which constituted its side walls were once built.

The only 'perplexing' feature of the case is as to what should be done to open out and efficiently restore this most imposing part of the church to its original use and beauty, and how to do it. Theoretically, the best and only perfect way would be to take the tower down to the ground entirely, put in competent foundations, and then carefully reconstruct its bulged and shaken walls, vault included, with its own materials exactly in its ancient state. The whole of the blocked, distorted, and expanded arches and twisted walls and pillars could then be symmetrically reset and opened out ; and the entire space, now shut off and left in dirt and darkness, be brought back to light and life. Long may this glorious heirloom of the ages be handed on in its integrity to the generations yet unborn, as the noblest local record of the past, a masterpiece of its age and class, not merely unequalled but unapproached.

#### NOTE.

The following most interesting particulars relating to the foundations of the tower and its buttresses have been kindly supplied to me by Mr. J. Carse, late clerk of works :—' In some cases there were *no* foundations to the tower. The N.E. angle was built on the surface, on what appeared to be puddled clay, with a few large boulders thrown in amongst it. The foundations of the buttresses went down to the rock, but were composed of nothing else than loose rubble, *narrowing in to the bottom*. Under the S.E. buttress I found a split or fissure in the rock about an inch and a half wide, with a current of air blowing out. I tried to fill it with cement, but it was out of the question ; it went away as though going down some drain.'