

IV.—REMAINS OF JOHN HORSLEY THE HISTORIAN.

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[Read 26th September, 1917].

It is now close upon a hundred years since an enquiry, addressed to the editor of Mitchell's *Newcastle Magazine*, by the Rev. John Hodgson, attracted the attention of biographers and students of Northumbrian history to John Horsley, of Morpeth, author of *Britannia Romana*, and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The enquiry so made bore fruit, and, directly or indirectly, has been the means of procuring the following studies:—

'Mr. Horsley,' by the Rev. William Turner: printed in the *Newcastle Magazine* for March, 1821, p. 426.

'John Horsley,' a memoir printed in the Rev. John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, part II, vol. ii, pp. 443-448: published in 1832.

'Memoir of John Horsley, M.A., F.R.S.' by the Rev. John Hodgson, being the aforesaid notices printed in his *History*, with an appendix of Letters, etc. [together with memoirs of Gibson, Harle and Turner]: Newcastle, 1831.

Life of the Rev. John Horsley, A.M., F.R.S., by George Tate; N.D. [1861].

'Notes on the Rev. John Horsley,' by John Hodgson Hinde. *Arch. Ael.*, 2 ser., VI, 174-180: read in 1863.

Additional Remarks (by W. H. D. Longstaffe), *ibid.*, pp. 180-182.

'John Horsley,' a memoir by the Rev. Alexander Gordon, given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxvii, published 1891.

The following notices are intended to supplement these papers and to correct some inaccuracies.

That Horsley was of Northumbrian, if not of Newcastle parentage, was agreed by these eminent men, but no record of his

baptism has been found in the registers of the four ancient churches of Newcastle. It is, however, quite possible that he may have been the John Horsley who was baptized at St. Hilds, South Shields, on the 20th of April, 1684, as son of Thomas Horsley. The dates fit very well, and the registers of that parish contain entries relating to the Harle and Ledgard families, to whom the historian is known to have been related.¹

Writing in the year 1732, Henry Bourne states in his *History of Newcastle*, page 39, note :—

Mr. Horsely of Morpeth, who dy'd a few months ago, a little before the publishing of his *Romana Britannia* . . . was of the Publick Grammar-School of this Town, and afterwards studied in one of the Scotch colleges. He was Master of Arts there, and Fellow of the Royal Society. He is supposed to have been equally knowing with any in his time, in the British Roman Antiquities.

As Bourne was the contemporary and not unfriendly rival of Horsley, his evidence may be accepted implicitly.

Another piece of evidence may be found in *Britannia Romana*, p. 207, where Horsley, speaking of some inscribed stones preserved at Cousin's house, afterwards called Carville, near Walls-end, states :—

I cannot find that the least notice has been taken of them before, tho' they have very probably remained in the same place ever since my great uncle gave being and name to this mansion.

Cousin's house was built by John Cosyn of Newcastle, alderman and draper, who, dying 21st March, 1661-2, was buried in All Saints' under a stone on which was cut the arms : *Ermine a chevron engrailed*, for Cosyn ; impaling *Three horses' heads erased*,

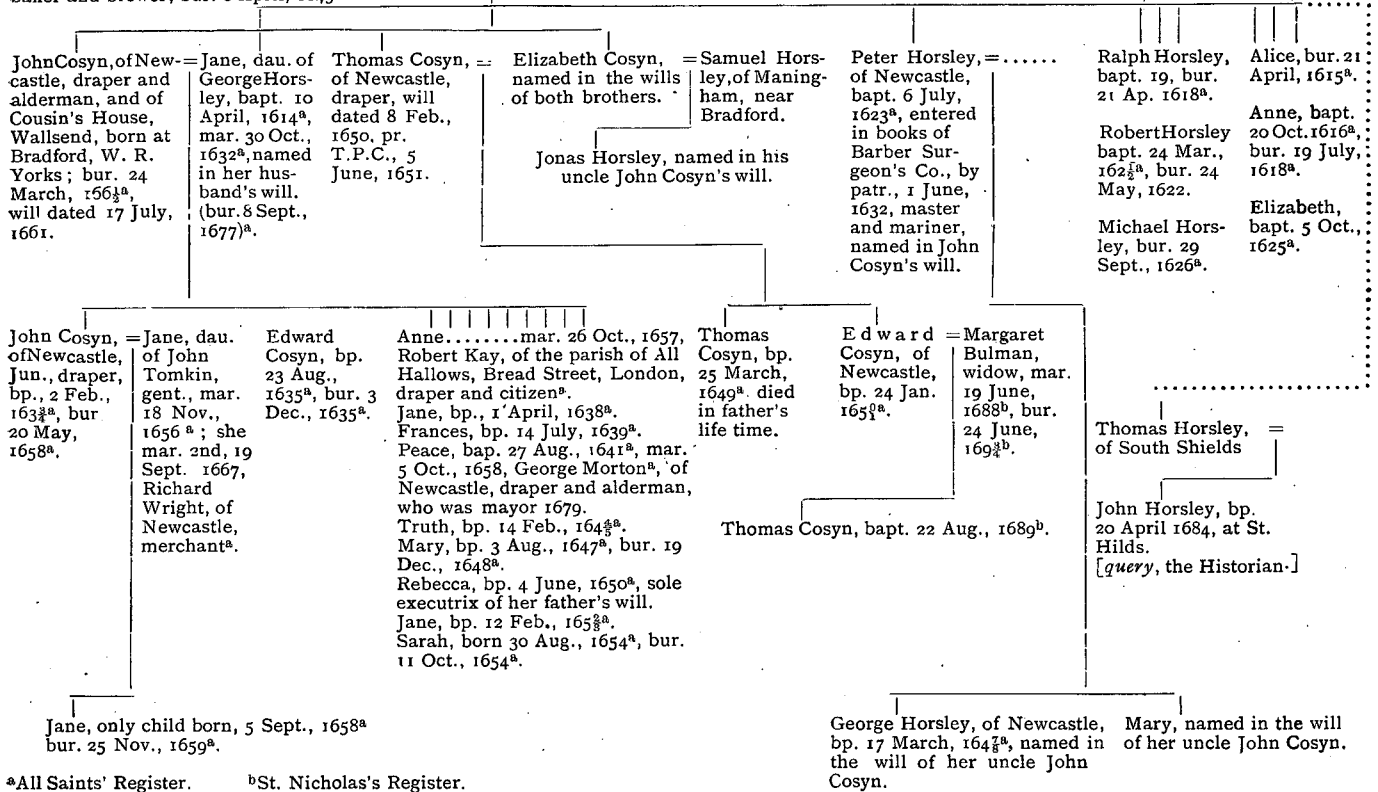
¹ The discovery of this crucial entry is due to the vigilance of Mr. H. M. Wood, the honorary secretary of the Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society, whose invaluable help, with that of Mr. E. Dodds, an active member of the same society, the writer gratefully acknowledges.

PEDIGREE OF COSYN AND OF HORSLEY OF NEWCASTLE.

Arms—*Ermine, a chevron engrailed, or and sable.* Cosyn. impaling.....*three horses' heads erased*Horsley.

Edward Cosyn, of Bradford, afterwards of Newcastle = baker and brewer, bur. 8 April, 1645^a.

George Horsley, of Newcastle, barber surgeon, = Ann Andrew, mar. 24 Oct., 1613^a.



^aAll Saints' Register.

^bSt. Nicholas's Register.

for Horsley² (see appendix 1). John Cosyn married at All Saints', 30th October, 1632, Jane Horsley, who may be identified as Jane, daughter of George Horsley of Newcastle, barber surgeon.

Horsley was also akin to the Newcastle puritan family of Ledgard, as is shown by the dedication of a funeral sermon preached in 1729 on the death of the Rev. Jonathan Harle to the latter's widow, in which he subscribed himself 'the affectionate kinsman.' Mrs. Harle was Mary, daughter of Thomas Ledgard of Newcastle, merchant and alderman.³

He had relatives named Nesbit, for in his *Materials for the History of Northumberland*, p. 22, he states :—

I was told that Cousin Nestbitt's father was 114 when he died; that he was eighty when he married his second wife, after which he had several children. But of this I very much question.

He had kinsfolk who resided, or visited, in North Northumberland, for in the same work, p. 50, he states :—

A relation of my own informed me that a pretty rapid water, which runs between the two Newtons in Glendale, was once entirely dry when he passed it. It comes down from the neighbouring mountains, and it was a keen frost that morning, so that my friend himself was of the opinion that the springs were frozen or dammed up for a time.

On 9th May, 1670, Thomas Horsley of the chapelry of All Saints, draper, procured a licence to marry Isabel Heselrigg, of the parish of Felton, widow.⁴ The register of All Saints contains no record of the marriage; but if the lady was the widow of

² Cf. Memoir of John Cosyn, Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. 1, p. 629; also Sopwith, *All Saints Church*, p. 103.

³ Cf. Ledgard pedigree, new *History of Northumberland*, vii, p. 322.

⁴ On the 9th May, 1670, Thomas Horsley of the chapelry of All Saints, Newcastle, draper, took out a licence to marry Isabel Heselrigg of the parish of Felton. She was, no doubt, a daughter of the very ancient house of Heselrigg of Swarland, which, at that time, had puritan leanings. If the possibility that these were the parents of the historian could be proved by direct evidence the connection would explain much.

William Hesilrig of Swarland, who died 9th December, 1662, and if she was mother of the historian, it would account for his relationship with the Ledgards and Harles.⁵ Thomas Horsley was not a member of the Merchant Adventurers' company; and if he were a burgess of Newcastle he must have obtained his freedom through some other company.

On attaining the proper age, Horsley matriculated in the university of Edinburgh, at the beginning of the year 1699, and received his degree as Master of Arts on the 29th April, 1701.⁶

It was probably while in Edinburgh that he made the acquaintance of William Hamilton, afterwards professor of divinity, minister of Cramond, and ultimately principal of the university, who died 12th November, 1732, in the year of his appointment to the latter distinguished office. It has been stated that Horsley's wife was his daughter. This mistake, if it be a mistake, has arisen from the fact that Dr. Hamilton's daughter Anne became wife of another John Horsley (see appendix no. 11).

Having been educated for the nonconformist ministry, Horsley

⁵ The Rev. Jonathan Harle(y) and Mrs. Mary Ledgard were legatees under the will of Robert Hesilrigg of Swarland, dated 17th August, 1714 *New History of Northumberland*, vii, p. 397.

Jonathan Harle will with some probability be identified with Jonathan, son of Thomas Harle, who was baptized at St. Hilds, South Shields, May 2nd, 1665, his godparents being Robert Brumpton, William Harle, and Elizabeth Sparke. He was the second child of the name. St. Hild's register contains many entries of members of the families of Harle and of Ledgard.

⁶ At the solicitation of the present writer, professor Baldwin Brown has examined the MS. matriculation books of the university of Edinburgh, from which it would appear that John Horsley joined the college classes of William Law, regent or professor in the faculty of arts, not on March 2nd, 1698, as has been asserted, but early in the year 1699, new style. His signature appears in vol. 1, p. 159 of the matriculation book as having taken the oath and subscribed. Professor Baldwin Brown is of opinion that Horsley's evidently early age for graduation is quite regular. There were no secondary schools in Scotland at the time, and boys went straight from parish schools to the university, so that the average age of the undergraduate was much less than in English universities: twelve was a common enough age for entry upon undergraduate life in Scotland.

was either ordained, or licensed, as a preacher of the Gospel, with a pastoral charge at Morpeth, where, apparently, he was visited, in the year 1709, by Dr. Edmund Calamy, our chief authority for the history of the parish ministers ejected or silenced in 1662 under the Act of Uniformity. Calamy having procured a pass for himself and party from Lord Sunderland, secretary of state, made a journey into Scotland, in the month of April of that year. In the *Historical Account of My Own Life*, II, pp. 147-148, he describes Newcastle as 'a close and smoky place, remarkable for traffic, and the riches and plenty usually attending.' Here he stayed but one night and, on the following day, set forwards for Scotland. In his autobiography he continues: 'We passed through Morpeth and Alnwick, on our way to Berwick, and there had some free conversation with Mr. Horsley and Dr. Harle, the dissenting ministers.' The sentence is ambiguous but, as Jonathan Harle was the nonconformist minister at Alnwick, it may be inferred that it was at Morpeth that Dr. Calamy saw Horsley.

In addition to the pastoral charge at Morpeth, Horsley had occasional duty at Alnwick and at Widdrington (see appendix III). He evidenced his interest in the latter place by a paper given to the Royal Society, and printed in *Philosophical Transactions* as no. 377, being 'An Account of the Depth of Rain fallen from April 1, 1722, to April 1, 1723: observed at Widdrington in Northumberland.'⁷

Dr. William Stukeley, writing to Roger Gale, from Grantham, 4th February, 1728-9, thanks him for sending Horsley to him.

He called on me and spent the evening with me in my musæum, which he was highly delighted with, We had a world of discourse about his design: I am of opinion he has hit upon the true way of accomodating the Notitia Imperii to the Linea Valli. *Stukeley's Diaries & Letters*, II, p. 71 (76 Surt. Soc. publ.).

⁷ Cf. *Philosophical Transactions*, abridged edition, vol. VI (1809), p. 658.

About this time Horsley made a short tour through Northumberland on his way to Edinburgh, which he describes in the following words :—

I set out from home on Monday ye 3rd. of February 1728/9. That night I only came and lodged at River Green. On Tuesday I came from River Green in company with Mr. Anderson and Mr. Hall. It proved a stormy, snowy day, yet ye good company, and good guides, made ye journey over Harwood Forest not very uneasy. I din'd at Otterburn at Mr. Hall's. As we came over Harwood Forest, before we came to Harwood Sheal, I observ'd a cast on a high ground overlooking a vale in ye Forest. Ye one end seem'd to be compleat, and ye angle and part of another side very visible. But whether it has been a modern redoubt, or it has been Roman [an illegible word] square compleat I could not determine. Mr. Hall told me that over aginst this, north from it, on a hill on ye other side of ye vale, there was a compleat square fort. After, I view'd Green Chester, but could not see or hear of any remains of a fort or encampment either there or on any of ye neighbouring hills. There has been, I think, an old small tower there, and I observ'd a large enclosure of stone, some often not unlike Roman, which I allow to be singular in that part.

The present village (which consists of about half a dozen cottages) stands upon a high ground, overlooking a large vale by ye water-side, having a good part of Watling Street in view, and nearly within view of Riechester. There may possibly have been some Roman fort (as at Elsdon), or some encampment there now levell'd by ye plough. I never heard of any coins or inscriptions found here. Elishaw is on ye north side of ye water and ye foot of ye rising ground which reaches from Greenchester. I thought ye line, or course, of Watling Street favor'd Mr. Mark's opinion, but could not be sure.

I did not see ye fortification in ye wood near Greenchester.

On Wednesday I preached at Birdhope Craig, and Mr. Rob. Cay [and I] came to Otterburn at night. I view'd ye bridge near Elishaw in company with Mr. R. Hall. I believe it to be Watling Street (by its elevation and stoniness) that comes from Blakeup to a bridge ye remains of which old Mr. Hall remembers [paper torn].

It is common enough for a military way to make such a turn for ye sake of gaining ye rising ground, or at a river. On Thursday I came

from Otterburn and called at Elsdon. I observ'd that they called ye Roman fort there ye Mote, not ye Mount, and that ye lower part has been rather square than curve, only ye angles turned off on a curve as usual, and ye falling down of ye rampart makes it appear more like a curve. The entrance to ye circular fort was on ye south side; and a cast all ye way on ye side of ye hill, from ye foot of ye western banks, going obliquely to this entrance.

Upon ye top of ye tower, or now parsonage house, is a coat of arms, crosslets, and under it these letters, as they told me, and as I could read 'em from ye ground **Rodaib** (in ye Saxon or old character).

I upon this occasion heard again of ye Battle-shank, near Catcleugh, which was a great cairn, or rather ye ground is call'd Battle-shank on which this cairn stood, which was a great heap of common roundish stones which was led away not many years ago; but I could not hear of any bones or any antiquities found among the stones.

I heard also of a place called Battle-trees, near Harburn, where they say there was several burial places [paper torn away].

Sir John Clerk writing from Edinburgh, 15th February, 1728-9, to Roger Gale, states:—

Mr. Horseley has been in this countrey, and did me the favor of a visit. He was, it seems, very well known to some of our university professors some years ago, and acquired a great reputation for the mathematics, and his knowledge in all parts of philosophy. In discoursing with him I found him to be much acquainted with the Greek and Roman learning, and very ready in his notions about inscriptions and the Roman stations. He told me his design was to print an entire collection of the Roman-British antiquities, and I hear from some of our masters in this university that he is just now setting about [it] in London He affects now and then a singularity in his readings and opinions, but this I did not wonder at, for the poor man writes for bread, and must have something new to entertain his readers. He lived at Morpeth for many years, and taught there in a private academy, with the benefit of a meeting-house for his support. This is all I know about him. *Stukeley's Diaries & Letters*, III, p. 390 (80 Surt. Soc. publ.).

He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on the 8th May,

1729,⁸ the president of the society at that time being Sir Hans Sloane.

By happy accident the notes of another short tour made by Horsley have been preserved :—

On Easter Monday ye 19th. of April 1731, we set out from Morpeth. The only things remarkable which occurred this day were ye old causeway. call'd ye Devil's Causeway, very visible near Framlington, the lane which they have now made for ye high road, includes this causway for a good space. It is laid bare in several places by taking ye earth for ye dike, or inclosure, and in some parts they have used ye stones belonging to it for this purpose. It leaves ye road and inclines more to ye east, at about half a mile, or a mile's distance from Framlington. I observ'd on ye north side of Rimside Moor, a very little west from ye high road to Whittingham, two round or oval forts. One is in ye first field which has been enclosed on this side, ye other without it, just at ye south end : this latter is now more confused than ye other. They are both stony and earthen, which made me suspect that they might have been tumuli, but ye ditch and ramparts are too large either for tumuli or common modern folds.

They are already beginning to enclose and improve in order to reap ye benefit of ye late division of this wide moor. We lodged all night at Whittingham.

Lorbottle (perhaps Lord's bottle or ye part of ye Lord) is ye most south westerly town of this parish, Glanton and Shawdon [one word illegible] to ye north or north east.

At Bowton is a chapel-of-ease to Edlingham parish ; the same called a distinct parish to which Broome-park also belongs, the parson of Edlingham officiates here once a fortnight.

This whole country since ye lordship of Eslington came into ye hands of Sir Henry Liddell is so well replenished with houses, generally covered with pantile, that it casts a vastly better figure than it used to do before. There is also nearly finished a long stone wall by ye side of ye high way to Whittingham, and [four words illegible] another on ye other side of ye lane.

On Tuesday night lodg'd at Mindrum. There I heard of Mereton lough near Wooler-haugh head which I now take to be ye *lacus myrtons* (?). It

⁸ Record of the Royal Society of London (1912), p. 333.

is called Cold Martin lough. This would be much on their way of ye Scots as they march'd toward Newcastle.

On Wednesday morning I saw an oval fort, on a very high station, and with a very large prospect, called Tonchester (perhaps Donchesters) fort, or a fort on a hill. It is near ye boundary of ye kingdoms, about a mile, or more, west, or north west, from Mindrum. I saw also somewhat at a little distance a round fort on ye top of a hill south from this fort. This latter is on ye Scotch side, ye former on ye English.

Wednesday night I lodg'd at Kelso being detained by ye ministers of ye synod who hap'ned to be met there. On Thursday night lodg'd at Ford Bridge, and Friday morning rode into Edinburgh.

I went through a place call'd Straiton, about three miles from Edinburgh west from ye common high-road. Perhaps Watling Street has gone this way.

Saturday came from Edinburgh and rode to Mindrum.⁹

After a laborious and well-spent life,¹⁰ Horsley died of apoplexy on the 12th January, 1731-2, only ten days after the date of the dedication of his *Britannia Romana*. His remains were deposited in the grave-yard attached to the venerable parish church of Morpeth, the most distinguished, by far, of the great multitude of men and women who have been laid there. No tombstone

⁹ From fragments of Horsley's original diary or journal, now in the possession of the society. The material for Horsley's intended history of Northumberland, with some of his letters addressed to Mr. Robert Cay, was presented in 1869 by Mr. Cay of Edinburgh, through the good offices of Mr. John Hodgson Hinde. The latter, as is stated elsewhere, printed the material; the letters having already been printed by the Rev. John Hodgson in his memoir of Horsley.

¹⁰ In the *Memoir*, published in 1831, on page 29, the Rev. John Hodgson reprints an advertisement of a course of scientific lectures which Horsley purposed to give at Morpeth, on Monday, May 10th, 1731. Mr. John Hodgson Hinde in *Arch. Ael.*, 2 ser., vi, p. 177, cites other advertisements published in the *Newcastle Courant* of 3rd July and 31st July of the same year, to show that those lectures were repeated in Newcastle at the house of Mr. Prior, head of Tuthill Stairs, the first being given on 23rd August. The course extended over five weeks and lectures were given on five days each week. A third course of ten lectures on Astronomy was begun on 13th December, and a fourth course of five lectures on Natural Philosophy was to begin on 3rd January, 1732. Unfortunately the contemporary newspaper files cannot be recovered.

marks the spot, no monument preserves his memory, his only record being an entry in the register of burials :—

1731/2, Jan. 15. Mr. John Horsley.

Professor Ward writing to Roger Gale under date January 18th, 1731-2, says :—

I am very much concerned at the death of Mr. Horseley, which you were pleased to acquaint me with in your letter ; and I can't think it not only a deplorable calamity to his numerous family, but allso, as you observe, to the publick. He had some other designs in view, which, if he had lived to effect, would, I believe, have been of service to the world. Everything was finished that he had to do in the present work before his death, and the whole is printed except the indexes and preface *Stukeley's Diaries*, III, p. 407.

and the same correspondent writing to Dr. Cary, bishop of Clonfert, under date April 24th, 1732, says :—

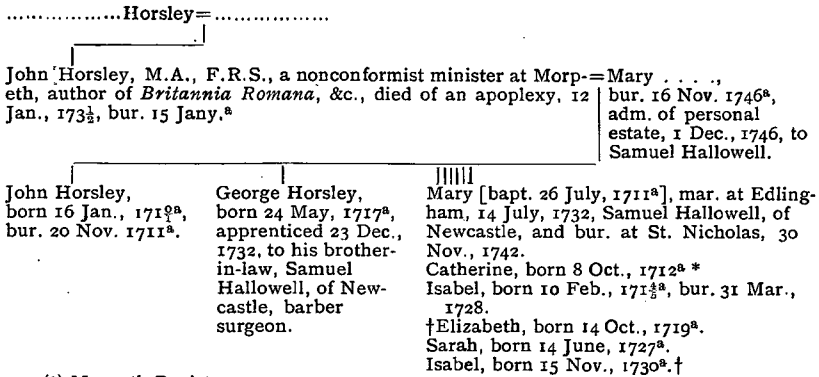
. I doubt not but your lordship has seen Mr. Horsley's *Britannia Romana* advertised in some of our public papers,¹¹ but I know not whether you have heard that the author died soon after he had finished the work, before its publication. When it was hoped that the credit of this book might have been of some service to him and his large family, he was suddenly and unexpectedly taken off by an apoplexy. Such is the uncertainty of all human affairs. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., vol. ix, p. 28.

Amongst Horsley's friends and correspondents were numbered Sir Richard Ellys, bart., of Nocton, Lincolnshire, to whom he dedicated *Britannia Romana* ; Robert Cay of Newcastle and of North Charlton, whose unwearied attention to the widow and her children can never be forgotten, and to the care of whose descendants Horsley's surviving MSS. is due ; John Cay of Gray's Inn, steward of the Marshalsea, editor of an edition of the Statutes-

¹¹ 'Just Published (Price in Sheets £2 10s.) *Britannia Romana* [as on title page given on p. 70]. Those who have promised, or intend to buy Books of the Author's Widow and Family, are desired to send Notice to Mr. Robert Cay in Newcastle upon Tyne. N.B. There are some printed on large Paper.' *Newcastle Courant*, April 1st, 1732.

at-large, brother of the aforesaid Robert Cay; Dr. Jonathan Harle of Alnwick, and his wife Mrs. Mary Harle; Professor John Ward of Gresham college, who contributed a chapter to *Britannia Romana*, pp. 343-355; Roger Gale the antiquary, to whom were addressed many letters printed by Hutchinson, etc.; Dr. Stukeley of Grantham, the antiquary, in whose diaries and collections are numerous notices of Horsley; Baron Clerk; Professor William Hamilton of Edinburgh; the principal of St. Andrew's University; Dr. Hunter of Durham; Mr. Gilpin of Scaleby; Mr. Eayre of Northampton; Mr. Colin MacClaurin, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and others.

Searches in the probate registries at Durham, York, and Somerset House, for John Horsley's will, have been unsuccessful. What is known of his family has been thrown into the following pedigree:—



(^a) Morpeth Register.

* From a statement in Horsley's *Northumberland*, chapter iii., section iv., page 19, it has been supposed that Horsley had a married daughter, Mrs. Ogle. Reference to the original manuscript journal suggest that a full or semi-colon should follow 'daughter,' to be followed by Mrs. Ogle.

† One of John Horsley's daughters married E. Randall, a clerk to a merchant in the Old South Sea House.

In the year following her husband's death Mrs. Horsley sold

her library and scientific instruments and removed to Newcastle.

To be sold a set of mechanical, hydrostatic, optical, and pneumatical instruments late belonging to the Rev. Mr. John Horsley, together or in parcels, on Thursday the 29th of this instant March, at the house of Mr. William Pryer, Newcastle, where the instruments may be viewed at any time within ten days before the sale; also his books are to be sold, by auction, on Wednesday, the 4th day of April next, at the late dwelling house of the said Mr. Horsley in Morpeth. Catalogues may be seen at Mr. John Challoner's, surgeon, and Mr. George Nichol's, bookseller, in Morpeth, or at Mr. Samuel Holliday's, surgeon, in Newcastle, where commissions will be taken. *Newcastle Courant*, 3rd March, 1733.¹²

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN HORSLEY.

A | Direct and Full | Reply | to | Mr. Bennet's | Discourse | of | Joint-Prayer | with a | Preface, | containing | A Short vindication of the Brief Reply to Mr Benet's | Brief History from the Unjust and Scurrilous Censures of the Censura Temporum for the Month of | March 1709 | By John Horsley | London : | Printed and Sold by W. Cliff, at the Golden Candle | stick, the Lower End Cheapside 1710 | 12mo pp xxiv + 120

A Brief and General | Account | of | The most necessary and | fundamental Principles of Statics | Mechanics, Hydrostatics | and Pneumatics adapted more | especially to a Course of Experiments | perform'd at Morpeth, in the County | of Northumberland. | By John Horsley A.M. | Newcastle upon Tine : | Printed by John White for the Author. | 12mo. pp 72. N.D.¹³

An Account of the Depth of Rain fallen from April 1, 1722, to April 1, 1723. Observed at Widdrington in Northumberland. By the Rev. Mr. Horsley. Paper No. 377. *Philosophical Transactions*, abridged edition, vol. vi (1809) p. 658.

Vows in Trouble; or a Plain and Practical Discourse concerning the

¹² This is printed from a transcript of a copy and has not been collated with original newspaper file.

¹³ There was a pirated edition of this work published under the title of:—

A | short and general | Account | of the most necessary and fundamental | principles | of | Natural Philosophy | containing | mechanics, hydrostatics, pneu | matics, optics and astronomy | By John Horsley M.A. | revised, corrected and adapted to a course of | experiments perform'd in Glasgow | by John Booth | Glasgow. | Printed for and sold by Andrew Stalker | 1743 | 12mo pp iv + 100 Three plates.

Nature of Vows made in Trouble, and the Reasonableness and Necessity of a faithful Performance of them. By John Horsley, A.M. London : Printed for Richard Ford, at the Angel in the Poultry near Stocks Market, and sold by R. Akenhead, Bookseller, at Newcastle. 1729. 12mo. pp. 108.¹⁴

Two Discourses : 1. On the Frailty of Man. 2. On Conformity to Christ. By the late Reverend and Learned Jonathan Harle, M.D. To which are added Hymns and Psalms, by the same Author. Published at the request of many of his hearers, with an account of his Life and a Sermon preached on occasion of his death. By John Horsley, M.A. London : Printed for Richard Ford, at the Angel in the Poultry, near Stocks-Market. 1730. 8vo. pp. 132.

An Enquiry into the Force of the Objections made against the Resurrection of Christ. London : 1730. 8vo., pp. 40.

Britannia Romana : | or the | Roman Antiquities | of | Britain : | In Three Books. | The | I. Contains the History of all the Roman Transactions | in Britain, with an account of their legionary and auxiliary | forces employed here, and a determination of the stations *per | lineam valli* ; also a large description of the Roman walls, with | maps of the same laid down from a geometrical survey. | II. Contains a compleat Collection of the Roman | Inscriptions and Sculptures which have hitherto been | discovered in Britain, with the letters engraved in their proper | shape and proportionate size, and the reading placed under each ; | as also an historical account of them, with explanatory and critical | observations. | III. Contains the Roman Geography of Britain, in | which are given the originals of Ptolemy, Antonini Itinerarium, | the Notitia, the anonymous Ravennas, and Peutinger's table, so | far as they relate to this island, with particular essays on each of | these ancient authors, and the several places in Britain mentioned | by them. | To which are added | A Chronological Table, and Indexes to the Inscriptions | and Sculptures after the manner of Gruter and Reinesius. | Also | Geographical Indexes both of the Latin and English names of the Roman places in | Britain, and a General Index to the work. | The whole illustrated with above an hundred Copper-Plates. | By John Horsley M.A. and F.R.S. | London : | Printed

¹⁴ A brief History of joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer. The author was Doctor Thomas Bennett of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a beneficed clergyman, a man as wickedly narrow-minded as he was vociferous.

for John Osborn and Thomas Longman, at the Ship | in Pater-Noster Row | MDCCXXXII. | folio Dedication to Sir Richard Ellys. Preface pp. xxxii + 520 Tables; Indexes, etc.¹⁵

A Map of Northumberland begun by the late Mr. John Horsley, F.R.S., continued by the Surveyor that he employed. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Hugh Earl of Northumberland by R. Cay. Engraved by A. Bell, Edinburgh, 1753.

An | Index | of | Places mentioned | in Mr. Horsley's Map of | Northumberland.—Edinburgh: | Printed by Hamilton, Balfour & Neill | MDCCLIII | 8vo. pp. 39.

Materials for the History of Northumberland by the Rev. John Horsley, M.A., F.R.S., *Author of Britannia Romana*, being part 1 of *Inedited Contributions to the History of Northumberland*, printed, for private circulation for the late Mr. John Hodgson Hinde, by Stevenson and Dryden, 13 St. Nicholas' Church-yard, N.D., 8vo. [part 1, extends to 64 pages.]

Letters written by Horsley to Robert Cay¹⁶ may be found in the appendix to the *Memoir* published by the Rev. John Hodgson in 1831. Others addressed to Roger Gale, the antiquary, are printed in Hutchinson's *Northumberland*, vol. 1, pp. 17, 40, 41, 162, 163, 196, 202, 204, 205, 206; and in *Stukeley's Diaries*

¹⁵ A copy of this book, interleaved and annotated in Latin and English by Horsley's friend, Dr. J. Ward, Gresham professor, as for a new edition, is in the British Museum. It bears the following inscription: 'Presented by Residuary Legatee of Dr. J. Ward, Jan^{ry} 16, 1761,' but unfortunately it contains no biographical notice of Horsley.

Letter from James Davis to Mr. John Ward at Gresham college, London, concerning a supplement to *Britannia Romana*, January 27th, 1741. (Add. MS. 6210, folio 33).

Letter from Sol. Lowes to the same. Remarks upon the index, errata, etc. in *Britannia Romana* (1734). (Add. MS. 6210, fol. 158).

Letter from Th. Tylston to the same. Remarks upon errors in *Britannia Romana*. Chester, Sept. 13th . . . ? (Add. MS. 6211, folio 131).

A transcript of the late Professor Ward's notes in the margin, etc. of his copy of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, now in the British Museum, to which he bequeathed it. Copied January, 1764. Egerton MS. 2382, folios 60-87.

¹⁶ The original MS. of the History, with the original of Horsley's letter to Robert Cay, etc., was presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1869 by Mr. Cay of Edinburgh, through the medium of Mr. David Laing and Mr. Hodgson Hinde (*Cf. Arch. Ael.*, 2 ser., vol. vii, pp. 237, 238). With the papers are fragments of two diaries, which it is believed have not been printed *in extenso*, though some extracts were given by Mr. Hodgson Hinde in his *Inedited Contributions to the History of Northumberland*, pp. 95-96.

(Surtees society publications, nos. 73, 76, 80), vol. I, p. 269; vol. II, pp. 74, 75, 134, 138; vol. III, pp. 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 115, 116, 257, 261, 319. There are other letters in Nichols, *Illustrations of Literary History*, vol. II, pp. 801-803.

APPENDIX I.—COSYN WILLS.

1650 Feb 8 Will of Thomas Coseyn of the toune and county of Newcastle upon Tyne draper. To be buried within the parish church of S^s (*sic*) in Newcastle upon Tine. To the poor of All S^s aforesaid 5^{li}—to the poor of St John 40^s. To my sister Elizabeth Horsley wife of Samuell Horsley of Manningham 10^{li}. To my man James Jenkenson my best browne suit and cloake, and a remnante of the same cloth which is now in the shopp: and 10^{li} for a legacy. To my brother John Coseyn 40^s: to Jane his wife 40^s, and to every one of their children 20^s a peece to buy each of them a ring. To my brother George Gray my best blacke sute and cloake. To my mother Gray and my brother George his wife and to my sister Redworth to every one of them 20^s a peece to buy each of them a ring. All residue to Joan my now wife and to Edward Coseyn my sonne. They executors. If the said Edward Coseyn doe dye before he come to lawful yeares of age, then my said brother John Coseyn shall have the disposing of the some of one hundred poundes of the said Edward his personell estate amongst my said sister Elizabeth Horsley her children. Witnesses: Edward Ford, Josiah Greene, Anthony Normany sc^r. Proved, 5 June 1651 by the oath of Joan Coseyn the relict. Probate reserved for Edward the sonne the other executor. Somerset House P.C.C. 111, Grey.

1661, 17 July. Will of John Cosyn of Newcastle, draper. 'Considering it a christian duty to watch, and be always ready att the Lord's call to put of this tabernacle of clay, doe make and declare this my last will.' 'My body to sepulture in the north east corner of Saint Allhallowes church, beleving to have eternall life and salvation by the alone meritt of my Saviour.'

I give to my deare and loveing wife Jane Cosyn in full satisfaction of her dower, or thirds, my dwelling house in Newcastle in the street called the Key-syde for her naturall life. After her decease I give the same to my daughter Rebecca Cosyn and her heirs; remainder to my daughter Anne Kay; remainder to my daughter Peace Moreton; remainder to Edward Cossyn son of my brother Thomas Cosyn. To my said wife 400^{li}.

I give to her and my three daughters all my household linnen and plaite to be, at her discretion, equally parted by four equal proportions. To my wife my gold rings except what are hereafter bequeathed. My wife to release to my daughter Peace Moreton her right of dower and widow-right in a messuage on the Key-side occupied by John Garstall. To my eldest daughter Anne Kay my peices of old gold and silver both great and small, being in that purse which she herselfe made and gave unto me. I give to the wardens of the company of free drapers, whereof I am a member, my lease and estate holden of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, for 21 years yet to come, in my lands etc. at Wallsend; they to renew the lease every seven years, or oftner as there shall be occasion, to hold in trust for my wife, for widowhood, she paying two shillings per week to the relief of the poor of Bradford; remainder to my daughter Anne Kay 'to her owne hand'; remainder to my daughter Rebecca Cosyn 'to her owne hand'. And upon the further trust, after the death of my said daughters Anne and Rebecca the wardens shall out of the profits help to purchase and build a meeting house, or hall, for the said wardens and company. Further provision for poor free brethren of the company which are fallen into decay. To the churchwardens of Bradford, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, my native place the sum of two shillings by the week to be distributed in bread 'at the publique ordinances of God' at the end of morning exercise. I give my messuage etc. on the Key-side occupied by John Garstall to my daughter Peace Morfon and her heirs male. Remainder to my daughter Anne Kay and her heirs; remainder to my daughter Rebecca Cosyn and her heirs; remainder to 'Georg Horsly, sonne of my wive's brother Peter Horsley and the heirs of his body'; remainder to 'Mary Horsley daughter of my said wive's brother Peter Horsly' remainder to 'Edward Cosyn, sonne of my brother Thomas Cosyn, and to his heires for ever' Provision by which the said George Horsley, when of age, may be allowed to purchase the said messuage for 45^{li}, or if he shall not agree to purchase at the said price I give him 100^{li}, and to his sister the said Mary Horsley 50^{li}. I give to my mother-in-law Ann Sotherne, over and above the enjoyment of those rooms in the said house, now in her own possession, as her thirds of the said house, a weekly sum of 2s. I charge the same house with the payment of 2s a week to the viccar, or minister, and chuchwardens of Allhallowes 'to be distributed in bread weekly to such poore people of the said parish as shall come to the publique ordinances of God . . . after the end of the fore-

noone exercise' I charge the same messuage with the payment of 5^{li} yearly towards the repair of the said church of Allhallowes. I give to my daughter Rebecca Cosyn as her child's portion 1000^{li}. I forgive to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle 68^{li} ' which they owe me justly and duely for soe much expended in their bussiness and by their order, to the great loss and hindrance to myselfe in my owne perticular estate ' I give to the said mayor and burgesses ' a hundred volumes, or bookes, sixtye whereof to be folio, the rest in quarto, soe many thereof to be taken out of the number of my owne books as the ministers of the towne shall thinke meet, the rest to be bought and provided by my executrix such as the ministers shall agree upon, and appoint under theire hands, which said books I will shall be added to the library in Saint Nicholas church ' To my sister Elizabeth Horsley 2s a week. To her son Jonas Horsley 100^{li} ' if Edward Cosyn, sonne of my brother Thomas Cosyn, depart this life before he attains to the age of one and twentye yeares, and that he, the said Jonas, be liveing; if not then the said 100^{li} to be divided amongst the rest of the children of my said sister out of the estate of the sayd Edward, my nephew, according to the will of his father.' I give to my said nephew Edward Cosyn, my best horse, with all my armes, and a share of my books ' alsoe what of my apparell he pleaseth to choose, with my gold signett ring ' and 50^{li}. Residue to my daughter Rebecca Cosyn; she sole executrix, my wife to be her tutrix during her minority. To my two sons-in-law, Robert Kay and Georg Moreton, 40s a peece to buy them rings. To my sister's son Jonas Horsley 20^{li}.

17 March, 1661/2. ' A codicill annexed unto this my last will written with my owne hand '. Since the making of my will I have disbursed money to my daughter Cosyn ¹⁷ for the purchasing her dowry and part of the shop, as also for other things: my daughter Morton, or the person who enjoys the house, to pay 10^{li} per annum to my executrix for ten years. My wife to pay 40^{li} per annum out of my farm at Wallsend for eight years to my executrix. I give to my son-in-law, Robert Kay, and Anne his wife, 100^{li}. To my three grand daughters Anne Kay, Jane Moreton, and Maty Morton 5^{li} apiece. I give to ' our ministers of Christ ('s) Gospel, and my dear friends, Mr. John Knightbridge, our viccar, Mr. Henry Leaver, Mr. Richard Prideux, Mr. Samuel Hamond, Mr. William Durant and Mr.

¹⁷ This was Jane, widow of John Cosyn, the younger, son of the testator. She was daughter of John Tompkin, and married secondly, at All Saints, 19th September, 1669, Richard Wright of Newcastle, merchant.

Andrew Melvin, also to my good friend Mr. John Sanderson, to each a small ring, to were, if they please, in my remembrance.' My trusty friends, Robert Ellison, esq., and William Wallis, mercer, supervisors; to each of whom 40s to put into a ring. To my son-in-law, George Morton, my half part of book-debts that became due to us whilst we were partners as they stand in our debt-book. To my servant, John Ombre, 30 French crownes, or lewises, for a legacy and in satisfaction of his service.

APPENDIX II.—JOHN HORSLEY, RECTOR OF NEWINGTON.

Whether John Horsley the historian did, or did not, marry a daughter of professor William Hamilton, minister of Cramond,¹⁸ it is beyond doubt that that gentleman's youngest daughter, Anne Hamilton, was the first wife of John Horsley, lecturer of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and rector of Newington, Surrey. The latter, who is stated to have been born 13th November, 1699, may perhaps be identified with the person of that name, a B.A. of the university of Edinburgh, who, by decree, 22nd April, 1725, received the degree of B.A. from the university of Oxford.¹⁹ In Dr. Edmund Calamy's *Historical Account* of his own life—already cited—vol. II, p. 503, after relating events which took place in 1727, states: 'Several others [viz. nonconformist ministers] about this time conformed, of which number were Mr. John Horsley Others did the same before; as Mr. Butler [subsequently bishop of Durham], Mr. Thomas Secker' [sometime rector of Ryton, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, and ultimately archbishop of Canterbury]. The rector of Newington died 27th November, 1777, having, by Anne Hamilton his first wife, had, with other issue, a son, Samuel Horsley, of Trinity hall, Cambridge, successively bishop of St. David's, of Rochester, and of St. Asaph, who died 4th October, 1806.

¹⁸ Cf. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. I, p. 134.

¹⁹ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. John Horsley, the rector, received his M.A. degree from the university of Edinburgh, 1723.

By a second wife, John Horsley, the rector, was also an ancestor of Roundell Palmer, first earl of Selborne.²⁰

APPENDIX III.—JOHN HORSLEY, THE LAND AGENT.

Hitherto it has been imagined that John Horsley the historian and John Horsley of Widdrington were one and the same person. The evidence to the contrary is as follows :—

Widdrington having been forfeited to the Crown on the attainder of Lord Widdrington, was sold in 1720 to a London company of speculators known as the York Buildings Company. When they entered into possession the rental of the property was 1,80*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* per annum, which by the company's representative was increased to 1,993*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* On the appointment of ' Mr. Horsley ' in 1721 the rental was improved to 3,049*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*²¹ This Mr. Horsley may be identified with the ' John Horsley of Widdrington, gent.' who, 20th July, 1721, was appointed to be one of the trustees of the nonconformist chapel at Morpeth.²² At the election of knights of the shire in 1722, he voted in respect of a freehold at Carter-moor, near Kirkley, and polled for Ralph Jenison. He may have been one of the Horsleys of Milburn Grange, or of Pegsworth—now called Pegswood—relating to whom there are entries in the parish registers of Bothal.

To be let against May-day next one farm at Ellington and two at Woodhorn. Enquire of Mr. John Horsley, agent for the York Buildings Company at Widdrington, or—in his absence,—of Thomas Tindal of Druridge who will treat about the same. Also a parcel of deer-skins to be sold singly or together, also some green and (. . .) trees. Enquire in the absence of the said Mr. John Horsley of Daniel Forster his clerk, residing at Widdrington, who will treat about the same.²³ *Newcastle Courant*, 31 January, 1721/2.

²⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*, etc.

²¹ The Rev. John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, part II, vol. II, p. 257.

²² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 441.

²³ This is printed from a transcript of a copy, and has not been collated with the original newspaper file.

In a section of the parish registers of Widdrington appropriated to dissenters there is the following entry:—

1726, April 2. Buried Mr. John Horsley in Widdrington.

Administration of the personal estate of John Horsley of Widdrington was granted out of the Probate Court at Durham, 22nd June, 1726, to Daniel Forster of Widdrington, gentleman, Elizabeth Horsley, the widow of the intestate, having renounced administration.

APPENDIX IV.—GEORGE MARK, THE SURVEYOR.

It is evident from John Horsley's letters that his arms were supported and the burden of his labours lightened, by the competent assistance of a certain George Mark. In all probability, Mark was Horsley's assistant in his school at Morpeth and devoted the school holidays to the preparation of the plans and drawings required for *Britannia Romana*. In a letter written from Morpeth on the 26th June, 1728, to Robert Cay, Horsley says: 'I have sent you, inclosed, Mr. Mark's opinion and observations about the military way.' In a letter written from Bath on 20th July of the same year he says: 'I sent Mr. Mark to Meywood [Meifod in Montgomeryshire] . . . who tells me, there seems to be one side or more of the station remaining, and other ruins: . . . Mr. Mark discovered a Roman encampment at least, if not a station, with a military way very visible, near a place called Clero or Clethro' [in Wales]. And in a letter written from Blossom's Inn on the 30th July of the same year he states: 'If Fetherwood be omitted in the map, it must be by mistake, because, if I rightly remember, I saw the observations with relation to it, which Mr. Mark had taken in the survey book.'

After the historian's death in 1732, Mark removed to Newcastle, and in partnership with Isaac Thompson, afterwards known as

'Isaac Thompson Esq.' the Quaker proprietor and publisher of the *Newcastle Journal*,²⁴ began a school in the Side, where he also from time to time gave scientific lectures to adults.

'In the Side, Newcastle, are taught at reasonable prices the grammar of the English tongue, writing in all the practised hands of Great Britain, vulgar and decimal arithmetick, the true Italian method of bookkeeping, and all the parts of pure and mix'd, speculative and practical mathematics, with their application to the affairs of human life, and experimental philosophy: the whole being a compleat system of English Education. By Isaac Thompson and Geo. Mark.' *Newcastle Courant*, 20 May, 1732.

'A course of natural and experimental philosophy, will begin at Newcastle upon Tyne on Monday 17th July, 1732, by Isaac Thompson and George Mark at their school in the Side. Also a course in geometry, in public lectures upon Euclid (largely explaining and applying the propositions of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, and 12th books of his Elements) will be performed at the aforesaid place—the time to be fixed by the subscribers, when a sufficient number is come in—by George Mark.' *Newcastle Courant*, 8th July, 1732.

'Newcastle, 3rd November, 1732. As on Monday 20th inst. there will be a total and visible eclipse of the moon, there is a lecture propos'd to be given, at Mr. Prior's house, fully explaining the motion of the earth and moon, and by a new machine, contrived for that purpose, the phenomenon of eclipses in general will be illustrated and render'd most easy to the conception. The lecture will begin precisely at 7 o'clock in the evening, and the eclipse will begin at 8, when the moon's progress thro' the shade of the earth will be accurately observed (if there be a clear sky) thro' a telescope of 14 foot long. The method also of determining the longitude by lunar eclipse will be explained by I. Thompson and G. Mark. N.B. The price will be half a crown to any person who shall think fit to subscribe.' *Newcastle Courant*, 18 November, 1732.

In 1734 he made a survey of Northumberland, part of which has survived and was printed by Mr. John Hodgson Hinde in his *Inedited Contributions to the History of Northumberland*, pp. 65-90. He was subsequently a schoolmaster at Dunbar, whence

² Cf. Memoir of Isaac Thompson, Welford's *Men of Mark*, vol. III, p. 506.

he wrote the letter, given below, dated 6th, May 1737, to Robert Cay, now in the possession of the society (see *ibid*, p. 93). The map referred to in that letter was published as Horsley's map by Mr. Cay and dedicated to the earl of Northumberland, 1753 :

Dear Sir,

Tis now more than time I think, we had finished the Map. I have not had much time to apply myself to it but have now nearly done. I have distinguished the several parishes with a prick'd line, and supply'd several of the villages that had been omitted in the geometrical survey from the accounts I collected on my last perambulation. I have drawn most of the rivers and rivulets, and marked their several bridges and principal branches. I have also design'd the several highways, and would have drawn also the several Roman ways as Watling Street, and the Devil's Cawsey, and that called Cobbs Cawsey, had I had their several surveys which I think absolutely necessary seeing the whole can so justly claim a geometrical exactness. I had made the actual survey of the Watling Street a long time ago for Mr. Horsley, provided you know anything of what is become of it. I also left with him a copy of the whole survey of the County in two little books the one in 12^{mo} covered with a blue paper cover, and the other in 4^{to}, with a brown paper cover, so far as I can remember. I would gladly have them both and what ever else you can let on relating to it, before I finish the whole. If you think it necessary that an actual survey be made of the Boundary or Marches let me know it, and I shall endeavour at the time of our vacation in Harvest to have it done. Pray let me have your resolutions concerning the whole as soon as possible and the papers I have mention'd, if you can find them, and please to send them if an opportunity offers by a safe hand, for the post hither is chargeable, every single letter being 5d.

I am, with great esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Geo. Mark.

Dunbar, May 5th, 1737.

The original manuscript of Horsley's survey, or so much as was left of it, was given to this society by Mr. Cay together with the Horsley manuscripts.