

VI.—THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT NICHOLAS, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

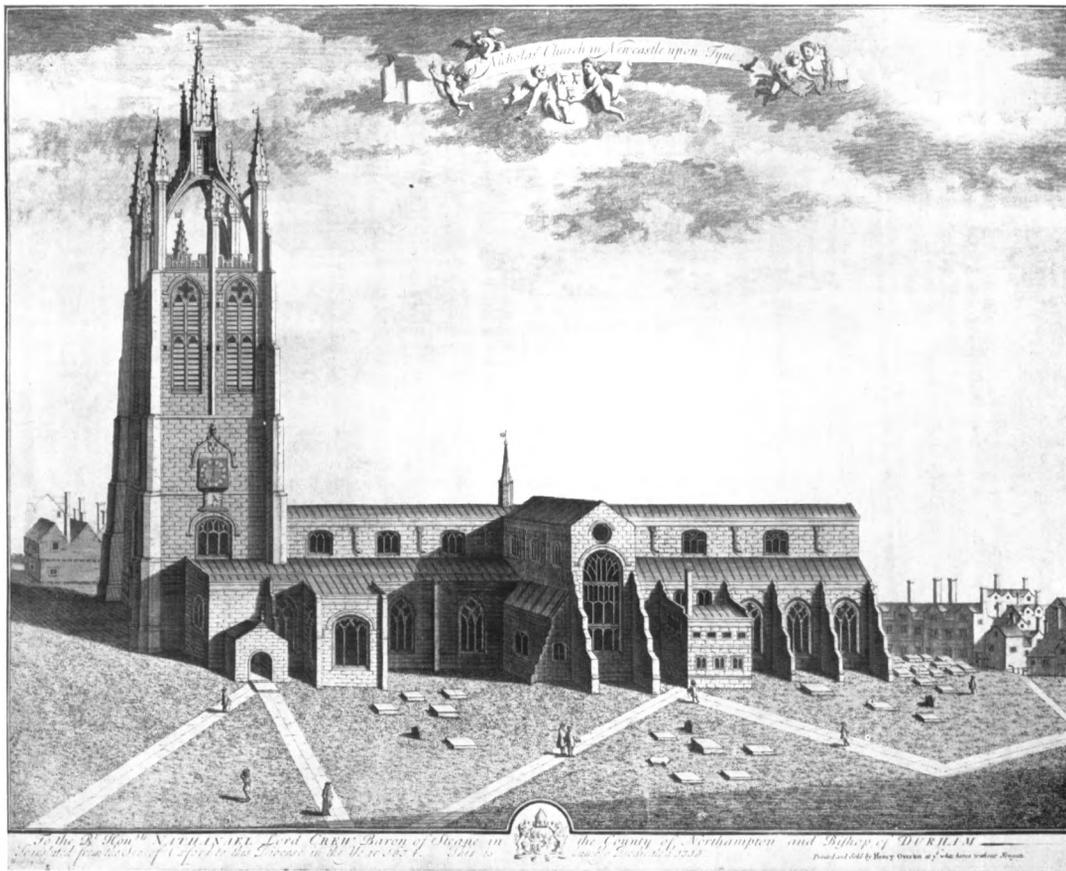
A CHRONICLE HISTORY BY H. L. HONEYMAN, A.R.I.B.A.,
WITH A NOTE ON THE FURNITURE AND PICTURES BY
THOMAS WAKE.

[Read on 29th July, 1931.]

“ I do gather a likelihood of truth, not certainly
affirming anything, but by conferring of times,
language, monuments, and such like, I do hunt out a
probability of things which I leave to your judgment.”

—EDMUND SPENSER.

Some years ago the secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings honoured me with an inquiry about the age of part of Newcastle cathedral, and the difficulty I experienced in finding reliable information about it led me to undertake the collection, for the good of students of local history, of all the raw material of knowledge contained in many scattered references to the building. Nor did I anticipate that the labour involved would be other than purely mechanical, with perhaps a certain amount of commentary founded on personal observation. Unfortunately it turned out that statements about the church had not only to be collected but checked, and in some cases checking was difficult. Hence delay in the completion of this paper, and even now I must confess that it contains dark places into which at any moment fresh information may shed a disconcerting light. Of the great dead I am most indebted to Henry Bourne, most cautious and most likeable of the Newcastle historians; of living authorities I gladly acknowledge the help of Mr. Wood,



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH IN 1715 BY W. HORSELEY.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS



Mr. Knowles and Mr. McQuillen and the generous way in which they have placed illustrations at my disposal. Mr. Wood's plan, the first accurate plan of the church to be published, has been particularly useful. (Plate xxib.)

It may be asked whether the church was worth so much trouble considering the unfavourable opinions which have been expressed upon it. A contributor to *The Ecclesiologist* in 1847 wrote: "St. Nicholas at Newcastle, except for its great size, is quite undeserving of its reputation. It looks—as such churches in large merchant towns always do look—as if the founders wished to get the greatest possible room out of the least possible money . . . indeed there is hardly a detail worthy of notice." Dibdin¹ was even more unflattering. On the other hand Mackenzie² says of the interior: "Here the mind bows before the genius of the architect and freely confesses that the boasted structures of Greece possess none of the mysterious sublimity which characterizes English architecture." And the *Morning Post* in a moment of patriotic enthusiasm declared that the steeple "is one of the most beautiful steeples in the world . . . the airy superstructure which altogether eclipses as a work of art those of the far-famed mosque (or cathedral) of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the mosque of Saladin at Jerusalem, and the church of St. Peter at Rome." On the whole I am content to say with Thomas Rickman,³ "the church has some singular and curious portions, and the whole edifice deserves attention."

So far as the pre-conquest days of the site are concerned there are no records and little evidence available. Each observer must make his own interpretation of the few known facts, and the following must be taken as mere personal opinions *de incerta re incertæ imagines*. The pre-Roman folk who buried their dead in short "kists," or stone boxes, have left traces of their presence all round Newcastle,⁴ but only once within the circuit of its ancient

¹ Dibdin, E. For full titles of references see appendix H.

² Mackenzie, I, 242.

³ Rickman, 4th ed., 219.

⁴ *N.C.H.*, vol. XIII.

walls, wherein, however, were several suitable sites for *oppidum*, or "camp," not the least eligible being what is now St. Nicholas churchyard. It slopes gently southwards and is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres in area, bounded on the east by the deep dene of the Lort burn, on the south and west by a gully containing a tributary of that streamlet, and separated on the north from the main hillside by a swampy patch now represented by St. Nicholas square. The Romans first come into the picture with Hadrian's decision to erect a barrier along the "Tyne Gap" and to terminate it at Newcastle. Later the Wall was extended from the Roman station across the site of St. Nicholas, down to and across the nether dene of the Lort burn and on to Wallsend by the route recently revealed by the painstaking investigations of the North of England Excavation Committee.⁵ Between Wall and Tyne many buildings were certainly erected, and signs of occupation on the castle heugh, the All Hallows bank and the Tout hill have been found in modern times. Some have held that *Pons Ælii*, as the Roman station was called, occupied St. Nicholas churchyard and that the north transept stands on one of its corners, but no evidence for this has been produced; in fact the Ordnance Survey's "Map of Roman Britain" shows *Pons Ælii* on the south side of the Tyne, though in that opinion it stands almost alone.

After the English conquest the Roman fort or its *vicus* is said to have been occupied by Christian recluses and called Munekeceastre⁶ on that account. This place was destroyed by the Danes and even the piers of the Roman bridge seem to have disappeared before William the Conqueror came here and was unable to cross the river with his army. But he found some sort of village still precariously surviving, though its poverty-stricken natives could not, or would not, supply his troops with food.

A new and less conjectural chapter opened in 1080 when Robert, the son of the Conqueror, cleared the castle hill,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See Surtees Soc., LI, 94.

fortified it, and called it "the new castle upon Tyne." We know from the precedent of Lincoln that the English would be expelled from the military area, and if they had a church there it would be destroyed and they would have to build a new one in the suburbs. But the sites of the pre-Norman churches in Newcastle are unknown, nor is it certain that any existed. A slab carved with a pattern "in imitation of sea waves," and formerly at the north door of St. Nicholas, may have been part of an Anglian cross; on the other hand it may have been a Roman stone or even part of a Norman "hog back"; it is now lost and its message with it, though its former existence is worth placing on record. A "Saxon arch" uncovered east of the north transept in 1824 may have been Roman or Norman, for in 1824 every ancient semi-circular arch was apt to be named "Saxon."

Dr. Nathaniel Ellison (vicar of Newcastle 1695-1721), whose transcripts from books formerly in the vestry of St. Nicholas were used by Brand, believed that in 1091 the church of St. Nicholas was founded by St. Osmund, earl of Dorset and bishop of Salisbury. This statement has been accepted as accurate by many authorities, and particularly by Brand, Mackenzie, Longstaffe, Boyle,⁸ and canon Newsom,⁹ but according to professor Hamilton Thompson¹⁰ it is a myth only less untrustworthy than the reputed founding of St. Andrew's church by king David I, and it must be admitted that the relics of St. Nicholas were only brought to Europe in 1087, his *cultus* was popularized in England by the writings of Hilary and Wace in the twelfth century,¹¹ and there is no reference to a church of St. Nicholas at Newcastle before 1194.

In 1115-28 king Henry I is said to have given the church to the Augustinian priory which he founded at

⁷ Bourne, 58.

⁸ *The Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne*, 1891,

p. 12.

⁹ *A Popular Guide to Newcastle Cathedral*, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Proc.*, 3rd ser., X, 154.

¹¹ C. H. Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts*, 10, quoting J. Romilly Allen.

Carlisle;¹² but the gift had to be confirmed, subject to a life rent of twenty-six marks to the incumbent, by bishop Hugh de Puiset in 1193. This church, built beside, or, as Dr. Davell¹³ said, "on" the Roman Wall, had probably an aisleless nave and a short choir with a round ended sanctuary. No trace of its details has ever been found, and it may have been of wood on a rough stone base. From 1135

† CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS - NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE -

FRAGMENTS IN THE CASTLE:

BASES IN THE CHURCH:

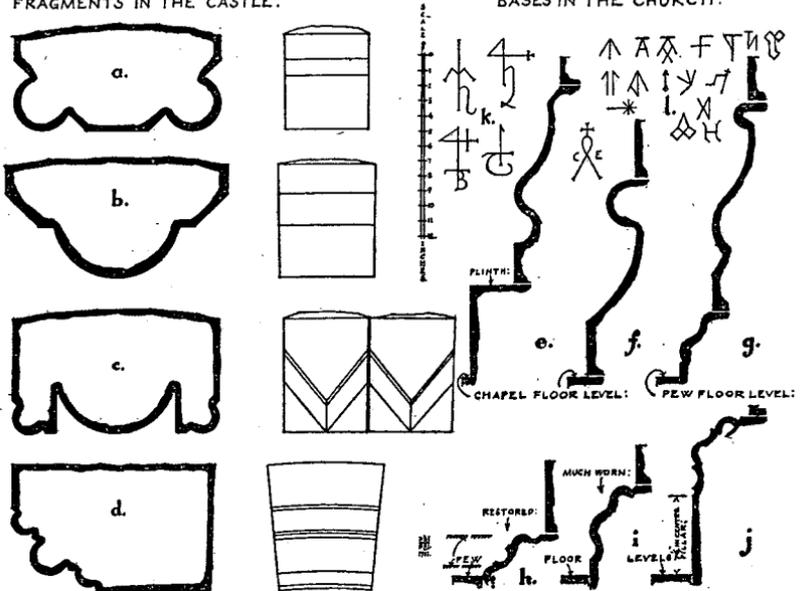


FIG. I.

A. B. AND C. VAULT RIBS: D. DOOR OR WINDOW HEAD: E. SOUTH-EAST RESPOND IN CHOIR: F. NORTH-EAST RESPOND IN CHOIR: G. PILLAR IN SOUTH TRANSEPT: H. NORTH ARCADE OF NAVE: I. SOUTH ARCADE OF NAVE WEST PILLAR AND J. EAST AND MIDDLE PILLARS: K. MERCHANTS' MARKS FROM TOMBS (COLLECTED BY JOHN VENTRESS): L. MASONS' MARKS (COLLECTED BY MR. R. THOMPSON).

to 1157 Newcastle was ruled by the Scots and their king often dwelt here. He was a good friend to religion, but is not known to have added to the church of St. Nicholas. However that may be, in the second half of the twelfth

¹² C. King Eley, *The Cathedral Church of Carlisle*, 3; Bourne, 56, etc.

¹³ Leland's *Itinerary*, 3rd ed., II, 60.

century the church seems to have been almost entirely rebuilt with very similar details to those of the great tower in the castle, designed by Maurice the Engineer c. 1172, and its planning or supervision may have been the service for which he received an extra bonus of twenty shillings in 1175.¹⁴ The church as then reconstructed had a choir of at least two square bays, vaulted with ribbed groined vaults (fig. 1), a north nave aisle with clustered columns, of which one survives (fig. 6), and a tower of whose belfry windows, or of clearstory ones, fragments exist (fig. 2); it had also a richly ornamented entrance door (fig. 3) and at least one smaller doorway (fig. 1 d). Judging from the style of these details the work began at the east end and progressed westwards; it may have been interrupted by William the Lion's invasion of Northumberland and was probably not fully completed before 1193-94, when, as above stated, the monks of Carlisle were confirmed in their rights, and when the vicar's share of the emoluments was settled. The style of the north arcade, so like parts of St. Hilda's church, Hartlepool, would suit such a date; it may have been an afterthought, and may have had clearstory windows above its pillars (see *A.A.*, 4th ser., VIII, 127).

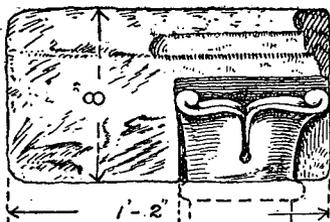
King John, a popular monarch in Newcastle and much indebted to its loyalty during his campaign against the northern barons, seized on the property and rights of Carlisle for reasons given in volume X, 180, of the *County History*, and the priory lost control at St. Nicholas until 1218, when bishop Richard Marsh ratified the older agreement.

Brand¹⁵ said that Dr. Ellison said "in the year 1216 the church of St. Nicholas is said to have been destroyed by fire," and on this insecure foundation of hearsay some have erected a hypothetical early English church, while others, more moderate, are content with a conjectural choir. Some rebuilding might have been expected early in the reign of Henry III, but the only work known to have been carried

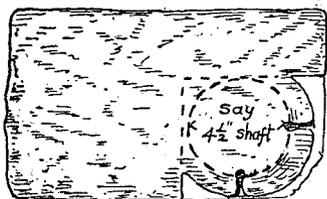
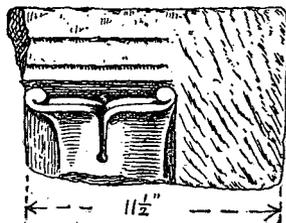
¹⁴ *A.A.*, 4th ser., II, 12.

¹⁵ I, 240.

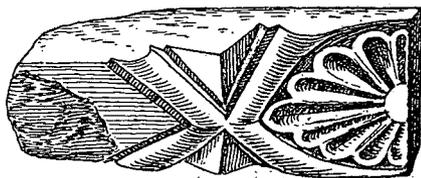
out was a new north aisle-transept or chapel which opened to the nave by a wide arch, as at St. Andrew's church, Newcastle, Woodhorn church and many others of the period. The west end of the arch rested on one of the twelfth century pillars, but its capital was re-cut, or replaced, in thirteenth century fashion. The profile of this capital has an oddly unfinished look, but it has much in common with the capitals of the chancel arch responds at Kirkwhelpington church and may be contemporary with them. At its east end the arch sprang from a support



CAP OF DOORWAY.



Plan of soffit.



Outer order of doorway arch.

FIG. 3.

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.

which remains embedded in the north-east pier of the crossing but the nature of which is uncertain. According to Mr. Wood¹⁶ it was a semi-circular respond and the fiddler capital now lying in the north transept probably belonged to it. On the other hand Longstaffe¹⁷ thought it was a circular column similar to those in the nave of

¹⁶ *Proc.*, 3rd ser., VII, 105 *et seq.*

¹⁷ *D. & N.A. & A. Soc. Trans.*, II, 135. I am indebted to Mr. H. I. Brackenbury for identification of the rebecc.

St. Andrew's church. In that case the choir must have been rebuilt with a north arcade, and there must have been no structural chancel arch. On the whole, the balance of

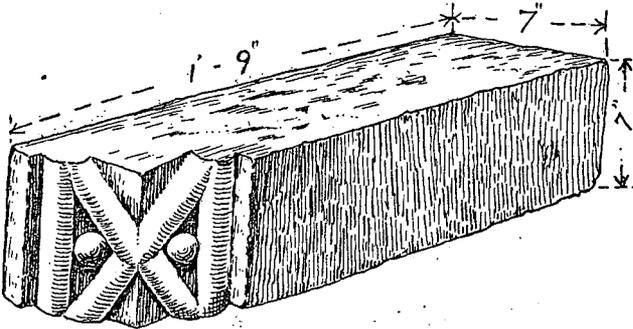
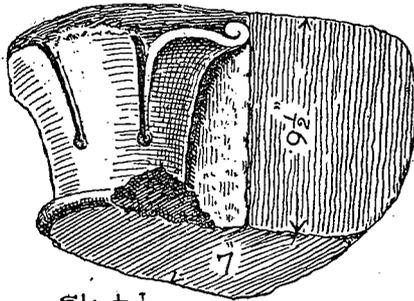
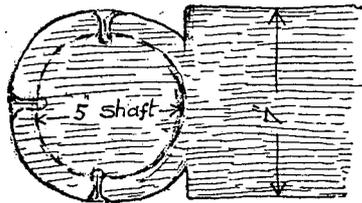


FIG. 4.

the evidence is against this theory, but the matter can only be settled by excavation in the pier. The capital referred to is carved with the figure of a musician who wears a tunic and girdle with a short tippet or a deep turn-down collar; he plays on a four-stringed rebec of the type introduced in the twelfth century (fig. 7). The heavily moulded relieving arch above a window in the south transept may date from this period, but the point can only be settled by removal of its infilling, and in any case it does not appear to be *in situ*, although the oblique axis of the present south transept suggests that it had a predecessor erected before there was a south aisle of the nave. It is, of course, quite



Sketch



Plan of soffit.

Window cap.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 2. although the oblique axis of the present south transept suggests that it had a predecessor erected before there was a south aisle of the nave. It is, of course, quite

possible that the choir had a chapel on its north side, as at Whalton, Rothbury, etc.; if so, there may be remains of its west respond in the north-east pier of the crossing.

In 1220¹⁸ the parish boundaries were definitely fixed. Peace with Scotland and a growing export trade in coals

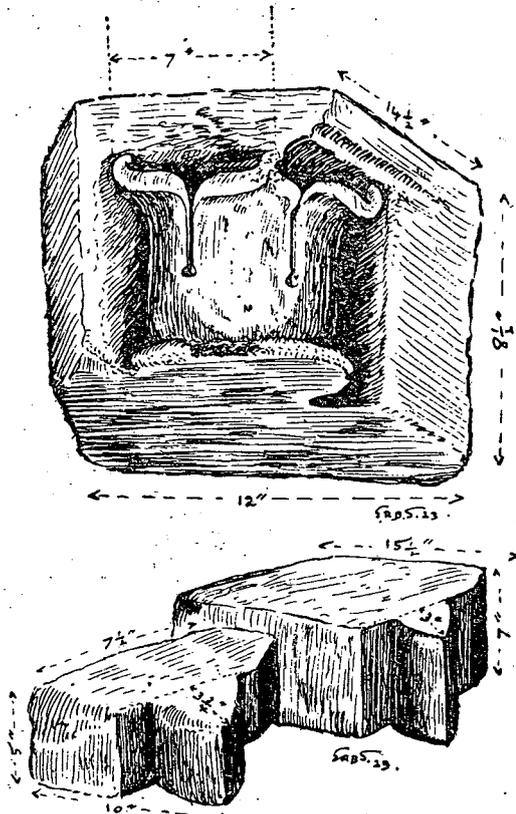


FIG. 5.

CAPITAL AND ARCH BLOCKS.

made Newcastle very prosperous; its population is said to have doubled during the reign of Henry III, and no doubt its citizens felt the need of a more worthy church to express its rising importance. At any rate plans were prepared

¹⁸ T. Bell collection; Brand, etc.

for rebuilding the nave, and these were almost certainly by the architect who designed the "Black" gate tower of the castle in 1248,¹⁹ and perhaps the Blackfriars' monastery. If not a Yorkshireman he was acquainted with the kind of work done there. One reason for rebuilding was no doubt the need for more space for altars to be served by an increasing parochial staff of chaplains, which ultimately in 1501²⁰ attained to eighteen in number in addition to the vicar and his curate. Additional priests were needed not merely for the increased population of the living but for the dead also. By the end of the thirteenth century there were more Novocastrians in purgatory than in Newcastle, and they required praying for as much as, if not more than, did the living, who could to a certain extent pray for themselves. Work seems to have begun with the south aisle wall of the nave, followed by the rebuilding of the arcades of the nave in their present form. A mistake was made in setting off the positions of the new piers on the north side, which are octagons of 27 inches diameter. They were set with their south faces in line with the southmost point of the previous moulded piers, which measured about 39 inches from north to south. Hence the centre line of the new piers was 6 inches south of its proper position.²¹ An attempt was made to rectify this by forming the arches with a projection northwards, but even so the east end of the wall is south of the line of its more massive predecessor.²²

¹⁹ Richardson, *T.B.*, I, 74; *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., II, 41.

²⁰ *A.A.*, 3rd ser., XVIII, 26.

²¹ Sizes from plan by W. H. Wood (fig. 6).

²² The following hypothesis would account for the disregard of the old north arcade line and for the irregularities of axial lines in the plan (plate xxix): The axis of the south transept is at right angles to the original long axis of the church. When the nave was rebuilt its wide eastern bay and the north and south chapels became a temporary nave closed by a partition on the line of the present nave arch. Either because they could not sight through, or for some other reason such as a desire to make the south arcade abut on the south-east corner of the earlier tower in order that when the tower was rebuilt no new foundations would be needed (or at any rate provided) on its south side, or to avoid a dip on the hill-side, the nave axis was swung north of its old line. The eastern part of the north aisle had, of course, to follow the older axis (see chain dotted line on plate xxix) in order to incorporate the old north chapel gable and to suit the old choir, but when the transept was extended with the charnel chapel the

Finally the north aisle was widened to the full projection of the old transept and carried past it so as to form a short aisle or chapel on the north side of the choir, a not unusual plan. (See chain dotted line on plate XXIB.) A good

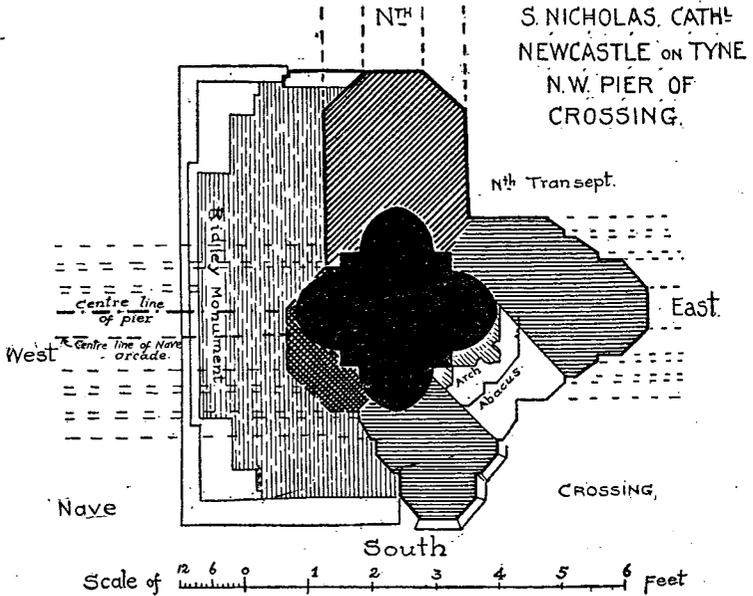


FIG. 6.

FROM A PLAN BY MR. W. H. WOOD.

many hood-mould stones had been hewn before it was decided to project the arcade wall northwards, but these were used up and their rounded upper surfaces levelled up with mortar. The carved corbels of the hood-moulds

axis of the extension was made at right angles to the new nave. When the south transept was reconstructed its old axis was worked to, in order that its east wall might be retained. When the choir was rebuilt the east part of the nave was again closed, but on the east side, to serve as a temporary choir, and whether intentionally or otherwise, the new choir aisles adopted the nave axis as nearly as possible, but thrown north by the deflection at the transepts, and the choir arcades had to follow suit, the westmost pair of pillars set parallel to the old transeptal axis and the others gradually working back to nearly square at the east end. It is not yet certain whether the change of axis of the nave took place in the twelfth century reconstruction or in that of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

on the south arcade are worked on the mould stones, but those of the north arcade are not and may have been brought to Newcastle from some distant workshop. One head of a king is rather like that of Henry III on his tomb at Westminster.

In connection with the nave arcades it may be as well to "place" them in relation to other arcades having chamfered arches dying on to octagonal columns in Northumberland. The earliest appear to be those of the nave and transept aisles of St. Nicholas, and these have their chamfers stepped in a thirteenth century way (observable at the Black Gate), not all on one diagonal plane. Next came the choir arcades of St. Nicholas *c.* 1369 in which the chamfers of the south arcade are some, but not all, in one plane, and the hood-moulds are of a later section than those in the nave. There followed the south arcade at Bothal *c.* 1370, the arcades in St. John's church, Newcastle, built by William Huton, *c.* 1370, and the arcades at Ponteland church, after 1388; all of which show development, while St. John's is a great improvement upon St. Nicholas in everything except size.

The row of "founders' tombs" in the south aisle is very characteristic of the period and formed a useful way of raising money, though at the expense of the wall's stability. There are none in the north aisle, for the architect was a student of human nature and knew that the south side would be both more popular and more decorative, as it brought into prominence the coloured shields of the deceased on the left sides of their eastward facing effigies. The new north aisle seems to have been divided from the nave by screens or curtains to judge from the beam holes in its pillars. The nave itself was, of course, left entirely free from fixtures as it had to serve all the varied purposes now served by a public hall, a parish institute, and a court of law: besides being used for sermons when the congregation would gather round the pulpit, the men standing behind and the women sitting on cutty stools in front and, if Chaucer is correct, sometimes

quarrelling bitterly about their rights to a good place! It may be noted in passing that in 1291²³ the bishop and prior of Carlisle each drew £28 13s. 4d. from the income of St. Nicholas, and the prior of Tynemouth £8, while the vicar was left with £20 5s. on which to carry on the work of the parish. In 1577 the living was worth £50 and in 1650 £100. In 1293²⁴ Edward I attempted to reassert John's claim to the church; the case came before justices itinerant sitting at Newcastle, and the jury's verdict was against the king.



Cap of Early English respond

FIG. 7.

That the reconstruction above described was not a continuous uninterrupted process is clear from many of its details, particularly the carved hood-mould stops (though these are a doubtful proof of age; I know one church built in 1862 where the hood-mould stops have not yet been carved), the windows, and the bases (again unreliable as the lack of a dampcourse causes the lower stones in St. Nicholas to decay and require periodical renewal). And interruptions were to be expected, for the great fire of 1248, the

²³ Boyle, 15; Surtees Soc., XXII, 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Scottish wars of Edward I and the great north European famine of 1314 combined to delay work at St. Nicholas. From 1280 to 1290 the building energies of Newcastle were concentrated on fortification. In 1299²⁵ Wallace besieged the new walls of the town but was repulsed, and had to content himself with burning the suburbs. War and famine affected the countryside, but the town itself had compensations. Army contracts, a thousand stockfish at a time were purchased in 1299²⁶ for the garrison of Stirling; famine prices,²⁷ corn rose from five shillings per quarter in 1313 to twenty shillings in 1315 and forty shillings later in the same year; profitable freights of ships carrying corn from the Mediterranean lands to the stricken north of Europe; administrations of confiscated estates of rebels;²⁸ all these things brought money into town. In fact, like the troops of Henry V at Agincourt, it might have been said of the burgesses that "money enough, but wares had they none." Nobody profited more than Richard of Embleton, who for the number of his periods of office as mayor stands to the fourteenth century as Thomas Carlisle to the thirteenth and George Carr to the fifteenth. In 1333 (see appendix B) he refounded the chantry of saints John the Baptist and John the Apostle, whose altar stood in a new and greater north transept cutting through the north aisle. Embleton was not the sole begetter of the new north transept, and the arms of his friends and patrons, the heads of the great houses of Montague, Neville and Percy were seen by Dugdale in north windows of the church. The transept windows were filled with flowing tracery characteristic of the richly detailed "curvilinear" style which came into vogue in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and which I am inclined to think owed its existence to the skilled artisans who fled from Belgium when that highly industrialized area was smitten by the famine of 1314-19. A two-light window on the west side

²⁵ Richardson, *T.B.*, I, 90.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Speculum*, V, 352.

²⁸ Richardson, *T.B.*, I, 103.

of the transept had the uncommon and beautiful feature of a transome composed of ogee-shaped, foiled and crocketed arches. The lower part of the north end of the transept



FIG. 8.
HOOD-MOULD CORBEL ON
NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.

was a charnel chapel, with an unglazed east window and covered with a ceiling of stone slabs laid between heavy chamfered ribs as at Ponteland church porch, old Tyne bridge, Bellingham church choir, and the vaulted chamber under Westmoreland Place destroyed when the "Lit. and Phil." was built. A local form of construction doubtless derived from the Roman granaries of Corstopitum and other sites in the district. (Figs. 9 and 10, and plate xv.)

By the end of the thirteenth century English town

cemeteries began to be overcrowded and each fresh burial disturbed (as described in "Hamlet") bones which were left lying about in an untidy way such as is still observable in Ireland and the West Highlands, but which gave offence to many people. Hence a movement for the foundation of *capellæ carniaræ*, in order, as the foundation charter of one at Norwich (1316) says: *ut usque ad resurrectionem honeste conserventur a carnibus integre denudata*, etc.²⁹ The

thirteenth century English town

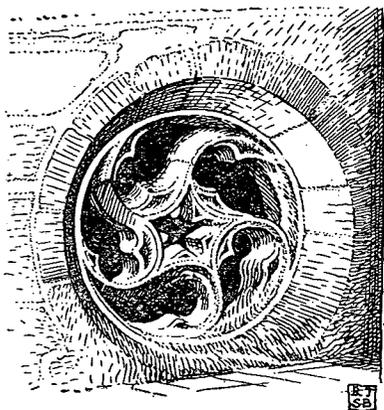
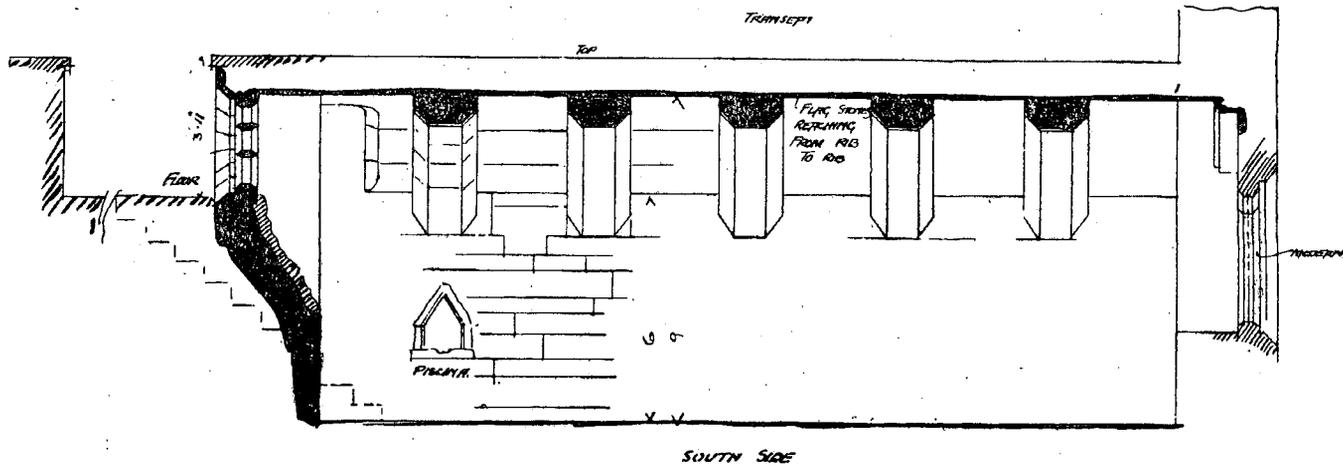


FIG. 9.
EAST WINDOW OF CHARNEL CHAPEL.

ut usque ad resurrectionem honeste conserventur a carnibus integre denudata, etc.²⁹ The

²⁹ Parker's *Glossary*, 5th ed., I, 123. See also M. H. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., II, 185 *et seq.*



SOUTH SIDE

FIG. 10.

LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE CHARNEL CHAPEL.

(From a drawing by Mr. W. H. Knowles.)

larger examples had a ground floor, to hold the bones, and a first floor chapel; the less important, such as that at St. Nicholas, had a single vaulted chamber in which the bones were stacked on each side of a central passage leading to an altar, usually of All Souls, at its east end. Unluckily the charnel chapel of St. Nicholas was rediscovered, in 1824, in St. Katherine's tide, just after Guy Fawkes day, and its circular east window suggested a St. Katherine's wheel to its discoverers, who, without any other authority, dubbed it St. Katherine's chapel and allowed its interesting origin to be forgotten. Despite nineteenth century alterations and a higher floor level (introduced about thirty years since, at which time interments were found below what had been the chapel's earthen floor) it is one of the best preserved *carnaria* in England.

During the same period the south transept was reconstructed with an aisle on its west side and two flowing traceried windows of very dissimilar patterns inserted at different times in its east wall. The planning of the "Bewick porch" chapel may also date from the first half of the century, though it is now impossible to say when it was carried out. Before these works were completed, in 1349, the Black Death came to England and mowed down a generation whose stamina had been reduced by undernourishment in childhood during the famine years. For a time all business was at a standstill, grass grew in the streets of Newcastle, building operations ceased, whole parishes were depopulated—but the poet laureate in his "Whittington" has just told the story far more eloquently than I can.³⁰

From the reconstruction period which followed, three mayors' names ought to be held in memory by the parishioners of St. Nicholas. John Chamber (bailiff 1351-54, mayor 1361-62, and 1371), Gilbert Duxfield (bailiff 1349, mayor 1350-51), and Robert Angerton (mayor 1348-49, 63, 70, and 71), encouraged by Robert Marley, one

³⁰ The date 1350 has a fatal fascination for architectural writers, yet it was a year when little work can have been undertaken.

of the clergy of the church, "by their council and help"³¹ reawakened the building ambitions of the parish. In 1359 Chamber and Duxfield obtained an indulgence of forty days sealed by a dozen foreign bishops and confirmed by the bishop of Durham for the benefit of all who would visit the church, pay for the furnishing and endowment of the new chapels and pray for the souls of Chamber and Duxfield and their wives (see appendix A). Next, preparations were made for rebuilding the choir, Chamber and Angerton being the prime movers. But the bishop and prior of Carlisle as patrons were responsible for the repairs of the choir, and they foresaw that maintenance costs would increase when a small well-built choir was replaced by a larger and more cheaply constructed building. On the 30th August, 1368, the bishop and prior sent their proctor to Newcastle; he found Marley sitting in the churchyard on the south side of the new work and in the act of hewing a stone for it—for skilled workmen were scarce and demanded high wages. He ordered Marley to cease work and then proceeded to the Sandhill, where he interviewed Chamber and Angerton and forbade them to proceed further with the scheme. In the end terms must have been arranged with the patrons for the work went on, and in 1369 Nicholas Coke left twenty shillings towards the fabric of a choir window. Apparently the north aisle was built first, then the south and vestry, lastly the east gable, the centre of which was left open until the materials of the old choir had been removed. The choir arcades copy those of the nave, but are even more economical; the spans are wider, perhaps corresponding with the square vaulted bays of the twelfth century choir, and the delightful carved hood-mould stops which relieve the plainness of the nave are omitted. The hood-mould in the choir is, of course, of a later section than that of the nave. The arches of the

³¹ Carlisle proctor's report quoted by Boyle, etc. The bishops of Carlisle were sometimes treated with scant consideration by the clergy of Newcastle; for instance in 1405 Nicholas Ryse obtained leave to exchange parishes with Roger Thirske, who came to Newcastle in his stead, and the bishop's approval was not obtained beforehand.

choir arcades are successively eastwards reduced a few inches in span, either to produce an effect of false perspective or for some reason connected with the plan of the earlier choir which was shorter than its successor. The finely carved anonymous tomb slabs which had lain on the site of the new work were ruthlessly used up as footings in the foundations and, adding insult to injury, inverted there. Several have been rescued during recent years.³²

The choir arcades have differences in detail (fig. 1 e and f) indicating interrupted progress. Judging by the marks on the stonework the chancel was enclosed by wrought iron grilles, like that in Mere church, Wilts., instead of wood screens, and the fragmentary choir stalls show no marks of supports for canopies. The setting out of the aisles betrays Marley's inexperience as an architect; he began on the north side and divided its length into bays which are all equal apart from slight shortness in the westmost of them. Then he set off the east gable for later completion, and its great buttresses with their many intakes, so like the buttresses of Carlisle, come nearly opposite the arcades they prop with the aid of the deep responds which divide the east end of the choir into three chapels or "porches." Next he started the south aisle with bays of the same width as the north, but when he passed the vestry, to which he allotted two bays, he found the remaining space to the transept was too wide for two bays of the same sort and too narrow for three, moreover the aisle wall was so far south that it threatened to block one of the transept windows. So he divided the rest of the aisle into two extra wide bays and saved the window by the clumsy expedient of a canted corner to the aisle. The resultant pier is a weak abutment for the western arch of the aisle, it was rebuilt c. 1873, but, undermined by the excavation of a large heating chamber, it has settled afresh.

For some reason the gable of the south transept was next rebuilt with a wall of increased thickness, as is shown by the way in which the springer for the arcade on the

³² *A.A.*, 2nd ser., XII, 130; *Proc.*, 3rd ser., VII, 110.

west side of the transept is embedded in the present gable. In the lower part of the gable a tomb recess was made under a cusped arch, and therein, on a projecting pedestal, was laid the effigy of a knight whose name is forgotten but who bore on his shield what looks like a border with a bend over all.³³ Also in the gable is the *fenestella* of a *piscina* very similar to the earlier of the two in St. Mary's

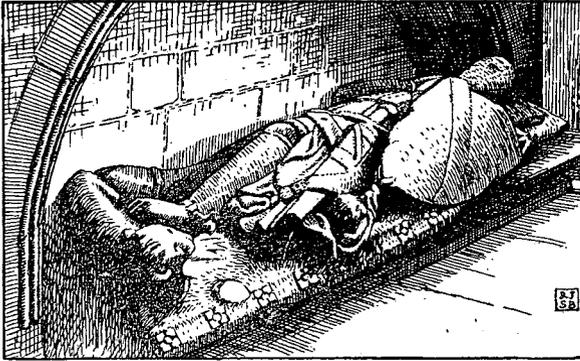


FIG. 14.
EFFIGY IN SOUTH TRANSEPT.

chapel, Jesmond. The effigy is not later than *c.* 1325 in date. Bourne, who saw it when it may have still retained its colouring, thought the armorials were those of Scrope. It was no doubt in position before the gable was rebuilt, and commemorated some contributor to the earlier re-edification of this transept. About the same time a new hood-mould stop was inserted in the transept aisle arcade, a head of a lady of the court of Queen Philippa, it has lost its complexion of gesso and paint, and only its rough, unflattering core remains. Above one of the windows on the east side is a boldly moulded, segmental pointed arch; this may be a relic of the earlier transept, a window head *in situ*, or some arch voussoirs from the old choir re-used to form a relieving arch over the later window, which has a flat head, when the clearstory was built.

³³ *Proceedings N/C.*, 3rd ser., IX, pp. 234 ff., and see fig. 14.

Just as the reconstruction of the nave and transepts led to a crowd of chantry foundations in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, so the new choir and restored south transept produced another, but much smaller, crop in the last quarter of the century;³⁴ but money was soon required again for building. The rebuilt nave had no clearstories, as may be seen by the neat cutting to fall of the top course of its masonry in its west

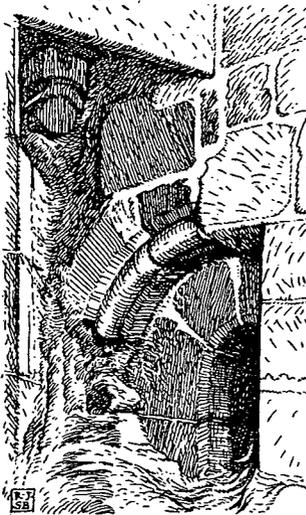


FIG. 15.

BUILT-UP WINDOW IN NORTH-WEST
PIER OF CROSSING.

bay—this to help the passage of water from the large valley gutters between the high pitched roofs of nave and aisles. It was therefore rather dark; moreover, clearstories were in fashion, hence it was with a certain amount of satisfaction that the wide low arch opening from the north transept into the nave aisle was observed to be pushing over the eastmost pier of the arcade, and this defect, which could have been put right by a strainer arch or even an iron tie rod, was made the excuse for entirely reconstructing the crossing and introducing clearstories throughout the church. The rebuilders of the north arcade had left untouched the arch opening into the aisle-transept and had added to its west pillar new responds on the west and north sides, the latter for the arch which was now thrusting the whole composite pier and the wall above it off the plumb. This pillar is now encased in a pier of the crossing, which, with its chamfered arches and supports, is almost massive enough for a central tower. The clearstories and roofs followed in the order of nave, transepts,

³⁴ See appendix B.

choir; the nave was divided into equal spaces by arched roof principals, one over each pillar of the arcade and one between, arranged with more regard to the arcade than often happened in "perpendicular" clear-stories, though the windows, placed only in alternate spaces, did not centre with the arches below, and the principals are a little west of centre lines. The stonework was plastered and the blank spaces no doubt decorated in colour, and as the new wall was built

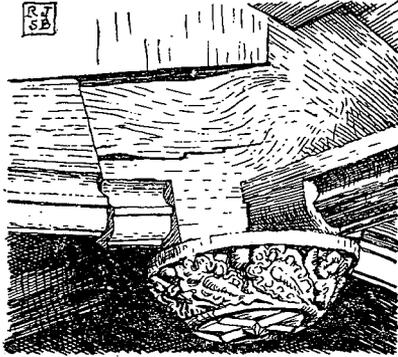


FIG. 12.

ONE OF THE NAVE ROOF BOSSES.

straight and plumb the older work projects beyond it in the east bay where displaced by the movement above referred to. The roof is of a type common in Northumberland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; similar ones survive at Hexham, Bothal, and St. Andrew's, Newcastle. In the choir only three clearstory windows were provided on each side, but, if Horseley's view can be trusted, they had more elaborate tracery. The nave arch was centred from the crossing so is off the centre of the nave, and the transept arches are west of their proper positions. So anxious were the carpenters to relate their principals to the pillars of the nave arcade that the eastmost truss is not parallel to the nave arch but to the axis of the south transept, because one of the arcade responds projects further than the other, a fact which makes one wonder whether the present roof is not made up out of the timbers of the pre-clearstory roof re-used and adapted to a lower pitch but without alteration to the lengths of the purlins and ridge-pieces. It is, however, possible that clearstory preceded arch, it being hoped that the former's weight would stop further movement.

While this work was in progress the defective aisle arch was rebuilt and a new arch added beyond it opening into a little aisle or chantry chapel built in the corner between north aisle and north transept. A two-light window from the transept was re-used at its north end and a new segmental-headed traceried window provided on its west side. It was replaced by the present building in this corner in 1834.

The date of the clearstories is clearly indicated by the following circumstances. The few ancient bosses on the roofs resemble those in the Percy chapel at Tynemouth and bear painted armorials of the royal family, nobility and gentry, all datable between 1390 and 1412. The ashlar of the nave clearstory has the same "dabbed" hewing as Belsay Castle, the east part of Jesmond chapel, and the part of Mount Grace charterhouse bearing the arms of the unfortunate archbishop Scrope (beheaded 1405). Lastly the painted stone escutcheons, predecessors of the wooden ones set up to parish benefactors down to the nineteenth century, in the south transept clearstory or lying in the nave, are of a type popular in the reign of Richard II and include the armorials of that stout soldier, Nicholas Sabram, whose forty years under arms included active service in Scotland, Cyprus, Prussia, and Hungary, and at Constantinople, Crécy, and Calais, who was one of Chaucer's fellow witnesses in the case of Scrope *v.* Grosvenor, and who was a bailiff of Newcastle in 1371, represented the city in parliament, married a granddaughter of Richard Embleton, and died before 1399.³⁵

³⁵ Surtees Soc., CXXXVII; *Durham Monuments; Proc.*, 3rd ser., II, 79-82, etc. After this paper was in print, the remains of two built-up clearstory windows were found, in March 1932, beside the abutments of the nave arch at the crossing. This enables us to be more definite about the sequence of events in this part of the church. Apparently the nave clearstory was built either just after or just before the new choir, perhaps in 1360; the transept clearstories next, say about 1390; and that of the choir soon after 1400. It is not clear whether the nave arch is contemporary with the transept arches, for though its jambs bond with theirs, its spandrels are of quite different masonry. Perhaps the walling above it was rebuilt when the *flèche* was set up, or perhaps it was hastily completed to stop some fresh movement in the north-west pier due to the weight of the north transept's clearstory.

The nave aisle roofs had to be lowered and all the gables had to be heightened to suit the clearstories, and in the south and east gables circular windows were introduced in the added space, as in the south transept of Culros abbey. The east window was filled with stained glass at the expense of Roger Thornton or his family, and the south gable window a little earlier by members of the families of Colville and Heton. If the north gable had a circular window it was destroyed in 1824 by John Dobson, who destroyed that in the east gable thirty-five years later. If the tracery formerly in the east window was older than 1820 its date was not early in the perpendicular style, and the Roger Thornton mentioned on its glass might be Thornton junior and not his famous father.

The second and third decades of the fifteenth century witnessed almost a boom in church building work stimulated by the energetic reforming Cardinal Langley in the diocese of Durham under victorious King Henry V and his promising and popular young heir, with Scotland as a good neighbour ruled by the anglophil James I. Money was left to St. Nicholas church by Cecily Homeldon in 1407, William Easington in 1415, and Roger Thornton senior in 1429,³⁶ but apart from the tower, of which more hereafter, we do not know how it was spent unless on the completion of the east gable and, as Thornton said, on "reparacion and enorments." Which may have included the choir seats, though they are usually given a later date, and the wrought iron screenwork behind them. In 1426 work was still in progress and the Company of Coopers allocated certain of their fines to "Sente Nicholas Kyrkwarke."³⁷

In the reign of Henry VI the space between the east side of the north transept and the east bay of the early fourteenth century aisle was filled in with a large chapel, of very economical construction for the north and east

³⁶ Surtees Soc., II.

³⁷ Brand, I, 246.

windows of the aisle, and many of its small blocks of ashlar were re-used for the north wall of the chapel, while the east windows of the transept were rebuilt as the east windows of the chapel. The chapel covered the east window of the charnel chapel, which was accordingly built up and replaced by four small openings cut between the north springers of the vault ribs. Glass in the chapel bore the armorials of Edward the confessor, Edmund the martyr, and St. George and the royal arms, and as Henry VI admired these saints, he may have had a hand in the work, and from this time may date the name "St. George's or the Kings porch" by which the whole transept was afterwards known. Henry was rather by way of being a saint himself, and his dislike of *décolletage* and of mixed bathing may yet win him a place in the calendar.

In 1435 an indulgence was obtained from Cardinal Langley in favour of contributors to the church work, and he probably felt that the disciplinary measures he had taken against the priests and people of Newcastle early in his episcopate were now bearing fruit in good works.³⁸

We must now turn to the tower, a subject of more difficulty than is at first sight apparent. The name of Rodes is so prominent on the vaulting, the tower arch looks so obviously an encroachment on the clearstory, it is so easy to say with Canon Newsom "the *Tower* which was begun in 1430, the gift of Robert de Rhodes, seven times M.P. for Newcastle."³⁹ But the layman unprovided with "benefit of clergy" will look closer and will find that the statement requires qualification. The lower windows of the tower have heavy rear-arch ribs, not commonly a feature of work commenced in 1430, though found in the south transept window of Durham cathedral, and the moulding on the face of these ribs is the same as that on the tomb arch in the south transept, which, unless it is an insertion, preceded the clearstories. The tower

³⁸ See notes in Hunter's *Bourne*.

³⁹ *A Popular Guide to Newcastle Cathedral*, p. 3.



arch, with its many chamfers, belongs, like the crossing arches, to the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth century in style, though each chamfer has had a deep groove cut in it, and on its north jamb are placed, on a shield much larger than Rodes's shields on the vault, the armorials of a member of the local family of James or Jaques, one of whom was a legatee of Nicholas Coke in 1369. The oldest bells, according to expert campanological opinion, all date from about 1400,⁴⁰ but on the other hand the vault ribs are similar to those at Warkworth Castle ascribed by C. J. Bates (*Border Holds*) to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The belfry windows as restored last century have every appearance of having been designed after the War of the Roses, the parapet and turrets⁴¹ from their affinity to dated examples such as Magdalen Tower, Oxford, and Henry VII's chapel, Westminster, cannot be earlier than 1490, and the crown itself groups with such structures as the market crosses at Salisbury and Chichester and the London and Scottish crown steeples, and suggests a date in the reign of Henry VIII or late in that of his father. Nor can it be ignored that the encroachment upon the clearstory which involved the disappearance of its end roof truss, is made not by the tower but by the outer order of the tower arch and its spandrels, which latter, in their facing masonry, differ from all other parts of the tower and do not seem to extend above roof level; that the vaulting shafts of the tower vault are badly bonded with some of the adjoining ashlar; and that the large west window, as restored in 1836, fits its rear arch as badly as the latter fits the wall rib of the vault. Lastly, the corner buttresses in the plan of their lower portions resemble those of the thirteenth century gateway of Warkworth Castle.

⁴⁰ Appendix D.

⁴¹ The turrets have complete dummy crenellated parapets interposed between shaft and finial, a rare but widely distributed detail; examples Sedgfield, Durham; Tideswell, Derbyshire; Magdalen College, Oxford; Henry VII chapel, Westminster; Bideford-on-the-Moor, Devon; Bath, Wilts.; Ashford, Kent. The arches of the crown are of upright elliptical outline, a rare form also found in window tracery at Bothal containing sixteenth century glass.

Unless the bells were bought for a belfry like that of St. Andrew's church, Newcastle, built upon the twelfth-century tower at the same time as or before the clearstory, the following is a possible sequence of events. A design prepared *c.* 1375, if not earlier, materials prepared and work perhaps carried up as far as the top of the present ringers' chamber before 1400, John James contributing to the cost. At the same time the nave aisles lengthened westwards to embrace three-quarters of the tower and the south entrance porch built. Stoppages of the work, perhaps due to the successive troubles which cost an archbishop of York his head and made a mayor of Newcastle an outlaw in 1435, and later to the Wars of the Roses and the continued peace with Scotland and France which deprived Newcastle of a profitable source of income. A resumption of activity due to the generosity of Rodes, a wealthy customs official, *promotor ecclesiarum* as he was called on the brass attributed to him in All Saints church,⁴² who bought Benwell, presented it to Tynemouth priory, and died in 1473;⁴³ and involving a decision to vault the tower. Erection of a more massive tower arch than was at first intended and encroachment of its spandrels on the clearstory, insertion of vaulting shafts and vault and, after more interruptions, completion of the belfry and crown. The belfry held the town's "common bell," and that the townsmen considered themselves particularly indebted to Rodes for some reason is clear from their provision in 1500⁴⁴ of a house for a priest to pray for the souls of Rodes and his second wife, Agnes, who survived him for some years. There was another Robert Rodes, a justice of the bishop of Durham and well known between 1486 and 1537,⁴⁵ who is much less likely to have had a connection with the work, and Grey mentions a third, prior of Tynemouth in the reign of Henry VI, so even the plain inscription *orate pro anima Roberti de Rodes* is less

⁴² Bourne, 99.

⁴³ *A.A.*, 3rd ser., XIX, 96.

⁴⁴ Bourne, 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

conclusive than it might be. The crown spire, though commonplace in its restored details, is a magnificent composition, admirably connected to the belfry stage. *Finis coronat opus* very worthily in this case. The figures on small polygonal pedestals which surmount the tower buttresses are locally believed to represent Aaron, David, Adam and Eve, and to be of stone and not of metal, as one might have expected from their good condition.

In 1464 John Praye left 10 marks to the works of the church, and in 1472 William Corbett, citizen of London but native of Rothbury, left 20 shillings to the body of the church of St. Nicholas.⁴⁶ Some time late in the fifteenth century a fine brass lectern was obtained, and perhaps a new set of stalls, of which a few pieces remain, for the clergy who in 1501 numbered at least eighteen

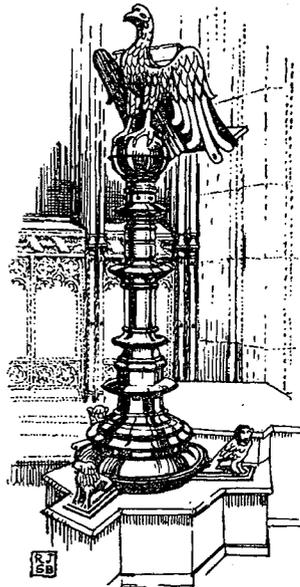


FIG. 13.
THE LECTERN.

priests or chaplains besides the vicar and curate.⁴⁷ The lectern (fig. 13) is still in use (see appendix E).

In 1489 a cenotaph in honour of the murdered fourth earl of Northumberland was erected in the east bay of the north choir aisle, known as late as 1735 as "the earl of Northumberland's porch." It was of timber, carved and painted, with a long rhymed inscription and a picture of an old man (God the Father?) between Christ and His Mother. A label from our Lord's mouth read: *Quaeso Patri fac quod rogat mea Mater*, as quoted by Bourne from Milbank. Moved by sir George Selby in 1620, it

⁴⁶ Surtees Soc., CXVI, 257, 258.

⁴⁷ Hamilton Thompson in *A.A.*, 3rd ser., XVIII, 26.

was again moved by Lancelot Hodshon in the time of vicar Naylor, and disappeared before Bourne wrote.⁴⁸

After the lower part of the tower had been completed, a new font was provided (plate xvii). This font was covered with a magnificent oak canopy of a fifteenth-century type (there is, for instance, a pulpit canopy a good deal like it in Eddlesborough church, Bucks.) which has been much repaired and "improved" at later dates, and particularly in the seventeenth century and in 1792. A clue to their date is given by their resemblance to the font at Lesbury and to the font cover at St. John's church, where the bowl, or "spoon" as it was called in the seventeenth century, was inscribed :

" For the honour of God and saint John,
John Bertram gave this font stone."

If this was the John Bertram who died in 1428 the arms on the St. Nicholas font must be those of John Rodes⁴⁹ and his wife Isabella, "a noblewoman of Durham" as she was called in a papal indulgence allowing the couple to have a portable altar in their house in 1430; but the rhyme looks later than 1428. There is no heraldic justification for the common ascription of the arms to either Robert Rodes and one of his wives or Alice Rodes and her husband Richard Bainbridge.

The last important pre-reformation benefactor of the church was George Carr, who founded a second chantry at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin and set up a very interesting monument of which only fragments remain. In July, 1502, Queen Margaret of Scotland "varey nobly accompanyd," as Leland said, attended service in the church; eleven years later the corpse of her husband lay there on its way from Flodden. In 1541 Christopher Chaytor left a fother of lead to the reparations of the church works: legacies by Margaret Reed in 1536 and her

⁴⁸ Bourne, 72.

⁴⁹ If John Rodes was mayor in 1428, could he be the father of Alice, who was only fourteen when Robert died in 1473? Or were there two Johns, father and son?

son in 1537 to the repair of St. George's porch suggest that this was the part of the church then being improved, and evidently the reformation did not interrupt the good work, for repairs were still in progress in 1558⁵⁰ when Henry Anderson left £10 towards them. In 1582 carpenters were at work, perhaps on the east gallery, which was later to annoy archbishop Laud.

Between 1550 and 1553 John Knox preached in its pulpit and is said to have been offered the see when in 1557 Newcastle upon Tyne became a bishopric; by act of Parliament, with St. Nicholas as its cathedral; but the act was repealed in 1558. The oldest parish register commences in that year; the oldest pew book about which anything is known was dated 1579, but it referred to a still older one.⁵¹

In 1590⁵² alderman Roger Nicholson bequeathed "unto ye Church of St. Nicholas xls. towards ye even flooring of ye same." It is not known whether this refers to a levelling up of the choir aisle floors or to a paving of the nave where the mediæval floor may have been of beaten earth or cobbles. The library over the old vestry dated from the sixteenth century; it certainly existed before 1597, when John Baxter, lawyer, was buried "before the Library door." A reference in 1582 to "a poore wench which dyed in the Church poorch" shows that the principal entrance was the porch on the south side of the tower, but a north door existed before 1620, when it was customary to bury murderers near it.

During the sixteenth century family monuments were erected in the choir and its aisles and the transepts or "porches" by many worthy townsmen. Most of these memorials were slabs of whinstone set in the floor, each had a black letter inscription round it, and some bore armorials cut in low relief. One stone, in the east aisle of the north transept, is no less than 10 feet by 5 feet and is a credit to the patience and skill of the local whin-

⁵⁰ Surtees Soc., XXXVIII, 165.

⁵¹ Brand, I, 264.

⁵² Bourne, 96, note by Hunter.

stone workers. The inscriptions included "not one word of their good deeds!" as Grey exclaimed in surprise, but prayers for mercy on the souls of the deceased, it not yet having been realized that burial in St. Nicholas is a passport to paradise, a fact well known to the makers of monuments in the next century. The eighteenth century describes the conduct of the deceased in glowing terms but keeps discreet silence as to their destination, while the nineteenth shows more confidence, coupled in some cases with a rather touching diffidence.

Doctors tell us that the human body entirely renews its skin every seven years, and since 1600 St. Nicholas's church has been undergoing a similar, though less rapid, process, with the result that it is doubtful if even a single mediæval toolmark remains on its exterior. The steeple is said to have been repaired in 1601, and in 1608⁵³ 3 yards 10 inches of the highest part of the spire were taken down and rebuilt, while other parts were repaired and new vanes were provided.

In 1604, members of the Maddison family gave a carved credence table to flank the altar and a carved chest to hold the registers, as specified in the canons of 1603 (see appendix E).

In 1617⁵⁴ the feast of St. George was celebrated in the north transept by lord Sheffield, lord president of the council of the north (then in Newcastle) and Knight of the Garter, and it is evident that Newcastle was still regarded as not less suitable than Windsor for this purpose.

In 1620⁵⁵ the children's gallery in the north aisle of the nave was set up (plate XIII), and in the same year sir George Selby moved the earl of Northumberland's cenotaph and built himself a monument there. He left a house in Stockbridge to the churchwardens "soe that they and their successors doe p'vyde that from tyme to

⁵³ Ellison MS.

⁵⁴ Mackenzie, I, 247.

⁵⁵ Ellison MS.

tyme his said tombe be well kept and clean in comelye manner."

In the will of Bulmer Ile,⁵⁶ dated 1638, is a request to be buried "in the south porch (i.e. transept) lately builded of St. Nicholas Church under my own blew stone which I bought from a quarry at the Heugh in Northumberland," and on the west wall of the south transept is the coat of arms of sir Peter Riddell, who was mayor in 1619 and 1635. The work then done consisted of rebuilding the transept aisle, and perhaps the erection of the two very large and well-designed buttresses which formerly flanked the gable, and some reconstruction of the clearstory. Such care has been taken to destroy all traces of this example of the Laudian Gothic revival that it is now impossible to say much about it. Sir W. Brereton praised the condition of the pews and church in 1635, and it is to be regretted that so little work of this period remains.

In the sixteen thirties bishop Morton, under the influence of Laud, ordered the removal of a gallery which obstructed the choir and which actually extended over the top of the altar.⁵⁷ A similar gallery which disfigured All Saints church was only removed after an appeal by the churchwardens, but at St. Nicholas's there was no protest, the vicar Alvey being a leader among the Laudian ecclesiologists. To compensate for the loss of seats some new pews were fitted up in 1635,⁵⁸ probably in the rebuilt south transept. As all the seventeenth century woodwork in the nave has been destroyed it is difficult to be certain that it dated from 1635, as usually stated, and not, in spite of its Jacobean ornamentation, from after the Civil War.

John Fenwick,⁵⁹ who was of their party, boasts that the victorious Scots in 1640 destroyed altars, rails, organs, fonts, books and vestments in all the Newcastle churches,

⁵⁶ *North. Mons.*, quoting Longstaffe's *History of Darlington*, 88.

⁵⁷ Some have supposed that this gallery was the mediæval rood loft, but no rood lofts survived the visitations of bishop Barnes, and if this one had done so Laud would have been rather pleased than otherwise.

⁵⁸ Ellison MS.

⁵⁹ *A.A.*, 2nd ser., XXI, 243.

but he was deceived at St. Nicholas. Poor alderman Milbank⁶⁰ tells us that a certain Cuthbert Maxwell, a mason, saw the iconoclasts smashing up the bowl of the font at St. John's church. Maxwell hurried to St. Nicholas, took its font to pieces and hid them in the vestry, then he went on to All Saints and performed a like service there. The credence table must also have been hidden or removed and the lovely carved boss (plate XVIII) now on the font cover; the cover itself was too big to hide and suffered severely, and the crucifixion panel at the foot of Carr's tomb was quite neatly erased with a chisel and with the minimum of damage to its surroundings.

In 1644, after the second fall of Newcastle, General Leven and staff attended a service of thanksgiving in the church, and in 1645 the steeple was repaired, it having apparently been damaged during the siege, despite a popular legend to the contrary. After the Union of the Crowns the citizens may well have thought they were safe in commemorating four centuries of successful resistance with the motto "*Fortiter defendit triumphans*"; little did they think their town would be taken twice in the next forty years!

In 1651 the pinnacles of the steeple were restored after their destruction in a gale, and in 1656⁶¹ there were further repairs.

In 1666 William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, visited the church and made a very valuable record of its monuments; unfortunately he makes no reference to the armorials on the roofs and omits the stone shields on the walls. After the Restoration of 1660 every effort was made to make good the damage done during the Commonwealth. The font was set up before 1664 by the worthy mason who had saved it twenty years before, and its canopy was restored pretty much in its present form (plate XVII). The nave was arranged as shown on plate XIII, with the pulpit one bay west of the crossing, and finally

⁶⁰ Bourne, 25.

⁶¹ Most of these dates from T. Bell's transcript of case stated for J. Chitty in 1829.

in 1676 a new organ was obtained, the Corporation contributing £300 towards the cost thereof. The chancel screen which supported the organ gallery and is shown on plate XIII was erected at this time, probably from a design by James Clement who was responsible for some similar woodwork in Durham cathedral.⁶² The boss on plate XVI is said to have come from this screen. The balustraded railing which divided the nave into two parts also occurs in West Auckland church, county Durham; it may mark the original boundary of the seating, or may it have some connection with the political and religious divisions of the seventeenth century?

In 1677 there was further expenditure on the steeple, and the Corporation appointed a librarian at a salary of £3 per annum to look after the library above the vestry, which had been bequeathed one hundred volumes in 1661 by alderman John Cosins. (See appendix E.)

In 1683 the churchwardens' accounts commence and are of great assistance in giving the dates of alterations on the fabric. From these we learn that the *flèche* shown above the nave arch at the crossing in old views of the church, was made or remade in 1690-91. It was also in 1690 that the wardens redecorated the choir, painted the monuments red, white and black, and repaired the church porch and the vestry. "This is set down," wrote William Johnson, one of the wardens, "to be a president [*sic*] to those yt succeed us." The church's present dirty drab colour, or lack of colour, must distress Mr. Johnson if his ghost ever revisits "the glimpses of the moon." In 1696 and 1699 the steeple was again repaired at the town's expense; the second date was cut on a stone of the centre spirelet now lying in the nave. Sykes read it "1099" and waxed indignant at what he called an attempt at "misleading the local historian."⁶³

During the seventeenth century an increasing number of mural monuments had been erected, some of them of

⁶² Billings, *Durham Cathedral*, 89.

⁶³ T. Bell collection.

very good design. The wardens took an impartial view of politics: on one monument Lesley is enthusiastically praised, on another he becomes a wicked rebel!

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the gable of the outer south entrance was ornamented with a finial

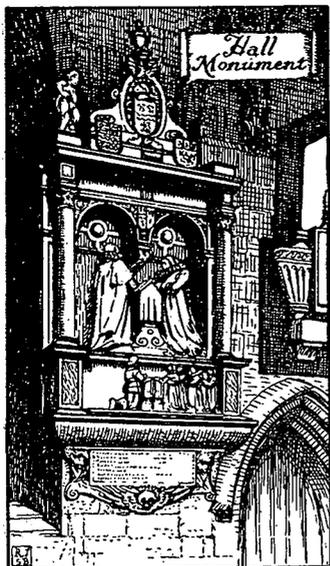


FIG. 16.
MONUMENT.

in the shape of a box sundial: for this three dial plates at 2s. 4d. each were purchased from Nicholas Charleton in 1702. Next year several payments were made "for carrying brass," and Thomas Bell suggests that is why there are now no mediæval brasses in the church. On the other hand, no brasses are referred to by Grey or Dugdale, though at least one "matrix" of a brass remains in the pavement of the church.

Dr. Thomlinson obtained leave in 1705⁶⁴ to set up a gallery "joining to Mr. Alderman Fenwick's gallery" for the use of himself and his family and his successors the "lecturers" of St. Nicholas. These galleries were on the north side of the nave (plate XIII). Four years later "St. George's porch was greatly repaired if not wholly rebuilt." It is rather difficult from the accounts to see exactly what was done; the mayor's door and the two large east windows shown on old views of the eastern aisle of the north transept were certainly inserted, but it is uncertain whether "the arches" to which the accounts make several references were the opening between the aisle and the centre part of the transept and that at its

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

south end, or were the heavy ribs of a vault; a reference to "candles for the drift" may refer either to a crypt or more probably to an excavation for underpinning purposes. The Corporation gave £100 towards the work, £21 2s. 11d. was realized by the sale of old materials and the re-sale of centering and shoring timbers, and the cost of the work was £154 16s. 10½d. The cost included a payment of 6s. 6d. "for carting out rubbish from St. George's Porch" and an item for protecting the organ from dust and for extra cleaning while the work was in progress. The present floor level of the aisle may date from 1710, although five steps above the transept floor it is so far below the sills of the north windows as to suggest the former existence of an undercroft. Indeed it is almost certain that at one time the aisle and the outer half of the transept formed one room, floored at the level of the floor above the charnel chapel.

Important alterations were made to the altar and its surroundings in 1712, most of the cost being borne by the city Corporation, always a generous contributor to schemes for the improvement of the church. £62 were spent on the reredos and screens, £28 for books and velvet over the altar, £38 for a carpet, and £5 on painter work, not to mention one shilling "paid ye masons for drink when working at ye altar." Some time between 1695 and 1721 "a huge head with tongue lolling out" was cut away from the lower part of the north-west pier of the crossing by Dr. Ellison's request. It is difficult to guess its purpose in that position. The nave pillars had been plastered and given moulded cappings (see plate XIII), two bases in the south arcade seem to have been insertions as they project to suit the plastering.

In 1713 and again in 1717 the "expounding pew," or "expounder's desk," was mended, reminding us that at one time pulpit oratory was not thought perfect without a display of physical force! And in 1717 a pillar in the church was rebuilt at a cost of over £60.

In 1721 Thomas Hawdon was paid 3s. for cataloguing

the books in the library. A considerable collection had been gradually acquired, and in 1735 Dr. Robert Thomlinson presented 1,600 volumes and promised a further 3,200 "to be removed thither upon my demise." There was no proper accommodation for these in the room over the old vestry, and the present library with vestries under was erected, as an inscription on it shows, in 1736. In a letter⁶⁵ to the bishop of London, Dr. Thomlinson says "I turn'd my thoughts upon geting a Library Erected for my Books in ye town of Newcastle. After some fruitless attempts my worthy and generous friend Mr. Walter Blackett undertook it, and at his own expence Built a Beautiful Fabrick against ye south wall of ye gt church of St. Nicolas where ye old vestry stood. The Front makes a Handsome appearance, it consists of three Storys in height and above 17 yards in length. . . ." The donor of the building also endowed it with a librarian's salary of £25 per annum.⁶⁶ Four of the choir aisle windows were built up at this time and a dome light inserted to take their place.

About 1730⁶⁷ the Maddison monument was cleaned at Richard Perceval's cost; in 1723 the tower was repaired, and in 1747⁶⁸ a tax on land in the parish was levied to raise funds for repairs—perhaps to the clearstory windows hereafter referred to, or to pay for a rebuilding of the west end of the north aisle of the nave in 1736.

The organ was enlarged in 1710 and part of the present east side of it may date from that time. In 1751⁶⁹ the chancel roof was "greatly in decay," and the patrons, the bishop, dean and chapter of Carlisle, refused to repair it and referred the wardens to their lessee, Mr. Matthew White of Blagdon. In 1753, the roof "having long wanted repairs," Mr. White was appealed to, in vain. When the bishop of Durham visited Newcastle in 1754

⁶⁵ In the society's collection.

⁶⁶ Wallis, II, 224.

⁶⁷ Bourne, 66.

⁶⁸ *A.A.*, 2nd ser., XXIV, 174.

⁶⁹ T. Bell for the following particulars.

Matthew White was "presented" for refusing to repair the chancel roof, but it was admitted that the churchwardens could not afford to conduct a law case against him and ecclesiastical censure had no effect. At last in 1755 all the roofs being out of order, "ye roof in particular of ye chancel is in danger of falling," an eightpenny rate was levied on land in the parish to carry out repairs without admission of liability. The choir roof as then renewed was lowered in pitch so that it no longer fitted the stonework of the east gable—or at least it is so shown on an early nineteenth century view of the church.

In 1740 the King's Arms and the Ten Commandments were set up in the church and decorated with gilding. Shortly after this date the church suffered a very serious loss from the historian's point of view, for Mr. John Rose, who was churchwarden in 1742-43, took home with him the more interesting records and registers of the church and died before returning them.⁷⁰ His widow refused to return them and, aided and abetted by the executors, defied the church authorities. Not till after long negotiations and the payment of a ransom of £10 did the wardens, in 1762, get back the books, or such of them as Mrs. Rose had not lost in the meantime. Many documents said to have been quoted in Dr. Ellison's manuscript must have disappeared about this time.

The churchyard had no boundary except the surrounding houses, some of which encroached upon it, till 1761, when by public subscription a "neat and handsome"⁷¹ brick wall, surmounted by a wood paling, was set up nearly on the line of the present railing. It may have been about this time that all the clearstory windows had their stone tracery replaced by wood sashes and diamond panes under segmental arched heads. Certainly in 1764 all the windows were repaired, and the restoration of those in the north choir aisle concluded with the window above Selby's monument. As restored, the aisle windows were of three

⁷⁰ T. Bell collection.

⁷¹ Wallis, II, 225.

lights with simple intersecting cusped tracery similar to that in the nave. In the same year the chancel was repainted a stone colour "as shall be approved by Dr. Brown." In 1761 a new clock, by Walker of Newcastle, was inserted in the ringers' chamber of the tower.

The steeple was repaired in 1754 and again in 1777, and considering what its upkeep has cost the town and how little mediæval workmanship survives in it, one cannot read without a smile the words of Major Harry Barnes written in 1925:⁷² "I do not know the name of the master mason who achieved it. I do not know that anyone is in possession of that information, but whoever he was he wrought a miracle when he set those stones in such equipoise upon each other." It is fair to add that the designer lived before the invention of "change ringing" and never dreamt of the strains to which his work is exposed. The repairs of 1777 were in charge of a Mr. Wooler, who provided for the first time the safeguard of a lightning conductor.

On Sunday, the 21st July, 1771, there was no service in the church "as a part of the west end had been taken down and was then rebuilding." This probably refers to the western end of the north aisle of the nave and its doorway, so severely criticized by Mackenzie as "incongruous and unpleasing."

In 1782⁷³ sir George Selby's vault was advertised for sale, "reserving the right to inter the present owner therein"; but presumably his monument was still kept clean as required by his will.

The church was now weathertight and in tolerably good repair; internally it was full of interesting bits of craftsmanship; furniture, monuments, hatchments of deceased benefactors of the parish, objects of beauty and of historic interest. A record of local ecclesiology and genealogy through five centuries. But were its parishioners pleased with it? Not at all! They were as anxious to pull it

⁷² *The Architects' Journal*, 8th July, 1925, vol. LXII, no. 1592.

⁷³ Richardson, *T.B.*, II, 284.

down and rebuild it as any of their thirteenth and fourteenth century ancestors had been! The new (and afterwards absentee) vicar, the rev. J. S. Lushington, perhaps encouraged them, at any rate in 1783 the churchwardens decided to make a clean sweep of the interior and start afresh. They got plans from William Newton, the architect of the Assembly Rooms, and called a parish meeting in the vestry. The meeting was enthusiastic; 400 guineas were subscribed at once (in all £1,210 were obtained), and a committee of thirty gentlemen was elected to help the wardens. The thirty were not all admirers of Newton, and plans were advertised for, schemes being submitted by John Dodds, who destroyed the nave of Long Benton church in 1790,⁷⁴ and David Stephenson, later a member of the council of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries,⁷⁵ who demolished All Saints church, Newcastle, in 1786. The committee being equally divided, Newton and Stephenson were appointed joint architects, an arrangement which did not work very well. The nave was cleared of all its furniture, re-paved, probably at a higher level, and made available for interments, the font being placed in the north transept, the pulpit laid aside, and the pews sold, many of them to the Presbyterian chapel in Mirk (St. Mark's) lane, Gateshead, where they were cut, painted, and placed in the gallery. The seats of the choir stalls were used to fit up the south transept as a morning chapel with a separate entrance in a porch formed out of the aisle on its west side. Other woodwork was removed. Monuments whose families claimed them were allotted positions in the nave. The choir floor was levelled and all the non-mural monuments, including Selby's, were taken out and sold, many of them to Christopher Blackett, postmaster, for the foundations of his house in Mosley street. The bones they had guarded were turned out in order to lower the floor and were added to the neat piles in the "chanel house," as the chapel under the north transept, to which

⁷⁴ But not the choir, *pace* the *N.C.H.*, vol. XIII.

⁷⁵ *Sed quis custodiet custodias?*

a brick-walled pantile roofed penthouse was added, was called. Mayors and vicars, merchant adventurers and men of law, Horsley the founder of the Grammar School, and Gray its first headmaster, the churchwardens with impartial hand condemned all to the same oblivion.

“ There servants, masters, small and great, partake the same repose;
And there, in peace, the ashes mix of those who once were foes.”⁷⁶

The knightly effigy in the south transept had its pedestal cut back to suit the new wainscot there and was also to be cast out, but it was spared on the earnest entreaty of Mr. Fisher, the parish clerk. His name ought to be held in grateful remembrance. *Esto perpetua!* If ever a list of benefactors is set up in the church the names of Fisher and Maxwell should be as eligible for admission as those of Embleton and Rodes.

The old wrought iron screens and grills from chapels and monuments were sold as scrap metal to Mr. Gilfrid Ward for £4 17s. 6d., which was spent on a churchwardens' feast. There is a little satisfaction in knowing that the expenditure was disallowed with the exception of £1 os. 6d., and had to be refunded!

The church was reopened in 1785. The “ school ” or children's gallery, dating from 1620, had been moved into the north transept and turned to face the choir north aisle. The organ had been turned round and its gallery entirely renewed and supported on rather pretty clustered columns of stone. The altar had been moved back to the east gable and the choir had been provided with a pulpit and filled with pews, the Corporation or “ Mayor's ” pew being placed opposite the pulpit in the middle of the north side of the centre passage and raised above its neighbours. Full particulars of the number of sittings provided and of the arrangements for strangers and for those who could not afford to buy or rent a pew will be found in Thomas Bell's scrap-book in the Society of Antiquaries library. All seats

⁷⁶ Job iii. 17-20.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS



were not made free until 1922.⁷⁷ The roofs did not escape attention and were ornamented with a number of new bosses painted with the armorials of the higher clergy and of subscribers to the work. The stonework of the choir windows was renewed, except one and a half in the south aisle and three in the north aisle, which remained built up and plastered over.

In 1788 Brand in his *History of Newcastle* describes the crown spire as being built of different stone from the tower and thinks the brickwork then strengthening the parapet had been introduced when the crown was built. He records that the north transept window was in such decay that it was partly built up and partly supported by an internal framework of timber. In 1790 the principal vane of the steeple was blown down and the stone in which it was fixed: and in 1792 "an arch in the chancel over the mayor's pew" threatened to collapse, and "as the danger admitted no delay" the church authorities ordered Mr. David Stephenson to have it repaired. Five years later £15 16s. 3d. was raised by subscription towards the balance still due to him for this work! In 1792 the font cover was sent to "Richard Farrington the Carver," whose "Bill for mending the Cover of the Font" amounted to two guineas. It is uncertain whether the removal of the font to the north transept took place at this time or on an earlier date. As restored, the cover was fixed on slender wooden pillars above the font, and the font was so used till 1805, when a silver christening basin, costing £14 15s., supplanted it till 1844, when the font was placed in the nave.

By 1795 the city Corporation had agreed to repair the lantern and make good the damage done in 1790. Under Stephenson's superintendence the stonework was patched with cement and secured with iron cramps, certain parts were covered with lead, and the whole was painted. A new top vane made by Thomas Hunt, tinman and brazier, was erected, "the length of which between the extreme points

⁷⁷ *Cathedral Blotter.*

was 7 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the plate itself 2 feet by 1 foot 8 inches, the diameter of the hole where it traverses upon the spindle $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the weight 5 stones and 10 pounds." His grace the duke of Norfolk ascended into the lantern while the work was in progress, and paid his footing with a gift of two guineas to the workmen.⁷⁸

In 1798⁷⁹ the pulpit and lectern were removed to a position directly in front of the altar and facing westwards, a somewhat unorthodox place for the pulpit, though of course the lectern had stood in the choir before the reformation.

On the 31st of March, 1801, the *London Courier* published a circumstantial and detailed account of the destruction of the lantern and its supports during a gale. The report seems to have been a 1st of April joke, but it indicates that the safety of the steeple was still a matter of public anxiety.

In 1809 the mutilated mediæval royal hall, used as a moot hall, in the Castle Garth was demolished, and till 1811 the assizes were held (as they had been in the thirteenth century) in the church. One court was provided for in the south transept and the other "in the cloisters," which probably means either the north aisle of the nave or the arcaded space under the great organ gallery in the crossing.⁸⁰ Also in 1809 the old oak pulpit, which was neglected and covered with dust, was removed with other relics from the church by alderman Joseph Foster, and erected, minus one "pillar" which had to be taken off, in the "chapel" of the castle keep,⁸¹ then restored by the Corporation and opened to the public at a charge of one shilling per head for admission. In 1811 a perfect stone coffin was found only 6 inches below the surface of the pavement before the south doorway. In 1813, the year in which our society was founded, the sum of £3,000 was spent on repairing the roofs, then "in such a state of decay as to render it a

⁷⁸ Richardson, *T.B.*, II, 373.

⁷⁹ Mackenzie, I, 246.

⁸⁰ Richardson, *T.B.*, III, 90, and Newsom, 19.

⁸¹ T. Bell collection.

matter of astonishment how the immense weight of lead covering has been supported!"⁸² In the same year the *Gentleman's Magazine* published an engraving of the steeple and an excellent description by "W. X." from which we learn that the font was still in the north transept, the courts of justice sat in the nave, and the only surviving ancient window tracery was in the north transept, "now a lumber place and separated from the Church by a modern uncouth partition." W. X. also states the belfry windows have "rather a flat-pointed arch (characteristic of the time of its erection)" and that the arches of the crown are "cut into mouldings," neither of which features have survived restoration, but he may have been mistaken. Shortly afterwards "An Architect" wrote to the same periodical that "a deep drain has been recently made so close to the steeple as to have caused the foundation to give way, by which a considerable crack has been occasioned, which in my humble opinion endangers its safety daily." He was right, and that was a very expensive sewer to the town. However, instead of repairing the tower the danger was officially denied, and it was considered more important to surround the church with an iron railing on a stone wall instead of the previous brick wall and wooden palisade. This work progressed slowly and was not completed till 1832.

In 1814 the sum of £500 was spent on the organ, and in 1818 repairs to the building were in progress when sir Mathew White Ridley presented a painting of our Lord washing the disciples' feet, by Tintoretto, and measuring 17 feet by 7 feet, to hang over the altar, but before 1863 it had been removed to the south transept. In 1820 the vicar took pity on the effigy in the south aisle of the nave and restored it to the south transept, placing it on a new stone pedestal in front of the reading desk which blocked its former site. In the same year the company of Hostmen subscribed ten guineas "for preserving an ancient window in Saint Nicholas Church." (Surtees Soc., CV, 219.)

⁸² *Tyne Mercury*, 19th June, 1813.

In March, 1823, a gale blew three vanes off the steeple and demolished the unfortunate north transept gable window, which had already required the support of flying shores from another building, and John Dobson was called in to report. Dobson was a great classic architect of very refined taste who on the one occasion when he dared to forget the precepts of sir William Gell designed a real masterpiece, the old entrance to the gaol in Carliol Square recently destroyed.

"Oh be his grave as lead to lead
Upon its dull destroyer's head!"

But where Gothic buildings were concerned Dobson was rather a destroyer himself, for of mediæval architecture he possessed only that "little knowledge" which is so dangerous when applied to the restoration of an ancient monument. The transept gable was almost entirely rebuilt during 1824, the small windows which lit the charnel chapel were closed up, and the chapel itself only spared by request of the vicar, the rev. John Smith. The bones of the forefathers were cleared out, the brick penthouse was demolished, and the crypt divided into two parts, one entered by a segmental arched doorway from the churchyard and the other from St. George's porch by a new opening and flight of steps. The north gable of the little chantry was altered, the west window of the transept restored, but without its unique transome, and a stone chimney terminating in three pots was corbelled out from the west wall of the transept. The church as thus altered is shown in a painting by John Wilson done between 1825 and 1834. The vicar had stipulated that the new gable window must be a copy of that it replaced, but Dobson thought he knew better and "improved" not only its details but its proportions. During the demolition of the north gable a twelfth century stone carved with a grotesque head was found which had been reversed and used as ashlar by the fourteenth century builders. At the same time internal alterations were made, and the little

chantry was enclosed to form a robing room for the magistrates.⁸³ The present floor levels date from this period—if not from 1710.

During the "Radical" scare of 1819 or the great strike of keelmen in 1822 the castle keep was commandeered by the military authorities and used as a barracks. The vicar, seizing this opportunity to recover the old pulpit, begged it from the Corporation and sent it to Sparkes the joiner's yard to be prepared for reinstatement in the church. The loose pillar he incorporated in a "couch" made up of bits of old oak from houses in Newcastle. After his death in 1826 the couch was bought by the Corporation and placed in the old Mansion House in the Close, but the pulpit's movements are unknown until its reincarnation in the shape of a sideboard belonging to sir R. S. Hawks;⁸⁴ it is now somewhere in Yorkshire.

In 1826 the clock dials were re-gilt and for the first time provided with minute hands made by William Tweedy, clockmaker; a year later a full-length figure of Christ in stained glass, made by John Gibson of Newcastle after a painting by William Dixon after a statue by Michael Angelo, was inserted in the new east window at the Corporation's expense, replacing a "modern" representation of the same subject which had been hidden behind the woodwork of 1783. The whole window was to have been filled with coloured glazing, but apparently only this one panel was carried out, and it had got badly cracked before 1841. Gibson also filled three lights with stained glass in the south transept window.

In 1827 one of the pinnacles of the steeple was observed to totter when the bells were rung. On examination it was found that "the lead coverings having been stripped by the wind" the iron cramps inserted in 1795 had rusted and fractured the stonework, while the cement fillings had perished. "New copper cramps were inserted and Roman

⁸³ Mackenzie, Bell, etc., for the above, and for the following Bell, Mackenzie and McQuillen.

⁸⁴ See appendix E and McQuillen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

cement filling where required . . . small pinnacles renewed in mason work, vanes repaired and regilt." While the work was in progress, John Sykes, of *Local Records* fame, visited the lantern as already noted.

In 1829 the clock face was first illuminated by gas light, and in the same year "the large Sounding Board, and Cover, placed over the pulpit in St. Nicholas church, was removed, and the whole contracted to its present Tub-like shape: an Improvement suggested by one of our itinerant Orators who soon afterwards had the Sounding Board . . . in St. John's Church also removed." A table now in the vestry was made from the old sounding board. Next year the churchwardens resumed possession of the strangers' pew, no. 90, which had been recently used by the Corporation to the exclusion of the persons for whom it was intended.

In 1831 Major George Anderson, a generous benefactor of Newcastle churches, left £500 for a new bell. He had reason to think kindly of the bells of St. Nicholas for they rang merrily to celebrate his return from gaol, where he had been incarcerated for pulling the nose of town clerk Clayton!

The work of repair to the steeple went on slowly while Corporation and churchwardens argued about liability. The scaffolding erected in 1827 was still standing in 1829, and in that year the wardens had a case stated for the opinion of J. Chitty, 6 Chancery lane. Therein they mention that "the Belfry windows are now so very much out of repair, that it is dangerous to ring the Bells lest the stone Mullions of the Windows, which are in a very decayed and rotten state, should fall down. . . ." The tower continued to crack and to tilt southwards until it was fully 10 inches off the perpendicular.⁸⁵ In 1832 reports were obtained from John Dobson and also from John Green.⁸⁶ Dobson proposed to underpin the tower itself at

⁸⁵ The inclination is noticeable if one stands in the Groat Market and observes the tower in line with the south-west corner of the Town Hall.

⁸⁶ Boyle, *op. cit.*, also T. Bell collection.

an estimated cost of £1,200, insert binding courses of cube stones from pillar to pillar, and introduce iron tie rods at several different points in the superstructure, particularly in the tower and south arcade of the nave, the westmost arch of which seems to have been restored at this time. Green proposed to erect new western transepts as buttresses to the tower and make them the starting points for a complete refacing of the church in the perpendicular style of Gothic architecture. Ultimately it was agreed that Dobson should be the Corporation's architect and preserve the tower at the joint expense of church and town, and that, to satisfy the public clamour for visible buttresses, Green's scheme should then proceed at the church's cost.

During the underpinning several stone coffins were found just under the pavement on the west side of the tower, proving that the churchyard had formerly extended over what is now St. Nicholas street. In 1833 the churchwardens being already £1,000 in debt for their share of the work at the tower—the foundations had turned out to be in a worse state than was expected—and having been refused a parish rate, called a public meeting and appealed for funds. There was a quick and generous response, so much so that in 1834 the work, which had commenced on the south side, was continued on the north, and finally in 1836 the west window was rebuilt and the tower entrance doorway reconstructed. Most of the Greens' work (for John was joined by his son Benjamin, a pupil of Pugin *père*) was bolder and coarser in detail than Dobson's, and their share of St. Nicholas is no exception. It can also be easily distinguished by the good weathering quality of its stone, the curious "pointed" finish of the ashlar and the enormously long slabs of which the ashlar is composed. They took down the old church porch and replaced it by the present very massively built south-west transept and high buttresses: refaced the adjoining bay of the south aisle: and entirely renewed the Bewick porch, replacing all its ancient details by pseudo fifteenth century ones and reducing the thickness of its walls. Its east window

had been partly blocked by the erection of Bailey's monument to Calverley Bewick, and on this side the Greens built a dummy window with tracery on the outside only. Next they demolished the west end of the north aisle and erected a north-west transept similar to, but much less substantial than, the south-west one, refaced the entire north aisle in the perpendicular style, rebuilt the little chantry so that its windows and parapet would line with those of the aisle, enlarged—perhaps in conjunction with Dobson—the arches from the tower into the western transepts, built up the octagonal stair turret in the south-east corner of the tower, and provided a new stair to the ringers' chamber from the north jamb of the west doorway. The date 1844 on one of the bosses of the choir roof suggest that they reconstructed that too: and they may have moved the Corporation pew from the centre into the north aisle of the choir in 1839 and designed the new pulpit and reredos introduced in 1844. Doubtless in time they would have rebuilt the whole church, but fortunately the "hungry forties" interfered with the supply of funds,⁸⁷ and death removed John Green in 1852 and his son in 1858.

The deaths of the Greens left the way open for the return of Dobson, now in his seventies but still an incorrigible "improver." He rebuilt the east gable in 1859, with a single enormous window instead of the two it originally held. This did not meet with the entire approval of our society, and at the September meeting Dobson gave a not very convincing apologia for his scheme. Apparently "the stonework was not in good condition"; the church authorities wished the new gable to be "Decorated," and the architect took credit for having instead adhered to the "Perpendicular" style of the original if not to its form. The restoration of the choir stonework proceeded, and in the next few years all the choir windows, except those done in 1783, were restored and many of them reglazed with stained glass, including the very interesting "Chemist's

⁸⁷ The public also may have begun to realize that the money obtained in too large quantity for "preservation" by the cry of "save the church" was really being spent on destruction of ancient work.

window" in the south aisle, made by Wailles and in its naïve treatment the most truly mediæval in spirit of all the modern glass in the church.

In 1863 the author of the *Daily Journal's Guide to Newcastle* wrote that the tower needed repair, "it being hazardous to ring a full peal owing to the dilapidated state of the belfry masonwork. Mr. Dobson has prepared a specification for its restoration, the present condition of the beautiful steeple being quite dangerous. It is not uncommon, in boisterous weather, to see a group anxiously watching the steeple, which they declare may be seen swaying to and fro with the wind." But Dobson died, in January, 1865, and when in 1867 the north side of the tower, lacking the buttresses promised in 1832, began to subside, it was sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A., who underpinned it and rebuilt crown and lantern, restoring them to the vertical so that they are no longer quite in the same line as the tower, and introducing a couple of lattice girders to supplement the old oak beams which tie the corner pinnacles together and which were connected to them by straps in 1827. In 1871 he re-opened and renewed the windows on the east side of the south transept, restored the south transept gable, removed its fine buttresses (subsequent events have proved they were by no means unnecessary) and built smaller ones imitated from those on its east side. Between 1872 and 1877 he fitted up the nave with pews and pulpit, removed the organ gallery, gutted the choir, refaced the eastern bays of the south aisle of the nave, completed the refacing of the clearstories which may have been begun by Dobson, removed Dobson's chimney turret, completed the restoration of the choir, made designs for new choir fittings and screens, and stripped the interior of nearly all its plaster and all its painted decoration. In time he might have turned the whole church into a very passable reproduction of a "Decorated" one, but in 1878⁸⁸ death and "want of funds" again came to the rescue of St. Nicholas. The

⁸⁸ As different dates have been assigned to Scott's death, it may be noted that the correct date was 28th March, 1878.

date 1877 was lately traceable on the cast-iron rainwater pipe heads forming part of Scott's restoration, which had cost £21,400 besides £8,368 spent on the steeple. Perhaps the most commendable part of the work was the thorough cleaning of the monuments, including the Maddison monument then taken from the choir to its present dark corner in the south transept; but either then or in 1859 the last remains of Carr's tomb were removed and the headless effigy of his wife presented to our museum. Scott was a great organizer rather than a great artist; the church of England kept him so busily employed that he had little time to spare for individual jobs, and in any case it is doubtful if he would have given himself to the work in the way that G. E. Street and W. Burges did: however, he lived longer than they did.

After Scott's death the church fabric had rest for a while and the churchwardens and clergy worked off their superfluous energy at the expense of the organ. Its gallery having been removed, a new position had to be found for the instrument. Scott had wished to place it in the space between the south choir aisle, the vestry and the south transept, but unfortunately this was not done, and the organ was placed in the north transept, where it grew bigger and bigger till it quite blocks up what must have been at one time the most beautiful part of the church. In 1878 a committee was appointed to raise funds for a new organ; in 1881 the old organ (but not its case) was sold to the rev. J. A. Sharrock for his church in Stockton, and in 1882 a new organ by messrs. Lewis & Co. of London was fitted up, but without a case. The present case was erected mainly through a donation of £500 from lord Armstrong ten years later, and some portions of the old case are incorporated in it in a very ingenious manner.⁸⁹

In 1882⁹⁰ Newcastle again became a bishopric, Dr. Wilberforce being enthroned as its first bishop on the 3rd of August. In 1883 a public meeting was held and a

⁸⁹ See appendix E.

⁹⁰ McQuillen, *op. cit.*, p. 52, gives the Order in Council.

committee appointed to carry out the refitting of the choir, for which R. J. Johnson, whose Dame Allan's school is one of the most beautiful modern secular buildings in Newcastle, was commissioned to prepare designs. During the next ten years the following fittings were provided: reredos, choir stalls, chancel screens, rood screen, pulpit, bishop's throne, sedilia, altar furniture, alms dish and mace. It is estimated that the woodwork contains about 970,000 cusps besides a shrubbery of crockets and a garden-full of "Tudor flowers," all made by hand. The side screens and stall backs were set under instead of in front of the aisle arches and, as the floor is much above its former level, this has made things very uncomfortable for certain of the large "angels ever eager eyed" seated above the cresting, some of them have even been docked of a wing—a very unkind thing to do to any heavenly messenger! It is nothing less than tragic that the genius of Johnson, the skill of Ralph Hedley and the sum of £20,000 should have been expended on work of this kind.

In 1885-6 Dr. Thomlinson's books were removed to the Central Public Library and a new door copied from the old vestry door was made to give access to the staircase leading to the upper story of the vestry and library building, and in 1887 the "middle porch" behind the reredos was fitted up as a "Chapel of the Incarnation" and Tintoretto's painting hangs there now with its back to the high altar. In the same year the vicar appealed for funds for a new ring of bells, and ultimately a new clock bell and a peal of ten very excellent bells⁹¹ was provided, founded by Taylor of Loughborough, and was first used in 1892; but they soon began to shake the lantern to pieces, and this reviving the old question of liability for upkeep of the steeple, a fresh legal opinion was obtained and confirmed that given in 1829. The resultant argument lasted till 1895, when, after the bells had been for a time silent,⁹² a return to the *status quo*

⁹¹ See appendix D.

⁹² *Proc.*, 2nd ser., VII, 117, and V, 35 and 156.

ante bellum was agreed to, the Corporation undertaking to maintain the steeple above the belfry floor level and the church authorities to repair the ringers' chamber and the tower from that point downwards.

In the nineteenth century many monuments were placed on the walls of the church; these show a progressive degeneration from the refinement of the earlier examples until near the end of the century when some recovery is visible. The earlier ones are well represented in Welford's book⁹³ and were once considered one of the glories of the church. The Calverley Bewick monument, by Bailey from a design by Theed, was particularly admired, and the Askew cenotaph, of which M. A. Richardson says, "In the centre of this very beautiful Monument is displayed an altar or pedestal, surmounted by an urn, in which are supposed to be deposited the ashes of the deceased, and on its exterior their profile likenesses are admirably sculptured in basso relievo. On the left of the altar is an exquisite female figure, illustrative of Gratitude, in the act of directing two beautiful children, a male and a female, who occupy the front, bearing wreaths of flowers, to present them to Benevolence, who is represented on the right of the urn, which she embraces with one arm, and with the other enwreaths it with the children's offering. Near this figure a Pelican is discovered with her young, deriving nourishment from the parent's 'Bosom's vital stream.' A Dove, emblematic of innocence, nestles at the children's feet; and a Stork, whose filial tenderness and watchful affection render its introduction peculiarly appropriate, is seen to the left of Gratitude." But a monument may be better with too much meaning than too little, like Flaxman's absurdly classic memorial to sir M. White Ridley (*obit* 1813), the deceased represented in fancy dress as a Roman senator and, as seen from some points of view, apparently trying to balance an oval tea tray on his head!

The twentieth century has not been behindhand in

⁹³ See appendix F.

improvements and alterations to the cathedral and its surroundings. In 1900 the site of the almshouse in Nether Dene bridge was cleared and a block of offices erected as a speculation by the cathedral authorities at a cost of £31,500. The building was designed by R. J. Leeson and is an unusually pleasing and picturesque piece of work of the kind.

In 1916 the earl of Northumberland's porch or east end of the north choir aisle was fitted up as a "Chapel of the Resurrection"; its altar is believed to be of seventeenth century date and its graceful curtain posts were carved by Belgian refugees⁹⁴ who came over here in 1914 just as their ancestors had perhaps done after the famine of 1314.

In 1926 the church received its most important addition since 1736. A new block of buildings, comprising a parish hall and other useful accommodation, being erected from designs by messrs. Wood and Oakley on the north side of the choir. The new work, which cost £13,000, groups very pleasantly with the old, but its chief feature of interest is the decorated ceiling of the great hall. The effect of this is so good that the dingy state of the church itself becomes more noticeable than ever when one passes from one building into the other.

In 1929 the dummy window erected in 1832 on the east side of the Bewick porch was made into a real one, and the monument⁹⁵ of Calverley Bewick removed to a quite undeservedly bad position in St. George's porch in order that the Bewick porch might be fitted up as the "Chapel of St. Margaret." It was amusing to read in the local press allusions to "this 500 years old chapel," not one visible stone of which is more than a century old and which bears no likeness in anything but area to its mediæval predecessor!

In 1930 the roof was again reported to be in danger, this time from beetles; scaffolding was erected and an

⁹⁴ Newsom, *op. cit.*, 6.

⁹⁵ For *this* monument's state no blame attaches to "the Scots" and "the Puritans," whom local historians so often present in the rôle of the landlady's cat!

examination made, and a sum of £30,000 was mentioned as necessary to make the roof safe. This work is in good hands, messrs. Hicks & Charlewood being the architects, assisted by sir Frank Baines, the designer of one of the largest office buildings in London. "To-day," says A. R. Powys,⁹⁶ "the guardians of ancient roofs can be frightened into making drastic and expensive renewals by the very mention of this insect" (the beetle), and it is possible that some of the defects of these roofs will be found to be of long standing and due to movements of the walls before they were tied with iron bands last century.

In 1931 the cast-iron down-pipes and heads dated 1877 were removed and replaced by lead pipes and heads dated 1931. At the same time two fine old sheet-lead heads⁹⁷ with applied cast ornaments, dated 1736, were removed from the old library to the south transept. At the present time (July, 1931) an engine-house to accommodate the organ-blower is being built on the west side of the north transept; this will allow the charnel chapel to be re-opened. Let us hope it will not be called "St. Katherine's chapel" to the forgetting of its original purpose, for these *carnaria* are now very rare.

The South African and European wars of the early twentieth century led to the erection of several additional monuments, of which the finest is the County War Memorial, erected in 1922 from designs by W. H. Wood. It takes the form of a wainscoting to the lower part of the west wall of the tower and is very well detailed, cusps and crockets, though present, being much less obtrusive than those in the choir stallwork and the effect being notably improved by some touches of colour.

And so we end, as we began in the twelfth century, with memories of wars. All the time Newcastle, founded as a military post, maintains its economic connection with belligerency. In time of war money is made, when peace comes it is spent and the church is literally edified; then

⁹⁶ A. R. Powys, *The Repair of Ancient Buildings*, 123.

⁹⁷ See sketch by Mr. Greenhow in *Proceedings*, 4th ser., V, 40.

comes another war at home or abroad, and so *da capo*. Thus does architectural history reveal cultured Athene as ever the spendthrift heiress of the rough God of War!

APPENDIX A.

THE ALTARS.

"Some call't the Altar, some the Holy Table:
The name I stick not at;
Whether't be this or that,
I care not much, so that I may be able
Truly to know
Both why it is and may be called so."

—HARVEY.

It is a mistake to suppose that the altars endowed with perpetual chantries (see appendix B) were the only altars in St. Nicholas besides the high altar in the choir. There were other altars, and these were supported by confraternities or religious guilds (see appendix C), by trade and craft guilds, by temporary chantries, and by the gifts of worshippers in the church.

Our information about these altars and their sites is derived mainly from references in wills; in documents referring to the foundation of chantries; and in two rather more comprehensive sources, the three lists of chantries prepared in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and the Avignon indulgence obtained by John Chamber and Gilbert Duxfield in 1359. Some hints as to sites can also be obtained from descriptions of the fragments of stained glass formerly in certain of the windows.

Of these sources the only one calling for special notice here is the Avignon indulgence. In the fourteenth century Avignon was fortified by the popes, and one of the means adopted for meeting this and other expenditure during their residence there, was the sale of indulgences to the pious promoters of church building and endowment schemes in order to benefit their supporters. The indulgences were all alike in essentials, but with two adaptable portions, one containing the queer names and outlandish sees of the bishops whose seals were attached to the parchment, and the other giving the feasts of the saints whose altars and relics were set up in the particular church referred to. If the latter were not known to the clerk he merely wrote *et in omnibus aliis festis Sanctorum et Sanctarum quorum seu quarum reliquie vel altaria in dicta habentur ecclesia*.¹ In the case of St. Nicholas, however, the

¹ As in the indulgence procured by sir John Trejago in 1335 for St. Michael Penkevel, Cornwall. G. E. Street in *R.I.B.A. Trans.*, 2nd ser., V, 219.

full list is given, so we know that in addition to the standard equipment of altars for a parish church there was, or was intended shortly to be, accommodation there for the worship of the following saints—not necessarily at separate altars²—SS. Stephen, Lawrence, George, Martin, Denis, Blaise, Mary Magdalen, Katherine, Agatha, and Margaret. I give them in the ungallant order of the original, of the whole of which a not entirely correct transcript will be found on page 244 of Brand's *History of Newcastle*, vol. I.

It is difficult to be sure of the sites of the various altars, and this is unfortunate as there has latterly been a tendency towards the multiplication of altars at St. Nicholas, and it will be rather indecorous if this involves a sort of "general post" or even a game of "musical chairs" among the saints anciently held in honour there. In the following list there are many uncertainties, some of which may, I hope, be cleared up by other students of the subject.

ST. AGATHA. Feast day mentioned in the Avignon indulgence. Site unknown.

"Saint Agathae defendes thy house, from fire and fearefull flame."

ST. ANNE. Site unknown. Possessed a chantry valued at £4 6s. 5d. net in 1548.

"Saint Anne gives wealth and living great, to such as love hir most,
And is a perfitte finder out of things that have been lost."

ST. BLAISE. Feast mentioned in the indulgence. Patron of the wool-combers who perhaps supported his altar. Site unknown.

"Then followeth good sir Blase, who doth a waxen Candell give,
And holy water to his men, whereby they safely live.
Blase drives away the quinsey quight, with water sanctifide,
From every Christian creature here, and every beast beside."

THE HOLY CROSS. Probably on the rood loft.

ST. CUTHBERT. An important altar, but not mentioned in 1359. At least one perpetual chantry (by Thomas Herrington and William Redmarshall in 1392)³ was founded at it, and in 1548 its income of £6 9s. placed it among the four best endowed chantry altars. Site unknown, but apparently either in the new choir or the south transept.

ST. DIONYSIUS OR DENIS. Feast day mentioned in the indulgence. Site unknown.

² Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral*, plan, shows how in the chapel of the nine altars there were dedications to fourteen saints.

³ *Patent Rolls*, Rolls ser., Rich. II, vol. V, p. 181. For other references to dates of foundation see appendix B.

ST. ELOY, ELIGIUS, OR ELGY. Patron of goldsmiths. Site unknown. Not mentioned in the indulgence, but a chantry was founded at this altar by Robert Castle in 1338.⁴

“ And Loye the Smith doth looke to horse, and smithes of all degree,

If they with Iron meddle here, or if they Golde-smithes bee.”

ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE. Robert Symondsete was warden of the chantry at this altar in the reign of Richard II.⁵ Site unknown.

SS. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND JOHN THE APOSTLE. A document of 1332 quoted by Bourne (p. 59) says of this, *ad altare boreale*. Hence it was probably the altar of the original north chapel or transept. Its position in the present cluster of chapels called latterly “ St. George’s Porch ” is not so clear; it cannot have stood on the terrace above the charnel chapel or there could have been no burials in it. Chantries were founded at this important altar in 1333 and 1349(?) and it was one of the four best endowed in the church.

James Lawson was to be buried “ within the porche of Saynt John ” in 1542.⁶ The company of Barber-Surgeons maintained a light before the altar of St. John Baptist, or at least resolved to do so in October, 1442.⁷

ST. KATHERINE. A popular and well endowed altar. Chantries were founded or augmented at it in 1318, 22, 23, 27, 31, 44, 79. The only clue to its position apart from the fact that it was probably in a structural chapel of some importance is in the will of Peter Bewick, who in 1538 wished to lie “ afore Saint Katheryne chapell in Sainct Nicholas Church.” This Peter was father of Peter Bewick of Close House, whose family after the reformation acquired the south chapel of the nave, or “ Bewick Porch,” as their burial place, and this may have been St. Katherine’s chapel. William Bewick also desired “ to be buriede within Sainte Nicholas church before Saynte Katheren alter as nigh my mother’s grave as maye be conveni-entle ” (Surtees Soc. CXII. 8.)

“ Saint Cathern favours learned men, and gives theme wisdome hye:

And teacheth to resolve the doubttes, and always giveth ayde,
Unto the scolding sophister, to make his reason stayde.”

ST. GEORGE. This altar seems to have stood in the eastern aisle of the north transept, whence the name, “ St. George’s porch,”

⁴ Henry VIII’s commissioners, quoted by Brand, I, 261, but the licence in the *Patent Rolls* reads as if Castle’s chantry were at the altar of St. Thomas, and the commissioners admit that the foundation charter was lost or “ imbecilled away long syns.”

⁵ *Patent Rolls*, Rolls ser., Rich. II, vol. IV, p. 199.

⁶ Surtees Soc., CXVI, 180.

⁷ McQuillen, *op. cit.*, 17.

gradually extended to include the whole of this projecting part of the church. The company of drapers claimed St. George's porch as their meeting place,⁸ and had their pews in or near it after the reformation, so they had probably supported his altar. In the sixteenth century Thomas Heron desired to be buried "in a porch called St. George's porch."⁹

"Thy office, George, is onely here, the horseman to defende,

Great Kinges and Noble men with pompe, on thee doe still attende."

- ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND ST. EDMUND THE MARTYR. The arms of these two saints occurred in one of the east windows of the east aisle of the north transept, and hence one reason for its alternative name of "the kings porch."
- ST. LAWRENCE. Feast mentioned in 1359. Stood in the east aisle of the north transept, if we may judge from his figure formerly in one of the east windows.¹⁰
- ST. MARGARET. Feast mentioned in 1359, and a chantry was founded at this altar in 1394, when it was described as being *in parte australi in ecclesia Sancte Nicholai*. It must therefore have stood either in the south aisle of the choir or in the south transept, or, less probably, in the south aisle of the nave or the south chapel, afterwards called "the Bewick porch." But the latter might have been described (as it actually was by Dugdale) as *ex parte australi* not *in*.
- ST. MARTIN. Patron of saddlers. Feast mentioned in 1359, but site unknown.
- ST. MARY MAGDALEN. Feast mentioned in 1359. Site unknown.
- ST. MARY THE VIRGIN. Curiously enough there is no mention of any feast of St. Mary the Virgin in the indulgence of 1359, but her altar existed before 1305, when Peter Graper gave 2s. a year to *capellano celebranti divina ad altare Beatæ Mariæ Virginis in Ecclesia Beatæ Nicholai de Novo Castro*. A chantry was founded at it by a benefactor whose name was unknown to Henry VIII's commissioners, and a second chantry by George Carr in 1500. From the position of Carr's tomb and of the tombs of George Borrell, who in 1539 wished to be buried "before our lady aulter," and of Christopher Mitford, who shortly after was laid "before our Ladies alter as nygh my late wyffe Isabell as convenyently maye bē," it seems clear that either the middle or the south porch at the east end of the choir was the lady chapel (I have heard the former so-called verbally at the present day) despite the unusually positive but quite unsupported statement of Bourne that it was in the south transept. Mr. W. H. Wood suggests that the crucifixion panel

⁸ Brand, I, 260.

⁹ Surtees Soc., XXXVIII, 56.

¹⁰ For references for glass see appendix F.

at the foot of Carr's monument may have served as reredos of an altar which would then have stood between the middle and south-east porches. The lady altar may very well have been in the south transept before the reconstruction of the choir in the fourteenth century, and it is a curious coincidence that the rhymed instructions on Carr's monument direct our lady's priest to say masses "at the lavatory every day," for, like Durham cathedral,¹¹ St. Nicholas' church has only one surviving lavatory or piscina (in the main building), and as at Durham it is in the south transept.

Our Lady, like St. Nicholas, was a friend of the Quayside, according to Barnabe Googe:

"The shipman seekes hir ayde in seas, in daunger great and paine,
The wandring Marchant trustes by hir to have his wished
gaine."

ST. MICHAEL. Site unknown.

ST. NICHOLAS. By parodying the methods of Dr. Rendel Harris¹² it would be possible to prove that our St. Nicholas was neither of Myra, of Trani, of Tolentinum, nor even of Trinquiballe, but a local nature deity or earth spirit called Nick whose name, after being successively latinized, recelticized, anglicized, and normanized, emerged as Nicholas! But I am very sure that any such idea was far from the minds of the pious founders in the eleventh or twelfth century. However that may be, the site of the principal altar is not certainly known. It stood either directly under the east window or on its present site one bay farther west. All the evidence points to the latter as the more probable site, but it is by no means a certainty. After the reformation the position and materials of the Holy Table in a parish church became subject of embittered controversy. In 1550 stone altars were removed. In 1553 stone was for a while restored as the material. Queen Elizabeth pronounced in favour of wood and of the normal pre-reformation position close to the east end, but in 1643 Parliament issued an ordinance for the taking away and demolishing of all altars and tables of stone, and for the removal of all Communion tables from the east end of every church and chancel; and it was prescribed that such should be placed in some other fit and convenient place in the body of the church or in the body of the chancel: and that all rails whatsoever which had been erected near to, before, or about any altar or Communion table, should be likewise taken away: and that the chancel-ground which had been raised within twenty years then last past, for

¹¹ Greenwell, *op. cit.*

¹² *A.A.*, 3rd ser., XXI, 162. St. Nicholas did take over the attributes and temples of Neptune at Athens and Ancona.

any altar or Communion table to stand on, should be laid down and levelled, as the same had formerly been;¹³ and we have no reason to suppose that the law was disobeyed in Newcastle. The older arrangement, or something like it, would be restored later in the seventeenth century, and before 1732 Bourne described the altar as in its present position. In 1784 it was placed close under the east window, where it remained till the second half of last century.

“ Saint Nicolas keeps the mariners from daunger and diseas,
That beaten are with boystrous waves, and tost in dredful seas.
Saint Nicolas money usde to giue to Maydens secretlie,
Who, that he still may use his woonted liberalitie,
The mothers all their children on the eeve doe cause to fast,
And when they eury one at night in senseless sleepe are cast:
Both apples, nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things
beside,
As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which secretlie they hide,
And in the morning found, they say, that this Saint Nicholas
brought:
Thus tender minds to worship Saints and wicked things are
taught.”

Barnabe Googe's stocking appears to have been a disappointment to him!

- SS. PETER AND PAUL. Site unknown. A chantry was founded at this altar in the reign of Henry IV.
- ST. STEPHEN. Site unknown. Feast day mentioned in the 1359 list.
- ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR. In 1338 chantries were founded at this altar by John Shapacape and Robert Castle (" du Chastel "). In 1536 Margaret Reede desired to be buried " afore the aulter of Saynt Thomas," and left 20s. to the " reparacon of Seynt George porche." In 1537¹⁴ John Radclyf directed that he should lie " before St. Thomas alter beside my mother Reede," and in the same year Thomas Reade, another son of Margaret, also left 20s. to St. George's porch " for reparacons," and he desired to be buried within it. It seems probable that St. Thomas's altar stood in the St. George's porch group.
- CORPUS CHRISTI. The site of the altar used by this guild is unknown.
- ALL SAINTS. Site unknown. Feast day, of course, mentioned in 1359 list.
- ALL SOULS. The altar in the charnel chapel was doubtless dedicated to the memory of All Souls and supported by the members of a " fraternity of All Souls " as no permanent chantry is known to have been founded for its benefit.
- HOLY TRINITY. This altar stood in such a position that when its

¹³ Bloxam, *Companion to Gothic Architecture*, 168.

¹⁴ Surtees Soc., CXVI, 153.

chaplain was celebrating a mass of the blessed virgin at it in 1402¹⁵ an inattentive worshipper could see a christening party passing on its way from the font and could ask whose baby had been baptized. But we do not know whether the party went straight home to St. John's chare or went first to the vestry to dry the child, whom the priest had carelessly dropped into the font! So the information does not take us far.

The church as existing at the reformation provided adequate accommodation for at least eighteen altars besides the high altar in the choir. At the east end, three; one in the vestry; two or three in the south transept; five or six in the north transept group; one in the charnel chapel; one on the rood loft; one or two on the west side of the rood screen; one in the "Bewick porch" chapel; one in the tower; and possibly others in the north aisle of the nave where there are traces of enclosures.

The altars now in use in the church are as follow :

The high altar, in the choir.

St. Margaret, in the "Bewick porch" rebuilt.

Chapel of the Incarnation, in the "middle porch" at the east end.

Chapel of the Resurrection, in the north or "Earl of Northumberland's porch" at the east end.

APPENDIX B.

CHANTRIES.

Published accounts of the chantries in St. Nicholas's church are of necessity incomplete and misleading, because to a great extent they are copied from the lists of Bourne and Brand who laboured under the disadvantage of not having access to the printed edition of the *Patent Rolls* whose presence in our library makes such thoughtless reproduction no longer excusable. Moreover, some of our local historians fail to realize that the words "chantry," "altar," and "chapel" were not originally synonymous, and that the endowment of a chantry at any given altar at a particular period is not acceptable as sufficient evidence for the erection of a chapel at that date.

A chantry is an endowment, usually by means of rents on real estate, to pay a priest to perform certain services, and in particular to sing masses at specified times at an altar in a church or chapel for the benefit of the souls of the founder and other specified persons.

¹⁵ *A.A.*, 2nd ser., XXII, 123.

For the following classification of chantries I am indebted to our member, Professor C. E. Whiting:

- (a) *Mercenary*. The founder or his trustees retained the funds and appointed the incumbent. This type of chantry was usually for a limited period of time, and merely required episcopal sanction. Such temporary chantries were numerous but ill recorded, and I do not propose to give a list of those at St. Nicholas.
- (b) *Collative*. Incumbent appointed by the bishop. Usually a perpetual endowment.
- (c) *In private patronage*. The founder or his trustees named the incumbent. Like (b), this kind was usually in perpetuity.

In order to found a perpetual chantry in a parish church permission had, in theory at any rate, to be obtained from the Ordinary, the Crown (for licence to alienate property in mortmain), the parish priest and the local civil authority. Thus we ought to have available four different contemporary sources of information about chantries besides three later ones in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and the reports of the commissioners who in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI made lists of chantries and valuations of their endowments and ornaments. The commissioners, however, were given information unwillingly, in some cases chantry priests "embezzled" their foundation charters rather than allow them to fall into the commissioners' hands, and their reports must therefore be received with a certain amount of caution.

The following are the perpetual chantries in the church of St. Nicholas of which records still survive:

- ST. ANNE. A chantry at this altar, net annual value £4 6s. 5d., is in the list of chantries prepared in 1548 for Edward VI.¹
- ST. CUTHBERT. Valued at £6 9s. in 1548. In 1392² Thomas Herrington (bailiff 1379, 86, 87, and 89) and William Redmarshall (bailiff 1394, 95, 96, first sheriff of Newcastle 1400⁴) founded a chantry at St. Cuthbert's altar for the souls of, among others, John and Katherine Chamber "and Agnes, Cecily, and Elizabeth his wives," and Robert Marley.
- ST. ELOY, ELIGIUS, OR ELGY. A chantry at this altar existed before 1429 when Roger Thornton held the advowson, and 1449⁵ when it owned property in High Friar Street. In 1548

¹ Surtees Soc., XXII, appendix VII, lxvii *et seq.*

² *Patent Rolls*. Other dates of foundations are also from the *Patent Rolls* as printed.

³ Surtees Soc., CXXXVII, for this and other dates of office prior to 1399.

⁴ Bourne for dates after 1399

⁵ Surtees Soc., CXXXVII, 163.

its income was £4 13s., but in 1498 the chaplain had been allowed to take service for three years because its revenues were inadequate. The commissioners of Henry VIII were told in 1546 that it was founded by Robert Castle⁶ (bailiff in 1337), but in the *Patent Rolls* his foundation, in 1338, is stated to have been at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr. He may have changed his mind after obtaining the licence.

ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE. Robert Simonside was priest of this chantry in the reign of Richard II.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. A chantry valued at £6 15s. 8d. in 1548, and Henry VIII's commissioners had been told it was founded in 1428⁷ by Robert Rodes and Agnes his wife. But Robert's wife in 1428 was called Joan, he received no licence to found a chantry at that date, and the story was probably made up for the commissioners' benefit; the deeds of the chantry having been, as they stated, "embezzled" probably by W. Clerk (instituted 1540), the last of its wardens, just as the documents of Glasgow cathedral were carried to France by the last of its pre-reformation archbishops.

The real founder was Richard Embleton (bailiff thrice and mayor a score of times between 1301 and 1332). Shortly before his death in action at Halidon Hill he, in 1333, obtained licence to endow two priests at St. John's altar (and one at St. Katherine's altar in Embleton church). After his death his executors obtained permission in 1336 to carry out his intention. Of the two priests, one was to be a warden appointed for life, and the other to be appointed by the warden from time to time.

Embleton's generosity and patriotism had made a great impression on his contemporaries, and as Bourne says: "By an order of the then *Richard*, lord Bishop of *Durham*, the Chaplains for the Time being were obliged on the *Anniversary Day* of his Death, every Year for Ever, to celebrate his Memory with a *Solemn tolling of the Bells*, and *devoutly singing by Note* in the *Evening of the Anniversary*, and on the Anniversary itself, and solemnly to sing Mass for the Soul of *Richard* himself, and the Souls above-mentioned (in the charter), and the Souls of all the Faithful departed. And after Mass, one of the Chaplains was to distribute among *an hundred and sixty poor People*, the Sum of Six Shillings and Eightpence and this annually for ever."

Bourne says that in 1500 the town provided a house for a priest to say masses for the souls of Robert Rodes and Agnes his second wife at this altar.

In 1550 a rent of five shillings a year formerly belonging to

⁶ Brand, I, 257.

⁷ Brand, I, 248. Quoting Ellison for the date.

"the late chantry of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist in the parish church of Newcastle upon Tyne" was granted with many other chantry endowments to "William Wynlowe and Richard Felde of London, gentlemen."

According to the Ellison manuscripts, a chantry at this altar was founded by Laurence, prior of Durham in 1149, during the Scottish occupation. This would be interesting if true, but Dr. Ellison, or his reader, appears to have confused the prior with Laurence Durham, wool merchant, who flourished in the early fourteenth century and might have then founded a chantry—not necessarily a perpetual one—at this altar.

- ST. KATHERINE. A popular altar which in 1548 still possessed two chantries of a total net annual value of £9 os. 3d. probably consolidated from the chantries founded by Alan (Adam?) Durham "ab antiquo"; William Johnson (bailiff 1390, 91, and 92, mayor 1398) and Isabel his wife "in the reign of Edward III";⁸ John Ellerker (bailiff in 1314) in 1322, whose endowment was increased by Laurence Durham in 1331; Nicholas Ellerker in 1323; Laurence Durham in 1318 and 1327(?), whose endowment was augmented from his estate by Thomas Woodman (bailiff 1372-73) and John Teesdale in 1379; and Matilda, wife of John Ellerker, in 1344. "Some deeds relating to the chantry of St. Katherine were formerly in St. Nicholas's church, but are now lost."⁹ In 1378-79 possession of this chaplaincy was disputed between Peter Angrym, supported by the bishop, and John Eland, backed by the mayor and others.
- ST. MARGARET. Valued at £4 13s. 10d. in 1548. Founded by Stephen Whitgray (bailiff 1369, 70, 71, mayor 1384), and Mary his wife in 1394.
- ST. MARY THE VIRGIN. The foundation deed of the older chantry, worth £4 15s. 4d. in 1548, had disappeared before 1546. The altar is referred to in 1305¹⁰ when Peter Graper (bailiff 1293, 96, 97, 99, mayor 1301 and 1302) gave it 2s. per annum; 1310¹¹ when John Pandon endowed it with 4s. per annum; 1329 when it owned land in St. Nicholas's churchyard, and 1369 when Nicholas Coke left 6s. 8d. to it. A second chantry at this altar was founded by George Carr (ten times mayor between 1481 and 1502) in 1500 and was worth £5 6s. 8d. in 1548, or would have been if Carr's heirs had not stopped payment, by what right the commissioners of Henry VIII knew not in 1546.

⁸ Bourne, 59.

⁹ Surtees Soc., CXXXVII, 176.

¹⁰ Bourne, 60.

¹¹ Surtees Soc., CXXXVII, 149, 150, 183.

- ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. Worth £4 4s. 6d. in 1548. Said to have been founded by Adam Fenrother and Alan Hilton, priest, in the reign of Henry IV.
- ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR. £3 12s. 7d. in 1548. Founded by John Shapacape, burgess of Newcastle, in 1338, in which year Robert Castle had also licence to found a chantry at this altar.
- HOLY TRINITY. The advowson of this chantry was in the hands of Roger Thornton, senior, in 1429.¹² Robert Kirkby was chaplain in 1402.

The following chantries were founded at unspecified altars:

Hugh Angerton (bailiff 1345, 47) in 1333.

Thomas Bentley (keeper of Tyne Bridge) in 1369, partly in memory of William Torald.

John Denton (bailiff 1327, 28, 29, 30, 32, mayor 1333, 36, 37, 40, and 41) in 1333.

Laurence Durham in 1327 (at St. Katherine's altar?).

Alan Pulhore in 1340: he was a relative of John Pulhore, parson of Whickham and vicar of Newcastle¹³ in 1353.

William Torald in 1329. His intention was not carried out, and in 1352 William Acton (bailiff 1339, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49 and 51) obtained leave to assign his foundation to St. Mary's Hospital.

No doubt some chantries were unlicensed, and on the other hand some licences were not made use of, and others lapsed through depreciation of property or through the misappropriations complained of by bishop Langley in 1428.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹⁴ prepared in 1535 gives quite a different account of the chantries from the lists of 1546 and 1548. The incomes are more nearly equal, and there are two chantries of St. Margaret but only one each of St. Katherine and St. Mary. The following is the list: St. Margaret, £5 6s. 8d. and £5 4s. 6d.; St. Mary, £5 5s.; St. Katherine, £3 13s.; St. Thomas, £4 2s. 2d.; St. John Baptist, £5; St. Eligii, £4 8s.; St. Cuthbert, £5 10s. 2d.; St. Peter, £4 7s. 4d.

¹² *A.A.*, 3rd ser., XIV.

¹³ His name is omitted from the list of vicars on a tablet in the church.

¹⁴ Vol. V, 327-8, as printed.

APPENDIX C.

FRATERNITIES.

The historians of St. Nicholas's church have heretofore ignored its fraternities or guilds, apart from those of the various crafts. Yet in such a city as Newcastle there must have been a number of these co-operative philanthropic and religious societies connected with the parish church. A fraternity of All Souls might be expected to have been founded, as at old St. Paul's in 1379, to maintain the altar in the charnel chapel; but the only one of which I have found any record is the brotherhood of Corpus Christi. In 1539¹ John Blaxton (mayor 1513), who wished to be buried "besides the rewestre doure . . . nygh where Willm Dawell is buried," left two shillings each to six priests "of the Corpus Cristi gylyde" to bear his body to the grave. There was an earlier allusion to the Corpus Christi guild² when George Carr, Robert Wood, David Mann, John Burdon, and John Dawcot, chaplains, aldermen, guardians, seneschals, or procurators of the guild of Corpus Christi in the church of St. Nicholas, made Thomas Arthur, a brother of the said guild, their attorney in a suit for the recovery of £35. This society doubtless resembled that founded in 1473 at Leighton Buzzard,³ which was described by the royal commissioners in 1546 as "the brotherhede or guylede fownde of Corpus Christi. By Alice, the Duchesse of Suffolk . . . for the entente that a preiste moughte be fownde of the revenneux of the said brotherhede to syng for the good estate of . . . and for the bretherne and susteres of the said brotherhede or guylde." There were two lay "wardens" in whose hands were "th' ornaments, goodes, catalles, juelles appertenynge to the seid brotherhede" and the priest besides singing in the church "helpethe the vicar to mynyster to the houselinge peple of the said parishe."

But all fraternities were not so reputable. A "fraternity of the Lord Jesus Christ and of the Virgin Mary," founded at St. John's church by John Chamber and others in 1363, was suppressed a few months later because it was being used for fraternization with the king's enemies!

¹ Surtees Soc., CXVI, 164.

² Bourne. Note by Hunter at p. 100.

³ R. Richmond, *Leighton Buzzard*, 149.

All the religious fraternities, and the religious departments of the trade guilds which had maintained lights at the altars of their patron saints, came to an end in 1546 or 1548.

APPENDIX D.

CAMPANOLOGY.

In St. Nicholas's church the oldest bells of which we have any knowledge are the three mediæval bells which still hang in the steeple though they have been relieved from the modern burden of "change ringing" for which they were never intended and which has destroyed so many of their contemporaries in England.

MEDIÆVAL BELLS.

A bell inscribed:

*Dulcis Sisto Melis
Campana Vocor Micaelis*

and ornamented with four pointed shields each charged with a chevron between three laver pots. It also bears a medallion containing a central stem surmounted by a cross and having two branches with a bird perched on each; round this is an inscription which, if it were legible, would tell us that the bell was founded by William [Dawes] the Founder who was in business in London c. 1385-1418 and whose products are found all over the country, for instance at Skegness is a bell with the same inscription as this one but with *Gabrielis* instead of *Micaelis*.

A bell inscribed:

*O mater dia¹
me fana virgo maria*

and adorned with bas-reliefs of the Virgin and Child with a flower in a vase and another standing figure. The same inscription is found on a bell at Heighington, where it is associated with two shields, one bearing a saltire and the other three crescents. Professor Stahlsmidt was of opinion that both bells date from early in the fifteenth century and were made at York.

A bell inscribed:

*Sum Nicholaius Ovans
Cunctis Modulamina Promans*

This bell resembles the preceding one in some, but not all, of the details of its inscription, and is ascribed to the same period and place of origin.

¹ It has been suggested that "dia" is a mistake for "pia," and some transcribe the second word of the second line as "cana," others as "sana."

The "great," "thief and riever," or "common" bell of the city for whose sake the Corporation to this day keeps the belfry in repair. It was recast in 1593 and no record exists of its weight. A fifth mediæval bell was mentioned by Bourne, but has disappeared.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BELLS.

In 1593-4 the "common" bell was recast with a weight of between 3,120 lb. and 3,130 lb., and in 1595 a payment was made for "a hauser which was spoiled in hanginge upp the common bell of Saint Nichol church steeple."

In 1615 the "common" bell was sent to Colchester to be recast, but in 1622 it had to be recast again and then weighed about 33 cwt. It was next recast in 1754.

A bell inscribed COVRT TO THIS HEIGHT YOW WHEN THIS TOWRE WHEN+1658 I H [John Hodshon, the founder] SEE IT WAS BVILT and bearing the city arms with crest and supporters in an oval medallion. This bell is said to have been obtained by Robert Trollop as part of the peal for the new Exchange, to have proved too large for that steeple and to have been transferred to St. Nicholas.² On the other hand the Exchange bells are said each to have borne the name of one of the aldermen.³ In view of the inscription it is hardly surprising that in 1892 the bell was condemned to be melted down, but it was ransomed from the founder for £2 by Mr. Cadwallader Bates, who carried it off to his castle of Langley, where it still hangs on the roof (see illustration in *Proceedings*, 4th ser., vol. I, p. 258).

EIGHTEENTH, NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY BELLS.

Two bells inscribed "Ralph Reed Esq. Mayor. Francis Johnson Esq. Sherrif 1717. R. Phelp Londini fecit." These were presented by the Corporation, and were melted down in 1892.

The "common" bell having been cracked, half-way through a ringing of "Grandsire Triples," in 1754 was recast with a weight of 26 cwt. or 4,032 lb. at a cost of £218 8s. and inscribed "Cuthbert Smith Esqr Mayor William Rowell Esqr Sheriff. 1754. Thos Lester and Thos Pack fecit" [*sic*]. It was melted down in 1892.

All the bells were rehung by W. Lawrence of London in 1755.

In 1808 the bells were all rehung by J. Buckham of Newcastle, and rendered so lively that the jubilee of George III was celebrated by "Grandsire Triples" rung in the record time for Newcastle of three hours and nineteen minutes.

The "major" or "hour" bell: this bell was bought with £500

² J. Bell in the *Gent. Mag.* c. 1834.

³ Brand, I, 30, quoting Barnes MS.

left for the purpose by Major George Anderson and cast at "Hawks Works" on the 23rd of November, 1833, under the superintendence of James Harrison. The bell weighed 8,021 lb., bore Major Anderson's armorials, and was melted down in 1891.

In 1891-2 all the bells were melted down except the three mediæval bells and the seventeenth century bell now at Langley. The new peal consisted of ten bells and an hour bell, and with one exception they still exist.⁴ They were cast by Taylor & Co. of Loughborough.

Treble bell.—2 ft. 3½ in. diameter, F, 6 cwt. 2 qr. 5 lb. "O come let us sing unto the Lord."

2nd bell.—2 ft. 6½ in., E flat, 7-2-13. "We praise Thee, O Lord."

3rd bell.—2 ft. 9 in., D flat, 8-0-2. "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord."

4th bell.—2 ft. 10 in., C, 9-0-4. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel." "I mark the passing hours." This bell was recast in 1928.

5th bell.—3 ft. 1½ in., B flat, 11-0-14. "O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands." "I mark the passing hours."

6th bell.—3 ft. 4½ in., A flat, 13-1-2. "My soul doth magnify the Lord." "I mark the passing hours."

7th bell.—3 ft. 8½ in., G flat, 17-0-16. "O sing unto the Lord a new song."

8th bell.—3 ft. 11½ in., F, 20-3-23. "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace."

9th bell.—4 ft. 4½ in., E flat, 27-0-23. "God be merciful unto us and bless us." "I mark the passing hours."

Tenor bell.—4 ft. 11 in., D flat, 37-2-16. "This peal of bells is the joint gift of the Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne and John Hall, Esq., J.P. of the same City; Wm. Sutton, Esq., Mayor; Ben. J. Sutherland, Esq., Sheriff; A. T. Lloyd, D.D., Vicar; A. J. Robinson, H. Thompson, T. Blenkinsop and A. H. Dickinson, Wardens 1892."

Major or Hour bell.—6 ft. 11½ in., A flat, 5 tons 18 cwt. "Purchased for the clock to strike upon, agreeably to the will of Geo. Anderson, Esq., 1833. Originally cast at the foundry of Sir Robert Shafto Hawks & Co. by James Harrison of Barton-on-Humber, November 23rd, 1833. Recast in the year 1891 at the expense of Alderman T. G. Gibson, J.P., of this City, by J. Taylor & Co. of Loughborough." "Time flies."

Early in 1914 Mr. W. L. Newcombe presented two treble

⁴ It can readily be imagined that when such a weight of metal is in violent motion (and sometimes the whole peal is simultaneously clashed) more vibration is set up than by that "modern traffic" of rubber-tired vehicles over smooth road surfaces about which so much is heard nowadays.

bells to the church, and in September of the same fateful year Miss I. Dixon gave a semi-toned bell to make a light octave with the 9th and 2nd as its tenor and treble. It was not to be rung till peace was declared so four years passed away before it could be used.

In 1928 the bells were overhauled, the 4th bell recast and the rest scraped, cleaned, and set on steel bed plates with ball bearings.

The above information is compiled mainly from the Thos. Bell manuscript collection; M. A. Richardson's *Local Historian's Table Book* (1843-46); J. Ventress's paper in *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, II, 17 (1857); Robert Blair's paper in *Proceedings*, 2nd series, III, 39; a leaflet issued when the new bells were hung in 1892; and Mr. C. L. Routledge's articles in *St. Nicholas's Cathedral Magazine*, 1928.

APPENDIX E.

FURNITURE AND PICTURES.

BY THOMAS WAKE.

The furniture of St. Nicholas, with a few exceptions, is modern. As already stated, the latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed the refurnishing of most of the church. Fortunately one or two examples of mediæval and later craftsmanship remain with which to compare the freedom of the earlier work and the measured precision of modern times.

The LECTERN (fig. 13), of latten or brass, is of special interest; it is the only pre-reformation example now to be found in the north of England, and one of the forty-five remaining in this country. Made in the early years of the sixteenth century, it is a typical specimen of that period with eagle book-rest. The eagle is a somewhat conventionalized bird with a distinct forehead rising perpendicularly above the eyes. The lower part of the wing is composed of five conjoined feathers: three curve inwards and two outwards. On the upper part is a single projecting feather. Mr. C. C. Oman, in his recent classification

of these lecterns,¹ has placed our example in his series III, group 1. It is distinct, however, from the remainder of the group, which have six conjoined and graduated feathers instead of the five with their inward and outward curves. The bird rests on a pedestal with a circular moulded base and a globe pommel. The stalk is divided into four sections by projecting disc-shaped mouldings into which cylindrical sections are fitted. The section above the base is a graduated hexagon. The globe pommel has a single rib round the middle, a feature shared by Oxburgh, Lowestoft and Oundle: other examples usually have three ribs.

The pedestal rests on the tails of three sitting lions. These have a slender body, head turned to the right and a slightly open mouth. The mane is moulded and engraved.

Both the eagle and its pedestal have been repaired. The bird has had its left wing broken at the junction of the two outer with the three inner feathers. The section of the pedestal below the globe pommel has had a narrow band screwed to it, and the section below this has had a band, moulded with a double groove, fitted over the original cylinder. Most of these repairs were presumably carried out by William Packer in 1731 when he was paid one guinea for "repairing the eagle." One of the legs has also been damaged, and in consequence the bird does not stand comfortably on its perch. In 1683 one shilling was spent on "scooreing the eagle"; this entry appears at regular intervals during the following century. Its height is 69½ inches: pedestal 49 inches, and eagle 20½ inches.

From the distribution of these lecterns in England, Mr. Oman has come to the conclusion that they were manufactured in East Anglia, probably Bury or Norwich, and some possibly in London; extant examples are only to be found in places accessible by water.

There is no record of there having been more than one

¹ *Arch. Journal*, vol. LXXXVII, pp. 118-49. I am much indebted to Mr. Oman for very kindly lending to me his MS. pending its publication.

mediæval lectern in St. Nicholas.² Some parish churches had two, such as little Walsingham in Norfolk, and there are still two, one of brass and one of wood, at Redenhall in the same county.

In mediæval usage the lectern stood at the north of the altar, and from it the epistle and gospel were read. If a second lectern was provided it was placed in the middle of the choir, and from it the "legend" was sung. In monastic or collegiate churches a lectern was also placed on the *pulpitum* or choir screen.³

The FONT (plate XVII), of dark toned marble, is octagonal in shape and of plain character. The eight panels are slightly curved and each has a shield, carved, and originally coloured, traces of which remain. Six of these bear the arms of Rodes, one has Rodes quartering ? and one is unidentified. Its height, including steps, is 4 feet 6 inches. For some time it stood in the north transept and was placed in its present position under the tower in 1844. Before 1784 it stood under the tower arch (see plate XIII).

The FONT-COVER is of oak and dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately it has suffered repair and restoration necessitated by its vicissitudes in the seventeenth century and its subsequent migrations within the church. It was restored in the late seventeenth century, and in 1792 it was taken away and repaired by Richard Farrington at the cost of two guineas. Other repairs and restorations have been carried out by Ralph Hedley in recent years.

In mediæval times it was customary to consecrate the baptismal water at certain seasons of the year, notably on Easter eve. Consequently it was usual to keep the font locked. A simple type of cover would be a flat lid. More elaborate examples had an ornamented crown; the fullest

² A reading-desk or lectern appears within the choir screen on the drawing by Ralph Waters, now in the Keep, made in 1783 before the upheaval in the church that year. (Plate XIII.)

³ *Quire Screens in English Churches* by William St. John Hope, *Archæologia*, vol. LXVIII, pp. 43-110; see also *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, vol. CVII, pp. 13-14 for description, use and situation of the lecterns in Durham.



development is seen at Ufford in Suffolk, with its several tiers of tabernacle work forming one of the finest achievements of mediæval woodwork.

St. Nicholas, with its daughter churches of St. John's and St. Andrew's are examples of this latter type, and the cover of All Hallows appears to have been similar. Marmaduke Rawdon of York, when in Newcastle in 1664, noted four churches, and observed, "the fonts therein are made with more than ordinary curiosity."⁴

The St. Nicholas cover is octagonal in section to fit the font. It has two tiers and a spire: the lower tier open, the upper filled with tracery. On a plain unmoulded base are carried eight triple angle-posts or buttresses, terminating in pinnacles and punctuated by mouldings of an unusual character. Framed by the angle-posts, and resting on the base, are pierced tracery panels forming a parapet or cresting to the base. The top of the lower tier has a cusped ogee arch and spandrels filled with foliage. This tier has a ribbed vault with a very fine boss carved with a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (plate XVIII). The figures are surrounded by an aureole of rays and this has a border of mediæval cloud ornament. Above the cusping of the lower tier are little carved canopies fronted by triple gablets with down-turned crockets of local design; the pinnacles, which usually divide the gablets, are absent from the three Newcastle examples; this also suggests a local feature. The angle-posts of the upper tier are buttressed by scroll carvings of a late seventeenth century type; these evidently replace the flying buttresses of the original work. The canopies above repeat those below except that they are finer in execution: the central gablet is higher than those which flank it, and the crockets have a richer carving. The angle-posts have moulded capitals. The spire has ribs with upturned crockets and these terminate in a finial of four feebly carved figures grouped together. These figures are evidently the work of Richard Farrington in 1792. A central post runs through from the

⁴ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, Surtees Soc., L, p. 397.

top to the boss on the vault of the lower tier, and the cover slides on two iron rods. There is no lock; this would be unnecessary with a cover of this size.

A few traces of paint remain. Originally the cover would be painted and gilt. The chief colours used were red and green or blue, such as can be seen at Elsing in Norfolk, and on the Ufford example. In spite of so much restoration the cover is still of exceptional interest. The pierced brackets supporting the arches of the lower tier are late additions and are not present on the drawing by Waters. These have, in the past, led to the conclusion that the cover was much later than it really is. The total height is 104 inches, and diagonally it measures 42 inches.

Only a few of the mediæval SEATS remain. It was not usual to erect fixed seats in the nave of a church, though there are some exceptions. The fact that the nave was filled with pews about the middle of the seventeenth century suggests that there were none in mediæval times. In the drawing by Waters there are some seats with rail backs placed lengthwise up the centre aisle of the nave. These have bench ends without framing, the centre part tapers almost to a point without terminal knob, and they have a shaped elbow to the seat end. These may possibly be fourteenth century bench-ends re-used. There are several of a similar type in one or two churches in Somerset, at Bloxham in Oxfordshire, and at Cotes-by-Stow, Lincolnshire. In some of these examples, however, there is the beginning of the poppy-head terminal. At the east end of the south choir aisle are eighteen stalls. Unfortunately the backs and the misericords have disappeared. They have flat tops, shaped to fit the back, and with projections forming elbow rests. The projections terminate in a moulded and scratched trefoil pattern, and the fronts of the seat frames are moulded. The modern replacement seats have been fitted about two inches higher than the original misericords which were about 17 inches high. For some time after the changes of 1783, while the south transept was used as a chapel, these stalls were placed against its

east wall. The bench-end, now in the Keep, resembles a set seen in the drawing of the south transept about 1820 by T. M. Richardson, senior. This has a trefoil poppy head of unusual design and its edges are unmoulded. The end has two sunk panels with cusped heads. On the front is applied a seventeenth century acanthus moulding.

In 1620 a school gallery was erected over the north aisle of the nave, and was carried on moulded columns. The front had panelling ornamented with a large lozenge design. This was divided into bays of two panels by a pilaster in front and a partition across the seats. In 1635, according to the Ellison MS. quoted by Brand,⁵ some new pews or seats were built. This may mean that the seating arrangements were completed at that date. Sir Wm. Brereton, in June that year, noted: "St. Nichol. Church . . . is as neat pewed and formed with as much uniformity, as any I have found in England, and it is as neatly kept and trimmed."⁶

These seats suffered the same fate as so many other fittings in that fateful year 1783. The bench-ends terminated in trefoil poppy-heads of a typical mid-seventeenth century design such as can be seen in St. Mary's, Gateshead, and the end panels were filled with carved strapwork. The doors to the seats had arcaded panels with applied spindle ornament. The Corporation pew stood in the east bay of the north arcade, and was raised above the other pews. Its sides were half panelled and had a curtain above suspended from a carved rail, which had a pendent arcading in front. Behind this was another pew of later date which abutted on the east end of the school gallery. The nave was divided east and west by a low balustraded screen about midway along the nave, similar to one in St. Helen's church, West Auckland.

After 1783 the choir was fitted out with box pews furnished with locks, but the nave was left entirely free from seats. Between 1873 and 1877 Sir Gilbert Scott

⁵ Brand, *History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p. 265.

⁶ Newcastle reprints, *Miscellaneous* 1844, cap. III, p. 18.

re-seated the nave with oak pews having square headed ends, moulded edges and sunk panels filled with tracery. Following the conversion of the church into a cathedral in 1882, the choir was fitted out with stalls and benches. The designs were by R. J. Johnson, and the woodwork by Ralph Hedley. These have elaborately carved poppy-heads, heraldic panels, tracery and buttresses. The bishop's throne has a very high canopy, coved forward with fan vaulting, and with four tiers of tabernacle work of a most ornate kind. These terminate in a tall spire with carved finial. The provost's and residentiary canons' stalls repeat the design on a smaller scale. The canons' stalls are fitted with misericords and are carved with the names of their appropriate saints. In 1884 the Corporation pews were fitted under the crossing. The Lord Mayor's stall is set against the east face of the south-west crossing pier. It has a high coved and traceried canopy with a cresting of tracery surmounted with the city arms and bearing the date 1884. The two front benches on each side were designed by sir Gilbert Scott and removed to their present position from the choir where they were originally fitted. They have bench-ends with poppy-heads of various designs and the seat projections or elbows are carved in the form of a seahorse. In the sanctuary are two modern chairs of Gothic design.

Of the mediæval SCREEN and ROOD there is nothing left. A boss carved with delicate foliage, on the front of a court-cupboard in the Keep, is said to have belonged to St. Nicholas, but this is uncertain. When the organ was erected in 1676 the old screen appears to have been replaced by a new one. This 1676 screen, according to the drawing by Waters, had openings of five lights and a central passage. The openings had three-centred arches with the heads filled with "perpendicular" tracery. The openings were framed by four square columns of a classical order, and with a lion's head or mask above the capital. The spandrels each had a cherub's head. The lower half of the side wings was panelled, and the gallery of the organ loft had

also panels with what appear to be bolection mouldings. In 1783 this screen was replaced by a pseudo-Gothic organ gallery of a severe type. About 1887 the present screen was added. Like the remainder of the fittings of this time, it was designed by R. J. Johnson and the woodwork executed by Ralph Hedley. It has traceried openings on either side of the central passage. Over it is the rood beam, carved with a great wealth of detail and having shields carved with the emblems of the Passion. The rood has two figures on each side. The faculty for placing the figure on the cross was not obtained until 1926, and for many years it was left incomplete with the four figures gazing at a figureless cross. The side screens of the choir form a coved canopy to the canons' stalls. These are carved with minute detail and cusping, and the crests have coloured heraldic shields. The canopy is surmounted by a row of angels holding lamps. The passages through the screens have wrought iron gates with brass studs. The east end, behind the high altar, is divided from the choir aisles by screens of a more reserved style, and a similar screen divides St. George's porch from the north choir aisle. St. Margaret's chapel has a low screen with plain panelling and a gracefully traceried crest. It is framed by four posts with finials in the form of the carved figures of St. Margaret of Scotland, Stephen Whitgray and his wife, and a Roman lady bearing the name of Claudia. The porch screens were added by S. B. Buston in 1891.

The ALTAR is of cedar wood, with a piece of red marble inset which is reputed to have formed part of a pre-reformation altar. In 1844 a reredos of Gothic design was set up under the great east window instead of the large picture placed there in 1818. After 1783 the altar had been carried back under the window. In the alterations following the establishment of the church as a cathedral the altar was brought forward one bay. A new reredos was erected, carved out of Uttoxeter stone. The stonework was by Robert Beall and the figures were carved by J. S. Westmacott. It consists of a number of canopied and pinnacled

niches in which are placed the figures of our Lord (in the centre), fifteen saints, ten figures emblematic of the Virtues, and nine angels. The wings are splayed and are of Caen stone, designed in harmony with the other screenwork. On each side of the altar are three canopied sedilia, and on the north side, opposite the bishop's throne, is the monument, treated in the same late fifteenth century style, carved with the effigy of bishop Lloyd, who was vicar of Newcastle at the time the church was converted into a cathedral, and who later became bishop of Newcastle.

There is no record of the mediæval pulpit, and the mid-seventeenth century one has disappeared. It stood against the east pier of the south nave arcade, and was similar to the pulpit in St. John's. It was hexagonal in shape and the angles had twin columns of Corinthian design. Between these the panels were carved with the arcading design typical of the first half of the seventeenth century. These panel arcades were single, and in this respect it differed from those at St. John's, which are double. Above this was a carved frieze and this supported a moulded cornice. Carried above the pulpit was a heavy tester, which had a carved frieze with pendent arcade and cornice above. This carried a cresting of open scroll work, each side with a ball and spike in the centre and a smaller one at the angles. Carved scroll ribs led up from the angles to another finial, terminating in a ball and spike. In 1783 this pulpit was replaced by a tall "Vicar and Moses" type, and this in turn was superseded by one of severe Gothic type in 1844, which is now in St. Augustine's, North Shields. The present pulpit was added in conformity with the other fittings added about 1887. It is of Uttoxeter stone similar in design to the reredos. It has seven canopied and pinnacled niches, five of which have carved figures of saints; the remaining two facing the screen have not been filled. The top of the cornice is of coloured marble. The panels of the stair rail have wrought iron and brass grilling, and the newel post has a sitting lion finial. The tester is of oak in the form of a crown and is

carved in keeping with the general design of the choir fittings.

The only record of an ORGAN in St. Nicholas before 1676 appears in 1640 when John Fenwick says of the Newcastle churches: "the organs, sackbutts and cornets, were struck dumb by the fright of their vicars. . . ."⁷ This would doubtless be destroyed in compliance with the Ordinance of 1644.

In 1676 the Corporation of Newcastle gave £300 towards the acquisition of a new organ for St. Nicholas. It is reputed to have been made by Renatus Harris,⁸ and stood on the chancel screen facing west (plate XIII). Of this organ the greater part of the case only remains, the interior, pipework, etc., having been sold to the vicar of Holy Trinity, Stockton, in 1882. The old case is embodied in the upper central section of the present organ which now stands in the north transept. The three towers were formerly each surmounted by four scroll-shaped ribs meeting in the centre and supporting carved figure finials. These have disappeared. The figure on the central tower is modern and was carved by Ralph Hedley; the reclining figures are original. The modern work comprises the large flanking towers, the cornices of the old towers, and the small organ with panelling forming the lower half of the south front. (Plate XXI.)

In 1710 the Corporation again paid £200 for finishing the "back front." This was also probably by Harris,⁹ and stood over the chancel screen facing east. This section now faces east into St. George's porch. (Plate XXI.) Like the earlier organ, only the case remains. This has the carving and ornamentation typical of the period.

Mackenzie¹⁰ observes that the organ was mahogany, and the late alderman Robinson stated that in his early days it was painted black. The woodwork is of oak and has been

⁷ *Christ Ruling in the Midst of His Enemies*. Newcastle reprints, *Historical*, vol. I, cap. II, p. 53.

⁸ There is an organ with similar case in St. Sepulchre's, London, made by Harris in 1670.

⁹ Cf. the case by Harris in St. Bride's, London, c. 1696.

¹⁰ Mackenzie, *History of Newcastle 1827*, vol. I, p. 251.

painted red at some time (now removed). This was evidently the mahogany of Mackenzie, and its darkening in time would produce the black effect.

The Corporation ordered a swell organ in 1749, which is stated to have been put in by Snetzler. Nothing of this remains. In August, 1814, Wood, Small & Co., of Edinburgh, added new stops and made other alterations at a cost to the Corporation of £500. Mr. Bruce, of Edinburgh, made further alterations and additions in 1839. This was followed in 1845 by extensive alterations when Nicholson of Newcastle cut through the centre and moved the west front forward three feet to make room for a new pedal wind-chest. It was probably at this time that a scheme for entirely re-arranging the organs was under consideration. There is a drawing in the Laing Art Gallery which shows the two main organs turned round to face each other under the crossing: the early Harris organ on the north and the later one on the south, with the swell organ placed over the centre on a light Gothic screen. In 1860 and 1861 still more alterations were carried out. Sir Gilbert Scott in 1877 suggested scrapping the old organ case and placing a new one of Gothic design in the south aisle of the choir, but his scheme was turned down and the old case saved. In 1878 the organ was taken down from the chancel screen and placed over the chancel chapel in the north transept.

A new organ was ordered about this time from messrs. T. C. Lewis & Co. It was opened in January, 1882, but not completed until 1891, when the 1676 case was enlarged to the design of R. J. Johnson. In 1911 the organ was rebuilt by messrs. Harrison & Harrison, and the blowing apparatus renewed on the electro-pneumatic system in place of the gas engine formerly used. The console was removed from St. George's porch, where it had been since 1882, and placed in the north choir aisle. At the same time a new choir organ, designed in harmony with the choir screenwork, was placed over the console and projecting in front of the west arch of the north choir

arcade. This year a new discus electric blowing apparatus has been placed in a specially constructed chamber on the west side of the north transept.

In 1892 an independent organ with case of Gothic design was placed at the east end of the north choir aisle.

Under the great east window is the altar of the Incarnation. The front of the altar is divided into five traceried panels, and the reredos has three with side wings of two panels. The woodwork is by Ralph Hedley. The panels have paintings by the late sir W. B. Richmond: the three on the reredos has the Nativity in the centre, the Annunciation on the left, and the Visitation on the right; the wings and altar front have figures of saints. The wing panels are later and were painted by G. Lane. The reredos has a crest with carved figures of angels holding shields. The chapel is wainscoted with traceried crest, and is provided with an altar rail.

North of this chapel, at the east end of the north choir aisle, is the altar of the chapel of the Resurrection. The altar has legs and framing of seventeenth century date, but the top is modern. It is reputed to have originally belonged to the church. The riddell posts are of simple character and have finials of carved angels acting as candleholders. These were carved by Belgian refugees during the Great War, 1914-1918. The chapel is wainscoted.

St. Margaret's chapel, in the south aisle of the nave, was furnished in 1928 in memory of bishop Turner, a former curate. The design is by W. H. Wood. The altar is of oak with riddell posts painted a cheerful colour, and the hangings are of the same bright note.

At Carnfield Hall, Alfreton, is a credence table, carved with the names of Henry and Elizabeth Maddison, 1604, "Saynte Nycholas Newcastle." (Plate XIX.) Its construction is typical of the woodwork of the period. The table has legs of carved double bulb design, and between these, in front, are twin legs. The table has a down-turned nulling border. The rails are channel grooved at the back, and in front are carved with the text, "OH LORD

INN THEE DOO I TRVST." The top has a cup of a mid-sixteenth century design carved in the centre with a cover on either side. On each side of these are shields with the arms of Maddison (old) impaling Marley. Below is the inscription: "DOO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF MEE." The back, forming a reedos, has three arcaded panels. The centre is carved with the arms of Newcastle, with crest, on a shaped and floriated shield, and the motto "Fortiter Defendit Triumphans" on a ribbon below. The panels on either side are carved with a cup similar to the cup on the table. On each side of this is a heart and star, and a paten between two crossed crosiers below. On each side of the crosiers is a representation of the sun and a key, and below is a star and open book with a half moon on each side of it. The stiles and muntins have carved grotesque figures supporting baskets of fruit. The stiles have the arms of Maddison carved on the left and those of Marley on the right. The bottom rail has the text: "LOVE ONE ANOTHRE AS I HAVE LOVED YOY."

The cornice has a carved lunette pattern; the bottom rail of the table rests on a frame with feet carved with ovolo ornament, and there are shaped carvings pendent from the top rail of the table. The table requires careful examination to see how much may be modern reproduction. The arms present a difficulty; it was not until 1635 that sir Lionel Maddison was granted licence to use the old arms of Maddison quarterly with those of Marley as represented on this table. The motto of Newcastle is not on record elsewhere before the year 1646. The length of the table is 48 inches, height 36 inches, depth 20 inches, and total height $62\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In the vestry of the church is a large chest which was given to the churchwardens in 1881. It has carved panels similar in design to those on the credence though not an exact copy, and the centre panel has a representation of the Trinity in place of the Newcastle arms. The rails are carved with the inscription: "Saynte Nycholas Newcastle 1604," and texts. Much appears to be modern

reproduction. For some time the chest stood near the great east window. Its previous history has not been traced. Between the years 1809 and 1822, the Corporation of Newcastle exhibited in the chapel of the Keep the seventeenth century pulpit, a book chest, and other relics from St. Nicholas. An old chest is recorded in an inventory of the church in 1704. It may be that the present chest is a restoration of the old chest and the panels carved from an old pattern. The style of the ornament is unusual. The only other example recorded is one now in Ladykirk church, Norham, carved with the name "Saynte Nicholas Liverpoole," and dated 1651.¹¹ There is also a chair now in Prescott church, Lancashire, dated 1610, but with late seventeenth century additions, which has a representation of a similar sword to the one carved on the drawers of the Newcastle chest.

In 1818 sir Matthew White Ridley presented a large oil painting to the church, to be placed over the high altar. (Plate xx.) The subject is "Christ washing the feet of the disciples." It has been attributed to Tintoretto, but it rather suggests a studio copy of the original picture by Tintoretto, now in the Escorial at Madrid and formerly in the possession of Charles I. Tintoretto was twenty-six years of age when the original picture was painted about the year 1544. The height is 7 feet, length 17 feet 6 inches, height of nearest figure 5 feet 10½ inches.

In 1887 the picture was cleaned by S. Harris of Newcastle and placed in its present position on the back of the reredos facing the great east window. Unfortunately no position in the cathedral would enable it to be seen to its fullest advantage, but it is a pity it had not been incorporated in the new reredos where it would have been seen better than it is at present.

Over this picture behind the reredos are two pictures presented by Mr. Hugh Taylor in 1879. They represent "The Flight into Egypt" and "The Adoration of the Magi." They have been said to be copies of pictures by

¹¹ *Trans. of Lanc. and Cheshire Hist. Society*, 1927, pp. 136-40.

Rubens, but certainly do not correspond with any of that artist's work. They appear to have been made in the eighteenth century. In the north aisle of the nave is a panel painted by Louis Raemaekers in 1920. It is a representation of St. George and the dragon, with Ypres Cloth Hall in the background.

In the vestries are several interesting pictures and portraits. Two are the same portraits of the rev. John March, the Newcastle born vicar of Newcastle from 1679 to 1692. The artist is unknown, but the portrait is an interesting record of an interesting personality. Other portraits include: the rev. Dr. John Brown, vicar from 1761-66; Charles Avison, organist from 1736-70; Thomas Thompson, organist 1797-1834; Dr. Thomas Ions, organist from 1834-57.¹² They are well painted, but the artists are unknown. Another portrait is of the late alderman A. J. Robinson, J.P., by Beryl Fowler. Alderman Robinson was churchwarden for forty-one years and was presented with his portrait on his retirement from office in recognition of his work for the church, particularly in connection with the changes necessitated by the elevation of the church to a cathedral.

Other pictures include a copy by T. M. Richardson, senior, of the drawing by Ralph Waters of the interior of the church, 1783; an oil painting on panel, a version of the drawing of the exterior of the church by Robert Johnson c. 1790; a drawing of St. Mary's porch, south transept, c. 1820, by T. M. Richardson, senior; two drawings in sepia, slightly tinted, of views of Newcastle from outside the walls, c. 1770, by Ralph Waters; and an oil painting of the old Newcastle vicarage in Westgate road by T. Lowthin, 1860. There is an interesting silhouette painting on glass of the right rev. W. van Mildert, bishop of Durham, 1826. This appears to be the work of James Woodhouse, a native of Alnwick working in Newcastle. There is also a portrait of a seventeenth century vicar not identified.

¹² See *Men of Mark* by Richard Welford.

Most of the plate has been described by Robert Blair.¹³ The earliest example is a fine flagon dated 1632; a cup, without hall-marks, c. 1660, and its cover used as a paten; two cups, with covers used as patens, by William Ramsey, c. 1685; a flagon dated 1686 by William Ramsey, and two patens about the same date; a paten by John Carnaby, 1724; two perforated spoons, one made by Thomas Sewell (early nineteenth century) as a copy of the other; a wine strainer dated 1771; a baptismal basin dated 1805 by Thomas Watson, and two collecting bowls of the same date and maker; two bowls dated 1828; four bowls dated 1904 and one dated 1928. The decoration on the large alms dish of silver-gilt was designed by R. J. Johnson in 1885 and applied to a dish with the hall-mark for 1849-50. There are two vergers' staves with silver tops dated 1716, and two staves with silver heads dated 1804. The senior verger's mace is dated 1892 and the assistant verger's mace is dated 1927. The large processional cross used at festivals was designed by R. J. Johnson in 1885, and the smaller one was acquired in 1905. Other additions to the communion vessels include: two silver-gilt and jewelled cups with patens dated 1887; two silver-gilt and jewelled cruets dated 1899; and a silver-gilt and jewelled cup and paten dated 1915. There is also a pocket communion set for the sick, a set of communion vessels used by the 16th battalion Northumberland Fusiliers during the Great War, and two cut-glass cruets 1927. At the high altar are two brass candlesticks of early eighteenth century date given in memory of Nathaniel Ellison, vicar from 1694 to 1721. The large silver-gilt cross was designed by R. J. Johnson in 1885 and is 36 inches high. In addition to these there is a brass book-rest, and two bronze candle standards 6 feet 4 inches high were given in 1915. Other vases and candlesticks are in the smaller chapels.

The old parish, or churchwardens, library is singularly rich in old books. The best known manuscript is the

¹³ *P.S.A.N.*, 2nd ser., III, pp. 359-60. Also *A.A.*, 2nd ser., vol. XXI, pp. 14-15.

thirteenth century "Hexham" bible which has illuminated initial letters. Unfortunately its value and interest is much impaired by having had some of the leaves and initial letters cut out. Of special interest is the fine series of seventeen *incunabula*, some of which are exceedingly rare. There are over fifty books printed in the sixteenth century, including three by the Plantin Press, and nearly two hundred in the seventeenth century. One volume, *De Probationibus*, Nuremberg, 1486, is inscribed: "This Booke I have bought for XIIId by Reason it is a ffaire booke and in Lattine, for my brother Henry. The first day of Jun." The name of the benefactor is not recorded. Another book of Homilies is inscribed: "This booke was given by Bulmer the Apothecary unto the Librarye in the Church of St. Nicholas Newcastle upon Tine, and their to be kept for any well disposed persone who have a minde to read one it, but not to be lent, nor taken out of the Librayrie so long as this said booke shall last Maye the 8th Anno Domini 1628." Evidently intellectual people were forgetful then as now. In all there are more than three hundred books, about fifty of which were acquired under the bequest of John Cosyn¹⁴ in 1661.

The registers include: baptisms from 1558; marriages from 1574; burials from 1574; burial places in the church, 1677-1839; baptisms in the Castle Garth, 1709-29 and 1814; banns books; preachers' books from 1716. Also church accounts, 1683-1720, 1720, 1736, 1745, 1746, 1768 and 1812; repairs book, 1783; vestry meetings, 1774, 1795-1813, 1822-34, 1831-52, 1832-49, 1847-76, 1854-59, 1876-1922. Restorations minute book, 1873-95 and pew rent books, 1675-1921. Wardens' minute books, 1880-1910, 1910-25. Visitors' book, 1811-37, and workhouse and poor relief books. In 1926 a valuable inventory of the church was compiled by Mr. R. Thompson, the senior

¹⁴ By his will in 1661, John Cosins left 100 volumes of books to the mayor and burgesses, so many to be taken out of his own library and the rest purchased. They were to be placed in the library of St. Nicholas's church. The books were not approved and a sum of £90 was given as an equivalent. This accounts for some of the books being dated after his death. Mackenzie, vol. II, p. 491.

verger, from which I have been able to collect much information.

I am specially indebted for help in compiling this record to: Mr. R. Thompson, senior verger of the church; the provost, the very rev. J. N. Bateman Champain, for kindly permitting me to examine the fittings; and to Mr. H. O. Thompson for permission to use the photographs by him reproduced on plates XIII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

APPENDIX F.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ARMORIALS.

The ancient armorials in St. Nicholas's church have been so fully dealt with that it is unnecessary to do more than refer the reader to Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair's studies of the subject in *Archæologia Aeliiana*, 4th series, vol. VIII, in *Northumbrian Monuments*, and in the appendix to *Durham Monuments*: the two latter published by the Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee. M. A. Richardson's *Collection of Armorial Bearings in the Church of St. Nicholas*, published in 1818, is a monumental work, but is in part out of date owing to restorations of the roof bosses, particularly in 1844.

The modern armorials erected before 1891 receive as much notice as they deserve in Boyle's *Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas*.

The following armorials are not described in the above works: Those on the bells (see appendix D) and a painted stone coat of arms apparently of fourteenth century date and now lying in the south aisle of the nave; its prevailing colour is azure and it bears a label. If it were carefully cleaned it might be possible to identify the owner, and this also applies to the similar shield built into the east wall of the south transept, and to an armorial corbel in the north transept. In a disloyally dark part of the church hangs a carved and painted Royal Arms dating from 1740.

GLASS.

The sole remaining fragment of ancient glass in the church is a very pretty little medallion of the Virgin and the Child (fig. 11). In 1880 it was in one of the south aisle windows of the nave, then it was in a window of the east aisle of the north transept, and in 1929 it was placed in the new east window of

the chapel on the south side of the nave, now dedicated to St. Margaret, where it looks very well.

The following pieces of ancient glass have been recorded by previous observers, particularly Dugdale, Grey and Bourne:

In north windows (transept?): Arms of Percy, Neville, and Montague (earl of Salisbury and lord of Wark, *floruit* 1329-84). This glass disappeared before 1827.



S. NICHOLAS CATHEDRAL NEWCASTLE / TYNE
ANCIENT GLASS

FIG. II.

GLASS NOW IN EAST WINDOW OF SOUTH CHAPEL OF NAVE.

In windows of the north transept and its east aisle: Arms of St. George, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Edmund the Martyr, or St. Oswin according to Brand, and the royal arms, 1405-1603 form, in a garter. A figure of St. Lawrence. A figure of a king—perhaps one of the royal saints. Several merchants' or

"skin" marks. A figure of a mermaid with mirror and comb: and a female figure holding a whip and treading upon an angry beast—perhaps intended for *Débonnairété* and *Ira*. All this glass had perished before 1827. A mermaid supports the Surtees arms on a monument in the east aisle of the transept; perhaps the family had a pre-reformation connection with this part of the church. If the "angry beast" was a dragon, and the "whip" an asperges brush, the lady may have been St. Martha the virgin; see F. C. Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, according to which no female saint was represented with a scourge or whip. According to Greenwell a mermaid was used as a badge on the works of Richard Bell, prior of Durham 1464-78 and bishop of Carlisle 1478-95. (*Durham Cathedral*, p. 97.)

In east windows: Arms of sir Robert Brandling, *obit* 1568, and of his wife and mother: arms of Browne, Thornton, Roddam, Delaval, Ogle quartering Bertram, and the royal arms, 1405-1603.

In the great east window: Christ and the twelve apostles, the seven deeds of charity, and an inscription, *Orate pro anima Rogeri de Thornton* (senior or junior?) *et pro animabus Filiorum et Filiarum*. In 1732 only some heads, and fragments in the tracery, remained. Before 1789 a figure of our Saviour "of very miserable execution," says Brand, had been introduced, but was "happily" concealed by the woodwork erected in 1783.

In south (transept?) window: Arms of Colville and Heton, 1347-84?

In windows of the Bewick porch: Arms of Harding and two unidentified coats of arms.

In 1827 an effort was made to fill the great east window with stained glass, but only one light was actually filled: this was the centre light above the first transome and contained a figure of Christ executed in stained glass by John Gibson for the Corporation of Newcastle from a painting by W. Dixon after Michael Angelo. This panel was badly cracked before 1841 and disappeared about 1860, together with the fragments of old glass in the tracery. Gibson also filled part of the south transept window with stained glass, which still remained in 1863.

Of more recent glass ample accounts will be found in the works of Boyle and Canon Newsom. The most interesting of the modern windows is certainly the "Chemist's window" in the south aisle of the choir, and in its naïve treatment it is the most mediæval in spirit of any of the windows erected in the church during the past hundred years.

MONUMENTS.

R. Welford's edition of Richardson's views of monuments in the church, published in 1880, contains a very complete account to which the student may be referred subject to the warning that

neither the engravings nor the text can be depended on in detail, and that Welford had an unhistorical habit of mind which led him to speak of the destruction of the east window "by the reformers" only a few paragraphs after quoting a description of its glass as still existing in 1649! The monuments are a very fine collection, particularly those of the thirteenth century and the later renaissance and classic revival periods, and it is unfortunate that they are so seldom free from a coating of grime which cannot be removed by ordinary dusting. 1873 appears to be the last occasion on which Lord Collingwood's face was clean—a sad fate for a naval officer!—but I am told it has been cleaned at least once since then.

PLATE.

An account of the church plate as then existing will be found in *The Communion Plate of St. Nicholas Church, Newcastle upon Tyne*, published by our society in 1888.¹

CHARITIES, SCHOOLS, ETC.

Some particulars of these, as formerly existing, will be found in the works of Bourne, Brand, Mackenzie, A. M. Oliver, and E. R. Thomas.

APPENDIX G.

DESCRIPTION.

To those not well acquainted with the church the following description may be useful. With a few exceptions, measured by Mr. Wake and myself, the dimensions given are from a plan kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. W. H. Wood, whose knowledge of the building is unrivalled.

The church is built of rubble and is faced both internally and externally with ashlar except the walling above the nave arch at the crossing which is faced with flat bedded random rubble, the interior of the west aisle of the south transept, and perhaps the plastered surfaces in the north transept group and the Bewick porch. Stone from several different quarries has been used at different periods. The roofs are of timber covered with lead.

The *Choir*, 108 feet long by 21 feet 5 inches wide at the east and 22 feet 6 inches at the west end, is 29 feet 9 inches high to the wall-plates and has arcades of four bays on each side, plain octagonal pillars, arches of three chamfered orders which die on to the pillars without capitals, chamfered and weathered hood-moulds,

¹ See *A.A.*, 2nd ser., XXI, and *Proc.*, 2nd ser., III.

modern three-light clearstory windows set in the original openings—arranged in alternative bays of roof, but with an interruption which produces a fine effect of distance when broad bands of shadow between narrower arches of light are seen from the nave. Externally the clearstories have modern embattled parapets. The seven-light window in the east gable dates from 1859, the east windows of the aisles from 1783. There are differences in detail between the north and south arcades of the choir.

The *North Aisle*, 18 feet 2½ inches wide and 24 feet high, has six four-light windows set between very deep narrow buttresses, and a five-light east window. All windows filled with modern tracery and the wall refaced externally. The aisle floors fall 1 foot 11 inches from west to east.

The *South Aisle* is 18 feet 8 inches wide and 24 feet high, and has three and a half windows set between buttresses like those of the north aisle; three and a half of the windows are blocked by the vestry and there has at one time been a hatch about 2 feet 9 inches wide from the vestry into the aisle. The aisle tapers westward to 18 feet in width and has a canted angle to avoid a window in the transept.

The *Vestry* or *Thomlinson Library* is three stories high with Ionic order of two stories over an astylar rusticated base—ment one story high. The lower part is divided into two rooms and a staircase to the upper part, now a song school. Two doors, one mediæval, give access to the vestry from the south aisle. A portion of the unrestored south wall of the aisle is preserved by the cellar stair of the vestry, and shows that the present external details of the aisles are very conjectural restorations.

The *Crossing*, 22 feet by 25 feet, opens to the nave and transepts by lofty arches with multi-chamfered jambs and continuous impost. The chancel arch is slighter than the others, and springs from the plain faces of the chancel walls with no responds, but below the springing is a small moulded corbel. All these arches and their jambs are obviously insertions and do not bond with the adjoining stonework, and the north-west pier contains a twelfth-century pillar similar in plan to some at Hartlepool but with a capital which appears to be later.

The *Nave*, 77 feet by 23 feet 6 inches at the east end and 25 feet at the west end, is 39 feet 9 inches high, and has its axis some distance south of that of the choir with which it is nearly parallel. It has north and south arcades each of four bays. The arches are of three chamfered orders with rounded and chamfered hood-moulds, except towards the north aisle, and well-carved hood-mould stops representing heads of persons in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century costume. The arches join their plain octagonal pillars by discontinuous impost as in the chancel. The bases of the south arcade are of two kinds and

differ from those on the north side, and are set at different levels. The nave floor falls 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from west to east. The modern clearstory matches that of the chancel, but the openings, which are old internally, are all set in alternate bays of the roof, which was obviously designed with them.

The *North Transept*, 24 feet by 56 feet 6 inches, has an east arcade of two bays and a west arcade of two.¹ The arcades are chamfered and rest on octagonal pillars. The north gable has a modern five-light window fitted with flowing tracery and a two-light similar window is on the west side.

The *East Aisle*, or "St. George's Porch," a name sometimes applied to the whole transept, 21 feet 9 inches by 29 feet by 24 feet high, has on its east side a modern door, one modern window and one restored ancient window; the two windows on its north side are also restorations. This aisle occupies one bay of the transept arcade, the other opening into the north aisle of the choir from which the transept aisle is separated by a chamfered archway. Of the two arches on the west side of the transept one opens into the north aisle of the nave and one into the little chantry. The transept has a modernized clearstory similar to that of the chancel. The north end of the transept is two stories high, the lower being the *Charnel Chapel* entered by a modern door from the east aisle; it measures 23 feet 6 inches by 11 feet 1 inch internally and was 10 feet high when first opened up. It is lit from the east by an unglazed flamboyant traceried wheel window 2 feet 11 inches wide and cut out of a single stone, and had formerly four small windows on its north side. It is covered by a segmental barrel vault on five heavy chamfered ribs, and has a mutilated piscina in its south wall 2 feet 9 inches from the east end.

The *Queen's Porch* or *West Aisle*, 16 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 3 inches, was built in 1834 and has modern "perpendicular" windows of three lights on its north and west sides.

The *South Transept* has an arcade of two arches on its west side, a large modern gable window and modern buttresses, clearstory windows as in the chancel, and two restored flowing traceried windows on its east side below the clearstory level. In the lower part of the gable are a piscina and a monument, both mutilated. The whole has been so much refaced that it is difficult to trace its history. It measures 25 feet 9 inches by 44 feet. The transepts' roofs have independent gables after the Scottish fashion, and do not mitre with the nave roof.

The *West Aisle* of the south transept, 19 feet by 9 feet 3 inches by 23 feet 6 inches high; was rebuilt c. 1635, and has two modern "decorated" period windows.

¹ Since this was written it has been found that the west wall of the transept conceals part of a twelfth century window and some twelfth century corbel table in the north wall of the nave.

The *North Aisle* of the nave, 23 feet by 80 feet 6 inches by 20 feet high, has four modern "perpendicular" windows set between buttresses, and was entirely refaced externally in 1834. Internally above the nave arcade are carved corbels, some of which appear to have belonged to the twelfth century church.

The *South Aisle* of the nave is 79 feet 6 inches by 23 feet at the east end and 24 feet at the west, and is 20 feet high. Its two eastmost windows are modern "geometrical decorated" in style, erected c. 1876: its westmost bay was refaced and made "perpendicular" in style in 1832. One bay is occupied by the "Bewick porch." Externally the aisle and south transept have a double splayed base, a great part of which appears to be ancient. In the lower part of the aisle wall are a series of chamfered segmental pointed arched recesses for founders' tombs, three of which were destroyed when the Bewick porch was built. They have rounded and hollow moulded hood-moulds united by a rounded and chamfered stringcourse running under the window-sills. The rear arches of the windows in both aisles of the nave have rounded, filleted and chamfered hood-moulds.

The *Bewick Porch*, now St. Margaret's Chapel, is 13 feet by 18 feet 6 inches by 20 feet high, and is entirely modern. Before reconstruction it had a level parapet, a lean-to roof adjoining that of the aisle, a stilted segmental headed traceried window in its east side, and what looks like a depressed three-centred headed window, perhaps a later insertion, in its south wall, which is now treated as a gable. The arch opening into this chapel is ancient and is of the same kind of chamfering as the west entrance arch of the north aisle of the choir.

The *Tower*, 23 feet by 23 feet internally, 38 feet by 37 feet 3 inches externally at floor level, and 203 feet high over all from ground floor level, consists of four parts. A baptistery, 48 feet high, covered by a lierne vault with octagonal bell-hatch, and opening into the western transepts and the nave by heavy arches, of which the nave arch alone is entirely ancient, with continuous imposts and piers resting on a boldly moulded plinth. The baptistery is lit by modern "perpendicular" windows, a large one on the west side and short ones above the western transept roofs, and has a restored western door. A ringers' chamber, 24 feet high, lit by three modern "decorated" windows set in ancient openings. A belfry, 40 feet high, with two lofty restored two-light openings on each side; these unglazed windows have transomes, cinque-foil arched beneath, and heads each containing two cinque-foiled sub-arches. Above the belfry is a modern pierced embattled parapet, 7 feet high, interrupted by a lofty pinnacle in the centre of each front and abutting at the corners on large octagonal pinnacles tied together by oak beams and modern lattice girders and supporting the two diagonal three-

centred arches on whose intersection stands a stone lantern with its own buttresses, uncusped traceried windows and crocketed spirelet. The ornamental details of this very fine composition are lean and cold, but this may be the result of the constant repairs and renewals to which it has been subjected as a result of its frail construction and exposed situation. The tower has diagonal angle buttresses which have chamfered corners up to belfry floor level, and terminate in statues standing on pedestals with their backs to the corner pinnacles of the crown. The tower contains spiral stairs in its north-west and south-east corners; the former is entered from the north jamb of the west doorway, and the latter never seems to have extended above the ringers' chamber, and is now built up.

The *North-west Transept*, 23 feet 6 inches by 26 feet by 28 feet high, dates from 1834, is "perpendicular" in style, and contains what is now the principal entrance door. It has two windows on its west side and one above the door in its north gable, and opens by modern arches into the tower and the north aisle of the nave.

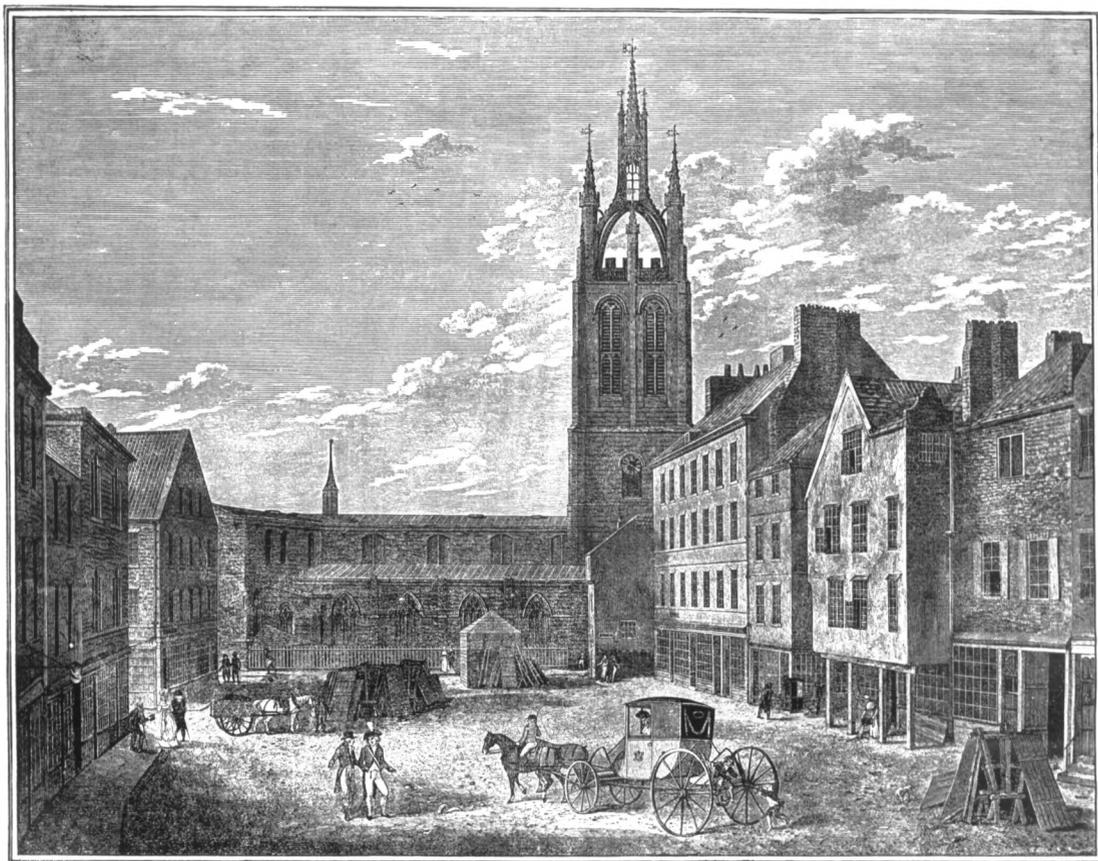
The *South-west Transept* is similar to the north-west one but two years older and with side walls 6 feet thick. These contain relieving arches springing against the tower and are continued by buttresses up the tower to belfry level.

The *Roofs*. The aisle roofs are very flat and of no particular beauty or interest except that of the east aisle of the north transept, which has been restored as a panelled ceiling of "perpendicular" type. The choir roof appears to date mainly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but has a few ancient heraldic bosses re-used. It has twelve arched principals, and bosses at each principal's intersection of ridge and purlins. The transept roofs are of more interest: the southern was probably reconstructed in 1783 and 1844, but the northern seems to contain genuine old work and several good carved bosses. Like the choir roof it has arched principals and moulded purlins and ridge rib. The latter is purely for ornament, a plain timber above it being for use, which suggests that at one time the spaces between the principals, purlins and false ridge may have been filled in with boarding. Indeed Bourne says of St. George's porch, "It hath under it a Vault and . . . it is ceiled at the Top." The roof of the crossing is the nave roof continued; indeed one might almost imagine that the nave arch was built after the roof,² and that the curious cusped outline of two of the principals was adopted when the transept arches were raised to their present level. The nave roof has eight arched principals, a false ridge rib (which in some

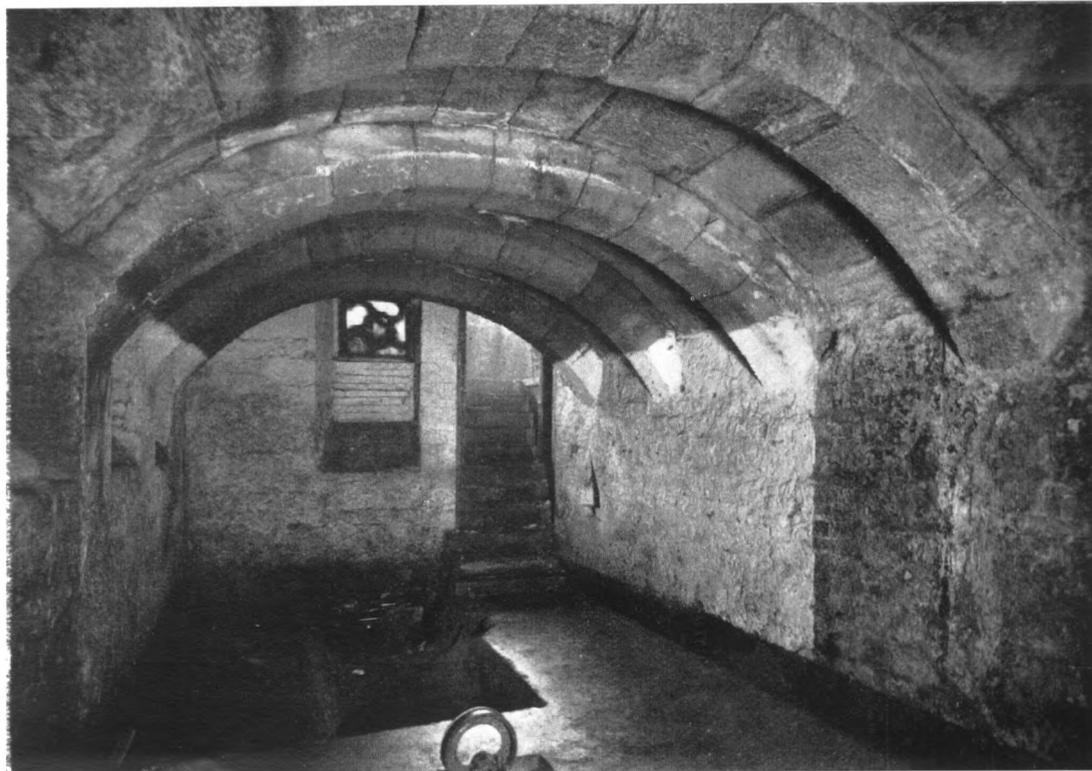
² Since the above was in print, built-up clearstory windows have been found blocked by the nave arch abutments, confirming this suggestion to some extent.



"THIS VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF SAINT NICHOLAS' CHURCH WAS DRAWN BY RALPH WATERS, JUNR., OF NEWCASTLE, 9TH AUGUST, 1783, AND WAS IN THE 17TH YEAR'S EXHIBITION OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY, 1785, NO. 551."



VIEW FROM NORTH BY C. NESBIT FROM A DRAWING BY R. JOHNSON.



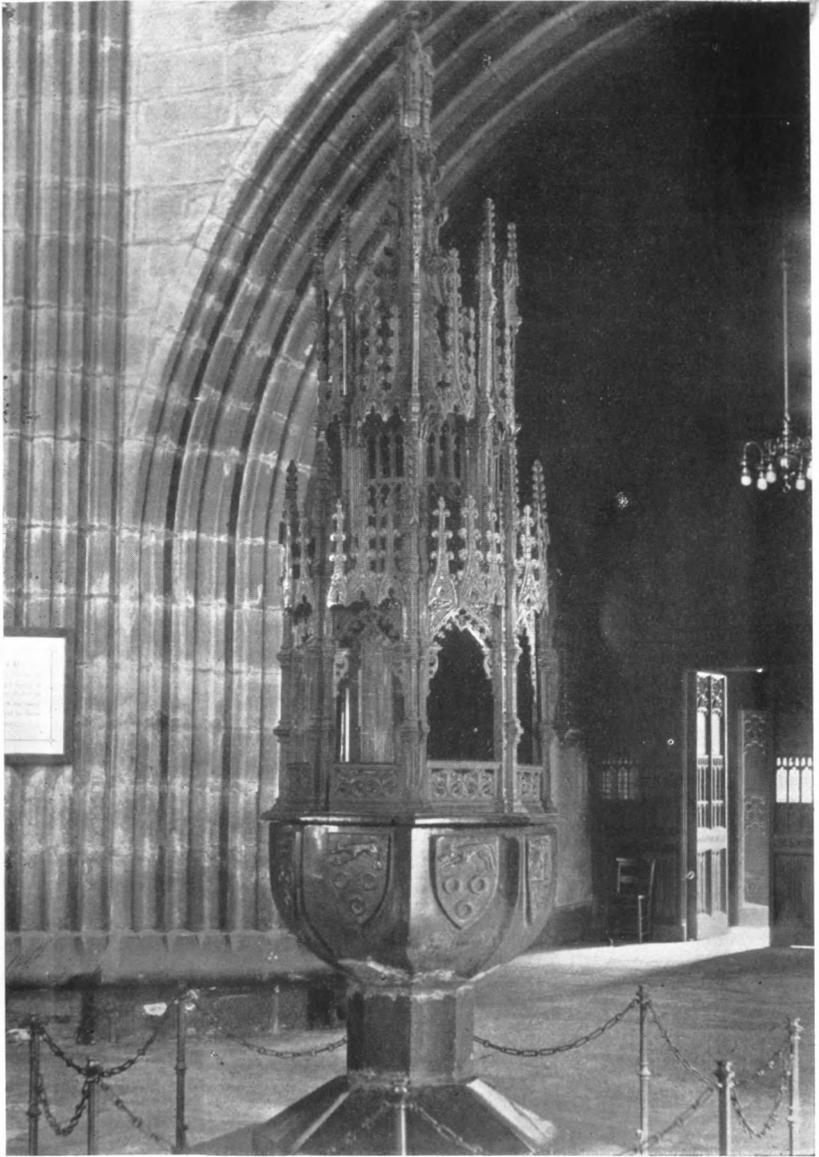
INTERIOR OF CHARNEL CHAPEL, LOOKING EAST.



BOSS SAID TO BE FROM A SCREEN IN SAINT NICHOLAS' CHURCH.



TWELFTH CENTURY CAPITALS AND ARCH BLOCKS, THIRTEENTH CENTURY GRAVE SLAB, AND TRACERY FROM SOUTH AISLE WINDOWS OF NAVE; NOW BUILT INTO A WALL AT HIGH FELL.



THE FONT, AND SOUTH EAST PIER OF TOWER.



BOSS ON COVER OF FONT.



CREDENCE TABLE NOW IN DERBYSHIRE.



PAINTING IN THE CHURCH, BY OR AFTER TINTORETTO.

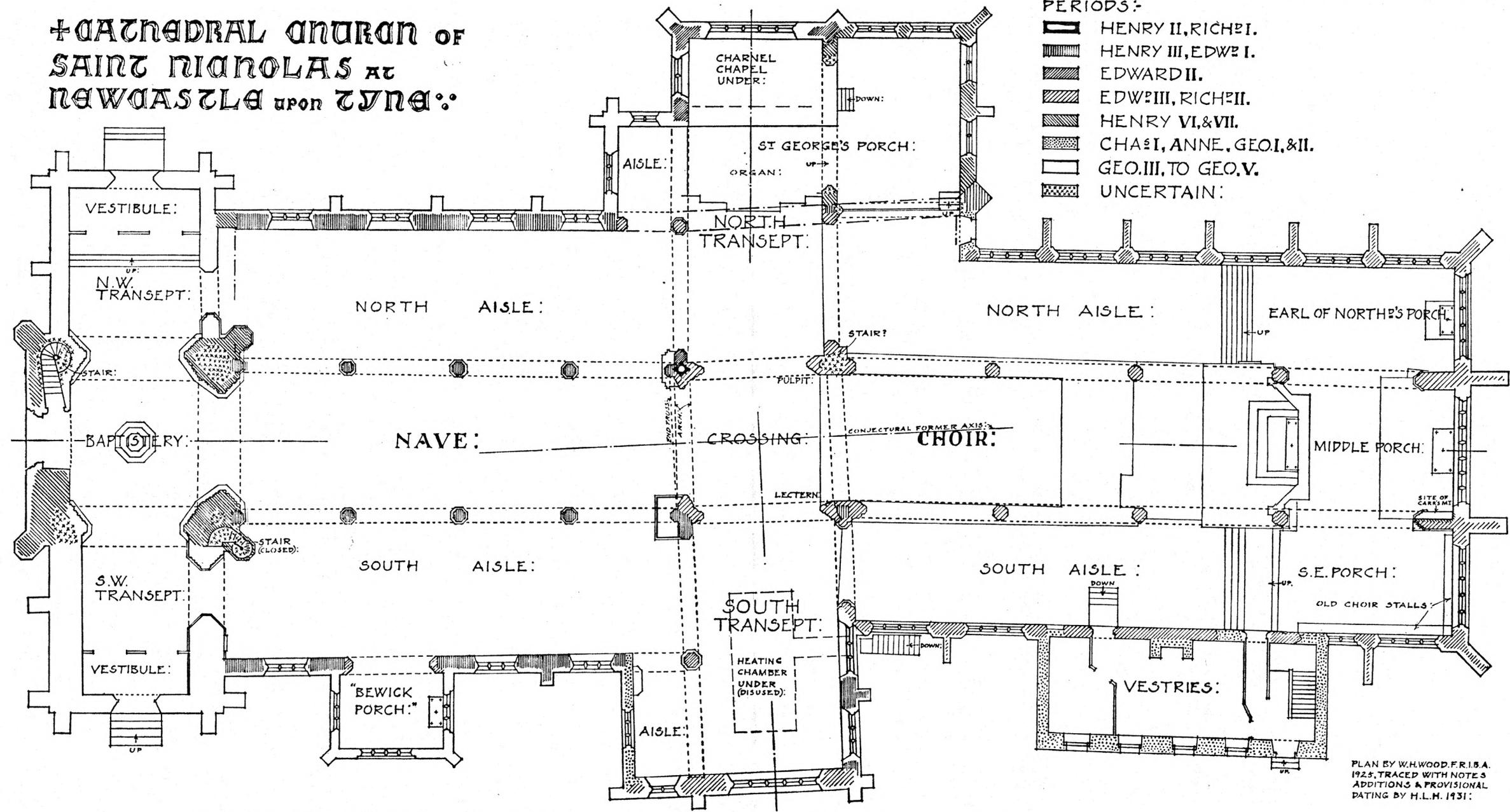


ORGAN CASE : ENLARGED AND RECONSTRUCTED, SOUTH FRONT.



ORGAN CASE : EAST FRONT.

† CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT NICHOLAS AT NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:



- PERIODS:-
- HENRY II, RICH^d I.
 - HENRY III, EDW^d I.
 - EDWARD II.
 - EDW^d III, RICH^d II.
 - HENRY VI, & VII.
 - CHAS^d I, ANNE, GEO. I, & II.
 - GEO. III, TO GEO. V.
 - UNCERTAIN:

SCALE OF 0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 FEET.

PLAN OF THE CHURCH.

NOTE—THE NAME OF HENRY IV. SHOULD FOLLOW THAT OF RICHARD II. IN THE 4TH PERIOD.

PLAN BY W.H. WOOD, F.R.I.B.A. 1923. TRACED WITH NOTES & PROVISIONAL DATING BY H.L.H. 1931.



of the bays has no real ridge piece above it) and plain purlins which have neither brackets nor bosses where they meet the principals. There are bosses along the ridge, and in most cases the mouldings of ridge and principal are stopped above the boss, showing that bosses of this size formed part of the design. The ancient bosses are carved with wreaths of oak, fig, pomegranate, etc., surrounding in each case a painted shield of a rather late shape. The modern roofs of the western transepts and the Bewick porch are of no particular interest. The roofs of the nave and its aisles rest on stone corbels of "perpendicular" type but differing from those of the choir roof. The aisle roofs, though "lean to" externally, have false ceilings to give symmetry inside, a feature found at Finedon, Northants, but rare.

From photographs taken more than twenty years ago it is evident that the back of the nave roof has long been broken by spreading of the clearstory walls; in some places an attempt to smooth over the resultant dislocations has been made by reworking parts of the mouldings, but though the whole thrust of the roof is being taken by the clearstory walls, no fresh movements of consequence appear to have taken place since a long iron tie was added to the south arcade with the object of tying it to the tower and the south transept. Unfortunately the death-watch beetle has made its presence felt in some parts of the roofs in recent years, but a scheme is now on foot for dealing with this danger.

For *Furniture* see appendix E; *Bells*, appendix D, *Armorial*s, *Monuments*, etc., appendix F.

APPENDIX H.

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