

## IX

### THE SEBROKE CROZIER AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEWCASTLE MUSEUM

*John Philipson*

#### *Abbreviations*

Lit & Phil Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne  
NHS Natural History Society of Northumberland Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne

WHEN RECENTLY a question arose about how the Society came to acquire the Sebroke Crozier, a difficulty was at once encountered in that its acquisition is not recorded in our Accessions Book, nor was subsequent search successful in revealing any minute of our Council which threw any light on how it came into our possession. On a metal collar on the staff is engraved: *This Crozier was found Anno 1741 in the Coffin of Thos. Seabrook chosen Abbot of Gloucester in 1450. He died in 1457. It was given to the Abby of Old Windsor by Dr. Milles<sup>1</sup> Dean of Exeter in 1764.* Helpful though this legend is, it leaves a sizeable gap between Old Windsor in 1764 and the Keep in Newcastle in our own time. Moreover no Abbey of Old Windsor appears to be known to history.

The thought that it may have come to the Society with the ivory crozier, latterly referred to as the "Allan" crozier,<sup>2</sup> prompted consultation of Fox's *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum* (1827). It at once became apparent that the Sebroke crozier, like the ivory crozier, came to Newcastle, and later to our Society, through the purchase in 1822 by the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical society of the collection to which at that time reference was mostly made as the Wycliffe Museum.

#### THE WYCLIFFE MUSEUM

A history of this collection, and some account of the two men who founded and developed it, may be found in Fox's introduction to his *Synopsis*, but a summary must be given here. Marmaduke Tunstall, born 1743, educated at Douai, and as that implies a Roman Catholic, spent some years in London as a young man, forming the nucleus of his collection. He was elected FSA in 1764 and FRS in 1777. On his marriage in 1776, he left London and settled on a family estate at Wycliffe on the Tees. After preparing a suitable room in his house, he removed his collections there about 1780 or 1781. A contemporary visitor alludes<sup>3</sup> to the "invaluable collections

of manuscripts, books, prints, coins, and gems, besides a spacious museum stored with rare birds, and many other curiosities relating to natural history.”

Tunstall's interests, as became a country gentleman of his time, were wide rather than deep, but if there is an area in which he could claim a more than ordinary qualification it is in the field of ornithology. He kept exotic birds and when they died he had them stuffed. By this means and by purchase, he built up a considerable collection of stuffed birds. He corresponded with the great Linnaeus, and had privately printed an essay at a systematic list of British Birds in Latin, French and English.<sup>4</sup> In his last years he invited Thomas Bewick, whose engraving of the Chillingham Bull he had commissioned, to visit his collection. There was some slight delay in Bewick's acceptance and it was not till after Tunstall's death in 1790 that Bewick stayed for a period at Wycliffe and a number of the birds in Tunstall's museum became the originals of illustrations in Bewick's *British Birds*.

After Tunstall's death his museum was bought in 1791 for less than £700 by George Allan and removed to his house at Blackwell Grange, near Darlington. A great deal is known about George Allan as he left vast quantities of paper, and indeed, some valuable collections of manuscripts passed through his hands; his family, too, remained in the area and in their piety preserved much of his paper for posterity. So addicted was he to documentation that, besides spending untold days in transcribing manuscripts, he installed a private press, equipped with a wide range of Caslon Old Face type, and multiplied copies of selected documents as well as printing odds and ends of ephemera. Allan was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, corresponded with notable antiquaries of his day such as Richard Gough, and collaborated closely with Hutchinson in the production of his *History of Durham*.

From the surviving Visitors Book, dated 1795, it seems that the museum was exhibited in Darlington from 1792 to 1794 before being established at Blackwell Grange. Allan added to the collections and from Fox's account, substantiated by some surviving evidence, did much work listing and labelling. He in turn died in 1800 and the museum languished and decayed till it was sold in 1822, for £400 and through the agency of G. T. Fox, to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. Fox had the collections conveyed by wagon to Newcastle. As the Lit & Phil building was uncompleted, they were taken into storage at the works of Doubleday and Easterby, and remained there for two years. A long room on the second floor of the new Lit & Phil building in Westgate Street was prepared as a museum room. Meanwhile the birds had been found to be in a state of some decay and a Mr. Wingate was employed to rehabilitate them.

#### THE NEWCASTLE MUSEUM

The Lit & Phil was founded in 1793 and had the widest interests. Lectures, discussions, meteorological observations, formation of a library, the holding of stock of scientific apparatus and its loan to members, correspondence with savants overseas, almost nothing seemed irrelevant to their enquiring minds. Not unnaturally then they began to attract the gift of scientific collections, some of these of abiding signifi-

cance. But these random collections took on a different scale when in 1822 they were persuaded to buy the Wycliffe Museum. There were critics of the decision at that time (MacKenzie, 485), mainly at that stage on the ground of the dilapidated condition of the considerable collection of stuffed birds.<sup>5</sup> When they did move the material the room provided proved too small.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless some progress was made. In 1826 the material was moved in and some regulations for the museum agreed. In 1827 Fox produced his *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum*. This catalogue is a rich source of information for the history and content of the museum, listing, not merely the Tunstall/Allan collections, but the direct acquisitions of the Lit & Phil both before and after the purchase date. One a little suspects that Fox persuaded the Lit & Phil to buy the Wycliffe Museum to enable him to produce this catalogue. It is a satisfying monument for any man to leave as presently he fades from the scene (retiring to Durham) leaving the Lit & Phil struggling like a Laocoon with too much material, a limited space, limited funds, and a measure of disagreement among themselves whether the struggle was one in which they ought to be involved at all.

In desperation in 1829 the Lit & Phil appointed a Museum Committee, but already another solution was emerging. The difficulties were that the revenues of the Lit & Phil were inadequate to cover the running of a museum in addition to their other activities, and that their large membership with diffused interests made it difficult to channel voluntary activity into the care of a museum. The solution was the formation of a Natural History Society, with its own membership and its own subscription income, primarily directed to running the museum. On 19th August 1829 a meeting was held in the Lit & Phil building and the Natural History Society established. We are not here concerned with the history of the NHS, which has been told elsewhere, but it may be said that over the following years the NHS was able to command the labours of many distinguished scientists making valuable contributions not merely to the museum but to the greater body of science.

The situation was complicated at once by a resolution of the annual general meeting of members of the Lit & Phil in 1829 rejecting, rather decidedly, a request of the NHS to purchase the museum material. Later that year however the Lit & Phil committee agreed to allow the NHS to undertake "superintendence and arrangement" of the museum, but expressed the wish that it be a "mutual understanding of the two committees that the museums be not separated." Thus early is ambiguity introduced into the situation. The Lit & Phil was inhibited from unequivocally handing over its collections, and for some years continued to reappoint its Museum Committee, and funds of that committee (by then £5 1s 9d) were not absorbed into the general fund until 1834. Meanwhile obviously the NHS was at work. In January 1831 they rented Mr. Anderson's showroom in an adjoining property and in February the Lit & Phil gave leave for part of the collection (the foreign birds) to be removed there, and these were insured for £600 in the names of the Lit & Phil, the NHS, and Mr. Hutton.

Already in 1831 the NHS had formulated a project to secure a "gallery" to be placed on a site adjoining to and communicating with the Lit & Phil, which notes in its 38th Report (1831) a proposal "to combine its funds with those of the Anti-

quarian and NH Societies to secure the accommodation, under one roof, of our various collections." In 1833 plans and a request for a site were submitted to the Lit & Phil. The latter in April further defined the proposal:

The NHS to take charge of the Museum of this Society arranging the specimens in it along with their own . . . This Museum to be called the Newcastle Museum, and to be the property of the two Societies; the specimens and the furniture belonging to each being all carefully marked.

For the plot of ground behind the Lit & Phil together with the right of access along Library Place, the NHS was to pay the Lit & Phil £400. The entrance from the Library Place was to be for the public, but a door communicating directly from the Library of the Lit & Phil would give the members of the latter Society free access to the Museum. In return the Lit & Phil was to pay the NHS £40 a year. In 1834 the building was finished, Mr. Wingate was appointed Keeper in June and at a Special General Meeting of the NHS on 3rd December the museum was formally opened. To make clear the light in which the transaction was viewed by the NHS it is necessary, at the cost of some slight repetition, to quote from the report read at this meeting which recalled that "the Lit & Phil had for some years been possessed of an extensive Museum, containing many objects of great value and scientific interest, and as they declined a proposal of selling their collection, it was deemed advisable . . . to consolidate the collections, by the formation of a joint Museum. It was with pleasure that the Committee found this proposal met by the Lit & Phil Society in the readiest and most liberal manner."

Meanwhile our own Society had for some years been occupying two rooms on the ground floor of the Lit & Phil building. We also had a problem: the weight and bulk of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones with which competing donors generously presented us. In 1829 John Hodgson and John Adamson wrote to the Lit & Phil seeking permission to erect a wooden shed against the wall that divided the property of the Lit & Phil from that of Mr. Anderson, the cabinet-maker. This lean-to was for the accommodation of our Roman stones, and permission was given.

Then on 4th June 1834 the NHS wrote to our Secretaries as follows:

Gentlemen: By the direction of the Committee of the NHS, I beg leave, through you, to make the following proposals to the Antiquarian Society, viz. that they may rent a piazza and the two meeting rooms at the end of it in the new Building for the sum of £25 a year, this sum to include lighting heating and the attendance and services of the keeper of the Museum who will be constantly on the spot. The members of your Society to have free access for themselves and their Friends to the collections of Natural History daily from 12 o'clock and the Committee of the NHS would beg to suggest that the rooms and piazza should be accessible to visitors during the time the Museum is open. The NHS further propose to deposit with your Society all specimens and remains of Antiquity whatever which may come into their possession with the old collection, these specimens being marked and a Catalogue of them kept.

The letter goes on to make some reservations about use of the rooms for meetings and concludes with details about dates for occupation and about accrual of rent.

I have been unable to trace in the records of the Lit & Phil or the NHS any specific authority sought or given for such a transfer of property to the care of a third party. To understand how such a loose arrangement should have been acceptable, was indeed part of the whole conception, we have to remember two things. First that the active members of all three societies were often the same people, the town's intellectual elite, revolving like a stage army in support of all three societies. Secondly that they had all accepted the principle of a Newcastle Museum, the name which Fox had proposed for the Lit & Phil museum in 1827, which was now to have a wider context as a joint museum to be run in a building communicating with the Lit & Phil, and of which our Society was to occupy the ground floor. At this stage, and for some years, the museum was seen as a co-operative effort. It was not till 1836 that the Lit & Phil called to mind that the agreement with the NHS had not been formally executed by the trustees of the two Societies. Prompted on this point, the committee of the NHS, still evidently in honeymoon mood, considered that it was "highly unlikely any wish should exist in either Society for the dissolution of a union, advantageous to both," and authorized their trustees to sign.

This clearly remained the prevailing view for many years to come. There are evidences however from time to time that there were those in the Lit & Phil who had some degree of misgiving about the loss of control of their property. For example in 1847 Law LXXII of the Lit & Phil provided that *specimens, belonging to this Society, which have been placed in the Museum of the NHS shall remain deposited with, and entrusted to the care and management of that Society*. Then, in 1848, its Librarian was instructed to examine the various articles belonging to the Lit and Phil lately arranged with the antiquities in the Museum, checking them with the list, and that the same be retained in the Museum of the NHS.

In view of the date of this agitation it may have been prompted by the prospect of the removal of our Society to the Keep. No evidence was found that any action was taken and a possible interpretation of these gestures is that they were in part cosmetic, designed to placate some legalistic agitator on the Lit & Phil committee or in the membership. Certainly our own Society did not conceal its possession of these antiquities. Our first catalogue was printed and published in 1839. It openly lists fifty articles, including the Sebroke crozier, which are acknowledged, perhaps a little disingenuously, to the "Allan Museum," rather than explicitly to the Lit & Phil. Some further sixteen articles may, some with certainty others with a high degree of probability, be ascribed to the same source.<sup>7</sup>

In 1822 and for some years after it was most common to refer to the material purchased from the Allan family as the Wycliffe Museum. In his *Synopsis* (1829) Fox advocates the adoption of the title the *Newcastle Museum*, but he emphasizes the contribution made by Allan in adding to Tunstall's collections. More significantly, he adopted *Allan Museum* as the running headline to that section of his volume covering the 1822 acquisition. For the accessions from this source our 1839 catalogue relied heavily on Fox and it is probable that it was this headline that led the copyist to attribute these articles to the "Allan Museum".

The text accompanying Oliver's 1844 edition of his map of Newcastle begins by

saying that the collections of the three societies, arranged under the general name of the Newcastle Museum, were open, without fee from 12 to 4 each weekday. He proceeds to give so precise a description of the rooms with exact internal measurements that, with the aid of a site-plan in the archive of the NHS, it has been possible to make a conjectural reconstruction of the ground and first floor plans of the museum, which has been drawn by Mr. Tristram Spence.<sup>8</sup>

The most vivid account of the building housing the joint museum from 1834 is that of R. O. Heslop in the centenary volume of *AA*. "The older and newer buildings formed three sides of a four-square gravelled court, in the centre of which stood a rain gauge. On two sides the NHS's walls, unpierced by windows, rose high above. while below they were supported on piers, leaving a gallery open to the quadrangle. The claustal effect of the sub-structure impressed itself upon contemporaries, one of whom describes it as the "collonade" (sic) and another as the "piazza in which are deposited the Society's valuable collection of Roman altars."

It will be remembered that our Society secured the lease of the Keep from 1848. Some renovations were carried out and all our museum objects must have been transferred there by 1849 when our tenancy in the old museum ended. By 1850 tenancy of the ground floor we formerly occupied had been taken over by the Fine Arts Society. The piazza was glazed and heated and used by the students of the Government School of Design under William Bell Scott. This School of Design was the forerunner of the later School of Art in the University, now the Department of Fine Art.

Meanwhile the space available to the NHS was, with the growth of their collections, gradually becoming less and less adequate. Some photographs from late in their time in the old building show the museum as being richly overcrowded. Also with the growing standing and independence of their Society, the naturalists increasingly found it irksome to be seen as a junior society down a side-alley of the Lit & Phil. This feeling of unrest was expressed eloquently in a report by Albany Hancock in 1864. The report is far from being an objective assessment of what the NHS owed to the Lit & Phil, but there is no denying the need for a move to larger premises. Nevertheless it was not till 1884 that the NHS was able to move its museum to their present building.

When their move finally did come, the ambiguity about who owned what was happily resolved by payment by the NHS to the Lit & Phil of a nominal consideration of £100 for such specimens, the property of the Lit & Phil, as they wished to remove to their new Museum. A signed schedule thereof was supposed to be handed to the Trustees of the Lit & Phil. The money was paid, but no copy of the schedule has been traced. Knowing how unwelcome the preparation of schedules is to those who have to do the work, the possibility must be accepted that no schedule was ever prepared, and that the Trustees of the Lit & Phil may have failed to make themselves sufficiently disagreeable to secure one. The NHS sold the site and building of the old museum to the North Eastern Railway for £12,830, thus making a helpful capital gain.

Apart from the Egyptian antiquities and the more ethnographical material, most

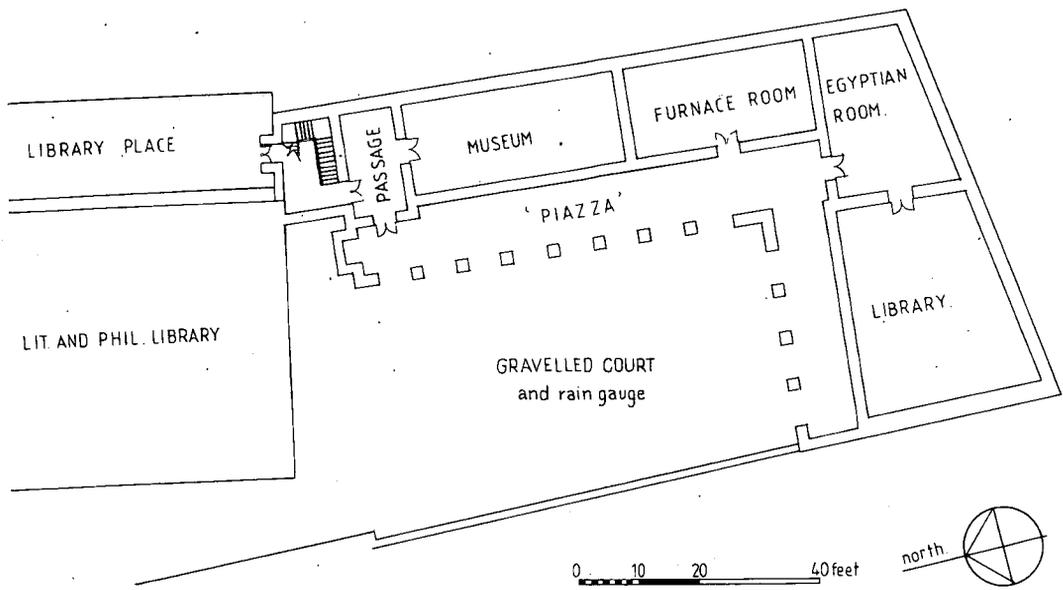


Fig. 1. Newcastle Museum c. 1844, ground floor.

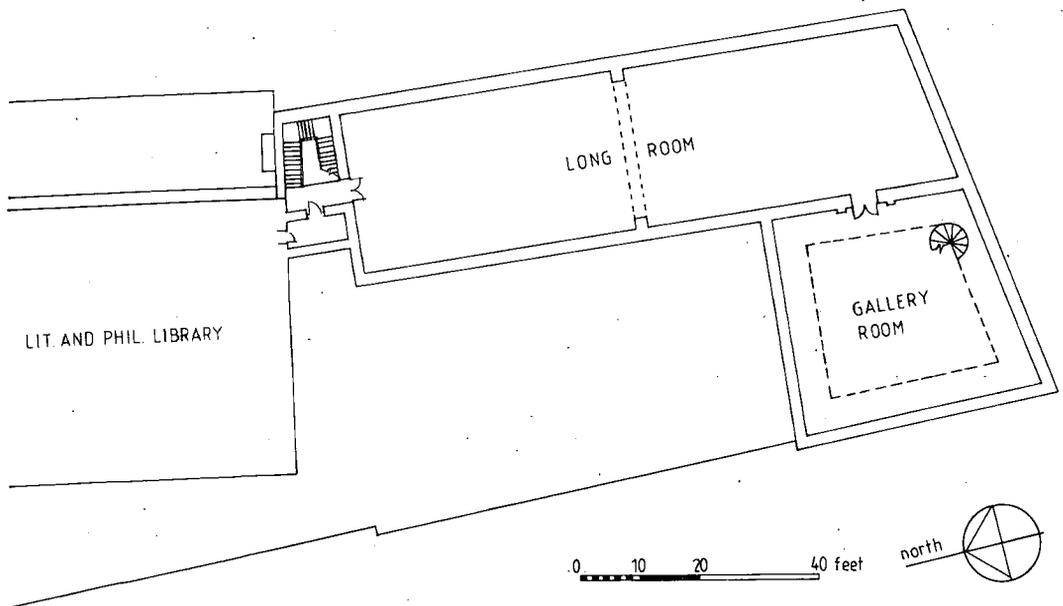


Fig. 2. Newcastle Museum c. 1844, first floor.

of the antiquities from the Newcastle Museum remained with our Society, and many still remain. The tacit assumption behind the break-up of the *Newcastle Museum* was surely that exhibits are best in the care of those within whose field of specialism they lie. Of the three Societies it was in our hands that medieval antiquities should most naturally have come to rest, and among them, the Sebroke Crozier, with which our present study began.

It would not be unreasonable to argue that Fox was mistaken in advocating the purchase of the Tunstall/Allan collections. By modern standards it was altogether too miscellaneous an assemblage, and its major element the stuffed birds was one peculiarly susceptible to decay. Nevertheless 1822 was a fateful year for museums in Newcastle. The modest and rather random collections of the Lit & Phil, important as some of their elements have proved to be, and the nucleus of our own collection of Roman inscribed and sculptured stones, were not on a scale to present serious problems. But the introduction of the Tunstall/Allan collections raised the combined operation to a scale too large for the Lit & Phil to keep it as a minor side-issue. Hence the NHS and hence for half-a-century *The Newcastle Museum*. At the mid-century our own Society opted out of the joint museum, taking with us many objects which only gradually did we learn to value. From the continuing Newcastle Museum in due time emerged the splendid Hancock Museum.

#### THE SEBROKE CROZIER

The history of the crozier from its emergence as part of the Wycliffe Museum is now sufficiently clear. It remains to trace its earlier history and to consider the implications of the inscription cited in our opening paragraph. The crozier itself is discussed in the appendix below.

The Benedictine house of St. Peter at Gloucester was founded in 681, and Thomas Sebroke was elected Abbot in 1450. He began the building of the "exceeding fair and square tower in the midst of the church" (Camden) and, after his death in 1457 the work was continued under the direction of Robert Tully, one of the monks. Sebroke was buried in a chapel at the south-west end of the choir. When in 1741 Bishop Benson repaved the choir, Sebroke's coffin, and a number of others were opened. No contemporary account of the opening of the coffin has been traced, but Dugdales editors in 1817 add a footnote: *In the Hon. Mr. Bateman's catalogue of furniture removed after his death from Old Windsor, and sold in May 1774, in London, No. 73 was this article "An ancient Greek crozier in ivory; and the crozier of Seabrook, Abbat of Gloucester 1457. taken out of his coffin."* (Dugdale, 536n) Cowen (*AA*<sup>4</sup> xlv, 204) has shown that this sale took place at Christies, and consulting their copy of the catalogue, found that Lot 73 brought £1 17s 0d. Cowen surmises that the purchaser was Tunstall who, as stated above, spent these years in London making the purchases that formed the nucleus of his collections. Though from Fox (*Synopsis*, 179) it is evident that Allan did buy antiquities from other collections, it is probable that, were there evidence then surviving that in this case he had done so, it would have been cited by Fox, as he does for example with the material purchased from Boulter.

For the attribution to Sebroke and to Gloucester we are primarily dependent on the authenticity of the inscription on the collar. The entry in the sale catalogue has no independent authority, but derives from the inscription, as the footnote in the *Monasticon*, in its turn, derives from the sale catalogue. The text of the engraved legend is circumstantial and refers to events and people independently attested. We know from other sources that Bishop Benson had the choir of Gloucester Cathedral repaved in 1741 and that Abbot Sebroke's coffin was then opened. Moreover we know a great deal about Dr. Milles.<sup>9</sup> Though Coleridge in another context, probably uncharitably, said of Milles, *though only a dean, he was in dullness and malignity, most episcopally eminent*, what is pertinent to our enquiry is that he was interested in antiquities, indeed pre-eminently so, being President of the Society of Antiquaries of London. So that it is inherently probable that a medieval crozier might pass through his hands. Even if Coleridge were wholly right about Milles' dullness, the crozier falls within an area in which Milles was best qualified to hold an informed view. Many of the papers he wrote for *Archaeologia* relate to the medieval period, and in his influential church circle (his father-in-law was Archbishop of Canterbury) he had the opportunity to be fully informed about events such as the opening of Sebroke's coffin. For Milles this was a contemporary event, indeed he was elected a Fellow of the London Society in the same year. No record of his acquisition of the crozier has yet been traced, but it must have been Milles as donor who told the recipient in 1764 about its source, which he was in a good position to know.

At first sight the alleged recipient, the "Abby of Old Windsor", defies all augury. There is no such abbey in Dugdale, nor in *VCH Berkshire*. The answer lies in the whimsies of a delightful character who flourished from about 1705 to 1773.

The Hon. Richard Bateman<sup>10</sup> was a man of means, and taste, and fashion, moving in the highest Society of Hanoverian England. Henry Fox and he were rival claimants for the hand of Isabella, grand-daughter of the Great Duke of Marlborough. A poem entitled *Isabella* by a contemporary wit begins:

The monkey, lapdog, parrot and her Grace,  
Had each retired from breakfast to their place,  
When hark, a knock! 'See Betty, see who's there!  
'Tis Mr. Bateman, ma'am, in his new chair!  
'Dicky's new chair, the charming'st thing in town,  
Whose poles are lackered and whose lining's brown.'

So it goes on. Disappointed in the Duchess, Dicky remained a bachelor, able unhampered to indulge his lightest whim.

About 1730 Bateman fell in love with a house on the Thames at Old Windsor, of which, with much surrounding property, he became lessee and which he proceeded to embellish, first in a Chinese taste, with pagodas, bridges, and temples. Horace Walpole claimed the credit of Bateman's switch from about 1746 to a gothic taste. "Every pagoda," it was said, "took the veil." By 1760 the house was a mock-monastery with cloisters, refectory, and stained glass, a faithful echo of Strawberry Hill.

Bateman chose as the fictitious founder of his monastery Caducanus,<sup>11</sup> Bishop



Head of THE SEBROKE CROZIER, showing representation of St. Peter.

*Photograph: University of Newcastle*



Head of THE SEBROKE CROZIER, reverse showing representation of St. Paul.

*Photograph: University of Newcastle*

of Bangor from 1215 to 1236. Not far from the refectory, he had erected a mausoleum which was the actual tomb of Caducanus, removed from the Abbey of Dore in Herefordshire, and re-erected at Grove House. Upon the altar in this mausoleum with other relics we are told there lay a crozier. We cannot know that this is Sebroke's crozier, but it does provide a motive for Bateman coupling the broken staff together, and of the two croziers, the ivory one without a staff and this with, it is the more suitable for the purpose.

It may be thought strange that a clergyman should give a crozier for a purpose of such levity, but we should recall that they saw things more objectively in the eighteenth century, that social differences too were much more significant then, and that Mr. Bateman was a man of the highest fashion whom a clergyman even of Milles' standing would be glad to oblige.<sup>12</sup> It is certain therefore that Bateman is the author of the inscription. Anyone else would describe the gift as to Mr. Bateman rather than to the "Abby". It was all part of the show.

Bateman died 1st March 1773. His heir incontinently sold everything in a six-day sale at Christies.<sup>13</sup> Horace Walpole wrote on the second day of the sale: "Strawberry Hill is almost the last monastery left, at least in England. Poor Mr Bateman's is despoiled. Lord Bateman has stripped and plundered it . . ." As we already know, Sebroke's crozier was among the relics sold and it is probable that it was the buyer who brought the crozier to the north of England.

For 284 years the Sebroke crozier may be supposed to have lain with the remains of the proud and masterful abbot.<sup>14</sup> Then for 93 years it changed hands with some frequency and was probably viewed by visitors as various as Horace Walpole, John Wesley, Thomas Bewick and Edward Pease. Finally after 147 years in our possession, for part of that time a mute witness of a significant development in the cultural history of Newcastle, it has been refurbished, something has been learnt of its story, and bringing our regard to bear upon the thing itself we can observe an object of intricacy and interest, a fitting subject for further comparative study. Stylistic study, for which the writer is not equipped, is called for to confirm or deny the origin of the crozier in 1457 the date of Sebroke's death.

For access to the records of the Literary & Philosophical Society and for assistance in many ways I am indebted to Charles Parish, librarian of that Society, as also to his assistant Mr. N. Baumfield. I had the same ungrudging help from Mrs. Grace Hickling, honorary secretary of the Natural History Society, and valued help, too, from Dr. Ian Doyle, Durham University Library, Mr. J. Hopkins, librarian of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Mrs. Copeland, Darlington Branch Library, Mr. Alistair Elliot, Newcastle University Library, and the Bodleian Library. I am grateful to Mr. Tristram Spence R.I.B.A. for drawing the conjectural plans of the old Newcastle Museum as it was in 1844. My discussion of the crozier itself would have been even more inexpert without the guidance of Miss L. Allason-Jones, to whom my best thanks.

#### *Summary*

Thomas Sebroke, Abbot of Gloucester, died in 1457 and was buried in a chapel in

the Abbey. His coffin was opened in 1741 and this crozier is said to have been removed. The crozier was acquired by Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and in 1764 given by him to Hon. Mr. R. Bateman of Old Windsor. After his death it was sold at Christies in 1774 and bought perhaps by Marmaduke Tunstall. In 1791 the contents of Tunstall's museum were bought by George Allan of Blackwell Grange, Darlington. Long after the latter's death his successors in 1822 sold the collections to the Literary & Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne. By 1827 they had been added to the collections of that Society, and the crozier is listed in their catalogue. An attempt is made to trace the evolution, development, and dissolution of the Newcastle Museum, including the period of involvement in it of our own society. The crozier probably passed to our Society in 1834 and has remained in our possession since.

#### APPENDIX

##### *Description of the Sebroke Crozier*

The staff is apparently of oak. Between the embellishments which ring the staff the wood has been worked down to a square section with chamfered corners. The ornamental rings are integral with the staff; their surface is alternately ribbed and diapered, or in sartorial terms, puffed, slashed and quilted. A ring of cabling divides the embellishment from the plain sections of the staff.

The crozier-head is carved out of a wood of closer grain and has been gilded. Its outer curved surface is adorned with oak-leaves carved in low relief and enriched at intervals with projecting wooden acorns. One of the latter is missing and it may be seen from the hole it should occupy that the acorns were plugged in like rivets. As like the oak-leaves themselves they might more naturally have been carved out of the solid wood, Miss Allason-Jones suggests that their form as separate studs was traditional, derived from a type of crozier which required metal studs to affix the leaf-ornament—gold leaves, perhaps, to a silver crozier-head—and that the original form had been retained, though no longer appropriate to the new material.

Fox failed to identify the figures on the crozier-head. The dedication of the abbey from 1239 was to St. Peter and St. Paul, and the attributes of the two seated figures are those of these two apostles. Both were commonly shown in tunic and toga as these figures are. St. Peter should have, and has, a round bullet head, broad rustic features, a short beard, tonsured head, and a book in one hand. There is a hole piercing his right hand which would have taken the ring from which his keys, perhaps in a precious metal, depended. St. Paul should have, and has, a longer beard, a receding hairline, one hand on his breast, and should hold a sword in his right hand. The sword is missing, but his right hand too is pierced to accept some metal object. These identifications, which mark the crozier-head as associated with a house dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, by themselves go far to confirm the claim engraved on the collar that the crozier comes from Gloucester Abbey.

When they came into Fox's hands, head and staff were separate. He joined them together, found they fitted exactly, and concluded they were designed to be one. That

the wood is different is readily explained if it is considered that oak was chosen to give the staff strength and a closer-grained wood was chosen for the intricate work on the crozier-head. The correspondence of the ribbed and diapered ornament on the head with those on the staff confirm Fox's judgement.

It is impossible not to be struck by the shortness of the staff. Sebroke may of course have been a very short man, but it is more probable that the explanation lies concealed by the metal collar which Fox called a clasp. As a hand-grip it is in quite the wrong place. A staff with its weight preponderantly in the head would be grasped near the top. That the collar does conceal a break in the staff is shown by an observation made by Mr. J. Atkinson, conservation officer of the North of England Museum Service, that the planed oak surfaces entering the collar at either end are out of alignment, as are the ribbings and diapering on the carved ornamental rings either side of the collar. That the staff should have been broken will surprise no reader who will consult a communication in *Archaeologia* ix (1787) describing the disorderly opening at Gloucester a generation later of the tomb of an earlier abbot, John Wigmore. His crozier was also of wood, and is described as neatly adorned with silver, which has been gilt and burnished. When the writer (J. Cooke) first saw it, "it was intire", but a few days later a verger showed him the remains of the head, while the master of the workmen had the greater part of the staff. So that staff, too, was broken; evidence of the slight value placed upon such remains in the Age of Reason.

If we suppose that this central section of the staff had originally a length medial between those of the other two sections, it is estimated that the overall length of the crozier would have been just short of six feet, a more probable length.

The inscription on the collar has been discussed above, but it remains to add that the style of engraved lettering is consistent with a late eighteenth-century date. A small round label bearing the letters LS attached to an upper surface of the staff must date to the 1830s and refer to the "Literary Society" or Lit & Phil.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Manuscript sources:* The fullest source for the *Newcastle Museum* is the series of minute books of the Literary & Philosophical Society. Clearer because more exclusively concerned with the Museum, are those of the Natural History Society, together with their annual reports and some correspondence. These include a site-plan of the Old Museum, and there are two interior photographs of the further gallery. The records of our own Society yield very little.

About George Allan there is abundant material. Most of the deposit at the Darlington Branch Library relates to his private press, but they hold the Visitors Book dated 1795 for the museum while it was in Allan's possession. Much of the manuscript material that passed through Allan's hands is deposited with the Durham Cathedral Library. More valuable for our purpose is Volume I (Land Birds) of Allan's manuscript catalogue which was given to the Durham University Library (Add. M.S. 598.2 A6) by Dr. A. N. L. Munby who found it in a Cambridge bookshop. The location of Volumes II and III, if they survive, is not known to the writer. There are also some papers of Allan's at the Record Office at Northallerton.

*Printed Sources*

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## Period since 1822

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly transcribed by Fox as 'Miller' and so followed by the Society's catalogue in 1839.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet 'Allan' seems first to have been given to this ivory crozier by J. D. Cowen.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, ix (1789), 286.

<sup>4</sup> The copy of this rare work now in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society was presented in 1825 by John Trotter Brockett, who had moved the resolution to purchase the Wycliffe museum.

<sup>5</sup> But see Fox's *Synopsis*, 41.

<sup>6</sup> *The Newcastle Magazine* (1826), 454.

<sup>7</sup> Of aid in these identifications is the Lit & Phil copy of our 1839 catalogue annotated by J. D. Cowen.

<sup>8</sup> The size and lay out of the rooms is fairly certain. The disposition of the stair-case and the means of access from the library are more conjectural.

<sup>9</sup> Milles, Jeremiah (1714-1784), ed: Eton and Corpus Christi, Oxford; pluralist and antiquary; Dean of Exeter from 1762, FSA 1741, FRS 1742, President of the Society of Antiquaries of London 1768 to 1784; fortunate or prudent in choice of relatives as an uncle bequeathed him a fortune, and his father-in-law, an archbishop, secured him comfortable preferments; involvement in the Chatterton affair added nothing to the lustre of his name as a scholar, but he is notable as having attracted adverse comment from critics as distinguished as Coleridge and Horace Walpole, to which may be added the crowning glory of being caricatured by Rowlandson.

<sup>10</sup> The whole account of Bateman and Grove House (later Old Windsor Priory) is derived from the 14th chapter of Harwood's *Windsor Old and New*. This reference I owe to Mr. J. Hopkins, librarian of the Society of Antiquaries of London. A contemporary description of the contents of the

house may be found in *Windsor, and its Environs*, 79–86.

<sup>11</sup> In the vernacular, Cadwgan; also called Martin. In 1236 Cadwgan was given permission to retire as a simple monk at Dore where he died in 1241 (DNB).

<sup>12</sup> For a light-hearted implication of venality in the officers of the Society of Antiquaries of London, see *The Nabob* by Samuel Foote, first performed in 1772, at a time when Milles was President. The author of a comedy, it need hardly be said, is not upon oath.

<sup>13</sup> There was certainly a copy, though imperfect, of the sale catalogue in the British Library (Dugdale 1817 cites MSS Cole Vol. xxxv, p. 9) as late as Harwood 1929, but Cowen (*AAxlv*, 204 (1969)), states “the Sale Catalogue is not in the British Museum Library and the only copy in this country

is that still in the possession of Messrs. Christie Manson and Woods!”

<sup>14</sup> Sebroke’s motto, *Fiat voluntas domini*, argues humility, but his name, motto, and arms (*Ermine a cinquefoil sable*) were stamped on the bricks paving the choir, his effigy in alabaster and full pontificals lies upon his tomb in a chantry chapel built by himself to receive it. The inscription on the arch at Gloucester (Gough 182–3) conveys that his was the driving personality behind the building of the tower.

<sup>15</sup> Bateman himself mounted on a grey may be seen on a plate facing page 306 and that facing p. 320 shows Grove House (the “Abby” of the inscription) in 1760. Both plates are from drawings by Paul Sandby in the Royal collections at Windsor.