

IX

THE BUILDINGS OF TRINITY HOUSE, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

Grace McCombie

THE PROPERTY of Trinity House in 1505 consisted of a messuage with cellars and a garden with appurtenances in Broad Chare. Behind a comparatively narrow street frontage it seems to have extended as far as Dog Bank on the north. In 1524 lofts and cellars, described as being "above" the cellars belonging to Trinity House and on the north side of the curtilage, were added.¹ It is not clear either here or elsewhere whether "above" is used in the sense of "vertically over" or of "lying adjacent to" as it might be to indicate further up a street. It is stated in 1505 that there was a property once called Dalton's Place, on which almshouses, a meeting room and chapel were to be built and which had cellars and a garden.² The 1524 document tells us that the additions were lofts and cellars, that is, upper rooms and provision storage rooms, not necessarily below ground level.

The first eighty years

Shortly after, in 1530, the Guild of the Blessed Trinity (as the 1524 document described them) began to keep an account book which has survived.³ A 1540 entry for payments for coal for the "bedfolk" (bedefolk, people who live in almshouses), shows that almshouses had been built or that existing buildings had been put to that use. Another expense in that year was the mending of the great gate band. The following year there was income from "cellar hire" and from "farme of a garthe" and repairs were made to the gate in the chare and the gate in the street. The gutters in the chapel were cleared; a bell rope was purchased. There was 3d spent for "a band to a dore wher esabell harker lyes" suggesting again that there were almshouses in the precinct. Coals for the "bedfolk" were a recurring expense.

In 1542 Edward Hollar was paid for mending the house end that had fallen down; his materials were boards, nails and laths. The great cellar door was mended; the cellars were plastered. A gowl (gable) was mended in 1543, perhaps the reason that lime and sand were bought; the hall chimney was mended; the hall was repaired. The dyghting (cleaning) of gutters, like the purchase of coal, was a frequent entry.

1545 saw the hall floor pointed after having been mended. Straw was bought for the guest's bed—the lodgings for distressed seamen—and the garner (granary) were plastered for corn. Soap for washing the guests' clothes cost 10d in 1546; pap cost 4d; there was payment for keeping the guest's chamber. Income included rents for four garths; expenditure included 10s 2d "for taking down the Trinitye altar and bringing it home".

Such entries continue, making it safe to assume that there were by that date almshouses, accommodation for seamen in urgent need, a hall, a chapel, a belfry, a gate to Broad Chare and a gate to the lane which is now called Trinity Chare; that corn could be stored on the premises; that four garths could be hired out. Income from rents and from pilotage fees had enabled the house to fulfil the demands of the 1505 trust deed.

1585–1620

For the second half of the sixteenth century little documentary evidence survives, but following the grant of a new charter in 1585 to “the masters, pilots and seamen of the Trinity House of Newcastle upon Tyne”, an inventory and a list of rents were entered in the back of the account book.⁴ The inventory, which must be of 1586/7, lists items in the chamber, the clerk’s chamber, the chapel and the guest’s chamber. There are iron chimneys (grates) in the clerk’s chamber and the chapel. The former held a feather bed, a twill, three chests, an aumbry, a table and a carpet (table-cover), a form and a poker. The guest’s chamber was furnished with seven feather beds and two mattresses, bed coverings, and an “ould pair of gibb cocks” for holding pots over the fire, but had no iron chimney. The chapel, the other fire-room, had three tables (whether boards for the altar or the decorative panels upon which the Lord’s Prayer, Creed and Commandments were painted and which were often hung on church walls it cannot be said), two settles and four cloaks. Rents were obtained for parts of the House’s property: six cellars, three gardens and “Collingwood’s house and a little waste”. It is likely, in the light of later building evidence, that the group consisted of a front range and at least two buildings behind it and at right angles to the street: the type of plan classified by Pantin as the Right Angle Type, broad plan.⁵

The new regime instituted by the second charter began a new book of records, entitled “A register Booke of all p[ar]ticular causes happening in the trenitie house at newcastell upon Tyne from the xvth off January 1587 as After followeth”. From this, known as the Dormond Book,⁶ kept until 1961 for recording the names of the officers elected each year, it is learnt that repairs were carried out to what were described as the house and the hall house: these may have been the same building, or the words may have meant the property in general in the case of “house” and the hall itself in the case of the “hall house”, a term found in inventories of the period to describe the principal room of a house.

Between 1618 and 1620 the Dormond Book refers to payments for building the gallery, for the house, for the gallery in the church, and for “the New House in the Gardinge”. This last entry is most fortunate for it makes it clear that the gallery referred to was not that which the mariners built in All Saints’ church at that time. The income of the house was increasing as the volume of shipping in the Tyne increased: it was perhaps a consequence that improvements could be made to the property. The “New House” could have been the building on the north side of the southernmost yard, which eighteenth-century entries describe as “the old gallery”.

Improvements 1634–1639

1634 saw much building activity, the decision having been taken “that whatsoever salbe founde necessarie to be r[ep]ared and builded in the repp[ar]ations and buildings of this Trinity House salbe repaired and done . . . by the appoint[ment] of Mr. Holburne and Edward Boulmer”.⁷ On 17th February 1634 the new rooms in the curtain, that is, at the boundary, were ordered to be finished, and the chapel finished with pews. The chapel was completed by 5th April 1636 when the Bishop of Durham granted licence for preaching.⁸

A new payments book was begun on 26th March 1634,⁹ the first entry “an accompt of the charges and disbursements laid out in repairinge and buildinge of the Trinitie House of Newcastle upon Tyne . . .” The entries are a rich seam of information on building methods, materials and costs of the time. Workers were paid by the day, not the job: a labourer 2s 4d for 3½ days; two bearers’ wages for 2½ days amounted to 2s 6d, their bread and drink costing 10d. Fourteen shillings was spent on labourers unloading 2½ tons of stones from the quay and carrying them to Trinity House, and 5s on drinks for them and the boatman—in April. In October, 2 wrights working 2 days “rabbitting dailes” (rebating deals) and making and fitting lintels for the chimneys were paid 10 shillings. One payment was made to the mason and the men working for him to cover both labour and materials: “four hewn stone windows and a hewn stone in the chapel, hewing and setting—£2 18s”. Bricks cost £1 2s 6d for 2,500; 8 dozen (either loads or clothfuls) “of lyme used about the house this month” cost £2 5s; six courses of hair, used to bind plaster, cost 6s; 1,000 “thatching” (roofing) tiles and 50 ridge tiles cost £1 6s 6d; 100 dice-headed nails for the garden door cost 2s 10d. Before the garden wall could be built, 6 “bomespars” and 30 “dailes” were bought to make scaffolding and staging. The work began with the digging of gravel in the Trinity House yard followed by filling-in. Then in April the west wall in the garden was built and the door made, with a lintel over it, and lined and studded with dice-headed nails. Two days were spent cleaning rubbish out of the chapel and meeting room; the old boards of the floors were piled in the yard; bolts and staples were bought for doors in the garden, and a “scutcheon” was paid for. The following months saw lime bought, slaked and made ready; sand, rubbish and stones were riddled; the south wall in the garden was rebuilt. The men took the old window out of the west end of the chapel and put in a replacement of stone. Deals were sawn for the chapel pews; “clabbords” were bought for “ballasters” for the seats. Stones, bricks and tiles were bought; three holes cut in the wall to receive oak corbels; a new stone door[way] made for the chapel, with the walls broached and pointed to receive lintel and jamb moulds. Buntings were bought for the floors of the chapel and meeting room, to be laid and tacked. New frames were made and set up—that is, timber frames for buildings—and the backs of these frames were walled up.

Work continued throughout the year in this fashion, with the chapel windows being glazed with 18 feet of new glass at 4d a foot and 9 feet of old glass at 2d a foot. The end window in the long gallery was repaired; bands and snecks were

put in the chapel pews. The chapel roof was thatched (perhaps with the thatching tiles) where the chimney had been. A roof on the store room, a new coal hole, and a new east wall in the great garden were all made. The store room gables were "southed up" (given supporting timbers) and a filleted door was hung. Slates (thin stones) with bone pins at fourpence a peck to fasten them to the laths which were also bought, were used to cover the chapel roof. There was a new stair at the new coal hole wall. In October, 2 labourers and 2 wallers spent five days raising (building) the ground storey of the new building in the garden, and then 2 wrights took 3 days to level the buntings in the upper floor and make the roof, binding three pairs of suspers and fitting a rigging tree (ridge tree). The chapel walls and roof were plastered, twice over, and three pounds of candles were needed for the workmen to see morning and evening. The total expenditure in 1634 was £168 03s 03d.

The following year saw new rooms with four chimneys being built "in the fore curtain"; the long gallery roof pointed; a door and window fitted in the little new room in the inner curtain. The 1635 total was £90 16s 07d, which included work done in February to the chapel pews—five small planks for low mouldings, costing 5s 6d; the carver, Richard Newlove, was paid 9s 2d for carving 11 cherubs' heads; for turning 41 dozen finials and turning 14 dozen buttons for the "forside" of the pews, 6s 2d; for a pound of glue, 6d.

Building and repairing continued on a reduced scale. Many payments were made for the removal of rubbish as old structures were pulled down; leave was given to lay the rubbish out of the great yard in the manor yard, not far away to the north. 1637 saw 2 slit windows made in the great cellar; a stone staircase built of 32 steps. The long gallery roof was "beamfilled". A little chamber was built "over" the coal hole; again, it is not clear whether the preposition means beside or above; beside seems more likely if coal was to be dropped into the hole, but there may have been a chute. 1638 and 1639 saw a new building completed: it had two pinion gables and a great gable; it was plastered. New glass was bought in November 1639 for the election room. The total expenditure in this account book was £541 2s 11d, according to Hesleton. An astonishing amount of work had been done; the house's property had been thoroughly renovated. The 1639 total was £116 17s 03d, the last entries, in December, being for whitening the long gallery, little chamber and staircase, for blacking, and for two filleted doors. The book had begun with the heading "An accompt of the charges and disbursmnts laid out in repairinge and buildinge of the Trinitie house of Newcastle upon Tyne from the 26: daie of March Anno Dmi 1634".

Roofing the chapel

A book concurrent with the account book, but labelled "Dues and Primage Book 1622 to 1645",¹⁰ refers to some of the same buildings and to the same type of work, as for example pointing the election room roof in 1643, and earlier, in 1639, hewing steps, broaching and pointing the east side of the new building; it is impossible to tell why these items are recorded in this book and not in the 1634–39 book. It is here, however, that the sequence of later building work can be followed.

Events of more than local importance were soon to cause more repairs to be done; a Scottish army besieged and occupied Newcastle. The town's defences included a battery, known as Carr's Battery, which was situated not far away from Trinity House, as C. North has shown.¹¹ It was destroyed by mining on 19th October 1644, but it is reasonable to suppose that it had been the target of bombardment and that its proximity might have been the cause of damage to Trinity House.

Repairs had been made to the chapel in November 1642:¹² the roof was mended with 400 lathbrode, a chalder of slates, 3 bunches of laths, nails and bone pins; the long gallery roof was also mended. In 1643 the election room roof was also repaired, and new glass fixed in the gallery windows.

An indication of the scale of the damage is that in 1649 "the now waist roomes lately called the gests chamber" were to be let for seven years to Mr. H. Bird who was to repair the walls, make new doors and build a "toofalle" (lean-to) at the north end of the waste.¹³ The rebuilding of the chapel was, in fact, barely completed when the "Armies" came. Full-scale repairs seem to have been postponed, possibly through lack of money, until 1651. In that year it was ordered that since part of the chapel had fallen down, and part of the south wall and the gable were insufficient to put a roof on, it was to be taken down and rebuilt as much as was necessary.¹⁴ This work can be traced in the payments book for the period,¹⁵ where, for example, payments were recorded in July 1651, the fifth month of charges "towards the repaireinge the Chapelle".

pd for felling tenn Trees for the Chapelle Rooffe	00 05 00
pd Robt Gallilie and 3 wrights more two daies at walker wood hewing these trees and cutting them to a length and ther drinckes	00 14 06

The trees were then rolled to the river; slung to two wherries; towed to the quay; landed and pulled onto the quay; carried to Trinity House and the tops cut off for firewood. Other work included a stone gate, a buttress, and a three-light window for which Thos. Taylor, mason, was paid £3 in part.

The chapel having been roofed, it was further improved in 1656 by an order made on 5th January:¹⁶ "with all convenient Speede the Chapell Rooffe be decently fitted with timber for the floore to be laid with deales over heade (*sic*) and this to be done at the discretion and by the order of Mr. Thomas Stobbs, Mr. Henry Bird . . ." The clerk writing the order apparently felt it was ambiguous and inserted "overhead", leaving no doubt that it was at this time that the chapel was ceiled.

By this date, then, the chapel was substantially as we see it today. Rents were being received for letting lofts in the curtain wall, next the foregate, for a loft over it, for a house. The buildings standing around the yard can be identified only by their uses at this date: no plan exists. There was a chapel vestry, an election room, a long gallery and a gallery which may have been the same building. There were cellars including a great cellar and one against the chapel stairs; lofts which were over chambers; a room which had been called the guest room—presumably where shipwrecked sailors had been lodged on their way back home; there were rooms where various named persons "lay"—servants or pensioners, it is impossible to tell.

And there were houses, which may have been the new houses in the curtain, for twelve poor people. There was a great gate in Broad Chare; a gate in the lane; a gate in the inner curtain or wall; and a "great garth" or yard.

In 1660 it was ordered¹⁷ that the cellar "in the yard" was to be kept for the use of the House. Nowhere is there a reference to the great yard having a cellar, and a future deed was to refer to the great yard making it clear that the yard to the south was meant. "The cellar in the yard" seems very likely to be that cellar of 1524—on the north side; the cellar which is still kept for the use of the house, while others are let.

The south yard and the Broad Chare houses

It must have been the southern yard which was the subject of orders concerning the great garth:¹⁸ rates of charges for timber "upon the first entering with them into the garth" were decided some time between 1663 and 1665. The list of charges provides also a list of names for timber sizes; one, "caprasons", is puzzling, not occurring in Wright's dialect dictionary or in the *O.E.D.*¹⁹ In 1665 a change of use of the great yard was ordered,²⁰ the "present" use not having answered the expectations of the House; it was to be made into a place of recreation, "all Dales and other Raffe or wood" being removed.

The House had obtained a new charter from Charles II in the 16th year of his reign;²¹ it may be that the increase in primage charges which was then allowed relieved them of the need to find extra income. It was the beginning of a period of further building activity.

From the earliest records of the house the property to the south fronting on Broad Chare seems to have been used for letting and therefore providing income, while the yard to the rear of the latter property has always been for the use of the House. In 1678 an order was made²² that all tenants of the houses in Broad Chare were to be given notice, for the houses were to be rebuilt; by 1681 the House was paying chimney cess for 12 houses in Broad Chare, which may have been fronting the Chare or merely part of the precinct of the House. In February 1680 (=1681) five shillings was paid for carrying out the rubbish when the houses were built; the work seems to have been completed by then.

It is difficult to say when this property came into the House's possession. In the sixteenth century rents for three garths occurred frequently, and early in the seventeenth century rents for houses occur. What is certain is that by 1678 the house owned three properties in Broad Chare south of the great gate. James Corbridge's map of Newcastle published in 1722/3 is edged with a series of drawings of notable buildings in the town; he shows the Broad Chare frontage of Trinity House with three buildings four storeys high to the left of the chapel and gate. They each have a door in the first bay and two cellar chutes to the right, with mullioned and transomed windows on each floor above except the top, which has two-light windows. The first two are three bays wide, that next to the gate is of four bays. Nine shaped gables face the street with either hoists or drains protruding from the lowest points. These are the houses built in 1680 or thereabouts. A plan of the

House's boundaries was drawn in 1770 by John Fryer,²³ and in showing the boundaries he also showed the buildings. The original is now lost, but fortunately a copy was made, as well as it could be considering that the 1770 plan was described as "very much defaced". This copy survives; William Talentyre was paid £5 for it and the glass to cover it.²⁴ In its turn, it is copied and reproduced here (Fig. 1). The 1770 description of the Broad Chare houses has been partly lost, but what survives are three names—Lake, Blagdon and Baker—of occupiers, and the information that there were brewhouses and yards.

These houses are shown in their original form by Fryer, with a house on the street, a yard behind and outhouses to the rear of the yard; since the central house is labelled Mr. Baker's house, yard and kitchen, the outbuildings must have included a kitchen. An inventory of 1736²⁵ lists the "Heirlooms and Utensells Belonging to the Trinity House, which was in the house that Mr. Airey lived in at the Signing of the Leases". The rooms listed are Cellar, Back Kitchin, Back-side, Fore-Kitchen, Hall, Entry and Stair Case, Hall Chamber, Kitchin Chamber, Chamber above the Hall Chamb[er], high Room above the Kitchin, the Fore Garrett. Trinity House "heirlooms" included four locks and keys, one pair of gantrees and partitions in the cellar, a dresser table and shelves above it, a cawell (big pot), dog wheel and chain, one pair of large bars and one ladder, one crane and a crook in the back kitchen, locks and keys in most rooms, another dresser with drawers at the end in the fore kitchen, and a stove in the chamber above the hall chamber. Mr. Airey had made a chamber in the hall chamber at his own expense, and the partitions and lock and key belonging to it were his property.

Another inventory of that year drawn up before John Simpson leased a house²⁶ included similar items but also mentions a moulded chimney piece and the whole room panelled in the hall; a dog wheel in each kitchen; a "Rackin Crook" in the front kitchen and "2 Speet Racks" in the back. It distinguishes between dark and light closets, some with shelves but not all with locks and keys, an iron grate, and a necessary house with apparently no item of furniture in it belonging to the landlord. This building had Hall, Parlour, Kitchen, Back Kitchen, Hall Chamber, Parlour Chamber, Second Hall Chamber, Second Parlour Chamber, fore Garrett, and Cellar.

A third inventory endorsed "Schedule 1747"²⁷ describes some rooms as being papered, one also having three closets and shelves, three keys and four locks, "a pair of grates and Holland tiles in the fireplace". These, then were probably the houses built in 1680; a steady source of income for Trinity House, and town houses for people of substance.

The yard to the south west was marked "RAFF YARD" by Fryer. A document dated 30th April 1747,²⁸ leasing a raff yard at the head of Trinity Chare to Francis Heath, describes it as "that raffyard or parcell of ground . . . at the head of Trinity Chare . . . formerly a bowling green", confirming that the south yard was the erstwhile raff-yard turned place of recreation. It must have been an asset to the area; payments²⁹ for mowing the yard, to the gardiner, for dressing the great yard, for "dressinge the grasse platte", for the mason to lay some flags, for the mending

A PLAN OF THE BOUNDARIES OF TRINITY HOUSE NEWCASTLE 1770

Reference to the Doors

1	Entrance to Widdows Houses
2 to 6	Do Captn. Charnocks House
3, 4, 5	into School
6	House
7	Entrance to Mr. Lake's Brewhouses
8 & 9	Do Do Do
10	Do Do Yard
11 & 12	Do Do Brewhouse
13	Entrance to Mr. Lake's [?] Yard [????]
1[4]	Mr. [Blagdon]
[1]5	Baker
16	Mr. Adams Door
17 & 18	Entrances to Chapel
19 & 20	Do cellar
21	Do Room
22 & 23	Do „ Trinity Hall
24, 25, 26 & 27	„ Bleach Yard
28 & 29	Do „ Raff Yard & Widdows Hous'
31	Widdows Houses
30 & 32	Great & Little Coal Yards
33 & 34	Widdows House
35	Entrance to Trinity Hall
36	Widdows Houses
37 & 38	Entrances to Rigging Loft
Additional to Fryer's key:	39 Passage to Captain Charnock's House
	40 Water Cistern.

[Copied from the key within the 1845 facsimile of Fryer's 1770 plan.]

of the long table, suggest a pleasantly grassy place with facilities for eating and drinking in the open air, perhaps in the “shade” or shed which was ordered to be built; or perhaps this was for a more practical purpose.

Heath was granted liberty to set up any “shade, hovell or cover” for his timber and raff so long as they did not darken the light of the School room . . . or any other house adjoining the yard . . . and the masters, pilots and seamen were to have access to the well in the yard. The eighteenth century saw an increased concern with the supply of water to the buildings. £3.0.0 was paid in 1700 for laying in the water pipe to Mr. Wilkinson’s house,³⁰ and £2.7.0 for the same to Mr. Clough’s house. In 1736, £2 2s was paid to Mr. Dawson for boring a well, which Thomas Broad was paid £6 10s for; Mr. Newton was paid £1 19s for Mr. Dale’s well. One reason for the need to ensure the supply can be found in the 1741 lease³¹ to Mr. Lake of a brewhouse, well and pump. Leave was also given for pipes to be laid to adjacent property—to a sugar house in Peacock Entry in 1773,³² and from Dog Bank to the same building which was then a brewhouse in 1782.³³

The school and the new meeting room or banqueting hall

The school room referred to in Heath’s lease was yet another eighteenth-century development. The House had ordered on 12th May 1712,³⁴ that the apprentices should pay five shillings more than was paid formerly, as should others “that take their Freedoms in Trinity House . . . for and towards maintaining of the above said Free School . . .” which “would be of great advantage to the Brethren’s Children, and Apprentices, to learn to write, Arithmetick and the Mathematicks.” A school master was hired, but there is nothing to show where classes were held. In 1721, however, the following entry was made in the same Trinity House Order Book: “June 5th. Order for building the long gallery. That whereas the Long Gallery being much decayed, and unfit for such a body of men to meet in . . . the old gallery shall be Repaired and kept up for a mathemattical=school=house . . .” Previous references to the long gallery included pointing, plastering the gable, paying for new casements; and an associated structure was the arching of the vannel with planks in 1705: the alley north of the gallery being the only true vannel in the complex group of buildings, this must have been the date at which the link was made between the old gallery and the hall to the north, the later Banqueting Hall but described in the 1721 order as “a large room for the company to meet in”.

The House’s payments book for 1713–1739³⁵ has entries for the purchase of bricks and pantiles in 1722, but they may have been for some other work, perhaps to the lighthouses at Shields; an inventory of the contents of the drawers in Trinity House dated 1738³⁶ names item 2 in drawer A as “Expence in building the Great Hall”. This document does not appear to have survived, which is unfortunate, for it is a good building; Corbridge felt it was important enough to show it in the margin of his map, and this illustration shows the Hall much as it is today. It would have been pleasing to have known the names of the craftsmen who built it and perhaps even of the architect who designed it, if such were the case and it was not the builder who decided on proportions and shapes, and manner of decoration. It is

notable for having the earliest complete set of sash windows in Newcastle to have survived: built only ten years after the Companies of Joiners and House Carpenters had come to an agreement³⁷ concerning the demarcation between their work, the Joiners having the making of sashes and the Housecarpenters of other windows. Its furnishings include a re-used seventeenth-century overmantel of which the central panel bears the arms of Charles I.

Another gap in our understanding of the buildings is revealed by the remaining words of the 1721 order . . . "wee the Master, Wardens and Assistants, and other officers, at a guild held at the Trinity House the 13th day of April 1721: have thought it more convenient, and hope it will be less charge, to build a large Room for the company to meet in, over the cellars of the old Chappell . . ." Nowhere else is there any suggestion that the first chapel was not on the site occupied by the present chapel. There is always the possibility that "over" means alongside rather than vertically above: if the word "above" had been used that would have been a valid interpretation, but the preposition "over" is not given by the *O.E.D.* in the sense of "beyond" or "further up". An inspection of the building shows thick stone walls below floor level, but that tells more about age than function; as also does the flat-Tudor-arched surround of the door, the low blocked arches and the plain stone surround of the blocked window in the westward extension of the 1721 building, visible now on the north side of the steps to the western high yard.

The Banqueting Hall, as the new gallery is now known, being on the north side of the vennel, and the repaired old long gallery, the school of the later eighteenth century, on the south, they were linked by the arching of the vennel. There may have been a communicating passage between the two which was later blocked, at some unknown date; perhaps it was felt that there was no need for direct communication between the school and the new gallery. Certainly since 1753 there has been a two-storey rear wing to the school, containing the upper flights of stairs, above the "arch", for it is there that the plaque commemorating the rebuilding of the school in that year is sited and the stairs belong to that date. This plaque confirms the date of rebuilding, which otherwise could only have been given to within a few years, for the only other reference to it is an endorsement on the 1747 lease to Francis Heath to the effect that if Trinity House had occasion or a mind to rebuild the School Room adjoining they might without hindrance or molestation. No account or payment books giving details of the rebuilding have survived. The new school, however, is there to be its own evidence, and is seen to be a three-storey building with five windows on each upper floor, and on the ground floor a central door facing south onto the great yard, which has since been raised so that the door is partly obscured. It seems that the previous long gallery was not such a tall building, for there were windows in the south wall of the banqueting hall which could not have admitted much light after 1753 and were ordered to be closed up in 1766.³⁸ Two years later it was decided that they would be "beautified";³⁹ a beautification which is there to this day and consists of the painting of maritime scenes and the names of the officers of that year, with the date, on the blocked openings in the hall.

Almshouses

James Corbridge's drawing of the hall shows that there was a covered passage linking it to the chapel at first-floor level; the House's Journal for 1762–1773 records⁴⁰ that it was agreed in 1770 "to inclose the passage from the Hall to the Chappell". It was also in 1770 that a brewhouse in Trinity Lane was up for sale, and Thomas Aubone, the secretary, was ordered to buy it; this was in December.⁴¹ Three months previously the journal recorded⁴² that the schoolmaster had drawn up a plan of the boundaries of the house, for which he was to be given five guineas as a present. It may well have been the first measured plan which John Fryer was ever paid for; he was to make many more surveys. The brewhouse was therefore not shown on the plan; nor would it appear on such a plan today, for after being rebuilt as almshouses, as a plaque on the north elevation records, it was in the recent past sold by the house. On the accompanying plan (Plate X) of the Trinity House property as it was in 1869⁴³ it can be seen marked as "ALMSHOUSES No. 10". This plan shows the House's property at its maximum extent.

The building of another set of houses is a reminder that one of the obligations imposed by the 1505 agreement was the provision of lodgings for needy members of the fellowship. As trade and therefore shipping increased, so did the responsibilities of the House; these were even greater in time of war when many lives were lost and widows, often with young children, needed help.

It is not possible to say when the first almshouses were built. It is clear that there were people receiving alms by 1540, for in that year payment was made for "coals to the bed[e]folk".⁴⁴ In 1685 there is payment⁴⁵ "for laying a floor over the old woman", and while "over" produces its usual problems, there is no doubt that the old woman was somewhere on the premises in Broad Chare. It was also the case that payments were made to pensioners not living on the premises in later years, but this leaves no doubt as to the provision of almshouses at an early date. Indeed, the obligation to provide such accommodation was referred to in the charter granted to the House by James I on 18th January 1606.⁴⁶ He granted rates of primage to be paid by all ships coming into the river with goods, the only exception being fish killed and brought in by Englishmen, the money thus obtained to be used to support twelve poor brethren, or their wives, or shipwrecked mariners. That same year twelve names were entered in the account book⁴⁷ as recipients of weekly payments, and fifty years later the House's order book refers⁴⁸ to the charter's command that houses be provided for twelve poor people. There seems no doubt that houses were built by that time. The next evidence for such activity is the letter of 1727⁴⁹ asking for help, and citing the building of six new almshouses in the previous five years as one reason for financial stringency. The records suggest that further houses were provided when in 1782 George Stephenson, the new occupant of Jonathon Blagdon's house (shown on the 1770 plan) relinquished⁵⁰ his right to part of the property to enable six new almshouses to be built; these must be the building in the low yard which survives to this day and bears a plaque dated 1782. Other almshouses, probably those on the west side of Trinity House yard, called "Widdows Houses" by Fryer and marked "ALMSHOUSES No 11" on the 1869

Shortly after it was found on inspecting “the old yard” that the houses there needed rebuilding⁵³ and this too was carried out, this time to specifications provided in 1795 by Mr. John Dodds,⁵⁴ and with the work carried out by Mr. Burnup.⁵⁵ There were to be six-panelled doors, ovolo raised and moulded, and square work the other side, and with fanlights over the doors; they were to be glazed with second best glass; the whole cost including the re-use of old materials and the sale of old timber (suggesting that the previous buildings may have been timber-framed) was expected to be £215. A slight increase was incurred by a change in the building line shortly after.⁵⁶ These houses, on the west side of the high yard, have been demolished and the site is now the garden of the present Summoner’s house which faces it across the high yard and is the upper floor of the buildings of 1787 in the Trinity House yard. Since there is a drop equivalent to the height of one storey at the rear of the garden the possibility must be considered that in 1795 the ground floor of the previous building was left standing. On his plan of 1770 Fryer gave no information about the area between these two ranges.

Late eighteenth-century alterations

Other building work was contemplated at this time. The first, ordered on 4th April 1791,⁵⁷ was “a convenient passage or gallery . . . from the passage leading into the Hall to the Sec^r office or Green Room . . . the Election Room to be altered and made commodious for the Brethren to meet in and make their Board: this is to be done, by taking down the present walls, so far as is necessary, for the purpose of laying a new floor on a level with the . . . passage leading into the Hall, the Walls to be rebuilt to a proper Height and the whole covered with a new roof of blue slats and finished according to proposals now given in by Mr. Stokoe. Mr. Newton to be paid 3 guineas for his plan.” Most likely this was William Newton, architect of St. Anne’s church, the Assembly Rooms, and responsible with David Stephenson for the alterations to St. Nicholas’ church in 1784–5; also soon to share with him the planning of the re-fronting of the Guildhall. A later entry—6th June 1791⁵⁸—“The Master paid Mr. Stokoe fifty Pounds part of A Payment for rebuilding the Election Room”—combined with a receipt of 5th September⁵⁹ “by payment from Mr. John Atkinson £150 on account of building and finishing a new room in the Trinity House” and signed John Stokoe identifies the member of the Stokoe family who received the payment, and possibly who was responsible for the work.

The Green Room was the small room on the south of the chapel: it was probably the vestry at first, but later became the secretary’s room and is now the Master’s own room. The election room was on the south side of the passage leading from Broad Chare to the yard called Broadyard on Fryer’s plan, but access to it seems to have been at the higher level; the ground floor entrance shown by Fryer survives and gives access only to that floor of the building, although there is also communication with other ground floor/cellar rooms and therefore by an indirect route with the upper floor. The room itself is still commodious, as required in 1791. The half-glazed door and flanking windows in a pedimented case borrow light from the passage-way and ensure even and adequate daylight, the south window now

filled with twentieth-century commemorative glass lighting the other end from the yard behind the Broad Chare houses. A plaque on the west wall, overlooking the vennel between the school and the Banqueting Hall, names the Master and Deputy Master of the year of building, 1791.

The chapel, meanwhile, had needed further repair in 1773;⁶⁰ and it was decided that at the same time the front would be beautified. Only four years previously Ralph Smith, slater, had re-covered many of the roofs in pantiles and given an undertaking to keep them in good repair for the following seven years, naming the chapel, rigging loft, and houses in Broad Chare. All the maintenance to be "without fee or reward" after the first payment of £145 6s 1¾d.⁶¹

In 1776 a more explicit instruction is given to make "such alterations as may be thought necessary at the foot of the Chappel and doorway,"⁶² and in 1779 it was ordered⁶³ that the west end should be repaired as the other part was now done. Fryer's plan shows a stair in the yard to an entrance at the north end of the chapel's west elevation, and the earlier illustration at the border of Corbridge's map shows that front as it must have been since the mid-seventeenth century, with a flight of stone steps up the side of the building, and the stone-mullioned four-light window of *circa* 1634. At least part of the chapel was rendered, for in 1784 the old plaster on the south side of the chapel was renewed.⁶⁴ That is the side which is rendered to this day, doubtless both to protect the wall against knocks and to enable it to be painted white and so increase the light in the narrow space. Shortly after this, in 1786, the always strong ties between the parish church and Trinity House assumed greater importance. The south arcade of All Saints' having collapsed, demolition became necessary. In the months which passed before the consecration of the new church on 16th November 1789, divine service was held in the chapel on Sundays and holidays, as agreed by the House on 5th June 1786.⁶⁵ On 18th July, the church wardens' requests for alterations in the chapel and the green room were granted except for one: they were fortunately refused permission to take down and alter the pulpit.

Five years after the new All Saints' was consecrated, the House's journal records that a survey had been taken "on the east end of the Chapple" and the result was that a new east window was ordered, as was "every necessary repair . . . that was wanting".⁶⁶ The adjoining gateway was also repaired, and a new gate made. The courtyard entrance was found to be in need of improvement too. On 11th June 1800 "a Meeting of the Board was held to fix on a plan to improve the entrance into the premises. A very complete and handsome one was laid before the Board; but it being thought too much so for the situation. And the expense of carrying the same into execution too great. Another was desired to be prepared on a more contracted scale with an estimate of the expense to be given in on Monday next."⁶⁷ On 19th June the Board met "to take into Consideration A plan for Altering and improving the entrance into the House on a More Contracted Scale than one delivered on the 11 Inst when a plan and estimate of the expense was given in by Mr. Reed, Mason, which being approved of and agreed to he was desired to carry the same into execution immediately". In the pediment above the entrance there is a plaque

dated 1800 giving the names of the Master and the Deputy Master. Further information must be sought in the book of payments for 1793–1816,⁶⁸ which records £10 10s paid to Mr. Stokoe on 2nd February 1801, “for his trouble” respecting work for the House, including the new entrance into the Hall. It is not said what his trouble was. On 4th May £39 12s 4d was paid to Mr. Reed “for extra work done at entrance into the Hall”. Again, it is not clear what work was done. It is possible that alterations had been asked for as building proceeded. Payments had been made to Reed in December 1800 of £50, and in April for the balance of his note, £40 8s, for the new entrance. Unless the work done is specified it is not safe to assume it was all for the entrance, since he was the House’s appointed mason for that year and any mason’s work needed would be done by him: but the description is unmistakable in this case; and it seems that he may also have designed the new work. That is still open to conjecture, however, since he could have engaged an architect whose name went unrecorded; it is also possible that Stokoe’s work included the preparation of one or both of the sets of drawings for the “complete and handsome” entrance or for that which was built, which appears to be as complete and handsome as could be wished.

The Rigging Loft

There remains one building to which work was done at this period: that marked on Fryer’s plan as “Rigging Loft” and on the 1869 plan as “WASHHOUSES AND TWO DWELLING ROOMS ABOVE No 9” and “SUMMONERS HOUSE No 10”. This was the site, and may have been the building, of the 1524 agreement. References to it are few. It seems likely that the ground floor was the cellar for the use of the House mentioned in 1660. The roof had been repaired and covered in pantiles in 1769.⁶⁹ The only significant entry found before that date is on 5th March 1715/16:⁷⁰ “That notwithstanding the great conveniences and previledge that unfreemen hath, to secure cutt and fitt their Rigging in our Loft, which doubtless was contrived for the use of the Brethren of this House only, yet the afore[sai]d unfreemen often refuseth to pay a small acknowledgement to the poor widdows of this House: Wee therefore make an order this day, that from henceforth no Rigging shall be received into the foresaid Loft to be so fitted till every unfreeman shall pay ten shillings, and every Free brother, five shil[lings] and if the Boatswain or Riggers, shall presume to go to work before the poors money be secured, they shall answeare the value themselves.” It is not clear when this use stopped, but by 1798 the beadle had his rooms there; in that year, on 23rd April, the board met⁷¹ “to determine a plan of Altering and rebuilding the Rooms occupied by the Beadle and a loft called the Rigging Loft. It is ordered that the floors be properly relaid and the buildings converted into two floors with two Rooms on each.” A committee was formed to “carry forward” the work. The same hand which made this entry in the journal of the House added “N.B. The Initial Letters of ER1583 were in a Circle on the Ceiling of the principal Room of the Above buildings—with the initials E T M”.

This apparently coincides with the date of the new charter granted by Elizabeth; it may have been a decorative roundel added to celebrate the event, or it may have

been that the building was ceiled for the first time and the year thus marked, as was often the case with alterations.

There are features of the building which cannot be examined properly in the scope of the present article. Indicators of its great age are the small blocked windows seen high up on the south elevation, the evidence of illustration and plan⁷² (Fig. 1; Plate XI), that it was formerly entered at first floor level by a large external stair, and a garde-robe chute at the east end of the south wall. The paucity of references to the building can be accounted for by its sturdiness, repairs not being needed, and by its use as workshop and living accommodation rather than as the location of the formal activities of the House.



Plate XI. Illustration in Mackenzie *History of Newcastle* 1827.

The illustration in Mackenzie (Plate XI) gives us other information; it shows the new entrance to the chapel and the 90° turn in the rigging loft stairs made to accommodate it; a low stone-slatted roof to the east of the rigging-loft stairs which is the site marked by Fryer as a coal hole, and to the left of the chapel, a stone-mullioned-and-transomed window of six lights. This is the rear of the house in Broad Chare adjacent to the north side of the chapel. A series of deeds has survived of which the most recent relate to the sale of this and the house next to it by Lord Ravensworth to Trinity House in 1845.⁷³

Nineteenth-century alterations

In 1845 the house next to the chapel was a public house called the High Dyke. The House's journal records the decision in 1849⁷⁴ to pull it down and rebuild, at the same time using part of the new building to provide an office for the Secretary of the House and letting the remainder of the two houses, a use which has continued and which is shown on the 1869 plan. The new room, bearing a plaque dated 1850, looks out onto the Trinity Yard, and it is very likely that it was this alteration which necessitated the removal of the external stair to the rigging loft. The old "green room" then became available for other use and has ever since been the Master's own room.

The other Broad Chare property which was let, the seventeenth-century houses on the south side of the chapel, had been frequently repaired and altered by this date. Fryer's plan shows the houses still with separate back quarters; the building of the almshouses to their rear had probably caused the demolition of the old kitchens. Repairs became so frequent in the early nineteenth century that it was eventually agreed⁷⁵ to rebuild two of them; their advising architect was John Dobson. On 3rd May 1841 he attended the Board with an estimate for taking down the remaining part of the two warehouses and rebuilding the whole for £257 15s 3d, which was agreed to. In the course of that year the work was carried out. Richard Cail was the builder, Mr. McAllister the joiner. Dobson presented the tradesmen's bills for payment at each stage of the work. Finally, on 6th December, the bill of "Mr. Oliver Architect" "for Drawing Plans of the Warehouses in the Broad Chare" was paid. They were almost immediately let to Alexander George Gray as bonded warehouses. It is not possible to say whether Mr. Oliver was Andrew or Thomas, both practising in Newcastle at that time. Andrew Oliver had recently built a warehouse on the south side of the Close, which was later used as a flour mill. Dobson was entered in the House's books as their architect for many years. The system seemed to have been that his office prepared drawings for minor alterations, such as renewing the old doorway and the three cellar windows on the north side of the passage from Broad Chare,⁷⁶ that is, to the cellar under the chapel. The inner archway was improved by covering the old joists above it in the form of an arch. For the rebuilding of the warehouses, however, his role had been that of adviser and intermediary. The newspaper advertisements inviting builders to tender for the work said "Plans of the Buildings and specifications of the various works to be seen at Mr. Dobson's office, Newcastle".⁷⁷

It was probably this rebuilding which had necessitated the re-fronting of the "great gate" in Broad Chare. The House's accounts record payments to Mr. Oliver as the architect and Mr. Anderson as the builder of the Tudor-style arch and windows.⁷⁸

The last major work done was the covering of the yards to form continuous shelter as far back as the Trinity House No. 14 almshouses of the 1869 plan and the small house shown attached to the east end of the school on Fryer's plan. It was not named by Fryer, but access to it was called "To Capt. Charnock's House"; part of it can still be seen in the Trinity Maritime Centre, where it is at the rear of the covered yard.



Plate XII. Photograph of Trinity House, Broad Chare, Newcastle upon Tyne.
[Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).]

The 1782 almshouses are no longer needed; with the southernmost warehouse, they are occupied by Live Theatre Company. The other two warehouses are being restored at this time and are occupied by the Trinity Maritime Centre Trust. The two houses north of the chapel, also restored, are leased as offices. In Trinity House the Master and Brethren still meet in the rooms their forebears knew.

Grouped around the courtyards behind Broad Chare are buildings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much documentary evidence survives to assist us to an understanding of the functional changes they

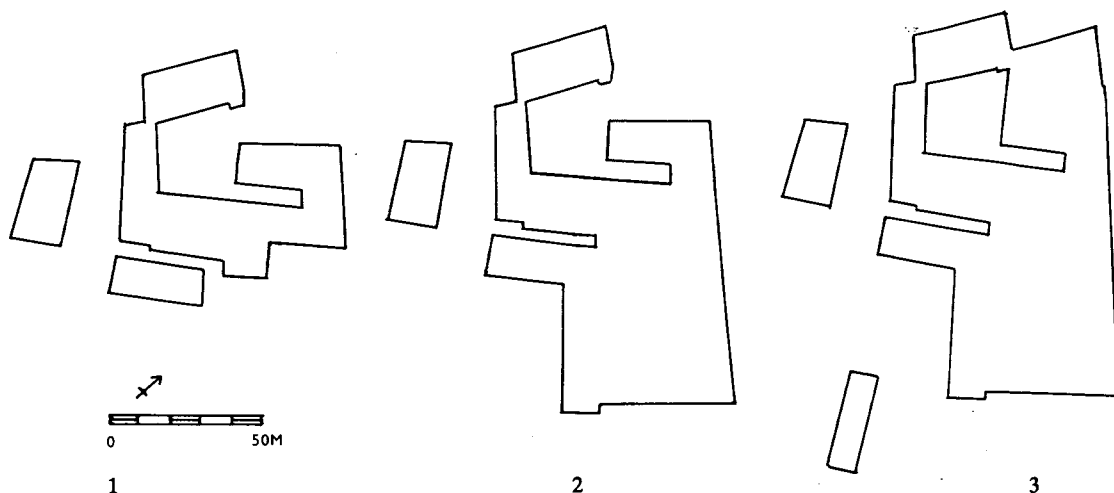


Fig. 2. The probable extent of the buildings of Trinity House: 1 by 1525, 2 by mid-seventeenth century, 3 by mid-nineteenth century.

have undergone and of the alterations that have been made to them. This is a domestic site which has been developed gradually, and without any of the usual interruptions for total clearance and rebuilding, since the sixteenth century. It is this which makes it a survival unique in Newcastle.

* * *

I am very grateful to the Trinity Maritime Centre who commissioned the research upon which this article has drawn, and to the Trinity House for giving every co-operation. Particular debts of gratitude are owing to Capt. G. W. Clark, Capt. C. C. Brown, and the late Capt. Kent.

APPENDIX: acquisition of the site in Newcastle upon Tyne

The first evidence for the existence of Trinity House, Newcastle, is the document of 1505² ordering the building of a chapel, almshouses and a meeting hall by "The Fellowship of Masters and Mariners". Parts of it are missing now, but the list of names of the "aldermen and hede of the fellowship of masters and mariners of ships of the town of Newcastle upon Tyne" occurs more than once so that it is clear that the parties drawing up the agreement were Thomas Hyll, Robert Boynde, Will[ia]m Kenton and Nicholas Blak, aldermen, and Will[ia]m Shaldfurthe, Harrie Adeson, Thomas Swynborn and Thomas Lilborne, stewards; another name, Lewes Sothern, is added in a lower reciting of the "aldermen and wardens". The agreement concerns the "disposyng of a certain messuage and sellers of the said messuage and a gardyng with th[e] ap[ur]ten[an]ces within the said town of old tyme

called Dalton Place lying in the street called the Brodechear . . . bargained and bought of Rauff Hebburne squyer". It goes on to refer to the deed of sale as bearing the date of the day and year of this agreement. It is clear on this evidence that sale and agreement occur on the same day: and that day is in the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VII.

The deed of sale itself has been lost for many years. It is listed in a sixteenth-century document endorsed "A Breviat of the Evidences belonging to the Trinity House",⁷⁹ which summarises property transactions of which the first is described as being a "release from John Johnson Burges of the Towne of Newcastle upon tyne to Wm. Lambton, Esq., and John Warmouth Chaplen of all that Tenement etc. in the Brodchaire . . . on the fourteenth of April in the ninth year of the reign of Henry V"; the fifth listed is a grant from John Allbright Chaplen to John Dalton and his wife of all his lands in Newcastle and Gateshead, and dated the 5th April in the seventh year of the reign of Edward IV. John Dalton transferred the property, according to the sixth item on the list, to Thomas Hebborne on the 20th July in the seventh year of the reign of Edward IV. All ten transactions described, from 1421 up to the letter of attorney, dated according to this list 10th August in the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VII (that is, 1503), which gave Raph Hebburn possession of the said lands, are marked "lost" in a nineteenth-century hand, as is the next item listed "A" and said to have been "A deed of sale from Raph Hebborn Esquire to Thomas Hill and others, of all that Messuage, Sellare and garden . . . called Dalton place, lying in the Brodchare bounded etc. paying a Red rose yearly in the feast of Saint John Baptist if it be demanded, with a bond for performance" dated the 4th January in the seventh year of the reign of Henry VII. The next two items listed "B" transfer property from "Thomas Hebborne of Hebborne Esquire" to "Robert Ellison Chaplen" on 9th September in the seventeenth year of the reign of Henry VIII, and are marked "lost"; the final item listed "C" and marked "remains" is the deed transferring the messuage from Thomas Hebborne to Robert Ellison on payment of "a pottle of wine on the vigil of Peter and Paul" and dated 9th September in the sixteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII; that is, 1524.

Two different properties are the subject of these last four items. The first, "A", concerns a messuage, cellars and garden transferred from Raph Hebborn to Thomas Hill and others. The release from John Johnson in the ninth year of the reign of Henry V defined it as "bounded between a tenement of John Whytehened and a house belonging to the Abbie of Alwicke on the west, the Bradechare and Cosyerchaire on the east, and from the lands of the prior of Tynemouth and the land of Roger Thornton and a garden late of Will[ia]m Johnson on the south, to a street called Hukergate on the north". The second property, referred to in items "B" and "C", comprises "certayn lofts and celleres lying and sette of the north parte of the Courtleige of an certayng messuage and gardain lying and sette in the strete called the brodchaire . . . called of antiquitie Dalton's Place and now the Trinity house and above the cellours appurtayning to the same messuage gardinge and cellours . . ." and is transferred from Thomas Hebborne, descendant of Thomas of the reign of Edward IV, to "Robert Ellisonne Chapelayne John Ellyson" and others; for this the document survives,¹ from which the above description is taken. The Breviat is confused, describing "B" as the transfer of Dalton Place from Thomas Hebborne to Robert Ellison.

The transaction recorded in "A" has often been said—by Brand among others—to have taken place in 1492; that may be on the evidence of the sixteenth-century "Breviat", however, not of the original document.⁸⁰ It can be added that the sequence of transactions in the Breviat is chronological if 1505 is taken to be the date of "B", but not if 1492 is understood; that the "order to build" of 1505 says the deed of sale was drawn up on the same day; and that the Hebburn pedigree⁸¹ shows it to have been impossible for Ralph to

have sold property in 1492, while the Breviat itself shows that he only acquired it in 1503; and that Thomas Hyll, named by the later clerk as first in the list of parties in the deed of sale, is first in the list of parties ordering the buildings in 1505. The mistaken reading of the date seems to have taken place in the sixteenth century and is only repeated in the eighteenth century and later.

NOTES

¹ Tyne and Wear Archives Department (hereafter TWAD) 659/3.

² TWAD 659/2.

³ Trinity House Manuscripts (hereafter THMss.) "Old Account Book 1530-1560".

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ W. A. Pantin "Medieval English Town-House Plans", *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7 for 1962-3 (1964), 202-239. He discusses examples which resemble the Trinity House complex, with storage buildings and dwellings ranged round a courtyard; a difference is that there is no domestic chapel.

⁶ THMss.

⁷ TWAD 659/177 f. 146.

⁸ *Ibid.* f. 157.

⁹ TWAD 659/447.

¹⁰ TWAD 659/446.

¹¹ C. North "Carr's Battery" Appendix to M. Ellison and B. Harbottle "The Excavation of a 17th-Century Bastion in the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976-81." *A.A.* 5 XI 147-8.

¹² TWAD 659/448.

¹³ TWAD 659/177. Entry marked f. 207 in "Table to 251 Orders in the Old Book".

¹⁴ *Ibid.* f. 208.

¹⁵ TWAD 659/448.

¹⁶ TWAD 659/177 f. 224.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* f. 239.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* f. 246.

¹⁹ It resembles the word "caparison" but does not seem to refer to ornament; perhaps it was a piece of timber from which ornament could be made.

²⁰ TWAD 659/177 f. 247.

²¹ J. Brand *History of Newcastle* 1789 ii 330; TWAD 659/177 f. 246.

²² THMss. "Order Book 1665-1818".

²³ See Fig. 1 and key. I am indebted to Trinity House for allowing the reproduction of this plan and to David Ash and Mark Woodhouse for tracing and drawing it. Gratitude is also expressed

to Gordon Clark, Newcastle City engineer's Photographer, for reducing the drawing.

²⁴ THMss. "Journal 1840-1850" p. 173.

²⁵ TWAD 659/609.

²⁶ TWAD 659/610.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ TWAD 659/119.

²⁹ THMss. "Payments Book 1677-1712".

³⁰ All these five payments from the same source.

³¹ TWAD 659/52.

³² TWAD 659/119:3.

³³ *Ibid.*; 5.

³⁴ THMss. "Order Book 1665-1818".

³⁵ TWAD 659/450.

³⁶ TWAD 659/665.

³⁷ TWAD 659/13. Book of Common Council refers to this agreement in the entry for 15th December 1726.

³⁸ THMss. "Journal 1762-1773", 3rd March.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 4th July 1768.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 5th February.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.* 7th May 1770.

⁴³ I am grateful to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for permission to use this illustration.

⁴⁴ THMss. "Old Account Book 1530-1650".

⁴⁵ THMss. "Payments Book 1677-1712".

⁴⁶ Brand *op. cit.* ii. 325-6.

⁴⁷ THMss. "Old Account Book 1530-1650".

⁴⁸ TWAD 659/177 f. 218.

⁴⁹ TWAD 659/182. Letter in December to Capt. Forster.

⁵⁰ THMss. "Journal 1773-1783" 4th February.

⁵¹ THMss. "Journal 1783-1793" 13th February 1787.

⁵² *Ibid.* 3rd June 1782.

⁵³ THMss. "Journal 1793-1810" 11th March 1795.

⁵⁴ TWAD 659/171.

⁵⁵ TWAD 659/172.

- ⁵⁶ TWAD 659/173.
- ⁵⁷ THMss. "Journal 1783-1793".
- ⁵⁸ TWAD 659/451.
- ⁵⁹ TWAD 659/170.
- ⁶⁰ THMss. "Journal 1773-1783".
- ⁶¹ TWAD 659/166.
- ⁶² THMss. "Journal 1773-1783" 18th January 1776.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* 4th August 1779.
- ⁶⁴ THMss. "Journal 1793-1810" 1st May 1794.
- ⁶⁵ THMss. "Journal 1783-1793" 5th June.
- ⁶⁶ THMss. "Journal 1793-1810" 1st May 1794.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 11th June 1800.
- ⁶⁸ TWAD 659/453.
- ⁶⁹ TWAD 659/119.
- ⁷⁰ THMss. "Order Book 1665-1818".
- ⁷¹ THMss. "Journal 1793-1808".
- ⁷² E. Mackenzie *History of Newcastle* 1827, 528 and plate.
- ⁷³ TWAD 659/121.
- ⁷⁴ THMss. "Journal 1840-1850" 4th August 1841.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.* for payment on 23rd March 1841 and for two following payments.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 8th September 1841. It is this work which can be seen to the left of the chapel in the accompanying illustration of the Broad Chare frontage of Trinity House. I am grateful to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for permission to publish this photograph.
- ⁷⁷ *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* Saturday, 3rd April 1841.
- ⁷⁸ THMss. "Journal 1840-1850" 7th December 1841.
- ⁷⁹ TWAD 659/1.
- ⁸⁰ W. H. Knowles and A. R. Boyle *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead* 1890; 198. They state the likely reason for this early misinterpretation: that "vicessimo" has been misread as "septimo", giving the seventh instead of the twentieth year of the reign as the date.
- ⁸¹ J. C. Hodgson "Notes of the Family of Hebburn of Hebburn" *PSAN* 2 XVIII, 26-36.

