

IX

“Alderman Fenwick’s House”— A Late Seventeenth Century House In Pilgrim Street, Newcastle

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SUMMARY

A BRIEF history is given of the use of this house and its neighbour (numbers 98 and 100 Pilgrim Street). They are described and analysed. Plans, drawings and photographs illustrate the phases of the structure.

Number 98 Pilgrim Street was the Liberal Club for 70 years but before then had been first a merchant’s house, and then The Queen’s Head, an inn. It is shown in the margin of James Corbridge’s 1723 map of Newcastle, and is there captioned “Alderman Fenwick”. Some three hundred years after it was built, the restored building is therefore called “Alderman Fenwick’s House”.

There is significant archaeological and architectural—historical interest in the house. It shows alterations made for the Fenwick family in the later seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century. Further changes were made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by successive landlords of the inn. The Liberal Club of Newcastle upon Tyne then acquired the lease of the building and adapted it to suit their needs, and remained the occupants until 1962. The adjacent house, Number 100 Pilgrim Street, was united with Number 98 in the eighteenth century and probably rebuilt then. Extensions and out-buildings behind both houses have been demolished.

After an unsuccessful application by the owners for Listed Building Consent for complete demolition and redevelopment, the house was bought by the City of Newcastle upon Tyne and in 1980 was leased to the Tyne and Wear Buildings Preservation Trust which is restoring the building and its neighbour.

Structural survey of Number 98 was undertaken in 1995 by the City of Newcastle Archaeology Unit, but detailed analysis of Number 100 was not possible because there was only limited access. Number 100 has therefore been drawn only in outline to assist the interpretation of the floor plans shown in Figs 4, 6 and 9. The plans and sections are based on those provided by the architects for the restoration¹.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Fig. 1a Detail of Charles Hutton's Map of Newcastle, 1771.

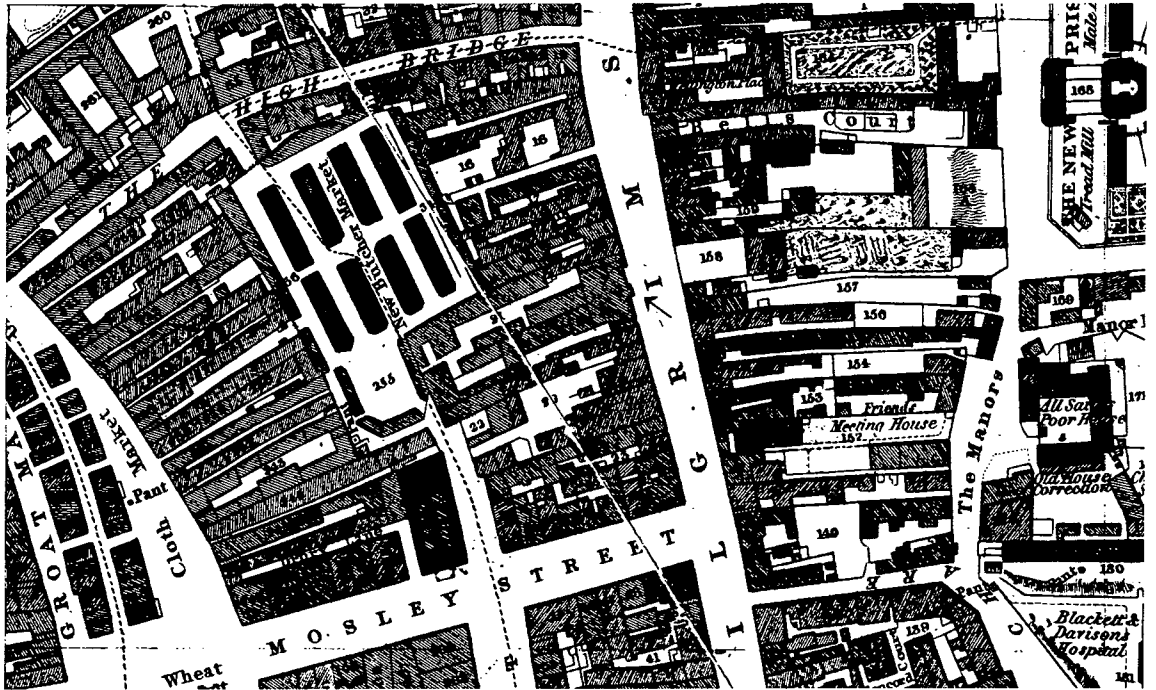


Fig. 1b Detail of Thomas Oliver's Map of Newcastle, 1831.

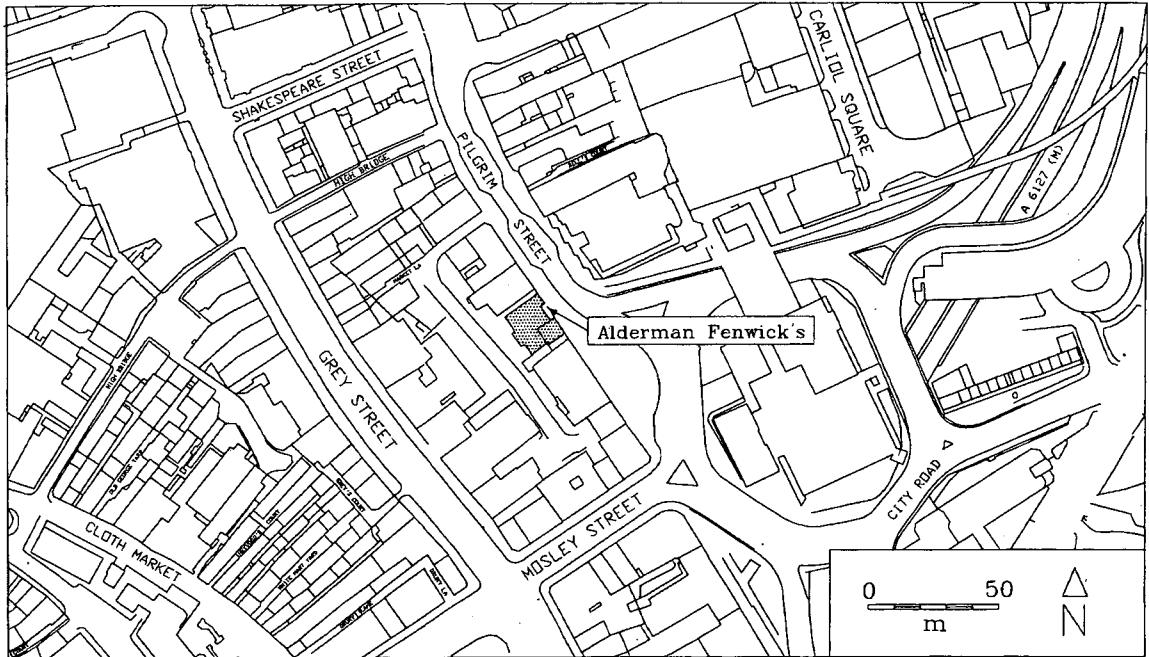


Fig. 1c Location Map of "Alderman Fenwick's House".

I THE SETTING OF THE HOUSE (FIG. 1)

The plan of medieval Newcastle was probably little different from the plan of the town which Speed published in the corner of his map of Northumberland in 1610, and which bears the legend "described by Robert Matthew". Pilgrim Street runs north from All Saints Church to Pilgrim Street Gate, along the ridge of high ground on the east side of the Lort Burn, which flows through the town to empty into the Tyne beside Sandhill. Flesh Market and Bigg Market were on the west bank of the stream. The first known documentary reference to Pilgrim Street (as *vicus pelegrinorum*) dates from *circa* 1230². It is likely that houses were built along this route quite early in the history of the town.

In the first description of Newcastle to be published, William Grey said Pilgrim Street was "the longest and fairest street in the town"³, but did not name any of the people

who lived in it, or say what the general nature of their business was. It was apparently still an impressive address less than a hundred years later. Henry Bourne wrote "from Upper Dean Bridge [the present High Bridge] downwards is the most beautiful part of the street, the houses on each side of it being most of them very pretty, neat and regular"⁴. Figure 1a shows the street in 1770.

The plot boundaries, from Pilgrim Street to the Lort Burn, were probably unchanged from the middle ages until 1808 when the first of a series of interventions changed the shape of this part of Pilgrim Street.

In 1808 the Corporation of Newcastle agreed that the meat stalls in the then Flesh Market were a nuisance which could no longer be tolerated: the congestion, noise and smell were all insufferable. Part of the valley of the Lort Burn south of High Bridge was filled in and the burn conduited so that what was known as the new Butcher Market could be laid out there, Flesh Market reverting to its

earlier name of Cloth Market. Some plots were truncated and the south boundary of the new market ran along the north edge of the present number 98. This phase of the plot development can be seen very clearly on Thomas Oliver's plan of 1830 (fig. 1b). Less than thirty years later Richard Grainger wrought greater changes with the creation of Grey Street in 1835. Outbuildings at the tail of the plot were demolished to make way for the east side of his new street (fig. 1c), allowing access from Grey Street to the yard of number 98 Pilgrim Street. After 1835, the site remained unchanged until a major alteration occurred *circa* 1981 when an access road was broken through from Market Lane between the properties on Grey Street and Pilgrim Street: the rear extension to number 98 and part of the rear wing of number 100 were demolished, and the rear elevation of the house was left facing the new access road.

II THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE AND ITS OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS

A Merchant's House (No. 98 Pilgrim Street)

It has not been possible to identify any of the owners or occupiers before 1747 with certainty; a probable sequence is offered from 1695. Bourne is quite precise about the location of the medieval Pilgrim's Inn, but does not say how he can be so certain. He thought it was on the west side of Pilgrim Street, 116 yards and one foot south of the corner of High Bridge, and on the north of Mr. Collingwood's house. This would have made it the site of the present No. 100 since land tax records show that Mr. Collingwood's house became the George Inn, and Ordnance Survey maps show that it was still that inn in 1858. However, Knowles and Boyle point out⁵ that the measurements do not match and that Bourne or his printer must have meant south, not north, of Mr. Collingwood's house.

Bourne's description of the street as he knew it must have been accurate. Among the well-known men he said were living there in

the early 1730s were Nathaniel Clayton Esq., Nicholas Fenwick Esq., and Edward Collingwood Esq. A few years later, Alderman Fenwick is named by James Corbridge as the occupier of the house in Pilgrim Street which he showed in his 1723 marginal illustration (fig. 2). It is this illustration which confirms the present number 98 Pilgrim Street as the house depicted in 1723 or thereabouts. The map bears the date 1722/3, indicating the first three months of 1723. The Town's Council minutes for 1724⁶ refer to Mr. Corbridge's survey and approve a payment to him on condition that it is amended. The proposed amendments are not described. It is possible that it was only at this last stage that the illustrations of the houses of the important men in the town, and on the council, were added.

After this positive linking of the house with Alderman Fenwick, there is no information until the land tax records begin in 1747, when the owner is given as Nicholas Fenwick and the occupier as Cuthbert Fenwick and com-

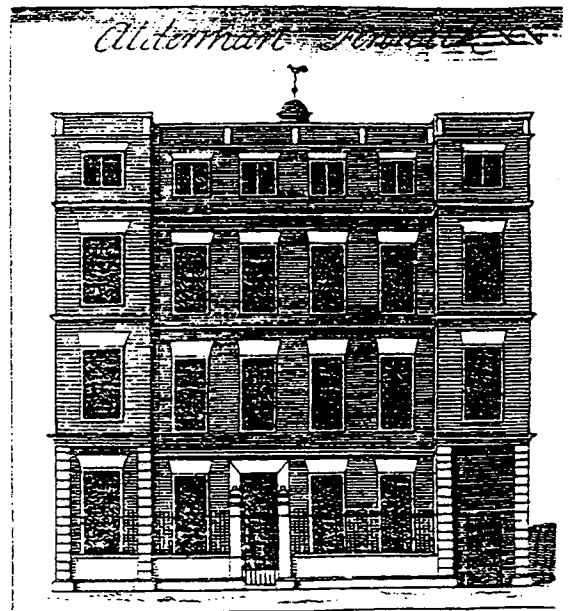


Fig. 2 Detail of Marginal Illustration, James Corbridge's Map of Newcastle, 1723.

pany (see below). A search for information about Alderman Fenwick has found certain references to a Nicholas and Sarah Fenwick living in Pilgrim Street⁷. These references, maps, deeds, wills, Thomas Oliver's 1830 book of reference and maps, together with land tax and poor rate records, have been used to establish the names of owners and occupiers of the house.

Thomas Winship

The earliest name which might be linked with the house is Thomas Winship, a member of the Tanners' Company of Newcastle. Little is known about him. It is from the last will and testament of Nicholas Fenwick, drawn up in 1724 and proved in 1725⁸ that Thomas Winship's ownership of a house in Pilgrim Street is known. The will states that Sarah Fenwick inherited the house from her father, Thomas Winship, Tanner, of Newcastle upon Tyne. Thomas Winship died in 1695⁹ but unfortunately his will has not been found. He had property in Backworth¹⁰, and although he is buried in St. Andrew's Newcastle, and is described in the burial records as "tanner of Newcastle upon Tyne", he seems not to have lived in the town. The hearth tax returns for 1663 and 1664 do not record him as living in the Pilgrim Ward, or in any other ward¹¹.

It has not been possible to link any of the names listed in the Hearth Tax returns with Sarah and Nicholas Fenwick's home. In 1664, of the 149 house owners named in Pilgrim ward, 45 were not taxable, and only 12 paid tax on more than four hearths; none of these can be shown to have any connection with this house¹². Clearly, only the most wealthy in 1644 had more than four hearths, and it will be seen in the description of the house below that, when the Fenwicks inherited the house, it probably had four or more hearths. In the absence of any continuity of names between the records of the 1660s and those of the Land Tax beginning in 1747, no name before Winship's in 1695 can be associated with the house.

Nicholas Fenwick and his wife Sarah, daughter of Thomas Winship (Fig. 3)

Nicholas Fenwick, merchant, son of Nicholas Fenwick, merchant, was born around 1663. He was admitted to both the company of Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle and the Eastland Company in 1688¹³, and in St. Andrew's church on October 28th, 1694, married Sarah Winship, daughter of Thomas Winship of Newcastle upon Tyne, Tanner¹⁴. In 1724 his will was drawn up and in 1725 he died¹⁵. In that will he said that his wife Sarah was to keep the house in Pilgrim Street where they lived, a house which she had inherited from her father and which Nicholas had "built since the marriage". The malting part of the house was occupied by Christopher Rutter, brewer, which suggests that there were already outbuildings behind the house. There are many references in documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to such outbuildings as breweries, maltings, bakehouses and stables, which would all be essential for a well-run house. He asked that he should be "decently buried without pomp in the parish church of St. Andrews".

Among the subscribers to Bourne's book in 1736 were Mrs. Esther Fenwick, the Rev. Mr. George Fenwick, vicar of Bolam, John Fenwick Esq. of Bywell, Mr. Thomas Fenwick and Cuthbert Fenwick, Alderman. It is possible that this last could be the Alderman Fenwick of Corbridge's 1723 illustration. To seek an answer to this it is necessary to explore some of the Fenwick genealogy, a dauntingly complex affair since the names Nicholas, Cuthbert and Robert occur in all generations and branches of the family. A. F. Radcliffe commented "The frequency of Fenwick-Fenwick marriages—six come under notice in this paper—makes inference of relationships exceptionally hazardous"¹⁶. While the problems created when a Fenwick marries a Fenwick probably do not affect an understanding of the history of the house, inconsistencies in the several published genealogies of the Fenwick families need further investigation. Such investigation is, however, beyond the

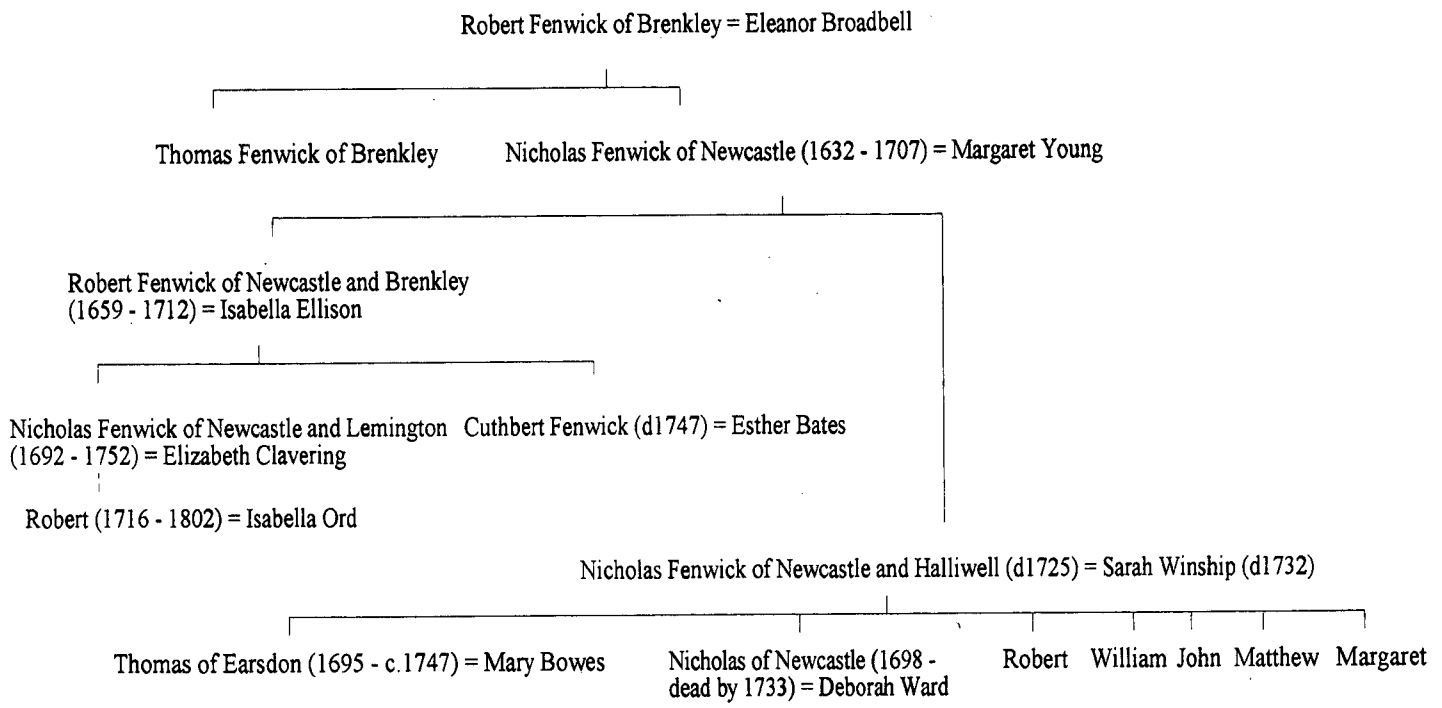


Fig. 3 The immediate family of Nicholas Fenwick of Newcastle and Halliwell.

scope of this article, and it may be that James Corbridge confronted similar difficulties in 1723 or 1724.

Bourne died on February 16th 1733. He includes "Nicholas Fenwick, Merchant, 14th December, 1725" among those buried in the Trinity Chapel of St. Andrew's. The monuments in the Trinity Chapel or Athol Chantry were destroyed in the course of nineteenth century alterations, but Mackenzie in 1827¹⁷ gave some of the names, including those of Thomas Winship, Tanner, died September 2, 1695; Christopher Rutter, baker and brewer, died March 17, 1714 (see above); and Nicholas Fenwick, merchant, died 14th December 1725. John Robinson¹⁸ recorded:

The Buriall place of Thomas Winship tanner and Jane his wife and their children she departed the 13 of February Anno 1689 He departed the 2nd of September Anno 1695

and

The Buriall place of Nicholas Fenwick Merchant who departed this life the 14th of December Anno 1725 aged 62 years Sarah his wife departed this life March the 26th day Anno 1732 Aged 60 years Hannah Fenwick Spinster ob: 3rd July 1780 Ae 48 Anne wife of Thos Fenwick Esq. of Earsdon died 11 July 17..

This Nicholas, the husband of Sarah, was always described as Merchant, never as Alderman. He seems never to have been active in the government of the town, and so could not have been Alderman Fenwick of 1723. The books of the Common Council name a Nicholas Fenwick who was at various times alderman (1723: "Nicholas Fenwick Esq. and Alderman"¹⁹) and mayor and even Member of Parliament, but fortunately his signature is appended to the minutes of the meetings which he attended and sometimes presided over. The same signature continues after December 1725, but is different from the signature on the 1724 will, proved in 1725²⁰, of Nicholas who married Sarah. Moreover, Nicholas the husband of Sarah signed a bond²¹ for the administration of his father-in-law's last

will and testament, and so there is a good specimen of his signature before he became infirm. To summarize: Nicholas Fenwick the politician continued to attend council meetings and to hold office after the death of Nicholas whose wife inherited a house in Pilgrim Street. The alderman is therefore not Nicholas, Sarah's husband. No references have been found to any other Fenwick family living in Pilgrim Street at this time, and a search of the church registers of St. Andrew's produces baptism references only to the children of Nicholas and Sarah²².

Widowed Sarah presumably continued to live in Pilgrim Street until her death on March 26th, 1732/3. According to Nicholas Fenwick's will of 1724, the house in Pilgrim Street was to pass on Sarah's death to their eldest son Thomas. It is possible that Thomas's cousin Nicholas, son of Robert Fenwick of Brenkley, was living in the house; Thomas lived at Earsdon and possibly felt that he did not need to maintain a house in town, whereas Nicholas was active both in business and in politics, and would need a residence in Newcastle.

Thomas Fenwick

First child of Nicholas and Sarah, Thomas was baptized in St. Andrew's on 28th November, 1695, admitted to the Merchants' Company in 1716 and died in 1747. Nicholas and Sarah, under the terms of Thomas Winship's will, had the house until either or both died, and it was then to pass to their son Thomas and his heirs. Sarah died aged 60 on 16th March 1733 according to the inscription recorded by Robinson in St. Andrew's church, and the house should then have passed to Thomas. Their second son, Nicholas, inherited under his father's will a copyhold farm at Earsdon. Thomas the older brother would then become the third name in the copyhold agreement with the Manor of Tynemouth for the farm at Earsdon, the first two being the wife and daughter of his brother Nicholas, Deborah and Grace. Perhaps, then, Thomas had no interest in the Pilgrim Street house which had been his

due, for like his father, he took no part in political life.

Nicholas Fenwick (Alderman Fenwick)

The Nicholas Fenwick who married Sarah had a nephew Nicholas Fenwick, son of his older brother Robert, who was described as being of Newcastle and East Brenkley. His nephew Nicholas was an Alderman in 1719, 1723 and 1724, and Mayor of Newcastle in 1720²³. Signatures in the Common Council Book of Newcastle upon Tyne, which lists the Mayor, Aldermen and members of the Common Council for each year, confirm the identity of Alderman Fenwick in 1723. Alderman Nicholas was certainly the son of Robert of Newcastle and Brenkley, who was born in 1659, married Isabella Ellison and died in 1712 and whose Newcastle house was in the Bigg Market; he was active in the government of the town and was Mayor in 1708. Both his sons, Nicholas, baptized 1692 and admitted to the Merchant Adventurers Company in 1712, and Cuthbert, baptized in 1693 and admitted to the Merchant's Company in 1715, were very active in politics, each holding public office, Nicholas becoming MP for Newcastle. In later years the sons of Robert were owners and occupiers of the house, as is seen below, but it has not been possible to establish how that came about.

1732–1747

Between 1732, when Thomas inherited his parent's house, and the earliest surviving land tax records for Pilgrim Quarter of All Saint's parish in 1747, there are no documents and only deduction is possible. From this time on, the sequence of records is incomplete²⁴ but from them a series of owners and occupiers of number 98 Pilgrim Street can be traced back through its time as a coaching inn to the years when it was a private house.

Nicholas Fenwick, Alderman and MP

The sequence of tax records starts in 1747 when there was a house owned by Nicholas Fenwick Esq. and occupied by Cuthbert

Fenwick Esq.; it was assessed at £3. 6s 8d, well above the average, a large house by then. Nicholas Fenwick Esq., Alderman, the son of Robert and the nephew of Nicholas and Sarah was named as owner of the house between 1747 and 1750. An indication of his busy life can be gained from the Grey manuscripts in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, where it is noted that when he was elected mayor in April 1720 he was in London, and so there was no entertainment until he came home²⁵.

Cuthbert Fenwick

In 1747 Cuthbert Fenwick Esq. and Company were taxed 8s 6d on stock-in-trade. Cuthbert was the tenant of his brother Nicholas, and died in 1747. The report of his death read: "Last Monday died at his house in Pilgrim Street Cuthbert Fenwick Esq. and Alderman. A Gentleman of great Learning &c and brother to the Right Worshipful Nicholas Fenwick, Esq., Mayor and M.P. . . . interred at All Saints in the family burial place . . ." Pall bearers included Matthew White Esq., Thomas Clavering Esq., William Coulson Esq., Mr. Robert Ellison, Thomas Fenwick, Thomas Liddell Esq., Matthew Ridley Esq., Henry Ellison Esq.²⁶. Nicholas Fenwick was now without a tenant. In 1748 and 1749 the house was assessed at £3.0.0, but the house noted as being empty, and no Fenwick taxed on stock-in-trade. Nicholas Fenwick was the owner until 1750, in which year the name of Wilkinson first appears.

Robert Fenwick and the Wilkinson family

In 1750 Nicholas Fenwick had a tenant, William Wilkinson Esq. 1751 and 1752 returns gave the owner as Robert Fenwick Esq., and the tenant as William Wilkinson Esq. There are at least two Robert Fenwicks at this time and it is not possible to be certain about the identity of the new owner. Nicholas, son of Robert, called his first son Robert. According to Bedford Fenwick this son was born in 1716, admitted to the Merchant's Company in 1737, became High Sheriff of the County in 1753,

and died in 1802²⁷. However, another source²⁸ has Robert, third son of Nicholas and Sarah, born in 1700 but also admitted in 1737, and a graduate of University College, Oxford. The published records of the company²⁹ say that Robert the son of Nicholas Fenwick was admitted in 1724, not 1737. The Robert who acquired the house in Pilgrim Street seems more likely to have been of the Brenkley family, the political branch of the Fenwicks. He was 34 years old in 1750. William Wilkinson, the tenant of 1751 and 1752, is not named in 1753. But his place is taken by another Wilkinson, James, who was then both owner and occupier of the house, with stock-in-trade also taxed. From 1770 to 1776 the owner and occupier was Mrs. Wilkinson, and in 1778 Christopher Wilkinson was the owner with no entry under the column for occupiers, so either he lived in the house or it was empty.

Thomas Carr and William Surtees

Thomas Carr Esq. paid land tax and lived in the house in 1779, but in May of that year an advertisement in *The Newcastle Chronicle*³⁰ said that the elegant house in Pilgrim Street occupied by Thomas Carr Esq. was to be sold or to let, and that the house adjoining would be sold with it or separately. The Land Tax shows that in 1780 and 1781 Carr still owned the house and had as tenant William Surtees. The present numbers 98 and 100 were clearly both owned by Carr, and there was no great change in the tax assessments. A slight increase from £3 to £3.3s in 1751, at a time when other assessments remained unchanged, does not seem large enough to be caused by the addition of another house to the ownership unless that adjacent property was worth very little at the time. There are no gaps in the sequence of adjacent names in these years. Consequently, the properties may have been in one ownership from at least 1747. In 1779 and 1780 Carr had been assessed at £3.12s, an increase of seven shillings, while adjacent properties were unchanged. This suggests that some changes had been made, possibly new stables or servants' rooms being added to the rear.

A newspaper advertisement in the *Newcastle Courant* for March 24, 1781 announced that Charles Turner of the Queen's Head was removing to a larger house belonging to Thomas Carr of Eshott, Esq. This is the beginning of the next stage in the life of Alderman Fenwick's House.

A COACHING INN

Charles Turner—The Queen's Head Inn

The announcement in the *Newcastle Courant* corresponds with entries in the Land Tax records which show that Charles Turner was the owner and occupier in 1782. The newspaper advertisement establishes that he was the landlord of the Queen's Head Inn which the house had become with his purchase of it, taking the name of his previous inn, lower down Pilgrim Street, which then became the Old Queen's Head. (Advertisements in 1778 announced that Mr. Wild was leaving the Queen's Head and that Charles Turner and his wife, lately butler and housekeeper to Mrs. Reed of Durham, were taking over the inn³¹.) The assessment was reduced to £3.3s., but in 1785 was raised to £3.7s. 6d. In 1783 Turner had announced that the Queen's Head was fitted in a genteel manner. In 1784, on June 11th, he advertised that he had considerably enlarged the accommodation of his house and stables, just in time for Race Week June 21st to 25th. In the Poor Rate for 1787³² he is assessed at £50 for house, yard and stables, so is probably providing accommodation for coaches and horses in the yard behind the inn. It will be shown below that No. 100 was considerably altered towards the end of the eighteenth century and a rear extension built on No. 98; it seems likely that this was the enlarged accommodation he referred to in 1784. The description below will identify the alterations he probably made at this time.

From 1801, poor rate and land tax records are supplemented by directories. All sources combine to name the occupiers and owners of the Inn, the outbuildings in the Queen's Head

Yard and an adjacent property, the present No. 100.

The sequence thus obtained is as follows (house numbers were introduced about 1830 and were changed twice):

Queen's Head

- 1781 Charles Turner moves into Thomas Carr's house in Pilgrim Street and opens it as the Queen's Head.
 1783 The Queen's Head "is now fitted in a genteel manner".
 1784 Turner announces that he has considerably enlarged the accommodation of the Queen's Head, both house and stables, and purposes to open an ordinary (a public dining-room providing meals at a fixed price) during Race Week.
 1801 Turner
 1811 Forster
 1824 George Dodsworth
 1833 Inn and Post House, 137 Pilgrim Street, Thomas Lough
 1838 ... Inn and Post House, 137 Pilgrim Street, William Archbold, victualler
 William Archbold, auctioneer
 1844 (William Mew, saddler and harness maker, 136 Pilgrim Street)
 William Archbold, Inn ... 137 and 138 ...
 1847 William Archbold, Hotel ...
 1852 William Miller, Family Hotel and Posting House, 137 ...
 1853 William Miller ...
 Elizabeth Mew, saddler 136 ...
 1855 William Miller, Hotel, 70 Pilgrim Street
 Mrs. Mew, saddler 68 ...
 1867 Mrs. Mew, harness maker
 1870 William Miller, innkeeper, 70 Pilgrim Street
 1875 William Miller, innkeeper
 1877 J. McGibbon, wine merchant
 1881 Phillips, 70 Pilgrim Street
 1885 Liberal Club

Queen's Head Yard

- 1870 W Miller, spirit merchant
 1874 W. Miller ... , Wilkinson, veterinary surgeon
 1881 Miller ... , Pringle and Corbett, veterinary surgeons
 1883 Miller ... , W. Henderson, cabinet-maker, Atkin, veterinary surgeon and shoeing forge, Hornsey junior, livery and bait stable

- 1887 Miller ... , Henderson ... , Atkin ... , Oldham & son, window-blind makers
 1891 Miller ... , Atkin ... , J. Somerset, glass-stainer

The Queen's Head was one of several large inns in Newcastle, but it was the favourite for important receptions and banquets, and was able to provide a large enough space for use as auction or sale rooms. Such was its use in 1811 on October 12th, when the Benwell estate of Andrew Robinson Stoney Bowes was sold in lots of £65,000³³.

The full extent of the Queen's Head Inn can be seen from a deed of sale of the property in 1834 by the then owner, Frederick Foster, to the Mayor and Aldermen and the Common Council of Newcastle upon Tyne³⁴. There is no evidence that the conveyance actually took place, but the date is significant: Richard Grainger was beginning his great scheme of improvements which was to create Grey Street out of the space between Pilgrim Street and Cloth Market. The property is described as being occupied by Norman Lough, and being used as an inn and hotel with yards, stables, coach houses, tap room and other buildings behind. There was also a tenement occupied by George Dodsworth, and bounded partly by the property of various named owners and partly by the Butcher Market, and to the west by the vegetable and tripe market (an extension of the Butcher Market) and the passage-way to it: this tenement accommodated a mail coach office and stables.

The Newcastle upon Tyne Liberal Club

The Nineteenth Century

The Club was first formed as the "Junior Liberal Club". In 1879, under the chairmanship of F. W. Dendy, it was meeting in rooms in the Alliance Hotel in Grey Street, where on February 27 the objects of the club were stated to include "the provision of means for social and political intercourse by the establishment of club rooms or otherwise and to assist in the promulgation of Liberal principle in Newcastle". In June it was resolved that a

meeting be held to consider the appointment of a special committee of members "to report upon the justice and expediency of restoring the Elgin Marbles to Greece", and the action, if any, which the Club should take. No record of that committee's proceedings has been found. The club was officially inaugurated later that year with a meeting at the Town Hall (in St. Nicholas' Square), but the question of finding adequate rooms for the Club was unresolved. Increasing numbers of members made it necessary to lease rooms at 15 Grey Street, and at that address the Club was able to provide meals and refreshments and facilities for leisure pursuits such as billiards, to which end the billiard table of Mr. Eustace Smith was purchased for £50 when the contents of Gosforth House were sold in 1880. The provision of a wide range of facilities, including overnight accommodation, smoking- and reading-rooms and a library, dining-rooms and card-rooms, would continue throughout the life of the Club as far as circumstances allowed. The dining-room at Grey Street cannot have been large; the annual dinner in 1882 was held at the Queen's Head, a popular venue which was to become the Club's next home.

The minute books³⁵ describe how on November 4th 1882 a Special General Meeting resolved to change the name of the Club to "Newcastle upon Tyne Liberal Club" in order to give it a more popular appeal and so increase membership. A report of the House and Finance Committee said that there were then 330 members, that the revenue received substantial aid from income and refreshments, billiards and so on, and that the subscription was far below what it should be. This was a foretaste of the years after the second world war, when declining membership led eventually to the club's leaving Pilgrim Street. But the early years saw rapid growth, and by 1883 better accommodation was needed.

At the General Committee on June 17th the secretary reported that the Queen's Head Hotel in Pilgrim Street was to be let. Events moved swiftly through a series of negotiations with Mr. Lamb, agent for the Grainger Estate, concerning the amount of rent, the length of

the lease, and the amount of money which each of the two parties would be willing to spend on the building. In a scrap book³⁶ there is a manuscript letter signed by the President, Mr. Albert Grey, MP, and four of the vice-presidents, which seems to be the original for a circular to be sent to the members saying that "more eligible premises" had been offered to the club, consisting of "the well-known, old established, and historical Queen's Head Hotel in Pilgrim Street, containing most extensive and convenient accommodation, centrally situated, and having many advantages of association and position. The large Dining-Room of the Hotel will be familiar to you. It is one of the best rooms in Newcastle. . . ." A form was enclosed for subscription to the £10 Debentures which were to raise the costs of removal, alterations and re-furnishing, which amounted to £2,500. On 9th August a special meeting of the General Committee heard that Mr. Lamb had agreed to let the Queen's Head for a rent of £250 a year, and that he would spend £150 on the premises.

From 1883 the Club, in its new home, became an important part of the life of Newcastle and the old house had a new role as a gentlemen's club. It was not just the Liberal Club which was growing; Newcastle was changing rapidly too, and with the spread of development came the spread of public transport. Many club members must have worked in the solicitors, banks and insurance offices in Mosley, Grey and Collingwood Streets, and in the flourishing retail trade centred on Grey Street. For them it was convenient to take luncheon in the Club. The merchant's house in Pilgrim Street was once again at the heart of the commercial world of Newcastle. As a coaching inn its great advantage had been that it was on the main north-south route; as a gentlemen's club it was within easy reach of the railway stations and the new tramway routes.

The old building needed to be adapted to the needs of the Club, and W. H. Knowles was the architect who was asked to advise on what work would be needed. There are no references in the Town Improvement Committee books to any works to the building at this time,

suggesting that the alterations were not so much structural as cosmetic. Evidence must be sought elsewhere. Knowles and Boyle³⁷ describe the former Queen's Head inn as having had the interior "almost entirely modernized, but it still retains a very fine old staircase". Knowles' illustration shows that by 1890 there was already a ground floor projection north of the entrance, for there are shrubs in tubs on its flat roof, and it is likely, since the caption is "The Queen's Head" and a coach with a team of horses is shown, that this extension to the ground floor room was there before Knowles "modernized" the building in 1884.

Further evidence is found in "The Newcastle Liberal Club. Its Associations and characteristics", an article in the *Newcastle Daily Leader* of December 16th, 1896, which was reprinted as a leaflet³⁸. It uses Knowles' 1890 illustration and describes the old porch entrance and the open balcony of coaching times, and says that the renovations included papering the walls, painting the ceilings, varnishing the old panelling, laying new carpets on the floors and the old staircase, and "a brilliant and effective lighting electric installation". The internal arrangements are described. The library was to the right of the entrance, and on the left were two smoking- and coffee-rooms, the second within No. 100 and down some steps from the first, and consequently known affectionately as "The Slump". Pictures, books and furnishings are praised; and the atmosphere is described as "cosy", with churchwardens (pipes) hanging on the walls. The porter's office was in the vestibule, with telephones. Beyond on the ground floor were lavatories, hat racks, kitchen, secretary's office, housekeeper's room, and other club offices. The stair (opposite the library) had on the half landing a brass plaque recording the names of the Presidents of the club since 1884. From the same landing the grand dining-room was reached, which was described as having an oriel window, though photographs of this part of the building, now demolished, show that this was not so: there was a Venetian window at its west end. The first-floor front room, extending the full width of the house, was the

reading-room, from which the front balcony was reached. It was "flanked by two projecting tete-a-tete rooms for conversation or confidences of members". Its walls were "entirely panelled in oak, and the roof [ceiling] is covered with the old-fashioned moulding peculiar to the last century". On the right, coming out of that room, was the room known as "no. 15", where those with literary interests would gather. The room opposite was the chess room. The next half landing led to the billiard room, over the dining-room; it had roof and side lights, electroliers for the evenings, and three magnificent tables with raised benches for spectators at the ends of the room. The second floor had the private rooms, with a large private dining-room furnished in red plush, and next to it the secretary's parlour. There were seven bedrooms which could be booked for members. There was also accommodation for a large staff of servants, including waiters and waitresses. (On January 9th 1884 the house sub-committee minutes³⁹ recorded that the staff to be employed were housekeeper, cook, four housemaids, one kitchen maid, a scullery maid, a laundress, a porter, a male waiter and three billiard-room boys. Waitresses must have come later.) At the time of writing there were about 750 members. The anonymous author concluded, with unconscious irony, "in the hands of the Liberal Club, the famous old house is likely enough to be preserved until the whole of its contemporaries have given place to buildings more splendid, perhaps, but certainly less quaint and comfortable".

W. H. Knowles' plans were approved on September 3rd and the details were left to the new premises sub-committee. It is strange that the House sub-committee minute book⁴⁰ contains no reference to this. It is odd too that there are no records in the Club's surviving documents of any payments to Mr. Knowles, although there are references to tenders for the work. The contractors chosen on September 21st were those who had submitted the lowest tenders: James Smart for stonemasonry and joiner work, £729.2.3, and John Gibson for painting and paperhanging,

£221.15.0. Knowles was to see them and to ask for detailed schedules of prices; payments were made when the architect signed the certificate, and this suggests a formal arrangement between Knowles and the Club. There is little information in the surviving documents to throw light on the question of what alterations were made by the new tenants. On September 27 a special meeting of the General Committee decided that the sub-committee was to superintend the carrying out of the alterations and to cut down the expense as far as possible. The Secretary was requested to call on the chief cabinet-makers in the city with rough sketches of the plans with a view to tendering for the work and a furnishing sub-committee was chosen consisting of Messrs Havelock, Reid, Robson and Ewing. No sources have been found which say what Knowles' alterations were, but the evidence of much fine late nineteenth-century woodwork in the building suggests that door surrounds and perhaps some of the internal finishes in the now-demolished dining-room were renewed. The missing information may yet come to light in business or private archives. It is not possible to be certain that there were no major structural alterations and therefore no application under the building bye-laws.

Arrangements for the opening of the new club proceeded swiftly and to the delight of all, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, MP, President of the Board of Trade, agreed to perform the ceremony. The date chosen was January 16th, 1884. The ceremony was to be held at four in the afternoon in the dining-room of the Club, followed by dinner at the Town Hall at 6.0 pm, with the Right Honourable the Earl of Durham presiding (tickets 7/6d, side elevations and gallery 2/- and 1/- each). Both old and new clubs were then to be closed for a week while alterations and furnishings were completed, presumably including the transfer of furniture and books from Grey Street to Pilgrim Street. The work could have begun at the earliest only in the preceding October.

The Twentieth Century

In the course of the next eighty years, the building suffered many changes as the political scene changed, and the fortunes of the club with it. There were other reasons too for change, as financial crises became more frequent. On March 31st 1914 the Annual Meeting held in the dining-room of the Club considered its worsening income and the need for alterations to the building. The Chairman had received a report from Messrs Marshall and Tweedy regarding suggested alterations, and asked for a special general meeting to be called at which, because income was falling, subscriptions were increased. The extended and improved tramway service enabled members to lunch or dine at home, there were more restaurants, food cost more, the weekly half-day holiday reduced custom. Investments had to be realized, and so income was further reduced. Members would need to use the club more frequently if it were again to be a financial success.

The next Annual report said that Marshall and Tweedy had prepared plans for extensive alterations to the club premises, and after very careful and lengthy consideration by the Committee, it had been decided to obtain tenders for the work suggested. There are microfilm copies of Marshall and Tweedy's plans for these alterations in the City Engineer's department, stamped "Approved 7 October 1914" and "Approval withdrawn by Town Improvement and Streets Committee" with "1st November 1916" added in manuscript⁴¹. War had been declared as the proposals were being worked out, and at the suggestion of the architects the whole matter was allowed to lie over, not only because of the expected increase in prices of building materials, but also because the time was not appropriate for raising money for matters of that nature. The drawings show that alterations contemplated then included making a new entrance, by extending the ground floor porch one bay to cover the entrance and inserting a new door in the inner return of the porch, and putting a wrought iron balustrade on the balcony. An

especially useful feature of such applications for the historian is that they had to include drawings of present building as well as of the proposals, and from them it is possible to identify the uses of the rooms in 1914. There were few changes from the 1884 uses. Left of the entrance corridor were two lounges as before, and to right was the writing-room with the front extension making it larger than the restored space in 1995. To the left of the stair hall were two telephone booths, and next to them, at the head of the stairs down to the cellar, a cupboard in the flue thickness. A partition wall separated the rear ground floor room from the stairs which led down to the cellar of No. 100 and up to the rear wing of No. 100.

Other than this postponement of alterations, there was no significant reference to changes to the building during the First World War. Officers in HM Forces were granted use of Club premises, and serving members were released from payment of subscriptions in that first year. Many members were lost in action.

Other changes to the building in the twentieth century used new technology, and reduced running costs. Gas fires were fitted in the bedrooms in 1929. It was nevertheless at this time that the need for repairs became pressing. Repairs to ceilings were needed: part of the dining room cornice having fallen, all were inspected. Urgent repairs were carried out. To increase income and to meet the demands of a changing society, it was decided to allow modified membership for ladies. It was found that the club was used mostly between 12.30 and 3.30, because travelling facilities were better and because members were living further away from the city; these factors were thought to make "a ladies' rest room in the city" even more desirable. None of the new measures made much difference to the decline, and in 1931 the committee learnt that 1925 had been the last year to yield a profit. An examination of the finances of the club cannot be made here but the outcome is clear: the Liberal Club was losing money and was unable to invest much in maintenance of the property. Debenture shares were issued in 1937 in order to pay for alterations and deco-

rations which were not specified, and a publicity leaflet was issued to increase membership. To judge by internal evidence, it is a copy of such a leaflet that the Newcastle Central Library holds in its collection⁴²; it contains photographs of the principal rooms and of one of the bedrooms. The accompanying text is misleading in its historical information, referring to Corbridge's map of "1726" and to Alderman John Fenwick, a name which occurs in no other source in connection with the building. However, the leaflet undoubtedly gives a good record of those rooms which it describes and illustrates.

The Second World War and after

The building was more affected by the Second World War than by the First. In 1937 and 1938 Mr. Easten had guided the club through the alterations, renewals and decorations, not specified in the minutes, paid for by income from the 1937 debentures. Members were again exhorted to bring new members and to make greater use of the leisure, dining and refreshment facilities offered. The meeting of the General Committee on September 29th 1939 received a report that the roof was in very bad condition, and Mr. Craggs was to put work in hand if he thought it urgent. New terms were agreed with the landlords, fire-watching was organized with neighbouring premises, and hospitality was arranged for Dutch and Polish servicemen. At the end of 1944 it was recognized that among other necessary refurbishment, the roof was again in need of repairs; these were carried out under the supervision of Mr. Robertson.

Shortly afterwards, the Club commissioned the architect Charles E. Errington to assess the condition of the building. His report, dated January 16th 1953 identified the need for major repairs⁴³, including pointing and water-proofing the walls, renewing the eaves gutters, overhauling the roof slates, renewing one wood purlin, entirely reconstructing the roof and lantern light over the cloakroom, carrying out internal repairs to a flue and to the wall between the bar and the entrance hall, sup-

porting the floors of the entrance hall on a new steel joist, and using another to replace the fractured beam under the main stairs. Woodwork needed renewing in rooms affected by a leaking internal pipe; the supports to the main water tank needed renewing; joists needed treatment for woodworm. He estimated £1,200 for external and £330 for internal repairs.

The Liddell-Grainger trustees undertook to carry out these repairs and the club agreed to contribute £700. Terms were subsequently renegotiated but at least some of the work seems to have been done in 1954⁴⁴. Every time the lease came up for renewal there were further negotiations, and always an increase in the rent with the exception of the period of the 1939–1945 war, when special terms were agreed.

Minutes of the AGMs, the General Committee and the House and Finance Committee for the following years show continuing financial difficulties and continuing problems with the fabric of the building. In 1959 it was decided to board up part of the upper floors and the bedrooms; the rates saved would be around £100 a year. The “slump” could be let off as offices to produce income. Capital could be obtained by selling the club's freehold to the piece of land behind No. 100. It was thought that more members might be attracted to the club if its name were changed: the Newcastle City Club, the Newcastle Town and Country Club, the Newcastle Club, were all suggested and rejected, and this stratagem was abandoned.

However, the situation did not improve, and there were gradually fewer and fewer members to provide subscriptions and to make use of the facilities of the club. The papers of the last years of the club's tenancy duly record its decline. In 1962 members were told of the decision of the AGM that the club should leave their Pilgrim Street premises. The last Annual General Meeting to be held there was on 8th May 1962, and the General Committee decided on April 10th that they would vacate the premises on June 30th and that the active life of the club would cease on that day. The

club continued to hold Annual General Meetings in a hired room in the County Hotel, and used the good offices of the Liberal Golf Club to provide a framework for social activities. The last minutes are for an AGM on December 15th, 1969, when two members attended.

Meanwhile the Queen's Head, later the Liberal Club, formerly Alderman Fenwick's house, stood empty and in a very poor condition.

The full story of the effect of conservation and planning legislation on this building cannot be told here, but when on June 14th 1954 the Secretary of State for the Environment signed a List of Buildings of Special Historic or Architectural Interest in Newcastle upon Tyne, 98 and 100 Pilgrim Street were included as grade II buildings. In August 1960 at the meeting of the General Committee of the Club it had been for the first time stated that the owners were considering demolition and rebuilding, the new structure to be entirely offices. It was recognized that the necessary process could take some time, and the Club were told they could have the use of the premises while plans were prepared, submitted and discussed, possibly for several years. However, an application for Listed Building Consent to demolish the buildings was made on 19 September 1969 and was refused. Subsequently, applications by Messrs Lamb and Edge on behalf of the Liquidator of Grainger Properties Ltd., dated 10 August 1970 to redevelop the site, and 12 August 1970 to demolish 98/100 Pilgrim Street, were similarly refused. A joint local inquiry was held into the appeal made by the Liquidator of the owners, Grainger Properties Limited, against the decisions of the Planning Committee of Newcastle upon Tyne Council. The council had refused 1. to grant Listed Building Consent for the complete demolition of the listed building and 2. to permit a proposed redevelopment for offices on the site⁴⁵. The eventual outcome was that on 10 October 1974 the property which consisted of nos 96–100 Pilgrim Street was bought by the City of Newcastle⁴⁶. The rear part of the property was

demolished c. 1981 and a service road was made between Grey and Pilgrim Streets.

The Tyne and Wear Building Preservation Trust

In 1982 the *Evening Chronicle* printed a half-page article about the house: the headline was "Breathing life into a piece of history"⁴⁷. The reporter, Alison Bate, interviewed the architect James Simpson of Messrs Simpson and Brown, Edinburgh, who had begun work on restoring the building. Twenty years had passed since the Liberal Club had ceased to function, twenty years during which demolition had been sought several times before the City of Newcastle bought the old house. In 1980 the Council granted the newly-founded Tyne and Wear Building Preservation Trust a lease for 125 years, the Trust launched an appeal, and Simpson and Brown of Edinburgh were commissioned to carry out the restoration. Shortly after, the List of Buildings of Historic and Architectural Interest for Newcastle was revised and the house was graded I, among the most important 3% of historic buildings in the whole country.

The final phase of restoration is to begin in January 1996. This is not the appropriate place to discuss the philosophy of the restoration process, but rather the place to pay tribute to the persistence of the many people who have achieved the preservation, conservation and resurrection of a building which is now recognized to be one of the most important in Newcastle and in England. It is the product of the trade and commerce of Newcastle from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and is soon to become again a living, breathing building, enabled by the conservation legislation and skills of the later twentieth century to take its place in the thriving business centre of modern Newcastle.

III 98 PILGRIM STREET—"ALDERMAN FENWICK'S HOUSE"

Evidence of earlier structures on both properties

The party wall between 98 and 100 incorporates a short length of unevenly coursed, rubble-cored sandstone (fig. 4a). This may have linked with a second stone wall (fig. 4b) which now forms the rear wall of No. 100, although the two no longer meet. These walls, 0.8 m thick and standing to 16 and 11 courses, respectively, are all that survive of medieval buildings on the site. The difference in the character of the stonework strongly suggests that two separate structures are represented. The rear wall has a door opening, 1.15 m wide, now filled with a hand-made brick of eighteenth century type, but a lack of diagnostic features make it impossible to assign a date to the construction of this early building. The presence of third-floor windows in the south gable wall of No. 98 suggests that this house was no taller than two storeys. The use of stone for party walls was a common feature of late medieval building practice in Newcastle, encouraged by an undated Corporation building assize recorded in the Common Council's Black Book⁴⁸.

EXTERIOR

Number 98 Pilgrim Street

Alderman Fenwick's House has a striking, almost symmetrical front elevation of four storeys and a basement, the main range set back from the street and closet wings in the end bays projecting to reach the street line (fig. 5, fig. 6). Today, its front restored, it looks much as it does in Corbridge's 1723 illustration (fig. 2).

The bricks are uneven dark red, and the mortar is much renewed so that none of it can be identified as original. It is built in English garden wall bond, with a repeat of four rows of stretchers and one row of headers. There is some use of stone, only visible in the piers of the front wings but, as will be shown below,

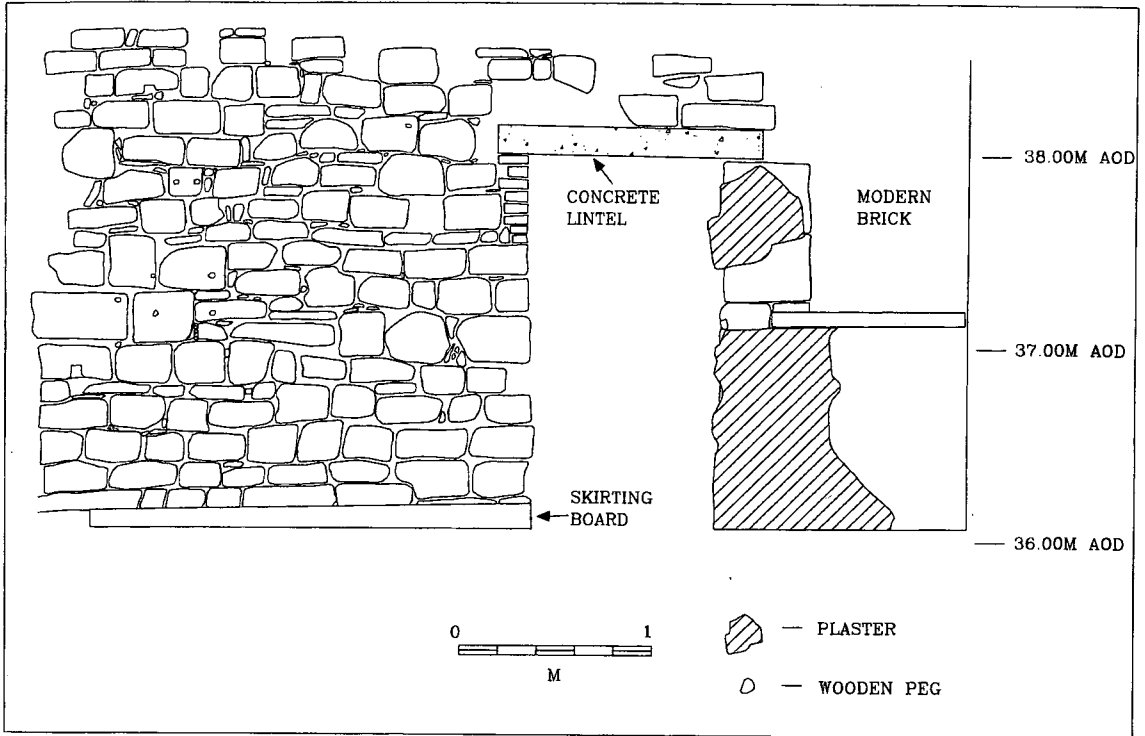


Fig. 4a Alderman Fenwick's House: Ground Floor Rear Stone Wall.

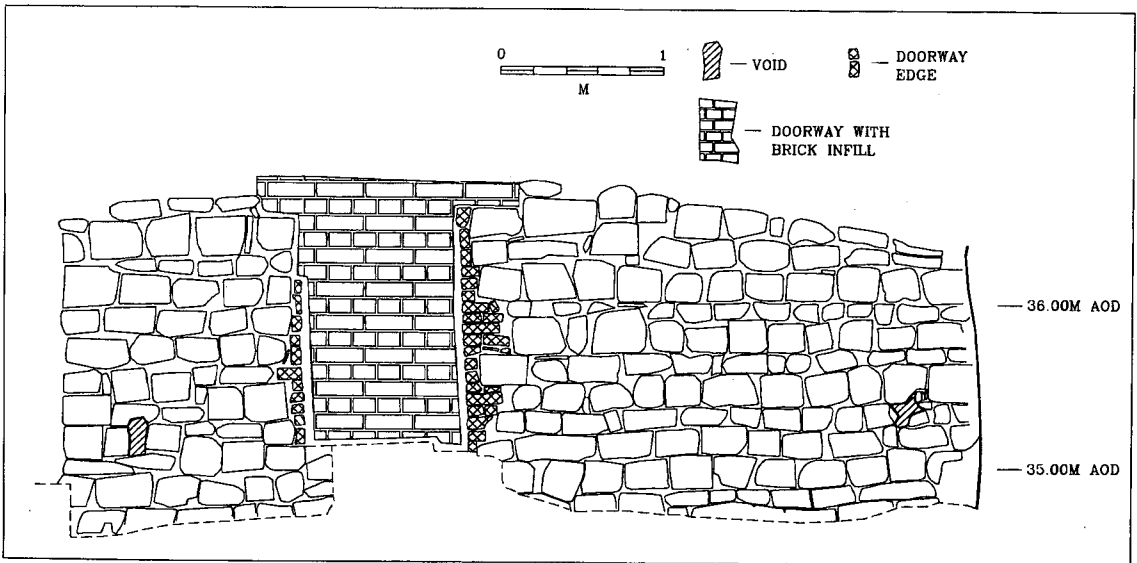


Fig. 4b 100 Pilgrim Street: West External Stone Wall.

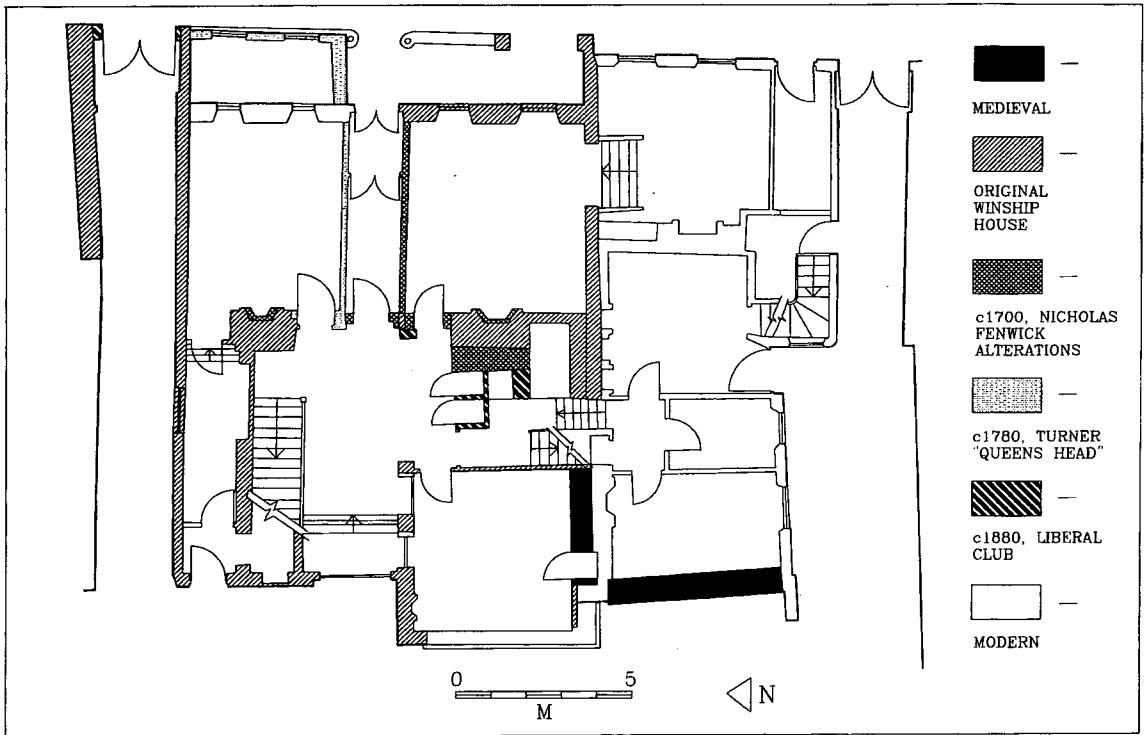


Fig. 5 Alderman Fenwick's House: Ground Floor Plan.

also in an earlier structure incorporated into the brick house. The plan is a modified H, with closets in the small front wings projecting from the end front bays of the rooms of the main range of the house. Rear wings containing one room on each floor extend from each end of the main range, and the space between them is filled by a stair well from which doors opened onto front and rear rooms.

On the front elevation, the ground, first and second floors each have a deeply-moulded cornice, of brick and plaster, which is continuous around the closet wings and on upper floors has projecting central keys. That of the first floor is the most important and reflects the structure of a classical entablature, with simplified versions of the three elements of architrave, frieze and cornice. The upper course is made of tiles but the whole is covered in plaster, which would always have been painted to

resemble stone. Old photographs of the building show the front wall rising unadorned from top floor windows to parapet coping; it is probable that the top cornice and the panelling of the parapet were removed when number 100 was rebuilt and the two houses were thus brought into some sort of common style. The panelled parapet has been restored.

The ground floor has no projecting closets. At left, the first floor of the closet wing is supported on square rusticated ashlar piers; at right, the yard entrance projects between similar columns, with the passageway enclosed by a ground floor wall under the closet on the left and on the right by the party wall with the next building in the street. In the bay to left of centre there are stone steps up to the door and sash windows in the other bays. The basement windows have two lights with chamfered stone mullions and surrounds and intermediate diag-

onally-set square section iron rods, all except the most southerly now renewed, and with renewed lattices tied to them. The upper floors have six renewed sashes with fairly broad glazing bars, except the top floor, which has two-light casements with ovolo-moulded wood surrounds and mullions. These are a restoration, replacing sashes with fine glazing bars which were of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century section. On each floor there are also windows in the inner returns of the closet wings.

It is particularly interesting that the brickwork around the sash windows and some of the top floor casements shows that the openings have been narrowed and some have been lengthened. There have been bricks inserted very carefully on each side of the windows, but no attempt has been made to change the wider

flat brick arches over them. The likelihood is that the earlier surrounds were for windows with single mullions and transoms (the type often called cross windows), perhaps with opening casements below the transoms, and that these were replaced with sashes in the early eighteenth century. The earlier windows were wider and shorter than the later. Corbridge's picture shows sashes except in basement and top floor, so the change had been completed before his map was published in 1723. The brick parapet has no doubt been renewed on more than one occasion, and does not have the pronounced coping stones of the engraving. Similarly, the stone gate piers, the door surround, the railings and the north vehicle entrance door of the 1723 view have all been lost. The view shows no detail of the door itself, nor of the level of the ground floor.



Fig. 6 Alderman Fenwick's House, 1995 (Simon Wardle, City of Newcastle Archaeology Unit).

The balance of the horizontal and vertical elements in the front elevation is striking. Vertical cohesion comes from the fact that the windows and the door form columns of openings, keeping in their present form to an even width on all floors no matter what the variation in window type. Horizontal emphasis is provided by the cornices which are subtly varied so that the lowest is the most pronounced, a device which reflects the status of the rooms at each floor level. The strongly projecting end bays of the closet wings vary the surface and enclose the frontage, at the same time suggesting the gracious living standards of a country house, despite the limitations of a town site. It will be seen below that the quality of the interior supports this view.

The roof is steeply pitched. The front range is covered by two separate pitched roofs parallel to the street, with a space between them, and over the two rear wings there are ridges, running at right angles to the main ridge and set behind it, flanking the square-plan stair tower which rises between the rear wings and has a flat roof. From the stair tower a door in the east wall opens onto a platform set on joists which are the extended collars of the roof trusses. From this platform rise the pitched roofs, with the passage between the front ridges leading to the parapet walk.

The rear elevation of the building shares only the sash windows with the front; all other elements are quite different. What symmetry there is derives not from aesthetic requirements, but from the plan, the gabled wings each needing access from the stairs and therefore flanking the stair tower. The vehicle passageway from the street emerges at left under a plain timber lintel. There is no rear basement. The two upper floor levels are defined by a brick string: the first floor by a bull-nosed course below two plain courses, the second by a central course of moulded bricks. The third floor is within the roof space at the back, in contrast to the front elevation where it is disguised behind a parapet as a true third floor. Above this floor level rise the gables and the stair tower; the cornice at eaves level is more decorative than those below, with dog-tooth

brickwork. Each top floor gable has header bricks set on their short sides forming a coping which curves round the peak of the gable. The central stair well rises a further floor between the two wing gables to a square head above roof level. It is not possible to say what the early eighteenth century fenestration of the stair tower was like. Photographs show that sash windows with fine glazing bars had been inserted, and apparently had obliterated any evidence of earlier openings. The addition of the dining-room extension for Charles Turner had necessitated the breaking through of connecting doors from the stair well, one from a new landing between ground and first floors, the other from an altered flight between first and second floors. The upper opening is shown in Fig. 7.

New windows were made after the removal of the connecting rear wing and a modified Venetian window shape was used on each level, echoing the shape of a lintel found in that wall after the rear extension was demolished and the wall was stripped of plaster. The date of that lintel cannot be ascertained; it was crudely cut and predated the link to the rear extension.

The south wall is partly enclosed within the rebuilt number 100, but the gable peak is partly visible from the third floor of that building. Unfortunately, the unstable state of that floor at the time of survey prevented full inspection, but a sketch based on the architect's drawings and recent photographs is included here (fig. 8). It could be seen that within the gable wall is a projecting course of brick heads in the outline of a shaped gable, such as was common throughout England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and is seen on other houses in Pilgrim Street in old photographs. The shaped gable was partly removed when the parapet was rebuilt and the top floor of number 100 was built, probably in 1784. Coping bricks have been removed above the first convex curve, and then replaced crudely, neither following the shape of the previous coping nor laying them carefully. There are irregular gaps filled with mortar, and the outline of the original



Fig. 7 No. 98. Stair between first and second floors in 1976. (Courtesy of the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments England: NMR B/529, 11.1.1976).

gable edge can be seen below the altered line. This feature has not been surveyed. To the right of it can be seen the return of the original top-floor string, similar to those at the rear of the house, preserved by the rebuilding of

Number 100. Three windows in the gable face south; one a small single light in the peak, one in the centre and the other in the closet south wall, below the cornice. These are all seventeenth-century. The two-light windows have

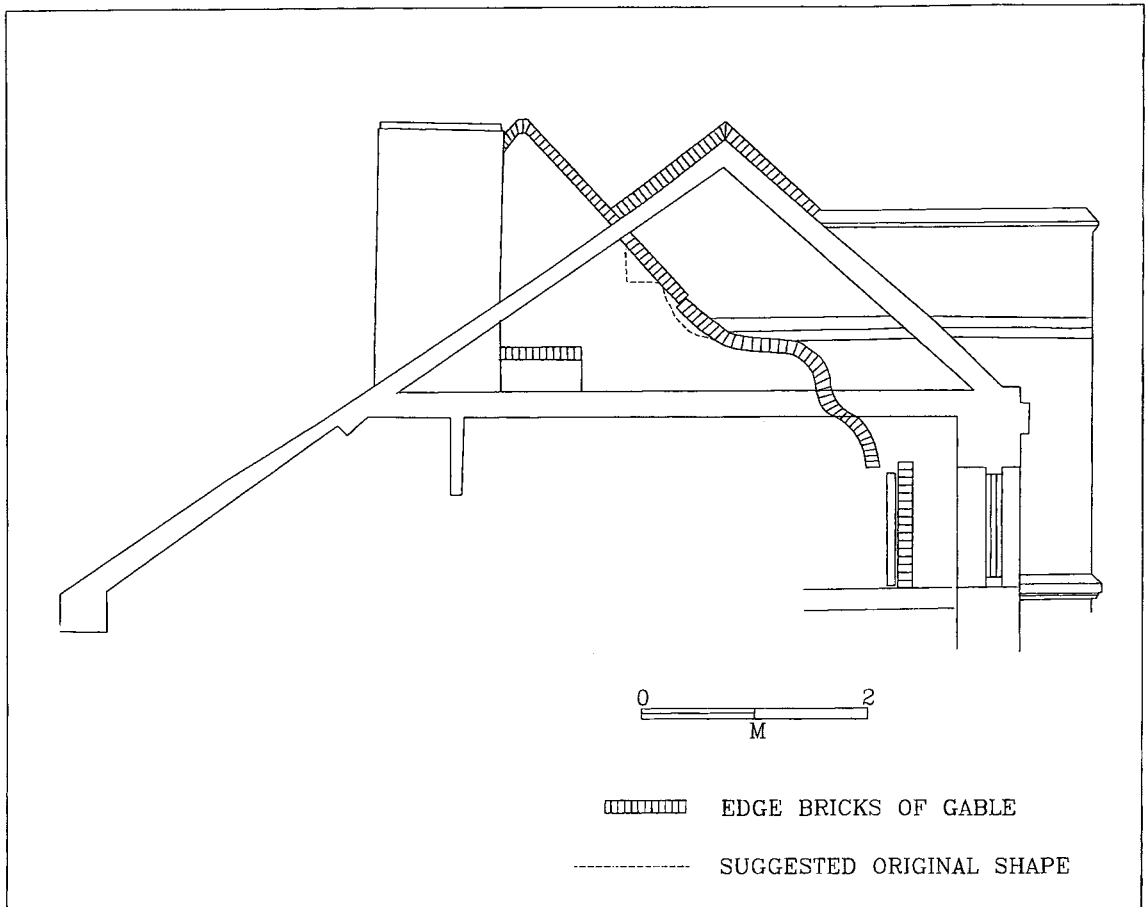


Fig. 8 Alderman Fenwick's House: Detail of South Gable and suggested original shape.

flat-arched heads of soldier courses of round-moulded bricks with bull-nosed ends, making a very decorative window head, in the same style of brickwork as appears in the arcade of the Holy Jesus Hospital of 1682 (although those bricks are also rubbed to make a tightly-constructed round arch). It is possible that the front windows of the pre-1695 building had similar window heads. The north wall also contains seventeenth century windows on the third floor which are now blocked by the rebuilt structure of number 94; it is not possible to see the external face of this gable because number 92 was completely rebuilt in 1907.

Number 100 Pilgrim Street

This is a brick house of a hundred or so years later than Alderman Fenwick's House. It has four storeys which are not very different in height from those of number 98, and four windows on each upper floor. The continuation of floor heights may reflect a conscious decision to maintain visual balance between the two buildings, but it may equally suggest that there was only a partial rebuild in the late eighteenth century and that the structure remained while the front wall was rebuilt and a new stair was inserted. The front wall is brick in Flemish bond, uniquely among eighteenth-century

buildings in Newcastle. At left, a wide arched entrance with double doors and a blocked semicircular overlight leads to the passage to the yard. Immediately to the right of that, in the second bay of the front, there is a six-panel door and blocked overlight; and in the two right bays are blocked sash windows. The ground floor is unusual in construction, the bays being defined by slender, shallow timber pilasters supporting a simple timber cornice, and brick panels filling the bays; on the upper floors there is no decoration at all. The windows are in a hierarchy of heights, all with slender glazing bars of the late eighteenth century. The first-floor windows are the longest, with nine-pane sashes, the second-floor windows have six-pane sashes, and those of the top floor are the smallest with three panes in each sash. Each window has plain brick jambs and the projecting sills and wedge-ended lintels are of tooled sandstone.

The front slope of the roof is covered in graduated slates such as would have been found only on the best buildings of the time and which were probably the green slate which came from Borrowdale. In the 1970s, pantiles covered the rear slope of the main roof, perhaps a nineteenth century repair replacing more expensive slate.

The style of the front of number 100 is that of Newcastle buildings of around 1800. In proportions it might be compared with the west side of Charlotte Square, of the mid 1770s, almost unaltered so that valid comparisons can be made, and with number 42 Mosley Street, of the 1780s, which have the same ashlar lintels and sills but are not built in Flemish bond. The style was used more widely in the 1830s in the rear elevations of Richard Grainger's new stone-fronted streets such as Grey and Grainger Streets. The now-demolished rear wing of number 98 was in the same style and materials, but since it was not an important frontage was in English garden wall bond, as can be seen from photographs taken by the City Engineer's Photographer in 1980⁴⁹. The ground-floor pilasters are without parallel in Newcastle and appear in style closer to the eighteenth than to the nineteenth century, as does the canopy over

the door of number 98, now restored. It seems then that number 100 was radically altered, perhaps the front range entirely rebuilt, in 1784 when Charles Turner advertised that he had greatly extended the Inn.

INTERIOR

Number 98 Pilgrim Street

Cellar

The cellar has stone walls and floor, and four windows with chamfered stone mullions and surrounds of which the southernmost has still its original surround and mullion and iron bars, although with renewed glazing. The use of stone for the cellar front wall, which can be seen in the area fronting the street, is echoed by the stone piers supporting the side projections. In plan, the cellar occupies the front range of the house, and the stairs run along the north wall of the stair tower, under the first flight of the main staircase. The junction between the stone and the brick above it is very untidy, particularly along the walls flanking the cellar steps. Floor beams above the steps look noticeably older than other timber in the structure and may have been re-used.

Ground floor

Interpretation of the original room functions of the main structure has been made difficult by successive alteration and renovation. The ground floor front room, particularly, is devoid of any internal fittings that predate the Liberal Club renovation of the 1880s.

The present level of the floor cuts across the upper 30 cm of the basement windows. These were boarded-up in later periods but if the floor was always at this height, these windows would have to have been somehow boxed over. It is more likely that the ground floor of the mid-late seventeenth-century house must have been above the top of the basement windows, (i.e. 30 cm above the present level) and careful examination of the walling around the window reveals shows a slight chasing into the brickwork, which might denote the original floor line, and, at a height of 24 cm above this,

a line of wooden plugs could be the fixings for a skirting-board.

The original floor level should show on the rear wall of this front room, where the two fireplaces and the door or doors to the stair and the rear rooms might be expected to stand high of the present floor, but the degree of later disturbance and twentieth-century cement render have obliterated much of the evidence. This wall, the spine of the house and incorporating the two principal firestacks, is crucial to the interpretation of the early building. It has a sequence of four door openings, the earliest under a substantial lintel of re-used timber, 2.35 m long, high up in the wall, at an appropriate height for a higher earlier floor. Beneath this, a round-headed opening in secondary brickwork may have been a window to allow borrowed light to the stair well, above a later door frame.

While the front room may have been an open hall, it is equally likely that the ground floor was divided into an open space to the left (south) of the door to the stair well, and a room off this to the right, perhaps an office and counting-house for the merchant's business. A further partition, of a different construction, creating a second front room, was added at a later date, perhaps in the late seventeenth century, to give direct access from the front door to the private part of the house.

The rear ground floor has the stair well at the centre and, in 1995, one room to the south. The first flight of the main staircase runs along the north wall of the principal stair well; under it and parallel with it a flight of stairs down to the cellar of number 98 is enclosed by a heavy door of plank-and-ledge construction with long wrought-iron strap hinges. This door has the worn look of an external door, and it has a sliding viewing-shutter. It has perhaps once been in the external wall of the passage between the cellar steps and the yard. Photographs of the building before restoration show a window at this position, which must have been inserted when the rear extension was added. Immediately north of the cellar stairs and the stair well there is a passage from the front room to the rear, with a rear lobby

which uses a nine-pane overlight for borrowed light and then opens to the yard through a door now blocked.

To the north again, the vehicle passage from street to yard takes 2.5 m of the ground floor space. It runs under the first floor and has its north wall formed by the wall shared with number 92, and its south wall part of Alderman Fenwick's House. The north wall shows rudimentary timber framing of a late type for the eastern part of its length, perhaps reflecting the proportions of an earlier house on that side; the front post is set on a high padstone which would also guard against damage by wheels. The south wall of the passage has a long timber rail to protect the structure from the buffeting of vehicles passing through to the yard.

The present chimney stack in the south rear room is clearly secondary (see below p. 164) since the massive lintel is resting on a weak structure of later brickwork and has been roughly cut to fit the necessary shape. This room may not have had a fireplace before the late seventeenth century, or there may have been one which was too small for later requirements. The room's original function is therefore uncertain; it is unlikely to have been the kitchen, which may have been in a now-lost rear wing, or may have been a completely independent structure.

First floor

The first-floor rooms are considerably less altered (fig. 9). The front room has always been the principal chamber of the house, and the sweep of the plastered ceiling across the space argues strongly that the room was not originally subdivided. The ceiling is of particular interest since it is a fine example of what is known to be the typical seventeenth-century Newcastle ceiling. The space is divided into a geometric design of ribs forming linked circles, so that it resembles a grid which has circles overlying the intersections. In the spaces between the circles are cruciform arrangements of two types of branches, meeting at a boss of buds and leaves, so pronounced as to

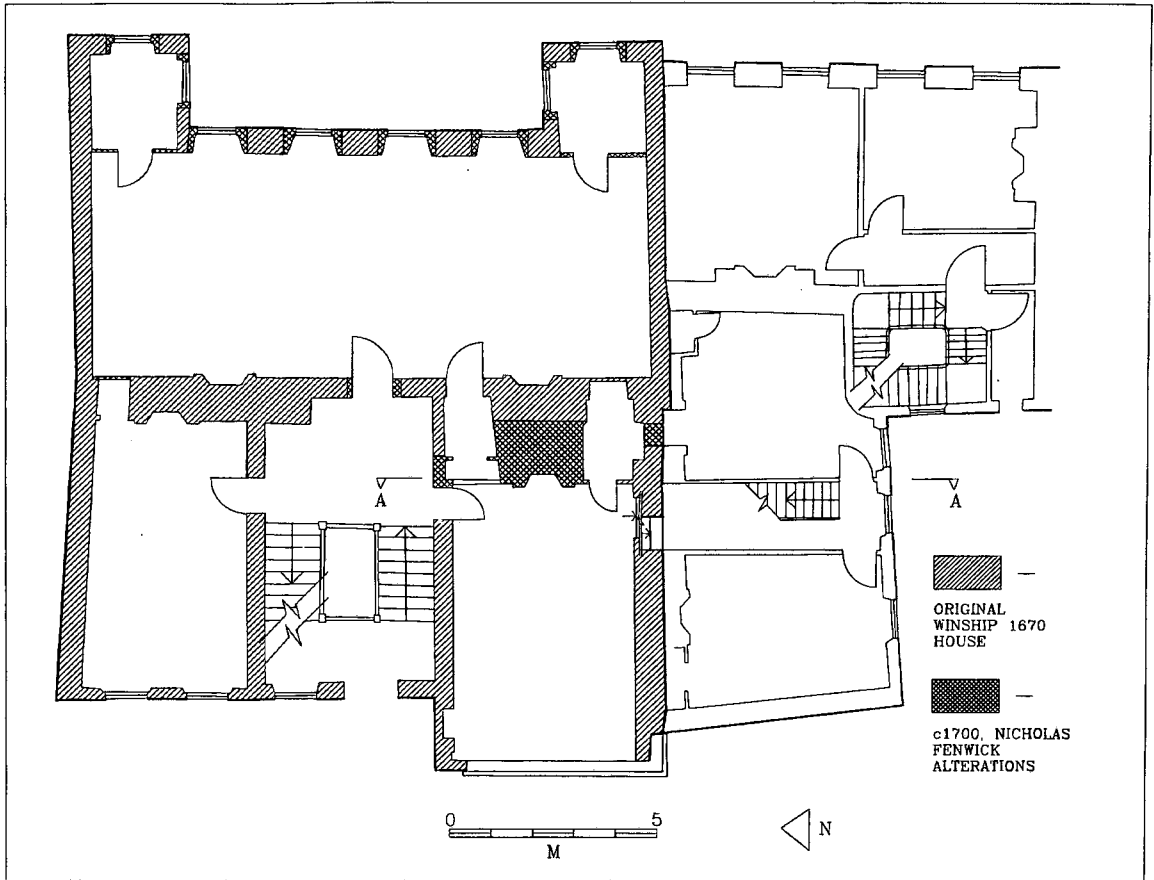


Fig. 9 Alderman Fenwick's House: First Floor plan.

be almost a pendant: a larger version of this is in the north closet (fig. 11). The circles are decorated with Tudor roses or chrysanthemum heads, there are smaller branches at the edges, and the ribs are decorated with vine trails and flower motifs. A similar ceiling in the Mayor's Parlour in the Guildhall on Sandhill must be of c. 1658 and has no bosses; and Knowles and Boyle⁵⁰ show that the timber-framed house known as Cosin's House on the Quayside, which was demolished in 1896⁵¹, had a similar ceiling. Some of the motifs can be found in 41-46 Sandhill, Bessie Surtees House, original to a room known to have been remodelled c. 1658 (the complete ceiling of this type in the first-floor room there was installed in the

1930s). So this ceiling probably predates 1695 and may be as early as about 1660; the use of pendant motifs is more common in the first half of the century but may represent a craftsman's lingering fondness for the old style.

Structurally, several points are of interest. Firstly, the door into the room from the stair passage has a partly-blocked double doorway, later reduced to a single width. The blocking indicates a design of unusual type, with a semi-circular arch which may have rested on a timber lintel (now gone).

An alternative explanation might be that this was a Venetian window or door surround in the rear wall of a first-phase house that lacked a stair tower, but this would mean that



*Fig. 10 No. 98. First floor east room from south
(Courtesy of the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments England: NMR B/529, 11.11.1976).*

the window would have to predate, or the door be contemporary with, a stair of *c.* 1670, and there is very little likelihood that such a Palladian feature as a Venetian window was being used in Newcastle so early. There is no evidence of an earlier staircase or of the position of service rooms. The stair will be discussed below.

Two other doors led into the front room, one at either end, permitting circulation between the front and rear of the house, but the northern door was blocked by the later bolection panelling. The removal of one of the panels on the north wall reveals good quality, fine plastering, the backing laths of which can be traced in the door to the north rear room, where the plaster ends abruptly in a straight

edge, leaving room for a door surround to the opening covered after 1695 by the panelling. As it is unlikely that plaster would have been employed behind panelling, the first phase may have been decorated with wall hangings, possibly tapestry which would then be regarded as a higher status wall covering than panelling.

The present softwood panelling is of very high quality and of the kind which was common at the end of the seventeenth century, and so was most probably fitted as part of the post-1695 alterations for Nicholas Fenwick. It has the classical proportions which were by then common, a very different interior from that of a room panelled in the evenly-spaced small frames of the sixteenth or early seven-

teenth century. The lower part of the wall is defined by a dado or chair rail, and it would be against that the chairs were set. Short panels below the rail and tall panels above it reflect the proportions of a classical order, the lower representing the plinth and the upper the column shaft. A room such as this, which was not high-ceilinged, would then have a top cornice to represent the entablature. Higher rooms would have another tier of shallow panels. This room, then, has a timber box cornice over the tall panels, effecting the transition from wood panels to plaster ceiling. There is a slightly different pattern on the north end wall where aesthetic considerations may have led to a strip of shallow panels being set above the dado rail, giving a horizontal emphasis in the short wall and preventing the room from seeming narrow. At the east end of this wall, one module reverts to small below and long above the rail in narrow panels which repeat the first frame on the east wall, a frame which forms the partition of the closet and is narrow because there is a door in the centre of the closet wall. Along the window wall the panelling continues with dado rail and narrow panels flanking the window openings, and respects the narrower openings of the altered windows and so can be assumed to date from after 1695. The windows have low window seats, and had panels below before the present temporary stripping was necessary, and shutters of eighteenth-century type with shallow panelling.

The south end of the room, from the door, has now a very different wall treatment. It is covered in paper which is painted or printed to copy the panelling pattern of the rest of the room. This had been identified in a specialist's report⁵² as later nineteenth-century, and was on top of an early nineteenth-century paper beneath which chalk graffiti were found. The writing has since been damaged by water but was recorded in the report mentioned above as "this room was decorated 1814 . . ." and beside the remains of this there are still some names, including Adam Hogg.

It seems likely that the first phase, Thomas Winship's house, has a plastered room which

was decorated by hangings and has a richly moulded ceiling. The room was furnished with panelling which was extended across the closets during Nicholas Fenwick's ownership, which is probably when the windows were altered to sashes; but the ceiling was not altered. During the time when the house was an inn, the first-floor room was partitioned, as can be seen from marks in the cornice beside the south door and opposite to it, and the panelling removed from the southern and smaller room, and later, probably by the Liberal Club, the partition was removed and the paper imitating panelling was used to make the south end fit stylistically with the north end. In the south end the ceiling plaster respects the missing timber box cornice of the removed panelling.

The bolection panelling now extends across the opening to the side projections, cutting them off to form closets, but this may not originally have been the case. The north closet has a decorated ceiling with the "flower and bird" design of the main ceiling, and also a section of a deep plastered box cornice, which may have been taken down from the main room when the wooden cornice of the panelling was put up to form a neater link between panelling and ceiling (fig. 11). Did the room originally have integral side bays to command vistas along Pilgrim Street in both directions? or were these spaces always withdrawing closets, as in later times? While the panelling is late seventeenth-century, the half-glazed doors of the closets and their semi-circular overlights with patterned glazing bars are typical of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, with flat panels which have a shallow applied moulding. These doors were probably inserted to provide more light in the room, their predecessors having fully-panelled doors to provide the privacy needed in closets. The door heads, with overlights, form a clumsy join with the door jambs and are probably an alteration from a straight head. The panelling in the soffits and the arches below them is closer to 1780 than to 1700 in character.

The rear room in the south wing poses the same question as does the room below: was



*Fig. 11 No. 98. First floor front closet ceiling
(Courtesy of the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments England: NMR A43/8386, 1942).*

there a small fire? or none at all? Before the second stack was added, the room was 1.5 m wider, and in the party wall with No. 98 there are two openings on the south side of the narrow alcove formed by the stack, the spine wall, and the party wall with No. 100 (fig. 12). The upper one is a seventeenth-century window with chamfered timber jambs and mullion and intermediate iron bars set diagonally, onto which early lattices are fixed. These are iron frames, filled with small panes of glass held by strips of lead, and tied to the bars with thin twists of metal. The lintel and sill are plain timber. The survival of this window, intact from an early phase of this building, is very surprising. More problematically, a second opening, 0.6 m below (i.e. at floor level) has now only a wooden frame with similar timber surround, the jambs grooved to receive glass or shutters. The alcove door next to the fire was sealed when the rear wing of No. 100 was built, but

before then the lower opening was blocked when the alcove was fitted out as a cupboard. In the course of restoration the boarded-up cupboard was discovered. Inside, thick shelves were fixed along the party wall and the wall which backed onto the front range of the house; there were simple wooden coat pegs, of eighteenth-century type, high on the chimney breast wall.

Beside this alcove a flight of steps leads down to the cellar of number 100 (see below), and stripping-out revealed a niche in the wall at the head of the stairs, where lamps or candles could have been kept for use in the cellar. Next to it another flight leads up to the rear wing of number 100; clearly, these alterations date from the time when the two properties were united.

The northern rear room at this level has a small fireplace from the axial stack. Between the stack and the north wall an alcove is

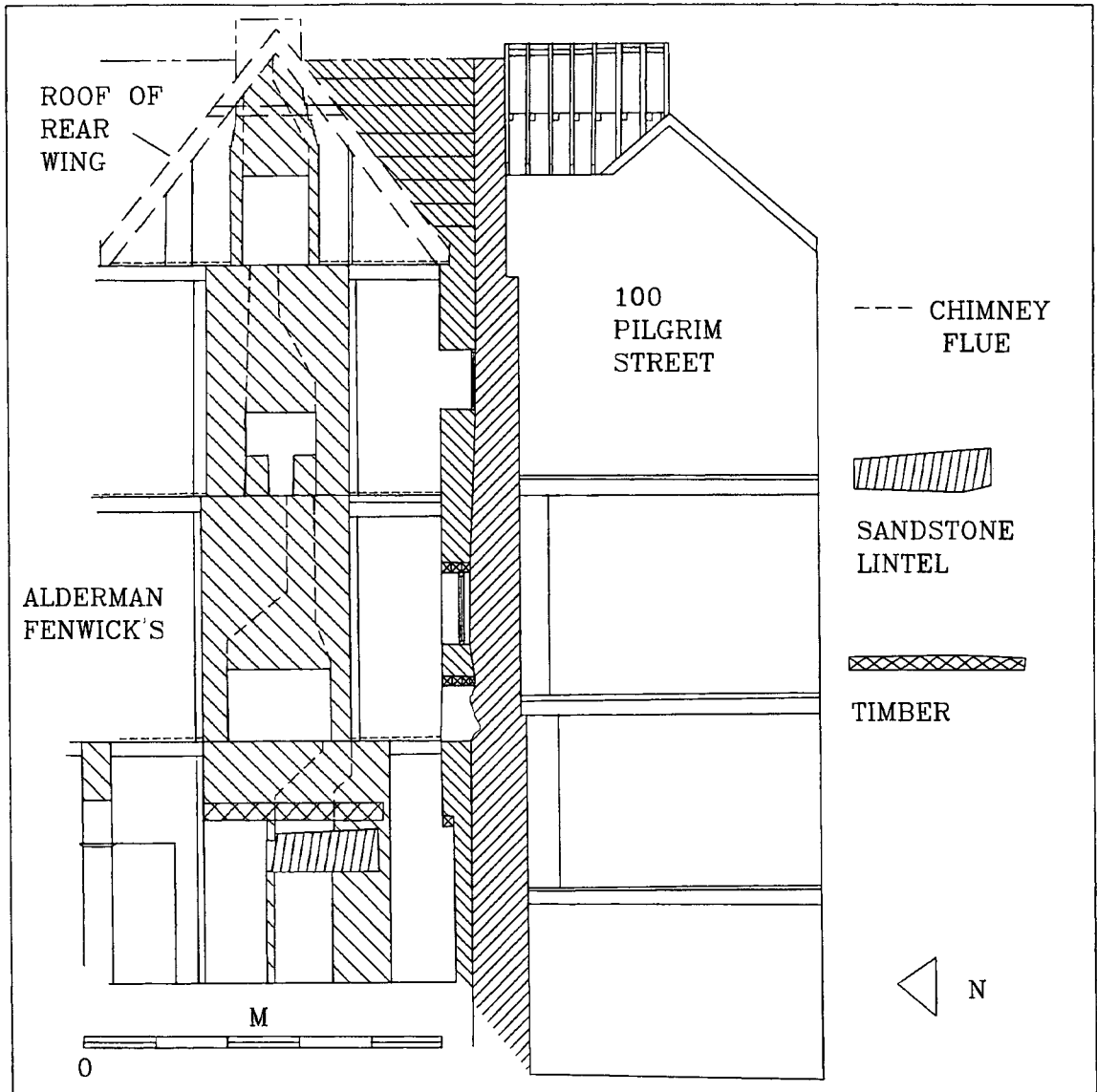


Fig. 12 Alderman Fenwick's House: Section A-A'.

blocked by the panelling of the front room, but the reveal of the opening is bare brick and the plaster behind the panelling is set back enough to leave room for a door surround. This was probably the door between the front and rear rooms which was blocked by the bolection panelling (see above).

Second floor

On the second floor (fig. 13), the front space is split into two chambers of equal size by a timber-framed partition of poorly dressed poles, with some bark still adhering. Two doors open from the landing.

The southern room has a door in the wall

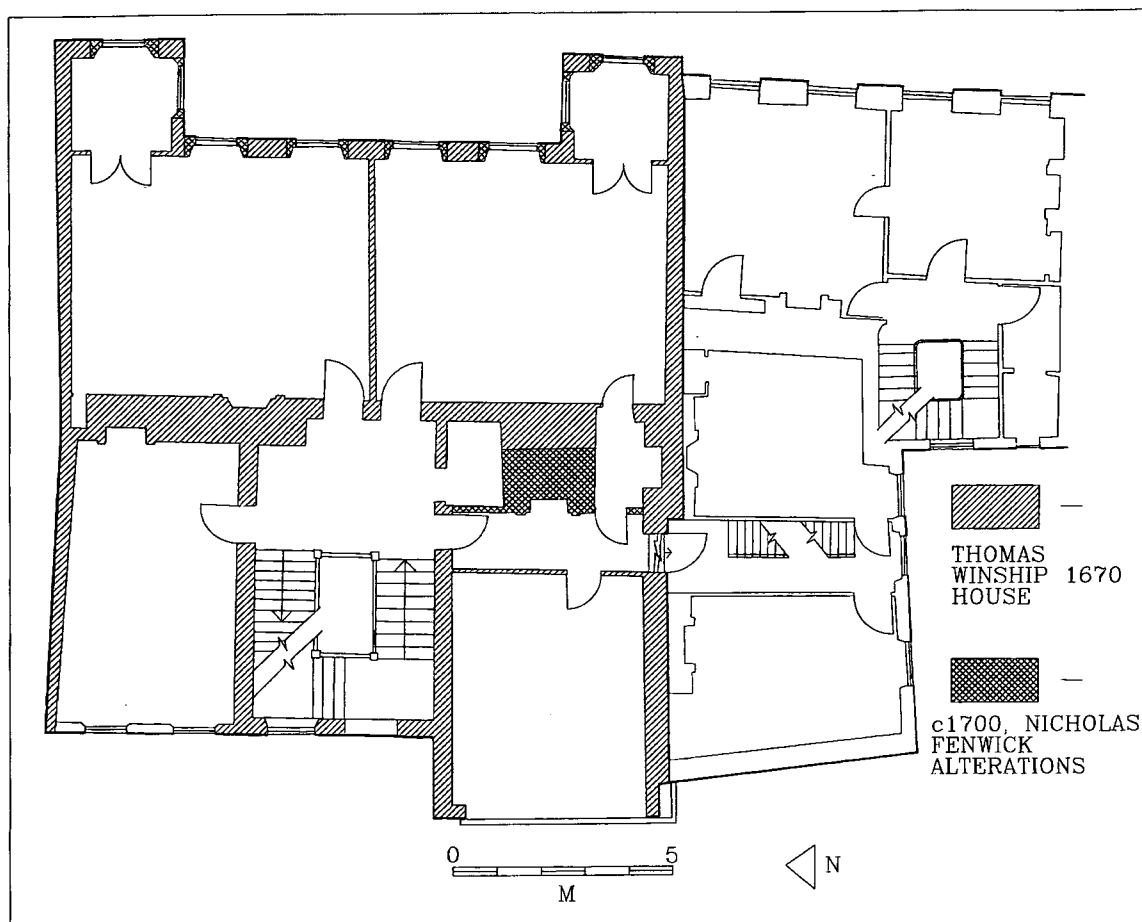


Fig. 13 Alderman Fenwick's House: Second Floor Plan.

south of the chimney stack, opening to a lobby leading to the rear wing. The whole room had been sealed and the doors papered over. The H hinges are typical of c. 1700, and the door surround is of the same date. There may have been a door here to the rear room in the first stage of the brick building before 1695, but the decoration which was discovered when the room was unsealed (see below), was consistent with a late seventeenth-century scheme. This lobby provided direct communication between the front and rear rooms, and the front closets also formed part of this hierarchy of rooms. Such suites would be expected in the higher

levels of society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and could consist of a sequence of ante room, chamber, and closets, forming an apartment which might also contain a parlour or drawing room. In a country house, these rooms could easily be accommodated in the spreading plan; in a town house on a restricted site, this was not straightforward and compromises had to be made.

When it was opened in the course of restoration, the lobby was found to be hung with a paper of grisaille lace pattern, identified as late seventeenth-century, which has also been found in a merchant's house in Epsom, and

elsewhere⁵³. This lobby is larger than the space north of the north stack, and of the two front rooms on this floor, the south room probably had the higher status, and Mr. Wells-Cole suggests that the grisaille paper may also have been used to decorate the room from which the lobby opened. The lobby ceiling was covered with a painting of sky which wrapped round the exposed and plastered joists⁵⁴. There is a blocked window in the south wall. In the front room the front closet bay is closed off by a timber-framed partition of unknown date. In addition to the usual windows to the east and north, it has a third window in the south wall, a single light with ovolo moulding on the jamb and new lintel and sill. The leading has gone but was probably of the same type as that of the windows in the first-floor south wall.

The northern front room has the fire in the south part of the stack, which was widened at this point to accommodate a fireplace in the rear room. There is less than 30 cm between the north end of the stack and the north wall of the house, and so there was not room for access through to the rear room, as there was in the corresponding position in the south room. This space may have been used as a narrow wall-cupboard, as seen beside fireplaces on the first floor rooms of Bessie Surtees House⁵⁵ and the Red House, both of the 1650s. The front closet of this room was hung with the same late eighteenth-century stencilled paper as was found in the top-floor central front room (see below).

The rear rooms on this floor were heated. The north room has its fire in the north part of the wide stack, and the very narrow gap between it and the north wall it could not have been much use as storage space. The south rear room, now reached from number 100 and from the stair, had a partition inserted to form a passageway for connection with the new stair to the rear of No. 100. The door of the closet from the front room opened very close to the new stair, and this closet may have been sealed when the two houses were united as one property.

Third floor

The third floor is in the roof-space and is divided along the roof trusses into six rooms in front of the stacks and two in the rear wings (fig. 14). Two doors which have small overlights lead from the stair into a chamber half the width of the building, from which doors lead to a front room and to two side rooms which are of irregular shape, the closet wings being used as part of rooms made in each front corner. Apart from the rear spine wall, which is of closely spaced posts with edge brick filling, the partitions consist of horizontal planks fixed with hand-made nails onto squared posts. The difference in construction from the floor below is interesting, and may show that this room layout was designed at a later date, although the poorer quality of partitioning reflects the lower status of these apartments. Two of the posts on the south partition of the central front room have a small quirk moulding, which suggests that they are re-used from elsewhere, because the remainder are plain. The pair of doors could only have been needed if there was a central partition, later removed. The front centre room, which has two windows, was the best of these attic rooms and was completely covered in a stencilled paper of the early nineteenth century. It was common practice to avoid paper tax by hanging plain paper and adding stencilled decoration *in situ*. Some doors on this floor were of the two-panelled type with "H" hinges which is typical of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. No doors were in place at the time of survey. There are fireplaces of seventeenth-century type in the two end rooms, each with iron grate bars which may be eighteenth century still in place. They have no chimneypieces but have brick surrounds with shaped heads to the openings. Both front and rear spaces had mullioned windows, with ovolo-moulded jambs, of seventeenth-century type. There were some original iron shutter hooks on the outside of the north closet window.

There was no connection between the front range and the rear wings at this level. In contrast to the front space, the rear wings do not

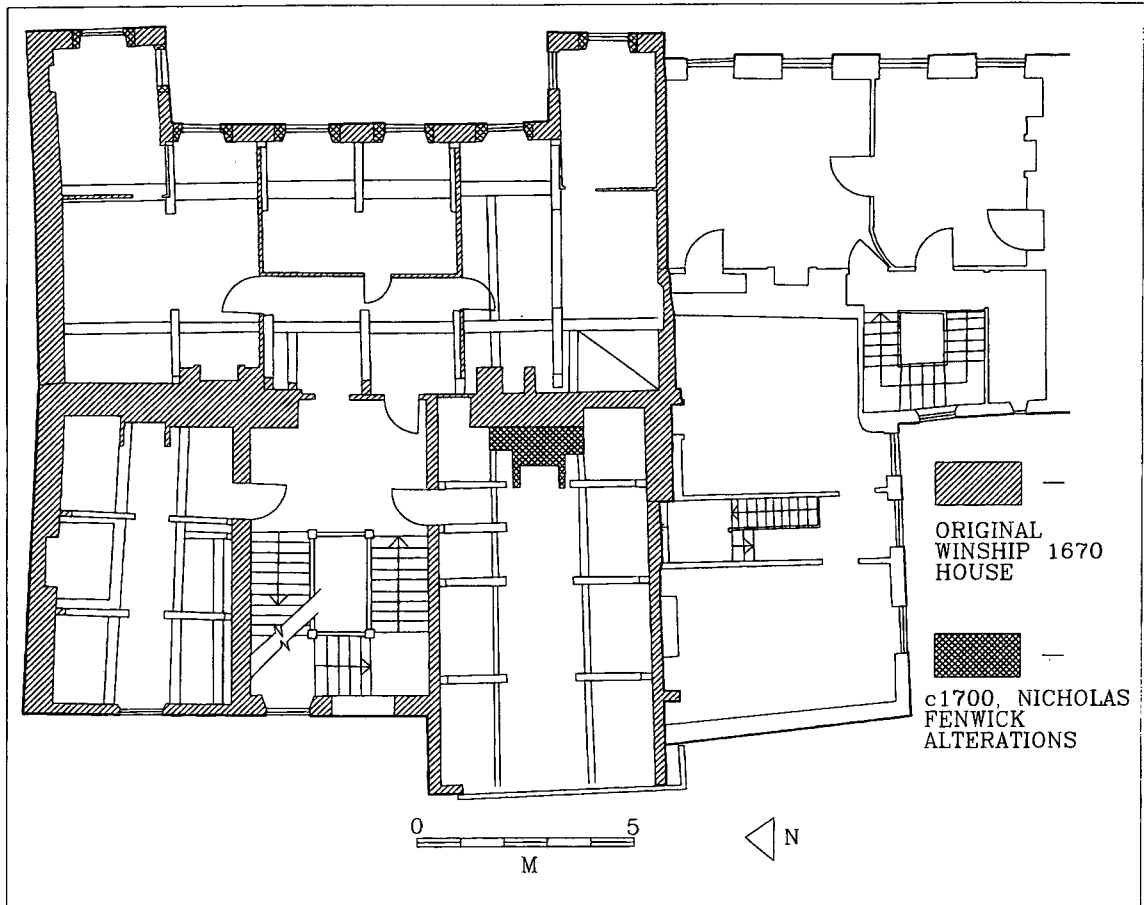


Fig. 14 Alderman Fenwick's House: Third Floor Plan.

appear to have been subdivided, although the whole of this level is very grimy, and partition scars might appear after it has been cleaned.

The roof

The discussion of the third-floor layout leads logically to the description of the roof, the head room of the servants' quarters being determined by the height of the truss collars. There is no obvious evidence of a ceiling. The trusses are principal rafter and purlin "A-frames", the purlins supported on cleats attached to the outside of the principals (fig. 15). Apart from the halving of the princi-

pal apex, fixed with wooden pegs, there is no carpentry anywhere on the roof, and that may be why there are very few carpenters' marks.

The roof stands on the top of the second-storey wall, and is tied directly to the joists. There is no evidence of either tie beams or wall plate in any of the main roofs of the house, but a line of sockets in the brick of the stair tower, at roughly the expected rafter spacing but in a rhythm different from the present sequence, suggests that the rafters of the roof over the north wing have been replaced.

The flat areas on the roof have been created making the truss collars continue to the parapet base on the front wall and the fourth floor



Fig. 15 No. 98. Roof in 1983
(Courtesy of the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments England: NMR BB96/2070, 16.02.1976).

of the stair tower to the rear. There is no evidence that the full development of the roof was a secondary event. Indeed, the parapet would be intended to disguise the pitch of the roof as seen from Pilgrim Street below, as well as to provide a wall to the leads. "Walking the leads" was a recognized leisure activity for the wealthier classes. The stair tower gave access to the roof through a door in the east side, and from there a merchant and his family and guests could enjoy a stroll on the roof, and could walk between the two front ridges to see Pilgrim Street and the Quayside, and perhaps from the cupola (see below) they could see a considerable length of the river, as far as Byker to the east, and Gateshead Fell to the south.

The junction of the roof valley to the stair tower has undergone a good deal of alteration, including a generous application of bitumen, making it difficult to analyse the fabric. The present roof that links the stair tower with the two wings is flat and at collar height. Originally, the wing roofs seem to have sloped down to a valley gutter between tower and wing, but this must have been ineffective, despite the bitumen, and was replaced probably fairly recently with a valley gutter which has a more pronounced slope to the rear wall. The outer wall of the tower, visible from the roof leads, had a stone coping course (just visible beneath the bitumen) to make the transition from the thick wall up to the roof level to the thinner wall of the box.

The stair tower

The stair tower is the essential link between all parts of the building, both across the floors, with openings onto all main rooms, and from the ground floor to the roof leads. There is no evidence of there ever having been a secondary stair. The structure is built within a square of brick walls formed by the centre section of the rear wall of the building (this part now rebuilt), the inner walls of the rear wings, 4.15 m apart, and the spine wall which is the rear wall of the front range. It is an open well stair with cantilevered flights built into the north, west and south walls. The landings along the east wall are supported on joists which span the space between the rear wings (fig. 7). Although badly decayed in the lower parts, the upper flight shows that the string was beautifully moulded with an entablature which has a pulvinated frieze. Elegantly-turned balusters support an asymmetrical raised-grip handrail with a moulded outer edge. Where tread wear is lightest, there is still a gentle moulding between riser and tread. The stair is complete, though altered at first-floor level (see below) except for the top gallery. This had simple block handrail and intermediate rail, and no balusters, before the present restoration; a cut in the newel shows the previous rail to have been in the expected position. The newels are panelled and square with plain caps and feet; pendants and finials are often added to newels in a stair of this date, which is about 1670 to judge by the form, the thickness of the balusters and the moulding of the handrail; but the balusters and string are classical in inspiration and so a simpler style may have been chosen for the newels. The number of steps in each flight is regular along the south wall sections (nine per flight) but varies on the northern flights and on the half-turn flights, partly to accommodate differences in floor heights, but also to allow risers to be more shallow the higher up the stair they are, so that the top flight, north side, has 13 steps to climb 1.65 m, whereas the level below has 9 steps to climb 1.60 m.

The roof of the tower has been renewed,

with some original timber. The massive cross beams supported the lantern and cupola shown on the Corbridge engraving of 1723. The ceiling which was in place when the Preservation Trust took over the building was found to have the remains of a painted scene of sky and probably figures, very much a fashionable treatment at the time it was executed, which was probably the late eighteenth century⁵⁶. The lantern had perhaps been removed before then, but there is no information at all about it other than the fact that it was there in 1723, and is never shown in any of the nineteenth-century illustrations of the building. Along the north wall where original fabric survives, the beams rest on a very thin wall-plate, the timber used being no more than plank thickness; the result is a degree of sagging over the window opening. The wall-plate on the renewed east wall is more substantial, but still less than 10 cm thick. The east wall has the door onto the roof, and is timber-framed with renewed narrow studs and coursed brick nogging.

The external wall of the stair has been largely rebuilt, but it is clear from photographs taken before and during the demolition of the rear wing that, apart from the windows at roof level, all were of a later date; not only did they cut across the brick string courses, but also they were sashes of late nineteenth-century type, breaking into crude flat brick arches which must have predated them. These windows were at the north side of the wall and would have lit the quarter landings; the south part of the wall was altered when the building of the rear extension necessitated breaking doors through. The crudely-shaped lintel referred to above was over an opening which predated the link to the rear extension. The only evidence of the earliest openings was on the top floor, where windows were blocked with brick, probably to prevent the roof beams collapsing because of the inadequacy of the wall-plate. These windows have been restored with three leaded lights to suit the proportions of the openings.

Methods of construction

As No. 98 Pilgrim Street belongs to the first generation of brick buildings in Newcastle, particular attention has been paid to the construction techniques employed by the builders. The brickwork of the exterior is regular and uses stretchers and headers in English garden wall bond, four rows of stretchers and one of headers, making a solid wall strengthened by the rows of bricks laid heads to the front. There is no attempt to maintain the bonding pattern beside the many window and door openings, and no attempt to carry the bonding around corners. The windows have timber lintels hidden behind the outer leaf of the walls, and only the second floor has gauged flat brick arches, so that the brickwork sags above the other windows. This is best seen from the street in the south part of the ground-floor cornice. Window openings have been changed (see above) so that sashes could replace wider, and perhaps shorter, mullion and transom windows. Cornices at the front and strings at the back would protect the beam ends.

Inside, where the plaster has been stripped off all but the panelled room on the first floor, details of working practices can be found. The coursing of all main walls is regular English garden wall bond, 4:1, but broken bricks and misshapes are often used, and the presence of a door or fireplace disturbs the bonding across the whole wall. Secondary walls such as the south wall of the passage to the yard are of extremely poor material, over 50% broken, or of earlier date and therefore of a different size.

Irregular coursing is especially apparent on the rear wall of the front range, where the walling has two chimney stacks and doorways were wanted at both ends and in the centre. As a result, a major crack developed through the wall south of the south chimney.

Odd lengths of timber, which are not in a position where they could have been lintels or fixings for panelling or overmantels, occur at the corners of the rooms, apparently to strengthen the structure. The chimney stacks, particularly, have short timbers running into the flanking walling, as though to help prevent

separation, as do the closet wings.

The timber used for the lintels, even of major structural elements such as the double doors through the spine wall, was often re-used from timber-framed houses, and of poor quality. The tie beam of a king-post roof truss was used in the second floor along the north wall, where a narrow cupboard has been postulated, and the lintel of the ground-floor door to the stair well is a wall plate or jetty beam bearing large mortices and peg holes.

It is possible that none of the fireplaces is original, all having been remodelled in the eighteenth century. There is a shallow brick arch for one early fire opening on the ground floor, in the south room, some 30 cm higher than the later remodelling. The dimensions are 1.3 m high (approx. original height) by 1.61 m wide, and two sockets 2 cm in diameter above the opening probably represent the fixings for an ornate timber overmantel. The fire surrounds may have been of stone and may have cracked under the movement of the stack.

The treatment of the stacks is also of interest. There was no attempt to integrate these substantial structures either with the rear wall, to which they are attached, or the side walls, which would have braced the centre of the building more securely. They were constructed in the same manner as the brick chimney stacks which were often inserted through timber-framed buildings, as free-standing units whose main structural function was to anchor floor joists, as for example in the Milbank House, 44 Sandhill⁵⁷.

The reversion to timber-framed construction, both on the stair tower and in the passage south wall, is particularly interesting. Along with the use of both wooden pegs and iron bolts in the roof structure, erratic use of timber lacing in the brickwork, and the treatment of the chimney stacks, it emphasizes the transitional nature of this building, between the fully timber-framed merchant houses of the middle of the seventeenth century and the all-brick public buildings of the last decades of the century, the Holy Jesus Hospital of 1682, the Mansion House of 1691, and the Keelmens' Hospital of 1700–1704.

Alterations to the house

Several significant alterations were undertaken around 1700. These could well be part of the Nicholas Fenwick's building work which his will tells us was carried out after Sarah had inherited the house (in 1695). It is the altered house which is shown in the 1723 engraving. What can be seen now, from the outside, is that the windows of the ground, first and second storeys were narrowed and heightened, replacing the mullion and transom glazing with hung sash windows.

The door of the house would originally have been approached by several steps, for the ground floor level was considerably higher than it is now (see above). When it was lowered, probably in the days of the coaching inn, much detail of the original openings were lost. The space on the ground floor may have been still in the medieval form, one large room, but since the house was fashionable it is less likely to have followed the old ways and more likely that the large space was divided, with the front door opening into one room from which another door would lead to the stairs. The northern of the two passage partitions across the ground floor was earlier, being of heavy studs with brick filling⁵⁸ and created two separate rooms on the ground floor. Later, a thinner partition was erected to isolate the passage from the rooms. The door from the front ground floor to the staircase was a very wide lintel at a high point in the wall. This would have been an appropriate position for a door head in relation to the earlier, higher floor level, and may have covered doors from the two front rooms. This doorway was next reduced to a single width, and the semi-circular overlight, which is secondary to the main wall fabric, might have been inserted at this time for borrowed light to both sides, the stair tower and the passage. The earlier partition had a door to the room to the north of it, which may have been an office for the merchant's business. A building of this character was not likely, in the eighteenth century, to have been used as a shop. Moreover, the Fenwicks were merchants not shopkeepers,

and Thomas Winship before them was a tanner so a supplier of leather to craftsmen, not a shopkeeper. It is not even certain that he ever lived in the house himself.

Early in the building's history, possibly in Nicholas Fenwick's time, major redecoration of the principal room on the first floor was undertaken. The wider door opening was reduced to single door width. On the interior, the pine bolection panelling was inserted, blocking the doorway in the northern corner, and window boxes were provided for the new and narrower sashed windows.

At an unknown date the south rear wing was given a new chimney stack, built out a further 1.6 m from the west (rear) side of the rear spine wall. This was of very poor quality brickwork. The lintel is a massive stone block cut down and standing on narrow brick piers. It has been longer, for the chamfered corner at the front has no stop at the left end but has a tongue stop at the right end. The upper edge has a further chamfer, this time with a more refined sloping stop with a little quirk in it. This was clearly brought in from outside the building, and probably represents a fireplace lintel, placed here upside down. Above this is a patch of broken coursing and a crude wooden lintel, presumably to support the arch of the flue. The northern edge of this fireplace is open and was probably cut away for the telephone booths for the Liberal Club. This must have been a kitchen fireplace, possibly enlarging an existing small hearth. All of the rear wing rooms above it were provided with new fireplaces, all with gauged brick arches of varying size but mostly elliptical. It may well have been the case that all of the earlier fireplaces were given new arches of this type at this time. The dating of this is uncertain but may relate to the alterations for the coaching inn later in the eighteenth century, though generally the workmanship of Mr. Turner's builders was extremely good, and this is not.

The rear extension and the yard

On June 11th 1784 the owner of the Queen's Head put an announcement in the Newcastle Courant:

Charles Turner takes the liberty of returning grateful thanks to his Friends and the Public, for the many favours he has received, and acquaints them, that he has considerably enlarged the accommodations of his House and Stables, and shall continue to exert his utmost endeavours to be thought deserving of their future support. He purposes to open an Ordinary during the Race Week.

An ordinary, a modestly-priced dining-room, could scarcely have been accommodated within the old house, and it was probably in the yard behind. Inspection of maps shows that between Hutton's map of 1770 and Kidd's of 1802 there had been extensions behind the house; Thomas Oliver's survey of 1830 (fig. 1b) shows that by then there was a long range extending down the yard. Until about 1980 there stood behind the house a three-storey, five-bay brick building. The upper floors had sash windows, all with projecting sills and wedge-ended lintels of stone. Photographs taken in 1979⁵⁹, before the demolition of the rear block for the insertion of the service road behind Grey Street, show that it was a substantial structure. The block was linked to the main building by a tall, narrow passage of two storeys which had rendered timber-framed walls; in its north wall was a Venetian window. The ornate eighteenth-century chimneypiece from the dining-room has been conserved and may be re-used. It has motifs of early and mid-century, with garlands and a mask, a dentilled entablature and a scrolled pediment.

Alteration for the Liberal Club

The next major changes to the buildings were made in the 1880s. In 1883 the Newcastle upon Tyne Liberal Club took a lease on the inn and the buildings in the yard behind it. The club needed to make some alterations, and the committee minutes make frequent mention of Mr. Knowles, the architect, producing plans and seeking tenders, but no specific works are named. The tradesmen who were paid were a builder and stonemason (Mr. James Smart's tender for £729.2s. 3d.) and for painting and paperhanging (Mr. John Gibson, £221.15s.).

The secretary was to call on the chief cabinet-makers of the City with rough sketches of the plans with a view to tendering, but none of these plans have been found. At that time the building regulations in force in Newcastle required plans and applications to be submitted to the City Engineer when any structural alterations were proposed which were covered by the regulations. The Minutes of the Town Improvement Committee, the registers of applications received, and plans relating to that part of Pilgrim Street⁶⁰ have been searched, but no reference to building work for the Liberal Club or the buildings has been found. Knowles was not likely to have carried out work illegally, and it seems therefore that he considered that none of the work being done required Building Regulations Approval. If that were so, then the work was simply a matter of repairing and redecoration and refurbishing. The cabinet-makers were probably being asked to quote for the fine woodwork to the stair hall, where arched screen separated the rear room from the stair well, for a new arch to the door linking the front ground floor room with that of number 100, and for other such work. It may have been then that the north corner of the large fireplace of the south rear room was removed, or this may have been done later, when the Liberal Club decided to install telephones. It is very unlikely that an architect of Knowles' ability would approve such work as the weak support of the stone lintel, and easier to believe that this is of a later date.

The old dining-room extension was changed too. Photographs taken by the RCHM(E)⁶¹ and a brochure published by the Liberal Club around 1930⁶² show that the first floor room was still the dining-room ("seats 150"), but the room above was the billiard room. Plans in the City Engineer's records which accompanied an application for permission to make alterations to the buildings in 1914 show that at that time the ground floor had a large kitchen, and at the west end, a washing room and a small office⁶³.

No. 100 Pilgrim Street

This building has two main elements: the front range of four bays and four storeys in Flemish bond, and a rear wing of three bays and four storeys. The plan of the front range is simple: one room deep, with at left the passage to the yard. The long rear wing, now truncated, is shown on Oliver's 1831 map (fig. 1b).

The sashes of the entire front range have very fine glazing bars, and those on the first floor rise from just above the floor, a characteristic of the late eighteenth century. At the left of the house is the door which leads to an internal passage, with at right a door to the room known in Liberal Club days as "the Slump". Inside, an open well stair of late eighteenth-century proportions is in the rear angle between the two ranges but has balustrades of later nineteenth-century type, with heavy moulded newels, elaborate balusters and serpentine rounded handrail. The top flight however has the stick balusters and ramped narrow handrail which is found in Newcastle in houses from the 1770s (as in Charlotte Square) to the early nineteenth century (as in Ridley Place, and Brandling Park), and the stair must have been inserted c. 1780 and altered c. 1880. It may have replaced an earlier stair in the same position. Another stair of this type but without the 1880s alterations is in the rear wing. There are the remnants of a box cornice in the ground floor, late eighteenth-century fire surrounds, an early nineteenth-century cast iron kitchen range in the basement, and in the first floor front room evidence of a dado rail.

The rear wing also has eighteenth-century fire surrounds. It has floor levels that relate neither to the frontage nor to Alderman Fenwick's. The rear wall is not aligned to Pilgrim Street, and incorporates sandstone walling from an earlier building (fig. 5). The roofs, of standard principal rafter and purlin construction, belong to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

As a house, No. 100 was neither among the grandest nor among the most humble type of house in Pilgrim Street. There is a possibility

that in the early phase, the rear wing formed separate commercial or industrial premises, and in the land tax seems to be the property referred to in, for example, 1787, when Ralph Vickerson ("Dickinson" in later years) had workshops and Thomas Barkas ("Barker" in later years) had a house, yard and stables, all of which were apparently south of Charles Turner's house, yard and stables.

The amalgamation of the properties

When number 100 Pilgrim Street was incorporated into the Queen's Head Inn in the late eighteenth century, possibly in 1784 when Charles Turner advertised that the Queen's Head was considerably enlarged, the two properties were linked by the breaking through of doors between them. Then or shortly after the front of Number 100 must have been rebuilt, for the facade is of this date. It was a separate residence (or shop with house above) before amalgamation with Alderman Fenwick's House. At least the front building must have been rebuilt. The cast iron kitchen range in a small basement room has details in early nineteenth-century style: reeded surround, with lion masks at the corners. It has a small round oven door at one side, and a water pot at the other. This could have been to provide ancillary cooking and water heating, but would not have been able to cater for the needs of the inn, which must have been met by a larger kitchen in number 98.

Amalgamation as one property brought the need to improve circulation around the 35 main rooms of the inn. Linking doors were put through from cellar to cellar, between the front ground floor rooms (although the present opening has nineteenth-century detail) and through the party wall between the rear blocks on each floor. It is interesting that linking doors were not put through the party wall of the front rooms above ground level, possibly because this was not thought safe, given the proximity of the closet bay projection.

There were alterations to the main room on the first floor, including plastering at the south end of the rear wall with the graffito dated

1814. The removal of the panelling at the south end of the room possibly occurred at this time. The panelling may have been re-used on the north side of the new partition which was carefully inserted to avoid damage to the plaster ceiling.

The construction of a second partition across the width of the ground floor of No. 98, creating a vestibule, may date from this period. The partition was of light timber studding with plastered fill on laths⁶⁴. There was a door to the side room which was later blocked off.

IV DISCUSSION

The first use of the present house determined its form and its ornament. Most houses in Newcastle of the late seventeenth century, so far as can be told from documents, illustrations and surviving buildings, were timber framed structures, some of them certainly on stone ground and first floors. More houses built entirely of stone must have existed than have survived, but they were not typical of post-medieval Newcastle. The Cooperage, for example, was rebuilt in timber on the remains of a stone house⁶⁵. Several factors combined in the later seventeenth century to bring about a change to brick building in those areas where clay and coal were both at hand. One was a decline in the availability of good timber; another was an increased awareness of the risk of fire, as town after town and eventually the capital itself suffered extensive and expensive conflagrations⁶⁶. A third was fashion, as houses and whole streets in London were constructed in brick, and both town and country houses were given varied surface texture by the use of elaborate mouldings in terracotta and carved, gauged and rubbed brick. Further variety of contrasting colour and texture came from the use of different brick types, or of stone to make patterned surfaces and structural dressings such as quoins, window and door surrounds or heads, and roof details such as parapets and elaborate chimneys.

Newcastle had both clay and coal in plenty, and archaeological evidence is emerging of

increasing use of brick in the town during the fifteenth century⁶⁷. Brand tells us that there was a Newcastle company of "Wallers, bricklayers and dawbers, alias plasterers", in 1660, and that there had been an ordinary for the company in the reign of Henry IV. In an order of the Common Council of Newcastle on July 25th, 1671 it was said that the slaters had been assuming the title of bricklayers "which was never practised by the slaters until 1645"⁶⁸. The bricklayers were evidently becoming more important and were protecting their trade rights. There survive today three significant early brick buildings in Newcastle. Two are institutional: the Holy Jesus Hospital at the foot of Pilgrim Street, built in 1681 to provide accommodation for needy Freemen of the town and their widows, and the Keelmen's Hospital of 1701-1704 which provided for keelmen who were in need, and for their widows. The third is this house some three hundred yards north of the Holy Jesus Hospital and on the west side of Pilgrim Street. The style of the staircase and of the first floor ceiling suggest that it was probably built some time around 1670, and documentary evidence discussed above suggests that the first major phase of the present structure was completed by 1693 and that Fenwick's alterations were carried out shortly after that date.

There is no other house like this, with closet wings framing the front elevation, in Newcastle, Durham, or other north east towns. There is, however, a parallel in London: Schomberg House, Pall Mall, largely reconstructed *circa* 1698⁶⁹. It has similar closet wings, but the elevation is further articulated by a slight projection of the central bays under a pediment; prominent quoins give vertical emphasis, the sashes have keyed arches, and there are no cornices except for the coving at the eaves. The design is classical, unlike that of the Newcastle house, but the front projections are a strong feature. Such full-height projections are often found in country houses of the period (such as Burton Agnes Hall and Temple Newsam House, in Yorkshire), but do not fit easily into a town site when the house is built up against the street rather than set back

with a front court. It is interesting that a metropolitan house should so closely resemble a provincial one, and that, as in Newcastle, what was described as a rebuilding was in fact a remodelling. The concept of the Newcastle house is quite grand. With front closets, and the arrangement of intercommunicating rooms between front and rear chambers, it achieved, despite the limitations of a town site, something of the relationship between rooms which was found in country houses of the period.

The quality of the internal finishes similarly is such as would be found in the best houses, with very richly-moulded panelling as well as fashionable wallpaper and other decoration dating from the Fenwick alterations in the late seventeenth century. The painted lobby on the second floor, between front and rear rooms, is particularly significant as an indicator of the high status of the owner. Even before then there were two features which were comparable with other fine buildings of the third quarter of the seventeenth century: the long first-floor room with its fine ceiling, and the stair tower.

The first-floor ceiling is very like that of the Guildhall Mayor's parlour, originally the council room, which was begun in 1658. The Pilgrim Street ceiling is slightly older in style, with its bosses on the groups of leafy branches, but otherwise uses the same moulds as the Guildhall ceiling, and the differences between the two may reflect the difference between a building for the Corporation, to the specifications of the architect Robert Trollope, and one for a private client, perhaps Thomas Winship. The function of the great room on the first floor can only be guessed at. Whether it was salon or dining-room, it was the most important room and was in the tradition of the Italian *piano nobile*. Later, when the house became the home of one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Newcastle, it received its fashionable up-dating. The now-lost cupola would emphasize the importance of the owner. Not only did the provision of the space to "walk the leads" suggest the gracious living of a country house, it also demonstrated a metaphorical as well as physical superiority over all around.

The house adapted to the changing society of the eighteenth century, providing superior accommodation for travellers until the building of new streets began to change Newcastle. It was fortunate that a use was then found for it which preserved almost intact the work of the previous two hundred years. It is fortunate that it has survived the vicissitudes of the last thirty years and stands still as a reminder of one of Newcastle's great merchant families.

NOTES

¹ The plans and sections have been produced by the Archaeological Unit from base plans kindly provided by Messrs Simpson and Brown, courtesy of Fiona MacDonald and Richard Shorter.

² Barbara Harbottle and Peter Clack, "Newcastle upon Tyne: Archaeology and Development" in *Archaeology in the North* ed. P. A. G. Clack and P. F. Gosling 1976, p. 118.

³ William Grey *Chorographia* Newcastle 1649; 1813 edition, p. 24.

⁴ *History of Newcastle upon Tyne* Newcastle 1736.

⁵ W. H. Knowles and J. Boyle *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead* 1890 p. 130.

⁶ Tyne and Wear Archives Service (TWAS) T589.

⁷ Newcastle Central Library (NCL) Transcripts of parish registers; St. Andrew's.

⁸ Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections (DULASC) Probate 1725 Nicholas Fenwick.

⁹ DULASC bond 1695.

¹⁰ Northumberland Records Office (NRO)406.

¹¹ Public Record Office (PRO) E179/158/101, E179/158/102, E179/254/19, E179 254/20.

¹² These were Mr. Henry Brabant (9 hearths), Mr. William Durant (9), Mr. Richard Lambert (5), Thomas Harrison (5), William Henderson (11), Henry Bird (5), Mr. Nicholas Forster (7), Mr. Henry Bland (5), Mr. Peter Bush (5), Mr. George Lewin (5), Mr. James Jenkinson (6), and Mr. Thomas Ledyard (10)..

¹³ W. F. Dendy ed. *Extract from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Surtees Society 1894 and 1899.

¹⁴ Boyd's transcripts of parish registers, Newcastle Central Library.

¹⁵ DULASC Probate T245 1725 Nicholas Fenwick Merchant.

¹⁶ Alan Fenwick Radcliffe "Notes on the

Fenwicks of Brenkley" *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3, XVIII, p. 71, n. 25.

¹⁷ E. Mackenzie *History of Newcastle upon Tyne* 1827 p. 230.

¹⁸ J. Robinson "Memorials in the Atholl Chantry" *Archaeologia Aeliana* 2, XVIII, p. 47.

¹⁹ TWAS T589/13

²⁰ DULASC Probate T245 1725.

²¹ DULASC; Probate 1695.

²² NCL Boyle's transcripts.

²³ TWAS 589/13.

²⁴ TWAS 23.

²⁵ NRO ZAN M13 vol. II, p. 44.

²⁶ *Newcastle Weekly Courant* 2 May 1752.

²⁷ Bedford Fenwick *The Fenwicks of Northumberland* 1930, p. 76.

²⁸ Craster op. cit. pp. 12 and addenda.

²⁹ Dendy 1899 op. cit..

³⁰ February 20, p. 2 c. 3.

³¹ *The Newcastle Chronicle* 10 October 1778, p. 2 c. 3.

³² TWAS 183/1/8.

³³ Sykes *Local records* vol. II 1833 p. 63.

³⁴ TWAS Newcastle Deeds 40/1/51.

³⁵ TWAS 2260 (uncatalogued in 1995) and TWAS 200.

³⁶ TWAS 200/204.

³⁷ op. cit. p. 129.

³⁸ TWAS 200.

³⁹ TWAS 2260.

⁴⁰ TWAS 2260.

⁴¹ City Engineer's Building Control section: microfilm A630. The authors are grateful to former members of that section, especially Mr. W. Anderson, Mr. W. Tate and Mr. A. Austin for their help in searching the records.

⁴² Newcastle Central Library L329.2.

⁴³ TWAS 2260.

⁴⁴ TWAS 2260 accounts 1958.

⁴⁵ Letter ref JMR/SH/OS, 20th April 1971, from the City Legal Adviser to owners and occupiers of premises near the appeal site and other interested persons or bodies. Dr. Constance Fraser carefully preserved the papers concerning this inquiry and kindly made them available to the authors.

⁴⁶ Land Registry freehold title number TY 7503.

⁴⁷ p. 5.

⁴⁸ North C "The Newcastle Building Assizes" in

Clack, C. and Ivy, J. (eds) *Looking at Buildings* Durham 1985, p. 41.

⁴⁹ City of Newcastle, City Repro section 7272/12, /25; 6753/6. The assistance given by the City Repro section is gratefully acknowledged.

⁵⁰ Heslop, McCombie and Thomson, " 'Bessie Surtees House'—Two Merchant Houses in Sandhill, Newcastle upon Tyne", *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series, vol. XXII, 1994, pp. 1–27.

⁵¹ Newcastle Weekly Chronicle 4 April 1896.

⁵² Simpson and Brown files.

⁵³ Wells-Cole, Anthony *Historic Paper Hangings* Temple Newsam Country House Studies No. 1, Leeds 1983 p. 27.

⁵⁴ Personal comment Simpson and Brown.

⁵⁵ Heslop, McCombie and Thomson op. cit..

⁵⁶ Information Messrs Simpson and Brown.

⁵⁷ Heslop, McCombie and Thomson op. cit..

⁵⁸ Simpson and Brown report 1980 p. 25.

⁵⁹ The assistance of the City Engineer's Photography section in allowing a search of their records is gratefully acknowledged.

⁶⁰ TWAS 589/ and T366 and T186.

⁶¹ RCHME YO 754.

⁶² op. cit., NCL L329.2.

⁶³ City Engineer's Building Control section, microfilm plan A630; drawings by Marshall and Tweedy, architects, 17 Eldon Square. The help and interest of present and former staff of the Building Inspectors' section, especially Messrs Tate, Anderson and Austin, is gratefully acknowledged.

⁶⁴ Simpson and Brown 1980, 10.

⁶⁵ Heslop and Truman "The Cooperage: a timber-framed house..." in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series, vol. XXI, pp. 1–14.

⁶⁶ E. L. Jones and M. E. Falkus "Urban improvement and the English economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" in P. Borsay (ed.) *The eighteenth-century town* 1990; pp. 116–58, and graph I p. 27.

⁶⁷ R. Fraser, R. Maxwell and J. E. Vaughan "Excavation Adjacent to Close Gate, Newcastle, 1988–9", *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series, vol. XXII, 1994, p. 132.

⁶⁸ John Brand *History of... Newcastle 1789* vol. II p. 355ff.

⁶⁹ RCHM *Survey of London vol. XXIX; parish of St. James: part one: South of Piccadilly* p. 368ff.

