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The Possible Site of a Pilgrim's Inn, Newcastle upon Tyne

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SUMMARY

The site and very existence of a Pilgrim's Inn on Newcastle's Pilgrim Street have long been a matter of debate. This paper re-examines the evidence, and clarifies the meaning of 'Pilgrim' in the street name.

The question of whether there was ever a Pilgrim's Inn in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, and if so where it stood, has exercised local historians for a long time. It is not perhaps a matter of great moment, but it still has a curious fascination, and since the pursuit of an answer throws some light upon the area once regarded as the "middle" of Pilgrim Street, some little time spent on it may not be without interest, even today.

PILGRIMS' STREET?

The first question to be asked is about Pilgrim Street itself: what does it mean? About the term "street" we can be sure: from Anglo-Saxon times it meant a thoroughfare wider than a lane or an alley. Whether or not old claims that Pilgrim Street was the widest street within any walled town in Britain outside London have any authenticity, it was, even in the nineteenth century, an unusually wide thoroughfare, at least in its upper reaches, and seems always to have been so. But what about "Pilgrim"?

Following Gray,¹ Bourne seems to have entertained no doubts:

This street got its Name from the *Pilgrims*, who came from all Parts of this Kingdom to worship at our *Lady's Chapel* at Gesmond.²

Brand was right to challenge this:

Pilgrim-Street, on I know not what authority, is said to have had its name on account of pilgrims who came from all parts of the kingdom to worship at our Lady's chapel at Jesmond.³

His footnote is of greater interest:

This street appears to have been called Vicus Peregrinorum as early as the year 1292. It is mentioned in the copy of a grant of a house to Brinkburn priory in Northumberland, of that date, preserved in the ledger-book of that priory, from whence this note was extracted by Mr. Robert Harrison.

In fact, a cartulary (or chartulary) of the thirteenth century includes a reference to *vicus peregrinorum* occurring forty years or more before the date of the entry discovered by Harrison,⁴ and we may assume that it latinised a name in use long before that. The word *vicus* in classical Latin was sometimes used in Rome to mean a street, but was much more commonly used to denote a village or small town, or a district in a large town.⁵ In medieval Latin it was the same: it was nearly always used to denote a village or settlement, or a district in a town,⁶ though by the thirteenth century it may have begun to be used more often to denote a street of a certain breadth between two rows of buildings: *viculus* was used to denote an alley. But *peregrinorum* meant "of the foreigners", or "of the travellers", not "of the pilgrims"; and thus *vicus peregrinorum* would – at that date – have been translated as "the district of the foreigners", or (as we might have said) "the foreign quarter". In classical Latin, *peregrinus* meant "foreigner", "stranger", "alien", and in medieval times it was not much altered, signifying someone who was a "wanderer", or "unsettled", in fact "a sojourner in a foreign

country”, and thus a foreigner himself in that country. By the eleventh century, it had for some time been used in religious contexts in the sense of “a sojourner on earth”,⁷ but even in this context it did not mean “pilgrim” in the sense of someone travelling to a holy place, but rather someone feeling cut off from God and heaven, a poor banished child of Eve: such were those “mourning and weeping in this vale of tears”.⁸

The Middle English word “pilegrim” or “pelegrim” derived from the Romance Languages’ dissimilation of *peregrinus*: thus, Provençal and Old French *pelegrin*, and Italian *pelegrino*: Middle English, like Old High German, altered the “n” to “m”. Quotations adduced by the OED suggest that in its Early Middle English usage, and even as late as 1200, this word did not denote a pilgrim in our modern sense, just a traveller, usually from a foreign country, and thus also a foreigner.⁹ The OED concurs with Kuhn and Reidy in giving the earliest instance of the use of “pilgrim” in our sense as 1225, in the *Ancrene Riwe*.¹⁰ By 1250, we find “pelrimage” used to denote “pilgrimage” in the modern sense of a journey to a shrine or holy place.¹¹ Gradually thereafter, it became more difficult to retain the older meaning of *vicus peregrinorum* to denote simply a district frequented by foreigners: that is, a place in which foreigners were regularly seen, either in passage or in accommodation while awaiting transport by ship to some other country or guidance overland to some other town. By the fourteenth century, “pilgrim” seems to have been used at least as commonly with its modern meaning as to mean “foreigner” “stranger” or “alien”, which, however, remained the correct biblical meaning. The fact is, the word had become ambiguous, and so remained until the older meaning was gradually eroded, a process that took longer than might have been expected. When the Bible began to appear in English, translators had to handle the word “pilgrim” with care, if non-biblical meanings were not to be put upon it: this they did largely by avoiding it.¹² There is, then, every reason to be cautious about assuming that Pilgrim Street was so named because it

was some species of *via sancta*, and that Pilgrim’s Inn was some kind of medieval hospice.

A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE?

Caution here is encouraged by the lack of evidence that there was – in the thirteenth century, or for long afterwards – any place of “pilgrimage” in Jesmond. There was a chapel in Jesmond, and though according to Brand¹³ it is not mentioned before 1351, surviving parts of its architecture have been dated to the twelfth century.¹⁴ There were several wells in the area in which it stood, two actually within its grounds.¹⁵ Both then and in later centuries, there was a common habit of conferring special powers upon the waters of wells with sacred associations, however tenuous those associations might have been.¹⁶ As Richard Fraser observes:

While it is possible to establish a case for St. Mary’s Chapel as a pre-Reformation place of pilgrimage, and certainly members of the Catholic Church regard both chapel and well as holy sites, the documentary evidence for the chapel nowhere includes any reference to a holy well.¹⁷

There is no doubt that St. Mary’s Well acquired a reputation for miraculous healing powers at some time before the Reformation, and thus attracted pilgrims; but the reference to the chapel in 1351 makes no mention of it as a place of pilgrimage, and we may not assume that it accounts for the name of Pilgrim Street.

Brand was uneasy about the lack of evidence about Jesmond, though he was conscious of the possibility that he simply had not found it. In a footnote,¹⁸ he suggests that if there had been pilgrims using Pilgrim Street they were more likely to have been coming to Greyfriars than to Jesmond. Greyfriars claimed to have relics of Francis of Assisi, but Brand is merely speculating about dates and times, for there is no evidence to show at what date such relics were brought to Newcastle, or indeed any incontrovertible evidence that they existed.¹⁹ He does not challenge Bourne’s date of 1267

for the settlement of the friary, but in fact it is now known that this was certainly no later than 1237, and possibly as early as 1226 (the year in which Francis died).²⁰ Had Brand been dependent upon Bourne's dating, his argument would have been untenable, but recent research in fact supports his conjecture that, if Pilgrim Street really was originally a street used by pilgrims in our sense of the word, and for that reason so named, it was more likely to have been because Greyfriars, not Jesmond, was their destination. More likely still, however, is that the use of this name originated in times which pre-dated any such pilgrimages, or this meaning of "pilgrim".

A PILGRIM'S INN?

What then of a Pilgrim's Inn, which may not have denoted anything more than a Travellers' Rest? The story of a Pilgrim's Inn goes back no farther than Bourne, but we have a clear impression that he was speaking of a firm tradition still current in his time. In an oft-quoted passage, he says of the middle section of Pilgrim Street, below High Bridge (formerly Upper-Dean-Bridge):

From hence 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; such are the Houses of Mr. *Edward Harl*, Mr. *Thomas Biggs*, *John Rogers*, Esq; *Thomas Clennell*, Esq; *Nicholas Fenwick*, Esq; *Nathaniel Clayton*, Esq; *Edward Collingwood*, Esq; Mr. *Perith*, Mr. *John White*, *John Ogle*, Esq; Mr. *Thomas Waters*, *Matthew White*, Esq; &c.²¹

Without becoming involved in biographical details, it can be said that this is a very impressive list of names, representing leading families – of merchants, lawyers, minor gentry, publishers – families that remained among the most distinguished in Newcastle for a hundred years after Bourne had passed away. But what is of more immediate interest is what he goes on to say:

But there is one house in particular, which must be distinguished from the others for its great

Antiquity, and that is the House . . . called the *Pilgrim's Inn*: It is on the West Side of the Street, and adjoins to the North Side of the House of Mr. *Edward Collingwood*, just mentioned, and is exactly 116 Yards one Foot, from the Southmost corner of *Upper-Dean-Bridge*. It is holden of the Dean and Chapter of *Durham*, and belongs at present to Mr. *James Hargrave*.²²

Clearly, *Pilgrim's Inn* was the name associated with this house in Bourne's time, and though Brand was guardedly dismissive, suggesting that "Perhaps there may have been more Pilgrim's Inns in this street than one", he nevertheless goes on to say:

The last building in this street, to which tradition had continued the name of Pilgrim's Inn, was pulled down a few years ago by its owner Mr. Thomas Barker, merchant, who has built on the site of it a large house to front the street, and converted the back parts of the premises into a starch manufactory.²³

He also says:

Dr. Ellison's MSS. say, that this house, called the Pilgrim's Inn, was holden of the dean and chapter of Durham, and belonged in his time to Mr. Ralph Ogle.

It is clear from this that Bourne and Brand are speaking of the same site.

In 1890, Knowles and Boyle recorded that they had carefully checked the measurement given by Bourne, viz. 116 yds 1 ft (106.4 m) below High Bridge, and that they had concluded that the George Inn then stood on the site of the Pilgrim's Inn. However, they pointed out that either Bourne or his printer²⁴ had erred:

Bourne also states that the Pilgrim's Inn adjoined "to the North Side of the House of Mr. *Edward Collingwood*." Collingwood's house is now the George Inn. As we have other evidence of the correctness of Bourne's measurement we know that he, or his printer, has used the word *north* instead of *south*. There is a rent charge of £2 per year left by George Collingwood in 1695, to the curate and warden of All Saints, to be given by them to two poor widows, and to be paid out of the house which is now the "George".²⁵



Fig. 1 The block bounded by High Bridge, Mosley Street, Grey Street and Pilgrim Street. Based on the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey map, engraved 1859, printed 1861. 'X' marks the point to which Bourne measured 349 ft. from the south corner of High Bridge. The interiors of the buildings and yards were constantly being altered between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, as new owners and new tenants brought new requirements. Nevertheless, the sites of special interest to us (the shaded area) somehow retained something of their integrity (see fig. 2). (Approximate scale, 1:1250)

It does not appear how, if "Collingwood's house is now the George Inn", the inn can adjoin the *south* of Collingwood's house any more easily than it can adjoin the *north* of it. However, they go on to say:

John Sykes, in his "Local Records", quotes Bourne's measurement of the distance of the Pilgrims' Inn from the High Bridge, and adds, "Consequently the present Queen's Head Inn will stand nearly upon the site." John Hodgson Hinde paraphrases Sykes's "nearly" into "the very spot," and Sykes or Hinde has been followed by every writer who has since referred to the Pilgrims' Inn. The measuring line, however, decides the question finally.²⁶

The conclusion of Knowles and Boyle is, then, that "The building numbered 106 to 112 occupies the site of the ancient 'Pilgrims' Inn'." They note that Bourne "speaks of its 'great Antiquity'" and that when "the old house was taken down a few years before the publication of Brand's 'History' ... 'windows of very ancient model, thick walls, &c., as also a crucifix of wood' were found."²⁷ Here they seem content with Brand's account, though ignoring his opinion that, if there had been a Pilgrim's Inn at this point in Pilgrim Street, it had stood on the site of Hargrave's, not Collingwood's house.

Here, then, is the evidence to be examined, assessed, and amplified, and perhaps we had better start with Dr. Ellison and his manuscripts, to which Brand makes reference, but which Bourne seems not to have known.

Dr. Nathanael Ellison was Vicar of Newcastle (as we would say, of St. Nicholas' Church) from 1695 until his death in 1721, at the age of sixty-four. Locally, at least, he was highly regarded for his published works and for his sermons. Of him, Baillie says:

He left in manuscript a collection of interesting notes on the History of Newcastle, from which we derive much information, and we cite as Dr. Ellison's manuscript.²⁸

Ellison's manuscripts, we may suppose, do not long pre-date Bourne's researches, but their status and reliability we cannot assess, since they have disappeared from view and may have

been destroyed. What it is important to notice, however, is that Bourne's contention was that the site of the Pilgrim's Inn lay on the north side of Edward Collingwood's house, and that Brand's tentative conjecture can be interpreted as referring to Collingwood's house itself, for Thomas Barker had bought Collingwood's house in 1779 or 1780. However, he had also, a year or two before, bought Hargrave's.²⁹

OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS

It must seem that the story of this part of the west side of Pilgrim Street is already occluded enough to set conclusions at a premium, but at the risk of making matters seem even more complex, it is necessary to go back to the 1740s and to see how these sites developed through the rest of the eighteenth century; and a convenient starting-place is 1747 (see the maps, figs. 1 and 2).

At that time, the house we now know as Alderman Fenwick's was still in Fenwick ownership; the tenant was Cuthbert Fenwick. It seems likely that the Fenwick's also owned the property immediately to the south of this house. Cuthbert died in 1747, and by 1753 ownership had passed to James Wilkinson. He was succeeded by Mrs. Wilkinson, who owned these two properties from 1770 to 1776, and in 1777 or 1778 was succeeded by (her son?) Christopher Wilkinson. In 1779, ownership passed to Thomas Carr of Eshott, High Sheriff of Northumberland the year before, an extravagant and eventually impecunious gentleman who had William Surtees as his tenant in 1780–81.³⁰

On the south side of Carr were two smaller properties. In 1747, the more northerly of these was owned by Joseph Clark, whose tenant was Robert Scott. Clark was succeeded as owner by his tenant in 1756, and he by his widow, Mary Scott, in 1761. She still had the ownership in 1770, but was no longer living there: her tenant then was a John Neal. By 1779, the ownership had passed to Thomas Barker, merchant.

South of this property was the house of James Hargrave. In 1747, his tenant was the

eldest son of Dr. Nathanael Ellison, the Rev. John Ellison, minister of St. Andrew's: he was Hargrave's tenant until 1774, the year in which he retired (to be succeeded at St. Andrew's by his son, the Rev. Nathanael Ellison). In 1776, Hargrave was living in his own house, but by 1779 it too belonged to Thomas Barker.

Edward Collingwood did not live in his Pilgrim Street house at any time in the period with which we are concerned; his regular tenant in this period was a Mr. Kent. In 1779, ownership of this house too passed – as we have noted – to Thomas Barker, though Mr. Kent remained for a time as his tenant. Barker now owned all three properties to the south of Carr, what I shall call Clark's, Hargrave's, and Collingwood's. According to Brand, he pulled down at least some part of these properties, built a large new house fronting the street, and also Newcastle's only starch manufactory of that time in the rear of it. Newcastle's first directory, of 1778,³¹ records the presence of this factory in that year and the owners as Barker and Woolfall, though they were trading as Barker & Co.³² The question is, which of the houses did Barker demolish? The answer must be Hargrave's. Bourne tells us that it was Hargrave's house which was "holden of the Dean and Chapter of Durham",³³ and Brand tells us that the house that was demolished "was holden of the dean and chapter of Durham", and that in "Dr. Ellison's time it had belonged to Ralph Ogle."³⁴ In short, Brand supports Bourne's contention that the house which stood on the site of the Pilgrim's Inn was Hargrave's, on the north side of Collingwood's. The Land Tax returns for 1779 show that Barker and a Mr. [John] Anderson were occupying a large property (assessed at £3.8s.6d), which was the new house and factory on the Hargrave site, and that a Mr. Kent was still the tenant in Edward Collingwood's former house (assessed at £2.5s.4d, as it had been in the previous year, when it was still Collingwood's).

In the following year, 1780, Barker sold the former Clark property to a slater, Thomas Barkas, who had perhaps been one of his tenants.³⁵ Barkas took the tenants along with the property (which almost certainly included

his own work premises), which he retained until 1786/7, when he sold parts of it to Hugh Wallace and Ralph Vickerson, apparently retaining only what he required for his business. Vickerson was a cabinet-maker, and his workshops were in the rear of the part kept as a residence by Wallace, who had tenants living there. In 1787, Barker still occupied the house on the Hargrave site, along with Mr. Anderson, and still owned the former Collingwood house, where his tenants were now "Miss Lawson and others".³⁶ By 1791, he had a small firm called Jeward and Featherston as tenants of the Collingwood property, while he and Anderson still lived on the old Hargrave site.³⁷ But before the end of the century, there was a significant change.

By 1798, Barker had gone, succeeded as owner by the Rev. Joseph Cook. The firm of Jeward and Featherston was now Featherstone and Seauzette, but still on the Collingwood site; A. Reed and M. Bateman were now the tenants of the property on the Hargrave site, but Cook had new tenants besides. These were John Simpster, assessed for Land Tax at only 16s.3d, probably for workshops in the rear of the building (and possibly in the former starch factory), and William Lofthouse, assessed at £1.6s.8d. Gaston Seauzette was a hairdresser and perfumer; the Featherstones were milliners, and clearly there was at least one shop – but more probably two – fronting the old Collingwood site: Seauzette and Featherstone were assessed for Land Tax together, but only Seauzette paid the Poor Rate.³⁸ Joseph Reed had a tea warehouse, and Miss Bateman was a schoolmistress,³⁹ but of course there is no necessary implication that the place of work of either was on Cook's premises, and it seems utterly unlikely. Of William Lofthouse (if that in fact was his name: the Land Tax returns make it nearly illegible) we know nothing except by default; he is not recorded in the Directory of 1801, and so must not have been a publican or inn-keeper. He is still there in the Land Tax returns for 1803, but in the following year he has been succeeded by Jane Atkinson: and this is the first hint we have of the

establishment of a public house or inn on the Rev. Cook's property.

Before taking up the story of the George Inn, I should perhaps say what little I know of the Rev. Joseph Cook. He was not a member of the Newcastle clergy, but appears to have been a relative of Thomas Barker. The evidence for this is circumstantial, but in about 1805 his property was in the hands of the Rev. Dr Barker, perhaps because Cook's daughter Mary was not old enough to inherit; by 1809, she owned the entire property, and no more is heard of the reverend doctor. The Rev. Cook's wife (also called Mary, I think) may have been one of the Barker family. Cook may have died in 1805, but it is more likely that, finding the duties of ownership either inconvenient or uncongenial, he made over the property to his daughter to be possessed when she came of age.⁴⁰

THE COMING OF THE GEORGE INN

The Directory for the Year 1801 records that the Newcastle and Sunderland Coach and the Newcastle and Durham Coach both set out daily – except Sundays – at 4pm from “Mr. Atkinson's, George-inn, Dean-street”. Edward Atkinson was a vintner in Dean Street, as well as innkeeper of the George Inn.⁴¹ There is no further mention of a George Inn on Dean Street,⁴² and certainly, by 1811 the Sunderland Coach was leaving from the Lord Collingwood, at the foot of the New Flesh Market. The difficulties of running a coaching inn on Dean Street had, it seems, prompted Edward Atkinson to seek a new location, in Pilgrim Street, south of the Queen's Head, and in the Rev. Cook's property. But Atkinson died suddenly at the age of fifty-three on 12 June 1802, and was buried at all Saints two days later, leaving the tenancy of his new premises to his wife Jane, who was then about fifty. She had probably been the effective manager of the inn on Dean Street, though the tenancy had been in her husband's name: she would have had to obtain a license in her own name from the town's magistrates. The custom by which an innkeeper or publican took with him the name

of his inn or public house was observed,⁴³ probably because the entire matter had been legally settled before Edward Atkinson died. There may have been a delay of some months, but then the George moved with Jane Atkinson from Dean Street to Pilgrim Street, where it was known as “The George”, or “The George Inn”, or sometimes, until her retirement, as “Mrs. Atkinson's, the George Tavern”.⁴⁴

In 1804, we find Jane Atkinson's name in the Land Tax returns as the tenant of the Rev. Joseph Cook, but of a relatively small part of the whole property, as judged by the assessment. Even by 1810, when Peter Forster (who had taken over the Queen's Head from Charles Turner) was rated at £160 for his hotel and all its appurtenances (which were considerable), Jane Atkinson was rated at £50 for the house and stables. This was not inconsiderable, but the comparison reveals the relative confinement of the George's premises at that time. By 1815, Jane Atkinson was rated at £100 (£86 for “the inn and stables” and £14 for “the house”), but by then all the rates had been increased: the Land Tax remained unchanged from 1803, at £1.1s.8d. By 1821, the Poor Rate had been increased by another £8, but this was deducted in 1823, the last year in which Jane held the tenancy. By this time, the George was a well-regarded inn, used like the Queen's Head for special dinners and assemblies: as when, on the centenary of the birth of Mark Akenside, “a number of literary gentlemen”, having met at the birthplace and “recited some effusions (in Akenside's manner) written for the occasion, in blank verse”, then retired to the George, where they “sat down to an elegant entertainment”, and with a dinner and toasts brought to an end a day “spent with decorum and reverence suited to the occasion”.⁴⁵ This was in 1821, by which time Jane Atkinson had a second house on the site, rated at £8, but by 1823 she had relinquished the tenancy of this house to John Firmin, who already had a house and large confectioner's shop on the site. In 1824, Jane Atkinson was succeeded by Francis Taylor,⁴⁶ and we find the George recorded as one of the “principal inns” of the town in the directory of that year.

There were further rearrangements in Taylor's time, for in 1830 he was rated at £86 for the inn and stables, £14 for the house, and £25 for another house: only George Dods-worth (Peter Forster's successor at the Queen's Head) was paying more on the High Bridge/Mosley Street block. The Land Tax returns for 1831 show that Taylor had exchanged tenancies with one E. Burns, who now occupied the house-and-shop tenancy of John Firmin's successor, John Turner (Land Tax assessment of £2.12s.0d). By this time, Taylor has, presumably, more than doubled the ground size of the George Inn, but the old Collingwood site – still land taxed at £2.0s.10d – is still not part of it: it has passed from Featherstone and Seauzette (in 1809) to Belbie [Beilby?] and Seauzette (in 1815), to Mrs. Bilbie [Beilby?] by 1823, and to Robert Hall by 1831. In 1836, we find that Taylor has acquired the tenancy of the workshops at the rear of the inn (land taxed at 16s.3d). By 1839, the George was being recorded as an inn and posting house,⁴⁷ but Taylor had not got the tenancy of the Collingwood site.⁴⁸

In 1844, H. J. B. Carmon succeeded Francis Taylor as tenant of the George, and in the following year Capt. Widrington succeeded Miss Cook as owner. By this time, the Land Tax of the George – which now occupied all of Miss Cook's former property except the Collingwood site – had been raised to £3.12s.0d (from £2.12s.0d), and that of the Collingwood site had been reduced to £1.1s.3d (from £2.0s.10d). Clearly, though the value of the George had sharply increased, that of the buildings on the Collingwood site had depreciated.⁴⁹

PLACING THE PILGRIM'S INN

We do not, I think, need to pursue the history of what was by now the George Hotel any further in order to assess the accuracy of the various historians who tried to pinpoint the site of the Pilgrim's Inn. Sykes was wrong in supposing that the Queen's Head was nearly on the spot on which the inn had stood, and

Hinde was wrong in thinking it stood "on the very spot". Bourne was correct in stating that the tradition had it on the site of James Hargrave's house, on the north side of Collingwood's; and Brand was right in confirming this, and in stating that it was Hargrave's house that was pulled down by Thomas Barker and replaced with another, apparently larger, and with a starch manufactory in the rear of it. Knowles and Boyle were wrong in arguing that Bourne should have said that this property lay on the south side of Collingwood's house. Bourne and Brand were supported, we have to believe, by the now-lost Ellison manuscripts: it was the Hargrave house that was "holden of the dean and chapter of Durham". Knowles and Boyle were also wrong in stating – with scant regard for consistency – that the George stood on the site of the Collingwood house; moreover, the rent-charge of £2 to All Saints was not paid by the tenant of the George, but by the *owner*, not because she owned the George, but because she also owned the Collingwood site.

And now let us consider Bourne's measurement of the street from the south corner of High Bridge to the site of the Pilgrim's Inn: 116 yds 1 ft, or 349 ft (106.4 m) (see figs. 1 and 2). Knowles and Boyle certainly give us the impression that they got out into the street with a measuring-line, and perhaps they did; but whether or not this was so, they appear to have been misled, possibly by John Wood's map of Newcastle (1827), which not only fails to show the full extent of the Queen's Head, but shows the Queen's Head and the George separated by nearly 76ft. In fact, either John Wood or his engraver badly misplaced the George. In what follows, we shall depend chiefly on the first Ordnance Survey map (1859), but also on Charles Hutton's (1770) and Thomas Oliver's (1831).

If Bourne's 349 ft is measured by the scale employed in each of these maps, and the point reached by this measurement is marked (let us for the sake of clarity call it "X" – see figs. 1 and 2), the three maps concur almost exactly.⁵⁰ In each case, "X" is opposite the frontage of the George Inn, though exactly where, in

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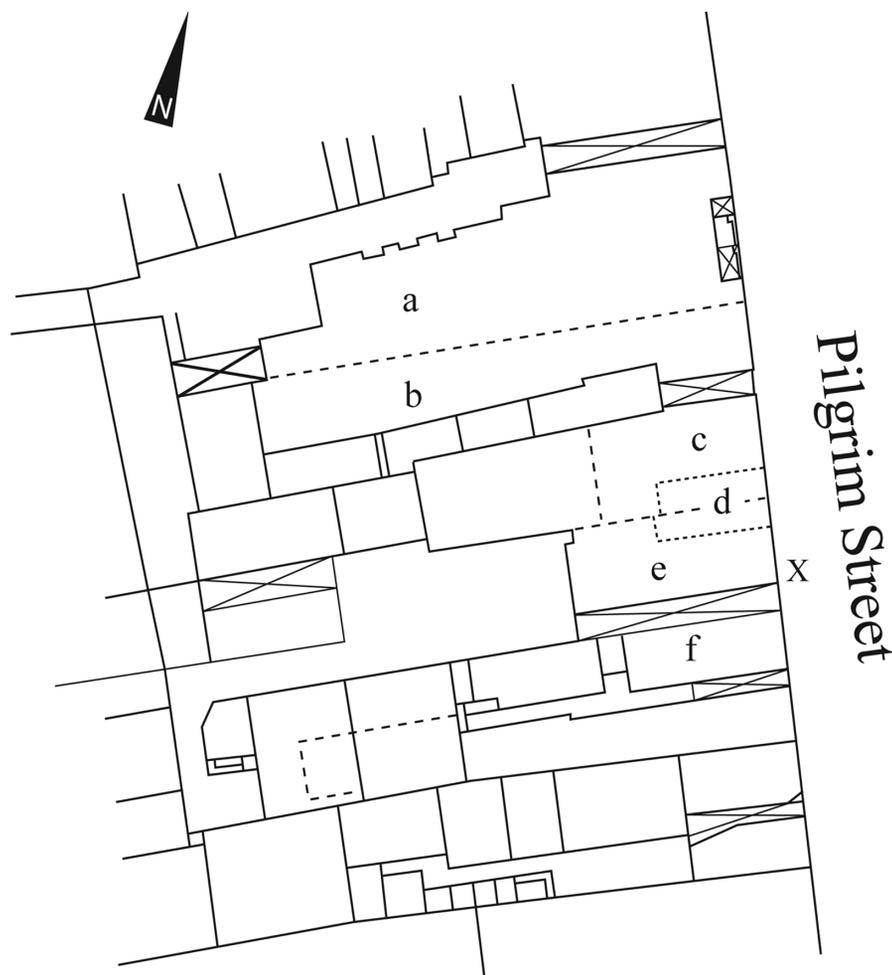


Fig. 2 Detail of fig. 1, showing the positions of sites of special interest to us (approximate scale, 1:625). The broken lines indicate altered boundary walls. 'X' – see caption to fig. 1.

- (a) The Fenwick house, later Carr's, Wilkinson's, etc.
- (b) The Fenwick property incorporated with (a) to form the building which became the Queen's Head Hotel.
- (c) The Clark site.
- (d) An extra house introduced by Barker after the demolition of (c) and (e). Oliver's map shows that part of the wall that separated these sites was still in place in 1831.
- (e) The Hargrave site.
- (f) The Collingwood site.

Miss Cook owned (c), (d), (e) and (f) but she never lived in any of these properties, and the Collingwood site never formed any part of the George Inn.

relation to that frontage, the “X” occurs in the Hutton map it is not possible to say: it does not show the boundaries of the old sites. Oliver shows the George frontage as about 64ft, north to south: “X” occurs 38.4 ft down from the northern edge of that frontage. The OS map shows the frontage as 60 ft, and “X” occurs 50 ft from the northern edge; that is, about 1.3 ft short of the entry to the George yard. Although Oliver’s map measures a fraction long (he shows the distance from High Bridge to Mosley Street as 500 ft, as against 488 ft on the OS), “X” is farther north of the entry than it is on the OS. The difference, however, is negligible. Both maps show “X” north of the Collingwood site, and quite clearly opposite the Hargrave site.

Bourne and Brand are vindicated. No part of the George stood on the site of Edward Collingwood’s house; the George stood on the site of James Hargrave’s house, and was extended north to take in the Clark site, which lay between it and the Queen’s Head. Miss Cook, owner of the entire site (comprising Clark’s, Hargrave’s and Collingwood’s), paid the £2 annual rent-charge to All Saints. If – and it is still an open question – the Pilgrim’s Inn did stand, as everybody apparently believed in Bourne’s time, on the site of James Hargrave’s house, then the George stood – part of it at least – on the same site. About that, at any rate, Knowles and Boyle were right.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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NOTES

¹ William Gray, *Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne 1649*; facsimile ed. by Andrew Reid (1883) [rep. by Frank Graham, 1970], 71.

² Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, The Ancient and Present State of that Town*, Newcastle upon Tyne (1736) [henceforth, Bourne], 81.

³ John Brand, *History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, including. an Account of the Coal Trade of that place and embellished with Engraved Views of the Publick Buildings, &c.*; Printed for B. White & Son, Booksellers, Horace’s Head, Fleet Street, and T. & I. Egerton, Whitehall; vol. I, London (1789) [henceforth, Brand], 338.

⁴ See references in *Early Deeds Relating to Newcastle upon Tyne* [SS, 137] (1924), under “Chartulary of the Bridge of Tyne”, No. 100 (p. 71) [1272–73]; No. 109 (p. 77) [1260–63]; No. 115 (p. 80) [1267–68]; No. 116 (p. 81) [1267–68]; No. 126 (p. 86) [between 1251 and 1269]; No. 134 (p. 91) [c. 1240–51]; No. 193 (p. 120) [c. 1259]; and under “Calendar of Deeds in the Possession of University College, Oxford”, No. 220 (p. 135) [between 1250 and 1258].

⁵ See C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford (1879 imprint of 1966); J. R. Marchant and J. F. Charles, *Cassell’s Latin Dictionary*, London, 1910.

⁶ See J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden (1976). All quotations on *vicus* emphasise “quarter”.

⁷ See R. E. Latham, *Revised Latin Word-List, from British and Irish Sources*, OUP, for the British Academy (1965). Latham records this pious usage as early as 760.

⁸ *Salve Regina: gementes et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle*. It was sung in the *Divine Office* (First Vespers) every day from Trinity to Advent.

⁹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed.; London (1989).

¹⁰ S. M. Kuhn (ed.) and J. Reidy (assoc. ed.), *Middle English Dictionary*, vol. P; Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, and Geoffrey Cumberledge, OUP. They give the more modern meaning first, and in this differ from the OED.

¹¹ Other etymologically related forms, such as “peregrinage”, came only in the mid-fourteenth century, and then occurred relatively rarely. These forms, deriving from Latin *peregrinagium*, were mostly of the sixteenth century.

¹² In this connection, it is interesting to find Tyndale insufficiently on his guard when completing his translation of the Pentateuch (1530) and the New Testament (1534). When he encountered the Septuagint Greek term *parepidēmos* (rendered in the Vulgate as *peregrinus*), he translated it as “pilgrim”. In the New Testament it is very clear that what is meant is “foreigners” (synonymous with *paroikoi*, which Tyndale translates as “foreigners” in Ephesians 2.19). In Hebrews 11.13 he speaks of “strangers

and pilgrims”, as he does in 1 Peter 2.11. Strictly, *parepidēmos* meant someone sojourning in a land which was not his own and in which he was therefore regarded as a foreigner.

It was the *same* in Old Testament Hebrew: in Genesis 47.9, Tyndale has Jacob speak of “the days of my pilgrimage”. The word he translates is *māgôr*, more correctly rendered “sojourning” or “dwelling” (though it can also mean “terror(s)”: that is, dwelling as a stranger, wandering from place to place in foreign lands. The Vulgate renders this correctly as *dies peregrinationis*. That Tyndale understood all this very well we need not doubt, but by the time his renderings were followed by the Genevan translators (1560) and the translators of the King James Bible (1611) most people, having lost contact with the correct biblical meaning of the word, were unable to read “pilgrim” as anything other than someone making his or her way to God’s sanctuary, whether this was thought to be Sinai or Zion or heaven.

¹³ Brand, 197.

¹⁴ See Parker Brewis, “St. Mary’s Chapel, and the Site of St. Mary’s Well, Jesmond”, in *AA*⁴, 5 (1928), 102–111.

¹⁵ Our Lady’s Well was neither of these. See R. Fraser, “St. Mary’s Well, Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne”, *AA*⁵, 11 (1983), 289–300.

¹⁶ In the hills above Dunkeld, in Perthshire, there is a spring with the dog-Latin name of “Santa Crux Well”. It acquired its soubriquet – and perhaps a reputation – from the fact that, in the middle of the muddy hole in which it appears, there is also a piece of masonry thought at some time to be ecclesiastical in origin. It proves to be nothing more sacred than a creeing-trough (in Scotland called a knocking-trough), the four crude and worn handles of which are vaguely suggestive of a St Andrew’s cross. In the nineteenth century, every kitchen had one!

¹⁷ Fraser goes on to point out that “The earliest historical reference mentioning the existence of a ‘holy well’ in Jesmond” is that made by Bourne, who “is doubtless relating a local oral tradition which may have grown up over a long period of time” (p. 291). Gray’s *Chorographia* mentions a shrine, but not a holy well, and recognises no connection with Our Lady (p. 71).

¹⁸ Brand, 339.

¹⁹ Brand quotes John Bale, “The Life of Hugh of Newcastle”. The relics, according to Bale, were Francis’ sandals, cord and breeches: *Francisci nempe perforatis calceis, chordis et braccis*, where the force of *nempe* is ironical, meaning “of course!”.

²⁰ See Barbara Harbottle and Peter Clack, “Newcastle upon Tyne: Archaeology and Development”, in P. A. G. Clack and P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North: Report of the Northern Archaeological Survey*, ed. D. W. Harding (1976), 120.

²¹ Bourne, 85. In the eighteenth century, “pretty” meant nearly the same thing as “neat”, and used of a building suggested something not very extensive but pleasingly designed.

²² Bourne, 85–86: “holden of the Dean and Chapter” means that at some time in its history it had been made over to them as a source of income, and that a nominal rent was still paid for it by its current owner.

²³ Brand, 339n.

²⁴ John White, of Newcastle upon Tyne, a highly reputable printer whose work is much sought after today. A native of York, he came to Newcastle in 1708, and in 1711 launched the *Newcastle Courant*, the first newspaper published north of the Trent. His premises were at the head of Painter Heugh, and it was there that he died, aged 80, in 1769.

²⁵ W. H. Knowles and J. R. Boyle, *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*, Newcastle upon Tyne, and London (1890), 130n.

²⁶ Knowles and Boyle never made up their minds whether the inn should be the Pilgrim’s Inn or the Pilgrims’ Inn. Bourne and Brand preferred the singular version; nineteenth- and twentieth-century customs favoured the plural.

²⁷ Knowles and Boyle, 129f., quoting Brand, 339n.

²⁸ John Baillie, *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne and its Vicinity, comprehending An accurate Description of all its Public Buildings, Manufactories, Coal Works &c.*, Newcastle upon Tyne (1801), 248f. [Baillie’s book was published anonymously.]

²⁹ Information here and in what follows is derived from the Land Tax and Poor Rate returns held by Tyne and Wear Archives Service: Land Tax TWAS 23/266 (1747) and subsequent; Poor Rate TWAS 183/172 (1768) and subsequent, a number of which are held under TWAS 183/465 and 466.

³⁰ See D. H. Heslop, B. Jobling and G. McCombie, *Alderman Fenwick’s House: The history of a seventeenth-century house in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, and its owners* [Buildings of Newcastle, No. 3; The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2001], 29f.

³¹ *The First Newcastle Directory 1778*, facsimile edition, ed. by J. R. Boyle, Newcastle 1889.

³² Barker and Woolfall were also grocers and tea-dealers on the north side of Sandhill, where they also had a flax-dressing business.

³³ Bourne, 86.

³⁴ Brand, 339n.

³⁵ In subsequent years, confusion arises when Barker is sometimes found recorded as Barkas, and vice-versa. However, Barkas was another man; in fact, one would get the impression from directories that there were more people in Newcastle called Barkas than there were Barkers. In the 1824 Directory, one T. Barkas in Northumberland Street seems to have a flourishing business, with a full-page advertisement of some sophistication for a “glazier, painter, and imitator of woods and marbles”.

³⁶ There was a Miss Lawson who had a millinery shop at this time, but it was at the east end of Low Bridge; she could, however, have been one of Barker's residential tenants. A few years later, a Lawson would be the tenant of the Golden Tiger, close by, on the south side of the Collingwood site.

³⁷ Jeward and Featherston's was certainly a shop. At least one of the Featherston(e) families were milliners in Pilgrim Street by 1801, and were recorded in the directory for that year.

³⁸ Seauzette certainly had house and shop by 1810, as is clear from the Poor Rate returns for that year.

³⁹ Reed's forename was certainly Joseph, though he may have had another beginning with A. He and Miss Bateman are both recorded in *The Directory for the Year 1801*. There were boarding schools in Pilgrim Street at that time, and it seems probable that Miss Bateman was employed at one of them.

⁴⁰ It may be that Mary Cook and her father were “the Rev. Mr. Cook and Miss Cook” who, according to John Sykes (*Local Records*, vol. 2), attended the Mrs. Mayoress' grand ball and supper at the Mansion House (in aid of cholera relief) on 22 March 1832. And it may be that Mary's father was the Rev. J. Cook whose address was Newton Hall, Durham. Mary never lived in her Pilgrim Street property; in 1839, the directory of that year records her address as 34 Northumberland Street.

⁴¹ He was, I think, succeeded as vintner by Johnstone and Bates by 1805, and probably before then.

⁴² The curious thing is that there ever was a George Inn – or any other coaching inn – on the steep slope of Dean Street, which from its being put through had presented serious problems to coachmen and carriers. There had, presumably, been an inn-yard on levelled ground, but the getting of a coach into it or out of it in safety could not have been an easy matter. In 1803, the Newcastle *Advertiser* reported experiments with salt washes in Dean Street as

attempts were made to reduce the icy hazards of winter. We hear no more of any inns at all in Dean Street.

⁴³ As by Charles Turner in 1781, when he took the name Queen's Head from lower to middle Pilgrim Street, his former establishment becoming the Old Queen's Head.

⁴⁴ John Sykes, *Local Records or Historical Register of Remarkable Events*, Newcastle (1824), 322.

⁴⁵ Sykes, 322. One has the impression that Sykes himself was one of the company.

⁴⁶ She moved to Blckett Street, where she died aged 76 in May 1828, and was buried at All Saints on the 23rd. She fared rather better than her exact contemporary, poor Gaston Seauzette, who had retired to the horrors of Bailey Gate, where he died in 1829; his wife Grace died in the following year, in the Poor House.

⁴⁷ *Richardson's Directory* (1839). A post-house, or posting-house, was an inn (or some other house) where horses were kept for the use of travellers.

⁴⁸ In 1836, it was still tenanted by Robert Hall, and by 1841 by “Brand and others”. Thomas Oliver's map (1831) shows all three sites (what we have called Clark's, Hargrave's, and Collingwood's) as in the ownership of Mary Cook, but only the first two were wholly occupied by the George Inn. The first OS map shows the Collingwood site very much broken up.

⁴⁹ While it is possible that Carmon had acquired a little of the back premises on the Collingwood site to add to his stables, both the Oliver map and the first OS map suggest that he had simply extended the back premises of the George. In 1844, the George was still on its way up: by the end of the decade it had, like the Queen's Head, begun its slow decline.

⁵⁰ In the Oliver and the OS maps, a line drawn from the north-west corner of the front of the Gaol, passing through “X” and extended to the foot of the street leading from Mosley Street to the New Butcher Market (on the Oliver) or the foot of Grey Street (on the OS), intersects the buildings on the east side at the same distance from Mosley Street. (The re-building at the foot of Grey Street reduced the width of the block by only 10 ft.) Similarly, in the Hutton and Oliver maps, a line drawn from the northernmost point of the Austin Tower, passing through “X” and extended to the buildings on the west side of Middle Street (between the Flesh Market and the Groat Market), intersects the same building at the same point.